Locating Home: Newcomer Youths' School and Community Engagement

Chrissy Michelle Deckers

Brock University

Dawn Zinga

Brock University

Abstract

This study explored how diversity among newcomer youth may explain differences in engagement and school success. Youth identifying fear-based reasons for relocation reported being less involved within their schools than those who identified social mobility. In fear-based relocation, youth often viewed Canada as a temporary place to live and gain transportable skills, leading to less school and community engagement. Clearly, as youth approach and connect with school in different ways, understanding the motivations behind youths' varied levels of engagement could assist school personnel in contextualizing engagement according to youths' goals. Policy implications are discussed.

Keywords: newcomer youth, school and community engagement, motivation for relocation, educational challenges, diversity

Résumé

Cette étude a examiné la façon dont la diversité parmi les jeunes nouveaux arrivants peut expliquer les différences au niveau de l'engagement et de la réussite scolaire. Les jeunes identifiant les raisons de leur déménagement comme étant fondées sur la peur sont moins impliqués au sein de leur école que ceux invoquant la mobilité sociale. Dans le cas d'un relogement basé sur la peur, les jeunes perçoivent souvent le Canada comme un endroit temporaire pour vivre et acquérir des compétences transférables résultant de moins d'engagement communautaire et scolaire. De toute évidence, l'approche des jeunes ainsi que les liens qu'ils entretiennent avec l'école se manifestant sous de nombreuses formes, comprendre leurs motivations aux différents niveaux d'engagement pourrait aider le personnel scolaire à contextualiser cet engagement selon les objectifs de ces jeunes. Les implications politiques sont discutées.

Mots-clés: les jeunes nouveaux arrivants, l'engagement communautaire et scolaire, la motivation pour le relogement, les défis éducatifs, la diversité

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The educational experiences of newcomer youth have been the subject of much study due to the role the education system plays in assisting them in adjusting to their new environment. Newcomer youth have diverse experiences within the education system that are affected by a number of individual and societal factors, including the motivation behind leaving one's home country. This study attempts to highlight these factors, with specific attention given to how they may influence differences in school and community involvement, which may serve as a protective factor to assist youth in remaining engaged in school.

Challenges Within the Education System

Many studies have focused on the educational attainment of newcomer youth, influenced by a number of factors not only relating to the education system but also specific to the family and individual (Suarez-Orozco, Bang, & Onaga, 2010). Although newcomer youth demonstrate many strengths (Suarez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009), they face challenges within the education system; these challenges include being unfamiliar with societal norms (Chen, 2000; Coleman, 2006), navigating an unfamiliar education system (Hospital for Sick Children, 2005; Suarez-Orozco, Gaytan, Bang, Pakes, O'Connor, & Rhodes, 2010), language barriers (Wadsworth, Hecht, & Jung, 2008), grade placement (Hospital for Sick Children, 2005; Ngo & Schleiffer, 2005), discrimination (Closs, Stead, Arshad, & Norris, 2001; Davison Aviles, Guerrero, Barajas, & Thomas, 1999), teacher expectations (Watt, Roessingh, & Bossetti, 1996), and poverty (Anisef & Bunch, 1994; Beiser, 1999; Pollitt, 1994). In addition, many parents are at a disadvantage in their ability to assist their children within the education system (Coleman, 2006; Gandara & Contreras, 2008; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008).

Despite these challenges, some research has shown that newcomers to Canada tend to complete secondary school at the same rate as individuals born in Canada (Anisef, Brown, Phythian, & Sweet, 2010), though it is important to note that variability exists within the newcomer youth population (Hagelskamp, Suarez-Orozco, & Hughes, 2010). For example, differences in the academic achievement of recent newcomer youth and first generation youth have been documented, with first generation youth having been found to achieve greater academic success (Cortes, 2006). The distinction of these two groups is important because these youths' differential academic achievement suggests that the tendency to examine newcomer youth as if they were a homogenous group may be missing key differences in their experiences that contribute to their school engagement and level of achievement. Though research which has looked at newcomer youth as a largely homogenous group has been important in pointing out larger trends and patterns, those studies that seek to tease out the diversity within the newcomer youth population provide rich data about the different pathways newcomer youth pursue and the factors that contribute to their decisions to pursue specific pathways. This need for research focusing on the diversity within the newcomer youth population has been identified by researchers (McGrath, 2008; Yakushko, Watson, & Thompson, 2008). Though many studies exist documenting newcomers' challenges and successes within the education system (see Anisef & Bunch, 1994; Watt et al., 1996; Anisef et al., 2010), what is still

needed is research to further explore these pathways and why it is some youth are successful in overcoming the previously noted challenges, while others are not.

Education as a Point of Intervention

Research exploring why newcomer youth are able to overcome educational challenges is important as academic aspirations have the potential to provide youth with upward mobility (Hao & Pong, 2008; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). Incidentally, Watt, Roessingh, and Bossetti (1996) have documented reasons why newcomer youth who have completed secondary school have been successful in doing so, including the use of small group work and connecting newcomers to youth who have been in Canada for a longer length of time, as well as a student's expectation that he or she would complete secondary school and having the knowledge that more education entails a better career. This particular importance newcomers place on education upon arriving to their host country has been referred to as the 'immigrant drive' (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). However, of particular interest is the suggestion in the study conducted by Watt et al. (1996) that encouragement to participate in extracurricular activities should be offered to assist newcomer youth in establishing peer relationships. This suggestion is important, as participation in such activities has been found to increase newcomer youths' sense of community (Watt et al., 1996), which in turn has been shown to positively affect academic achievement (Coleman, 2006; Noels, Leavitt, & Clement, 2010; Perreira, Fuligni, & Potochnick, 2010). Beyond improving academic achievement, participation in social activities (of the culture of the home country or host country) has been found to help newcomer youth in their school adjustment as well as social competence (Berry, Phinney, Sam, &, Vedder, 2006; Chen & Tse, 2010). Note that cultural activities have been called for beyond the tokenistic celebration of holidays (Sogunro, 2001).

Parents' encouragement to persist despite challenges is a key factor in the success of newcomer youth (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Ladky & Peterson, 2008; Lahaie, 2008), which often stems from the realization that not only can academic achievement lead to upward mobility, but also that being in Canada offers youth a chance to attain an education that was not available in their or their parents' home country (Anisef, Peteet, Anisef, Farr, Poirier, & Wang, 2005). Other positive relationships established within the school and community have also been found to contribute to youths' academic success (Coleman, 2006; Green, Rhodes, Hirsch, Suarez-Orozco, & Camic, 2008; Lahaie, 2008; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2009), such as those with teachers, coaches, counselors, and peers (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2009). As explained by Peguero and Bondy (2011), "It is well known that schools are institutions of socialization; however, this social process is only magnified for the children of immigrants" (p. 168) because for newcomer youth, these relationships serve to create a sense of community providing emotional support and assisting youth to navigate the education system.

The education system is also an ideal setting for the delivery of resources as newcomer youth often enter into the education system shortly after arriving to their host country, and thus it is able to provide newcomer youth a sense of direction (Green et al., 2008). In addition, adolescents spend a significant amount of their time at school (Han, 2008). However, research calls for adjustments to be made to the current resources which are available, as the education system has been unsuccessful in its ability to offer much needed resources (Anisef & Kilbride, 2001; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010; Schwitzer,

2008). In addition, it has been found that newcomer youth are often not familiar with the resources that are available (Anisef & Kilbride, 2001).

Motivation Behind Migration

The motivation behind leaving one's home country may shed light on youths' patterns of involvement. The relationship between motivation behind migration and academic achievement is an emerging area of research (Adams & Kirova, 2006; Hashim 2005; The World Bank, 2005), which has been largely under-studied (Hagelskamp et al., 2010). It is of importance as "migration motivations express family values, expectations, and goals that may influence long-term adjustment in the new country" (Deaux, 2006, as cited in Hagelskamp et al., 2010, p. 722), having the potential to transcend generations (Hagelskamp et al., 2010).

As Hagelskamp, Suarez-Orozco, and Hughes (2010) explain, newcomers leave their home country for many reasons, though two common classifications employed in previous research include 1) leaving to pursue employment and educational opportunities and 2) leaving to escape danger. Such motivations have been found to impact a youth's adjustment in the receiving country (Portes & Rumbuat, 2001; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2008). For example, a correlation has been found between psychological distress as a result of the relocation and academic decline (Blechman, McEnroe, Carella, & Audette, 1986; Ripple & Luthar, 2000). Given the academic implications of both migration motivation as well as school and community involvement, it is possible that a relationship exists between these two factors, which has yet to be explored.

In summary, newcomer youth are not a homogenous group but rather a diverse group who experience challenges during the process of integration into a new education system. However, despite these challenges, many newcomer youth demonstrate positive adjustment and are able to achieve academic success, while others drop out. Therefore, it remains important to examine the actions newcomer youth take within the education system towards achieving their academic goals, including participation in extracurricular activities. Accordingly, this study focused on examining youths' reported patterns of involvement in relation to the reasons youth identified for having left their or their parents' home country, as migration motivation is an under-studied area of research which has documented academic implications. Newcomers' educational experiences were considered, as these experiences may shed light on the reasoning for variances in reported levels of participation. Strategies and resources to increase engagement were also considered.

Methods

Qualitative methodology was chosen as it is important to speak with youth in an effort to gain a "solid understanding of the issues" (Anisef & Kilbride, 2001, p. 26), in addition to providing them an opportunity to share their voices. Specifically, the use of focus groups for data collection was selected; as Krueger and Casey (2000) state, "focus groups work particularly well to determine the perceptions, feelings, and thinking of people about issues" (p. 12). In addition, the use of focus groups often serves to decrease power differentials.

Participants

Research was conducted in secondary schools throughout a school board in Southern Ontario. Any student who identified as being a newcomer was eligible to participate in this study as long as both the student and his/her guardian (if under the age of 18) had signed and returned a consent form. During the focus groups, youth were asked to describe their backgrounds in addition to being asked how they identified themselves. All of the youth chose to provide a description of where they or their parents were born and how long they had been in Canada. Based on these youths' descriptions, it was decided to group these youth according to generational status, as either recent newcomer youth (n = 10) or first generation youth (n = 7).[1] Youth were also grouped according to the reason they provided for why they or their parents left their home country. Youth who shared that they or their parents had left their home country because there was a war occurring, the country was becoming dangerous, or their family was being pressured by the government were considered to have left for "fear-based" reasons (n = 5). Youth who reported that they or their parents had left because they had been offered a job in Canada or because they wished to come to live with a family member who was here were referred to as leaving for reasons concerning their "social mobility" (n = 12).

Data Collection and Analysis

Three focus groups were conducted with 6, 3, and 7 youth, respectively. In addition, one youth chose to participate individually, and thus an interview was conducted. Though it would have been ideal to have an equal number of students in each focus group, this was not possible due to the students' timetables. During each focus group youth were asked to complete the demographic questionnaire before a general discussion commenced. Following the discussion, youth were given the opportunity to sign up for a follow-up interview. Six individual interviews were conducted as well as one group interview at the request of the youth (n = 5). At the end of both the focus group and interview each youth received a $25 Indigo gift certificate.

Data analysis was conducted on the responses to questions asked in the demographic questionnaire, focus group, and interview by looking for recurring responses provided by subgroups of youth based on generational status and the motivation behind relocating. Following this, open thematic coding was completed to allow for themes to emerge from the data as a whole (Braun & Clarke, 2006; McNabb, 2002).

Results

Results are first presented for the demographic questionnaires, focus groups, and finally the interviews. Though in all cases responses were examined for differences between subgroups of youth, differences were only noted when found to exist.

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[1] The term "newcomer youth" is used as it is commonly done in the literature to refer to newcomer youth who have recently arrived in Canada and first generation youth who were born in Canada but whose parents were born elsewhere. However, when differentiating between these two groups in this study, the terms "recent newcomer youth" and "first generation youth" are used to refer to these groups, respectively.

Demographic Questionnaires

Through examination of the demographic questionnaires, the majority of youth identified as having left their or their parents' home country for reasons of social mobility reported taking part in a cultural group or making use of a resource for individuals who are new to Canada, in addition to participating in some other club, group, team or volunteering. Fewer youth who had left for fear-based reasons reported such participation. See Table 1.

Table 1

School and Community Involvement

	Cultural groups or resources for newcomers	Any other clubs/groups/teams or volunteering
Grouping		
Social Mobility	"Punjabi dance" "YMCA immigrant parties" "YMCA immigrant picnic"	"Soccer" "Badminton" "Volunteering with SPCA"
Fear-based	"Multicultural festival"	"Volunteering with a nursing home"

Focus Group Questions

Though differences were noted in engagement, all youth reported that their families chose to come to Canada because of the ability to gain citizenship and Canada's openness to diversity. The majority of youth who left or whose parents left for reasons of social mobility responded that they planned to stay in Canada, sometimes indicating that they would visit their home country. However, some youth reported that they wished to return when they were older. The majority of youth who left or whose parents left their home country for fear-based reasons discussed wanting to return, though often stressing the need for conditions to become safer.

Table 2

The Decision to Return

Grouping	Theme	Example
Social Mobility	Does not want to return home but maybe visit	"Maybe like a visit."
	Will perhaps return when older	"Maybe when I'm older I go back to Vietnam. I have family and I don't want to leave them."
Fear-based	Does want to return if conditions become safer	"If it gets better you know like where we're living."
		"I think maybe… But I think the war is never going to finish."

Interestingly, youth who left their home country for fear-based reasons or whose parents left their home country for fear-based reasons were more likely to continually refer to their or their parents home country as "home." This did not correspond with the length of time a youth had resided in Canada or his/her religion. See Table 3.

Despite youths' thoughts on whether they would remain in Canada, most youth reported that the transition into a Canadian school was good, though challenges were noted pertaining to a lack of familiarity with societal norms, language barriers, differences in teacher expectations, difficulty with peer relationships, and bullying. As a means to address such challenges, youth noted the following programs and resources as aiding their transition: the Career Resource Center, Guidance Department, small group work in classes, contact with students who have had similar experiences, the opportunity to speak one's first language, time spent with the educational assistant, and the YMCA's programs. While youth felt these resources were beneficial, they continued on to provide suggestions for improvement. Examples included additional time spent with the educational assistant and changes to anti-bullying initiatives. In addition, youth desired greater variety in their choice of sports in both physical education and school teams, including cricket. It was also noted that greater awareness of the resources available was needed, including specific information on how to access them.

Table 3

Home Country as "Home"

Participant	Group	Motivation behind relocating
1	Home country as "home"	Social Mobility
2	Canada as "home"	Fear
3	Canada as "home"	Social mobility
4	Canada as "home"	Social mobility
5	Canada as "home"	Social mobility
6	Canada as "home"	Social mobility
7	Home country as "home"	Fear
8	Canada as "home"	Social mobility
9	Home country as "home"	Social mobility
10	Home country as "home"	Fear
11	Canada as "home"	Social mobility
12	Canada as "home"	Social mobility
13	Canada as "home"	Social mobility
14	Home country as "home"	Fear
15	Home country as "home"	Social mobility
16	Home country as "home"	Social mobility
17	Home country as "home"	Fear

Beyond the transition into a Canadian school, youth were asked what they liked and disliked about school. Differences were noted between the responses of recent newcomer youth and first generation youth. While both groups discussed time spent with friends as being a favourite part of school, recent newcomer youth discussed courses they enjoyed and the workload. The presence of choice was mentioned in reference to the different course options available as well as freedom in choice of dress. Throughout, recent newcomer youth contrasted their experiences in Canada with those had in their home country. This can be seen in the quote below:

> "I like how open it is actually. Just looking—just walking the halls and seeing how everybody is dressed makes me feel good in some way because we don't have to wear uniforms, we're not constrained to no dying hair. I just feel good by seeing all the different cliques and how they dress kind of. It's nice to see that. Everybody is different."

Despite recent newcomer youth sharing a greater number of positive educational experiences, all youth had plans to complete their secondary education and attend a post-secondary institution. However, youth discussed skipping on occasion, with first generation youth doing so to a greater extent. Recent newcomer youth who reported that they had skipped on more than one occasion often cited doing so for reasons related to

health concerns or completing an assignment. Though first generation youth reported similar reasons they also frequently discussed being bored in class. See Table 4.

Teachers, parents, and friends all played a role in the youths' decision to attend class/finish school. Youth reported that their parents' belief that school should be a priority influenced their decision to attend, as did their knowledge that their parents had not had the same opportunity. Youth reported not wanting to disappoint them and feeling a need to take advantage of the opportunity their parents had provided. Teachers played a role, as when a teacher made his/her class interesting, youth were more likely to attend. Also, youth noted that when the teacher was helpful and they felt as though the teacher cared about them, they were more likely to attend. This last finding could be extended to friends too, as when their classmates were friendly the youth were more likely to attend. In addition, the youth explained that friends could influence their decision to skip if they were doing something perceived as more "fun."

Table 4

Reasons for Skipping

Grouping	Theme	Example
Recent Newcomers	Completing an assignment	"If there's a project due and you're not ready skip it and hand it in at the end of the day."
First Generation	Health concerns	"I don't eat meat so I was waiting for the vegetarian pizza to be made. So then I came to school. Because if I don't eat I get headaches."
	Boredom	"Just to get out of class… It's boring."

Youth also commonly shared that they felt like they belonged and were valued. Youth seemed to feel that their schools and communities were accepting of immigration, though some youth noted the presence of stereotypes. However, some youth felt that it depended on the situation in regards to whether or not they felt their opinions were valued, while others felt valued by certain teachers or school administration but not others. Finally, most of the youth expressed that their schools were open to cultural diversity and adapting to the needs of youth. Youth also felt that Canada's school systems and curriculum were reflective of the diversity within Canada, though some youth felt as though some subjects could be more reflective.

Interview Questions

The interviews provided an opportunity to follow up on previously shared comments in focus groups, which most often related to the ability to feel at "home" in

Canada. Many youth discussed that whether or not a youth felt at "home" in Canada was dependent on his or her experience in Canada. Youth commented that the decision to refer to one's home country as "home" could be a conscious one made in an effort to stay connected to one's home country. Youth explained that the reason for relocation may influence whether or not a youth feels at "home" in Canada. Some of these youth specifically spoke to the experiences of immigrants or refugees (see Table 5).

Table 5

Motivation Behind Leaving and Feeling at "Home" in Canada.

Theme	Example
Youth leaving for fear-based reasons would feel their home country is "home"	"…It entirely depends on the situation of the country. If their country is engaging in some sort of conflict or at war then they just leave because it's dangerous there other than that I don't really think so… If you were forced out then I guess they'd say that there was their home and it was just outside factors."
	"It could be depending on why they left because if they're forced to leave if they're in a war they might not want to go anywhere else they might just want to stay in their home town against if you're going on by your own will and you want to move to Canada for your own reasons."

In addition, the majority of youth shared that if a youth planned on returning to his/her or his/her parents' home country, it may be more difficult to feel as at "home" in Canada. However, youth stressed the ability to refer to both Canada and one's home country as "home."

The youth continued on to provide suggestions as to how youth could be assisted to feel more at "home." Suggestions included hosting a greater number of cultural activities for youth of a similar background and additional cultural activities meant to educate the greater community. Likewise, the youth requested programming to assist them to learn English and establish friendships with mainstream youth (see Table 6).

Table 6

Assisting Youth to Feel at "Home"

Theme	Example
Connecting youth	"Like, have a program where their backgrounds are and like bring people from — people who have had the experience that they have had. Join a group and talk about it to feel more comfortable in Canada."
Additional cultural activities	"In elementary schools we had a national food day which I thought was really interesting. Everybody would bring food from their own country and they would all have a big lunch and we would just share food. But in high school I see that less and less. I want that more of an international day of some kind."
Establishing friendships	"Help them find friends."
Learning English	"Help them with homework if they don't understand the English in their class. Or like some people, they know English but then they come to Canada they get nervous with, like, the people who actually speak English."

Discussion

This study supported what has been demonstrated in the literature regarding challenges faced by newcomer youth and offered examples of the diversity present within their experiences, such as the finding that recent newcomer youth shared a greater number of positive educational experiences. Likewise, diversity was illustrated in the finding that youth who left their home country for fear-based reasons or whose parents had left their home country for fear-based reasons are less involved within their school and the wider community.

Challenges that youth in the current study discussed included a lack of familiarity with societal norms (Chen, 2000; Coleman, 2006), language barriers (Wadsworth et al., 2008), teacher expectations (Watt et al., 1996), difficulty with peer relationships (Watt et al., 1996), and a possible lack of knowledge concerning available resources (Anisef & Kilbride, 2001).

In terms of resources, many youth indicted that they experienced difficulty obtaining information about available resources and were often unaware of what might be available to them. Some of the resources—which youth noted as being beneficial or were suggested to assist them in overcoming challenges—corresponded to suggestions provided by youth in a previous study conducted by Watt et al. (1996); examples include group work and introducing youth to newcomer youth who have been in Canada for a

longer length of time. Resource suggestions provided by this study's youth tended to focus on additional time with the educational assistant. Beyond academics, anti-bullying initiatives were called for. In addition, the youth desired a greater variety in their choice of sports. Youths' responses supported the contention that resources offered within the education system have the ability to assist them in their positive adjustment (Anisef & Kilbride, 2001; Yakushko et al., 2008).

Finally, youth commonly discussed their parents' influence on their decision to attend school, consistent with previous research showing that parental support has been found to be positively associated with academic achievement (Lahaie, 2008). Within this study, youth also discussed the importance of a supportive teacher. This finding is consistent with the literature, which has found that a teacher's support is also of particular importance (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2009) as well as assisting to ensure parental involvement (Green et al., 2008).

Despite the challenges experienced by the youth, youth not only indicated they planned on completing secondary school and pursuing post-secondary education, but also discussed: (a) the importance of obtaining a better education than their parents, as suggested by Kao and Tienda (1995), and (b) education as a priority, as proposed by the immigrant drive theory (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). While all youth were committed to pursuing educational goals, this study highlighted diversity between recent newcomer youth and first generation youth in regards to their perceptions of their educational experiences, as recent newcomer youth were found to discuss a greater number of positive experiences when compared to first generation youth and reported skipping classes to a lesser extent. Given that recent newcomer youth frequently framed their experiences against those had in their home country, it could be that these experiences help to mitigate their current realities, while first generation youths' experiences may more closely mirror those of mainstream youth.

In addition, division can be seen in the finding that both newcomer and first generation youth who reported that they or their parents had left their home country for fear-based reasons reported participating in fewer school and community activities than those who left for reasons of social mobility. Though this finding may partially be explained by access to resources, considering this finding in combination with these youths' common assertions they were considering returning to their or their parents' home country, these youth may have been less likely to participate in such activities because they may return to their home country. Therefore, perhaps these youth view residing in Canada as temporary and consequently do not see the value of becoming involved. However, given that other youth reported that they or their parents left their home country for reasons of social mobility, engaging in such school and wider community activities may for these youth be viewed as means to achieving further social mobility. Perhaps then, these youth demonstrate greater engagement as they have different goals with regards to what they hope to achieve from their time spent in Canada, which is substantiated by the finding that goals relating to migration motivation transcend generations (Hagelskamp et al., 2010).

Youths' responses in the interviews provided further support for this notion, as they expressed that the reason youth emigrated from their home country affected whether or not they subsequently felt at "home" in Canada. Likewise, they vocalized their opinions that if youth planned to return to their home country, they would not be as likely to establish connections in Canada. These youth continued on to suggest that additional

help to learn English and establish friendships, as well as greater number of cultural events, would be beneficial.

Policy Implications

This research has illustrated that newcomer youth are not a homogenous group. This is important, as existing literature has stressed the need for additional research focusing on the diversity within the newcomer youth population (McGrath, 2008; Yakushko et al., 2008). While this study was small and exploratory, it serves to demonstrate the importance of exploring the diversity within the newcomer youth population. It demonstrates that newcomer youth still face challenges within the education system and that these challenges may be experienced in different ways as a function of the diversity among newcomer youth. It is concerning that these challenges continue to persist despite previous research which has been successful in documenting such challenges (Watt et al., 1996),. The key to addressing these challenges may lie within an understanding of the differential ways that they are experienced and how resources and other strategies can be informed by this understanding.

As the importance of parental influence was continually noted by the youth, it would be beneficial for teachers to receive specific training on how to engage parents within their classrooms. In addition, as these youth also requested a greater number of cultural activities, parents could be a valuable resource in determining how to effectively incorporate such programs so that they are meaningful to the youth. Sogunro (2001) has called for enhanced teacher training to assist teachers in addressing multiculturalism beyond the tokenistic celebration of holidays and it is here that parents' knowledge may be of assistance. In addition, this would allow parents to become further involved with the school, which has been found to positively influence academic achievement (Lahaie, 2008). Furthermore, as maintaining correspondence with the school has been a documented challenge for parents of newcomer youth (Coleman, 2006), involvement in this way would assist in fostering stronger relationships between parents and teachers.

As youth discussed wanting a greater number of cultural activities, which could also be enjoyed by mainstream youth, this finding demonstrates the importance these youth give to their relationships with their school peers. Given that difficulty with peer relationships has been a documented challenge faced by newcomer youth (Davison Aviles et al., 1999), integrative programs such as this provide opportunities for youth to get to know each other and also allow for newcomer youths' knowledge and skills to be valued by mainstream peers.

Such suggestions tended to be equally embraced among all youth. Thus this finding garners further support for the idea that if meaningful activities were developed for youth, their engagement in the school and wider community would increase. This highlights the importance of ensuring a variety of programs are available to these youth so that there exists a greater likelihood of them finding activities focused on both cultural practices of their home and host country, which they would engage in. These programs should be offered at no cost or at a minimal cost to the student given the financial circumstances of many newcomer families (Beiser, 1999). For the same reason, when these programs can be integrated into the school day this may increase attendance for those youth who may have to maintain an after-school job or care for younger siblings.

However, it is possible that for youth who identified fear-based reasons for relocation, involvement in such activities does not equate to being a pathway to success

as their motivation to leave their home country was not to come to further their social mobility. Though now that these youth are here, their goal may be to complete their education and return. However, involvement in the school and wider community may assist these youth to meet their goals as participation in extracurricular activities has been found to assist youth in the development of peer relationships and a sense of community (Watt et al., 1996), which has been found to be positively associated with academic achievement (Coleman, 2006). Consider that such activities allow for opportunities to practice English, which is a skill that will transfer to the classroom (Watt et al., 1996). Likewise, participation in social activities such as these has been shown to assist newcomer youth in their overall school adjustment and social competence (Chen & Tse, 2010). Therefore, given the benefits of engagement in activities of the home and host counties' cultures, even for those youth who do not intend to remain in Canada, encouragement should be offered to participate. However, such invitations should be couched in terms that relate to the goals of these youth and speak to transferable skills that would be an asset should they be able to return to their country of origin.

It would therefore seem then that youth who identified social mobility as the reason for relocation are at an advantage within the education system with respect to their engagement. This advantage could occur both in terms of the youth facing fewer adjustment issues due to the planned and voluntary nature of the relocation as well as a better fit between the youth's motivations and the way resources are promoted. Perhaps then, this differential involvement may contribute to the youths' positive adjustment and at least partially explain why it is that some newcomer youth are able to overcome challenges they encounter within the education system, while others are not. As the education system aims to assist these youth in their adjustment to a new country and has been found to be a viable point of intervention for the delivery of resources (Anisef & Kilbride, 2001; Yakushko et al., 2008) while also serving as a source of upward mobility (Hao & Pong, 2008; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995), it is important that the education system be able to effectively meet the needs of all newcomers and ensure that the available resources are easily accessible.

When attempting to increase the involvement of youth who left or whose parents left their home country for fear-based reasons and view residing in Canada as temporary, teachers' approach should be purposeful. Engaging with these youth in a manner that would suggest that they are interested in establishing deep connections to their current community may serve to push these youth away if this is not their goal. Rather, these youth should have the relevance of involvement identified to them with their respective goals in mind. For example, the opportunity to develop transferable skills, which may assist in obtaining admittance into post-secondary education or for a future career, in either Canada or their or their parents' country of origin. Also, another relevant benefit would be the possibility of connecting with youth of the same ethnicity or those who have had similar experiences, especially if youth have access to clubs pertaining to the traditional cultural practices of their or their parents' home country, which could assist them in maintaining a sense of connectedness. Encouragement to become engaged within the school and the wider community is important for all youth, as while youth who relocated due to fear-based reasons may have an ultimate goal of leaving Canada, these youth need to feel at "home" in Canada in both the immediate future and long term.

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