I'm From Here and There: Dual Citizenship for the Second Generation in Montreal and
its Implications for Identity, Plurality and Mobility

Mona Magalhaes

A Thesis

in the Department of

Sociology and Anthropology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts (Social and Cultural Anthropology) at

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

December 2013

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Mona Magalhaes

Entitled: I'm From Here and There: Dual Citizenship for the Second Generation in
             Montreal and its Implications for Identity, Plurality and Mobility

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Social and Cultural Anthropology)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with
respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Final Examining Committee:

          Amy Swiffen   Chair

          Christine Jourdan   Examiner

          Sally Cole   Examiner

          Vered Amit   Supervisor

Approved by   _____
              Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

              _____
              Dean of Faculty

Date   December 13, 2013

Abstract

I'm From Here and There: Dual Citizenship for the Second Generation in Montreal and its Implications for Identity, Plurality and Mobility

Mona Magalhaes

The ability to acquire and retain dual citizenship has become increasingly accepted among states worldwide over the last several decades, and this has resulted in a significant expansion of the number of people who acquire dual or multiple citizenships at birth. While dual citizenship is regarded as a status that at once enables migrant integration into the host state and the maintenance of cultural and familial ties with the country of origin, the extent to which this is relevant to subsequent generations remains unknown. It is also not known to what extent dual citizenship status inspires transnational mobility for the second generation. Applying citizenship and transnational theoretical and conceptual approaches, in this thesis I examine what dual citizenship can mean to second generation Canadians who also hold the European citizenships of their parents, primarily focusing on southern and former Soviet bloc states that are members of the European Union. I investigate life stories and family migration histories and describe the ways in which individualized notions of national and cultural identity are formed through the relationships fostered within local and transnational familial and social networks. In addition, this form of dual citizenship implies that the second generation have access and membership to not only their family's country of origin, but also to other states within the European Union. Within this context, I demonstrate how contemporary global capitalism adds an instrumental dimension to dual citizenship as the second generation consider key life decisions such as residence, education, and career trajectories, and whether to embark on mobility to achieve these goals.

Acknowledgements

I owe a debt of gratitude to the individuals who agreed to participate in this study. Thank you to everyone for entrusting me with your life stories, reflections, hopes, and aspirations. It was a privilege for me to spend time with you, and I hope that you will find that my interpretations of your life experiences have done you justice. I am also deeply grateful to the Minotti family for demonstrating such enthusiasm for my project and for putting me in contact with other individuals willing to participate in this study.

This study would not have been possible without the guiding hand of Dr. Vered Amit, who introduced me to the topic of dual citizenship and was confident in my abilities to contribute to her large scale study entitled *Coming of Age as Dual Nationals: An Anthropological Study of Belonging and Mobility among Young Canadians.* Thank you, Vered, for your advice, encouragement, and for challenging me to delve deeply into the analysis of my data.

I would like to thank my committee members, Drs. Christine Jourdan and Sally Cole, who also provided much encouragement, guidance and enthusiasm for my work during my undergraduate and graduate studies. My experience at Concordia University would not have been as enjoyable and fulfilling without your presence. Thank you so much!

I would like to thank my family and friends for encouraging me throughout this process. Thank you, René and Maïa, for putting up with my long hours on the computer and never doubting for a second that I could accomplish this goal. *Merci*, *maman* and Dad, for your loving support. Finally, thank you to Helene for being my biggest fan.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Research Questions

Michel emigrated from France to Canada as a young adult in the late 1980s and

eventually became a Canadian citizen while retaining his French citizenship. Following is

his response to a question that I asked of all my interlocutors in this study who had

children or who planned to have a family in the future: Why do you feel it is important to

pass on your original citizenship to your children?

> Several things. Number one, the choice, to start with. I feel that that's a
>
> choice that they should have. They are entitled to it, and not just legally, [but]
>
> philosophically, as citizenship is a broader concept than just a paper. (Michel
>
> Imerina, personal interview, August 28, 2012)

Michel's response encapsulates the broad avenues of inquiry that I will be taking in this

thesis to examine the phenomenon of inherited dual citizenship. First of all, Michel

frames dual citizenship as an individual right or choice to which his children are eligible,

and that will grant them the privileges and responsibilities associated with state

membership in two different national territories. Related to the concept of choice are the

possibilities that dual citizenship may offer his children: a wider range of important life

choices such as education, residence, employment, and investment. As citizens of France

Michel's children also have potential access to a larger European market due to France's

membership to the European Union (EU). In this thesis I explore the implications for

mobility for dual Canadian/European Union citizens who have acquired this status by virtue of their parents' migration from their country of origin in Europe to Canada. Specifically, I am keen to understand how dual citizenship may influence their movements, and what considerations are involved when determining life trajectory. What elements of their lives are weighed and measured when they contemplate mobility? Are they inspired by their family's history of migration, or by transnational links that their families may have forged and maintained? Does dual citizenship status motivate them to seek opportunities abroad, perhaps beyond their family's country of origin to other EU countries? If so, what considerations are involved in choosing their destination(s)?

Secondly, Michel speaks of citizenship as a philosophical entitlement, which encompasses the symbolic meanings that are attached to this juridical status. Beyond legal bonds, citizenship can also be representative of the emotional, cultural, and filial ties to a nation and signifies a type of citizen-state relationship. Indeed, Faist considers that for many first-generation immigrants who retain transnational ties, "dual state citizenship pertains to the aspects of belonging and recognition. Its main purpose is to acknowledge the symbolic ties reaching back to the countries of origin" (2000: 219). However, what form does this relationship take when the citizen has inherited this status and whose ties to their family's state of origin may not be as strong as that of their parents? Is attachment to a parent's country of origin formed within the family, local social networks, personal experience, or through the sustainment of transnational ties and networks fostered by the parents? In addition, contemporary global capitalism and the existence of supra-state citizenship legislation has significantly altered the context of migration and transnational mobility. How is the symbolic value of citizenship

transformed within this context? Through the examination of these questions I will explore how this aspect of citizenship is created and contributes to the meaning of dual citizenship for the children of immigrants, and how it enters into consideration when making key life decisions.

Lastly, as a parent and a dual citizen, Michel has made an explicit choice to pass this status on to his children, describing it as a right to which they are entitled. His decision was made possible by the changing geo-political landscape after the Cold War in the mid 20th century, which saw the development of international legal standards regarding citizenship and influenced the 'toleration' of dual nationality laws by an increasing number of states (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2001). It is the dual national parent, however, who elects (or does not elect) to pass on their native citizenship to their children. How do they come to this decision? What can be the possible circumstances under which dual citizens will bequeath citizenship to their children, or choose not to, or even not consider this option for them at all?

Conway et al. have stated, "With the nature of global migration changing so much, 'lost in translation' is a more inclusive explanation of dual citizenship, and how this non-unitary political identity and multinational affiliation can be acquired without necessarily crossing borders or becoming an immigrant (2008: 378-379). It is my goal in this thesis to attempt to decipher dual citizenship through an examination of the life experiences of first and second generation dual citizens, and through their reflections on the meanings that they themselves attribute to this status. I will begin by elaborating on the theory that I used to frame my analysis as well as my methodological orientation for my study. The following ethnographic chapters will detail my observations and analysis.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

1.2.1 Dimensions of Citizenship within Migration

The grounding for the theoretical framework in this thesis that examines how people may understand and apply their inherited dual state citizenship status must begin with a discussion of the conceptual meanings of state citizenship in the singular. Bosniak has written that "the idea" of citizenship "is more symbol than substance, and that in analytical terms our understanding of citizenship is highly fragmented, if not incoherent" (2006: 17). Bloemraad is very helpful in the conceptualization of citizenship and explains that it can be understood as a multi-dimensional "membership relation" (2000: 10) connecting the individual to a socio-political community, which in post-Westphalian contemporary times is identified primarily as the nation-state. This broad definition is centred on a traditionally liberal view that understands the relationship as democratic and reciprocal, with states accountable for the protection of their citizens' rights and the obligation of citizens to be loyal to their state (Heater 2004: 4). The manner in which Bloemraad deconstructs this relationship is relevant as a framework for the understanding of citizenship within migration, where the immigrant may come to hold dual or multiple citizenships through naturalization and/or marriage, and may also bequeath citizenship of her country of origin to her children. In this case, the unitary relationship between the citizen and the state that the traditional notion of citizenship implies is made more complicated with multiple state connections, and for the offspring of immigrants, is also obscured by the ability to acquire citizenship without actually residing within the territory.

The Legal Dimension

It is thus useful when Bloemraad explains how citizenship is composed of four dimensions identified as "legal status, rights, identity, and participation" (2000: 10) that interact with one another. Examining the legal dimension allows for an understanding of the ideological and strategic conceptualizations behind nationality laws as well as an exploration of how citizens and migrants interpret and negotiate these regulations. Behind Anderson's (1991) notion of the nation as an 'imagined community' are the historical and political sources that inform the relationship between the individual and the state. For example, Vogli (2011) argues that Greek citizenship laws stem from Hellenistic notions of an expansive nationalism that minimizes the importance of state boundaries and reaches out to all members of the Greek diaspora. Greek citizenship can be inherited by children born outside of Greece, regardless of whether or not their parents still hold Greek citizenship. Grandchildren born outside the state can also acquire Greek citizenship after a short period of naturalization. Empirically this implies that such people will come to hold two citizenships, but the normative standards of Greek citizenship laws uphold the principles of Hellenistic cultural wholeness and do not officially recognize dual citizenship.

Weil takes a different approach and argues that nationality laws were and continue to be shaped not only by state building agendas or their "juridical traditions" (2001: 18), but also in reaction to the phenomenon of human movement across state territories. To illustrate, he reasons that French citizenship laws were revised in 1851 to include *jus soli* law (citizenship by birth within the state) as well as *jus sanguinis* (citizenship by descent) to address the lack of military enlistment at that time by male descendants of migrants to

France. Passed after the French revolution, this citizenship law came to encompass the notion of a French citizenry that was unified by politics rather than lineage but that also aimed for universality (Jennings 2000). Thus, understanding the reasoning behind how states form their citizenship laws may provide insight into how the individual relates to his or her citizenship in terms of its other dimensions, notably the notions of collective identity and participation.

Examining the legal dimension also allows for reflection on the continued relevance of the state as citizenship gatekeeper within contemporary times. Within the literature, the national approach has centered on dual citizenship's utility for and effect on immigrant states. Although traditional views within this approach worry that dual citizenship detracts from the perceived loyalty or affinity that membership to a state requires, liberal views regard this status as enabling migrant integration as immigrants are not obligated to completely sever ties to their native country (Faist 2001, Bloemraad 2004, Bloemraad et al. 2008).

The legal dimension also enables us to observe the pattern of convergence that seems to be emerging with respect to nationality laws in countries with diverse histories and geographies (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2002: 29, Bloemraad 2000: 14, Weil 2001). Weil observes that nationality laws are progressively formulated and revised to serve the migration interests of the state. *Jus soli* provisions within the citizenship laws of immigrant receiving countries such as Canada enable citizenship to be automatically acquired by the children of immigrants. Countries of emigration such as Ireland added *jus sanguinis* law to existing *jus soli* regulation so that "links" to the home country could be maintained "until their descendants lost touch" (Weil 2001: 25). It has also been noted

that global capitalism and the emergence of supra-state institutions such as the EU and the United Nations (UN) may have set the stage for a standardization of citizenship law (Bloemraad 2000: 14). In particular, Bloemraad notes the work on immigration policy by Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield (1994), who determined that "industrialized, labour-importing countries, immigration laws, control measures, integration policies, and public opinion on immigration are becoming increasingly alike due to the pressures of international regimes, economic flows, and liberal rights discourse" (2000: 14). The standardization of citizenship laws has led scholars to develop cosmopolitan and post-national theories to question the continued relevance of the state in determining access, rights and responsibilities for eligible members, particularly for transnational actors (Bosniak 2001 and 2006, Soysal 1994, Vertovec and Cohen 2002, Yuval-Davis 1999).

The Rights Dimension

While the national perspective of citizenship place rights within the purview of the state, post-national theorists such as Soysal (1994) elevate these rights to the level of international human rights discourse and within supra-state institutions. Thus migrants cross state borders with a set of civil and social rights in hand, potentially minimizing the importance of state designation of rights and questioning the legitimacy of states to grant rights only to legal members of the polity (Soysal 1994, Bloemraad 2000). Yuval-Davis has also noted that although citizenship is exclusionary by nature, "the actual couching of the discourse of citizenship in universal terminology would prove a lever that was later used by a variety of social movements of the excluded" (1999: 121). Indeed, scholars have linked various social movements to changes in nationality laws. The most relevant of these to this thesis was the work of international women's movements during the early

20th century that led to the binding 1957 UN Convention on the Nationality of Married Women (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer (2001: 65), Bredbenner (1998: 102)). This convention permitted women to keep their nationality upon marriage to a foreigner and essentially established equal rights to citizenship within international law (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2001: 65). In addition, Faist and Gerdes (2008: 924) see the acceptance of the 1997 European Convention on Nationality as a sign that citizenship is being increasingly viewed as a human right. Knop (2001) notes that it redressed the gender inequalities present in the Council of Europe's 1963 convention. As well as acknowledging the right of women to retain their citizenship upon marriage, this convention, signed by the majority of European states, specifically stated that the acquisition of dual citizenship by birth was to be accepted, and that women held the same right as men to pass on their nationality to their children (Knop 2001).

The creation of international legal standards regarding citizenship by the United Nations influenced the 'toleration'[1] of dual nationality laws (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2001). Although states continue to play a very important role in citizenship policy, Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer acknowledge Donner's (1994) affirmation that both binding and non-binding international norms "lay the foundation for the emergence of an international customary law of nationality" (2001: 70).[2] The interplay between national and post-national considerations of citizenship is interesting for this thesis as its focus is a set of

---

[1] Toleration of dual citizenship implies that states may not officially recognize dual citizenship, but neither will they impose regulation (or uphold if the regulation exists) that removes citizenship upon a person acquiring a foreign citizenship, or that requires a person to revoke their original citizenship upon naturalization. Within the countries covered in this thesis, Canada, France, Italy, Ireland, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom officially recognize dual citizenship, while Greece, Lithuania, and Spain do not.

[2] See Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer (2001: 63-70) for an overview of UN conventions that have influenced nationality laws.

Canadian nationals who have acquired the right by birth to access other national territories. That this right has been made possible by international norms and thus has arguably become 'deterritorialized' (Basch et al. 1994, Bloemraad 2000, 2004 and 2008) raises questions as to how citizenship may be envisaged by these people, and may indicate how its conception is changing within a global system that is increasingly interconnected.

The Identity Dimension

For Bloemraad, the identity dimension of citizenship refers to the "the question of immigrants' membership in the national community" (2000: 20). While the rights dimension of citizenship brings attention to the liberal view of citizenship as a unitary relationship between the individual and a neutral state that does not dictate individual pursuits, the identity dimension highlights the communitarian aspect of citizenship. This aspect implies attachment to and participation in a socio-political community that is bounded by the state. Bloemraad writes that according to Klusmeyer (1996), contemporary conceptions of the state stem from the 19th century formation of the modern nation-state, which produces a close association between "the national and the citizen" (2000: 12). Bloemraad explains that the nation-state "combines an effective and affective element" (2000: 12). The state has the authority to make political decisions, while "[t]he idea of nation is much more subjective, generally referring to affective sentiment. Although cultural similarity is often a basis for nationality, more important is mutual recognition" (2000: 12).

If citizenship is indicative of a collective identity as communitarian views insist, what does this mean for individuals who receive citizenship by virtue of their birth but may not

associate with the state or its members in any meaningful fashion? While Bloemraad's (2000) focus is on how immigrant presence, integration and participation in their adopted country may produce forms of citizenship that vary from liberal or communitarian views, I am intrigued by the possibility of different forms of collective identity that may exist across state borders. How is national identity and affective sentiment of nation produced and sustained across generations within families, collectivities, and communities outside of the state in question? More importantly, how relevant is the strength of affective sentiment to the concept of citizenship for second generation dual citizens?

<u>What is Community?</u>

Answering this question requires a closer look at the concept of community itself. Community is a key term within anthropological and sociological literature, but it also has very broad connotations, tends to be imprecisely defined, and can often evoke an emotional response (Amit 2002a, Amit and Rapport 2002). Examining the historical development of the word, Williams explains that it was first established during the 14th century to describe a "range of senses" (1985: 75), and to indicate various social group formations as well as the quality of their relationships. Tönnies (1955) formalized the contrast of meanings of community by identifying *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (association); the former to signify direct, personal relationships and the latter to identify the more formal, abstract relationships existing within a state or society. Tönnies bemoaned the loss of the organic nature of community found in pre-industrial groupings with the introduction of capitalism and the rise of urbanization. Hannerz (1980) explains that as anthropological studies turned increasingly from rural communities to examine social structure within urban areas, the method for analysis

tended to superimpose the idea of small-scale, rural communities upon urban social groups without accounting for the influences that the city would have upon these groups (Amit 2002b: 15). Notable movements away from this theoretical framework include Barth's (1969) work on the plasticity of ethnic boundaries, Cohen's (1985) view of community as a symbolic boundary defined by its individual members, and Brubaker's (2004) notion of ethnicity as a contingent event rather than a bounded collectivity. However, it is still argued that the romanticization of community persists as "Tonnïes' notions of a spatial human togetherness and social relations rooted in mutuality and interdependency has remained as a defining ideal of what is meant by community" (Neal and Waters 2008: 281).

When considering transnationalism and dual citizenship in terms of identity, it is necessary, as these scholars have advised, to move away from the traditional links that have been made between community, culture, ethnicity, and nation. In *The Trouble with Community,* Amit argues that these collective categories are often applied as labels, are reified, and do not reflect "the actual social relationships and activities that may be attributed to them" (2002c: 60). In addition, identifying with one or more of these categories does not reveal how they are applied to 'mobilize' social relations that are important to the individual (Amit 2002b: 18). Therefore, if identification with a nation-state is subjective as Bloemraad (2000) argues, Amit encourages us to locate the source of these affective sentiments from "actual relationships of intimacy" (2002: 60), or from the personal relationships from which such sentiments would emerge. In this thesis, I examine the intimate and often complex relationships that my interlocutors fostered within their families and within various types of social networks to see how they inform

their understanding of the broader categories of identity, nationality, and citizenship (chapter two, *Affiliation, Access, and Aegis – The Meaning and Utility of Dual Citizenship*). I also investigate the environment where many of these relationships occur (chapter three, *Place, Context & Language*) to understand what role sites of interaction play in the creation of meaning of these categories.

The Participatory Dimension

Bloemraad (2000) is enthusiastic about the participatory dimension of citizenship as it links the legal, rights, and identity aspects of citizenship together. While Amit's approach allows for an investigation of social relationships to understand how they influence broader conceptual categories that involve identity, Bloemraad believes that inquiring into participation reveals the active relationship between the citizen and the socio-political community to which she is an official member. Importantly, this approach views the citizen-state relationship from the perspective of the citizen. This is very useful for a study that inquires into the notion of dual membership as it reveals the aforementioned tension between national and post-national elements of citizenship. Bloemraad explains:

> In one sense participation, especially political activity, reinforces traditional conceptualizations of citizenship centred on the nation-state, because political spaces are mostly delimited by states. Yet in another sense, immigrants' participation in global economic systems, transnational social spaces, international social movements, and the politics of their home countries undermines the link between citizenship and the nation-state, raising the possibility that some aspects of citizenship need to be reconceptualized.
> [2000: 10]

By examining how the transnational citizen negotiates the structural regulations imposed by state and supra-state institutions as well as global economic processes, this aspect of citizenship takes into account both the motivations of the citizen in terms of residence, work, and career and the institutions or associations with whom she will engage to achieve her goals. It thus has the capacity to inquire into how mobility, or even the idea of movement, shapes the relationship between the citizen and the state and may give rise to non-traditional views of citizenship. Following Bloemraad's lead, in chapter four (*Mobility within Inherited Dual Citizenship*) I consider the choices that second generation dual citizens made within a contemporary context of economic globalisation that is increasingly blurring national boundaries. As the interlocutors are also EU citizens, I inquire whether their movements are "creating new participatory spaces" (Bloemraad 2000: 30) that eclipse conventional notions of citizenship. In chapter five (*A View of Canadian/Central and Eastern European (CEE) Citizenship*), I look at various forms of citizen-state participation chosen by both second generation dual citizens and their parents, and explore the varying conceptions of membership that these forms of participation produce.

1.2.2 Complexities within the Category of Dual Citizenship

Increasing gender equality in citizenship laws and cross-border marriages have contributed to a significant increase in children acquiring dual or multiple[3] citizenships at birth (Howard 2005). While Faist has said that "Dual citizenship is not only a recognition of border crossing ties to another political community but also of concrete ties on the sub-

---

[3]As both parents are able to transfer their citizenships to their children, and as transnational marriages increase, it is possible for Canadian children to hold more than two citizenships. However, for semantic purposes, I will refer to both dual and multiple status as 'dual' for the remainder of this thesis.

state level" (2001: 24), it remains unclear as to the salience of these ties for those who have inherited citizenship of a state, or who have the opportunity to acquire a second citizenship due to having a parent who has retained their original citizenship upon naturalization. The strength of ties and affiliation is difficult to determine as the second generation's relationship with the state may vary significantly from that of their parents. Furthermore, it is also not known in what ways dual citizenship influences the direction that the lives of young adults with this status will take.

In a study of Canadian census 20% micro-files where citizens were asked to report their nationality status(es), Bloemraad has suggested that dual citizenship may "be the purview of an educated global elite" (2004: 392). Her study found that dual citizens who claim this status on official Canadian census forms tend to be highly educated, skilled, and unmarried professionals who travel significantly for work within a global economic system, but has also noted that acknowledgement of dual citizenship is increasing among immigrant groups who historically have held less human and financial capital. Her conclusions reflect disparate findings within transnational literature.

 On the one hand, as the world becomes increasingly globalised, it has been questioned whether the notion of national identity is losing importance as people increasingly move across borders to pursue individual opportunities. Such questions are made all the more relevant with international institutions such as the UN and the EU that expand and regulate citizenship beyond the boundaries of a single state, and with non-national institutions such as universities or global corporations that encourage the crossing of national borders. Relationships informing dual citizenship may exist outside of trans-border ties fostered by the family and in personal, career or educational networks that are

as equally influential as familial affiliations. For example, Ong (1999, 2002) has coined the term 'flexible citizenship' to refer to those who pursue material resources transnationally and utilize dual citizenship status for themselves and their children to navigate state-citizenship laws. In a similar vein, the increasing concerns of North American and European states regarding 'birth tourism', where parents will travel to a country that respects the *jus soli* principle so that their child will receive citizenship, reflects the strategic maneuvers of parents to establish future economic opportunities for their children. Maira (2009) has also found that dual citizenship is increasingly applied as an economic and legal strategy within contemporary migration. Borrowing the concept of flexibility in citizenship from Ong, Maira states, "flexible citizenship… is a manifestation of both post-national and denationalized citizenship, for it emerges in response to changes in the institution of citizenship in nation-states as well as to shifts in power on national and global scales" (2009: 101). Her study of South Asian Muslim youths living in the United States post-9/11 revealed a layered understanding of social fields of belonging that included family, native village, ethnic region, home country and adopted country. These multi-faceted affiliations did not conflict with one another, "embedded" as they were in "mobility and migration" (2009: 101). These studies suggest that dual citizenship may be less important as a signifier of emotional links to the home country, and more useful as a strategic tool within contemporary transnational migration.

On the other hand, dual citizenship is also seen as a legitimization of continued ties to the country of origin that are facilitated within a contemporary context of improved transportation and communication technologies, but that are fostered and retained for various reasons. Basch et al.'s (1994) study of Caribbean migrants in the United States

revealed that feelings of ethnic alienation in their adopted country led them to "challenge their racial, economic and social positions in the receiving country" (Bloemraad 2004: 395) by maintaining strong kinship and community links with their home country. Portes (1999) has suggested that emotional, social and political links to the country of origin may persist in a substantial fashion if migrants' native countries are experiencing social and political upheaval (see also Popkin (1999) for his study of Mayan immigrants to the U.S.). In a wide-ranging U.S. study of immigrant groups from different national origins, Rumbaut (2002) found that strong sentimental connections to 'home' within the first generation were not maintained within the second generation. However, the strength of transnational ties for the second generation was highly dependent on the levels of family cohesion and language retention, the frequency of visits and remittances to the country of origin, and to a lesser extent, the level of religious involvement.

If we consider citizenship in its multi-dimensionality – its legal, rights-based, identity, and participatory aspects as outlined by Bloemraad (2000) – then it becomes clearer that dual citizenship (and particularly so for the second generation) can be a category that simultaneously holds post-national and national elements. In order to unpack the relevance and strength of these elements for the second generation dual citizen, it is important to consider how she is applying them within her own personal context that exists and is played out within (inter)national economic and political structural processes. My thesis investigates how the second generation dual citizen is informed of her status by the migration history of her parents, the social context in which she is raised, and the structural dynamics that may, or may not, orient her life trajectory across national borders. I find Bosniak's conceptualization of multiple nationality very helpful to this

inquiry as she advises to consider its increasing prevalence as "an extension of, and not a departure from, longstanding citizenship practices" (2001-2002: 1004). Rather than be concerned whether dual citizenship is a help/hindrance to state sovereignty, or is contributing to the erasing of national borders, Bosniak suggests regarding it as an emerging form that reflects the increase in transnationalism due to progressively inter-connected global systems. She writes:

> We routinely accept the existence of concurrent vertical – some say "nested" – memberships in various contexts. This is a kind of "citizenship pluralism" that is often regarded as quite natural. Perhaps concurrent horizontal memberships can be characterized as another version of such plurality. Such an approach would be inspired by certain normative commitments: ensuring rights and recognition for all of a community's residents, defending an individual's choice of membership identity, and, above all, acknowledging the plurality of affiliations and identities that characterize the lives of increasing numbers of people. [2001-2002: 1004]

The countries of origin that I primarily address are southern and central and eastern European (CEE)[4] states that are members of the EU. I have chosen these geo-political locations in order to explore the depth of meaning of dual citizenship for the second generation who have potential access to the larger EU market, but whose dual status stem from states in Europe who have historically held weaker economic and political power than their western European state counterparts. Situating my study in this way will allow

---

[4] Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) is a term used to refer to former Soviet bloc states and territories across the geographical locations of southeastern, central, and eastern Europe. They include Lithuania, Romania, and Hungary, which are the countries of origin or ancestry of some of my interlocutors in this thesis.

for an exploration of the changing contexts of migration and mobility and how they intersect with notions of national and cultural identity.

1.2.3 Theoretical Approaches and Insights

Transnationalism

I apply a transnational theoretical approach in this thesis as in my opinion it incorporates national and post-national considerations without essentializing them through the study of patterns of human movement across state borders. This approach recognizes that contemporary migration can be much more complex than a uni- or bi-directional movement between sending and receiving states. Migrants' movements can lead them to 'interact' and 'identify' with varied social groupings and places that are located in diverse nations and states (Olwig and Sørensen 2002: 2). The study of inherited dual citizenship is best approached from a transnational perspective as it allows for consideration of the multitude of practices that move across state borders with migration, and that inform the citizen's location within this process. Urry has described this approach as a "mobility paradigm" that allows for the theorization of the "economic, social and political practices, infrastructures and ideologies that all involve, entail or curtail various kinds of movement of people, or ideas, or information or objects" (Urry 2007: 43 in Amit 2012). In addition, the decisions that owners of inherited dual citizenship status take can be viewed as initiators of transnational "activity patterns" that will develop "over time" and "through geographic space" (Abu-Lughod 1991: 318 in Amit 2012).

There are two keys to this study of inherited dual citizenship. The first is to unpack what the migration and settlement experiences of first generation dual citizens mean to their

children, and uncover how they may have influenced their ideas of citizenship across the four dimensions delineated by Bloemraad, as well as how they contribute to their own considerations for movement. The second is to examine the relationships external to the family that are fostered by the second generation and exist in personal, career or educational networks. I consider all these relationships, familial and otherwise, within the wider context of a globalised economy as well as the more intimate context of where many of these interactions experienced by the participants in this study have taken place, namely the culturally diverse urban space of Montreal. In the remainder of this section I detail the conceptual approaches that are useful to this form of inquiry.

Relational Nationality

Knop's (2001) concept of 'relational nationality' is very useful for my approach to this thesis as its focus is how gendered family relationships can inform the meaning of citizenship, particularly within the context of transnationalism. This perspective is inspired by relational feminism, which views the formation of identity as a process involving the close relationships that one fosters throughout one's life (Knop 2001). Knop argues that dual nationality was legitimized in an effort to redress the inherent gender biases in European nationality law[5], particularly in the face of increasing cross-national marriages. Thus she suggests that "an individual's relationships with family of a different nation have an effect on her own sense of national identity and that the effect may be partially determined by the structures of power within those relationships" (2001: 96). This concept encouraged me to be mindful of the way in which cultural and filial ties

---

[5]As I previously mentioned, Knop (2001) notes that the 1997 European Convention on Nationality recognized that women should have the right to retain their nationality upon marriage, as well as have the same right as men to pass on their nationality to their children.

to the country of origin are understood by the second generation through the experience of living in a family that has lived very specific forms of departure, migration(s), and settlement(s). It is not only the stories that are told within the family about these experiences that are significant, but the way in which their experiences may have shaped and influenced the family dynamic. In chapter two I explore the location of national identity within family relations.

Notions of Migration and Mobility through Family Narrative & Livelihood Practices
In order to apply the concept of relational nationality to my study, I turn to Karen Fog Olwig (2003, 2007) who has developed an intriguing form of analysis within transnational theory that explores the meaning of migration processes to people who engage in mobility. She has written:

> …the people who depart for various destinations are not just immigrants who
> become part of the historical narrative of the receiving society, whether as
> new citizens eager to become integrated into the society or as the more
> recalcitrant residents who resist such integration. They are also individuals
> with their own personal histories of movement and emplacement. By
> exploring such histories, and the narratives they embody, anthropologists can
> locate other, perhaps more useful methodological and analytical frameworks
> of research. This, I suggest, is a fruitful strategy when studying migration
> that, by implication, involves movements between different places with
> different histories and related narrative structures. [2007: 276-277]

One of the challenges with studies of the children of immigrants is that the focus often lies on the same issues that Olwig mentions: Is the second generation sufficiently integrated into the host society? What forms of connections are maintained with the family's country of origin? Is there resistance to integration due to cultural or ethnic discrimination within the host society? In addition, when the second generation embark on mobility they risk to be subsumed under the rubric of 'transnational' without specifying what such movement means to them. Olwig is concerned with the "intimate contexts of migration" (2007:281), and approaches the study of migration through the examination of inter-generational family narratives and life stories. This, she argues, allows for consideration of wider socio-economic push-pull factors of migration within the "foundational narratives" (2007: 17) that inform the individual's origins, movements, and identity. In addition, these narratives uncover the "cultural values and social ties" (2003: 788) related to their place of origin that may continue to be practiced within the family as they move and settle in other parts of the world.

In this study, I inquire into family narratives with the intention to contextualize the second generation dual citizen's attitudes toward mobility and citizenship. Specifically, I wish to understand how the first generation may choose to speak about their experiences to their offspring, how the second generation interprets their family's migration narratives, and how these narratives may influence attitudes toward citizenship and their own choices for mobility. However, families do not exist in a vacuum. Collectively and individually, family members will engage in various forms of social relationships fostered within friendship, business, educational, cultural, religious, or recreational networks that may influence the dynamics within the family and inform individual

perspectives. In chapter two I expand Knop's concept of relational nationality to include the significant relationships that are created and maintained outside of the family and may also shape notions of national identity and orientations toward mobility.

Mobility

In this thesis, examining migration through life stories and family narratives also encompasses a second concept previously developed by Olwig and Sørensen (2002) that looks at migration through the practice of 'mobile livelihoods'. This approach takes as a starting point that migration studies should move from place to mobility, or from places of origin and settlement to the movements that are involved in sustaining livelihood. Studying movement rather than place or trans-border issues helps to unravel the complex layers of mobility that are made up of choices, strategies and relationships. These scholars argue that movement in the pursuit of livelihood creates new social and economic relations as well as new cultural values. In chapter four I focus on second generation dual citizens who have embarked on transnational lifestyles to question how their choices and strategies for movement are informed by their juridical status, and what forms of social relations and cultural values arise from their mobility.

Serendipity, Choices and the Life Course

Examining mobile livelihoods allows for consideration that the decision to embark on mobility may be based on economic necessity, but also on other factors such as the desire for adventure, the need to escape responsibilities, the desire to follow a loved one across national borders, or the search for self-hood. In this same vein, Levitt (2003) has suggested that the decision to acquire or capitalize upon a dual citizenship status is greatly dependent upon the life circumstances of the individual, which may be unrelated

to the experience of migration per se (Conway et al. 2008: 378). Amit (2010) has requested that closer attention be paid within mobility studies to the relevance of chance encounters and spontaneous decisions in shaping movement and life trajectory. A great challenge when engaging in social analysis is to find the balance between serendipity and the greater systemic processes that are produced by globalisation (Amit 2010). This is why investigating the concept of dual citizenship using a transnational approach is useful, as it can incorporate the rules and regulations for movement in the contemporary world with the personal motivations and aspirations of the individual. In chapter four I explore how these subjective and emotional decisions are enabled by various delineated avenues of movement such as global business or educational arrangements and how dual citizenship status plays a role within these considerations.

The City as Context

Subjective dimensions of cultural diversity, particularly pertaining to citizenship, have to date not been extensively examined within the literature. Wimmer and Glick Schiller have suggested that social science research has tended to normalize nation building ideology through the use of "methodological nationalism" (2002: 302). In their opinion, assuming that the nation-state[6] is a natural form of social organization constructs ethnic groups within states as separate racial and cultural entities (2002: 305-306). There is no space within this framework to examine the negotiations that the citizen will undertake within a culturally diverse space that is structured in this fashion, even though the idea of a multicultural or intercultural citizen implies that he or she may hold "robust levels of

---

[6] I interpret Wimmer and Glick Schiller's use of the term 'nation-state' to refer to a sovereign entity that comprises single or multiple nationalities. Their emphasis on *nation* stems from their argument that nationalist and nation-building principles remain an important component of modern states and have not been sufficiently problematized within social research.

intercultural skills/knowledge" (Kymlicka 2003: 166). Furthermore, scholarly debate and discourses of immigration and multiculturalism in Canada as well as interculturalism[7] in Québec have tended to focus on issues of social and ethnic stratification, cultural preservation as well as the racialization of the migrant (Li 2003, Folson 2004, Prato 2009).

In this thesis I apply Foner's (2007) 'city as context' approach to the study of migration and multiculturalism to my focus on second generation dual citizenship and mobility. This approach recognizes the importance of considering the historical and political locations of a city, particularly in terms of migration waves and forms of migrant incorporation, to examine how the city provides "the conditions in which new patterns of immigration, identification, interaction and admixture are shaped" (Vertovec 2007: 970). It stems from the methodological and theoretical concern in anthropology to study urban areas from the point of view of process, and to recognize change as an intrinsic part of this process (Moore 1975). The city as context approach recognizes that "[c]reative change in the coming together of cultural diversity is the core of urban culture" (Moore 1975: 24), and that new social meanings and categories are created through inter-cultural contact.

---

[7] I wish to specify the approach that Québec takes to interculturalism, as its perspective differs from the assumption of inter-culture as an aspect of cross-cultural communication. The government of Québec defines interculturalism as a "policy or model that advocates harmonious relations between cultures based on intensive exchanges centred on an integration process that does not seek to eliminate differences". "Glossary", Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles, accessed April 11, 2011, http://www.accommodements.qc.ca/documentation/glossaire-en.html. According to Bouchard and Taylor, interculturalism seeks to promote individual rights while assuring a common civic culture and language of communication, therefore reconciling "ethnocultural diversity with the continuity of the French-speaking core and the preservation of the social link" (2008: 19). Danielle Juteau has offered an interesting conceptualization of Québec interculturalism that links cultural identity with a "national model of citizenship" (2002: 441).

I view the city in which the majority of my interlocutors were raised as a site that enabled a certain set of network relationships. In turn, these relationships helped to form notions of cultural difference and sameness, identity, mobility, and place-making. I apply the 'city of context' approach by demonstrating in chapter three how children of migrants to Montreal, who are or have considered becoming dual citizens of their parents' country of origin, came to understand and express their identities within this space. I argue that Montreal's particular linguistic and political history has made it a site that can facilitate the creation of multiple affiliations to culture and nationality through language practice. In turn, the ability to express affiliation through language shaped the manner in which larger concepts of dual citizenship and mobility were perceived by my interlocutors.

Multilingualism

Sociolinguists Pavlenko and Blackledge have written:

> ...in multilingual settings, language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors' views of their own and others' identities. Ongoing social, economic, and political changes affect these constellations, modifying identity options offered to individuals at a given moment in history and ideologies that legitimize and value particular identities more than others.
> [2004: 1-2]

Exploring issues of citizenship and mobility through multilingual language practice reflects requests made by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), Gardner and Martin-Jones (2012), Heller (2011, 2012) and other sociolinguists to apply poststructuralist and critical

theory approaches with the goal to examine how language practice and ideology

contribute to "the political, economic and cultural conditions of late modernity" (Gardner

and Martin-Jones 2012: 4). This approach links language ideology, articulation, and

practice to political power relations, social change, and social resistance (Pavlenko and

Blackledge 2004). It is also careful to place this method of inquiry within the context of

globalisation that acknowledges that heightened mobility creates complex trajectories of

social actors who hold linguistic resources (Heller 2011: 5-7). As language also remains a

marker of cultural and/or ethnic identity, Pavlenko and Blackledge incorporate a social

constructionist approach to their study of language practice to uncover how language

ideologies determine how identity is to be constructed within practice, and how linguistic

practice provides the means for identity construction and negotiation (2004: 14). In

chapter three I focus on the linguistic practice of some of the interlocutors in this thesis to

explore how it may contribute to their understanding of citizenship, mobility, and

national identity.

1.2.4 Canadian/European Dual Citizenship – Historical and Political Contexts
Southern, Central and Eastern European (CEE) Citizenship

As previously stated, the majority of the interlocutors in this study hold a second

citizenship from southern and CEE states that are also members of the EU. These states

occupy particular historical, economic, and geo-political locations within the overlapping

spheres of migration and nationality law, and I inquire into how these locations may

shape identity and the emotive quality of expressions of citizenship. The states in

question represent two particular waves of ascendance to the European Union: southern

states such as Spain, Greece and Portugal gained EU membership in the 1980's[8], while this decade has seen CEE state application to and inclusion into the EU.[9] Such waves reflect the significant economic and social divisions within Europe that the EU has been attempting to collapse through political and economic integration, which they believe will even out living standards across Europe as successive states accede to the EU and begin to participate in global capitalism. These divisions manifest themselves in varying migration patterns, from south to north and east to west, as well as in the perception of migrants and the expectations that host society members have of them. Although the EU's objective continues to be the establishment of democracy and prosperity across Europe, public discourse remains sceptical to this project (Wallace 2002), and concerns with it are increasing due to the serious effects of the economic crisis on the European population.

Scholars believe that the EU framework creates a politics of exclusion, where non-members or newer members from the south and east are perceived as "somehow less civilised and less deserving" (Wallace 2002: 622) than longer term EU member states (Hars et al. 2001; Kurti 1997). In terms of migration, downturns in the European economy have exacerbated receiving states' fears that an overwhelming influx of migrants will reduce economic opportunities for western European citizens. In Wallace's opinion, this notion is fuelled in certain states by a resistance to cultural heterogeneity that produces a "xenophobic and nationalist backlash" (2002: 618). Fassmann and Munz (1992: 476) opine that during the postwar years, migration from less developed southern,

---

[8] The exception to this is Italy, which is one of the founding members of the European Union, established in 1952.
[9] For example, the following CEE states gained European Union membership in 2004: the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, the Baltic States, , and Poland. Romania and Bulgaria acceded to the EU in 2007.

and where possible, eastern states, to economically advanced northern states was

regarded by the northern states as a temporary measure for heightened labour demands.

However, many migrants chose to settle permanently in the north, and Fassmann and

Munz argue that the current backlash stems from the states' failure over the years to

adequately deal with the challenges that come with migration, such as "the demand of

suffrage and citizenship by immigrant workers and their relatives" and the problem of

"integration of foreign-born children into their educational systems" (1992: 476).[10]

However, although each state reserves the right to structure their citizenship legislation,

the form that it is to take is embedded within EU participation. Western states are thus

unable to close their borders to the present wave of immigration from the CEE without

withdrawing from the EU. I argue that the migrant comes to embody her location within

these larger migration and economic processes to inform notions of identity and national

membership. It is therefore important to be mindful of these economic and social realities

in order to consider how they affect considerations for mobility by the second generation

who hold Canadian and EU citizenship, and what the consequences are to the ways in

which dual citizenship is viewed.

Furthermore, the position of CEE countries as former communist states also deserves

closer attention within the context of dual citizenship. It must be acknowledged that due

to their geo-political positions, these states have experienced long periods of occupation

and 'statelessness', as well as the shifting of national boundaries, which, in Liebich's

(2005) opinion, has important implications for nationality laws and citizen identity. The

---

[10] To be clear, these scholars wrote about the politics of exclusion before the 2008 Eurozone crisis; an event
that I incorporate into my analysis in this thesis. However, their comments remain pertinent within the
current context. See Fekete 2012 for an account of the rise of extremism in Europe during this current time
of austerity.

pressure for CEE states to prove their "eurocompatibility" (Liebich 2005: 5) as they join the EU tends to be juxtaposed with concerted efforts to fashion citizenship laws that redress past political injustices and highlight the importance of cultural and ethnic preservation. Indeed, Liebich argues that because of these states' priority to strengthen culture and language long threatened by communist rule, the underlying criteria of citizenship in these states is ethnicity, although this is not made explicit within the law. There thus exists a tension between the pressure to create plural citizenship laws that are in line with EU norms, and the desire to protect the fragility of statehood. This has resulted in uneven and ambiguous nationality laws that emigrants negotiate and contest in their quest to retain ties to their native state. How then does this form of politics and historical particularity inform the salience of CEE citizenship to those of the second generation? It must also be noted that in many cases, first generation dual Canadian/CEE citizens migrated before their native countries became members of the EU. What began as a national attachment in the first generation raises questions of a possible attachment to the EU in successive generations. Historical context and structural changes may therefore influence notions of citizenship, and I inquire whether the second generation has more interest in EU citizenship than in their parent's country of origin.

The Archetype of the Humble Migrant

Closer to home, the notion of the immigrant to Canada is, as in Europe, wrapped up in ideas of social position, class, and stereotypes of national and ethnic membership. The history of immigration to Canada from the 1900's onward reveals that the early waves of eastern and southern European migration before World War II were met with suspicion by the predominantly British population (Palmer 1975). These early waves did not

amount to significant immigration to Québec, which, in the interest of the preservation of the French culture, held an anti-immigration stance (Palmer 1975). With perhaps the exception of a select group of eastern Europeans (Doukhobors, Mennonites and Ukrainians) who had agricultural experience and would serve Canada well in its expansion of the west, it was feared that immigrants of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, who were poor, uneducated and did not speak English, would be unable to assimilate, and would therefore threaten Anglo-Saxon tradition and the institutions that it had built. Southern and eastern European immigrants were placed at the bottom of the Canadian social hierarchy, and discriminatory hiring practices ensured that they would remain in their designated positions (Palmer 1975).

Although this view has been transformed through time, immigration policy has adjusted to reflect new ideas of plurality as well as the recognition of the benefits of immigration for economic development, and Québec has embraced immigration for itself, the archetype of the southern and eastern European immigrant as a humble, uneducated but hard-working labourer is informed by this history. In contrast to the experience of the more affluent British, and to a certain extent, French migrants to Canada, it was viewed that it would be the successive generations of the southern and eastern European migrants who would benefit from the fruits of their parents' labour to enjoy increased prosperity and upward economic mobility. In this study I examine the vestiges of this archetype and consider how it is reflected in and transformed by the perception and use of dual citizenship by the second generation. As Bloemraad has observed that "[t]he dual national appears to be someone who is highly educated and mobile with relatively few

family ties" (2004: 392), I demonstrate that both inward and outward perceptions of the southern and eastern European migrant to Canada is changing trans-generationally.

Mobility & the European Economic Crisis

Where dual citizenship with an EU country also implies the capability of acquiring an EU passport, which in turn permits access to a variety of economic markets, it is probable that the monetary crisis has made this advantage less appealing. Indeed, recent studies have shown that net immigration levels to European Union countries have slowed since mid-2008, when the economic crisis first struck the world economy (Koehler et al. 2010). Furthermore, as 36% of Canadians who presently live abroad hold dual citizenship (Zhang 2007), depending on the economic position of the country in which they are living, these expatriates may well be considering a return to Canada or, if it is possible, a move to another EU state. In chapter six (*Considerations of the European Economic Crisis*) I examine how the global economic situation factors into the decisions of young dual nationals in regards to key decisions about their life trajectory.

I also inquire into the subjectivities that are inherent within this context. For example, in chapter six I investigate whether the European economic crisis and its negative portrayal in the media have affected parents more than their children, due to their past and continuing affiliations with their country of origin. Other questions that I attempt to answer include: Does the current crisis influence the ways in which national affiliations will be expressed to their children who hold dual citizenship? Is the crisis having an effect on the 'affective sentiment' of citizenship for the second generation? Does it affect their considerations for mobility, and if so, what are their primary concerns? There is an interesting intersection of familial relationships, national ties, and economic and mobility

considerations that are at play within the contemporary context. In chapter four I examine how young dual nationals choose to negotiate the terrain of labour and educational markets within this economic climate and how subjective reactions to it play a role in terms of affiliations and perceived opportunities.

1.3 Methodology

This thesis is part of a larger research project entitled *Coming of Age as Dual Nationals: An Anthropological Study of Belonging and Mobility among Young Canadians* by Dr. Vered Amit of Concordia University.

1.3.1 Interlocutors

The interlocutors in this study were a set of people with very individualized histories, motivations and aspirations. Six were parents whose citizenship status permitted them to bequeath their European citizenship to their children or acquire it for them when changes to nationality laws made this possible. The majority (14 out of a total 20 participants) were the children of immigrants to Canada, whom I refer to in this study as 'the second generation' or 'second generation dual citizens' where appropriate. I chose not to use the term 'second generation immigrant' as in my opinion it tends to frame immigration around national perspectives of integration and assimilation to the host society, which is not the focus in this thesis. To be clear, within the category of 'the second generation' I included the following types:

- Children born in Canada to two immigrant parents (8)
- Children born in Canada to parents where one had immigrated to Canada (4)

- Children who immigrated to Canada at a young age with their parents (2)

Within citizenship and transnational literature, the second generation is usually defined as "children who are born in the host country to two immigrant parents" (King and Christou 2009: 106). King and Christou have questioned the significance of eliminating children from this category who were born to one immigrant parent only, or of children who immigrated to the host country with their parents when they were very young. Both scenarios are significant to this thesis because they result in the possibility of dual citizenship for the second generation. In addition, if we approach this topic by way of Knop's (2001) notion of 'relational nationality', both scenarios can also create a space where particular notions of national identity, belonging and mobility are formed within family dynamics. For young immigrant children, King and Christou argue that birth in the country of origin does not preclude their inclusion in "qualitative studies" (2009: 106) that explore the subjectivities of the second generation rather than performance-oriented inquiries - "sociologically they are practically indistinguishable from the narrow definition of the second generation" (2009: 106).

The scope of the second generation in terms of dual citizenship also varies, and reflects that children of immigrants can come to acquire a second citizenship in different ways that are motivated for disparate reasons. In this study I include:

- Interlocutors who obtained dual citizenship automatically at birth by virtue of their parents' decision (5)

- Interlocutors whose parents acquired citizenship of their country of origin for them upon changes to nationality laws in that country that allowed the possession of multiple citizenships (2)

- Members of the second generation who as adults decided to acquire the citizenship of their parents' country of origin (3)

- Member of the second generation who as an adult is considering acquiring the citizenship of their parents' country of origin (1)

- Member of the second generation who as an adult decided against acquiring the citizenship of their parents' country of origin when it became available (1)

- Interlocutors who obtained dual citizenship upon naturalization in Canada at a young age and retention of their original citizenship by virtue of their parents' decisions (2)

The ages of the second generation interlocutors range from 25 to 50. This range implies that the interlocutors are at various stages of their lives, which gave me the opportunity to explore how dual citizenship can enter into consideration for key decisions such as education, employment, career, and residence at different phases of a life course. The age range also enabled me to look at how the meaning of dual citizenship may change as the context of migration and mobility changes over time. For example, Caitlin (25 years old, Canadian/Irish citizenship) is currently working and living in London, UK after having completed her graduate studies there. She is in a relationship with a Canadian expatriate and does not have children. At age 47, Marija (Canadian/Lithuanian citizenship) is married with one child and resides in Montreal, but spent over ten years living and

working in Lithuania when she was in her twenties. As my ethnography will show, Caitlin and Marija have different reflections on how dual citizenship has so far played into their lives, and how it has intersected with their interests, family relations, and social networks. While Caitlin considers other job prospects or furthering her education and muses as to how dual citizenship may influence these decisions, the context in which Marija received her Lithuanian citizenship has more solidly framed the key decisions she has made and anticipates to make in the future.

To varying degrees, the second generation interlocutors have benefitted from their parents' migration to Canada and have achieved increased prosperity and upward economic mobility. In studies of travel and movement, they would be categorized under the category of 'privileged' travellers or migrants, having a certain amount of financial, educational, linguistic, and legislative (by virtue of their dual citizenship) resources to apply when embarking on transnational mobility (see Amit 2007). Therefore, my study does not address issues of inequality and marginalization in international migration, but rather a growing form of mobility available to those with sufficient resources and human capital within an increasingly 'deterritorialized' and inter-connected global landscape.

The countries of origin of the parents of the second generation allowed me to explore how the meaning of and utility for dual citizenship may change when European citizenship implies access to not only their parents' country of origin but also to the wider EU. In addition, as the political and/or economic instability of these countries may have been important 'push factors' of migration for their parents, and as the European economic crisis that began in 2008 had particularly detrimental effects on these states, this gave me the opportunity to inquire into how economic opportunity, national loyalty,

cultural affiliation, and the archetype of the humble migrant intersect to create meaning

of dual citizenship and orientations for movement. The countries in question and the

number of interlocutors for each are:

- Italy (3 second generation, 3 first generation)

- Greece (2 second generation)

- Spain (1 second generation)

- Portugal (1 second generation, 1 first generation)

- Lithuania (1 second generation)

- Hungary (1 second generation)

- Romania (1 second generation)

- France (3 second generation, 2 first generation)

- Ireland (1 second generation)

As I was inspired by Knop's (2001) concept of 'relational nationality' as well as Olwig's

(2007) family narrative analytical approach, where possible I interviewed the parents of

my second generation interlocutors as well as first generation immigrants to Canada with

younger children. The purpose for this was to inquire into how the first generation

perceived their migration experiences and how they framed these stories for their

children. In addition, I was keen to understand their considerations for bequeathing or

acquiring dual citizenship for their children to see in which ways they influenced

attitudes toward dual citizenship and mobility in their children. For example, I came to

understand that the Risso elders considered dual citizenship to be an important form of

human capital that could provide a wider scope of opportunities for their children, but

their daughter Antonia did not see a utility for it when the acquisition of Italian citizenship became possible when she was 30 years old. A form of sustainment of and connection to a country with rich cultural roots was the primary motivation for Umberto Minotti to acquire Italian citizenship for his Canadian children, but his children prioritize the quality of their relationships with extended family in Italy as the basis for their attachment to this country. A table that summarizes the ages, origins, citizenships and current places of residence of my interlocutors can be found in Appendix I.

1.3.2 Constructing the Transnational Field Site - Recruitment

The study of transnationalism involves a shift in ethnographic focus from the field as a fixed point of geography to the conceptual idea that it is the movements, motivations and social practices of people that determine its scope (Amit 2000, Olwig and Hastrup 1997, Olwig 2007: 20-26). For this thesis, the field was constructed with a particular set of people who I identified and grouped together by virtue of the juridical status of second generation dual Canadian/European citizenship that has been inherited or acquired at a young age. As I am based in Montreal, which has a high immigrant population, I was further encouraged by Bloemraad's (2004: 418) findings demonstrating that claims of dual citizenship drawn from Canadian census samples published from 1981 to 1996 were higher in Quebec than in the rest of the country. The primary building blocks for my field were quarried from my personal network of friends, family, and work colleagues in Montreal. This is not to say that I personally knew all the interlocutors in this study, but that some members of my social network were kind enough to put me into contact with people they knew that fit the requirements for this study. I am particularly indebted to the Minotti family who were enthusiastic to share their stories with me and directed me to

eight other dual citizens (some of whom I was acquainted with) who were happy to participate as well. In total, 14 participants were gathered in this way, and six stemmed from referrals made to me by my supervisor, Dr. Vered Amit.

As a considerable number of interlocutors knew at least one or several other people in this study, and as I was acquainted with many of them as well, in general there existed a genuine willingness on the part of the interlocutors to share their stories and delve into the complexities and emotions that can surround issues of citizenship, migration, feelings of belonging, family dynamics, and hopes and aspirations. It was more of a challenge to recruit the parents and siblings of the second generation whose connection to the field that I had created was more tenuous: they did not know the other interlocutors besides their own relation and also did not know me. Upon reflection, and as will be demonstrated in my ethnography, I believe one of the important reasons for this was that considerations for migration, mobility, and experiences of settlement are often defined by intimate social and family relationships and very personal circumstances that many people would prefer to keep private. It was important that I gain the trust of all of my interlocutors and their confidence that the personal stories they shared with me would be treated with the utmost respect. I have grouped first and second generation family members together in Appendix I – Table of Participants.

The overarching theme of this study deals with the conceptions and perceptions of dual citizenship for those Canadians who have inherited this status from their parents or are considering its acquisition, and as such did not impose any risk of potential negative impacts for the participants. The principles of dual citizenship have been legally accepted in Canada since 1976, and the government respects the *jus sanguinis* laws of other states.

Dual citizenship can therefore be regarded as common practice. Nonetheless, to ensure privacy and to protect the confidentiality of the participants, in my study I replaced their names with pseudonyms.

1.3.3 Research Methods

My approach was to conduct an ethnographic, qualitative study through the collection of life history narratives and semi-structured interviews. The life history narrative method is particularly apt to the study of second generation dual citizenship because, as scholars who have utilized this method describe, a life story approach recounts geographical, social and cultural movements through time from the perspective of the individual (Bruner 1986, Langness and Frank 1981, Linde 1993, Ochs and Capps 1996, Peacock and Holland 1993, Olwig 2007). It thus reveals the "foundational narratives" (Olwig 2007: 17) that inform the individual's origins, movements, and identity. Olwig has said that using this particular approach enables the participant to reflect on her own "cultural understanding" of herself (2007: 17). A life story not only reveals the choices they have made and actions that they have taken, but also their understanding of them from their particular sociocultural standpoint (Olwig 2007 16: 20). Therefore, this method offered me a chronology of the interlocutor's movements within and outside of national boundaries, as well as insight into the types of relationships they sustained with family and formed with social associations and institutions that may have contributed to particular understandings of identity, national belonging, mobility, and citizenship. In addition, for the second generation I asked the interlocutor to begin by recounting the migration history of their parents with the goal to understand these experiences within the

"private, intersubjective context of migrants' and their descendants' lives" (Olwig 2007: 16).

In the semi-structured interview, I used the information garnered from their life history narrative to delve deeper into the key events of their lives that they considered to be important, and inquired into how they felt these events had informed their perceptions of citizenship and belonging, and shaped their orientations for their life trajectory. As dual citizenship is a category that assumes the sustainment of transnational ties (Basch et al. 1994, Faist 2000: 219, Faist 2001, Bloemraad 2004 394: 396), I spent some time inquiring about the nature of transnational connections that were (or were not) fostered by the first generation and maintained in the second generation, the way in which ties to the family's country of origin may have been sustained or discouraged within local social networks and institutions, and how these experiences may have contributed to the second generation's orientations toward mobility. In regards to dual citizenship, it was important for me to establish how the second generation categorized this status – useful, a hindrance, unimportant, important for identity and affiliation, and so on - so as to better understand how the dimensions of citizenship as outlined by Bloemraad (2000) can come to be understood through the life experiences of the dual citizen, and to explore (as suggested by Bosniak 2001-2002) the implications of multiple nationality as an emerging citizenship practice. To pursue the latter consideration, during the interview I also inquired into the second generation's perceptions of their European citizenship as a form of access to the European Union marketplace, and how current negative economic conditions may have influenced their plans for movement and their sense of affiliation to their family's country of origin.

Most of my interlocutors were based in Montreal, and the majority of these interviews took place in person at various venues – the homes or offices of my interlocutors, public parks, restaurants, and at Concordia University. It was inconvenient for two Montreal-area based interlocutors to meet in person due to distance and time restraints, and these interviews were conducted over the phone. In addition, three interlocutors were living in Europe at the time of my fieldwork. Two of these interviews also took place by telephone and one was conducted via Skype. During most of the interviews only I and one interlocutor were present. The exceptions were: Carla Risso and her daughter Antonia, who I interviewed together, and Julia Szabo, who I interviewed in the presence of two other interlocutors with whom she was close friends. The length of the interviews varied considerably between 45 minutes to 2.5 hours, and I estimate the average length to be approximately 1 hour 15 minutes. I contacted some of the interlocutors a second time by telephone or electronic correspondence in order to get clarification of some aspects of their interview or to ask further questions about areas that had not been previously covered. The interviews were conducted in English or French, whichever language the interlocutor felt most comfortable speaking. I provided the written translation for the French interview excerpts in this thesis. For purposes of clarity, excerpts from an interview with one interlocutor that are grouped together in a paragraph or section are referenced at the first excerpt. Sections that include excerpts from two or more different interviews are referenced individually.

1.4 Thesis Outline

The ethnographic chapters in this thesis explore the concept of second generation dual citizenship through several perspectives. In chapter two, *Affiliation, Access, and Aegis - The Meaning & Utility of Dual Citizenship*, I examine how meaning of dual citizenship can emerge from the nature and quality of the intimate relationships fostered within the family and various social networks and groupings. I attempt to contextualize these meanings with the more pragmatic aspects of citizenship, and inquire into the ways in which dual citizenship is viewed by the interlocutors within the contemporary framework of globalising economic, legal and political systems.

I bring the focus back to a local context in the third chapter, *Place, Context, and Language*, to explore how the meaning of dual citizenship for the second generation can be informed by the ways in which they and their parents choose to negotiate the social environment in which the family has settled. As the majority of my interlocutors are from Montreal, I examine their orientations and movements through the particular cultural, political, and particularly, linguistic boundaries of this culturally diverse space. I demonstrate that the foundations for the choices made regarding social interaction and affiliation are built on the family's migration history, their particular circumstances of reception and settlement, as well as their personal aspirations. I argue that the process of negotiation creates a particular form of social and linguistic practice that informs multiplicity of identity and affiliation and the capacity for adaptation and mobility.

The relationship between mobility and second generation Canadian/European dual citizenship is explored in chapter four, *Mobility within Inherited Dual Citizenship*, to inquire whether this status can encourage similar transnational movements as those

performed by the first generation, or whether it inspires new forms of mobility. I demonstrate the importance of inquiring into the more subjective and elusive dimensions that lie behind decisions to undertake mobility. I show that mobility can be prompted by the desire for self-fulfillment and place-making at a particular stage of a life course, and that these desires must be considered alongside other subjective factors such as family obligations, personal relationships and serendipitous encounters. That mobility has become an avenue for the formation of self-hood for the second generation is partly due to the 'deterritorialization'(Basch et al. 1994) of states and to the expansion of a global knowledge-based economy. However, it is the motivations of the second generation combined with the resources they have accumulated to negotiate a transnational terrain that makes mobility possible.

Chapter five, *A View of Canadian/Central and Eastern European (CEE) Citizenship,* explores dual citizenship through the perspectives of second generation Canadians who also hold citizenship from former Soviet bloc states. I chose to present these narratives separately because the circumstances of migration from communist states undertaken by my interlocutors and their families revealed particular symbolic and emotional meanings of citizenship that also influenced considerations for mobility. As previously explained, the concept of dual citizenship incorporates national and post-national perspectives. In this chapter, I lean toward the former to examine the significance of the relationship between the citizen and the state, how this relationship can shape migration and settlement experiences, and how it can inform orientations for mobility for the second generation.

Chapter 6, *Considerations of the European Economic Crisis*, is dedicated to considerations of the 2008 Eurozone financial crash and how this turn of events may shape orientations for mobility to the EU marketplace and notions of affiliation and membership with a family's European country of origin. It emphasizes how the second generation, whose home base is Canada, is negotiating an economic landscape that is opposite to the circumstances of migration of their parents. I therefore explore how the first generation interprets the current crisis and how these interpretations may be changing the way in which they view the meaning and utility of their children's dual citizenship status. For the second generation, I am also keen to understand if the crisis and the way in which their family's country of origin has managed this event have revised their notions of national affiliation, and in what ways it may influence their considerations for mobility.

Chapter 2 – Affiliation, Access & Aegis -The Meaning and Utility of Dual Citizenship

2.1 Introduction

State citizenship is a very broad concept, symbolizing a complex mix of legal, political and cultural relationships between the body politic and the authority. First of all, it represents a form of legal recognition of a citizen's affiliation to a state, and it establishes the respective rights and obligations of both citizen and state. Secondly, citizenship laws are formulated against a backdrop of historical geo-political processes that are particular to the state, and thus approaches to membership regulation vary across territorial boundaries. In addition, the increase in recognition or tolerance of dual citizenship among western states stems from their need to reconcile the desire to regulate transnational migrant flows with the creation of international legal standards by supra-state institutions such as the EU and the UN (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2001). Thirdly, state citizenship also encompasses the idea of cultural and filial ties to a nation, and thus plays a role in the formation of national identity among citizens. These legal, political and cultural relationships overlap and inform the symbolic and utilitarian value of citizenship. In this ethnographic chapter, I explore what these various relationships imply for the citizen who has inherited a second citizenship, or for families or individuals who are in the process of considering asserting their right to acquire the citizenship bequeathed to them by migrant parents or grandparents. I attempt to understand how these symbolic values are perceived by the individual who formally holds citizenship of a state, but whose actual participation in this state may be limited or nonexistent. In addition, I examine the perception of the

utility of dual citizenship for the second generation within an increasingly inter-connected and transnational world.

2.2 The Nature of Affiliation – Family Dynamics, Social Environments, Physical Locales

Transnational literature acknowledges that dual citizenship fosters and maintains some form of relationship with the country of origin, whether through social, familial or economic ties (Basch et al. 1994, Faist 2000: 219, Faist 2001, Bloemraad 2004 394: 396). In this section I would like to go beyond these generalizations to examine what interlocutors referenced when they spoke of the nature of their ties to their family's native state. Their narratives reveal an interesting and complex dialectic occurring between some very personal connections and lived relationships - with family, social networks and associations, neighbourhoods, and locales - and how they viewed the broader categories of identity, nationality and citizenship. Many of these relationships were rooted in the migration and settlement experience of the family, but were also interpreted in particular ways as individual family members came of age and embarked on their own life trajectories.

2.2.1 My father is (in) Portugal

Catia is a petite, dynamic woman in her early thirties who runs a successful and expanding business within the fitness industry in Montreal. Her mother, Lara, migrated to Canada from the Azores (autonomous region of Portugal) in the 1960s at the age of two with Catia's grandparents. Catia's father is also Azorean, and migrated to Montreal on his own as a young adult. Her parents married at a very young age; her mother was 16 years

old and her father was 19. Her family narrative reveals an important set of circumstances that has shaped her life in a particular way. As Catia understands, "*Mon père…techniquement…il a marié ma mère à l'âge de 19 ans pour rester dans le pays.* [My father…technically…he married my mother at the age of 19 to stay in the country.]" (Catia Alba, personal interview, July 11, 2012).

In some ways, Catia's family history follows the archetypal narrative of humble, uneducated but hard-working southern European immigrants who migrate to North America in search of better opportunities for themselves and for their children. Catia's maternal grandparents, who were labourers, had the joy of watching their daughter and son-in-law thrive in the new country. Catia's father also exemplified a basic tenet of transnationalism by taking advantage of border-crossing social and economic ties to build a viable import-export company that conducted business in Canada and the Azores. However, the archetypal narrative fell apart when a large business endeavour initiated by Catia's father failed, causing him and other members of the Portuguese "community"[11] to lose their considerable investments. "*Il avait un bon nom dans la communauté portugaise, mon père. Puis là, ils ont vu qu'il a volé leur argent, parce qu'il a tout mis, des millions de dollars, en essayant d'ouvrir cette compagnie. Mais ça n'a pas fonctionné.* [My father, he was well regarded within the Portuguese community. And then, they saw that he had stolen their money, because he put everything, millions of dollars, into starting this company. But it didn't work.]" Later on in our conversation, Catia clarified that she does not believe that her father's intention was to take advantage

---

[11] Throughout her narrative Catia uses the term 'community' either as an overall categorical referent or to refer to sets of people with whom she or her family was associated in various ways. I will use the word within quotes to identify that I am referring to Catia's use of the term. In this case, Catia uses the term 'Portuguese community' to refer to the network of ethnically demarcated business and social relationships fostered by her parents.

of his investors; it was a risky business venture that simply did not succeed. But among some Montrealers of Portuguese origin, it was regarded as theft.

Subsequently, Catia's father left Canada and returned permanently to the Azores, leaving his wife Lara responsible for a $2.5 million debt. At the age of nine, Catia was witness to her mother's subsequent struggles. Lara was ostracized from the Portuguese social networks to which she had previously been a member. She was obliged to declare bankruptcy, worked in janitorial services at night to support her two children, and attended school during the day to complete the education that had been interrupted by her marriage at such a young age. Catia's grandparents were limited in the financial aid that they could offer her mother. "… *ma grand-mère faisait salaire minimum, mon grand-père faisait salaire minimum.* [my grandmother earned the minimum wage, my grandfather earned the minimum wage.] "

The financial difficulties that Lara experienced and the determination that she demonstrated to overcome these challenges greatly influenced Catia's life trajectory. Catia began working part-time at the age of 16 to not only treat herself to the 'extras' that her mother and grandparents could not provide, but also with the aim of saving money for her education and the future. "*Alors si je [voulais] des affaires puis sauver de l'argent, puis payer mon éducation, c'était à moi à le payer.* [So if I wanted things and [wanted] to save money, and pay for my education, it was up to me to pay for it.]" She was quite strategic about the work that she chose, parlaying her interest in sport into jobs as a judo instructor, aerobics teacher and private pilates instructor. This form of work, for which she was obligated to spend time and money in order to become certified, earned her a good salary and was flexible enough to fit around her school schedule. "*Au même temps*

que j'étudiais, je travaillais toujours 25 à 30 heures dispersées dans ma semaine. [At the same time that I was studying, I always worked 25 to 30 hours dispersed throughout my week.]"

The choice to foster a career during her teenage years reflects the strong work ethic and drive instilled by her parents and grandparents. Catia told me that she was influenced by the way that her grandparents worked diligently and were always careful with their earnings. "*Donc j'ai un p'tit peu le coté européen de payer cash, de ne pas trop s'endetter.* [So I have a little bit of the European tendency to [always] pay cash, to not get into too much debt.]" As she continued her education, the choices that she made were primarily determined by her interests in sport and health sciences. However, family dynamics also played a role, as at the age of 17 she decided to leave home to attend college in a Quebec town that was some distance from Montreal, and later a university in the United States:

Catia *: Mais honnêtement, j'ai parti, j'ai parti au CEGEP _____ parce que je ne voulais pas être dans l'environnement immigrant trop longtemps.*

But honestly, I left, I left and went to CEGEP _____ because I didn't want to be in an immigrant environment for too long.

Mona *: Explique-moi un petit peu ça.*

Explain that to me a little bit.

Catia *: Donc, église catholique, tous les samedis. [Et] parce que ma mère était divorcée, ma grand-mère la accoquinait, disait « t'es encore mariée, tu n'as pas le droit de sortir avec des hommes » et tout ça. Et bien sur, ma mère,*

en étant mariée à 16 ans, puis divorceé à 32, elle n'a pas eu d'enfance. Donc,
j'étais tanneé d'être un petit peu l'adulte. Alors je voulais partir. Puis c'était
la meilleure façon de partir pour l'école, avec une bourse, avec cette excuse-
là. C'était 'légit', légal, ils n'ont pas dit de questions, ils ont signs, parce que
j'avais moins de 18 ans. J'ai parti et je voulais cette expérience-là.

So, the Catholic Church, every Saturday. [And] because my mother was
divorced, my grandmother would continue to associate her with my father,
saying "You're still married, you don't have the right to go out with other
men", and things like that. And of course, my mother, as she was married at
16, and divorced at 32, she didn't have a childhood. So I was a little fed up of
being the adult. So I wanted to leave. And it's the best way, to leave for
school with a scholarship, with that excuse. It was 'legit', legal, they didn't
ask any questions, they signed, because I was under 18. I left, and I wanted to
have that experience.

When Catia speaks of distancing herself from the "*environnement immigrant* [immigrant
environment]", she is actually referring to a set of family expectations of religious
obligations and correct social behaviour established and defined by her maternal
grandmother. Her grandmother believed that there were certain gendered or family roles
that needed to be respected, and much tension arose within the family as her mother
struggled to move away from these expectations. Catia associated these roles defined by
her grandmother with Portuguese cultural values and behaviour, and did not want to
participate in them nor involve herself in the family disagreements that resulted from
their contestation. It is possible that Catia's grandmother was attempting to rectify the

family's situation by insisting on what she identified as traditional behaviour in order to demonstrate to their social networks how, despite the scandal, they remained respectable people of Portuguese descent.

In her study of migratory Caribbean family networks, Olwig observed that "[f]amilies not only provide a link to a distant place of origin; they also constitute a context of intimate interpersonal relations where life experiences are shared, discussed, and interpreted – and reinterpreted in the light of actually lived lives" (2007: 281). They can also be contested, and Catia's choice to leave home was very much prompted by the context of the family relations in which she was immersed, and which she related to the wider social environment with which her family was associated. Today, although she remains very close to her family, she says that she has maintained that distance from the Portuguese "community"[12] in Montreal.

Catia is uncertain why her parents, as dual citizens, did not acquire Portuguese citizenship for herself or her younger brother when they were born. However, she does point out that the push factors for migration made it such that her grandparents' and father's moves were based on the desire to move away from the poverty and class structure of the Azores. Her grandparents felt that they had no way to improve their way of life in an economically depressed area:

> *[Ils sont venus] par la nécessité. Ils n'avaient pas de terrain, tu ne pouvais*
>
> *pas acheter des propriétés, ils n'avaient pas d'opportunités. Ils ont pris le*
>
> *voyage sur un bateau de deux mois, imagine, pour s'en venir ici… les Açores*

---

[12] Here Catia uses the broader term 'community' as a categorical expression, framed by nationality, to refer to a particular set of relationships and associations with which she no longer identifies.

telles quelles, les îles, c'était déjà très pauvre. C'était les riches, riches,

riches, ou les pauvres, pauvres, pauvres. Puis eux autres ils venaient…ils

n'avaient même pas de terrain. Alors quand ils sont venus ici, ils sont venus

pour l'opportunité.

They came out of necessity. They had no land, you couldn't buy property,

they had no opportunities. They travelled by boat for two months, imagine, to

come here…the Azores, as they were, it was already very poor. It was [either]

the rich, rich, rich, or the poor, poor, poor. And they were coming…they

didn't even own any land. So when they came here, they came for

opportunity.

It is possible that Catia's family did not imagine that future generations would benefit

from any sort of legitimate ties to their native state. It must also be noted however that

Portuguese citizenship legislation is quite liberal and the state encourages their "ethnic

descendants…who are citizens of other countries, to maintain their original citizenship"

(Howard 2005: 708). Citizenship, should their children desire it, would not be

problematic to obtain. It is clear though that active links to the Azores have been severed

with Catia's father's resettlement there. No other members of the family have returned,

and Catia has had no direct contact with her father since his departure:

Ma grand-mère, depuis le divorce, elle n'a pas retourné non plus. Parce qu'il

est là. Il est en Açores, et il est quand-même bien vu. Il est en politique, il est

engagé dans la communauté.

My grandmother, since the divorce, she hasn't returned as well. Because he is there. He is in the Azores, and all the same, he is well regarded. He is in politics, he's engaged in the community.

I have suggested that for Catia's family, the push factors for migration may have influenced the quality of ties that were retained with the native state. However, their history of family relations is an even more significant factor that has framed the relationship with the native state for all three generations. The memory of her father's departure, the pain that it caused for the family and its social ramifications all contribute to the meanings that Catia attaches to Portuguese citizenship. For Catia, her father's presence in the Azores prohibits any form of filial attachment that this status may offer her, due in part to feelings of loyalty and obligation to her mother and grandmother. As her father is a political figure, the family perceives that he has fostered an extended network of relationships[13] within her family's hometown in the Azores. Catia's family has severed their attachments to their place of origin as they have no desire to be present within an environment where they estimate her father has attained a certain status. As she explained, "*Ma mère... Elle ne veut pas nécessairement se mêler de ses affaires.* [My mother… She does not want to [be in a position to] get involved in his affairs.]"

However, as I have explained in the introduction to this chapter, state citizenship encompasses legal, political and social subtexts that all work to shape its meaning. Catia is very much aware that Portuguese citizenship would enable privileged access to the member states of the European Union. She is interested in capitalizing on this potential access to broader markets for investment purposes. "*Parce que quand tu as un passeport*

---

[13] Catia refers to this network as a 'community'.

européen… c'est plus facile d'acheter la propriété. Puis il y en a de la propriété, en ce moment, à pas cher. C'est le petit côté investisseur dans moi qui regarde ça. [Because when you have a European passport, it's easier to buy property. And at this present moment, there is a lot of property [available] that is not expensive. It's the investor side of me that is considering this.]" She also realizes its utility as a tool to expand options and opportunities for her future children. She considers that European citizenship would expand the horizons available to her children by exposing them to multiple cultures and languages. With European citizenship, they could "*visiter les maximum de places et trouver ce qu'ils veulent.* [visit the maximum number of places and find what they want.]" But her feelings of loyalty and obligation toward her mother have until this point prevented her from initiating any discussion in regards to acquiring this citizenship:

> *…parce que ma mère, veut, veut pas, a été blessée par mon père… tu sais, c'est ma mère qui a pris soin de moi….ça ne me tentait pas.*

> …because my mother, whether you like it or not, was hurt by my father…you know, it's my mother who took care of me….I wasn't willing [to pursue it].

Catia's relationship to her family's native state has been significantly shaped by the interpersonal relationships within her family. As she explained her reasons for not pursuing dual citizenship, it seemed that she was substituting the obligations that citizenship to Portugal would signify with the obligations that she feels toward her maternal family. Having state citizenship means that both the state and the individual have certain obligations that they must meet. Being a family member implies certain reciprocal obligations as well. For Catia, legitimizing her Portuguese citizenship is

wrapped up in acknowledging and legitimizing her relationship with her father, a difficult

process due to the circumstances of the rupture in the family. Dual citizenship for Catia

would signify a division of family loyalties. Consequently, the absence of filial

attachments to the Azores has oriented her understanding of Portuguese citizenship to its

utilitarian value that has been facilitated by supra-state and international regulations. To

Catia, dual citizenship has come to represent an expansion of possibilities and choices for

economic mobility. She also considers it as a useful tool for her future children to have as

they embark on their own life trajectories; an opportunity to expand social and cultural

knowledge beyond national boundaries.

2.2.2 "My uncle wants to take our land"

Christos' family history of migration is similar to Catia's in that his parents, Theo and

Saba Pappas, are also from humble southern European origins, and also left their

homelands in search of economic opportunity. However, their story also differs as their

departure from Greece was not centered on a conscious decision to settle permanently in

Canada. Settlement came about as the result of happenstance and serendipitous

encounters that prompted both his mother and father to make particular choices that

would center their lives in Montreal. Saba arrived in the early 1970s at the age of 18 with

the intention of taking advantage of the employment opportunities in the garment

industry in Montreal for a couple of years. Christos explained that Saba had arrived with

other like-minded friends and the group was aided and supported by a network of friends

and acquaintances that had settled here or also engaged in temporary transnational work.

His father's arrival during the same time period was prompted by a spontaneous decision:

…my dad, initially he worked with his brother on a ship. He didn't like

working on the ship so when that ship landed in Canada, here in Montreal, he

jumped ship, and went to the immigration…Apparently it was a lot easier to

go to, for immigration to…. "Look, how can I stay here? How can I stay here

officially?" They said "Look, if you can get a job, you can stay here. And, he

went to some restaurant owner and said, "Look, I just need a place and food. I

don't need money." And, he was able to get a job because of that, showed

that he had a job to immigration, and was able to stay. (Christos Pappas,

personal interview, May 16, 2012)

Christos' parents frequented the same social circles in Montreal. They met, married and

decided to make their lives here. Similarly to Catia's parents, Theo and Saba became

naturalized Canadian citizens but also retained their native nationality. They also did not

bequeath their Greek citizenship to their four children at birth. As I earlier noted in

respect to Catia's parents, it is possible that acquiring Greek citizenship for their children

was not perceived by Theo and Saba as an urgent necessity, due to their decision to

remain in Canada for the opportunities it would offer the family, and due to the ease with

which their children could acquire it for themselves.[14] Christos remembers that while he

was growing up, Greek cultural and religious traditions were very much part of family

---

[14] Vogli (2011) explains that Greek citizenship laws are framed by Hellenistic notions of an expanded and exclusive nationalism that is extended to all members of the Greek diaspora. Greek citizenship can be inherited by children born outside the boundaries of the state, whether the parents continue to hold Greek citizenship or not. Grandchildren of Greeks born outside of the state may also gain citizenship after a short period of naturalization. This of course implies that such people may come to hold two citizenships, but the Hellenistic principle of cultural wholeness is revealed in the policy of not officially recognizing dual citizenship. Interestingly, the laws also state that ethnic Greeks who are stateless or of unknown nationality may be recognized as Greek nationals *if they behave as Greeks.*

life, and his parents were considerably involved in the Greek "community"[15]. As a youth, Christos' own social circle and friendship networks were fostered within the English language school system that was frequented by children from multiple cultural heritages. This created a tension between himself and his mother that Christos describes as follows:

> … myself, having grown up in a very public school, where all my friends are not just Greek, there could be so many backgrounds, I never felt…I never really saw myself the need to be part of the Greek community. For me, my community was being part of…my friends, who were…from school. Which also was a bit of a divide, sometimes, with my mom. She would ask, "Who are they, what background are they?" And I would go, "I don't know", because it was never a question that I thought of, right?

As her children began to grow up Saba expected her children to embrace a set of cultural values that she, and perhaps other members of her "community", deemed to be important. Christos' frame of reference here for the Greek community also seems to refer to a generational grouping with particular values to which he did not adhere: "She wanted me to marry someone who was Greek and Orthodox within the community…and…part of it was to keep within the community, right? I told her, 'That doesn't make sense, what if I care about someone else who is not Greek?' I would have arguments on this level." These forms of tension and conflict contributed to shaping Christos' ideas of both group belonging and national affiliation. His resistance to participation in a "community" that

---

[15] Christos seems to encompass many elements within the term 'community' as he uses it here. He is using it as a national or cultural categorical term to describe varying sets of people that his parents socialized with at various points in time. These people could include personal friendship networks, larger groupings at cultural events, and other members of the religious institution that his parents frequented.

was defined in ethnic and national terms signalled his refusal to be labelled by these classifications:

> It's not necessarily my community. I view my community as the people who I grew up with. My friends, and who I consider family. Not to say that I don't see a value of the Greek community being there in a sense…for the Greek members. I recognize that aspect. I mean, I'll still go to some of the events because … it's still part of my life that I grew up with. But it's not something that I would have to go out of my way and check out or be part of. So yeah, it's not…I see myself being more Canadian than being Greek.

Christos explains that as the first-born child he experienced more resistance from his mother to expanding his social network beyond local social networks of Greek origin than did his younger siblings. As his parents were still gaining an economic foothold when he was young, he also experienced more uprooting and having to say goodbye to friends as his parents moved from the inner city of Montreal to the south shore, and then finally to Laval. This seems to have had an effect on the importance he places on finding a place for himself where he is accepted and belongs. When speaking of his family's frequent moves when he was a child, Christos characterizes them in terms of loss:

> For me it was more about…losing all my friends that I had established and going to a completely strange school that I don't know who any of them are…I started learning not to be as attached to people, in some ways. Maybe I didn't realize it at the time, but it's just one of those…my first experience of, oh, people aren't always going to be around you.

In addition, when the family moved to Laval his siblings were enrolled in Greek elementary school while Christos remained in the English language system. The result was that his siblings' social networks were more ethnically Greek than his own, and they also gained stronger Greek language skills. Christos purposefully resisted the group boundaries and the collective identity defined by his family as well as by members of the Greek "community"[16], and favoured the cultural diversity of his own social group that was formed on the basis of common interests rather than ethnicity:

> I disassociated myself publicly [from the Greek community] with my friends. I wasn't…part of the Greek community, because…the majority of my friends that I used to hang out with were part of the geek crowd…were the ones that studied, were part of the nerds, so I didn't even fit in any of the other communities that were part of….like, the Greek communities in school were part of the macho crowd, and I didn't fit that macho crowd. So, there was another disassociation from the Greek community because I didn't like the attitudes, 'Oh we're it. We're in power'. But then I have all my other friends who are not Greek, and so I didn't see myself relating on that level.

Theo and Saba Pappas have sustained familial and material ties to Greece, the latter most notably in the form of land ownership on both sides of the family. Both received parcels of land through inheritance. The partition of land among children of deceased landowners is a cultural practice that is common to rural Greece.[17] Although the legal and cultural rules framing the division of inherited land among first generation descendants are

---

[16] Here Christos uses this term to describe a set of people of his own generation who within their social grouping affirmed their Greek ethnicity.
[17] See Herzfeld 1980 for a view of some of the regional variations of this practice and their socio-cultural significance.

formed with the intent of avoiding fraternal disputes, Herzfeld observes that this process "is often marked by tension, mutual distrust, and occasional violence" (1980: 91). Within the Pappas family, the subject of Greek citizenship for their children has come to the forefront because of the tension and distrust that has formed around the question of land inheritance to which Saba is entitled. Because no Pappas family members are present in Greece, Saba is worried that one of her brothers is attempting to appropriate the land for himself:

> I don't know if I mentioned about the squatter rules….because my parents
> own land, and it's one of the reasons why we got our citizenship…it's
> that……if you have land there but you don't visit it or take care of it, any of
> the relatives that go there and live off the land can take the land afterwards…
> there has been some attempt of my mom's siblings to take other siblings'
> land. …there have been some attempts to sneakily obtain land unethically.

Saba's land includes some olive groves, and in the past her siblings have cultivated the olives and have produced oil that was shared among all family members. The Pappas family enjoyed receiving their shipment of products on a yearly basis, but this has now stopped. "It's almost like, because we're not here, they don't really care in that sense, or that we're not going to make a big deal…which is one of the reasons why we're thinking maybe we should really push forward with this [with the process to acquire citizenship]". Under Greek law, if property is left unattended for a period of over 20 years, 'trespassers' have the right to lay a claim on it if the proper deed papers have not been filed.[18] Saba

---

[18] CTV News, May 12, 2012. http://www.ctvnews.ca/greek-canadians-struggle-over-selling-their-homeland-property-1.809015.

wishes to secure her property for her children. The family understands that it will be more difficult to dispute their claim to the property if the inheritors are Greek citizens as well.

The distance that Christos felt between his Greek heritage and his family when he was younger has been reduced by the process of acquiring Greek citizenship. "…they wanted me to be part of it too…So it's become a very family oriented event for us. Because we did the citizenship all together, all the papers together." Within their own nuclear family, the Pappas' do not wish to recreate the distrust that they feel toward some family members in Greece. "…all my siblings want my feedback on what direction they want to go with the property. Because they don't want any hassles or any misconceptions. So they really felt I should be included, part of this. Which I feel happy about, because it makes me feel part of the family too." For Christos, acquiring Greek citizenship has a utilitarian value in that it is part of a process to assert his birthright, but it has also had an important affect on family relations. At the age of 37, Christos now acknowledges his Greek heritage, but is also certain that Greek citizenship will have no effect on his national identity that he continues to define as Canadian. What it does do is fulfill family obligations. It is also a way to confirm to Saba that her children still value a tangible connection with Greece. "Because a factor is also that we're doing this for my mom. Because, yeah, we want to make her happy too."

2.2.3 "My family don't want me to live in Greece"

Talia had been in Montreal for a little over a month when we met for our interview. She is a Montreal-born Canadian/Greek citizen who made the decision twelve years ago to settle permanently in the small Greek town where she had lived when she was younger,

and where her parents had also grown up. She was in Montreal to visit her sister and parents over the summer period and had taken a part time job as well. Talia's mother, Eleni, had migrated as a child from Greece to Montreal with her parents. Eleni met her future husband while on holiday in Greece; after they married they settled in Canada. In 1980 when their daughter Talia was five, Eleni and Ciro Kefalas moved the family back to their hometown in Greece for a year. The family returned to Greece once again for six years when Talia was twelve. The Kefalas family therefore maintained significant familial and economic ties to their country of origin throughout Talia's childhood. Interestingly, similar to the Pappas family, Talia's parents did not bequeath dual citizenship to their children at birth. This fact calls again to mind the Hellenistic principles that frame citizenship for the Greek diaspora.[19] As dual citizens, her parents were able to practise a form of livelihood that crossed state borders and encompassed the full range of social and economic opportunities available to them. She is uncertain as to exactly why these moves were made, but characterizes them in terms of family ties:

> Talia: Well, their parents were there, and I guess they had decided to be
>
> closer to their parents. And they had a home there too, so they were able to
>
> go. And because I know my grandfather needed help with his business, so
>
> maybe my dad was also taking that into consideration.
>
> Mona: What kind of business was it?

---

[19] As previously explained, Greek citizenship laws are framed by Hellenistic notions of an expanded and exclusive nationalism, and thus acquisition of Greek citizenship by the second and third generation is allowed (Vogli 2011). It can be inherited by children born outside the boundaries of the state, even if the parents no longer hold Greek citizenship. Grandchildren born outside of the state may also gain citizenship after a short period of naturalization. This of course implies that such people may come to hold two citizenships, but the Hellenistic principle of cultural wholeness is revealed in the policy of not officially recognizing dual citizenship.

Talia: It was a flower shop. And it was the only one in the city. So it was

really busy. (Talia Kefalas, personal interview, July 9, 2012)

At the same time, Ciro worked in the local fur industry as he had before immigrating to

Canada. Movement across state borders is often framed as a search for better economic

opportunity, and I assumed that her parents' subsequent returns to Canada were made for

that reason. But once again, Talia also highlights the familial considerations that were

involved in this movement:

> I think because when we would go back to Greece, and my dad was always
>
> asked to go back to help with the business, that they would always clash. So,
>
> he didn't want to stay, I guess? The salaries are a lot better here [in Canada],
>
> too. That's a big difference.

In between their periods of residence in Greece, the Kefalas family holidayed there often

as well. Talia remembers she did not enjoy being in Greece when she was very young.

"Because the country looked so old compared to Canada, I mean, the streets weren't

paved, you know! The children looked different, people had their mentality, there were

only two channels on TV. So it was very hard for me before the age of twelve." Her

perception changed during her second period of residence there. During her adolescence

she developed a strong social and friendship network, and recalls that she held a

favourable position within these circles due to the linguistic knowledge she had gained

because of her transnational lifestyle:

> When we moved there, and I had to fit in, I realized that it wasn't so bad. I
>
> had all this freedom, I was able to spend all day outside with my friends…and

then I grew to love it. Because I was different, I was the most popular kid in school. It was like the complete opposite of here! You know what I mean? I was the only kid that could speak three different languages [English, French and Greek], the teachers would ask me to translate documents, I'm serious! So it was just a huge difference, and it's like whoa, this could be beneficial in the future, yeah!

Talia returned to Montreal with her family at the age of 17 and completed high school and college. During this time, she envisioned an eventual move back to Greece after she had completed her education. "[When I was in Greece]… I just loved it so much. It was so beautiful. And I had really fond memories of it". Her life in Canada became very busy as she worked full time as an office manager during the day, "at an incredibly stressful job", and also attended university in the evening. In addition, she had also undertaken important financial obligations by purchasing a home in which she lived with her parents and younger sister.

Recognizing that she was "depressed" and "unhappy", and comparing her heavy workload with the less stressful lives that her friends in Greece were leading, Talia decided to quit her job, put her university education on hold, and fulfill her desire to re-orient her life toward Greece. "I was going for [a] holiday, hoping to get a job to stay. I had no idea what the procedure would be for me to stay there. I just left." Her lack of Greek citizenship seemed to her a minor technicality that had no bearing on her eligibility for membership in Greek society; living there as a child and sustaining important family and friendship ties made her a member. Indeed, Talia did not have any problems securing work, without a work visa and without her citizenship. She applied for her citizenship

papers when it was clear to her that she would stay, and tells me that it was to facilitate the negotiation of the administrative bureaucracy, "Because you have to have an ID card there to do anything."

Talia's decision to take advantage of the transnational spaces available to her in her search for a lifestyle and livelihood suitable for herself echoes the movements and decisions that her parents had also made. However, her parents were very unhappy with her decision as their wish was to keep the family unit intact:

> Before I left, they were sabotaging my leaving! And I had to tell them that I
> was going on vacation and actually get a return ticket just to prove them that,
> 'I'm only going to go for four months. Stop complaining.' And then I told
> them over the phone, which is not what I wanted to do, but I had no choice.
> And I would hear the 'you abandoned us' speech. But I was OK with it
> because I really wanted to make that change in my life.

Talia recognizes that she has a stronger "affective sentiment" (Bloemraad 2000: 12) towards Greece than Canada, but also notes that being Canadian remains an important component of her identity. She reveals that affective elements of national identity can be formed within particular circumstance and can change over time. At the time of her move, she related her unhappy feelings about her situation to the Canadian social context in which she was residing before her departure; an environment where her lifestyle was restrictive and overwhelmingly stressful, while a move to Greece afforded possibilities for a more enjoyable lifestyle. "I had taken on so much at such a young age, which I think I connected it with Canada. You know, at 22 I had a mortgage, I was working as an

office manager, having no life. Why? So that was my idea, and my association with Canada. Canada is negative, it's all bad, it's too much, [I was] too young…I'm older [now], so I see things differently, and I know better." Interestingly, Talia's current movements between Greece and Canada resemble the transnational mobility performed by her parents when they were younger: in recent years she has worked during her visits to Canada in order to supplement the loss in revenue she and her husband are experiencing in Greece due to the economic crisis. This aspect of Talia's life will be explored in chapter six.

2.3 Access- Exploring Practicality

As mentioned in my introduction to this thesis, Faist has opined that the "main purpose" of dual citizenship "is to acknowledge the symbolic ties reaching back to the countries of origin" (2000: 219). However, when speaking with my interlocutors, this sentiment was expressed less frequently than I imagined it would be, by both first generation immigrants as well as their children. When it was expressed, it tended to be within families where only one parent held a second citizenship that could be passed on to their children. Even so, those that did identify citizenship as a form of confirmation of identity and affiliation, "to know your roots and where you come from" (Vanessa Lozeau, personal interview, July 4, 2012) as Vanessa, a second generation dual Canadian/French citizen told me, always married this notion with pragmatic legal and political aspects. The interlocutors in my study were aware, albeit to different degrees, of the instrumental elements of their second citizenship and its ability to facilitate the negotiation of extended geo-political spaces. As previously mentioned, Talia's reasons for acquiring her Greek citizenship was to eliminate any bureaucratic limitations that would be applied to non-citizens: "…it

would be just so much easier if I had the Greek one… So that's why I did it." (Talia Kefalas, personal interview, July 9, 2012) 'Practical' was an adjective that interlocutors often used to characterize their dual citizenship, and they explained that it gave them not only access to their family's native state, but to other EU states as well. It tended to be understood within the contemporary context of globalisation and world capitalism. While it did not determine the key choices that they would make in their lives, dual citizenship legitimised their access to multiple spaces and expanded their considerations for mobility.

2.3.1 The Passport

The terms 'citizenship' and 'passport' were at times used interchangeably by some of my interlocutors. When I asked Marco if his Italian citizenship reinforced his ties to his parents' country of origin, he replied by referring to the fact that he did not have an Italian passport:

> *Non, pour moi, ça c'est plus une option que d'autres choses. Mais je n'ai pas une fierté….peut-être que, si un jour j'avais mon passeport, et je commençais à faire étamper plus mon passeport Européen que mon passeport Canadien, peut-être que ça, ça ferait une petite affaire qui ferait changer….Non, je n'y pense pas…je pense mes liens c'est plus mes souvenirs qu'ils les font, mes rapports avec les gens de là-bas, que j'entretiens des fois bien, des fois très mal [rire] …Mais non, ça c'est juste une question administrative, honnêtement. Je travail quasiment à coté, l'ambassade est juste en haut de la côte…il faudrait que j'aille signer les foutus papiers, ça fait 15 ans, 20 ans*

que je pourrais aller signer les papiers! Si vraiment ça m'importait, ça serait

déjà fait.

No, for me, it's more of an option than anything else. But I don't have a pride [associated with that]…Maybe if one day I had my passport, and I started to get my European passport stamped more often than my Canadian passport, maybe it would, it would change a little something…No, I don't think about it…I think that my ties consist more of my memories, the relationships [I have] with the people there, that I maintain sometimes well, sometimes very badly [laughs]…But no, that is just a question of administration, honestly. I practically work beside [it], the embassy is just on top of the hill…I would have to go sign the damn papers, it's been 15 years, 20 years that I could have gone to sign them! If it was really important to me it would be done already. (Marco Minotti, personal interview, June 13, 2012)

Marco understands the passport to be an official document that confirms citizenship. As long as he does not need to enact this 'administrative' resource (he has no current plans to relocate to Europe), he feels that it has no bearing on the ties that he retains to Italy. In the same way that a passport is a requirement for the crossing of borders, Marco sees his Italian citizenship as a tool to be applied if and when it is needed. "*C'est un outil, pour arriver à des fins… c'est vraiment juste une opportunité, une possibilité, c'est tout.* [It's a tool, a means to an end…it's really just an opportunity, a possibility, that's all.] "

Marco's sister Sofia, who currently lives in Europe, also tended to characterize her citizenship in terms of the utility it afforded and in relation to the passport. Similar to her

brother, her identification with Italy stemmed from her family relations, extended periods of residence in that country and fluency in the language. "I think that is what makes you really identify to a second nationality, as opposed to a passport", she told me (Sofia Minotti, telephone interview, May 28, 2012). But her European passport, gained because of Italian citizenship, was very "handy" to have when she was offered a position at an international firm in Switzerland. Her citizenship allowed her to negotiate that state's stringent residence and work permit requirements more easily than if she had been a non-EU citizen. "…having a European passport made me go through the fast track system." In Switzerland priority is given to foreign workers who are from EU, EFTA (European Free Trade Association) and Schengen member states.[20] Sofia was thus not subject to non-EU quota restrictions, and was able to receive an extended work permit.

2.3.2 The Right to Pass

Paloma, a second generation dual Canadian/Spanish citizen is also currently working in Switzerland. While being Spanish makes up a considerable part of her identity, like Marco and Sofia she considers that her dual citizenship facilitates movement between nation-states and enhances opportunities for work in her field of international law. However, she points out that her multiple language skills (English, Spanish and French) have been more advantageous to her career than her citizenship status: "90% of the opportunities I've had professionally are thanks to the languages I speak" (Paloma Salazar, telephone interview, August 14, 2012). What dual citizenship offers is the elimination of barriers imposed by macro-politics and state policy: "In terms of dual

---

[20] "Federal Office of Migration", Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.bfm.admin.ch/content/bfm/en/home/themen/arbeit.html.

citizenship, it's funny because when you don't have to worry about something, you don't think about it. So I never had to worry about applying to positions in Canada or Europe, because I had dual citizenship. I didn't have to worry about visa issues, I didn't have to worry about that kind of stuff."

Vanessa also did not want to worry or be delayed at European border crossings when she had the means to be treated as an EU citizen. Her experience highlights how the symbolic and legalistic definitions of citizenship can blend together. She decided to enact the French citizenship that had been bequeathed to her at birth by applying for a *carte d'identité* (national identity card, an official document confirming citizenship) after experiencing a delay at immigration control in Spain:

> …originally the reason why I got my citizenship [the national identity card], believe it or not, is because my mother and I, we were in Spain. And we got off the plane and they didn't want us going through the border…And nobody spoke English, nobody spoke French…It took 45 minutes for the Spanish police at the airport to let us through. And it was such an annoying process because, you know, even though we were saying we were only staying in Spain for two days then we're off to France, they didn't understand. So if we had our cards, they would just let you through without even asking any questions. So that's originally why I got it…Not for any identity or anything like that, it was more for practical reasons, and language barriers at airports or trains, or places like that. (Vanessa Lozeau, personal interview, July 4, 2012)

The common thread linking my participants' narratives together is that dual citizenship seems to provide the means to "respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (Ong 1999: 6). However, it is important to note that behind the strategic practicality of this status was also the notion of rights entitlement. Vanessa did not only want to avoid the long line-up for non-EU citizens at the border: she knew that she already held the right to be considered an EU citizen and merely required the proper documents to prove that fact. While Paloma's and Sofia's employments were not secured by virtue of their European citizenship, they also knew that their right to this status provided them with greater legitimacy than their non-European colleagues vying for the same positions. Dual citizenship is advantageous and practical, but also a right to which they are entitled.

Michel Imerina, a dual French/Canadian citizen[21], was more explicit in framing citizenship in this way. While acknowledging that passing French citizenship on to his children was a way to foster connections to their family in France, he emphasized that it was foremost a "choice" that they were entitled to take advantage of if they desired. He also recognized the privilege and value associated with being able to access two geographical spaces that would expand their opportunities:

> So I believe that if they have that right, and that right is something that they
> are actually entitled to, they should be allowed to actually exercise the choice
> that they have…I do understand that if it was a citizenship that was far less
> practical, I'm sure I wouldn't be nearly as adamant…French citizenship gives

---

[21] Michel emigrated from France to Canada as a young adult. He came to Montreal in 1986 to study at university for a year, and returned to settle permanently in 1990.

you the right to be in France, but also extends to all of the European Union. So I always tell my kids, anytime you want to live in England, live in Germany or anywhere in Europe, well, you have that choice. And you don't have to worry about asking. You can just go, right? Which is something that's, well, in certain quarters of this world, is priceless. As we can see unfortunate stories every day of people trying to get there, right? They're lucky enough that they have the benefits of having two major western world citizenships and have access to whatever both offer. I think it would be foolish…for me not to extend that to my kids. (Michel Imerina, personal interview, August 28, 2012)

Behind the notion of the utility of dual citizenship lies the understanding that the rights associated with this status extend beyond the borders of the states in question. As the participants in my study hold *EU* citizenship, for many the advantages that a supra-state citizenship policy offers them seems to be as significant (if not more) as the legitimisation of ties to their family's native state. The legal and political aspects of citizenship were framed as tools to negotiate larger structural processes that are "decentred from specific nation-state territories and take place in a world context above and below states" (Faist 2000: 192).

2.4 Aegis – Security in an Insecure World

When we speak about people migrating in search of economic security or away from political instability, we most often refer to those who are escaping difficult socioeconomic conditions or who are caught up in conflict zones. But dual citizenship as

a form of security was also mentioned often by study participants who were not experiencing these types of upheavals. It is possible that the recent financial crisis has demonstrated the extent to which global processes can unexpectedly affect lives in locales that were assumed to be relatively stable. Dual citizenship status was represented by some interlocutors as a tool to negotiate the precarious nature of economic and political systems. Jacques, a second generation dual Canadian/French citizen described it as "*Une porte de sortie de l'arrière* [An exit from the back door]" (Jacques Montreuil, telephone interview, July 9, 2012). He has no concrete plans to move to Europe, particularly while his children are young and his parents are still alive and living in Canada, but appreciates the possibilities for movement that dual citizenship offers:

> *Et on ne sait pas, en 15 ans les systèmes politiques et économiques changent*
>
> *beaucoup. Alors, ça ouvre des horizons. Si l'Europe reste encore, si tu es*
>
> *français tu peux travailler en Europe. C'est plus facile, ça te restreint moins.*
>
> *Il faut juste voir ça comme ça, dans le fond… Pendant que France et*
>
> *l'Europe ne vont pas bien économiquement, ça peut être la merde d'y vivre*
>
> *dedans. Si Canada est la schnoute (sic) de vivre dedans et l'Europe fleurit,*
>
> *bon. Quand tu ne trouves plus d'emploi au Canada puis qu'y en a en Europe,*
>
> *tu vas en Europe.*

And we don't know, political and economic systems change a lot in 15 years. So, it opens up horizons. If [the European Union] remains, if you are French you can work in Europe. It's easier, you have fewer restraints. Really, you just have to see it like that…. While France and Europe aren't doing well economically, it can be shitty (sic) to live in that. If Canada is crappy (sic) to

live in and Europe is flourishing, well. When you can't find employment in Canada and it's available in Europe, you go to Europe.

When I asked Jacques where he would prefer his children live when they moved out on their own, he again expressed notions of security and well being as being important considerations: "*Ils iront bien où ils veulent. Tant qu'ils y sont heureux, capables de vivre décemment et sans contrainte politique et de droit de l'homme. C'est un peu pour ça qu'on leur a donné la double citoyenneté.* [They will go where they want to go. As long as they are happy, able to live decently and without any political or human rights restrictions. It's a bit for that [reason] that we gave them dual citizenship]".

Jacques also expressed to me the symbolic importance of dual citizenship in representing his own French identity and in fostering the same for his children. But its utility was expressed in terms of security. Interestingly, Vanessa combined these two notions when explaining to me the value she saw in her own dual citizenship. As France was also her "home", it was never far away when she was travelling in Europe:

> Vanessa: When you go there [to France] once every three years, and then you start going every year, you know the place. It's not…it's your home, you know. That's also why I went to Italy. Because if I had any problems in Italy I could just go to France.

> Mona: And so, it also gives you a certain level of comfort and security when you are travelling within Europe at the same time.

> Vanessa: Exactly. Because if anything happens, I can go either to the Canadian embassy or the French embassy. And, you know, if I get stuck

somewhere, or if there's problems, I can always just, like, hop on a plane and

go to France. Instead of going…

Mona: All the way back.

Vanessa: Yeah. (Vanessa Lozeau, personal interview, July 4, 2012)

It is notable that notions of security were framed in terms of future possibilities, or in imagined scenarios. They were projected into a future that was neither assured nor stable. Natalia Belo, a first generation dual Portuguese/Canadian citizen did not bequeath her Portuguese citizenship to her children at birth, but is now seriously considering it. While she spoke of the symbolic cultural ties and expansion of possibilities it could offer her children, she also contextualized citizenship as a form of protection against possible threats to well being. To be sure, this understanding was rooted in her own family's experience as Portuguese expatriates in Angola during the civil war of 1975, but it is remarkable how salient it remains within her contemporary context as a citizen of a politically stable state:

> *Bien, nous, on voit ça comme important d'avoir les deux passeports parce que tu ne sais jamais qu'est-ce qu'il peut arriver. On ne sait pas. Là, on est bien, mais s'il y a une guerre….je ne sais pas si tu peux, tu sais, ça peut arriver qu'ils ne te laissent pas utiliser un passeport, mais que l'autre puisse t'ouvrir des portes. C'est pour ça que j'aimerais qu'ils aient aussi le….pour moi c'est important d'avoir les deux. Je voyage toujours avec le canadien, mais j'aime ça avoir la sécurité. Parce que nous, nos parent étaient comme ça. Donc, on fait comme eux, tu sais. Ils nous disaient toujours qu'il faut*

prévenir en cas! Fait que, on montre la même chose aux enfants, puis….C'est

une des raisons pourquoi j'aimerais aussi qu'ils aient leur double

citoyenneté.

Well, we see that having the two passports as something that is important

because you never know what can happen. We don't know. Now, we are fine,

but if there's a war…I don't know if you can, you know, it could happen that

they don't let you use one passport, but the other can open doors for you.

That's the reason why I'd like them to also have the…for me, it's important

to have both. I always travel with the Canadian, but I like to have the security.

Because our parents were like that. So, we do as they did, you know. They

always told us to be prepared just in case! So, we show the same things to our

children, and…It's also one of the reasons why I'd like them to have dual

citizenship. (Natalia Belo, personal interview, July 13, 2012)

2.5 Conclusion

An often-cited definition of citizenship in international law was first stated by the

International Court of Justice at the close of the *Nottebohm* case in 1955[22]: "nationality is

a legal bond having at its basis a social fact of attachment, a genuine connection of

existence, interests and sentiments, together with the existence of reciprocal rights and

---

[22] This case involved the denial of recognition of Liechtenstein citizenship to Friedrich Nottebohm by the state of Guatemala. Nottebohm had been born in Germany, and applied for citizenship of Liechtenstein in 1939. Nottebohm had spent many years of his life living and working in Guatemala. When he attempted to return to this country after residing in Liechtenstein during WWII, Guatemala did not recognize his second citizenship and thus declared him an enemy alien. He was subsequently deported and his property in Guatemala was confiscated. Nottebohm brought the state of Guatemala to the International Court of Justice to contest "an alleged breach of international law" (Rubenstein and Adler 2000: 533). The court found in favour of the defendant, essentially arguing that Nottebohm did not demonstrate a sufficient amount of allegiance and social connections to Liechtenstein.

duties" (*Nottebohm* (*Liech. v. Guat.*) cited in Rubenstein and Adler 2000: 533). The narratives of the interlocutors in this study demonstrate that dual citizenship is indeed related to sociality, but exactly who makes up the "social" and what forms of "attachment" and 'connections' individuals will have to it is highly personal and dependent on particular circumstances. Furthermore, the "social" may be nationally or ethnically demarcated but might not reside in the territory to which it refers. For Catia and Christos, their sense of national identity was informed by the quality of the relationships they had with their families and their personal social networks and groupings in Canada. The structure of these relations caused these interlocutors to distance themselves from customs and behaviours that they qualified and attributed to the Portuguese or Greek "community". Conversely, the associations that were important to Talia were the close relationships she had fostered within her friendship networks in Greece, which led her to embrace her Greek identity. These 'connections', or lack thereof, did not exclusively determine the meaning of their second citizenship.

The implications for citizenship have multiplied since *Nottebohm* 58 years ago. It is clear that plural citizenship has become increasingly accepted and tolerated by the majority of nation states. In addition, supra-state institutions such as the EU have ensured that rights conferred by national citizenship are no longer the exclusive domain of one state. The interchangeable use of the words 'citizenship' and 'passport' by some interlocutors highlight the salience of the utilitarian aspects of their Canadian/European Union citizenship, and places it within a contemporary global context. But again, often my interlocutors came to emphasize the expansion of possibilities their citizenship would offer through their own unique experiences. Thus Talia expressed her understanding of

her Greek citizenship through strictly utilitarian terms as it was not required for her to *feel* that she was a member of the Greek citizenry. Her strength of personal ties to the country, her extended periods of residence there and the ease in which she settled in Greece without having citizenship was confirmation of her membership.

For other participants like Sofia and Paloma who had embarked on transnational lifestyles, their European citizenship was understood as a resource that facilitated their movements as it legitimized their presence in Europe. Within the context of contemporary migration, mobility, and global capitalism, it is possible that a utilitarian understanding of dual citizenship will increasingly take its place beside the legal, rights, participatory and identity dimensions of this status.   In addition, the perceived value of dual citizenship seems to be capturing the zeitgeist of insecurity within an economically and politically unstable world. Under the aegis of dual citizenship, interlocutors such as Jacques and Natalia felt that they were equipped with a legitimate vehicle for mobility that would allow them to negotiate possible future uncertainties.

Chapter 3 – Place, Context, and Language

3.1 Introduction

And at work, where I am now, they're mostly all French Canadians. There are one or two anglophones, so to them I speak in English. And to the rest I speak more French Canadian. And especially in a garage atmosphere, it's not always a very nice French, if you like? There are mostly people that don't have, they just have their technical training, grade five, they're not the type that will, I don't know, read a lot of books, or be very educated. *Le Québécois utilisé est très de base.* And so, you know, again I adapt to that kind of environment. And they were really surprised, some of my colleagues, when there would be either a French client, or again, Algerian, Moroccan, with, you know, more of a French accent. Then I would speak to them in my good French from France, and they would say, "What did you just do there? How come, what did you do? " I'd say, "What did I do, what?" "Started speaking really, really French." I'd say, "OK, yeah, because he speaks, you know, *français européen, ou français de France, je lui parle comme ça.* [spoken with a French accent] *Mais tu sais, si je te parle à toi, je vais t'parler comme ça.* [spoken with a Québécois accent] ". So it's the, I find it fun. I don't do it in the context of I want to be accepted. I just do it because that's the way they speak, so I'll speak the way they do. So, that's fun. (Pierre Lozeau, July 2, 2012)

The social environment in which a young person is raised contributes extensively to the perception of self and to their outlook on the world. However, how that person chooses to interact within his or her environment is also informed by other contexts that include their family's history and orientations, their family's particular situation within the environment, as well as their own individual ideas, perceptions and aspirations. In this chapter I wish to explore the subtle interaction between these elements to focus on how place, social context and language may inform and facilitate the means to express notions of identity and belonging for dual citizens who have been bequeathed or have the possibility to inherit this status. The culturally diverse urban space of Montreal provides an interesting framework from which to make this type of inquiry because its cultural heterogeneity, history, and provincial language politics enables a particular set of choices for interactions and orientations for those who reside there. The 20th century saw important power struggles between francophone and anglophone linguistic groups, a movement for nationalism, and an important influx of allophone immigrants to Montreal (Germain 2011). I will explore how the families in my study, at different points in their lives, negotiated the linguistic, cultural and political boundaries that grew from this particular history. My goal is to see how the perception of one's dual citizenship status may be influenced by how people choose to live, move through and socially interact within an environment that contains multiple associations with culture, language and nationality. Is the meaning of dual citizenship when it is inherited informed by where the dual citizen grows up and lives?

3.2 The Practice of Social and Cultural Knowledge

The social negotiations that can occur within a culturally diverse and multilingual environment may be complex at times. However as Pierre demonstrates, they can also provide an opportunity for the citizen to accumulate forms of social and cultural knowledge that serve to transcend social boundaries, for example of ethnicity and class. Drawing on this knowledge can produce a fluidity of social engagement that blurs these boundaries. When the citizen holds dual citizenship as Pierre does, these forms of knowledge also may inform and shape his or her understanding of citizenship and nationality. A culturally diverse and multilingual environment can be seen as a site that makes multiple affiliations to culture and by extension, to the state, not only possible but lived in daily life.

Pierre Lozeau, 38 years of age, is the Canadian-born son of an English-speaking (Canadian) mother and a French father from whom he inherited citizenship of France. Both parents are dual French/Canadian citizens, having acquired their respective second citizenships through naturalization.[23] Pierre's ability to speak French, Québécois French and English fluently enables him to "adapt", as he explains, to the linguistically diverse social situations in which he often finds himself at his place of work on a daily basis. He is not concerned with issues of belonging or legitimacy to any linguistic group; to be able to switch languages or dialects is enjoyable in and of itself. But Pierre's fluency can also be interpreted as a kind of multilayered performance of cultural and idiomatic understandings, and of his desire to engage in conversation that is socially, and by

---

[23] To clarify, Pierre's father's second citizenship is Canadian, and his mother's is French.

extension, politically appropriate.[24] In the following pages we will learn more about how Pierre and other study participants have come to acquire such forms of strategic practice, and how these forms shape their understanding of dual citizenship.

3.2.1 Diverse Negotiations within a Culturally Diverse Space

Montreal is a microcosm of today's world. *Immigration et communautés culturelles Québec* reports that the city encompasses over 120 "cultural communities".[25] In addition, scholars such as Meintel et al. (1997), Germain (1999, 2011), and Radice (2009) have noted that since the 1990s there have been increasing forms of inter-ethnic sociability within Montreal neighbourhoods that have themselves become significantly multi-ethnic. Underpinning the capacity for multi-ethnic sociability are the decisions that are made by city dwellers as to how this diversity will be negotiated. Equally important is the foundation upon which these decisions have been made. During my conversation with Pierre, I came to understand that he has an appreciation of the cultural diversity of Montreal. As a young adult, he chose to live for a time in one of the most ethnically-mixed neighbourhoods of Montreal in order to enjoy that diversity. However, the various forms of social, linguistic and cultural knowledge that hold the most meaning for him have been fostered by his parents' backgrounds and enabled by the institutions in the city that allowed him to develop and apply this knowledge.

As a French national, it was important for Pierre's father, Jean, that Pierre be educated in French. Pierre's parents chose to send him to a private French elementary school that was

---

[24] See Duranti 2001 for a detailed examination of the role of performance in language.

[25] "The Montreal region at a glance", Immigration et Communautés culturelles Québec, accessed February 12, 2013, http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/settle/montreal.html#portrait.

conveniently located close to the bilingual suburb where the family lived. Its vocation and educational philosophy closely resembled the school system in France, and several members of the teaching staff and administrators had been educated in that country. Pierre attended this school before moving on to a French *lycée* located in Montreal proper. Jean identified with the *lycée* system as he had experienced it himself as a youth in France. Pierre's parents understood the quality of the education that would be offered there, and thought it a good fit for their children.

I suggest that the presence of a French educational institution in Montreal demarcates a specific type of linguistic and cultural field, and one that can hold symbolic significance in terms of nationality.[26] The existence of such a site within the city, and the decision of his parents to send him there, enabled Pierre to live the experience of belonging to a social group whose linguistic and cultural reference points were to France. This in turn shaped Pierre's understanding of and identification with his second citizenship. For Pierre's parents, the presence of a French educational institution in Montreal expanded the possibilities available to them in terms of instilling in their children a form of relatedness with France that reflected their claims of membership to this country. The *lycée* was also a site where cultural elements important to Pierre's parents, such as language, accent and phrasing, would be transmitted to their children, complementing the efforts that they made in the home. "I think my parents… they were scared that I would speak like a French Canadian, or be too French-Canadian. They wanted [me] to have that kind of a European education", Pierre explained.

---

[26] In studies of French/English language politics within various Canadian institutional settings including schools, Heller found them to be "sites of discursive construction of ideologies of language, identity and nation, and of social categories" (2012: 27). See also Heller (1999b).

But the diversity found in the public spaces of the city allowed Pierre the capacity to develop a linguistic repertoire that was not restricted to the form of language in which he received elementary and secondary school instruction. The bilingual suburb where he lived as a child allowed him to create French-Canadian as well as English social circles. Pierre later chose to attend an English university with the goal of perfecting his English language skills. He explained that his decision was due to the fact that he spoke English at home with his Anglophone-Canadian mother as well as his siblings, and to the economic reality of Montreal as a city where English remains an important language for business. "I thought that was a good change and a good, kind of, life experience. Instead of always being, you know, French, French, French, French, French." The choices that Pierre and his parents were able to make because of Montreal's cultural diversity would complement his dual citizenship status as he embarked upon a life trajectory that would include residence for a time in the country of his father's birth.

Vertovec has argued that transnational connections, legitimized by dual citizenship, enable people to formulate a multi-cultural 'repertoire' which influences "the construction of identity – indeed multiple identities" (2001: 578) that are alternately utilized when moving between socio-cultural spaces. Pierre's experience demonstrates that within culturally and linguistically diverse environments these multiple identities can collapse into one space and be invoked on a daily basis so that this process becomes part of the form of daily social interaction. The notion of multiple identities loses its sense of fracture or partition and assumes instead a more seamless blend of cultural knowledge and affiliation. For Pierre, the form and quality of his social involvements also inform the larger concept of the link between citizenship and community or national membership.

Indeed, Pierre cannot say if he feels more Canadian, Québécois, or French: "I'm not 100% of anything… You know, I'm very happy, I'm very proud to be Canadian, very proud to be a Quebecer, I'm very proud to be French. But I, to have to choose one, I couldn't. All three are part of me."

Children within the same family will not necessarily adapt in the same way to the linguistic and educational choices that their parents have made for them. Pierre's sister, Vanessa, began an educational trajectory that was similar to her brother's. She was initially enrolled at the same French elementary school, and then moved in her mid elementary school years to the same *lycée* that Pierre attended. Unlike Pierre, Vanessa had more difficulty in the French system, and her parents moved her into a private English school after her first year of high school. "My English has always been better than my French. So I switched to an English high school", Vanessa explained to me (Vanessa Lozeau, personal interview, July 4, 2012). Although this resulted in Vanessa forming friendships that were primarily with English speakers (as opposed to her brother whose social circles crossed linguistic boundaries), their mother is careful to state that the primary educational outcome she had sought for all of her children had nonetheless been attained in both cases. "But everybody's bilingual", she explained (Jane Lozeau, personal interview, June 27, 2012). Vanessa continued to speak French with her father at home and also received French as a second language instruction throughout her high school years.

Vanessa feels that in retrospect she should have perhaps "just stuck with it [French education] until the end and then switched to English later" (Vanessa Lozeau, personal interview, July 4, 2012). It is of concern to her that her French is not as strong as it

would have been had she continued in the French system. But at the same time, now that she is completing an undergraduate degree at an English university, she finds that she does not have the same ease with the English language as her fellow students:

> I have to get somebody to proof read my papers sometimes. Just for grammatical… Because I still have a tendency of writing in French, and translating it subconsciously, without even realizing it. Not as much anymore as I used to, but I still do it every once in awhile. So it kind of, it toys with you a little bit, when you kind of switch. It's easier, I think, to stick to one language.

For some, learning more than one language as a child adds more challenges and difficulties to the educational process. Vanessa had to repeat her second year of high school when she moved to the English system as it was felt that she did not have a solid grounding in English grammar, "[That was] kind of strange because my English has always been stronger than my French, but I couldn't spell in English, since I'd always been to a French school."

Pierre and Vanessa are both bilingual, but the diversity of Montreal combined with the educational choices that their parents made has resulted in a variation of linguistic capacities between the two siblings. Vanessa also speaks of her tendency to adjust her accent to suit the social context in which she finds herself. But in this case this is performed as she crosses state borders rather than the different linguistic boundaries within Montreal:

…when I speak [French] here, I speak with the regular accent. And you can tell that there's, that I'm English. You can tell. There's a huge accent. But whenever I go to France, my French accent comes back. It cancels out my English accent, because I've been hearing it since I was a little kid, as opposed to the Québec accent.

Vanessa's social and friendship networks in Montreal consist primarily of English speakers and include only a few francophone contacts. Primarily an English speaker in Montreal, she perhaps does not see any utility in adjusting her French accent to suit her francophone friends. However, her experience with the French language in Montreal prompts her to make this adjustment when she is in France. In my opinion, this is an expression of the affiliation and affinity she feels to the country of her father's birth, of which she is also a citizen. Furthermore, her comfort with European-style French, enabled by family relations and her experience with French institutions in Montreal has helped to expand her considerations for graduate education. She is considering applying to universities in France for her Master's degree; an expansion of possibilities facilitated by her dual citizenship status. Beyond such considerations is her desire to reside in the country with which she feels a strong connection:

Well, a free education is definitely very attractive... And also I feel, this may seem a little cheesy, but I feel I need to at least live in France for a bit? Just, you know, I don't know. Just kind of… fill that gap in. You know, because I've always lived here my whole life, and then, just to kind of… see what it would be like over there.

3.2.2 Language Politics and the Shaping of Multilingualism

Migrants to Montreal in the latter half of the 20th century whose first language was neither French nor English did not make decisions regarding linguistic education as easily or as readily as newcomers who were culturally and linguistically adept in these languages. From the beginning of the century, southern and eastern European migrants had to negotiate Montreal as a city "historically pulled between two linguistic communities" (Germain 2011: 3). However, by the 1960s this space had also become significantly politicized. The Quiet Revolution and the subsequent rise of the province's national independence movement heightened linguistic tensions during this time (Ricci 2009, Germain 2011). Immigrant communities and the wave of post-war European immigrant arrivals felt the brunt of Quebec's struggle to reduce the dominance of English in all aspects of Québécois life. Concerned with the anglicization of immigrants, who often, as Ricci writes about the Italian community, saw "English as the language for socio-economic mobility" (2009: 11), in the mid-1970s the state passed language laws establishing French as the official language of Quebec and also limiting access to English education for immigrants. When monolingual language policy is directly associated with national identity it becomes an important ideological vehicle through which the dominant culture and language are legitimized (Blommaert 2005). Heller has also noted that "[l]anguage norms are a key aspect of institutional norms, and reveal ideologies that legitimate (or contest) institutional relations of power (1995: 373). By examining language practice, we can see how language choice can be a form of resistance and negotiation (Heller 1995: 374), and how identities are constructed and performed within this context.

The Official Language Act of 1974 (Bill 22) restricted English public education to those

children who could demonstrate an adequate knowledge of English (Ricci 2009).The

Charter of the French Language of 1977 (Bill 101) further restricted English education to

the children whose parents were Canadian citizens and who had received the majority of

their education in English either in Quebec or Canada (Coleman 1981). Thus the public

educational institutions available to the children of families migrating from outside

Canada to Quebec from 1977 onwards were exclusively French. Furthermore, Lamarre

and Dagenais explain that the Quebec Education Act limited English instruction within

these French institutions, eliminating "the possibility of a bilingual program in French

schools" (2004: 59). A federal language census published 20 years later, in 1997,

revealed that 90% of immigrants to Quebec were enrolled in French schools (Marmen

and Corbeil 1999 as cited in Lamarre and Dagenais 2004).

Pierre and Vanessa's parents had no difficulty in negotiating the provincial linguistic

policies that were shaped in large part by the successive waves of allophone immigration

to the province. Their multi-national family blended with the historic linguistic divide of

the city. Because his mother had received an English education in Canada, Pierre and his

siblings could have easily attended English public schools had his parents desired this.

Moreover, the presence of a *lycée* simplified their choice as it responded to their

preference for what Pierre described as a "European education". Not all of my

interlocutors negotiated state-determined linguistic policy with such ease. What is

common between them however is that language politics and subsequent policy

formation influenced their forms of integration, multi-culturality and therefore notions of

identity and belonging. In addition, language ideology and the policies that resulted from

them tended to intersect with first generation migrants' attitudes toward and experiences of language, and thus informed the linguistic choices that they made for their children. These choices helped to define the sociocultural fields that their children would have the opportunity to negotiate during their young lives, which in turn contributed to their wider perceptions of national and cultural affiliation, and helped shape important life decisions such as education, career, and place of residence. In order to examine this interplay, it is important to look more closely at the source of the attitudes toward language held by the parents, the ways in which these attitudes were expressed in the home and in other milieus, and the extent to and manner in which these factors influenced their children's lives.

3.2.3 Language Perceptions, Citizenship Perspectives

While there is widespread interest today in the ways that Montreal neighbourhoods have become multi-ethnic, it is important to remember that an important basis for such diversity was the arrival of southern European migrants during the 20th century. As Germain explains, migrants, first from Italy and then later Greece and Portugal, recreated "little homelands" (2011: 9) for themselves in various parts of the city, establishing homes, restaurants and businesses that lent distinctive cultural flavours to their neighbourhoods. However, without critically examining the assumptions surrounding the category of community as I discussed in chapter one, the diversity and heterogeneity among the residents of these neighbourhoods could easily be overlooked. For example, Ricci notes that Italian "immigrants have been sharply divided depending on their region of origin" (2009: 9), and that many Italian-Canadian cultural associations were first formed on the basis of geographic region or even villages. To this I would add that if we

also look at the particular experiences of movement and mobility that these migrants experienced, some of the subtleties of this heterogeneity begin to emerge.

Language as Resource – The Rissos

Antonia Risso's parents, who originated from different regions of Italy but met and married in Montreal, held a different attitude toward language and language learning than the majority of their Italian neighbours in their residential neighbourhood of St. Leonard. Neither of their migration stories represents a linear trajectory from the 'old world' to the new. Before migrating to Canada, Antonia's father spent eight years working as a mason in France, acquiring knowledge of and a certain ease with the French language. Antonia's mother, Carla, was born in Algeria in 1934. Carla's parents had migrated to Algeria from Italy in search of economic opportunity and lived in the French colony for nine years before returning to Italy just prior to WWII, and then migrating to Montreal in the early 1950s. They had also gained a workable knowledge of the French language due to their previous migration experience.

Their previous experience of cultural and linguistic adaptation appears to have influenced the way in which Antonia's parents approached the emerging linguistic political landscape of Quebec. As young parents, the Rissos did not identify with the resistance to French language education expressed by an Italian community largely unified around this issue in the late 1960s. Their experience with French as a second language had enhanced rather than hindered the economic circumstances of their own families. Furthermore, they had a particular understanding of the forms of linguistic education offered to children in their respective regions of Italy that perhaps differed in terms of class and period from the

experience of the first generation family members of their Italian-Canadian neighbours. Carla explained to me:

> *On avait des magasins [ou]qu'on allait, et des italiens [disaient], « Vous n'avez pas honte? » On se chicanait. On disait, « Nous autres, on fait qu'est-ce qu'on veut. Nous, on préfère qu'ils commencent avec le français. Parce que c'est bien plus difficile. Mais il ne restera pas comme ça. En Italie, personne ne parle seulement deux langues. Ils étudient à l'école, trois, quatre langues. Qu'est-ce que c'est, seulement anglais? Pourquoi? »*

> We had stores [where] we would go, and the Italians [would say], "Have you no shame?" We would argue. We would say, "We do what we want. We prefer that they begin with French. Because it is much more difficult. But they won't stay like that. In Italy, no one speaks only two languages. They study at school, three, four languages. What is this, only English? Why?"
> (Carla Risso, personal interview, August 22, 2012)

The Rissos' Italian neighbours argued that an English education would permit their children to find work elsewhere in Canada, and even the United States, should Quebec not provide sufficient economic stability. They regarded English as a gateway of opportunity for their children, while the Rissos saw that Montreal could offer an expansion of possibilities in the form of both French and English education, something that before 1977 was still possible via public education. *"Qu'est-ce qu'ils font avec le français?* [What will they do with French?]*"*, the neighbours would demand. And Carla would reply, *"Mais je ne veux pas qu'ils restent seulement avec le français. S'ils vont en*

France, au moins ils savent comment parler le français! [But I don't want them to stay only with French. If they go to France, at least they'll know how to speak French!]".

The Rissos' strategy to negotiate the linguistic divide ensured that their children had access to both French and English language education. In addition, Italian would be spoken at home, and Antonia's parents were very strict in enforcing this regulation. *«Parce que si non, ils ne parleront jamais. »* "Otherwise", Carla explained, "they would never speak it". Speaking Italian was an important part of their identity that they wished to transmit to their children, but it was also understood as a valuable cultural resource that they could offer. Antonia explained that she moved easily between her world at home, which she says was essentially Italian in all ways, and the world of her school and school friends, which was decidedly francophone and culturally Québécois. This movement was de-politicized within the household; given her parents' backgrounds, Antonia perceived it as 'normal' that she, her siblings and cousins would attend French school while the majority of young Italian-Canadian students in St. Leonard, an Italian-dominated inner suburb of Montreal, were enrolled in the English school system. Outside of the household however, Antonia could not escape the politics surrounding her parents' choice of linguistic education for her. She speaks of how school children expressed the tension surrounding linguistic politics during this time, and what side of the divide she was perceived to be on:

> *Rendu en sixième année, c'était les anglais contre les français. Là, nous, on*
> *les appelait 'maudits wops'. Puis moi, j'étais là, [je disais] 'maudit wop!'.*
> *C'est-tu logique, non?! Mais mes amis me disaient, 'Oh mais toi, tu n'es pas*
> *comme les autres. Toi t'es comme ça'…c'était gentil [de leur part].*

By the sixth grade, it was the English against the French. So then, we would

call them 'damn wops'. So there I was, [saying] 'damn wop!' Not very

logical, was it?! But my friends would tell me, 'Oh but you, you're not like

the others. You, you're like this'…it was nice [on their part]. (Antonia Risso,

personal interview, August 22, 2012)

As her parents had wished, Antonia went on to attend four years of English secondary

school in order to perfect her English language skills.[27] But by then, the primary social

relations that she had established in her formative school years were firmly rooted in the

francophone community. Today Antonia moves seamlessly between Italian and French,

and when speaking with her siblings and cousins who lived a similar experience to her,

switches back and forth between the two languages: "*Je vais parler avec elle [soeur] au*

téléphone, je vais parler italien, français, italien, français, italien. Ça vient comme ça."

[I'll speak with her [sister] on the phone, I will speak Italian, French, Italian, French,

Italian. It comes [out] like that.] In comparison to Pierre and Vanessa, as Antonia's

familial and social circles did not include English, she perceives her knowledge of this

language as a practical and beneficial resource in terms of her career. Indeed, when she

finished secretarial school in the early 1980s, knowledge of English as well as French

was a requirement for the majority of positions to which she applied. English was, and

continues to be, an important component of the labour market in Montreal (Lamarre and

Dagenais 2004). The Rissos understood the value of linguistic knowledge and resisted the

political rhetoric of the times to offer their children an expansion of imagined

possibilities, intangible or ambiguous as these perceived possibilities may have been.

---

[27] Bill 101 had not yet been passed at that time.

When the 1992 Italian citizenship law extended citizenship to Italian expatriates and their descendants (Joppke 2003: 16), the Rissos initiated the application process for their children. They perceived and approached this opportunity similar to the way in which they had negotiated the social and linguistic landscape of their adopted city. Dual citizenship would offer further, albeit ambiguous, possibilities for their children. During our interview, at which her daughter was also present, Carla had difficulty explaining the reasons that prompted her and her husband to seek dual citizenship for their children, at first merely stating that they thought it might be a good thing for them to have:

> Carla: *Bien, c'est parce que, vous savez quand ils sortent quelque chose, tout le monde en parle. Ma belle-sœur, elle l'a fait. C'est toujours bien, avoir les deux nationalités, pititi, pitita.*
>
> Well, it's because, you know when they come out with something, everybody talks about it. My sister-in-law, she did it. It's always good, to have two nationalities, blah, blah, blah.
>
> Antonia: *Oui, c'est ça qu'elle veut savoir, les pititis, pititas!*
>
> Yes, it's the 'blah, blah, blah' she's asking about!

When pressed by her daughter, Carla was able to verbalize the value that she attributed to the concept of dual citizenship:

> *Je me disais peut-être, un jour, pour les enfants, ça peut être bien. C'est ça. C'est comme les langues, vous parlez deux langues, vous parlez cinq langues, tant mieux. Alors c'est ça que j'ai pensé pour la citoyenneté.*"

I said to myself maybe, one day, for the children, it could be good. That's it.

It's like languages, you speak two languages, you speak five languages, even

better. So that's what I thought about citizenship.

Ultimately, because Antonia was thirty years old when this opportunity arose, the final

decision to acquire Italian citizenship was made by her, and she decided against it. She

did not see the utility of becoming a dual citizen at that point in her life as she was fully

integrated into Québécois society and had no plans for any kind of transnational mobility.

For her, dual citizenship encompassed the idea of taking up residence in Italy, and she

had no interest in this. Nor did the idea of dual citizenship hold any kind of notion of

affiliation with Italy. Ties to Italian culture were satisfactorily expressed by its

reproduction within the family home and with her extended kin in Montreal. Within

cultural reproduction I include not only language, but also food, traditional rituals, social

values and mores. And as Carla explained, citizenship was expressed by the Rissos as a

resource rather than as any kind of symbolic affiliation to her native state.

Multilingualism as Resource – Catia

Bill 101 established the language of the French majority of Quebec as the language of

public communication. While its goals included the preservation of the French language

and the full integration of immigrants to Québécois society, it is remarkable that the use

of other languages has not diminished. In fact, in their 1996 census Marmen and Corbeil

(1999) report that "multilingualism is nine times higher in Quebec than in other

provinces", and that 44% of Montrealers who speak a non-official tongue also speak both

French and English (Lamarre and Dagenais 2004: 57). A migrant family's native tongue,

French language policy and the perceived value of English as a marketable resource can

readily explain the purveyance of tri-lingualism among residents of Montreal. However, it is also important to explore how a resident's movements across different linguistic fields associated with the home, residential neighborhood, educational and/or labour markets can come to shape understandings of the value and utility of multilingualism.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Catia Alba is a young woman in her early thirties who is the child and grandchild of Portuguese immigrants. Portuguese citizenship was not bequeathed to her by her parents, but she is seriously considering acquiring it for herself and her husband. As Catia spoke to me of her life, it was apparent that she attributed a high importance and a certain pride to the languages she was able to speak from a young age. The district of Montreal where she lived until the age of seven was ethnically diverse, and she learned French, English and Spanish from the neighbourhood children she befriended. Portuguese was spoken in the home. At the age of seven her family moved for a time to a small town in north-western Quebec for two years where her father pursued a business venture. Although her mother, Lara, would have desired that she attend an English school (and this was a possibility because Lara had received an English education in the province), this was not available in northern Quebec. Catia therefore attended a French school and continued within this system when the family returned to Montreal two years later.

When Catia began secondary school in Montreal, her mother insisted that she switch to the English system. This school was heavily populated by Italian-Canadians, and there she added Italian to her repertoire of languages. Catia did not only speak Italian with her friends but also practiced speaking it with her grandmother who had learned Italian

during the years that she spent working as a seamstress in the garment industry of Montreal, an industry traditionally dominated by workers of Italian origin.

Catia's educational choices took her to a French CEGEP in a small town in Quebec and subsequently an English university in the United States. She eventually settled in Montreal in order to remain close to her family. She has a keen appreciation of the diversity that the city has to offer, and her multilingualism allows her to move easily between social and business interactions that require the use of various languages. Catia understands how much her multilingualism has enriched her own possibilities. In considering dual citizenship, she also understands that she would be expanding the possibilities for herself and for her future children. She feels that due to her knowledge of several languages she would be able to easily negotiate these expanded possibilities. Catia also sees dual citizenship for her future children as an opportunity for them to obtain similar linguistic and cultural strengths. In terms of her own future, Catia also has a vague notion of possible future retirement in Southern Europe, but her shorter term plans involve delving into the European real estate market as an investor. A European citizenship would facilitate that goal. The possibility of a European citizenship is unrelated to any notion of affective ties with Portugal, but directly related to its value in accessing transnational economic and cultural spaces:

> *Probablement qu'est-ce que je vais faire, parce que mon mari, il est moitié italien, moitié irlandais, mais très loin. Si je vais chercher ma citoyenneté, parce que ça fait certaines années qu'on est marié, on va avoir le passeport européen. Probablement, si je l'ai, je vais faire le processus pour mes enfants, oui. Parce que, je crois que le fait que je parle l'anglais, le français,*

l'italien, le portugais,… je trouve que les langues et la culture puis

l'intercommunication est super importante. Puis je vais les encourager de

visiter le maximum de places et de trouver ce qu'ils veulent. Juste pour les

opportunités. L'éducation puis la capacité de communiquer c'est numéro 1.

Ça t'ouvre des portes. Ça t'ouvre beaucoup de portes.

Probably, what I will do, because my husband, he is half Italian, half Irish,

but from very far back. If I get my citizenship, because it has been a certain

number of years that we have been married, we will have European passports.

Probably, if I have it, I will also acquire it for my children, yes. Because, I

think that the fact I speak English, French, Italian, Portuguese... I find that

languages and culture, and intercommunication is very important. And I will

encourage them to visit the maximum of places and to find what they need.

Just for the opportunities. Education, and the capacity to communicate is

number one. It opens doors for you. It opens many doors for you. (Catia Alba,

personal interview, July 11, 2012)

Language as Cultural Reproduction- The Minottis

After Bill 101 was adopted, the negotiation of linguistic education by first generation

Canadians became more difficult as government legislation now dictated the language of

education that was to be available in public schools for their children. However, as

Lamarre and Dagenais (2004) remark in their comparative study of multilingual language

use in Montreal and Vancouver, French language policy in Quebec does not seem to have

been detrimental to multilingualism amongst second generation Canadians. When the

Minotti family's children began to attend French school, their father, Umberto,

nonetheless continued to press the importance of learning English as well. This influenced the post-secondary educational choices that the Minotti children made. Marco was encouraged to attend an English language CEGEP and his sister, Sofia, attended a bilingual university in Ontario. Similar to the Rissos, their parents had always insisted on speaking Italian in the home, but Umberto also insisted on a variety of Italian that he believed was standard in terms of diction and grammar. "*Pas de dialecte. Pas de dialecte. Son père, c'est qu'il avait de bon, pas de dialecte. Il faut qu'ils parlent l'italien*. [No dialect. No dialect. His father, what was good about him, no dialect. They have to speak Italian.]", Lucia explained about her ex-husband (Lucia Minotti, personal interview, May 18, 2012).

As with the Rossis, Marco's parents were originally from two distinct regions of Italy, his father from the area outside of Rome, and his mother from Sicily. In this family however, cultural attitudes toward urban/rural and class distinctions as reflected in language were wrapped up in the gendered power structure of the marital relationship.[28] For the patriarch of the family, the Italian language was representative of Italy's high culture and contributions made to civilisation, many of these elements being historically situated in the region of Italy where he was born. As a child, Marco was exposed to both versions of the language through the Sicilian branch of the family, many of who had migrated to Montreal, and through his father's family, whom he visited for extensive periods of time in Italy. But the manner in which his Italian would progress was severely reinforced by his parents:

---

[28] In a study of Italian migrants to Canada, Ramirez (1989) has analysed how gender relations, regional ties, and class are important factors in the formation of the social and historical construction of ethnic identity.

… mes parents, pour eux c'étaient très important, si on apprenait l'italien, on

apprenait Italien comme il faut, l'international. Et non pas parler le dialecte

comme on le parle ici, tu sais? Je pense, si je me souviens bien, des fois

j'imitais ma mère parler sicilien, ils aimaient même pas ça. Il fallait que je

parle l'Italien, un point, c'est tout. Puis, forcement j'allais chez mes grands-

parents puis ma tante. Et eux ils étaient près de Rome qui est plus un italien

international, moins dialectique.

… my parents, for them it was very important, if we learned Italian, we

learned Italian properly, the international. And not speak the dialect like how

we speak it here, you know? I remember, if I remember correctly, sometimes

I imitated my mother speaking Sicilian, they didn't like that. I had to speak

Italian, period, that's all. And, of course I would visit my grandparents and

my aunt. And they were close to Rome, which is more of an international

Italian, less of a dialect. (Marco Minotti, personal interview, June 13, 2012)

Lucia supported her husband in this endeavour because she understood the value and

status that speaking a standard Italian would offer, and the advantages that it would make

available to her children:

Parce que, le dialecte, personne [ne] te comprend. Seulement quand tu vas

aller dans ton pays, dans le pays de ton père ou ta mère, oui, ils vont te

comprendre. Mais pas si tu vas dans le nord. Même pas dans le sud. De nord

au sud d'Italie, les dialectes, ça ne se comprend pas."

Because, [with] dialect, no one understands you. Only when you go to your country [region], in the country [region] of your father or your mother, yes, they will understand you. But not if you go in the north. Not even in the south. From the north to the south of Italy, the dialects are incomprehensible from one to the other. (Lucia Minotti, personal interview, May 18, 2012)

Therefore, the Italian language was understood as a material resource but also carried with it considerable cultural significance. When I asked Umberto why he decided to claim citizenship for his children when it became available with the 1992 Italian Citizenship Act, he replied by citing the extensive cultural contributions that Italy had provided the world:

Mona: *Et la décision de donner à vos enfants cette citoyenneté-là, est-ce que c'était pour être capable d'avoir une association avec le pays, avec votre famille là-bas? C'est quoi la raison?*

And the reason to give your children this citizenship, was it to be able to have an association with the country, with your family [residing] there? What was the reason?

Umberto: *Non, c'était, la raison, c'était pour la culture. C'était pour la culture parce que là-bas on a une culture, c'est vraiment une culture, seulement ici je pu le réaliser. Avec les années j'ai pu réaliser qu'on a une culture immense. On a une culture qu'on a….c'est ça que je lisais sur la revue…..Reader`s Digest. C'est là que j'ai lu ça que, quand Rome a été vaincue, c'était trop tard. Désormais, il avait déjà donné la civilisation à tout*

le monde. Et donc, cette civilisation, qui encore est ici, et c'est encore une

civilisation que, ça vient d'Italie. Made in Italy, made in Italy, made in Italy.

Dans le manger, dans styling.

No, it was, the reason, it was for the culture. It was for the culture because
there we have a culture, it's really a culture, only [being] here could I realize
it. With the years I came to realise that we have an immense culture. We have
a culture where we…that's what I read in the magazine…Reader's Digest.
It's there that I read that when Rome was conquered, it was too late. From
that time, it had already given civilisation to the world. And therefore, this
civilisation, that remains, and it is still a civilisation that comes from Italy.
Made in Italy, made in Italy, made in Italy. In the food, in styling. (Umberto
Minotti, June 19, 2012)

Umberto felt that Italy possessed enormous cultural prestige. He transmitted this prestige
to his children by insisting that they speak what he estimated was a standard Italian, and
legitimized his children's access to it by acquiring Italian citizenship for them. In
addition, regardless of the historically poor economic conditions that had led to earlier
waves of emigration from Italy, Umberto nonetheless continued to place Italy at the
center of European affairs, a position that he anticipated would be strengthened with the
expansion of the European Union. Sofia , Marco's sister, recalled:

…for him, when I was a little girl, I remember, like, Italy was the best
country…he's a very proud person and a proud Italian, and so on. The
European Union was a very important project, so he felt that this could be

extremely strategic for us as adults, to have our European passport. So I think

with that spirit in mind, he went and he applied for it. And he applied for my

mom, for himself, and both my brother and I. And that's how we got it. But

none of my cousins [from the maternal side of the family], none of their

parents did it for them. (Sofia Minotti, telephone interview, May 28, 2012)[29]

Umberto understood that acquiring an Italian citizenship in the 1990's also meant a

European citizenship and an expansion of possibilities for his children in a globalizing

world.

As with Antonia Rossi, a French education ensured that the social fields and friendship

networks developed by the Minotti children were Québécois.[30] And like Antonia, the

Minotti children did not develop close links with Italian-Canadians outside of their

family. The reasons expressed for this revolved around the differences in dialect and the

perceived inferiority of the form of Italian spoken by second generation Italian-Canadians

on the street. Gal and Irvine (1995) have explained that within language ideologies there

occurs a "process of misrecognition" where linguistic practice and behaviour "are seen as

deriving from speakers' social, political, intellectual, or moral character, rather than from

historical accident" (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 15). As Marco explained :

Tu sais, tu vois d'autre Italiens, les Italiens ici ne sont jamais allés là-bas,

quand ils parlent l'italien il parle un italien saccadé. Ils parlent des dialectes

---

[29] I conducted the interviews for this study in the preferred language of the interlocutor, either English or French. Although English is Sofia's third language, she felt more comfortable speaking to me in English because she has been using this language as the main form of communication at her workplace in Switzerland for the last few years. This is why Sofia's excerpts are in English while her brother Marco's are in French.

[30] The Minotti children began to attend French public elementary school after Bill 101 was adopted.

[de l'italien]. Ils ne comprennent presque pas quand toi tu parles bien

l'italien. Tu sais, toi tu sais le lire, tu sais l'écrire. Eux ne savent pas.

You know, you see other Italians, the Italians here have never gone over

there, when they speak Italian they speak a garbled Italian. They speak

dialects. They barely understand when you speak Italian properly. You know,

you know how to read it, you know how to write it. They don't know. (Marco

Minotti, personal interview, June 13, 2012)

The form of Italian used in the Minotti home reinforced ties with their country of origin

while establishing differences with the local language community. It is ironic that the

presence of an important Italian-Canadian community in Montreal contributed to

reinforcing an affinity with Italy through the comparison of linguistic and class

distinctions. Through a particular form of language taught in the home, extended stays in

Italy as youths, and their dual citizenship status acquired when they were still relatively

young, the Minotti children have grown up with a sense of a dual identity.

3.2.4 Language and the Culturally Diverse Space - Adaptability

By negotiating the language politics and linguistic policies of Quebec within the diverse

social landscape of Montreal, and creating a space where their aspirations for their

children could be realized, first generation Canadians in this study demonstrated to their

children in various ways how it was possible to negotiate the cultural and political terrain

of other locales. The children who oriented themselves toward a transnational career were

able to do so with the capacity of their professional credentials, but even more

significantly, with their multiple linguistic capabilities and their experiences of moving

between different sociocultural spheres. Before concluding, in this section I will briefly discuss the experiences of Sofia Minotti and Paloma Salazar, two Montrealers who have embarked on careers in Europe.

Sofia's multiple language skills (Italian, French and English) helped to secure her position in aeronautic law at a firm in Zurich, Switzerland. Interestingly, European citizenship was not a requirement for this position. Similarly, when asked if dual citizenship had enabled her career abroad in international law, Paloma replied, "I think it has much, much more to do with the languages I speak than my nationalities." Paloma is a second generation Canadian/Spanish citizen raised in Montreal by a Spanish mother and an Anglophone/Canadian father. Spanish and English were spoken in the home. Like Umberto Minotti, Paloma's mother insisted that her children learn to speak her native tongue 'properly':

> I spoke Spanish with my mother, English with my father and with my brothers. And my parents spoke Spanish between each other, actually. My mom was rather strict about it. She… It was enforced. I mean I see a lot of people today whose parents maybe speak a language and their children don't. But we not only had to speak Spanish, but we weren't allowed to mix languages either. It was quite strict, we would have to repeat the phrase with the right word, you know, if we stuck an English word in there. (Paloma Salazar, telephone interview, August 14, 2012)

Paloma's parents took advantage of the linguistic possibilities in Montreal by enrolling their daughter at a French immersion school within the English system in the city. When

her father took up a position in Switzerland, Paloma began secondary school at a French *lycée* just across the border in France. After two years the family returned to Montreal where she was able to continue her education within the same system at a *lycée* in the city. Paloma chose to attend an English university in Montreal for her undergraduate degree, and then a French university in the city for her graduate degree. Her linguistic education was completed by the acquisition of a working knowledge of German from her Hungarian-born grandparents, and she also strengthened her Spanish-speaking skills by attending school for a year in Spain.

Like the elder Risso generation, Paloma's parents were comfortable in moving across a variety of social, linguistic and national boundaries. Her parents had travelled during their younger years for work and education, and had met while they were both residing in Germany. After settling in Montreal and raising a family, they travelled to Spain regularly to visit family and also spent some time residing in Europe. As her family was oriented toward an ease of movement across socio-linguistic boundaries within Montreal and across national borders, her current working environment in Geneva is very appealing to Paloma. There she is able to engage in meaningful exchanges with people of different linguistic backgrounds, and through that can also express different aspects of her identity through social interaction:

> Geneva is an interesting place because there's a very strong international community, and working at _____, there's actually a very strong, there's a very strong Spanish community, because so many countries in the world speak Spanish. So, oddly enough, or maybe it's just a question of my department, but I spend maybe, I'd say 60 to 70% of my day speaking

Spanish. Which has nothing to do with my work, because my work is mostly

in French or in English. And when I speak Spanish, I sort of present myself

as being Spanish, because I have a very strong Spanish accent, and, you

know, Spanish, I sort of exude Spanish cultural things that you do when you

speak the language. The language is so much more than just a language,

right? I think when I speak Canadian, I mean English, I then, sort of my

Canadian side comes out. And French, I don't know, I'm a little bit of a mix

because I, French is my third language. But I think I properly learned French

in the French system, so I'm a little bit of a mix between French from France

and French, Québécois French. I don't know, people find me confusing, and

they ask if I'm Belgian! (Paloma Salazar, telephone interview, August 14,

2012)

Due to the expansion of the global economy, the increase in transnational flows of people

has facilitated the formation of international social groupings and expatriate communities

in many major cities. For those of my study participants who have chosen to live

expatriate lives, their multilingualism, fluid identities and experiences of crossing diverse

cultural spaces within Montreal seems to have endowed them with an adaptability and

also a security in the knowledge that a partial attachment to place is sufficient. Both Sofia

and Paloma spoke of not necessarily feeling a sense of belonging to the cities in which

they lived. But they did acknowledge that they were able to seek out and find more

particular social relationships and milieus within the city to which they felt more

connected. Belonging to a place did not have to mean that identification must be found in

all aspects of cultural and political life. Sofia spoke very pragmatically of the social and

political structure of Swiss society. When I asked her if she felt integrated into Swiss society as she has been residing there for several years now, she replied:

> The thing in Switzerland is that there's just so much you can integrate. And you are never really integrated even if you're integrated. Because it's really two systems in parallel. There's Swiss people, and there's the rest of the people. So I'm integrated as a foreigner, but I'm not integrated as a Swiss. Because the Swiss people are a closed society. And they don't mingle with the foreigners. So the foreigners are a society of their own, the Swiss are a society of its own. (Sofia Minotti, May 28, 2012)

Despite this perceived division, she nonetheless calls Zurich her home. "I have my life here, I have my work here, I have some friends. I have my residence here. I have an important part of my life here…" Her partial association to place is emotional as well as actual, as she has a second residence in Rome that she shares with her Italian husband. Rome is also home for her. Sofia is negotiating transcultural spaces within city limits and across national boundaries.

3.3 Conclusion

From the narratives of the families in this chapter we see that place does play a role in the meaning of dual citizenship for those that inherit it, but this meaning is shaped by the particular ways in which the families chose to negotiate the diverse and multilingual nature of Montreal. Choices made by the elder generation were informed by the family's migration history, their reception and settlement within a particular linguistic and political context, as well as their aspirations for their children. All of these elements, plus

the individual orientations of the children themselves, shaped varied responses to the possibilities available in Montreal.

The children of these families thus became adept at moving through various cultural and linguistic spheres, which in some cases, as with Pierre[31], Paloma and Sofia, enabled them to pursue opportunities across national borders. When we look at dual citizenship from this perspective, we can see that it can be understood beyond the notion of national affiliation and perceived, like language, as an interesting advantage that can include possible future mobility.[32] Therefore, the Rissos' attitude toward dual citizenship was to recognize it as a valuable resource rather than as a form of identification with their country of origin. Similarly Catia Alba regarded both her potential dual citizenship and her multilingualism as resources that she could potentially draw upon to expand her own future opportunities as well as those of her prospective children. Pierre and Vanessa Lozeau's narratives demonstrated a fluidity of Canadian and French identities that were enhanced in part by their participation in French institutions within Montreal, an involvement that enabled them to imagine residence in France. For Umberto Minotti and his son Marco, the idiomatic and class distinctions produced by the various Italian dialects spoken in the city reinforced their cultural attachment to Italy. Dual citizenship legitimised this attachment for both men, but Umberto was clear about wanting his children to be able to take advantage of his native state's

---

[31] When Pierre joined his partner, a French citizen, in France he acquired employment very quickly due to his bilingual capabilities. They remained there for a period of two years and then returned to settle in Montreal.

[32] Heller has remarked that over the course of two decades of ethnographic work on multilingualism in Canadian schools she has observed the steady rise in the perception of the French language as a valuable commodity within a globalized economy, a perception that exists in tension with an "ethnonational idea of language" (2012: 28). See also Heller (1999a).

position in the European Union should they so desire. Therefore, the way in which families responded to the temporal and historical location of Montreal contributed to the formation of a distinctive perspective toward identity, belonging and dual citizenship that was also applied when the life choices of the second generation led them to seek opportunities abroad.

Chapter 4 – Mobility within Inherited Dual Citizenship

4.1 Introduction

> Let's see…when I finished my degree in April of 2009 in Ottawa, literally
> finished it, two days later I flew… Where did I fly to, oh gosh… I flew home
> for a month, and then ended up going out to the Middle East for about five
> weeks. Travelling with a group of Canadian students and based in Jerusalem.
> After that, I came back to Ottawa for five days to collect my things, and then
> flew out to London where I started grad studies. And I was in that program
> from 2009 to 2010. For my dissertation, I went back out to the Middle East
> and combined that with leading a group of students on the same trip that I had
> been on. So I was out there for about two and a half months…And since
> then, I decided to stay in London. (Caitlin Murphy, Skype interview, Aug 1,
> 2012)

The notion of dual citizenship tends to bring the idea of transnational connections to
mind, where the process of migration across state boundaries can engender various social,
cultural and economic links between the country of origin and the host state (Basch et al.
1994, Faist 2000: 219, Faist 2001, Bloemraad 2004 394: 396). While this remains a
relevant component of dual citizenship, it also has a tendency to frame the mobility that
can occur with this status as a bi-directional movement. In addition, as transnational
literature has demonstrated about contemporary migration, it does not take into account
that with mobility migrants can experience other 'interactions' and 'identifications' "with

multiple nations, states, and/or communities" (Olwig and Sørensen 2002: 2). In this chapter I would like to explore the ways in which transnational mobility can be considered and undertaken by second generation dual citizens. I take transnational mobility to refer to the pursuit of various opportunities across national borders, be they economic, educational, socio-cultural, or personal. What elements of their lives are weighed and measured as the second generation contemplate this mobility? Are they inspired by the transnational links that their families may have forged and maintained? Does dual citizenship status motivate them to seek opportunities abroad, and if so, what considerations are involved in choosing their destination(s)?

Answering these questions requires a closer look at a complex set of deliberations that arise when decisions regarding mobility or migration are made, and how they may be related to dual citizenship. One of these considerations involves the temporal location of the individual, that is, where the dual citizen is situated in terms of their life course. When I asked Caitlin, a Canadian/Irish dual national in her mid-twenties, what prompted her to complete her graduate studies in England and then take up residence there, she replied, "I had this kind of need to go somewhere, and try something new. And London, when I finished my program, I was happy to stay put for a while. I don't know, I have a friend who uses the expression 'forever for now'. And that's kind of how London feels to me." There is a subjective and at times elusive dimension to mobility and migration that is not always captured as studies of transnationalism are often placed within an economic framework. As I will demonstrate, these subjectivities are nonetheless important components of movement.

It is possible that Caitlin's desire for new experiences at that time of her life relates to the formation of selfhood that often occurs during young adulthood. As scholars of tourism have found, new places and experiences found in travel can contribute to the development, fulfillment or renewal of the self, depending on where the individual is situated within their life course (Amit 2007, Sheller and Urry 2004). But in the formation of selfhood, the desire to be mobile is one of many considerations that must be balanced with other subjective 'push/pull' factors such as personal relationships, family obligations, imagined possibilities, and chance encounters. In the following pages I will explore how these factors have played out to shape life trajectories, and where the juridical status of dual citizenship lies within these considerations.

A second consideration is the contemporary migration of members of the educated classes within a globalised and increasingly 'deterritorialized' space. The global, knowledge-based economy has arguably normalized the consideration of pursuing opportunities for education and work beyond local and national territories. Higher educational institutions actively recruit international students, while global corporations select from a world-wide pool of potential candidates when searching for staff. In considering graduate studies, Caitlin chose the institution that would best respond to her desire to experience a new environment and to her educational interests, but did her dual citizenship status influence or facilitate this decision? I will consider the notion of deterritorialization within Caitlin's experience and other interlocutors who have also moved abroad.

In a preceding chapter I discussed the importance of family relations to the understanding of dual citizenship for the subsequent generations of a migrant family. The

intergenerational family dynamic also enters into considerations for movement as children reflect on the mobility of their migrant parents. How the family's history of transnational mobility informs the possibilities and challenges for movement will be discussed here, as well as how it measures against personal aspirations and other considerations such as significant others, children and career choices. From a young age, Caitlin sought out experiences away from home; her trip to the Middle East was not her first voyage. Caitlin's parents were also quite mobile when they were younger and although their movements did not correspond to those of their daughter's, there is a resemblance to the spirit in which these travels were undertaken. In this chapter, we will follow Caitlin's mobility as well as the movements of other interlocutors to examine how their dual citizenship status plays into the dynamic interplay of considerations for pursuing opportunities abroad.

4.2 Mobility, Life Courses & Dual Citizenship

4.2.1 Caitlin – London Calling: The possibilities of new places

When reflecting on her mobility, Caitlin remarked, "I realized when I finished high school, I left pretty much as soon as I could. When I finished my undergrad, I left as soon as I could" (Caitlin Murphy, Skype interview, Aug 1, 2012). Her movements across provincial borders after high school (she grew up in British Columbia and attended university in Ontario), and then across national borders to pursue graduate studies in the UK are significant in that key decisions for education were made in conjunction with Caitlin's interests and the desire for experiences away from home. While some aspects of 'youth travel' are sometimes seen as delaying adulthood (see Amit 2011), Caitlin's

orientation toward mobility was based on objectives to acquire skills and knowledge that would serve her in the future. In seeking these opportunities, she did not restrict her sights on locales that were close to home. Indeed, Caitlin began travelling to acquire knowledge and new experiences from a young age. At the age of 16 she embarked on a summer language work exchange program to Quebec with the goal to improve her French language skills, and during a summer semester at university she attended a multi-disciplinary course in France. For Caitlin, mobility seems to be an important component of the process of self-realization.

It is important to note that other factors, such as family support, economics, or personal relationships, blend with life course decisions in order to facilitate or orient the desire for mobility. It is clear that Caitlin's parents supported her desires to embark on projects away from home as she began to do so at an age when she would have required their consent. When it was time for her to attend university, Caitlin was accepted at several institutions but chose the one in Ontario as she was offered a scholarship there, and because she could continue perfecting her French language skills. Her decision to attend graduate school in London was influenced by the fact that her boyfriend was studying in that city at the time. Caitlin described this latter factor as a "low level", "practical" reason for moving to and then staying in London. The "high level" considerations involved the exploration of new places and experiences that would be fulfilling for her. Her current life and work in London satisfies this need "for now". "I think it's probably something to do with the fact that it does have so much of the world coming through it and is so accessible to other places… it just felt like it was the right place for me."

It is interesting that Caitlin described London as a "big mobile city" that people 'move through'. This characterization seems to coincide with the mobile lifestyle that she herself undertook. Her interests and goals led her to travel to or dwell in various places for a time, and she took advantage of the encounters and experiences that each place offered. For Caitlin, the characteristics of London as a world city offer opportunities for the encounters that she wishes to experience at this stage of her life course. In a study of New Zealand skilled migrants working in London, Conradson and Latham argued that there is an emotional dimension to transnational mobility that is connected to the "affective possibilities of cities" (2007: 235). They explain that "certain places offer, or are perceived to offer…new modes of feeling and being" (2007:235). The anticipation of what can be discovered in such a space as well as the corresponding potential for self formation is an important element in the types of transnational mobility undertaken by people such as Caitlin.

However, Caitlin also reasons that she feels comfortable in London because many of its cultural elements, such as language, customs and norms, are recognizable to her. She grew up in a small town in British Columbia where the majority of the population is of English, Scottish or Irish descent. Her Irish citizenship was bequeathed to her by her father, and Caitlin spoke to me of customs and traditions that were performed in the home that she only realized were Irish in origin after she had been in London for a while and had met other Irish expatriates. While she feels a strong attachment to her home town and her family:

> …in terms of kind of my own, I suppose more independent, adult life, I think that's what London gives me [a sense of connection] in a way. And I think it

might be because it's neither Ireland nor Canada, but it also kind of has elements of both…   Canadian culture and British culture definitely have connections, but so does Irish culture. And I do know certain things growing up that I just didn't really think about as maybe not being Canadian, but actually being influenced more by Irish things. I've realised now, having Irish friends, when you talk about certain things, they'd be like, 'Yeah, we did that all the time!' And it makes sense in a different way. So I think that's the kind of nice thing with London, is you can feel at home because you've kind of got so many elements of, that perhaps make up who you are within one space.

Within London, a space that lies outside the boundaries of her official citizenships, Caitlin is developing a stronger understanding of her own identity while reaching out to new experiences that have the potential to transform it. While mobility often implies a progressive, forward movement, the subjective dimensions of transnationalism also incorporate the capacity for retrospective reflection and self-examination.

Caitlin's social circle in London includes other transnational expatriates who, unlike her, do not have EU citizenship. They view their time in London as temporary, and know that they will be moving on once their study or work visas have expired. Caitlin's perception of London as a place "that has so much of the world moving through it" reveals that she has internalized this view to some extent. In coining the term 'super-diversity' to refer to spaces with a highly culturally and nationally diversified population, Vertovec argues that such spaces trigger a multitude of variables, including "differential immigrant statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights" that influence "where, how and with whom people live" (2007: 1025). Caitlin's previous choices for mobility also

contribute to the notion that at one point, when her interests change or other opportunities arise, like her friends she well may leave London behind:

> …you tend to a have a lot of movement within your circles as well. And you kind of just notice that, you know, in a couple years a lot of my friends, their visas will be up. And they might be from Canada or the States, but because they don't have citizenship, a lot of them are going to be heading off because they won't be able to stay. I've a lot of British friends who I think are starting to get the itchy feet and maybe, in a few years, might want to go somewhere else. That won't necessarily dictate what I do, but I think you kind of, there's periods in your life where things come together and things change.

4.2.2 Sofia – Personal Crossroads

The notion of change was a recurring theme amongst the participants in my study who had embarked on a transnational lifestyle. This too is closely associated with the life course and the times in life when individuals find themselves at a crossroads. When I asked Sofia, a 34 year-old dual Canadian/Italian citizen, what prompted her to seek a work opportunity abroad, she replied that it was sheer happenstance that led her to apply for a job in Switzerland: "Well, I just wanted a change, a drastic change, but [it was] not necessarily [based on the fact] that I wanted to move abroad" (Sofia Minotti, telephone interview, May 28, 2012).

The need for change had characterized many of the key decisions that Sofia had made in her life. Raised by a single mother in Montreal and paternal grandparents in Italy, she

was instilled with a strong work ethic from a young age. Like other members of her family who had migrated to Montreal, Sofia's mother, Lucia, demonstrated a strong entrepreneurial spirit and determination to make a living in this country.[33] Other members of Lucia's family were also self-employed, and Sofia began working for them when she was 12 years old. Sofia describes her adolescence as one where she was "always very active, working, working, and going to school. But not really doing kid stuff."

Much of Sofia's adolescence had been spent undertaking considerable responsibilities in work and school, and by the time she completed CEGEP she had a strong desire to get away from this lifestyle and experience something new. She decided to delay her entrance into university for one year and spend it travelling in Europe. At this point in her life course, mobility was seen as an action that would release her from obligations, permit her to fulfill other desires, and to learn new things about herself. Interestingly, in contrast to the perception that youth mobility can be "central to the material and symbolic practices through which young people move from the status of children to that of adults" (Thomson and Taylor 2005: 328), Sofia felt that travel would allow her to enjoy the freedom of youth that she had missed while growing up.

When Sofia returned from her sabbatical year in Europe, her choice of university was also centered on the idea of change. "…while I was travelling, I didn't have any clue where I wanted to study. But I think the main driver was that I didn't want to stay in Montreal. Because I didn't want to continue living at home. I wanted to experience something different." Similar to Caitlin, a combination of factors steered her in a

---

[33] Employed in the garment industry from the age of 14, as an adult Lucia gained the confidence of her employers who eventually supported her in the creation of her own production company.

particular direction. She wanted to study law, and a university in Ontario where several friends were enrolled offered a reputable program. The program also offered the possibility for a future career in international law as it offered both civil and common law programs, which at the time was an area of vague interest to her. "…it [international law] was kind of appealing. It kind of [gave] you the idea that if you want to do it, then it's good because you have all these options [you have gained the education to be able to pursue it]... But, did I want to do an international career back then? No, I don't think so."

The strong work ethic with which Sofia had been imbued is apparent in the way that her career in law unfolded, despite the fact that after her degree in civil law she decided not to return to school to pursue a common law degree: "…after my bar I was so done with studying, I just wanted to start working. " Although it was not recommended for her to do so because of the intense level of work involved, while she was studying for the bar Sofia also chose to accept a job offer from a public service law firm in Montreal. Similarly, a year later Sofia found herself at a private law firm in Montreal while simultaneously working for one of the firm's clients. Her work as an in-house lawyer exposed her to the international side of her field which she found very interesting. She eventually accepted a full-time position at that company. It was extremely demanding work however, and after three years Sofia came to another crossroads, but this time she was uncertain as to what direction she should take, "because up until then, everything happened by coincidence. From one job to another. And this was the first time where I had to personally steer things in one direction. Or in another direction."

In steering things, Sofia did not purposefully cast her net across international borders. It was happenstance combined with the realization that she needed a change in her life that led her to apply for a position in Switzerland:

> …There was one evening I was in the office until late, and I just googled something and this came up. And I had never sent my CV before. And I really didn't know how to do it, because I was always kind of doing it within the official channels. When I was in university I postulated for official traineeships, they offered me a job, one job led me to another, which led me to another, so I never had to look for a job, really. And this was just a pure coincidence. I saw the ad and I called them…Yeah, it was one evening, I was in the office until, it was almost midnight, and I was a bit sad and depressed!

This chance encounter over the internet provoked a dramatic change in Sofia's life course trajectory. Within six weeks of accepting the job offer she was living and working in Zurich. Considering the interactions between serendipity, desires and choices made by social actors, and wider structural processes reveals the complexities involved when choosing transnational mobility (Amit 2010). In addition, while Sofia's dual citizenship status was not a prerequisite for her employment and thus did not factor into her considerations for transnational mobility, the fact that she had strong connections to family in Italy and had also resided there during her youth helped to make this move plausible to her. "Europe still feels like home somehow, even though Switzerland is unlike Europe. Switzerland is just Switzerland, it's really another category. Swiss people are in a category of their own. But it's still Europe."

4.2.3 Talia – The Emotion in Mobility

While Caitlin's and Sofia's narratives of mobility were based on the ideas of exploration and change in terms of education and work, an underlying notion of place-making was also present. When contemplating mobility, these women imagined the possibilities that would be available to them in the new spaces they were to inhabit, but also rationalized how they could carve out a home for themselves there. A certain form of relatedness was necessary for this to happen. Caitlin perceived London as a space where other like-minded expatriates resided, a space where "You can be part of it, but slightly an outsider. Because it's so much of everyone" (Caitlin Murphy, Skype interview, Aug 1, 2012). Sofia could imagine a life in Switzerland due to its geographical location in the center of Europe. For Talia, such a form of relatedness was a much stronger factor in propelling her move from Montreal to Apollonia[34], a small town in northern Greece.

As a child of dual Greek/Canadian citizens, she had spent a significant amount of her childhood and adolescence in this town. In a chapter two I detailed the conditions under which Talia decided on her move; unhappy with the considerable responsibilities she had to shoulder in her young adult life in terms of work and family responsibilities, in her desire for change she oriented herself directly towards Greece. This orientation was based on her lived experience in Apollonia, but also on the subjective emotions that were evoked when she moved from Apollonia to Montreal in her late teen years:

> When I came back [to Canada] it was actually a huge shock. I had kept in touch with my friends on the south shore, but we had moved to the west island. I hated it, literally went through a depression, the first two years.

---

[34] I have used Apollonia as a pseudonym for the town in Greece where Talia resides.

That was really hard because everything was new, where we lived, the whole situation, and making friends from the beginning. (Talia Kefalas, personal interview, July 9, 2012)

While Talia made concerted efforts to adapt to this life, completing her secondary school education, finding full time employment and enrolling in a night-time certificate course at university, a return to Apollonia always remained a future project. It is interesting that although a return to Greece was based on the memories created when Talia was at a different point in her life course – she was still under her parents' care and had significantly less personal responsibilities – they remained relevant when she imagined what her life could be like in Greece as an adult. These memories solidified her determination to carve out a place for herself in her new home as she dealt with the realities of finding employment and negotiated the bureaucratic process involved in acquiring citizenship. They also contrasted significantly to the negative emotions that arose when she contemplated her life in Canada

Conradson and Mckay have commented that "the happiness, sadness, frustration, excitement and ambivalence that accompany emplacement and mobility are central to social life, shaping our experiences of the world and relations with others" (2007: 169). Talia's movements between Canada and Greece and residence in these two countries allowed her to experience what she perceived to be as two different ways of being and living in the world. She explained to me that what drew her back to Apollonia and what keeps her there are primarily the forms of sociality that it offers:

The social life in Greece is like breathing. You go out, you're going to have coffee with somebody. Without even planning it, because you're going to bump into somebody who's going to tell you, "Let's go have lunch", and you'll just go… [A]ny day that I'm out, I'm always going to bump into somebody I know, who's going to tell you to go into their business to sit with them because they're bored. Or you know, they have some work, why don't you help them out a bit. And people will do it because it's the mentality. And where I live, it's so beautiful. There's a lake, all the coffee shops are by the lake, like right on the boardwalk. So you just… And it's so quiet. There's no rat race. You don't have to run around all day, and work in an office with the stress. And I like that.

4.3 Expanded Spaces &Dual Citizenship

In seeking employment in Greece, Talia realized that she could capitalize on the skills that she had acquired due to her parents' transnational mobility. Movement between Apollonia and Montreal and residence in these two places when she was younger meant that she had perfected her Greek, English as well as French language skills. "I decided to look for a teaching job", she explained to me, and Talia found a position quite quickly with a private language school. The lack of official work and residence permits was not a deterrent to her employment; Talia only received her teaching license and citizenship after being employed at the school for over two years. "Who's going to check?" Talia asked me. "They don't check there. Well mind you, I did come from Canada and I had a Greek last name."

Here Talia is describing an element of deterritorialization that is shaped, on one hand, by a state's history of significant out-migration of its citizens, and on the other hand, by a stagnant and inefficient state bureaucracy. I have noted earlier that Greek citizenship laws have been framed to be inclusive of members of the Greek diaspora. Talia's lived experience demonstrates that this inclusivity can also exist below the level of state regulation and law in the daily interactions between Greek citizens and diasporic Greeks. It can even exist when the citizen is engaged in monitoring these regulations: when Talia first arrived and went through customs with her Canadian passport, she was not asked what the purpose of her visit was. "They saw my name on the passport, they just let me in. They didn't ask me where I was going to stay, how long…" A Greek family name was more significant in confirming her membership and rights to be in the country than the origin of her passport.

Despite the regulation that non-EU citizens are permitted to remain in Greece for three months only, and applications for work and residence permits must be made for stays over this time period[35], Talia's employer hired her and then applied for the work permit that would legitimize her employment. The reply came after 18 months, and was refused on the basis that Talia did not have sufficient educational credentials to perform that job. Talia then went through a second bureaucratic channel to secure a Greek teaching license. By then she had decided to remain in Greece permanently, and so she also applied for her citizenship. Both were granted some ten months later. Talia and her employer negotiated the bureaucratic-administrative procedures with patience and with the confidence that there would be no negative repercussions from the contravention of established rules and

---

[35] "Greece – Visas, Residency, Immigration and Documentation", ExpatFocus, accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.expatfocus.com/expatriate-greece-visas-residency.

regulations. More significantly, the act of by-passing the rules seemed to be legitimized by virtue of Talia's membership to the wider Greek nation that transcended defined state borders.

Talia's experience shows that while states may continue to assert control of transnational movement through border controls and citizenship legislation, cultural views of the meaning of citizenship may blur these political lines. A global economy also blurs these lines as supra-state agreements and global corporate activity facilitate the movement of capital, goods, services, and labour across territorial lines. International education is one product or service that flows across national borders, and in North America is touted as a form of education that prepares students for future careers in a globalised economy where an understanding of cultural diversity is essential (Woolf 2002). University campuses promote study abroad programs, receive international students, and provide access to information about graduate and post-graduate foreign programs. According to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, in 2009 approximately 3% of all Canadian higher education students studied abroad.[36] Caitlin began her graduate studies in London that year. She had 'shopped' for a graduate program the previous year while she holidayed in Europe with her partner who was based in London, travelling to the Netherlands and Paris and also visiting universities there that interested her.

At first glance, it could be assumed that Caitlin's dual citizenship would be of significant advantage in her quest to attend graduate school in Europe and that her movements would be shaped by it. Her Irish citizenship would lighten her financial load as she could apply

---

[36] "Canada's Students Overseas", Institute of International Education, accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.iie.org/Services/Project-Atlas/Canada/Canadas-Students-Overseas. "Higher Education Sector", Institute of International Education, accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.iie.org/en/Services/Project-Atlas/Canada/Higher-Education-Sector.

as an EU student, who in general is entitled to study in any EU member state without incurring international student fees. However, financial advantages make up only a part of the dynamic considerations for movement and mobility. In addition, each EU state retains the prerogative to establish their own regulations concerning international students. While the UK is part of the European Union, their university fee rates are associated with residency. As Caitlin explained,

> …when I was applying to grad school, I applied to the Netherlands. And because I had an Irish passport, [I was] automatically eligible for scholarships for EU, for EU fees. But in the UK, you had to be living here for three years, not as a student, in order to have access to that [EU student rates], even if you had the citizenship. (Caitlin Murphy, Skype interview, Aug 1, 2012)

Similar to Talia's move to Greece, Caitlin's decision to study in London was not dependent on her citizenship status in a legal sense. Rather, it was based on a combination of subjective factors; the possibilities that London could offer, the presence there of a person who was important to her life, and the confidence that the university program would fulfill her intellectual curiosity. In addition, both Talia and Caitlin had a certain awareness of the locales that they were to inhabit. Talia had experienced life in Greece as a youth, and for Caitlin London offered "some degree of familiarity…it isn't a markedly different culture [from Canadian culture]."

Sofia's form of relatedness with Switzerland was less tangible. In her case, it was the career opportunity there that responded directly to her desire for new experiences and challenges. I have previously described how Sofia's job search was not specifically

directed to overseas positions: she happened to come across the job advertisement while perusing the internet for possible opportunities. However, this encounter is not as serendipitous as it is perceived as knowledge-based and professional employment markets are becoming increasingly internationalized with contemporary globalisation, and the internet as an information highway bypasses national borders. Global corporations, such as the one Sofia currently works for, can have a presence in multiple locations across several continents, which in turn certainly impacts the way in which they will organize and implement their human resource strategies. When sourcing talent, global corporations do not need to consider national borders as they may be superseded by various agreements made with the states in which they operate. Sofia's dual citizenship status then, had no bearing on her ability to acquire a position in Switzerland. "It was a 'nice to have', and it was great to have it when my life changed overnight. But it didn't steer any of my decisions. It was just like, 'Oh, I have it. Let me use it because it's actually an advantage'" (Sofia Minotti, telephone interview, May 28, 2012) . Her education, work experience and willingness to be mobile served as her qualifications. What her Italian citizenship did do, however, was facilitate and secure her position as a non-Swiss worker, as work permit regulations in that country prioritize workers from EU, EFTA (European Free Trade Association) and Schengen member states.[37]

4.4 Family Narratives of Mobility & Migration & Dual Citizenship

In a study of Barbadian family narratives of migration, Chamberlain remarked that "Although the original motivations of migrants may be 'history' to their children,

---

[37] "Federal Office of Migration", Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, accessed May 10, 2013, http://www.bfm.admin.ch/bfm/en/home.html.

nevertheless the dreams and aspirations which were forged by them may retain a dynamic, translated and transformed by subsequent generations" (1994: 255). This process of translation and transformation seems to take place as these narratives are considered by the second generation in conjunction with a wide range of other considerations and reflections. In other words, family narratives of migration and inherited citizenship come to be understood in relation to each family member's life experiences, aspirations, interests and obligations. Thus the offspring of migrant parents may come to have very differing understandings of movement, both from their parents and between themselves. In addition, over the years these stories may also be edited and re-interpreted by both parents and children, and thus their meaning may change over time. Although they are part and parcel of a host of other reflections for movement, the way in which migration narratives are recounted within the family seems to be more salient to the participants of this study than the juridical right of movement granted to them by their dual citizenship status. In addition, some members of the second generation in this study experienced movement when they were children because of decisions made by their parents, which also informs them of the advantages and consequences that mobility could possibly offer to them as adults.

4.4.1 Sofia & Marco Minotti – Same Narrative, Disparate Understandings

While siblings Sofia and Marco heard the same stories of migration from their parents and also lived the same experiences of transnational movement when they were children, as adults there is a considerable difference in the way they understand what mobility means to them. As we have seen with Sofia, she did not have a distinct desire to uproot herself from Montreal. Rather, unencumbered by attachments that could restrict her

movements to a particular locale, mobility became a viable option for her as she contemplated a career change. Conversely, Marco had been considerably oriented toward a period of residence in Italy (their parents' country of origin) as a young adult. However, different educational and career choices made movement less tenable for him at that time. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, Marco's personal reflections on mobility seem to be significantly influenced by his memories of movement as a child.

The Minotti Narrative

The Minotti family narrative of migration and settlement was oriented toward the father's reflections on his country of origin, which tended towards the superlative. When his children were growing up, Umberto had impressed upon them the value and distinction of Italian culture. "When I was a little girl, I remember [my father telling me], like, Italy was the best country and Canada was shit, type thing", Sofia explained to me (Sofia Minotti, telephone interview, May 28, 2012). Likewise, Marco related that his father considered both Italian heritage and Italian citizenship to be significant resources for his children, on par with higher education and multilingualism. It is interesting that when their father, Umberto, spoke to me about his reasons for immigrating, he spoke very negatively about the class stratifications and social restrictions that he felt were inherent to this culture. Umberto was from a family of modest means. As a university student who also worked as a waiter to earn extra money, he was struck by the class differentiation that was imposed upon him by his fellow students.

> *J'étais ridiculisé par tous mes amis, par tout le monde, parce que je faisais le*
> *serveur. Et qu'est-ce que c'est arrivé, quand les gens que je connaissais me*
> *demandaient à boire, ils ne me donnaient pas de tips. Parce que 'ffff', pour*

nous tu es déjà une personne dégradée… Mais j'ai dit, « comment ça ce

fait? »… Je suis étudiant, en chimie, mais j'avais besoin d'argent…La

personne qui ne travaillait pas était bien vue.

I was ridiculed by all of my friends, by everyone, because I [worked as] a

waiter. And what happened was that, when the people I knew ordered

something to drink, they wouldn't tip me. Because 'ffff' [gives a wave of

dismissal], to us you are already a degraded person. And I said [to myself],

"But why is that?"…I'm a student, in chemical [engineering], but I needed

money… The person who did not work was well regarded. (Umberto Minotti,

personal interview, June 19, 2012)

Umberto explained that he came to the realization that in Italy he would not be able to

achieve upward mobility on the strength of his credentials alone, and this prompted his

decision to emigrate. *"Parce que l'italien, si toi tu n'as pas de place pour travailler, tu*

ne peux pas….une personne qui a une profession ne va pas faire un travail quelconque."

[Because the Italian, if you don't have a place to work, you cannot…even a person who

has a profession can't just get any job [for which he is qualified]].

Umberto explained that for him settlement in Montreal included seeking out associations

and social networks that were not Italian. Upon reflection of his early years in Montreal

he has surmised that his successful integration into networks with an *"ambiance*

international" was due to his cultural knowledge and education acquired as a youth in

Italy:

Quand vous avez bien de choses à donner comme culture, là vous êtes une personne bien appréciée. Mais l'importance c'est l'éducation… être humble… et la culture c'est très, très important.

When you have many things to offer as culture, then you are a person that is well appreciated. But the important thing is education…to be humble… and culture is very, very important.

Umberto thus places much importance on the historical and cultural contributions that his country of origin has offered. It was more important for Umberto to have his children embrace this history and their Italian heritage than to see Italy through his own negative experiences, despite the fact that they were the factors that had prompted him to migrate. In some ways, Umberto is reproducing the superior/inferior distinctions that he himself rejected when he was younger. It is interesting that his children's understanding of their father's narrative has been shaped around the notion of the importance of Italian culture and history and the value of Italy's association with the EU rather than Umberto's actual experiences and orientations for mobility. The focus is less on motivations and expectations of movement and more on the forging of cultural and symbolic links with the family's country of origin.

The story of Lucia's (Sofia and Marco's mother) migration and settlement experience was suppressed within the Minotti household. This was due in part to cultural attitudes toward class difference and the cultural importance of regional geography as an identity marker.[38] Umberto's home town was in close proximity to Rome, and Lucia's family

---

[38] See Ramirez 1989.

hailed from rural Sicily. In addition, the gendered power structure of the Minotti's marital relationship determined that expressions of Italy were oriented toward how Umberto wished to frame their country of origin. Lucia's story was also edited within the family narrative because of the way in which Lucia perceived her own experience as one that was painful and very traumatic. She did not wish to expose her children to such caustic memories, nor re-live them herself. Lucia's migration experience is closely linked to the tumultuous relationship she had with her late father.[39] For Lucia, her father's decision to move the family from Sicily to Canada crushed the aspirations, hopes and dreams that she had for her own life. At the age of fourteen, her departure from home against her will signalled the end of her life. Since then she has not lived, she explained to me, she has only existed:

> *...quand tu sais que [tu] dois passer l'océan, c'est plus difficile...Alors*
> *imagine toi, toute une famille, au complet, qui déménage, de la Sicile, pour*
> *venir ici au Canada. Tu n'as plus d'espoir de rentrer. C'est quelque chose*
> *que tu te portes avec toi. Parce que moi je me souviens, quand mon père il*
> *parlait que ma sœur avait fait une demande pour venir ici au Canada, moi je*
> *me suis rebellée. Et puis, je me souviens que mon père il m'a battue pour ça,*
> *pour ma rebelle...Alors, de ce temps là, je me suis fermée en dedans, parce*
> *que moi, je ne voulais pas venir ici au Canada...Et puis, je me souviens... que*
> *nous sommes partis de la Sicile, dans le train pour aller à Messina, pour*
> *l'embarcation....je me suis jamais retourneé en arrière. Parce que pour moi*
> *c'était comme une brisure, une blessure pour la vie, que je traine jusqu'à*

---

[39] See Peressini 1991 for an analysis of how life story narratives are constructed in part from the lived experience of the narrator and also according to the narrator's particular systems of representation.

maintenant. Et je crois que je vais l'amener pour tout le reste de ma vie. J'ai

jamais parlé de ça, même pas à mes enfants…Je ne peux pas guérir de ça,

moi.

…when you know that you must cross the ocean, it's harder…So, imagine, an

entire family, who moves, from Sicily, to come here to Canada. You have no

hope of returning home. It's something that you carry with you. Because I

remember, when my father said that my sister had made an application [for

us] to come here to Canada, I rebelled. And I remember that my father had

beaten me for that, for my rebellion…So, from that time, I have closed myself

off, because I did not want to come here to Canada…And I remember…that

we left Sicily, in the train to go to Messina, for the embarkation…I never

turned around. Because for me it was like a rupture, an open wound that I

have for life. I have never talked about that, not even to my children. (Lucia

Minotti, personal interview, May 18, 2012)

Although close relationships have been maintained with Lucia's family, Sofia and

Marco's understanding of their parents' country of origin is completely oriented toward

the region where Umberto is from. The lack of affiliation toward Sicily is apparent when

Marco describes his last visit to this island: "*Wow, tu te croirais vraiment dans un film*

de… le Parrain! [Wow, you would think [you were] really in a Godfather film!]" (Marco

Minotti, personal interview, June 13, 2012). The children were rather witness to their

mother's courage and diligence as she undertook the challenge to provide for her family,

and to the ways in which Lucia used transnational mobility to achieve her goals. When

Lucia recounted the conditions under which she sent her children to live in Italy for

extended periods of time, she explained that at the time she was divorcing her husband and did not have the resources to have her children cared for while she worked. Sofia understands this narrative as one that was based on a decision made by both her parents as well as her paternal grandparents in Italy:

> [My parents] had a little company of their own which was based in our
> family's basement, and which was basically focusing on clothing production.
> So, they were starting up a family, they had no money, they were quite poor
> when they got married. So, the economical means to raise my brother and I
> [was] not always there. And also in terms of time, they were working so
> much, you know, the two, to make it a profitable business. So my
> grandparents basically offered that we would be sent in Italy. So they would
> raise us while the business would get started up and….viable…From what I
> was told, my mom and my dad sent me there I was three months old. My
> brother was older than me, so he must have been around six, and as a matter
> of fact I think he started primary school in Italy. So, I was raised with my
> grandparents and my aunt in _____, which is about 180 km away from
> Rome, and came back to Canada I was, I think it was just before
> kindergarten. (Sofia Minotti, telephone interview, May 28, 2012)

Movement – Progression & Liminality

When the children entered the school system they would return to their grandparents' home in Italy every summer until the age of 15. Such transnational connections that began initially out of economic necessity forged strong family links and notions of belonging to dual places. It did not however, orient Sofia's mobility as an adult toward

Italy, but rather shaped the idea of movement as a means to attain her goals and aspirations. While Sofia focused on the pragmatic aspects of her experience, Marco was more introspective about the effects movement between two spaces had on him. As a child in Italy :

Marco: *Pour moi, à chaque fois, j'arrivais sur une nouvelle planète.*
Aujourd'hui je me dis que dans ces années là je me sentais comme, je ne sais
pas si tu connais l'histoire du Petit Prince? St-Exupèry?

For me, every time, [it was as if] I arrived on a new planet. Today I tell myself that in those years, I felt like, I don't know if you know the story of the Little Prince?

Mona *: Oui.*

Marco *: Bien, dans le temps-là, je me sentais comme ça là. Chaque endroit*
c'était une nouvelle planète pour moi. Tu sais, un 'tit garçon innocent qui en
plus, voit les choses des yeux d'un petit Canadien. Puis souvent, surtout que
j'étais un petit garçon solitaire qui réfléchissait beaucoup, bien, j'analysais –
ça parait niaiseux, mais à cet âge là j'analysais déjà comment je percevais
les choses, en canadien où en italien. Puis, d'autant plus on te pose la
question, 'Est-ce que c'est mieux au Canada, où c'est mieux ici?' Où,
'Qu'est-ce que tu préfères?'. Là, t'es toujours en train de…en tout cas, moi,
c'était ma personnalité, je me sentais toujours l'obligation de faire attention
a ce que tu disais pour pas offenser la façon voir de l'autre. Puis, ça parait
niaiseux pour un petit garçon de 8 ans, 10 ans, même 6 ans. C'était comme

ça. Pis à d'autres moments donnés, 'Ben, non, eh, chez nous, c'est comme ça

que ça ce fais pis c'est ben mieux comme ça.'… Mais, je suis toujours

resté…étant donné que j'ai commencé fort à voyager entre les deux pays, j'ai

développé une appartenance très forte au fait d'être Italien sans l'être.

Well, during that time, I felt like that. Every place was a new planet for me.

You know, a little naive boy that in addition, sees things through the eyes of a

little Canadian. And often, particularly that I was a solitary little boy that

reflected [on many things], well, I would analyse – it seems silly, but at that

age I would already analyse how I perceived things, as Canadian or Italian.

And in addition you're asked the question, 'Is it better in Canada, or is it

better here?' Or, 'What do you prefer?' So in that case, you are always…in

any case, me, it was my personality, I always felt the obligation to be very

careful not to say anything to offend the other person's view. And it seems

silly for a little boy of 8, 10, even 6. It was like that. And at other times,

'Well, no, um, at home we do it like that and it's much better that way.'…But

I have always remained... as I had travelled frequently between the two

countries, I developed a very strong affiliation to being Italian without being

it [Italian].

There are notions of liminality and uncertainty of belonging that is evoked with Marco's

narrative. Marco admitted that in some ways he feels torn between the two countries.

Although he may have considered mobility in a more serious fashion than Sofia has, he

has never acted upon it. In addition, Marco believes that he could never consider leaving

Montreal permanently:

...ce que ma sœur à fait, moi je ne serais pas capable de faire. Elle, ma sœur,

voulait tout couper les liens...Il faudrait que, si je m'en allais ailleurs, à

temps plein, il faudrait que j'aille (sic) un pied à terre ici quelque part. Que

ça soit un chalet, n'importe quoi, une cabane. Pis ça c'est drôle, parce que ça

cause un déchirement, puis veut, veut pas, d'un côté comme de l'autre, je vais

toujours avoir un côté triste parce que si je suis ici je vais me sentir italien

puis il me manque quelque chose. Puis si je suis là-bas il va me manquer

quelque chose, puis c'est ma terre ici.

…what my sister did, I would never be able to do. My sister wanted to cut all

ties…It would have to be, if I went elsewhere, full time, I would have to have

a *pied à terre* here somewhere. Whether it is a cottage, whatever, a cabin.

And it's funny, because it creates a rift, and whether you like it or not, on one

side as much as the other, one part of me will always be sad because if I'm

here I will feel Italian and I will be missing something. And if I'm there I'll

be missing something, and [that something would be] my homeland here.

While Sofia's family narratives and experiences of mobility as a child may have

empowered her to utilise mobility in the quest for fulfillment, Marco frames movement

across borders as an action that is replete with tension and conflicted loyalties. He

considers himself to be "50/50" (Canadian/Italian), but is very conscious of the

obligations of citizenship that come with its rights. "*Moi, mon éducation, veut, veut pas,*

je ne suis pas allé à l'école en Italie, là. À qui je la dois? Je la dois à ma terre ici. [Me,

my education, whether you like it or not, I did not go to school in Italy. To whom do I

owe that? I owe it to my land here.]" For Marco, a dual citizenship status which gives

him the legal right to inhabit two spaces does not reconcile these burdens*: "C'est un outil, pour arriver à des fins. Mais est-ce qu'une fierté? Est-ce qu'une finalité en soi? Non. Absolument pas.* [It's a tool, a means to an end. But is it a source of pride? Is it an end in itself? No. Absolutely not.]"

4.4.2 Talia – Transnational Mobility as a Lifestyle

Family narratives of mobility can enlighten subsequent generations about the limits and possibilities of movement. Talia is the third generation within her family to incorporate migration into her life and to also maintain close links to their hometown in Greece. She was therefore witness to the transnational experience of negotiating economic opportunities and family obligations across borders. She could imagine the possibilities of this type of life for herself, even though her parents disapproved of her choice to do so. "…they're of the mentality that, we want our kids nearby. So it affects them. They're used to it now, but I think it bothers them that I'm too far away", Talia explained to me (Talia Kefalas, personal interview, July 9, 2012).

In many ways Talia is re-creating the same form of lifestyle that her parents and grandparents lived before her. She has returned to Montreal for extended visits almost every year since she settled in Greece. In addition, in recent years she has taken advantage of her ability to work while in Montreal to compensate for the reduction in earnings she has experienced due to Greece's significant economic difficulties. Talia also thinks that transnational mobility would be advantageous for her own future children: "I would actually encourage my child to learn French, to be able to come to Montreal and see something else, experience what it has to offer. Because Canada has a lot of good

things to offer." The main driver for her to migrate was her desire for a certain lifestyle, but her family's migration narrative contributed to her overall orientation toward a transnational way of life.

This is not to say, as we have seen with Sofia and Marco Minotti, that all children within the same family will follow in the same path. As explained, there are a host of other considerations involved in the decision to migrate. Although Talia's sister would also have liked to move to Apollonia, she is now settled in Montreal with her own family. Contrary to Talia, it was difficult for her to imagine how she would create an economically secure life there as the job market was and still is limited. "… she didn't want to teach, so what else would she do there? There's not much else to do in a small city. You either own your own business or you're teaching English", Talia explained to me.

4.4.3 Caitlin – Mobility as Experience

It is possible that Caitlin was oriented toward a mobile lifestyle from a young age because of the extensive periods of movement her parents undertook when they were young before settling to raise their family:

> [My dad] was born in Ireland, Dublin. He … left home when he was around
> 16 to come and work in England. And this would have been in the late
> sixties. After working in a couple cities, pub and construction work, he
> eventually found a way to get down to the south of France, and started
> working on yachts there. Around that time, my mom, she grew up in Alberta.
> And her father worked for some time on the railway, as well as in insurance,

and they moved a fair bit when she was young. When she, I think she did one year of university at Calgary, and then decided that she wanted to go off and travel around Europe at the age of 19. So she set off, ended up traveling around a few countries, ended up in the south of France, on a barge with some Dutch people, and met my dad there. Eventually decided to stay in the south of France for a while, continuing to work on boats with my dad. And then through that they ended up coming over to Canada for while, after a few years of that. Into Toronto, eventually going back to Alberta where they got married. Then they also, I don't know the exact history of time, but they also spend some time working on yachts in, kind of, New York City, eastern seaboard, and the Caribbean, and there might be somewhere else, I can't remember right now. But then they ended up eventually going to [the west coast of Canada]. And settling down there. (Caitlin Murphy, Skype interview, Aug 1, 2012)

Caitlin explained that in large part it was the search for economic security that prompted her father, Seamus, to leave his homeland. But unlike Talia and Sofia's family narratives, the stories that she heard as a child were framed in terms of the opportunities to be found and the experiences to be gained with mobility. They thus relate more closely to the idea of exploration through travel and mobile lifestyles than strategic moves to improve quality of life or seek out more lucrative forms of livelihood. In turn, along with acknowledging a connection to her father's country of origin, Caitlin understands her Irish citizenship in terms of the opportunities that it may facilitate for her:

[My mother] always thought that it was really, really important for us to understand where he comes from. Probably more than [my father] does, actually! And I think also the mobility side of things, she thought was very important. She's always said that the passport and the citizenship is the greatest gift that he's ever going to be able to give us, and, you know, kind of appreciate that. So those are probably two of the reasons, I guess, kind of the mobility side, but also the connection and heritage side.

Caitlin's mother, Catherine, wanted to ensure that her children would be able to remain connected to her husband's homeland and be entitled to enjoy the benefits that dual citizenship would offer. This took some negotiation of the state and supra-state regulations for citizenship recognition. Caitlin explained to me the conditions under which she and her brother received their Irish passports:

My mom had wanted us to get it for a long time. Part of the reason we didn't get it until much later, was actually due to the issue of my dad being adopted. Because it turned out that when he had first gotten his first passport, it just required, you know, a priest signing a piece of paper saying this person exists. And so his passport had always been in my last name, _____. But his actual last name [was _____]. He had never had a legalized adoption, it turned out that they just handed him off. So when the EU rules came in, and you had to have an actual birth certificate, there's no birth certificate that has his changed name on it. And so he needed to get affidavits and stuff from his adoptive brothers to say what had happened. But he almost lost his citizenship for that. So once he sorted that out, my mom wanted to make sure

we got ours [our passports] as quickly as possible in case any problems ever happened again.

4.5 Mobility & the Window of Opportunity

This chapter has focused on the interlocutors who have undertaken transnational mobility, and reveals the ways in which their family histories and their notions of life changes, exploration and place-making took precedence over their legal status of dual citizenship when determining movement. In addition, the idea of mobility as a means for self-fulfillment took place at a certain point in their life course when they were free of other obligations such as family, spouse or children. All of these elements seemed to converge at a particular point in time that made mobility possible for them. Those participants who had not moved away from Canada to establish themselves elsewhere did not eliminate the idea of movement across national borders to pursue opportunities as a future possibility, but talked about what would need to happen for it to become a reality. For example, as we have seen with Marco, the idea of place-making in Italy was difficult for him because a great part of his sense of self was located in Canada where he has spent most of his life. At this time in his life, he also has other obligations created in part by the fact that his sister has undertaken mobility for herself:

> *Ma sœur, elle était dans un âge, puis elle a eu l'opportunité qui à fait qu'elle pouvait le faire. Malheureusement, moi je suis pas mal plus établi que ma sœur. Ça serait difficile. Puis d'autre en plus, elle est partie. Si moi je pars, mes parents n'ont plus personne. Mes parents s'en viennent dans les vieux jours. Je ne pense pas voir ma sœur ici pour venir s'occuper de ma mère pis*

mon père. Ma mère, c'est moins pire parce qu'elle a toute sa famille avec

elle, puis elle reste avec sa sœur qui est en même temps sa meilleure amie.

Mon père, lui, est vraiment tout seul. Fait, qu'est-ce que je fais, tu sais? Ça

c'est, entre autres, une grosse contrainte.

My sister, she was at a certain age, and she had the opportunity that made it

possible for her to do it. Unfortunately, I'm much more established than my

sister. It would be difficult. And in addition, she has left. If I leave, my

parents won't have anyone. My parents are entering old age. I can't imagine

that my sister would come here to take care of my mother and my father. My

mother, it's not so bad because she has her entire family with her, and she

lives with her sister who is also her best friend. My father, he is really all

alone. So, what do I do, you know? That is, among other things, a big

constraint.

Because he cannot imagine uprooting himself permanently from Canada, he vaguely

imagines a transnational lifestyle where he can return periodically to a "*pied à terre*"

here. And as he feels responsible for the care of his parents, he will not seriously begin to

look for work opportunities outside of the country at this time: "*On va attendre un peut*.

[We'll wait awhile.]"

Other interlocutors whose parents were at comparable life stages spoke of similar

obligations, which were also often combined with considerations of obligations to

spouses and children. When dual citizens have families of their own, self-fulfillment,

exploration and place-making may have to also encompass and correspond to the needs

of the family unit. What is interesting is that movement does not seem to be discounted in its entirety, but is described as a possibility if and when all of the proper elements converge at the proper time. The elements also shape the way in which mobility will take place. While Marco is vague about what his movements between Canada and Italy would look like, Marija and her husband, both second generation Canadian/Lithuanian citizens, foresee a time when they will alternate residence periods between the two countries. Both currently work in Montreal as teachers:

> …we sort of look at the future and we think as soon as, now we still have this kid. She's getting pretty big but she's still hanging around with us. But as soon as she's really doing her own thing, then we can go there for two months in the summer easily. We can really make that a second home… that's the long term plan. Because it's just very interesting there.

Marija's family had maintained strong emotional and familial links to Lithuania following their escape, which had been prompted by the annexation of Lithuania to the Soviet Union at the end of WWII. In addition, Marija resided in Lithuania for ten years as a young adult during the early years of Lithuanian independence from the Soviet Union. During this time she formed her own extensive social networks to which she remains connected by frequent return visits and internet communication. When their daughter will be more independent, Marija and her husband foresee spending more time in Lithuania pursuing interests that will contribute to their self-development and self-fulfillment, made possible by Marija's social mobility within that country. They have opted for this form of transnational mobility rather than a direct move to Lithuania because they acknowledge that at this point their daughter's transition to life there would be difficult for her, and the

current instability in Europe would make their economic position more uncertain. Therefore, a period of residence in each country is the more viable choice, and would be made possible due to their teaching careers in Canada that free them from work obligations during the summer months.

When contemplating mobility, the dual citizens I interviewed who were relatively settled in terms of work and family prioritized economic viability in their considerations. The effect of the uncertain economy in Europe on mobility will be explored in more detail in chapter six as it certainly has had an effect on the potential movements of my study participants.

4.6 Conclusion

Within the second generation, dual citizenship status seems to create an awareness of the possibilities for movement, but there is a dynamic of personal considerations that are involved when deciding whether or not to embark on transnational mobility. The phase of the life course combined with the way in which movement is understood and anticipated to contribute to self-fulfilment appears to be more significant to the decision making process than the actual juridical right of movement that dual citizenship provides. As Sofia described it, it was a "perfect storm" of circumstances involving career skills and aspirations, the desire for change, and the chance discovery of an appealing job opportunity abroad that led her to be where she is today. What emerges from the interlocutors' ethnographies is the array of resources that they held – be they cultural, linguistic, social, educational or professional – that enabled and directed their mobility toward a destination that was not necessarily their family's country of origin. Their dual

citizenship status became useful to facilitate their movement through regulatory and bureaucratic processes that are part and parcel of contemporary transnational mobility, a phenomenon that is increasing in large part due to increasing global integration and corresponding shifts in attitude toward international migration and movement by states, supra-states, corporations and educational institutions.

Chapter 5 – A View of Canadian/Central and Eastern European (CEE) Citizenship

5.1 Introduction

> There's a quote by Salman Rushdie that I love about people who have these
> dual identities, or have left their homeland…He's talking about writers who
> have left India, but it kind of applies to a lot of other situations…
> It's…'Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures, and at other times we
> feel that we fall between two stools'. You know, that you're kind of plural
> and partial at the same time. That sort of captures it so well. [Marija Gabalas,
> personal interview, November 21, 2012.]

The notions of homeland and dual identities arise often as Marija recounts how her
Lithuanian grandparents came to reside in Canada, and how she came to acquire
Lithuanian citizenship. Her narrative is fascinating. Marija's story, as well as the life
stories of the other dual Canadian/eastern European citizens that I interviewed, highlight
how the historical, political and economic conditions under which a family's migration
occurs may load the legal, rights, identity, and participatory dimensions of citizenship
with particular significance and meaning. The way in which citizenship is understood by
these dual citizens has an influence on shaping their life trajectories and considerations
for mobility as this understanding meshes and overlaps with personal interests, familial
and social relationships, and happenstance. The notion of being "plural and partial" , of
acknowledging membership to two nations while at times not feeling completely part of
either also comes to hold personal meaning and is expressed in different ways.

Olwig has commented extensively on the limitations of using the nation-state as a

framework for analysis, warning that it "simplifies the complexity of migration process

and the socio-economic relations and cultural values that underline these processes",

while acknowledging that the 'nation' as a concept "necessarily provides…the explicit

and implicit subtext" (2003: 788) of transnational research. My interviews with dual

Canadian/CEE citizens reveal that the 'nation' can occupy a central location within

migration narratives, particularly when this concept is closely linked to the notion of

homeland, which itself is intertwined with the notion of the state. The communist regimes

in central and eastern Europe pre-1989, their subsequent collapse and the struggles

incurred by the people to achieve independence and move forward from communist rule

featured significantly in the narratives of Marija, Anica and Julia in varying ways. This is

because these larger geo-political events significantly shaped the tumultuous conditions

of migration for their families. These experiences, either directly lived or re-told through

family narratives, served to constitute the relationship that these women have with their

families' countries of origin, and shaped how they expressed what their dual citizenship

status meant to them. For these three women, these particular events are relatively recent.

Thus, unlike the majority of my other interlocutors for this study, these women did not

inherit dual citizenship through birth from parents who were citizens of another state and

either resident or citizen of Canada. Marija is Canadian born, and her life choices put her

in the position to receive Lithuanian citizenship by special decree shortly after that state's

independence from the USSR in 1990, when she was in her twenties. Both Julia and

Anica's parents fled their native states - Hungary and Romania respectively- with their

young children shortly before the collapse of communism. They received their Canadian

citizenships through naturalization and retained the citizenship of their native states.

5.2 Marija

"Sometimes I don't really feel Canadian at all!" I overhear Marija say to a mutual friend

of ours over dinner. Intrigued, I ask her to elaborate. When she tells me that she is a dual

Canadian/Lithuanian citizen and resided in Lithuania for almost half of her adult life, I

invite her to participate in my study. She is very happy to oblige and when we meet for

the interview, she begins her narrative with compelling stories of her grandparents'

experiences in Soviet and Nazi occupied Lithuania.

5.2.1 Conditions of Conflict

The conditions of migration for Marija's parents were framed by the larger geo-political

circumstances of a series of Soviet occupations of Lithuania that occurred at the

beginning and following World War II. As members of the business and intellectual

classes of Lithuania, her maternal and paternal grandparents were identified as threats to

communist rule, and the families were targeted for deportation to Siberia. Marija

describes the circumstances under which her mother and grandmother were spared from

deportation as one of happenstance and sheer good luck:

> I have actually a document which … states that my mother and grandmother
>
> were on the list. .... that was in the first round of deportations. They happened
>
> to be in another town. They weren't… at home. They just happened to be
>
> away for the weekend visiting relatives. My mom was, you know, a littlethree

year old. And… they were on their way back and the trains were stopped. And they called home and everybody said… 'Something… something strange is happening, don't come back. Don't, don't try to come back.' And that night the other women in that family were, were rounded up in the middle of the night and…put on cattle cars for Siberia.

This part of Marija's story demonstrates the significance of gender in war and in migration. The men in the family had been separated from the women due to the political circumstances at that time. Marija's great-grandfather, a "prominent industrialist", had escaped to Berlin when the Soviets first occupied Lithuania, unknowingly leaving the women of the family at the hands of the Soviet agenda. Marija's grandmother was ironically spared deportation with the subsequent Nazi occupation of Lithuania, but nonetheless experienced another loss when her husband was deported to a concentration camp for protesting the formation of an SS unit in the area. When the second Soviet occupation signaled the potential for another round of deportations, Marija's grandmother and mother left Lithuania. After reuniting in Sweden with her grandfather who had survived the concentration camp, they migrated to Canada as a family.

Marija notes that her grandmother must have had a very difficult time on her own in Lithuania under the circumstances of war. "…my grandmother was just a society lady, and she had this little girl, I mean she had no higher education, she had no skills and stuff. So she was really kind of struggling." This stands in stark contrast to her own experiences with the political struggles of her family's native state. Engagement with her

family's stories and exposure to the activities of the Lithuanian community in Toronto and Montreal invoked, in her words, a curiosity about Lithuania that she intended to satisfy by spending a year in that country on a student visa. However, the political conditions, which she encountered on arrival in Lithuania were in direct opposition to those that her grandmother had left. In 1989, Lithuania was in the throes of an independence movement from the Soviet Union, and thus caught up in a dramatic moment of social and political change. In contrast to her grandmother's lack of power within the context of war, Marija's position as an educated young woman from the west endowed her with important resources in a country whose citizens were demanding the return of an independent Lithuania and the establishment of a democratic state. This quickly shaped the field of relations in which she spent most of her time during her first year in the country. She had not arrived in Lithuania with the intention to participate in the movement:

> I… just happened to be at this place where there were very few people who could translate. Not just literally translate language, but who could sort of be intermediaries between western journalists and… sometimes politicians who were coming through… So, practically none of the people running this independence movement had any English skills… And…, so…, there I was, and I'd done student journalism.. And… I had some journalistic skills, so I was getting suddenly…Well first I was doing stuff for the …independence movement and writing press releases or translating them and, faxing stuff on old fax machines, and…And then … later organizing press conferences and things like that…

5.2.2 Social Practice and Circumstance

Children of migrants wishing to engage in some way with the homeland do so within a different temporal context than their parents. The intensity of Marija's social interactions and practices in Lithuania most certainly shaped her notions of belonging to that country, and reconciled to some extent the contradictory perceptions that she first held: upon arrival and reuniting with relatives she felt she was "at home", albeit in "a completely different world". But it must be noted that her sense of affiliation and the life choices she made thereafter were shaped by the convergence of structural factors (both national and local), serendipitous encounters, and the particular social field created by dual citizenship.

Marija's experiences during her first year led her to make the decision to stay in Lithuania and build a life there. This was concretized by the endowment of her Lithuanian citizenship in 1990 by special parliamentary decree, an honour bestowed to all émigrés who had contributed to the state's independence. The position of Lithuania as a post-communist state was quite advantageous for a western-educated woman, and Marija enjoyed a varied career for the following ten years where she contributed to the development of university curriculum, lectured on gender studies at two universities, was involved in the formation of the art scene, and also worked in the burgeoning advertising field.

Transnational literature views return migration as "part and parcel of a circular system of social and economic relationships and exchanges facilitating the reintegration of migrants while conveying knowledge, information and membership" (Cassarino 2004: 262). It generally implies that citizens who decide to re-establish themselves in their native

countries are prepared for the negotiation and adaptation to society that such a move requires, due to the links they had maintained with their home countries during their time away (Cassarino 2004). We can see from Marija's experience that this is also possible for second generation migrants, although it does not pronounce itself in a direct fashion. Her family created strong links within the Lithuanian community in Toronto and Montreal, and maintained ties to family left behind in Lithuania. More importantly, her grandparents and parents recreated similar roles and positions in Canada that their families had held in Lithuania prior to Soviet occupation as they were quite involved with the Lithuanian business community and intellectual circles within their adopted country. As a young girl growing up in this environment, Marija was exposed to Lithuanian culture and language at home and through Lithuanian school and some social activities, but she describes her relationship with the Lithuanian community as one that involved some conflict:

> I've always had kind of a …push/pull relationship with that émigré stuff. …I find people just re-create…or actually they create a new ethnic community that's… quite disconnected from the old one! You know? So… as a kid I wasn't that interested in that…

Although Marija as a youngster may have felt a resistance to the collective identity defined by her parents and their social networks in Canada, it did serve as a framework for the relationships she would foster as an adult in Lithuania, as well as the affinity and commitment she would have for Lithuanian independence. Interestingly, Marija remarked that although the rhetoric produced by the ex-pat Lithuanian community was one that supported the call for independence, the majority of returnees who were active

on the ground in Lithuania had not served as leaders of the community back in Canada:

"…there really wasn't a place for them there. They were too wedded to their world here [in Canada], which was kind of a whole fictional version of the other one." Conversely, Marija's position as a young dual citizen embarking on her own life trajectory, coupled with the knowledge embodied as a child, enabled her to delve fully into life in the 'true' Lithuania.

5.2.3 Contrasts in Sociality

The framework of sociality first established by her parents' roles in the Lithuanian community in Toronto and Montreal served as a basis for Marija's identity and social participation in Lithuania. It continues to shape her attraction to and affiliation with that country, and contrasts with the more anonymous lifestyle that she now leads in Canada:

> It's just very interesting there…It's a small country, the population is less
>
> than the population of Montreal… I have a track record there, I have a name
>
> there in a sense…Here, I'm completely anonymous, whereas [in Lithuania] I
>
> know people in politics and academia, and the arts. I know directors…I go to
>
> the theater, I know actors…I just know people in all these, in various walks of
>
> life, so it's just really, really stimulating.

With dual citizenship, the idea of plural identities and national affiliations can manifest itself in the expansion of possibilities for residence, education, work and family life. During her ten years in Lithuania, Marija had a child, and was raising her little girl on her own. Her self-described bohemian lifestyle that she had led before her daughter's birth was transformed by the responsibilities of juggling work and home life, and was

becoming increasingly difficult to manage. In exploring her possibilities, a return to Canada was not only an option but was also considered by Marija to be a strategic move in the creation of a transnational, dual identity:

> It hit me that I had never worked in the West. Ever. I went there [Lithuania] straight out of university, so I just felt like I had to…I saw people who were sort of moving back and forth between different countries and had more flexibility. And I got a bit afraid of kind of being locked in there…and so I wanted to study again, I wanted to continue my studies and I really wanted to get some work experience. So I came back, not really sure how long I'd be here.

Scholars have found that dual citizenship is being increasingly applied as an economic and legal strategy within contemporary migration (Maira 2009, Ong 2002). As previously mentioned, the strategic use of a 'flexible citizenship' Ong (2002) emphasizes its utilitarian value while de-emphasizing its identity and participatory dimensions. However, Marija's experience indicates that within the concept of mobility are sets of layered relationships and affiliations that do not conflict with one another but may be measured against one another to see how they can best fit during a particular temporal context. Had she been on her own, Marija might not have considered a return to Canada at that time, as she was well established in Lithuania and her options there were diverse. But the direction of her life was changing with motherhood, and Marija rationalized that Canada would be the best place to facilitate that change. Dual citizenship offers an expansion of social space in which to make such changes, and such action does not necessarily need to disturb national loyalties or affiliations. Marija realized that the

advantages dual citizenship offers can be limited when a person is established in one place for a period of time. She realized that to take advantage of the opportunities that both Canada and Lithuania offer, she had to situate herself in a place where connections to both are possible.

As happenstance was a factor in Marija's decision to reside in Lithuania for ten years, so too did it play a role in her decision to remain in Canada after she completed her studies and gained some work experience. In Canada, Marija met and married a man who also happens to hold dual Canadian/Lithuanian citizenship. In planning their life together, the possibility of Lithuania as a place of residence and work has been a serious consideration. Although they estimated that with their job skills their quality of life would approximate their lives here in Canada, the fact that their daughter would experience difficulty reaching the proper educational level in her second language gave them some pause. The larger structural context of the European economic crisis and its "disastrous" effects on Lithuania cemented their decision to remain in Canada for the foreseeable future. Marija has maintained her social and some economic ties to Lithuania. Future plans include the establishment of a summer home in Lithuania, and Marija is very interested in developing her art career in that country.

Marija also fosters her daughter's plural identity with trips back to Lithuania to visit family and friends, and some participation in Lithuanian cultural activities in Montreal. As Marija explains, "She was born there, she automatically has some sort of connection, but we don't fetishize it." Knop (2001) has argued that dual nationality should be approached from a relational perspective in order to contextualize it within the family relationships from which it emerges. As her own parents did for her, the way in which

Marija demonstrates her affiliation with Lithuania to her daughter may very well shape her daughter's perception, and may also influence the choices and strategies for mobility that she will make in the future.

5.2.4 Identity and Difference

Marija identifies with both Lithuanian and Canadian culture, and yet at times feels a sense of disconnect from both. This is because the construction of identity involves not only self-perception but the perception of ourselves by others that is itself framed by larger structural forces. Identity is in large part formed by differentiation. The creation of the state from which the concept of citizenship emerges is based on politics of exclusion and inclusion, which establishes and categorizes social groups and classes, and determines the nature of the relationships between them. These politics tend to be more rigid within states such as Lithuania where nation and state overlap. As much as Marija feels that she belongs in Lithuania, she understands and accepts that she is nonetheless perceived as a foreigner there, particularly by the generations of Lithuanians who came of age during the Soviet era where concepts of globalisation and cosmopolitanism did not exist. Coming back to Canada, her experiences in Lithuania that were completely divorced from Canadian realities had changed her as a person and it took some time before she was able to incorporate herself back into the culture here.

5.3 Julia

As Julia and I sit down for our interview, she is lively and upbeat while we chat about mutual friends. I do not know her very well, but in the few social events where we have met she has always come across as an intelligent and self-assured young woman. Her

professional credentials would suggest as much, as at the age of thirty she has already developed a successful career as a lawyer in Montreal. I am surprised that when we officially begin the interview the tone of her voice changes to one that is tinged with some sadness and resignation. I later come to understand that this sadness stems from the memories evoked by recalling the particular circumstances of her and her parents' migration to Canada, and the way that she relates her sense of identity and belonging to her Hungarian nationality.

5.3.1 Conditions of Migration

Julia was not actually born in Hungary, but in Algeria, where her father was working as an architect at the time of her birth. At the time Hungary was a member of the Soviet Bloc, a position that fostered intergovernmental agreements on economic investment and development with Algeria. Julia explained that movement between Hungary and these types of "satellite" countries of the USSR was relatively easy. They thus joined a multi-cultural expat community in both Algiers and Sidi-bel-Abbès, where as she recalls other families from Hungary, Russia, Romania, as well as France and Columbia also resided. At the end of her father's contract in 1986, her parents decided that instead of returning to Hungary they would make their escape to Canada. Quebec was a preferred destination as they had earlier learned French through private instruction before leaving Hungary, and had further developed significant French language skills while living in Algeria. Julia had also developed a strong base in French as she had attended pre-school in Algeria. The family made their way to Paris by car, abandoning it at the airport and embarking on a flight to Canada. "*On est arrivé avec trois valises, $5000* [We arrived with three suitcases, $5000]", she explains.

Julia does not emphasize the legal processes that her parents had to go through to acquire residence status and following that, Canadian citizenship. She briefly mentions the involvement of an unscrupulous immigration lawyer who was supposed to acquire political refugee status for the family, which never materialized. Her parents achieved their permanent residence status through the regular channels. She opines that it was a relatively smooth process as her parents were French-speaking, and her father had professional accreditations that he managed to have recognized after completing the required re-training. Although she is appreciative of the courage that it must have taken for her parents to undertake this move, what is just as significant for her are the consequences that her family in Hungary suffered because of her parents' decision to escape:

> *Et ça à été très difficile parce qu'ils ont du tout abandonner. Ils ne pouvaient rien garder. [Ils] sont devenus des, comment on dit, des déserteurs du régime. Pendant six mois ils n'ont pas dit à ma famille où ils étaient. Les agents communistes sont allés défoncer chez toute ma famille pour les interroger… Donc pendant six mois ma famille ne savait pas on était où. Moment donné ils ont reçu une carte postale du Canada. Parce qu'eux pensaient qu'on était en Algérie puis on revenait. Comme tous nos amis, tout le monde est revenu après l'Algérie, on est les seuls qui ne sont pas retournés.*

> And it was very difficult because they had to abandon everything. They could not keep anything. They became, how do you say it, deserters of the regime. They did not tell my family [in Hungary] where they were for six months. The communist agents kicked down my family's doors and interrogated

them. So for six months my family did not know where we were. Then one day they received a postcard from Canada. They had thought we were in Algeria and that we would come back. Like all of our friends, everyone returned [to Hungary] after Algeria, we are the only ones who did not go back. (Julia Szabo, personal interview, July 4, 2012)

5.3.2 Liminality & Dislocation

As a five year old child, Julia did not understand the reasons for her parents' decisions to make such a definitive break from their family and leave behind their lives as they had known them. As an adult, she still questions whether these decisions were the right ones to make. "*Les autres sont retournés. Puis ils vivaient bien. Ça c'est un autre débat!* [The others [Hungarians living in Algeria] returned. And they lived well. That's another debate!] ", she says to me with a sad chuckle. In point of fact, from the late1960's through the 1980s, Hungary was characterized as the least restrictive state within the Soviet bloc, with a relatively high standard of living for the educated classes, a more liberated economy, and less suppression than in other Soviet bloc countries.[40]

What comes through in Julia's narrative is the huge sense of loss that she feels in not being able to grow up with her family in Hungary where she could have been fully immersed in her parents' culture. Through her parents' decisions, Julia would grow up in Quebec. This sudden break at a very young age would have an important influence on the way in which she would position herself within her host community, and in the way she would perceive her parents' homeland. Combined with another significant event in her

---

[40] See Kornai 1996 for a detailed analysis of 'Goulash Communism', a strategy implemented by the Hungarian communist leadership in 1966 that developed a market economy without straying too far from Soviet socialist ideology.

life it would also shape her personal understanding of the broader concepts of nationality and citizenship.

Julia and her parents settled in a small suburb of Quebec City, which she describes as "*blanche, homogène, québécoise* [white, homogeneous, québécois]". It was a small neighbourhood that was rather close-knit, and as she remembers it her family's arrival became a central attraction. They were often visited by their neighbours upon their arrival, but Julia feels that the visits were to view the newcomers as objects of curiosity as much as to welcome them. Although she says that eventually "*on est tous devenus amis'* [we all became friends]", she relates that it took up to twelve years for her to feel that she was truly accepted by her Quebec peers. Speaking of these years is difficult for Julia and she has no desire to dwell on them, mentioning only that she felt she did not belong and was taunted by other school children through name-calling and ridicule. Being an only child of immigrant parents in a predominantly Quebecois neighbourhood and identified as 'other' by her peers heightened the sense of isolation she felt from her homeland and culture. It is interesting that the importance Julia attributed to identifying with Hungary as home manifested itself so forcefully despite that fact that she had never actually lived in that country. Hungary as a homeland was imagined. It was linked to memories of living in Algeria with her parents within a neighbourhood where fellow Hungarians also lived, and to visits to Hungary to see her grandparents. It is also interesting that this sense of isolation persisted although her grandparents visited the family in Quebec often both before and after the fall of communism in Hungary, return visits to Hungary were undertaken, and Hungarian culture was reproduced within the home through language, food and traditional celebrations.

This identification with Hungary has a gendered orientation as it was Julia's mother whose efforts in the home reproduced this culture, by insisting that Hungarian be spoken in the home and by preparing traditional foods. The topic of Hungary was not particularly predominant, but Julia remembers that they did speak about what was happening there, and about friends and family who remained. The re-creation of Hungarian culture in the home ended in Julia's early teen years when her mother passed away. Her father remarried a French woman shortly after the death of his first wife, and the dynamic within the home changed considerably. Julia could no longer find solace in the familiarity of a home that was Hungarian in constitution. Her mother's death heightened the liminality that had characterized her life in Quebec, a liminality that was perhaps reinforced by the fact that she was an only child and that no other relatives had made the same move to Canada. In retrospect, Julia considers that the emphasis she applied and continues to apply to her Hungarian nationality serves to keep her connected to the memory of her mother:

> *… ayant perdu ma mère très jeune, pour moi c'est un lien avec ma mère aussi. … Fait qu'il y a peut-être ça aussi qui fait que je m'attache peut-être plus que si je n'avais pas vécu ça ou si ma mère était encore ici, peut-être je n'aurais pas ce besoin-là.*

> …having lost my mother at a very young age, for me [Hungarian nationality] is a link with my mother as well. So perhaps it's also what makes me more attached, than if I hadn't experienced that [the loss of her mother], or if my mother was still here, maybe I wouldn't have that need.

5.3.3 Returning 'Home'

Regular visits to Hungary to visit relatives constitute visits 'home' for Julia. It is a sentiment that she says has evolved over time as it is a place where she finds comfort in being able to speak her native tongue, and to be able to live for a time in an environment that resembles the family home she shared with her parents. It is also a place where she feels that her legitimacy as a member of the national community is not questioned. This stands in stark contrast to the outlier status that she feels is often attributed to her by fellow Canadian citizens with whom she comes into contact in her daily life:

> *Quand je dis mon nom aux gens tout le monde me comprend, personne me pose la question, 'Comment tu l'écris, d'où tu viens, t'es quelle race?'. C'est tellement fun juste pouvoir dire mon nom d'une façon tellement nonchalante, comme si j'étais une Tremblay ici… Je sais que ça l'air ridicule, mon père me trouve...il dit que je m'accroche à des niaiseries, mais...Je travail avec les gens beaucoup au téléphone, je rencontre toujours les gens, fait que mon non je l'épelle environ 15 fois par jours, là. Honnêtement, je ne suis plus capable. Des fois je poigne (sic) les nerfs. Des fois on me dit, Non, ton nom ne s'écrit pas comme ça!' Fait que, ça, je trouve ça le fun, de ne pas avoir cette différence là.*

> [In Hungary] when I tell people my name everyone understands me, no one asks the question, 'How do you spell it, where are you from, what race are you?' It's so fun just to be able to say my name in such a nonchalant way, like if my name was Tremblay here. I know it seems ridiculous, my father finds me…he says that I'm hung up on silly, meaningless things, but…I work

a lot with people over the phone, I'm always meeting people, so I have to spell my name about 15 times a day. Honestly, I can't deal with it anymore. It really annoys me sometimes. Sometimes people tell me, 'No, your name isn't written like that!' So I find it fun to not have that difference.

Julia feels that her desire to spend time in a socio-cultural space where she feels she is accepted is not understood by her father. Contrary to some generalized assumptions of the relationship between first and second generation immigrant family members, Julia's father has not sustained any ties to Hungary, nor encouraged her to foster an affinity for his country of origin. Julia tells me that her father "*ne veut plus rien savoir [de la Hongrie]* [doesn't want to know anything about Hungary]". This pains Julia, although she acknowledges that continued ties to Hungary may also evoke memories of her mother. Unlike for her, these memories may be too painful for him to revisit. She tells me that he would probably see her mother in the streets and parks where they used to walk together.

> *Ici c'est son pays d'accueil. Il a refait sa vie ici, ma mère est décédée ici aussi à moment donné, fait que pour lui, non. Lui, c'est ici son pays. Là récemment je l'ai appelé parce qu'il faut que je la fasse renouveler mon passeport [hongrois] puis la procédure, c'est compliqué, là. Avec les nouvelles mesures de sécurité. Pis là, je l'ai appelé pour lui dire comment ça marchait. Il dit 'Ben, non. Moi je ne renouvelle plus, là. J'en ai pas besoin.' Je ne comprends pas pourquoi.*

This is his host country. He re-made his life here, my mother also passed

away here, so for him, no. For him, this is his country. Recently I called him

because I have to renew my [Hungarian] passport and the process is

complicated. With the new security measures. So I called him to tell him how

it worked. He says, "Well, no. I'm not going to renew it. I don't need it." I

don't understand.

For Julia, the Hungarian passport is more than a legal document of identification. In

practical terms, she recognizes that she does not absolutely need it. When she travels to

Europe for visits to Hungary or holidays in other countries she usually uses her Canadian

passport to cross customs. She will strategically use her Hungarian passport when she

sees that the lineup for international travellers is very long. The Hungarian passport is of

significant personal value for her:

C'est un lien, peut-être symbolique, mais avec ma famille, mes origines, mes

racines. Je trouve ça important. À part de mon père, je n'ai pas de famille ici.

It's a link, maybe symbolic, but with my family, my origins, my roots. I find

that important. Apart from my father, I have no family here.

5.3.4 Compartmentalizing Identity

The Hungarian passport is thus another confirmation of her identity and another form of

legitimization of her membership in the Hungarian nation. This symbolic document is

transformed into practice when she is in Hungary as she uses it as a form of personal

identification. The way Julia uses her Canadian and Hungarian passports reflects in some

ways the way in which she understands her relationship to her two citizenships. When I

asked her why she chose to use her Canadian passport first when travelling abroad, she could not express a concrete reason. She replied that she did not know why, but that although she may place great importance on her Hungarian nationality, her Canadian passport must have some kind of importance as well. Similarly, when I asked her if she felt she was Canadian, her response was ambiguous until she was able to compartmentalize the ways in which she understood herself to be Canadian:

Mona*: Alors, maintenant que la majorité de ta vie a été vécue ici, on peut dire. Est-ce que tu peux me dire si tu te sens canadienne?*

So we can say that you have lived the majority of your life here. Can you tell me if you feel you are Canadian?

Julia: *C'est ça, c'est une grande question. Je n'ai pas de réponse. Je n'ai pas de réponse, mais...est-ce que je me sens canadienne? Je ne suis pas sure.*

That's it, that is a big question. I don't have an answer. I don't have an answer, but…do I feel Canadian? I'm not sure.

Mona: *Ou québécoise?*

Or Québécoise?

Julia: *Oui. Ce n'est pas politique là, mais je pense que je me sens plus québécoise. Pas grand chose en commun avec le reste du Canada, je trouve. Non. Je me sens plus... mais je ne me sens pas....je me sens...je ne sais pas. Je n'ai pas de réponse. Moi je suis hongroise. J'habite ici, j'ai grandis ici, mais je suis hongroise.*

Yes. It's not political, but I think that I feel more Québécois. Not much in common with the rest of Canada, I find. No. I feel more…but I don't feel…I feel…I don't know. I don't have an answer. I, I am Hungarian. I live here, I grew up here, but I am Hungarian.

Underneath her assertion of her Hungarian identity lies the acknowledgement that she has a certain affinity and connection to the personal relationships that she has fostered in her adult years in Montreal. As she told me, she has many 'adopted' brothers and sisters, close friends with whom she shares her life. A form of integration has taken place as she lives her life in French within the very diverse cultural spaces of Montreal, and has shaped a career here. But when she is asked to express it, the notion of being Canadian or Québécoise takes on a utilitarian meaning. She is Quebecoise because she lives and works here, but her primary identification is with Hungary.

Julia has entertained possibilities for mobility, and she is appreciative of the fact that with Hungary's accession to the EU, her Hungarian citizenship now provides access to opportunities in Europe more generally. However, at this stage of her life she is settled in Montreal, and although she has considered moving to Hungary, the uncertainty of starting over there has given her some pause. The way in which her career has developed has made her work specific to the Quebec market, and she is wary of the time and money which would be involved in becoming re-certified as a lawyer in Hungary. To these uncertainties she adds the context of the European economic crisis, which in her view would add more insecurity to her move. She believes that she should have acted on her desire to be in Hungary at a younger age, but that 'life' got in the way. It was too expensive for her to pursue post-graduate studies in Europe, which she would have

enjoyed. After university, her career progressed rapidly with a series of job offers. The networks and contacts that Julia developed were situated in Quebec, and moving to Hungary or elsewhere in Europe would require the formation of a whole new set of business relationships.

Despite this, a move abroad is not out of the question. Interestingly, she frames this in terms of personal and familial relationships, which once again links back to her desire to retain her Hungarian roots. "*Écoute, si je rencontre quelqu'un, moi je pourrais partir demain matin* [Listen, if I meet someone, I could leave tomorrow morning]", she states. It is important for her that the person with whom she will have children be Hungarian. Her desire to pass on her Hungarian heritage to her future children goes far beyond bequeathing them the citizenship of that country, which is without question. It is to ensure that they develop a deep sense of Hungarian identity and affinity, and to preserve the language. "*Moi c'est ça [la langue] qui m'avait attachée à ma famille toute ma vie. Fait que je me dis, il ne faut pas que cette langue là se perde* [For me it's that [the language] that enabled me to form attachments to my family my whole life. So I say to myself that this language must not be lost]". This would be easier to accomplish in Hungary, and she wonders about the challenges that being with a non-Hungarian partner would pose in terms of inculcating the Hungarian language and culture to her children.

5.4 Anica

"*Elle voyait notre avenir seulement ici* [This was the only place where she imagined our future to be]", Anica explains when describing how her mother came to decide to leave Romania for Quebec. Tears well up in her eyes as she recalls how she felt at the age of

nine when she was told by her parents that Montreal would be her new home. As she smiles apologetically through her tears, I think of how similar her story is to Julia's. The disempowerment that a child feels in the face of the decisions their parents feel obliged to make for their families is an emotion that is still very salient over 25 years later. Anica's parents had made the decision to leave Romania at the start of the Romanian Revolution in 1989. Montreal had been chosen as the destination because her mother had visited friends in the city a few years previously. "...*elle avait beaucoup aimé Montréal… Pour elle il n'avait pas d'autre place, il n'avait rien d'autre, il n'avait pas d'autre choix'* […she had liked Montreal very much… For her there was no other place, there was nothing else, there was no other choice]" (Anica Petrescu, personal interview, July 27, 2012).

Anica's father left Romania the day after the revolution began, and Anica followed with her mother and older sister a few months later. Because these were still precarious times, Anica's parents had preferred to not tell her of their plans, considering her too young at nine and a half years old to understand and to not discuss it with anyone outside of the family. Anica thought that they were embarking on a holiday to Cuba, and was shocked upon arrival in Montreal to learn that they would reside permanently here.

5.4.1 'They tore something away from me'

"*Je me souviens avoir beaucoup souffert pendant les deux premiers mois. Je pleurais à chaque soir parce que je voulais retourner. Je voulais retrouver ma vie* [I remember that I suffered a lot during those first two months. I cried every night because I wanted to go back. I wanted to find my life again]", she explained. She recalled that her life in Romania had been very happy, her days filled with playing with the other children

around the apartment block where the family lived. There was a strong family presence in her life as well. Anica was raised by a grandmother who lived with them, and they spent a significant amount of time with their extended family. Her parents were professionals and successfully negotiated the restrictions inherent to a communist state, so that she and her older sister did not witness or experience directly any of the harsh realities of the Ceaucescu regime. Her parents were also very protective of her, guiding her to follow the socio-political rules that the regime imposed without explaining their serious significance:

> *C'est sur que je n'avais pas la perspective politique à cet age là, je ne comprenais pas beaucoup. Mais, voilà. Je me souviens d'un événement au quel je pense encore. Un jour je suis revenue de l'école, je devais être en troisième année du primaire. Et on m'avait posé la question, ils ont posé la question à tout le monde. 'Est-ce que tes parents étaient communistes?' Et je ne comprenais pas c'etait quoi. Alors j'ai dit oui parce que tous les autres enfants avaient dit oui. Puis je suis arrivée chez moi puis j'ai posé la question à mes parents. Mes parents ont réagi avec une certaine retenue puis ils m'ont juste dit, 'inquiete-toi pas, il faut dire oui'. Par la suite, plus tard, j'ai appris que ce n'était pas le cas, mais c'est ce qu'il fallait dire, parce qu'on aurait pu subir des conséquences. Je ne les connais pas exactement les conséquences, mais je sais que c'était mieux pour mes parents que la communauté ou en fait les autorités sachent qu'ils étaient communistes.*

> Certainly I did not have the political perspective at that age, I didn't understand very much. But I remember an event that I still think about. One

day I came home from school, I must have been in my third year of primary

school. And they [her teachers] had asked me the question, they asked it of

everyone: 'Are your parents communists?'And I didn't understand what that

meant. So I said yes because all of the other children had said yes. And so I

arrived home and asked that question to my parents. My parents reacted with

a certain reserve and simply said, 'Don't worry about it, you have to say yes.'

Afterward, later, I understood that that was not the case, but that is what

needed to be said, because we could have suffered some consequences. I

don't know exactly what those consequences would have been, but I know

that it was better for my parents that the community, or actually, the

authorities know that they were communist.

The family's departure from Romania was initiated by Anica's mother, who understood

what the stability of a democratic country could offer her children in terms of education

and opportunity. As with Julia's narrative, there is significance to the form of gendered

interactions that take place within the broader process of migration. For Julia, her

mother's presence in the home served as a tangible link to their homeland. Anica's

narrative emphasizes how decisions to migrate can be informed by gender relations

within the family. It is in retrospect that Anica understands why her mother made the

choice to migrate. Similar to the way in which Julia understood her parents' situation in

Hungary, Anica explains that they lived relatively well in Romania, and "*avaient plus*

que la plus part de gens avaient [had more than the majority of people had]". Although

the 1989 revolutions in eastern Europe brought sweeping changes, her mother understood

that whatever happened politically or socially, whether communism would fall or not, her

children would never have the same opportunities in Romania as in Canada. Unlike Julia, with time Anica would come to appreciate her parents' motives, which was greatly enabled by a trip back to Romania with her mother 15 years after their departure.

5.4.2 Consequences of Integration

Before this could occur, Anica had to reconcile herself to the fact that she and her family were to make their lives in Montreal. She recalls that she made a conscious decision to fully immerse herself into her surroundings:

> *Puis une fois que j'ai commencé l'école, l'intégration c'est super bien fait. En fait je [me] souviens avoir[un] moment donné pensé que, bon, puisque je voyais qu'il n'avait pas de façon de convaincre mes parents à retourner, que j'allais vraiment tout faire pour que ça soit ma nouvelle vie, ma place, etc. Alors quelques bonnes années....ceci a eu comme effet de me distancer de ma culture. Ce n'est pas que j'avais honte, ou quoique ce soi, mais je n'avais pas le besoin de garder contact, ni avec des personnes Roumaines, ni de lire des livres en Roumain, ni…en fait, je ne voulais plus vraiment savoir de tout ce qui était mon pays natal.*

> And once I started school, the integration [process] went very well. In fact I remember at one point thinking that, well, since I saw there was no way to convince my parents to return, I would do everything for this to be my new life, my home, etc. So for a few good years…this had the effect of distancing me from my culture. It wasn't that I was ashamed, or anything to that effect,

174

but I didn't have the need to keep contact, neither with other Romanians, nor
with reading Romanian books, nor…in fact, I didn't want to know anything
about the country of my birth.

Anica had been uprooted from the social world in which she had been very happy. At the
young age of ten she undertook a conscious effort to find new grounding, a process that
for her involved alienation from the culture from which she had been taken away. When
she looks back on these years she understands that these efforts were initiated by the
frustration and unhappiness she felt at the time. As an adult she now frames this part of
her life as a form of rebellion against her parents:

> *Je ne pense pas que je pensais au fait que peut-être si je laissais de côté tout*
>
> *ce qui était Roumain, ca aurait été plus facile. Non. C'était vraiment...même*
>
> *une sorte de vengeance envers mes parents. Pas planifiée, pas intentionnelle,*
>
> *mais, avec le recul c'est ce que je vois.*

> I don't think that I thought [at the time] that maybe if I put aside everything
> that was Romanian, that it would be easier. No. It was really…even a sort of
> vengeance on my parents. Not planned, not intentional, but with hindsight
> that's what I see.

As with Julia's family, this approach to integration, through negation of the native
culture, was not consistent within the family. Anica's parents tried to encourage sustained
ties to Romania by speaking the language at home, providing Romanian literature and
history books for their children and to a limited extent by participating in some events

within the small Romanian community in Montreal. While Anica's sister embraced these efforts, Anica is saddened that she had distanced herself from her family in this way by rejecting them.

5.4.3 Rapprochement

After completing her university education, Anica returned to Romania for a visit with her mother for the first time since their departure. During this visit, "*… je suis comme revenue à mes sens* […it was like I came to my senses]", she explained. It was not so much of a return *home* as an opportunity to allow herself to reminisce and experience the feelings of nostalgia that she had consciously denied herself growing up:

> *Des sentiments vraiment, vraiment intenses de nostalgie. Je me souvenais absolument de tout. On a retourné évidemment à l'endroit où on habitait. Et puis, je me souvenais de tous les détails. Vraiment, les trottoirs, le parc, les portes, vraiment tous les détails. C'était drôle parce que c'est comme si j'avais...Bien en fait, je me souviens avoir fait beaucoup de rêves pendant ma jeunesse. Puis c'est comme si quand je suis retournée là, je vivais dans mes rêves. Puis la seule différence, tout avait l'air vraiment plus petit, que dans mes rêves. Parce que bon, j'avais grandi. Mais c'était un sentiment plaisant en fait. Très émotif, extrêmement.*

Sentiments that were really, really, intensely nostalgic. I remember absolutely everything. Of course we returned to the place where we used to live. And I remembered all of the details. Really, the sidewalks, the park, the doors, all of the details. It's funny because it was as if I had…Well in fact, I remember

having dreamt a lot when I was a child. And it was as if I had returned there, I

was living in my dreams. And the only difference, everything looked much

smaller than in my dreams. Because, well, I had grown up. But it was a very

pleasant feeling. Very emotional, extremely.

5.4.4 Plurality & Partiality

With this visit, Anica was able to reconcile the feelings of loss experienced as a child

with the new lives that she and her family members had made for themselves. While

reminiscing about the enjoyable childhood that she had experienced in Romania and

accepting that this experience was part of her, she was also able to cast an objective eye

on the country as a nation with particular strengths and weaknesses. In contrast to Julia

who has not made such a clear distinction, Anica does not foresee a move back to her

native state:

> *J'apprécie énormément ce pays. Je vois beaucoup de belles choses. Et c'est*
>
> *sur qu'il a des choses négatives aussi, comme partout. Je retournerais*
>
> *seulement en vacances, mais je ne pense pas que je serais capable de vivre*
>
> *là… Aujourd`hui si tu me demandes est-ce que, si j'avais l'opportunité de*
>
> *retourner vivre en Roumanie, non.*

> I appreciate this country enormously. I see many good things. And it`s certain
>
> that there are negative things as well, as there is everywhere. I would only
>
> return on holiday, but I think that I would never be able to live there…Today
>
> if you ask me if, if I had the opportunity to return to Romania to live, no.

What the visit to Romania did for Anica was enable her to begin to embrace her plurality. Today she can say that she is Romanian, *"à 100%"*, *and* she is *"Montréalaise"*. Home is Montreal. She carries her dual identity with her and will emphasize one or another depending on the social context and space within which she finds herself. In her daily life in Montreal her lack of accent and complete integration rarely causes anyone to question her origins, but when it does occur she is happy to reveal her background. When she travelled to Barcelona on holiday and encountered discrimination against Romanians because of Spanish concerns regarding the increase in Roma migrants, she was sure to identify herself as Romanian. She explains that this experience strengthened her resolve to embrace her dual citizenship and affirm both of her national identities.

Anica's reasons for not returning to settle in Romania go beyond the difficult economic conditions that the country is presently experiencing along with the rest of Europe. They shape her understanding of the broader social and political contexts that her parents sought to leave behind in Romania. For her, one of the negative aspects of Romanian society is the heightened class differentiation that was apparent when she returned there as an adult. She rejects the mentality of the more fortunate class members who consider status to be very important and who possess a nonchalant attitude toward the poor and the deprived members of society. Anica prefers, and feels fortunate that she can choose to live in what she regards as a more egalitarian society:

> *… je préfère… une certaine uniformité que je trouve qu'ici existe...dans la mentalité des personnes. Uniformité, quand je parle d'uniformité c'est en fait les objectifs semblent être plus uniformes, plus socialistes. C'est drôle, je sais qu'on est dans un continent capitaliste, mais plus socialiste.*

…I prefer… a certain uniformity that I find exists here…in people's

mentalities. Uniformity, when I say uniformity it's in fact the objectives seem

to be more uniform, more socialist. It's funny, I know that we are in a

capitalist continent, but more socialist.

Having a dual identity, a position in two socio-cultural spaces, allows Anica to choose the

elements within each space that she will identify with and incorporate into her own life.

In her view, the social and political upheavals that the Romanian people have endured

have shaped a particular work ethos that she saw was reproduced within her own

household. Anica believes that this ethos has significantly shaped her parents'

perspectives on life, which values work above leisure to the detriment of quality of life.

Although Anica also recognizes that as immigrants her parents had to work very hard to

provide for the family, she nevertheless feels that the intensity with which they worked

has a cultural basis:

> *…se qui m'a beaucoup frappé chez beaucoup de roumains, puis ce n'est pas*
>
> *pour les blâmer parce que je sais que c'est leur situation… pour survivre, je*
>
> *pense qu'ils ont du se mettre dans un mode de, ok, on doit travailler, on doit*
>
> *travailler, on doit travailler pour avoir du succès. Et ça, ça me touche, parce*
>
> *que j'ai vu mes parents travailler beaucoup…pour avoir du succès. Puis ça*
>
> *me fait mal de voir qu'ils ne donnent pas autant d'importance aux moments*
>
> *de plaisir, ou moments de relaxation… Puis autant que c'est une qualité, c'est*
>
> *un défaut. Je trouve ça triste, parce que c'est bien de travailler, c'est bien*
>
> *étudier, c'est bien d'être cultivé, c'est bien d'essayer de toujours d'aller plus*

loin, mais moment donné je pense que la spiritualité en perd un peu en ne

prenant pas soins du côté plaisir.

….what really struck me with many Romanians, and it's not to blame them

because I know it is their situation…to survive, I think they had to put

themselves in the mode of, ok, we must work, we must work, we must work

to be successful. And that touches me, because I saw my parents work… a lot

to be successful. And it hurts me to see that they don't put as much

importance on moments of pleasure, or moments of relaxation… And as

much as it is a quality, it is a fault. I find it sad, because it's good to work, it's

good to study, it's good to be cultivated, it's good to always strive to go

further, but at a point I think that [one] loses a bit of spirituality by not

cultivating pleasurable moments.

This recognition has been significant in shaping Anica's career trajectory.

"*…définitivement, pour moi, ce style de vie n'en vaut pas la peine… pour que j'arrive à*

prendre cette décision dans ma vie, c'est par rapport à ça. Oui. [Definitely, for me, this

lifestyle is not worth it…for me to arrive at this decision in my life, it is related to that

[her perception of the Romanian work ethic]. Yes.]" She began her law career in the

private sector, which requires an important commitment in terms of time and effort. But

she had always been aware that she desired a healthy work/life balance, and entered the

private sector as a strategic move to gain professional recognition and experience. With

this experience under her belt after five years of work, she sought out other opportunities

where she could achieve the balance that was important to her.

In considering her choices for work and residence, Anica has seen the significance of Romanian citizenship providing access to other EU countries as well, and when she sought new opportunities she actively searched within this market. It does not limit her purview however; in identifying other places that she would like to live she considers the cultural elements within them that would interest her. Her range of possible places includes countries in South America as she has a particular affinity for the Spanish language. Furthermore, she does not consider a move abroad to be a permanent one at this time as she wishes to remain close to her parents.

In the end, Anica received an ideal job offer here in Montreal that corresponded with her primary criteria of achieving a healthy work/life balance. In making such key decisions, other practical factors such as monetary ones also become important considerations. Anica felt that she had to seize the opportunity that corresponded with her criteria right away, and not risk losing it by waiting to see what other offers would come along. However, casting a wide net during her job search made her aware of other opportunities where she could possibly move between Europe and Montreal while remaining based here. She understands that her dual citizenship would provide an important advantage in securing this type of position. During her job search she found a Romanian law firm that was expanding to North America. The idea of travelling back and forth from her country of origin to her adopted one appeals very much to her, and she will pursue these types of opportunities the next time she considers changing positions.

5.4.5 Citizenship – A Tool and a Cultural Resource

Anica's narrative demonstrates how the conditions of migration experienced by a family can serve as the basis for shaping individual perspectives. Anica experienced an intense form of separation from her country of origin due to the politically charged atmosphere of the CEE, and elements of that separation continue to inform the choices that she is currently making. Citizenship holds objective and subjective meaning for her. As a professional in a globalised world, she understands the advantages that it offers. Her family's experience makes her view this status as a useful tool to negotiate any potential future economic or political instability:

> *… même aujourd'hui, on ne sait jamais ce qui va arriver ici non plus, la situation peut changer, peut débouler, je pense qu'on est dans une crise mondiale. Donc, si jamais je me trouve coincée d'une certaine façon, c'est certain que c'est une porte pour moi.*

> …even today, we never know what will happen either, the situation can change, can unravel, I think that we are in a global crisis. So, if ever I find myself stuck in any way, it's certain that it's a door for me.

At the same time, her citizenship also represents a link to her family's culture and confirms her own identity. Citizenship as both a tool and a cultural resource is expressed when discussing her reasons for passing on dual citizenship to her future children. She will do it without hesitation as she perceives it as an opportunity for access to European markets through virtue of Romania's accession to the EU. "*Mais moi, bon, je suis roumaine, donc, voila.'* [But me, well, I'm Romanian, so, there you have it.] " As it does

for her, Anica estimates that Romanian citizenship for her prospective children will be a form of confirmation of their roots, and this connection would also offer an increase in their cultural capital.

> *La citoyenneté c'est sur que c'est une question d'opportunité pour moi. Mais c'est, ...c'est une question de fierté aussi. Malgré tout, malgré toutes mes réactions, toute ma rébellion, et tout ça, c'est une question de fierté, c'est une question de reconnaître qui tu es, finalement. Oui. Aujourd'hui je n'ai certainement pas honte de dire que je suis roumaine, encore moins dire que je suis encore citoyen (sic) roumaine parce que suis autant roumaine que canadienne.*
>
> Certainly, citizenship is a question of opportunity for me. But it's, …it's a question of pride as well. Despite everything, despite all of my reactions, all of my rebellion, and all of that, it's a question of pride, it's a question of recognizing who you are, finally. Yes. Today I am certainly not ashamed to say that I am Romanian, and even less to say that I am still a Romanian citizen because I am just as much Romanian as I am Canadian.

5.5 Conclusion

I chose to present the interlocutors of eastern European background in a separate chapter to emphasize the role that the conditions of migration can play in forming symbolic meaning to citizenship. My findings indicate that migration can be initiated by the context of the relationship between the state and its citizens. This context can shape migration and settlement experiences and be reflected within family and social

relationships, and can also shape future considerations for movement for the second generation.

Marija, Julia and Anica show in varying ways how feelings of loss and displacement that are incurred when families flee the difficult political conditions of their native states are incorporated into individual experiences of settlement. While Marija distanced herself from the *émigré* discourse as a youngster, her family's sustained links to Lithuania nonetheless prompted her to discover the country for herself and shaped her life trajectory. The timing of her travels to Lithuania landed her directly in the Lithuanian independence movement. This experience solidified her membership to that country on an emotional and juridical level through the bestowment of Lithuanian citizenship. Marija's strategic movements between Canada and Lithuania enabled her to both express and apply her dual identity. Her mobility also enabled her to reconcile the notion of 'in-betweenness' that is inevitable as every place contains particular cultural, historical and temporal factors that determine how identity is to be constituted. While Marija's transnational mobility stems from her desire to maintain strong connections to her family's country of origin, she recognizes the advantages that a European citizenship will hold for her daughter as she comes of age and begins to make key life decisions. Marija also acknowledges that due to the difficulties inherent to democratization and the transition to a free market economy in Lithuania, the next generation seems to be prioritizing their European citizenship over their national heritage.

Overcoming feelings of displacement proved to be more difficult for Julia, whose affiliation with her family's native state is strongly related to her mother's memory. Her Hungarian citizenship is representative of her true identity, while she views her Canadian

citizenship in strictly utilitarian terms. Julia's liminality, formed from the tumultuous circumstances of her family's flight from communism, her mother's death when she was an adolescent, and her hesitation to re-build her life in Hungary continues to imbue her Hungarian citizenship with strong emotional significance. Similar to Marija, Julia's considerations for mobility are oriented toward her family's country of origin.

Anica's life experiences have enabled her to reconcile the personal losses incurred with migration with her new life in Canada. Like Marija she recognizes that she possesses a unique cultural repertoire that she can draw upon as she moves through different socio-cultural spaces. However, unlike Marija and Julia she does not limit considerations for mobility to her country of origin, but shapes them in response to her personal interests and aspirations.

Chapter 6 – Considerations of the European Economic Crisis

6.1 Introduction

Article 2 of the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEC) (signed in 1957) includes the following objectives: "to promote economic and social progress and a high level of employment and to achieve balanced and sustainable development, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, through the strengthening of economic and social cohesion, and through the establishment of economic and monetary union…".[41] The 1980s saw several southern European states accede to the EU[42], and with the fall of the Soviet Bloc a succession of former communist states joined the European community at the beginning of the 21st century[43]. It was believed that political and economic integration and the participation in global capitalism by member states would eventually level out living standards for European Union citizens. As we have seen however, with the global economic crisis of 2008 the citizens of the weaker EU-member states have suffered the most severe consequences of the current recession with high unemployment, reduced government spending and increased taxes. In addition, the blame that is placed on weaker EU states (such as Greece, Italy and Spain) for the crisis in Europe is exacerbated by anti-immigrant sentiments that are rising in western European states (Koehler et al. 2010: 128-130, Fekete 2012).

---

[41] "What is the purpose of the EU?", Folketinget, accessed May 31, 2013, http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/euo_en/spsv/all/1/ .

[42] The southern states that joined the EU during this time were Spain, Greece and Portugal. Exceptionally, Italy was one of the founding members of the EU in 1952.

[43] For example, the following states gained European Union membership in 2004: the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, the Baltic States, Hungary, and Poland. Romania and Bulgaria ascended to the EU in 2007.

When considering transnational mobility, Canadian citizens who have inherited a European citizenship are thus negotiating a very different economic and political landscape than their parents. It is clear from chapter four that decisions regarding transnational mobility made by my second generation interlocutors who had moved abroad came about after a complex set of deliberations that included ideas of self development and fulfillment, interpretations of family migration narratives, and considerations of the structures of the global marketplace. Remarkably, the current economic conditions did not enter into these considerations. However, because reports of the "most severe" global "recession since the Second World War" (Koehler et al. 2010: 3) paint a very bleak picture indeed, I was curious to explore how the current economic and corresponding social conditions in Europe may have influenced perceptions of the European country of origin for both generations. Therefore, during my interviews I raised the issue of the European economic crisis with the goal to answer the following questions: Have first generation migrants' views of their homeland, shaped by distance and various forms of transnational connections, been affected by the debt crisis and the resulting negative image of their country's economic policies? Are these views transmitted to their children? In what ways do the current economic condition of the EU shape considerations for mobility within the second generation?

6.2 The First Generation

6.2.1 Carla – Style vs. Substance

When I asked Carla Risso, a Canadian who emigrated with her family from Italy over sixty years ago, what she thought of the Eurozone crisis and how it was affecting her native country, her response was "*Des fois on dit, 'tant mieux'.* [Sometimes we say, 'so much the better'.]" Carla's interpretation of the crisis was very much related to her own life experiences. Significantly, her perception of the crisis related directly to migration and to the form of the relationships she had maintained with family and friends back in Italy. Carla's daughter, Antonia, was initially surprised at the element of *schadenfreude* in her mother's response. She had understood that both her parents continued to hold very positive emotional ties to their country of origin. But as Carla explained herself, Antonia then recognized the aspects of extended family relationships that had prompted her mother to respond in that way:

> Carla : *Bien quelque fois, parce que tu sais, quand tu parles avec les italiens, de l'Italie, le monde qui sont là-bas, des fois ils nous font énerver aussi, parce qu'ils disent que là c'est l'Amérique, que l'Italie a si, a ça, c'est beau…Ils disent qu'ils sont bien là-bas. C'est plutôt nous. Nous, on est mal vu. Pas maintenant, pas maintenant. Mais avant, les années en arrière, là. Quand on allait en Italie, ils nous regardaient de la tête au pied. Parce que on n'avait pas la blouse de marque, on n'avait pas les…vous savez, ici, c'est bien plus pratique.*

Well sometimes, because you know, when you speak with Italians, from Italy, the people who live there, sometimes they annoy us, because they say that [over] there it is America, that Italy has this, has that, it is beautiful [there]…They say that they are well off there. It's more us. We, we are badly perceived. Not now, not now. But before, years passed. When we would go to Italy, they would look at us from head to toe. Because we did not have the designer blouse, we didn't have the…you know, here, it's much more practical.

Antonia : *Oui, ils [la famille] étaient snobs un peu. Et on s'entend, les pires c'est ceux qui sont en campagne! Ça c'était les pires! C'est vrai, parce que moi, j'ai vu. Non, c'est les pires. Donc, eux, eux autres ça les énervaient. (rire)*

Yes, they [the family] were a little snobbish. And you understand, the worst were those who were from the country [a rural town]! Those were the worst! It's true, because I saw that. No, they're the worst. So, that really annoyed them [her mother and her aunts]. (laughs)

Carla : *Bien oui, j'ai dis, 'Regarde. Nous, on est bien.' Nous autres, on se défendait toujours. Parce que on disait, 'Écoute, nous on vit très bien, on ne regarde pas la marque. On est habillé, on n'est pas nu…on a de la chance de s'habiller comme on veut, comme on peut aussi. Bon.'*

Well yes, I [would] say, 'Look. We are well off.' We would always defend ourselves. Because we would say, 'Listen, we live very well, we don't look at

the brand name. We are dressed, we're not naked…we are fortunate to be able to dress as we want, and as we are able also. There.' (Carla and Antonia Risso, personal interview, August 22, 2012)

Through personal experiences Carla was reflecting on a perceived cultural characteristic where people lived beyond their means in order to keep up appearances. More importantly, Carla contrasted this characteristic with how she understood things to be in her adopted country. To her, the current crisis in Italy proved that this form of lifestyle was untenable. Although she agreed that perhaps now *"ils sont peut-être un peu plus simples"* [they are perhaps a little simpler now.], she nonetheless reiterated that this was a trait that persisted in the Italian way of looking at things:

Mais ils sont comme ça. . Ils sont fiers des enfants même s'ils ne travaillent pas. Ils sont contants parce que c'est gênant, un enfant qui est aux études il va travailler. Mais nous, on ne pense pas comme ça. Vous comprenez? Non, un enfant, c'est bien qu'il va travailler un peu dans les vacances, la fin de semaine.

But they are like that. They are proud of [their] children even if they don't work. They are happy because it's embarrassing [to them], [that] a child who is studying will [also] work. But we, we do not think like that. Do you understand? No, a child, it's good that he goes to work a little during the holidays, the weekends.

It is important to note that current conditions and the events that led up to the crisis did not seem to influence Carla's emotional and filial ties to Italy. As Carla said to me, "*C'est normal qu'on est toujours fière de notre pays, où qu'on a vécu…Je veux dire, j'ai toujours l'Italie dans mon cœur.* [It's normal to be proud of our country, where we lived…I mean, I always have Italy in my heart.]" Her understanding of the European economic crisis seems to be formed out of mobility, lived experience in two different social landscapes, and the comparison between perceived cultural behaviours. Indeed, other respondents to my study also related the current crisis to generalized behaviours and attitudes that took the form of stereotypical cultural and national representations. However, what I initially understood as a form of essentialism was perhaps a way to describe behaviour that was the result of a particular socio-political and economic structure which they then contrasted with the structure of their adopted state.

6.2.2 Umberto – Escaping the Snail's Shell

Umberto, who was born and raised in a region close to Rome, associated "*la mentalité italienne* [the Italian mentality]" with entrenched systems of patronage and nepotism that determined social position and employment prospects. In his experience, employment opportunities were generated through family and social connections, and those who performed menial labour were considered of a lower class. In addition, the appearance of wealth was necessary in order to secure a higher social position. Umberto explained that patronage was entrenched within the political system, and identified it as a process that prevented real democracy. When, as a young adult , he voted for the opposition party in a national election, his father was very angry and demanded:

« Qui est-ce qui est en train de te donner la manger? » Parce qu'ils avaient donné, pour avoir la vote, une caisse de….Moi, tu ne m'achètes pas, moi. Moi, tu ne m'achètes pas. Non. Toi, tu peux faire tout ce que tu veux, mais ne me fais pas d'offre parce que personne ne m'achète. J'étais comme ça.

"Who is giving you food to eat?" Because they had given, to have the vote, a case of [food]…Me, you do not buy me off. Me, you do not buy me off. No. You, you can do what you want, but don't make me an offer because no one can buy me. I was like that. (Umberto Minotti, personal interview, June 19, 2012)

One of the principal reasons Umberto gave me for emigrating from Italy was to leave a system that in his view limited individuality and equality. "*Terminé les études, j'ai, écoute, je n'ai pas de temps à perdre ici, j'ai dit là. Je m'en vais en Amérique.* [When I completed my studies I said to myself, I don't have time to waste here. I'm going to America.]" However, it was his experiences in work and business in Canada that made him realise the extent to which the socio-economic structure in Italy was untenable:

La chute de l'Italie dans la crise économique. Ça je la prévoyais, je ne savais pas quand. Parce que c'est impossible. Mais ça je l'avais appris ici. Parce qu'ici, si toi tu ne travailles pas, ou tu travailles 'hehehe', avant ou après là, la banque va te le dire. Écoute, toi tu….et l'addition, l'addition, l'addition, l'addition, des manques de responsabilité dans ce pays, va laisser glisser le pays dans une crise économique pratiquement irréversible. Et je prévoyais ça.

The collapse of Italy within the economic crisis. That, I predicted, I didn't know when. Because it's impossible. But that, I learned here. Because here, if you do not work, or you work 'heh heh heh' [if you don't work well or honestly], before or after, the bank is going to tell you. Listen, you….and the bill, the bill, the bill, the bill, the lack of responsibility in that country, will let the country slide into an economic crisis that is practically irreversible. And I predicted that.

In some ways, the current crisis in Italy validates for Umberto his decision to emigrate because it has exposed the false foundations upon which the Italian socio-economic structure was built. But similar to Carla, this validation is formed from intensely personal social relationships that were framed by this structure:

Sont passé 45 ans, aujourd'hui, l'Italie, est dans un état économique désastreux. Celui qui me regardait comme ça, maintenant c'est le temps que moi je peux lui regarder comme ça. Parce que lui est obligé à faire n'importe quoi s'il veut être encore un autre jour en vie. Un autre jour en vie, parce que la personne, il y a…les gens se suicident!... Mais si eux se seraient sorti de cette maison de l'escargot là, ils seraient libérés. Comme moi j'ai fait. Je suis venu ici.

45 years have passed, today Italy is in a disastrous economic state. The person that [looked down on me], now is the time that I can look at him in the same way. Because he has to do whatever he can if he wants to live another day. Another day of life, because the person, he has….people are committing

suicide! ...But if they had escaped from this snail's shell, they would have been liberated. Like what I did. I came here.

6.2.3 Lucia – A common culture of nepotism

Lucia immigrated to Canada from Sicily when she was quite young. Her understanding of the dynamics of the political and economic system in Italy comes from discussions with family members residing in Sicily and other regions of the country. Although she also often watches an Italian news channel to keep informed of current events in Italy, the way in which she explained her views of the crisis to me was, like Carla and Umberto, embedded in local circumstances:

> *...moi je dis que la politique c'est une mafia. Parce que ce n'est pas fait comme il faut...ce n'est pas de la politique sérieux... ceux qui sont dans la politique essaient de voler au gouvernement. Des millions de là, l'autre, le secrétaire, un million de là, puis tout le monde ils ont la mauvaise réputation.*

> …I say that politics is a mafia. Because it is not made properly…it's not serious politics…those that are in politics try to steal from the government. Some millions from here, the other, the secretary, one million from there, and everyone has a bad reputation. (Lucia Minotti, personal interview, May 18, 2012)

In describing the crisis, Lucia compared her experiences of making a living in Canada with the way that 'things were done' in Italy. For example, years ago she had lost her job with a company that had reduced its work force due to financial difficulties, an event that

she described as perfectly normal and logical. This, she said, would have never happened in Italy before the crisis:

> *Mais là-bas, non! Là-bas, qui est rentré dans une place pour travailler, c'est pour la vie! Personne [ne] peut te déplacer d'ici à là. C'est quoi, ça? Il avait, à l'hôtel de ville…moi je me souviens qui travaillait là, mon oncle, le frère de ma mère, il travaillait à la ville de _____. Mais ses enfants n'ont jamais accepté ça parce qu'ils faisaient d'autres choses. Mais lui, par exemple, pouvait aller à mon cousin. Une fois que mon oncle ne travaillait plus, c'est mon cousin qui pourrait prendre le travail! Après, le fils de mon cousin. C'est la génération. Mais, ici, ce n'est pas comme ça. Mais là-bas c'était comme ça, en Italie, de nord au sur [sud]. C'était comme ça.*

But over there, no! Over there, whoever is hired to work in a place, it's for life! No one can move you from here to there. What is that? There was, at city hall… I remember who worked there, [it was] my uncle, my mother's brother, he worked at the city of _____. But his children never accepted that because they were doing other things. But he [his job], for example, could go to my cousin. When my uncle didn't work anymore [retired], it's my cousin who could take his job! After, the son of my cousin. It's [generation after generation]. But here, it's not like that. But over there, it was like that, in Italy, from north to south. It was like that.

It is interesting that Lucia attributed a particular pattern of nepotism performed within her native region to the entire state, giving it a national characteristic. Lucia remains

incredulous that Italians seem to be so surprised that their economy could not be sustained within such a system, particularly because she compares it to Canada which has been much less negatively affected by the global crisis. To Lucia, the economic difficulties in Italy have been exacerbated by a system that normalizes self-serving behaviour to the detriment of the collective:

Pour moi, ça me fait rire qu'est-ce qu'il passe là-bas, parce que…Comme la pension. La pension, là-bas, tout le monde prenait la pension à 40 ans! 35 ans et les gens étaient déjà en pension. Mais de quoi? Ici, tu sais, que tu es riche ou tu es pauvre, c'est 65 ans. Pour l'homme, pour femme c'est 65. Point final. … Alors, maintenant, c'est la fin du monde. Les gens, il faut qu'ils attendent leurs pensions, les femmes 65, les hommes, ils l'ont mis plus tard. Or, il faut faire 40 ans de travail. Mais avant, là-bas, à 30 ans, ils prenaient la pension, il avait mal au doigt, puis, a 30 ans ils prenaient la pension… Alors pour nous autres, c'est normal, ça. Combien de fois je l'ai dit à la mère de Ronaldo (la mère de son beau-fils), j'ai dis 'C'est quoi, pour vous autres c'est la panique du monde!'Là-bas c'était toujours comme ça.

To me, what's happening over there makes me laugh, because… Like the pension. The pension, over there, everyone took the pension at the age of 40! At the age of 35 people were already drawing their pension. But from what? Here, you know, whether you are rich or poor, it's at age 65. For the man, woman, it's 65. …So now, it's the end of the world. The people, they have to wait for their pensions, the women at age 65, the men, they made it later. So now, one has to do 40 years of work. But before, over there, at the age of 30,

they took the pension, they had a sore finger, and at the age of 30 they took

their pension… But for us, that's normal [to receive a pension at 65]. How

many times I've said to Ronaldo's mother (the mother of her son-in-law),

I've said 'What is this, it's the panic of the world for you people!'[But] over

there, it's always been like that.

6.3 The Second Generation

The views of the European crisis varied considerably among the second generation

respondents to my study, and depended upon their positions in terms of life trajectory,

geography, career orientations, their family history of migration and overall attitudes

toward mobility. In addition, there was a temporal dimension to the interpretation of the

crisis between the first and second generation. In many instances, as I have detailed in the

preceding pages, parents who had been settled in Canada for many years tended to reflect

back on their experiences and transnational relationships to formulate an opinion of the

current crisis and the socio-economic state of their country of origin. While at times the

crisis also served as confirmation of perceived national or cultural characteristics of their

parents' native state, the second generation tended to approach it with a sense of

individual agency. As citizens of an expanding social territory, whether by virtue of their

dual citizenship, by transnational relationships, or career orientations, the European crisis

was an occurrence to be considered and negotiated. It was also an event situated within a

fragile global economy, and thus part of their overall considerations as they determined

the best paths to economic security and desired quality of life.

6.3.1 Differing Views of the European South

As we saw in preceding chapters, Catia is a young Canadian woman who is considering the acquisition of her parents' Portuguese citizenship. Talia is of similar age, and acquired Greek citizenship after she had moved from Montreal and settled in the Greek town where her parents had been born and where she had spent her formative years. The migration histories of these women's families are very different. While both of their grandparents had immigrated to Canada in search of economic betterment, from the age of nine Catia had not maintained any form of contact with her parents' country of origin, while Talia's parents had fostered significant ties to Greece by extended residence there and the maintenance of close family relationships. These varying histories, along with their different choices for mobility and residence, have contributed to the formation of very different views of the economic crisis affecting Europe.

Catia had a very negative view of the socio-economic system in Portugal. "*...j'ai toujours regardé mon pays comme une place, je ne sais pas comment l'expliquer d'autre que, ils veulent la bonne vie, mais ils ne veulent pas travailler pour.* [I've always perceived my country as a place, I don't know how else to say it other than, they want to have the good life, but they don't want to pay for it]." This view was also extended to other southern European states that were faring less well during the recession:

> *Il ne faut pas oublier que, et je vais être très crasse, que le Portugal,*
>
> *l'Espagne, la Grèce, et spécifiquement les Açores, il y a un gros, une grosse*
>
> *économie cash, black market. Il y a une grosse économie de, encore de*
>
> *l'ancien temps où que les personnes échangent services pour services, cash*
>
> *pour cash. Et la mentalité est- tu ne le mets pas dans les banques, tu achètes*

des édifices cash, c'est très fermé. C'est la même chose à travers l'Italie, il n'y a pas beaucoup d'hypothèques, et tout ça. Alors, sont très….ils ont toujours été très fermés. C'est toujours, « je vais t'aider si tu m'aides », pis c'est la même chose ici, tu sais, dans les petites communautés. Les portugais ils s'aident, les italiens, ils s'aident un entre l'autre, ou quoi que ce soit. Et ça, tu le sais, qu'avec l'économie, à un certain point, tu ne peux pas penser que tu ne vas pas donner ton argent au gouvernement, et que tu veux que le gouvernement prends soins de toi. Et cette mentalité, j'ai toujours su, que ça va les détruire, à un certain point. Parce que, la mentalité organisée de la France, de l'Angleterre, de l'Allemagne. L'Allemagne va super bien. C'est des travailleurs. En Angleterre, en France peut-être moins. Mais les pays où est-ce que c'est des travailleurs, ils vont bien.

We can't forget that, and I'm going to be very blunt, that [in] Portugal, Spain, Greece, and specifically the Azores, there's a big, a big cash economy, [a] black market. There's a big economy of, leftover from the old days when people exchanged services for services, cash for cash. And the mentality is that you don't put [money] in the banks, you buy buildings with cash, and it's very closed. It's the same thing across Italy, there aren't a lot of mortgages, and all that. So, [they] are very…they have always been very closed. It's always, 'I'll help you if you help me', and it's the same thing here, you know, in the small communities. The Portuguese help one another, the Italians, they help one another, or whatever. And that, you know, with the economy, at a certain point, you can't think that you will not give your money to the

government, and you want the government to take care of you. And this

mentality, I always knew, that it would destroy them, at a certain point.

Because, the organised mentality of France, of England, of Germany.

Germany is doing very well. They are workers. In England, France, maybe a

little less. But the countries where they are workers, they are doing well.

(Catia Alba, personal interview, July 11, 2012)

When Catia described the migration story of her grandparents, as well as her own

narrative during her younger years, it was very much situated around the search for

economic stability. Although her own parents had experienced considerable financial

difficulties when she was young, Catia was very appreciative that with diligence, upward

social and economic mobility remained possible in Canada despite financial setbacks: "*Je*

pense qu'on est vraiment chanceux d'avoir choisi ...le Canada. [I think that we are very

lucky to have chosen…Canada.]"

She was herself a 'self-made' person, who had paid for her own education and had built

an independent business. It seems that her entrepreneurial spirit shaped her idea of dual

citizenship in that she viewed its acquisition as a status that would give her access to a

broader market in terms of investments and capital accumulation:

C'est mauvais de dire mais [la citoyenneté européenne] c'est plus par un coté

d'investissements. Parce que quand tu as un passeport européen… c'est plus

facile d'acheter la propriété. Puis il y en a de la propriété, en ce moment, à

pas cher. C'est le petit coté investisseur dans moi qui regarde ça. Moins pour

travailler, parce que je suis honnête, je suis un workaholic, et la mentalité

européenne d'aller travailler pendant 2 heures, manger pendant 2 heures et demie, ré-ouvrir le magasin, je ne suis pas sûr que ça fonctionnerait trop avec moi!

It's bad to say but [European citizenship] is more [for the purpose of] investments. Because when you have a European passport…it's easier to buy property. And there is a lot of property, right now, that is not very expensive. It's the investor side of me that is looking at that…Less for work, because honestly, I'm a workaholic, and the European mentality of going to work for two hours, eat for two and a half hours, open the store again, I'm not sure if that would sit well with me!

Whereas Catia views Europe with a strategic perspective and from a distance, as a resident of Greece, Talia is directly implicated in the daily effects of the economic crisis. She is less concerned with the financial element of the crisis, which she believes has been exaggerated by the media, and much more concerned with the effects that the discourse surrounding the crisis has had on the social fabric:

People are really scared. Because they're making us scared with everything we hear on TV. And before the recession hit, everybody was talking about a recession on TV. There was no recession. They kind of brought it. All of a sudden it was like, what recession? What recession? People are getting scared and taking their money out of the bank, *causing* a recession. (Talia Kefalas, personal interview, July 9, 2012)

Talia reasons that media reports are grossly exaggerated because the austerity measures imposed by the Greek government have had varying effects both regionally and within different segments of society. In the small northern town where she resides, the major industry has not been badly damaged by the recession. In addition:

> … living expenses are lower too, and obviously, you know, profits are lower for everybody. But you live really well on a low salary in a small city there, as opposed to a huge salary in a large city. So even though there's a recession in Athens, people in the rural areas aren't really affected, because their salaries aren't being cut by that much. They can't go any lower, right? So in fact, where we live, prices are going down, making it a bit more affordable for us to buy things.

Austerity measures, however, have affected the civil servants of her town more than the rest of the population, and she believes that this is creating social divisions that were nonexistent in pre-recession years:

> And now [the civil servants] they're getting their salaries chopped. And you see the guy working in the ___ industry driving a Mercedes around. Now there's a lot of frustration, a lot. I even get that from my friends. Where, you know, money there is not a taboo. You can talk about it openly. So on Easter Sunday, when this really well known Greek singer came to town, we went, with a bunch of friends. Half my friends actually turned around and said to me, "Well how did you afford that? Isn't there a recession? Why are people going out?" And it's kind of causing this friction in society. You know, you

shouldn't be doing that, you shouldn't be having fun, you shouldn't be spending money. You should be, like, miserable like me. And if you're not, I hate you. That's really, really starting to show there. And people are very upset because it's ruining the family unit that was there before…

As I have detailed previously, Talia returned to live in the Greek town where she had spent some of her younger years because she enjoyed the social life of a close-knit, "small community", where "everybody knows each other", and the relaxed lifestyle that she believed was possible in a smaller municipality. She resents criticisms of this way of life, particularly when they are expressed by northern Europeans as stereotypical representations of those who live in the southern states, and sees that the crisis has reinforced such categorizations:

Now it's all the southern countries who are causing all the problems to the northern. We're lazy; we have the sun all the time. That's where we live! We're not going to be like people are in the north, with six months of night time. You can't be the same. You know, in Germany they have factories working like crazy, they have a huge recession problem, no one talks about it, why? I don't see that, you know what I mean, it's all propaganda…They're actually saying to people not to go to Greece in case they change currency in the summer. And people are blaming the Greeks for the Euro going down the drain. How is it my fault? I didn't spend the money, you know? So it's very unfair, and from what I've been told, from friends who have been to Sweden, there's a lot of racism going on in Europe against the Greeks. Yes. They don't want us. We're the problem.

Thus we see in Talia's narrative a defense of the same forms of national characteristics that Catia and other interlocutors applied to critique the European crisis. As a citizen directly experiencing its effects, she is more sensitive to distinguish between the actions of the government and the resulting disposition of the population. The public service, she told me,

> [is] huge in Greece. It would be like, 'If you vote for me, I'll get you in a cushy job.' Everybody had that mentality. So a lot of people had that as the ideal. Work for the government, you'll never have to work a day in your life and you'll get a lot of bonuses. So everybody was applying for the government like crazy. And now they're getting their salaries chopped.

Although the crisis has not yet had dire consequences for her, Talia has been obligated to adjust to its realities by supplementing her reduced teaching salary with private tutoring. The recession, in fact, has increased demand for private English instruction in her town as people consider leaving Greece to pursue opportunities elsewhere. In addition, Talia's dual citizenship status gives her access to a wider economic market that she can negotiate; for the last two years during her extended visits to Canada she has also sought and gained employment here. Despite the challenges, Talia emphasized: "I would not want to move back [to Canada], unless I had no choice. Unless things got so bad there that I have to, you know, it would be a matter of getting by, then I would come back."

6.3.2 A Matter of Choice?

Talia's sentiments were echoed by other interlocutors who were also currently residing in Europe. The current economic conditions were viewed as a structural constraint to be

managed and negotiated through individual determination and by virtue of their professional credentials and work experience. It is interesting that conversely to the assumption that the push factors for migration are primarily prompted by economic insecurity, the timing of the mobility of these second generation dual citizens brought them *into* a social and economic area more volatile than the one they had left. This type of mobility highlights how decisions surrounding migration are the result of an interplay between a myriad of subjective and objective considerations. Conradson and Mckay have opined that "feelings may act to enhance and secure particular forms of transnational labour mobility, whilst also disrupting or undermining capitalist economic logic" (2007: 172). However, it is clear from the narratives of my study participants that economic realities nonetheless play an important role in structuring the mobility that may have been inspired in part by subjective considerations.

Paloma's education in international public law ostensibly orients her career toward particular geographic locations, and many of these are to be found in Europe. "The secretariats, the regional offices" of "international organizations are mostly …in Europe", she explained to me, in cities such as Geneva (where she has recently found work), The Hague, and Brussels. "In North America, you have to go to New York…There aren't many possibilities in Canada." The economic crisis has made job prospects in this field increasingly challenging, and as Paloma is beginning her career, her mobility is currently determined by her particular job market rather than personal choice:

> I guess the problem is that now I've become a little bit, very realistic and
> logical, and, especially in the current situation. I'm a little bit more worried
> about actually finding work than finding it where I want it to be… Frankly,

none of these places [in Europe where international organizations are mostly located] are appealing to me in terms of places I'd like to live in! But, I don't know, at some point you have to make a sacrifice. If, in an ideal world, I could choose the place I live in, I would choose Spain. I think this has a lot to do with, I mean, besides from feeling Spanish and feeling pretty close to Spain, I have a lot of family there. But this is by no means any time to go to Spain, and [I] probably will not be going there within the next ten years.

(Paloma Salazar, telephone interview, August 14, 2012)

As a dual Spanish/Canadian citizen, Paloma's affiliation with Spain has not been affected by the socio-economic consequences of the crisis afflicting the country of her mother's birth. She does however recognize that the recession has had the effect of re-orienting her goals in light of the economic insecurity that is a contemporary reality, particularly for youth employment:

No, it's so much stronger than that. I think, you know, I think, I'm Spanish. I'll always be Spanish. I'm not going to forget about that because of the economic crisis or because of what I might think about, you know, how people deal with their economy in Spain. You know, it's a little bit frustrating in the sense that I would've loved to, to maybe have been born 10 years before. Then I would have graduated and I could have moved to Spain while it was the boom… and maybe have been very successful and lived a very comfortable life, and now I can't do that.

As Paloma is currently working on a contract basis, she is simultaneously applying for other positions in Europe in the hopes of being able to stay there: "I think I've decided to resolve that by where I find work, I will go." She recognizes that the most pragmatic solution may be to return to Canada and re-orient her career as this country has weathered the economic storm more successfully. However, because she is situated at the beginning of her career, and as she has other subjective considerations such as a close relationship with a Spanish citizen who is currently residing in Munich, she hasn't "given up hope yet, you know, you have to give something a good try before you, you start your plan B."

Caitlin, a dual Canadian/Irish citizen currently residing in London, also expressed her resolve to remain in Europe and find employment despite the difficult economic climate. "There were times when I didn't think I would ever get anything, was I being stupid staying here, but I wanted to be here." Negotiating a professional labour market, where in addition to the recession 'contingent' work has become increasingly common[44], meant that Caitlin accepted short term work contracts for over a year before securing a permanent position. In some ways, for Caitlin the environment created by the European crisis has allowed for a valuable form of self-realization to occur:

> Now that I've been able to get past that, I think it's actually been for the
>
> better. I think it's taught me a lot in terms of how to, kind of, yeah, how to
>
> hustle a little bit and kind of make your own opportunities, and build
>
> networks from scratch when you don't have them. And you realize how

---

[44] The 2008 economic crisis has amplified a 30-year old trend that has seen the steady increase of 'precarious' and 'contingent' work within the labour markets of old member EU states (Kretsos 2010). This trend now encompasses both "primary and secondary labour markets" and since the 1990s is "affecting a widening spectrum of workers including skilled professional workers" (Kretsos 2010: 6).

much time that takes and, you know, if you're from somewhere and you've got friends in that place from years and years, it's a lot easier to get started. It really was kind of creating a new life even though I had been here for one year already as a student. So I'm not worried anymore about the crisis, I think I've gone through enough in the last year and a half, making ends meet, making opportunities happen, to kind of feel that I can do that if anything ever happened again. (Caitlin Murphy, Skype interview, August 1, 2012)

Talia, Paloma and Caitlin seem to be of the mindset that the challenges presented by difficult economic conditions could be surmounted by being versatile, flexible and resourceful. However, running through their narratives were also the notions of impermanence and precariousness, where challenges were to be met as they arose and until, to paraphrase Talia, 'things got really bad'. Although Sofia, a Canadian/Italian dual citizen, was offered a permanent position at a firm in Zurich a year before the crisis hit in 2008, she too described the environment in which she worked as "nerve-racking" since job security was virtually inexistent. The future was thus very uncertain. Sofia described how difficult it was for her and her husband to plan for the coming years. They are currently maintaining two households; one in Rome, where her husband resides, and one in Zurich. The economic climate across Europe has as yet not made it possible for both to find employment in the same city:

…at the moment, because of the economic crisis, worldwide, and in Europe, I don't think we are in a phase where we can actually elect where we are going. It's pretty much, let's wait and see where we end up type thing, as opposed to 'this is where I'm aiming at'. With the economic crisis, with the European

Union, where, you know, we don't really know where it's going, we don't
know if the Euro is going to survive, or whether we are going to go back to
home currencies, and so on, it's a bit of a phase where you have to just hold
your breath. Wait and see how things evolve. (Sofia Minotti, telephone
interview, May 28, 2012)

6.3.3 Beyond the Economics of the European Crisis

It is certain that economic conditions in Europe were also a concern for the dual citizens
in my project who were currently residing in Canada but for various reasons viewed a
move to Europe as a possibility in the future. As these interlocutors were also at a
different life stage than the young women I have written about in the preceding pages,
decisions regarding mobility encompassed the needs and well-being of spouses and
children as well as themselves. While job and material security could be strategized and
quantified to a certain point, the fallout from the crisis in social terms, still unravelling
during the time of our interviews, was in many ways a greater worry as it was a concern
that was beyond their control. Thus the social environment in which they would be
placing themselves and their families, and the risk of a lower standard of living in
European abodes, was an extremely important consideration when determining mobility.

Jacques took a broad perspective when considering the potential effects of the Euro zone
crisis. He was not worried about its economic ramifications for France per se, but rather
for the potential dissolution of economic and social stability that the EU had been
established to foster:

Jacques : *Non, je ne pense pas [que je sois inquiet] pour le pays, mais c'est plus pour l'Union Européen. On se demande si ça va rester ou pas. Si jamais l'Union Européenne fout le camp, ça va mal aller. Puis après ça les nationalistes remontent et tout ça. On sait ce que ça fait l'Europe, ah, deux fois. Ça n'a pas changé tant que ça. Chacun a son petit royaume, mais, je comprends bien, ça ne prend pas grand chose que ça tourne au vinaigre. Il faut faire attention quand même. L'Europe, c'est pleins de cultures dans pas grands kilomètres carrés. Déjà crée deux guerres mondiales.*

No, I don't think [that I am worried] for the country, but it's more the European Union. We wonder whether it will remain or not. If the European Union [falls apart], things will go badly. And after that the nationalists rise up and all that. We know what [that has] done to Europe, two times [now]. Things haven't changed all that much. Everyone has their little kingdom, but, I understand [that] it doesn't take much for things to turn to vinegar. One has to be careful. Europe [contains] many cultures within not many square kilometers. [It has] already created two world wars.

Mona : *Alors, pour toi, l'Union Européenne était un type d'organisation qui aidait à changer, pas changer mais, soulager les tensions potentielles?*

So, for you, the European Union was a type of organisation that helped to change, not change, but, smooth potential tensions?

Jacques : *C'est un genre de garantie justement, antimilitariste au moins… je pense que ça aide. Sont plus main dans la main, si les pays veulent rentrer*

dans l'Union Européenne, il faut laisser tout ça. Même la Turquie…C'est un

gage à quelque part que si tu veux rentrer dedans, tu ne veux pas non plus

faire la guerre entre eux, tu es associé. C'est pour ça que c'est bien, il ne faut

pas que ça régresse, l'Éspagne et tout ça.

Exactly, it's a type of anti-militarist guarantee, at least…I think it helps. [The countries] are more hand in hand, if countries want to enter the European Union, they have to leave all that aside. Even Turkey…it's a deal in some way that if you want to enter [the Union], you also do not want to engage in war, you are associated. That is why it's a good thing, it must not degenerate, Spain and all of that. (Jacques Montreuil, telephone interview, July 9, 2012)

Jacques is concerned with the breakdown in an organizational structure that in his view establishes boundaries for socio-political behaviour across distinct polities and provides a common link between cultures. This is not to say that he is unaware of the social tensions within France that are framed in terms of putative cultural and racialized distinctions, and recognizes that the crisis has exacerbated the contentious relationship between certain segments of the French population:

…mais le problème entre autres avec les immigrants c'est qu'ils les ont mis

dans des quartiers, des ghettos également. Au début, ça ne paraissait pas trop

parce que les immigrants essayaient de travailler puis tout. Mais maintenant,

les enfants s'en foutent de tout ça. Alors c'est là que ça parait. C'est vraiment

des quartiers durs. Alors c'est ça un peu le problème. On les a parqués là. Ils

ne sont pas très bien encore accueillis…évidemment, c'est les premiers à être

au chômage, c'est les premiers à être renvoyés, ou à ne pas être embauchés.

…but among other things the problem with the immigrants is that they put

them in neighbourhoods, ghettos as well. In the beginning, it was very

apparent because the immigrants tried to work and all that. But now, the

children don't care about all that at all. So that's where it is apparent. They

are really harsh neighbourhoods. So that is in part the problem. They were

parked there. They still are not very well welcomed…evidently, they are the

first to go on social assistance, they are the first to be let go, or to not be

hired.

Pierre, also a Canadian/French dual citizen, echoed Jacques' concerns for the social

disharmony that has been caused by a rhetoric that tends to identify immigrants, both

legal and illegal, as one of the chief causes of the economic crisis:

If we look at the social, what's happening socially in France, it doesn't look

all that great. There's a lot of racism, there are a lot of problems with the

Algerians, the Moroccans that are without work, that are without papers. So,

you know, we look at that, we look at what we have here, and we don't see

ourselves having the same quality of life in France. (Pierre Lozeau, telephone

interview, July 2, 2012)

In Jacques and Pierre's narratives there is a marked concern regarding the rise of racist

ideology, discriminatory practices and protectionist rhetoric that characterizes the

discourse surrounding the economic crisis. Hearing, and at times witnessing these

practices when visiting Europe, makes them question whether they want to inhabit such an environment, and in Pierre's case whether he wants his children to be exposed to these manners of thought.

6.4 Conclusion

In viewing the economic crisis, the first generation members of this study did not regard it as an event that was occurring outside of their lived experiences and from which they were totally separate. Rather, memories of home, ongoing transnational relationships, and the comparison of two distinctly different socio-economic systems were applied to interpret the current recession. Interestingly, despite the critiques of a flawed socio-economic system, for those of my participants who had passed on dual citizenship to their children and thus either already had or anticipated the possibility of their children living abroad, the state of the economy of their home country was not a major concern. As Michel, who had bequeathed French citizenship to his children said, "[citizenship means to embrace] a country in its widest terms… the things you like about the country and the things you don't like about the country. You don't like everything" (Michel Imerina, personal interview, August 28, 2012).

It is possible that their lack of extreme concern reflected the generational differences in power and agency within the migration process. As dual Canadian/European citizens who were acquiring higher education and/or professional credentials, often their children were in better positions than they or their own parents had been to negotiate multiple national territories within a volatile global economy. In addition, as dual Canadian/European citizenship was often considered by both generations to be a

bargaining chip within a global economy, migration to a country in Europe did not necessarily represent a final destination. A move back to Canada or elsewhere in Europe was always a possibility. Thus, although some of the first generation interlocutors expressed worries for the socio-economic state of their home countries, which at times had also made life more difficult for their families there, these concerns were not directly associated with the mobility of their children.

The second generation tended to consider the economic crisis as one would debate other life challenges or obstacles – with reflexivity and intentionality, and by weighing the risks and deliberating on alternatives. The crisis was not necessarily a deterrent for those who were oriented toward Europe either for professional or personal reasons, but what it did do was shape the form of their mobility. Residing in Europe took on a contingent nature, and interlocutors positioned themselves as best as they could under the circumstances and in relation to their personal goals. Thus Sofia's strategy was to remain at her position in Zurich while maintaining a second home in Rome, Talia subsidized her lower earnings in Greece by working when visiting her family in Canada, and Paloma prioritized finding employment over living in a preferred locale. The considerations of most of the participants who had as yet not made the move to Europe went beyond the economics of the situation to consider the corresponding social problems, as their reflections included the well being of their family members who would be accompanying them.

Both generations in this study tended to interpret and consider the European crisis in relation to their own experiences - that had occurred in the past for the first generation, and were unfolding in the present or were anticipated for the second – and parents were

not apt to influence their children's outlook. This is the case even for Catia, whose understanding of the crisis was rooted in the narrative of her family's struggle to leave the poor economic conditions of their homeland. It was her experience as an entrepreneur that led her to appraise the current situation in Europe as an opportunity for investment. For Catia, the crisis is a source of motivation for the acquisition of European citizenship.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 The Dynamism of Dual Citizenship

The findings of my research demonstrate that the category of inherited dual citizenship is by no means static or homogeneous. My starting point for this project was the understanding from Bloemraad (2000) that citizenship encompasses overlapping dimensions of legal status, rights, identity, and participation. I examined dual citizenship through a transnational framework and applied a methodology that inquired into its dimensions through the analysis of life stories and inter-generational family narratives. I found that how these dimensions were understood and prioritized by the first and second generation interlocutors in my study were greatly informed by the discourse within the families pertaining to their conditions of migration and their experience of movement and resettlement, and by the relationships fostered within their families and social networks that were situated in particular locales; in their home cities in Canada, in their family's country of origin, and in the cities abroad where some second generation interlocutors were residing.

My focus was on families originating from southern and CEE states that are now significantly experiencing the social and economic detrimental effects of the European crisis, and that, particularly for the CEE states, are more recent ascendants to the EU. This allowed me to explore how membership to a larger territory for the second generation may orient considerations for mobility away from the country of origin and toward other economic markets, and how it influenced attitudes toward national affinity.

I found that while European citizenship expanded the options for key life decisions such as residence, education, and career orientations, where the second generation dual citizen was situated on her life path, what types of social networks and family relations she had fostered, and how she interpreted her family's narrative of migration were the determining factors for movement. Thus Julia's orientation toward Hungary stemmed from the difficult circumstances surrounding escape from communism that was lived by her parents as well as the emotional loss of her mother when she was an adolescent. Catia's understanding of dual citizenship was devoid of any national affiliation to Portugal due to the circumstances surrounding her parents' divorce and was prioritized for its ability to allow access to a broader market for investment.

In addition, through my inquiries there emerged a temporal and utilitarian element to the understanding of dual citizenship, as it was related to the life choices my interlocutors had made and the paths that they had either undertaken or were considering for the future. These choices were framed but not exclusively determined by larger economic, political and legal processes that the interlocutors inevitably had to negotiate. I argue that the result, for both first and second generation dual citizens, was an individualized view of dual citizenship that tended to defy general forms of categorization and universal meaning as it was rooted in distinct and intimate circumstances.

Thus Christos, who had distanced himself from his Greek identity while growing up in Canada, is acquiring Greek citizenship as an adult because his parents wish to secure their children's birthright of family land in Greece. The family's decision to undertake the application process and to secure the legal and rights dimensions of citizenship for the second generation is framed within the legal and cultural rules for land inheritance in

Greece. In addition, this decision is also informed by the strained relationships with the extended family in Greece that were shaped by distance and migration. As Faist (2000) has defined dual citizenship, Christos sees his Greek citizenship as a symbolic tie to his family's country of origin, but also insists that it in no way will change his primary identification with Canada. While not planning to embark on any form of mobility at this time, Christos nonetheless understands that dual citizenship will potentially offer an expansion of possibilities and access to markets within the EU.

Meanwhile, during her youth and adolescence Talia's family had maintained significant transnational ties to their country of origin, moving between Canada and Greece in response to family obligations and economic necessity. Because of this mobility, as Talia contemplated her life path as a young adult, she estimated that residence in Greece would respond to her desires for a particular lifestyle and form of sociality. The identity dimension of Greek national citizenship embraces the diaspora and is not dependent on legal status: Talia was therefore able to establish herself in that country and take advantage of some of the rights associated to citizenship, such as employment and a teaching license. The acquisition of citizenship became a matter of course when Talia decided to remain in Greece and acquired it to facilitate negotiation of state bureaucracy, or as Talia said, "[b]ecause [with citizenship] everything would be a lot faster".

7.2 The Fifth Dimension – Instrumental

A strong notion of instrumentality in relation to dual citizenship emerges from the narratives of my interlocutors. As dual citizenship is increasingly tolerated by states, and as migration and movement plays out within the context of contemporary globalisation, I

suggest that instrumentality can be added as a fifth dimension to Bloemraad's

conceptualization of citizenship when it is applied to dual citizenship. This is particularly

apparent in this study because the interlocutors have an expansive legal status and right to

access and participate in other member states of the EU as well as their family's country

of origin. Instrumentality blends and overlaps with the legal, rights, identity and

participatory dimensions of citizenship. As we saw with Michel's narrative, this first

generation dual citizen prioritized the advantages of a European citizenship for his

children, but he also recognized that due to the family's maintenance of filial ties to

France, it was possible that as they came of age his children may want to foster stronger

interactions and identifications, not only with the family's country of origin, but also with

the broader EU territory:

> I value my Canadian citizenship, and I do value my French citizenship. And a
> little more broadly, my European citizenship. Because I do feel, I personally
> rarely call it a French citizenship, I call it always European citizenship… I
> felt it was important to give to my kids for opportunities. And when we did
> the [citizenship] papers, when we did papers for [our children], I didn't know
> which way things were going and I felt, you know, you never know, maybe
> we're going to travel, maybe we're going to have to stay there for an
> extended period of time. It could be they'll just want to go, maybe they'll feel
> closer as they grow up, closer to Europe than they'll feel to North America.

7.3 Under the Aegis of Dual Citizenship

In addition, economic, political, and social security emerged as important elements driving the instrumental dimension of citizenship as interlocutors considered the precarious condition of the contemporary global system in light of the 2008 financial crisis. I suggested that the second generation viewed dual citizenship as a form of security against possible future contingencies that would threaten their well-being and that of their families. The 'exit option' available to dual nationals has been perceived as an unfair advantage not available to the majority of a nation's citizens, although this claim has not been substantiated by empirical evidence (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2001: 82 and 2002: 30-31). Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer (2002: 30-31) have deemphasized this element of dual citizenship, citing the tendency for economic migrants to remain in the host country despite adverse political and social conditions, and the ability of mono-nationals of means to migrate to another country if conditions in their own degenerate. This, however, does not negate that dual citizenship is understood by its owners within a certain temporal framework, and I suggested that its understanding reflects the zeitgeist of insecurity that is defining the 21st century and becomes part of how the second generation prioritizes the utilization and significance of this status.

7.4 Dual Citizenship and the Context of Place

The instrumental dimension of citizenship was also apparent as I inquired into the families' migration and settlement experiences and uncovered the extent to which they informed the families' strategies of negotiations of the particular linguistic and political space of Montreal. Rather than stories of integration or resistance, their narratives

emphasized how they chose to position themselves in this diverse space according to the human capital that they held and corresponding to their own personal orientations and aspirations. Perhaps because of the political climate during the time of their migration and settlement that prioritized the linguistic integration of immigrants to Quebec, language emerged as the principal resource that was applied as the second generation moved across social boundaries in the city that held multiple associations to culture and nationality. I suggested that this experience contributed to their understanding of dual citizenship as it allowed them to engage in a practice where various aspects of their identity could be expressed and from which they developed diverse forms of linguistic and cultural knowledge and the understanding that multiple affiliation to culture and nationality was possible. As we saw with the interlocutors who had chosen to live abroad, this experience equipped them with the ability to adapt and find their place within new sociocultural environments. The particular context of Montreal may be one of the reasons why, according to Bloemraad (2004:418) claims of dual citizenship on official Canadian census forms were highest in Quebec.

7.5 State of the European Union

My study shows that the archetype of the humble southern and eastern European migrant to Canada transforms within the second generation as these individuals reap the benefits of their parents' migration and gain educational, cultural, linguistic, and professional resources enabling them to compete within an economy structured by a neoliberal ideology of global economic competitiveness. Rather than elucidate strictly national or post-national understandings of their citizenship status, many members of the second generation related dual citizenship to contemporary global capitalism while

acknowledging the symbolic ties that citizenship also represented. Thus Marija, who valued her national affiliation to Lithuania highly, also recognized that building a career and establishing networks across national borders would offer more advantages and leverage than if she remained in one country. Paloma, who was trained for a career in international law, demonstrated the flexibility required to seek and gain employment within a market that was situated in specific European cities and structured by short-term contracts, although her preference was to be in Spain where members of her extended family resided.

The European economic crisis tended to be regarded by the second generation members who were already oriented toward Europe as an event situated within the parameters of global financial capitalism and that was to be negotiated with care. They demonstrated a high amount of flexibility as their mobility was structured by the precariousness of the economy – Sofia and her husband maintained households in different European countries as they could not find employment in the same city, and Talia subsidized her reduced earnings in Greece by working during her visits to Canada. Surprisingly, the first generation tended not to dissuade their children from seeking employment in Europe. I suggested that this may be because although they were critical about the mentalities and cultural attitudes that arose from untenable political and economic systems they also understood that their children held an important resource with their dual citizenship status that provided them with an exit option.

7.6 Dual Citizenship – A Passport for Mobility?

It would be expected then that dual citizenship would directly inform the choices and strategies for mobility made by the second generation. However, I argued that while their status contributed to their perception of the possibilities of movement, a host of personal considerations related to the formation of selfhood, life circumstances, aspirations, and career orientations were more consequential when making the decision to move across national boundaries. These subjective and at time elusive dimensions to mobility were played out within the context of increased global relations and various forms of inter-connectedness. Thus Caitlin, oriented to mobility at a young age, searched for educational opportunities abroad that were made available by educational institutions responding to the corporate demand for workers skilled in the global economy and knowledgeable of cultural diversity. For Talia, her decision to move to her family's country of origin in search for quality of life was facilitated by Hellenistic notions of an expansive nationalism that transcended state borders, initiated by Greek diaspora policies formed in the early 20th century. For the interlocutors of the second generation that had embarked on mobility, it was their cultural, linguistic, educational, and professional resources that served as their passport rather than their juridical right of movement. What dual citizenship did do was enable them to access the rights and privileges associated with European citizenship, which facilitated their settlement and enabled some opportunities.

References

Abu-Lughod, Janet
    1991 Changing Cities. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Aleinikoff, Alexander T., and Douglas Klusmeyer
    2001 Plural Nationality: Facing the Future in a Migratory World. *In* Global
    Citizenship Today: Perspectives and Practices. Alexander T. Aleinikoff and Douglas
    Klusmeyer, eds. Pp. 63-88. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International
    Peace.

Aleinikoff, Alexander T., and Douglas Klusmeyer
    2002 Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration. Washington, DC: Carnegie
    Endowment for International Peace, Migration Policy Institute.

Amit, Vered
    2000 Constructing the Field: Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World.
    New York: Routledge.

Amit, Vered
    2002a Reconceptualizing Community. *In* Realizing Community: Concepts, Social
    Relationships and Sentiments. Vered Amit, ed. Pp. 1-20. London; New York:
    Routledge.

Amit, Vered
    2002b Anthropology and Community: Some Opening Notes. *In* The Trouble with
    Community: Anthropological Reflections on Movement, Identity and Collectivity.
    Pp. 13-25. London; Sterling, VA: Pluto.

Amit, Vered
    2002c The Trouble with Community. *In* The Trouble with Community:
    Anthropological Reflections on Movement, Identity and Collectivity. Pp. 42-64.
    London; Sterling, VA: Pluto.

Amit, Vered
    2007 Going First Class? New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement. New
    York: Berghahn Books.

Amit, Vered

2010 Serendipities, Uncertainties and Improvisations in Movement and Migration. *In* The Ethnographic Self as Resource: Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography. Peter Collins and Anselma Gallinat, eds. Pp. 200-214. New York: Berghahn Books.

Amit, Vered

2011 "Before I Settle Down": Youth Travel and Enduring Life Course Paradigms. Anthropologica 53(1):79-88.

Amit, Vered

2012 Migration and Other Forms of Movement. *In* Sage Handbook of Social Anthropology. Richard Fardon et al. eds. Pp. 20-29. London; Singapore; New Delhi; Washington DC: Sage.

Amit, Vered, and Nigel Rapport

2002 The Trouble with Community: Anthropological Reflections on Movement, Identity and Collectivity. London; Sterling, VA: Pluto.

Anderson, Benedict R.

1991 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. 2nd ed. London; New York: Verso.

Basch, Linda G., Nina Glick Schiller, Cristina Szanton Blanc

1994 Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation States. London: Gordon and Breach.

Barth, Fredrik

1969 Introduction. *In* Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. F. Barth, ed. Pp. 9-38. London: Allen & Unwin.

Bloemraad, Irene

2000 Citizenship and Immigration: A Current Review. Journal of International Migration and Integration 1(1): 9-37.

Bloemraad, Irene

2004 Who Claims Dual Citizenship? The Limits of Postnationalism, the Possibilities of Transnationalism, and the Persistence of Traditional Citizenship. IMR 38(2):389-426.

Bloemraad, Irene, Anna Korteweg, and GokceYurdakul

2008 Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State. Annual Review of Sociology 34:153-179.

Blommaert, Jan

    2005 Language Policy and National Identity. *In* Introduction to Language Policy, Thomas Ricento, ed. Pp. 238-254. London: Blackwell.

Bosniak, Linda

    2001-2002 Multiple Nationality and the Postnational Transformation of Citizenship. Virginia Journal of International Law 42:979-1004.

Bosniak, Linda

    2006 The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bredbenner, Candice Lewis

    1998 A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.

Brubaker, Rogers

    2004 Ethnicity without Groups. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, Edward M.

    1986 Ethnicity as Narrative. *In* The Anthropology of Experience. Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner, eds. Pp. 139-155. Urbana: Illinois University Press.

Cassarino, Jean-Pierre

    2004 Theorizing Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited. International Journal on Multicultural Societies 6(2):253-279.

Cohen, Anthony P.

    1985 The Symbolic Construction of Communities. London; New York: Tavistock Publications.

Coleman, William D.

    1981 From Bill 22 to Bill 101: The Politics of Language Under the Parti Québécois. Canadian Journal of Political Science/ Revue canadienne de science politique 14(3):459-485.

Conradson, David, and Alan Latham

    2007 The Affective Possibilities of London: Antipodean Transnationals and the Overseas Experience. Mobilities 2(2):231-254.

Conradson, David, and Deirdre Mckay

    2007 Translocal Subjectivities: Mobility, Connection, Emotion. Mobilities 2(2):167-174.

Conway, Dennis, Robert B. Potter and Godfrey St. Bernard

2008 Dual Citizenship or Dual Identity? Does 'Transnationalism' Supplant 'Nationalism' Among Returning Trinidadians? Global Networks 8(4):373-397.

Cornelius, W.A., P.L. Martin and J.F. Hollifield

1994 Introduction: The Ambivalent Quest for Immigration Control. *In* Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective. W.A. Cornelius, P.L. Martin and J.F. Hollifield, eds. Pp. 3-41. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Donner, Ruth

1994 The Regulation of Nationality in International Law. 2nd ed. Irvington on the Hudson, N.Y.: Transnational Publishers.

Duranti, Alessandro

2001 Linguistic Anthropology: History, Ideas and Issues. *In* Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader. Alessandro Duranti, ed. Pp. 1-60. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Faist, Thomas

2000 Transnationalization in international migration: implications for the study of citizenship and culture. Ethnic and Racial Studies 23(2):189-222.

Faist, Thomas

2001 Dual Citizenship as Overlapping Membership. *In* Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations. Ronald Stade, ed. Malmo, Sweden: School of International Migration and Ethnic Relations.

Faist, Thomas, and Jurgen Gerdes

2008 Dual Citizenship in an Age of Mobility. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Fassman, Heinz, and Rainer Munz

1992 Patterns and Trends of International Migration in Western Europe. Population and Development Review 18(3):pp. 457-480.

Fekete, Liz

2012 Pedlars of Hate: the violent impact of the European far Right. Institute of Race Relations. Electronic Document, http://www.irr.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/PedlarsofHate.pdf, accessed 11/6/2012.

Folson, Rose Baaba

2004 Calculated Kindness: Global Restructuring, Immigration and Settlement in Canada. Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood.

Foner, Nancy

2007 How Exceptional is New York? Migration and Multiculturalism in the Empire City. Ethnic and Racial Studies 30(6):999-1023.

Gal, S., and J. Irvine

1995 The Boundaries of Languages and Disciplines: How Ideologies Construct Difference. Social Research 62(4):967-1001.

Gardner, Sheena, and Marilyn Martin-Jones

2012 Introduction: Multingualism, Discourse and Ethnography. *In* Multilingualism, Discourse, and Ethnography. Vol. 3. Sheena Gardner and Marilyn Martin-Jones, eds. Pp. 1-15. New York: Routledge.

Germain, Annick

1999 Les quartiers multiethniques Montréalais: Une lecture urbaine. Recherches sociographiques 40(1):9-32.

Germain, Annick

2011 The Fragmented Or Cosmopolitan Metropolis? A Neighbourhood Story of Immigration in Montreal. Centre de métropolis du Québec: Immigration et métropoles 44.

Hannerz, Ulf

1980 Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hars, A., E. Sik and J. Toth

2001 Hungary. *In* Patterns of Migration in Central Europe. C. Wallace and D. Stola, eds. Pp. 227-292. London: Palgrave.

Heater, Derek Benjamin

2004 A Brief History of Citizenship. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Heller, Monica

1995 Language Choice, Social Institutions and Symbolic Domination. Language in Society 24(3): 373-405.

Heller, Monica

1999a Alternative Ideologies of *la francophonie*. Journal of Sociolinguistics 3(3): 336-359.

Heller, Monica

1999b Linguistic Minorities and Modernity: A Sociolinguistic Ethnography. London: Longman.

Heller, Monica

2011 Paths to Post-Nationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity. New York: Oxford University Press.

Heller, Monica

2012 Rethinking Sociolinguistic Ethnography: From Community to Identity to Process and Practice. *In* Multilingualism, Discourse, and Ethnography. Vol. 3. Sheena Gardner and Marilyn Martin-Jones, eds. Pp. 24-33. New York: Routledge.

Herzfeld, Michael

2003 Social Tensions and Inheritance by Lot in Three Greek villages. Anthropological Quarterly (53)2:91-100.

Howard, Marc Morjé

2005 Variation in Dual Citizenship Policies in the Countries of the EU. International Migration Review 39(3):697-720.

Jennings, Jeremy

2000 Citizenship, Republicanism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary France. British Journal of Political Science 30(4):575-598.

Joppke, Christian

2003 Citizenship between De- and Re-Ethnicization. European Journal of Sociology 44(3):429-458.

Juteau, Danielle

2002 The Citizen Makes an Entrée: Redefining the National Community in Québec. Citizenship Studies 6(4):441-458.

King, Russell, and Anastasia Christou

2009 Cultural Geographies of Counter-Diasporic Migration: Perspectives from the Study of Second-Generation 'Returnees' to Greece. Population, Space and Place 16(2):103-119.

Klusmeyer, D.B.

1996 Between Consent and Descent: Conceptions of Democratic Citizenship. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, International Migration Policy Program.

Knop, Karen

2001 Relational Nationality: On Gender and Nationality in International Law. *In* Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices. Alexander T. Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer, eds. Pp. 89-126. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Koehler, Jobst, Frank Laczko, Christine Aghazarm, and Julia Schad
    2010 Migration and the Economic Crisis in the European Union: Implications for
    Policy. International Organization for Migration: 1-202.

Kornai, Janos
    1996 Paying the Bill for Goulash Communism: Hungarian Development and Macro
    Stabilization in a Political-Economy Perspective. Social Research 63(4):943-1040.

Kretsos, Lefteris
    2010 The Persistent Pandemic of Precariousness: Young People at Work. *In* A
    Young Generation Under Pressure? Pp. 3-21. Springer. Electronic document,
    http://0-link.springer.com.mercury.concordia.ca/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3-642-
    03483-1_1#, accessed 29/05/2013.

Kurti, L.
    1997 Globalisation and the Discourse of "Otherness" in the "New" Eastern and
    Central Europe . *In* The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe. Racism,
    Identity, Community. T. Modood and P. Werbner, eds. Pp. 29-53. London; New
    York: Zed Books.

Kymlicka, Will
    2003 Multicultural States and Intercultural Citizens. Theory and Research in
    Education 1(2):147-169.

Lamarre, Patricia, and Diane Dagenais
    2004 Language Practices of Trilingual Youth in Two Canadian Cities. *In*
    Trilingualism in Family, School, and Community. Jehannes Ytsma and Charlotte
    Hoffmann, eds. Pp. 53-74. Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Langness, Lewis, and Gelya Frank
    1981 Lives: An Anthropological Approach to Biography. Novato, CA: Chandler and
    Sharp.

Levitt, Peggy
    2003 Keeping Feet in both Worlds: Transnational Practices and Immigrant
    Incorporation. *In* Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal
    Nation-States. C. Joppke and E. Morawasa, eds. Pp. 177-194. Basingstoke: Palgrave
    MacMillan.

Li, Peter S.
    2003 Destination Canada: Immigration Debates and Issues. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford
    University Press.

Liebich, Andre
> 2005 Altneulander or the Vicissitudes of Citizenship in the New EU States. Commission for Migration and Integration Research, KMI Working Paper Series 5:1-21.

Linde, Charlotte
> 1993 Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence. New York: Oxford University Press.

Maira, Sunaina
> 2009 Missing: Youth, Citizenship, and Empire After 9/11. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Marmen, L., and J. -P Corbeil
> 1999 Les langues au Canada: Recensement de 1996. Canada: Ministère Des Travaux Publiques.

Meintel, Deirdre, Victor Piché, Danielle Juteau, and Sylvie Fortin
> 1997 Le quartier Côte-Des-Neiges à Montréal: Les interfaces de la pluriethnicité. Paris, France: L'Harmattan.

Moore, Kenneth
> 1975 The City as Context: Context as Process. Urban Anthropology 4(1):17-25.

Neal, Sarah, and Sue Walters
> 2008 Rural Be/longing and Rural Social Organizations: Conviviality and Community-Making in the English Countryside. Sociology 42(2):279-297.

Ochs, Elinor, and Lisa Capps
> 1996 Narrating the Self. Annual Review in Anthropology 23:19-43.

Olwig, Karen Fog
> 2003 "Transnational" Socio-Cultural Systems and Ethnographic Research: Views from an Extended Field Site. International Migration Review 37(3):787-811.

Olwig, Karen Fog
> 2007 Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks. Durham; London: Duke University Press.

Olwig, Karen Fog, and Kirsten Hastrup
> 1997 Siting Culture: The Shifting Anthropological Object. Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup, eds. London; New York: Routledge.

Olwig, Karen Fog, and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen

2002 Mobile Livelihoods: Making a Living in the World. *In* Work and Migration: Life and Livelihoods in a Globalizing World. Karen Fog Olwig and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen, eds. Pp. 1-19. London and New York: Routledge.

Ong, Aihwa

1999 Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logic of Transnationality. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ong, Aihwa

2002 The Pacific Shuttle: Family, Citizenship and Capital Circuits. *In* The Anthropology of Globalization. Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo, eds. Pp. 172-197. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Palmer, Howard

1975 Mosaic versus Melting Pot: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States. International Journal 31(1975-1976):488-528.

Pavlenko, Aneta, and Adrian Blackledge

2004 Introduction: New Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts. *In* Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts. Vol. 45. Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackledge, eds. Pp. 1-33. Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Peacock, James L., and Dorothy C. Holland

1993 The Narrated Self: Life Stories in Process. Ethos 21(4):367-383.

Peressini, M.

1991 Sujets et identités multiples: Analyse des histoires de vie d'un groupe d'immigrants italiens à Montréal. Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Montréal.

Popkin, Eric

1999 Guatemalan Migration to Los Angeles: Constructing Transnational Linkages in the Context of the Settlement Process. Ethnic and Racial Studies 22(2):267-289.

Portes, Alejandro

1999 Conclusion: Towards a New World - the Origins and Effects of Transnational Activities. Ethnic and Racial Studies 22(2):463-477.

Prato, Giuliana B.

2009 Beyond Multiculturalism: Views from Anthropology. Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Radice, Martha
    2009 Street-Level Cosmopolitanism: Neighbourhood Shopping Streets in Multi-Ethnic Montréal. *In* Everyday Multiculturalism. Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham, eds. Pp. 140-157. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ramirez, Bruno, and Canadian Historical Association
    1989 The Italians in Canada. Vol. booklet no. 14. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association.

Ricci, Amanda
    2009 From Acculturation to Integraton. The Political Participation of Montréal's Italian-Canadian Community in an Urban Context (1945-1990). M.A. thesis, Département d'histoire, Université de Montréal.

Rubenstein, Kim, and Daniel Adler
    2000 International Citizenship: The Future of Nationality in a Globalized World. Indian Journal of Global Legal Studies 7(2):519-548.

Rumbaut, Rubén G.
    2002 Severed Or Sustained Attachments? Language, Identity, and Imagined Communities in the Post-Immigrant Generation. *In* The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation. Peggy Levitt and Mary C. Waters, eds. Pp. 43-95. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sheller, M., and R. Urry
    2004 Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play. London: Routledge.

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu
    1994 Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thomson, Rachel, and Rebecca Taylor
    2005 Between Cosmopolitanism and the Locals: Mobility as a Resource in the Transition to Adulthood. Young 13(4):327-342.

Tönnies, Ferdinand
    1955 Community and Association (*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*. Charles P. Loomis, trans. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Urry, John
    2007 Mobilities. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Vertovec, Steven

    2001 Transnationalism and Identity. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 27(4):573-582.

Vertovec, Steven

    2007 Introduction: New Directions in the Anthropology of Migration and Multiculturalism. Ethnic and Racial Studies 30(6):961-978.

Vertovec, Steven

    2007 Super-Diversity and its Implications. Ethnic and Racial Studies 30(6):1024-1054.

Vertovec, S. and R. Cohen

    2002 Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice. New York: Oxford University Press.

Vogli, Elpida

    2011 The Making of Greece Abroad: Continuity and Change in the Modern Diaspora Politics of a "Historical" Irredentist Homeland. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics 17(1):14-33.

Wallace, Claire

    2002 Opening and Closing Borders: Migration and Mobility in East-Central Europe. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 28(4):603-625.

Weil, Patrick

    2001 Access to Citizenship: A Comparison of Twenty-Five Nationality Laws. *In* Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices. Alexander T. Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer, eds. Pp. 17-35. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Williams, Raymond

    1985 Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller

    2002 Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. Global Networks 2(4):301-334.

Woolf, M.

    2002 Harmony and dissonance in international education: The limits of globalization. Journal of Studies in International Education 6(1):5-15.

Yuval-Davis, Nira
    1999 Citizenship in the Age of 'Glocalization'. International Feminist Journal of
    Politics 1(1):119-136.

Zhang, Kenny
    2007 "Mission Invisible" - Re-Thinking the Canadian Diaspora. Asia Pacific
    Foundation of Canada 46(1-60).

Appendix I – Table of Participants

Interlocutor	Country of Origin	Age	1st/2nd Generation	DC bequeathed	DC acquired	No DC	Present Place of Residence
Antonia Risso	Canada	50	2nd			No	Canada – Montreal
Carla Risso	Algeria (Italian citizenship)	78	1st			No DC – naturalized Canadian	Canada- Montreal
Catia Alba	Canada	31	2nd		Considered – Portugal		Canada – Montreal
Marco Minotti	Canada	40	2nd		Yes – Italy acquired at age 20		Canada – Montreal
Sofia Minotti	Canada	34	2nd		Yes – Italy acquired at age 14		Switzerland –Zurich
Umberto Minotti	Italy	66	1st		Yes – Italy acquired in 1992		Canada – Montreal
Lucia Minotti	Italy	64	1st		Yes – Italy acquired in 1992		Canada – Montreal
Paloma Salazar	Canada	29	2nd	Yes – Spain			Switzerland - Geneva
Caitlin Murphy	Canada	25	2nd	Yes – Ireland			UK - London
Talia Kefalas	Canada	37	2nd		Yes- Greece acquired at age 27		Greece - Apollonia[45]
Christos Pappas	Canada	38	2nd		In progress – Greece		Canada - Montreal

---

[45] Apollonia is a fictitious name for a town in northern Greece.

Interlocutor	Country of Origin	Age	1st/2nd Generation	DC bequeathed	DC acquired	No DC	Present Country of Residence
Jacques Montreuil	Canada	42	2nd	Yes – France also bequeathed to children			Canada – Montreal
Natalia Belo	Angola (Portuguese citizenship)	42	1st		Yes – naturalized Canadian	DC not bequeathed to children at birth – being considered	Canada – Montreal
Anica Petrescu	Romania	33	2nd [46]		Yes – naturalized Canadian as a youth		Canada – Montreal
Julia Szabo	Algeria (Hungarian citizenship)	30	2nd [47]		Yes – naturalized Canadian as a youth		Canada – Montreal
Marija Gabalas	Canada	47	2nd		Yes – Lithuania Acquired at age 25		Canada – Montreal
Pierre Lozeau	Canada	38	2nd	Yes – France			Canada – Montreal
Vanessa Lozeau	Canada	29	2nd	Yes – France			Canada – Montreal
Jane Lozeau	Canada	68	1st		Yes – France		Canada – Montreal
Michel Imerina	France	45	1st	French citizenship bequeathed to children	Yes- naturalized Canadian		Canada - Montreal

---

[46] Anica was not born in Canada, but arrived here with her parents at the age of nine. I thus consider her to be part of the second generation of dual citizens according to King and Christou's (2009: 4) argument that there is not a significant 'sociological' distinction between children who are born in the receiving country and those who immigrate at a young age.

[47] The same applies to Julia, who arrived in Canada at the age of five with her parents.