

Examining gender in enclave ethnic communities

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Ethnicity has only in recent years begun to be investigated as a factor in Canadian English (Boberg 2004, Hoffman & Walker 2010). However, studies from the U.S such as Popp et al (2003) and Filardo (1997) showing gender differences between African-America and Caucasian linguistic groups tell us that interactions between gender and ethnicity are crucial to understand ethnic variation. We thus undertake the study of two enclave ethnic communities in Western Canada with the aim to investigate how gender can interact in different yet important ways in these communities.

The first enclave community under investigation is the Filipino community in Winnipeg, Canada, an important transnational group which began immigrating to the city in the 1960s and which now makes up nearly 10% of the city's population, mostly living in enclave neighbourhoods in North-West Winnipeg. The second community of interest is the Mormon community in rural Southern Alberta, which makes up nearly 75% of the population in the region. Despite having moved into the area beginning in the late 1880s, the LDS community has 'largely remained a cohesive group reinforced by the social activities associated with their church' (Meechan 1998). These communities are being compared due to their strong social networks with differing gender roles in each. Mormon households tend to follow a traditional division of labour where women work primarily in the home, with men as the primary bread-winners, and church activities often divided by gender (Sykes 2010). On the other hand, Filipino migration is highly gendered, with higher numbers of Filipina women migrating to work, becoming the principal breadwinners in their families and the centre of the community (Bonifacio 2013).

Data of this study are a wordlist sample of 92 speakers overall, from Calgary, Filipino Winnipeg, Winkler Manitoba, Southern Alberta (SAb), LDS stratified by *age*, *gender*, *socioeconomic status*, *urbanity* and *ethnicity*. All of the tokens were aligned and measured using FAVE (Rosenfeld et al. 2011), and then categorized by two phonetic environments (/æ/, /æɡ/), where /æɡ/-raising away from a retracting Canadian Shift vowel /æ/ is a change in progress on the Canadian Prairies (Boberg 2010, Rosen & Skriver 2015, Swan 2016). The data are subjected to Euclidian distance comparisons, mixed-effects modeling and plotting in R.

Results reveal that within both enclave groups, young women pattern more closely with older women in their respective communities than in the three non-enclave communities under study, where apparent-time change in progress appear to be underway. However, interestingly, the Filipina young women are innovating significantly more than Mormon young women. Men across the board are slower to adopt these changes as expected, but Mormon men are adopting the change more in line with non-enclave Canadians, in contrast to Filipino men who are not at all adopting the change. We attribute these differences to differing gender roles within each community studied, finding that in these enclave communities, the gender with the economic power within the enclave group is further along in the innovative form.