THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

IMMIGRANT YOUTH:
STRATEGIES TO MANAGE CULTURAL DISSONANCE

By

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A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE DIVISION OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

CALGARY, ALBERTA

AUGUST, 1997

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of a group of Calgary public or separate high school immigrant adolescents. Its purpose is to document the students' perceptions of contradictions between their home and school environments with respect to values and social customs.

The focus of the study is upon the micro-sociological processes whereby these children (1) become aware of value conflicts in their lives, (2) make these conflicts intelligible to themselves and others through discussion with other immgrant children, and (3) use the information and confidence gained in these discussions to manage their contradictions.

By implementing an analytical model for understanding their management of cultural dissonance and by attempting to apply folk models to supplement this model, this work has tried to look at immigrant children in a way different from those following strictly structural or psychological approaches who tend to consider the children of immigrants as "victims" of their social systems.

The dynamics of the students' behaviors when they are in relationship with each other and in different social contexts are described, in the first instance, in the words of the students themselves, and then redescribed by the analyst in terms of Frederick Bath's 'transactional/generative approach which is a branch of symbolic interactionism theory.

By making a link between subjective and objective perspectives, the dissertation has tried to develop a conceptual framework which will assist us in understanding patterns of

the students' behaviors when they are together in different social contexts and in discourse with others from the perspective of individuals' choices. This work has tried to demonstrate the students' formation and reformation of their subcultures and in return, the effect of those subcultures on their behavior as an ongoing process that influences the students' changing of definitions of their identities over time.

The study is not particularly intended to recommend new programs or policies but does suggest that, in a multicultural environment such as the Canadian society, we need to have a clear grasp of the creative abilities of students to manage social contradictions in both home and school settings if we wish to create and implement appropriate educational policies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the many individuals who assisted and supported me during the preparation of this dissertation. My first warm thanks goes to my supervisor, Dr. Tom Gougeon, who introduced and guided me to the Canadian system of education, and who directed me with his expertise on the process of research. I also would like to thank Dr. Doyle Hatt, for having been there beyond the call of duty to provide me with firm support through all phases of this research. Dr. Hatt sensitized me to appropriate theoretical and methodological standpoints that were applicable for the purposes of this study. Drs. Gougeon and Hatt sincerely supported me through all phases of my social life in Canada, my research, and the writing of this dissertation. I shall always treasure the memory of their support.

Thank you to Drs. Yvonne Hébert and Richard Hirabayashi as well as everyone in Graduate Division of Educational Research who supported and welcomed me as a colleague from the very beginning. Thank you to Drs. G. Rogers and T. Carson, my external examiners, for their participation in my dissertation committee.

Thank you to my children Saeideh, Mersad, and Saeid for their ongoing love and care and their great patience and support during this project.

My most special thanks go to my husband, Hassan Mahamedi Fard, who devoted much of his life to help me to make this project a reality.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated

with love and appreciation to my parents,

NOSSRAT TABIBIAN

and

HABIB-ULLAH MONTAZER

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that children of immigrants attending Canadian schools are caught between conflicting value systems, in particular the values of their parents - in the home - and those of the contemporary Canadian youth culture - encountered in school. It is the premise of this study that while value conflicts are, in the first instance, experienced by the students as individuals, when a systematic clash between the world-view into which they were socialized at home and the disparate world-views they encounter as they go to school – or *dissonance* – occurs, the students are motivated to make sense of the dissonance and consequently do something to reduce it and that this process is *inherently* a social phenomenon. This study hypothesizes that, where numbers of children of immigrant parents are together in particular schools, small subcultures or 'public youth cultures' develop and new sub-cultural norms evolve out of the students' inter-subjective attempts to manage the value conflicts. The study is concerned both to document this process empirically and to conceptualize it theoretically.

In the first part of the dissertation, after providing a short description of the immigration patterns in Canada and the government's response in accommodating immigrants, I attempt to provide a conceptual framework for explaining what generally happens to groups of people when they confront cultural diversity and the value conflicts between their traditional home cultures and those of the new environment. By referring to the literature, the major concern in this regard has been to achieve a conceptual understanding of the process whereby the newcomers respond to the new culture and

cope with it in terms of their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The first part of the research has therefore sought to sort through various strands of literature related to (1) immigration patterns and a short history of multiculturalism policy in Canada, and (2) to settle on workable definitions of a number of key terms including ethnicity and culture, as well as to understand how ethnic groups' various responses to their new society could be conceptualized in terms of these definitions. The principal purpose of this section is to draw a linkage between existing knowledge in the literature and my own empirical study of groups of children of immigrants attending Canadian schools. The major concern in this part is to arrive at a conceptualization of 'ethnicity' that will provide a generative model of individual identity, as the concept of generative model has been proposed by the anthropologist Frederik Barth (discussed in chapter four). Briefly, in this conceptualization, individuals select and stress on certain aspects of their identity depending on particular social contexts which become relevant.

In the second part, an experiential take on the problem is presented in the course of their interactions drawn from my research conduction among a group of students attending some Calgary public and Separate High schools. The purpose of the research was to document the students' subcultures, the dynamics out of which they evolve, and the institutional correlates (such as, for example, programs within school and community contexts) that impact on them. The research has sought to capture in the students' own words and concepts, their creative management of the dilemmas they experience arising out of dissonance between their home and school lives, in particular their use of language and logic to reconcile contradictions. The research documented some of the students'

sub-cultural norms and the sanctions (formal and informal) which have evolved within their subgroups.

In this part of the dissertation Barth's *transactional/generative* model has been utilized to study how a group of children of immigrants make sense of their worlds when they are in relationship with others and how they negotiate new subcultural norms. Through their sharing of similar situations and dilemmas, transactionalism, which is essentially a branch of symbolic interactionism, considers the students as unique actors who are continually negotiating with others the details of their discrepant orientations. One of the principal characteristics of such approach is its attention to 'feedback loops' in interaction - the way in which *ad hoc* solutions come eventually to be socially-agreed 'norms', albeit in small-scale. By combining this model of transaction to an essentially interpretive approach, this study has attempted to achieve an analysis of the changes we can reasonably expect as a result of the individuals' collaborative attempt to manage value conflicts and their effects in the students' social lives in the coping with the feelings of cultural dissonance. This study therefore, seeks to provide an analysis of the students' relationships and their interactions *from the perspective of individuals' choices*. The emphasis throughout the study is on the students' *perception* of cultural contradictions and on their creative role in managing them. The discussion in the first instance seeks to focus on the subjective and goal-pursuing actors in order to explicate the processes whereby strings of events are shaped by actors so as to embody meaning. The layers of meanings and contexts created by the students themselves are explored in detail and presented in the chapter on 'findings'.

In a further chapter devoted to an analysis of data, I move out to a more 'outward' frame of reference and attempt to understand the general processes that emerged in the 'findings'. The dissertation thus focused both on the students' strategies explained by themselves *and* the aggregate products of such strategies in the form of new youth sub-cultures. In order to understand such small and emergent sub-cultures, one has to grasp that it is, in its essence, a "privatized" sphere of discourse and interaction, implicitly counterposed to the adult-culture, within which adolescents work out their self-identifications. While the new values and norms are in the first instance constructed by the students themselves, these values and norms feed back and influence the students' behaviors in turn. Consistent with the methodological strictures of Barth (1987), the major task in this dissertation has been to seek to construct a model which brings out the 'transactional' generation of norms among immigrant youths, and uncovers the dynamics of the students' relationships and interactions with each other as a process of 'subjectification' as well as one of the 'objectification' (P: viii).

Significance of the study:

The changing population demographics of Canada over the past few decades and the resulting fact that immigrants represent a growing proportion of Canada's population, particularly in cities, has challenged educational institutions to meet the needs of the rising number of new immigrant students who speak a first language other than English and who bring a different cultural background to the school. While the former has not gone unnoticed in the Canadian schools and classrooms, the latter has a long way to go

in order to gain sufficient attention, and as Gougeon (1995) says:

> Although schools have responded well to the language requirements of immigrant students by offering ESL classes, the success of students in schools requires more than that. ... Thus, teaching students English does not, in itself, lead to success. Schools must identify other areas of student needs and they must design effective strategies to meet them.

Gougeon then adds that:

> Students need to feel connected to family, peers, and extended family and friends in their homeland. They need to feel accepted for who they are, their intellectual self, their interpersonal self, their emotional self, their physical self, and their spiritual self. Students need to feel self-empowered by parents who validate their choices, by schools that teach according to students' abilities, and by sensitive interpreters who are aware of their needs (ibid, 1995: 167).

While the above view focuses on what the students lack, and therefore, recommends the educational institutions to identify the above needs of the ESL students and to respond to these needs by offering appropriate learning experiences, this study seeks to show that, in order to recognize the student's needs, a certain amount of effort must also be spent on both *listening to the students' voices* and *appreciating their attempts at the management of cultural contradictions*. Instead of considering the children of immigrants as passive recipients of their social structures, the major attempt in this study has been to focus on the students' creative *abilities* to manage the problems they experience as a result of cross-cultural discrepancies and value conflicts they confront in their home and school lives. In order to respond to the ESL students' need in this sense, not only do

> teachers need to develop the necessary competencies, schools need to adopt new programs and strive to be more humanistic, and parents need to learn to change their attitudes (ibid, 1995: 168),

but also they should become aware of their students'/children's proactive management of

the dilemmas they experience between their home and school lives, in particular their use of language and logic to reconcile contradictions. The fact that the students are not less in control of their lives than the social systems surrounding them cannot be taken for granted by educational systems in this sense. By illuminating the students' perceptions of discrepancy between their home and school lives, and the processes whereby they cope with this, this study aspires to add to the subtlety of our understanding of children of immigrants whose ability and skills in managing their social dilemmas has not so far sufficiently been recognized or appreciated.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION IN CANADA: DEMOGRAPHY AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

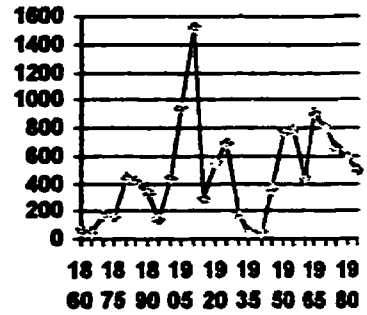
Immigration patterns:

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Canada, as a successful capitalist economy, has developed an openness in its accommodation of immigrants who have been specially selected because of their combination of professional experience, education, youth, health, linguistic ability and their ability to fit in to a social structure based on individuality and individual enterprise (Bagley et al, 1988: 41). Yet, the basis for selection of immigrants has not always been the same.

According to Frideres (1992) the number of immigrants arriving in Canada over the past two centuries has been relatively high when compared to other countries of the world. While a small but steady stream of immigrants (10 to 90 thousand per year during 1860-1900) entered Canada, since the mid-nineteenth century, immigration increased substantially after the turn of the century and reached its highest point at the onset of the Depression. Nevertheless, as Figure 1.1 demonstrates, it diminished rapidly to 0.4 million in the1910s, 0.6 - 0.7 million in 1920s, 0.15 million in 1930-35 and finally to its lowest point 0.05 million around 1940. Subsequent levels of immigration during the 1950s and 1960s, peaked at nearly 0.3 million in'1957, which was yet less than before (p: 51). Over all this period the immigrant population was relatively homogenous, and of primarily European or English-speaking origin, which enabled it to assimilate relatively quickly

into Canadian society (ibid, 1992: 48).

Figure 1.1: Level of Immigration in thousands, 1860-1980: Five-Year Periods



Vertical: Number of immigrants (X1000)

Horizontal: Year

Source: Immigration to Canada: *A Statistical Overview*, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989, p: 7.

According to James Stafford (1992), fluctuations in migrations of significant numbers of peoples in the past three hundred years can be in large measure explained by the changing structure of capitalism and industrial production. In Stafford's view, the advent of mercantilism brought European workers and African slaves to new lands to exploit their natural resources. With the rise of industrialization, dispossessed European peasants flocked to cities and, when work could not be found were transported to distant colonies. Some young and then-peripheral countries, such as Canada and the United States, reaped enormous benefits from these migrations. Blessed with a rich bounty of natural resources and sparse population, they had to deal with shortages rather than surpluses, of labor, a condition remedied by immigration (p: 70).

Changes in post - War Canadian immigration policy has resulted in annual fluctuations in the numbers of immigrants entering to Canada since the 1950s. It is

important to mention that, up to this time, the resource base of the Canadian economy required immigrants with little educational background and formal skill training (p: 73). Canada, up to this time, had relied upon Western Europe, in particular Great Britain, as the major supplier of immigrants. Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech to Parliament on May 1, 1947 summed up the tone of this period, namely of enhancing population growth in Canada through immigration, with preferred treatment given to British subjects. Li (1992) believes that the immediate postwar immigration policy of Canada was guided by this statement of the Prime Minister to the House of Commons:

> There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations. The government, therefore, has no thought of making any change in immigration regulations which would have consequences of the kind (Canada, 1947: 2647) (quoted in Li, 1992: 150).

By 1950, however, 'preferential treatment' began to be broadened to include immigrants from other northwestern European countries (Frideres, 1992: 48). The immigration Act issued in 1952 laid down a legal framework for continuation of the policy of preferred nationalities. Based on a decision made by the Supreme Court of Canada, Asian countries were excluded from the list of countries where persons could immigrate to Canada (ibid, 1992: 150).

While in the 1950s the policy of 'preferred nationalities was continued (Frideres, 1992: 48), in 1960, major changes were made to Canadian immigration policies. That was due in part to the economical problems resulting from the 'preferential treatment'

regulations. By the 1960s, as Li (1992) has stated, it had become clear that, although Europe was still the main source of immigration to Canada, the economic utility of European immigrants had been diluted by an increased number of unskilled immigrants from southern Europe and a corresponding decrease in the proportion of skilled professionals and managers as compared to the pattern of immigration during the war years. Also a downturn in Canada's business cycle coincided with a decline in number of immigrants in the early 1960s, creating additional pressure for changes in Canadian immigration policies (P: 150).

The 1962 immigration regulations revoked the special provisions of admission that applied to British, French, and American citizens and replaced them with a policy that favored immigrants who came with "education, training, skills or other special qualifications. According to these regulations, the first two of the four categories of admissible immigrants were for independent immigrants with educational and professional skills. The remaining two were for sponsored immigrants but sponsorship of immigrants outside of Europe and America was restricted only to close relatives" (PP: 150-51).

Thus, the 1962 immigration regulations allowed individuals with educational qualifications and technical skills to immigrate to Canada. Yet, they restricted the range of immigrant sponsorship to those from outside of Europe and America. The changes to Canadian immigration policy in the 1960s were prompted by a rising Homand for skilled labor and by the competition for such labor from the United States (P: 151). By admitting immigrants from 'non-traditional' source countries with higher levels of

education than the average of Canadians, Canada started to compensate for the shortage of persons with suitable training to fill the needs of the industrializing Canada in the Post-World War II era (Stafford, 1992: 81).

It is useful in this context, to explain briefly, the structural conditions which compelled Canada to change its policy to facilitate the immigration of skilled workers from non-traditional source countries. Li (1992) demonstrates that, in the two decades prior to 1967, Canada had lost a great many professional and technical workers to the United States. This was due to postwar industrial boom in the United States which created a Homand for a large volume of skilled labor. By referring to Parai (1965: 47-57), Li goes on to note that, for example, between 1953 and 1963, a net outflow of almost 41,000 professional workers and 38,000 skilled workers moved from Canada to the United States. Over the same time period, Canada was able to achieve a net overall gain of almost 125,000 professional and skilled workers only because of the large volume of incoming immigrants from around the world. Between 1950 and 1963, however, Canada experienced an average of outflow of 5,476 professional workers to the United States and the United Kingdom. By referring again to Parai (1965: 33) he furthermore states that despite an average of 7,790 professional worker immigrants to Canada annually from around the world, the average net gain per year was only 2,314 professional (Li, 1992: 152).

By 1965, the new immigration pattern in the United States made it even more urgent for Canada to broaden its recruitment of skilled immigrants. The 1965 Act in the United States abolished immigrant selection based on national origin quotas and used a

preferential system similar to Canada's to facilitate the entry of immigrants with professional and technical qualifications, and with skills in Homand. The U.S. amendments to its 1967 immigration regulations reflected Canada's attempt to compete for skilled labor from around the world (ibid, 1992: 152-3).

These events persuaded the government of Canada to reconsider its immigration regulations. The Immigration Act of Canada in 1967 made the linkage between immigration and labor market needs even more explicit. Immigration regulations at this period were established on the basis of a point system based on standards applicable to all selected immigrants from different areas in the world (ibid, 1992: 49). This, as Li (1992) has stated resulted in Canada relying on Asian countries to supply more than 20 percent of its immigrants with professional and managerial skills since the late 1960s (P: 158). Furthermore, relative to its population, Canada has received the highest proportion of Third World immigrants. This remarkable transition from European to Third World immigration in Canada is part of a restructuring of the international migration system (Frideres, 1992: 50).

In addition to the managerial and labor market needs that has so far been considered as a key factor in changing immigration levels, we should also keep in mind that there are other influential factors that have been determining the Canadian government's policies on immigration regulations. According to Frideres (1992: 50) for example, while in the late 1970s and mid-1980s, the federal government was concerned with stagflation and unemployment levels, the increase in the number of immigrants entering Canada in the early 1980s was partly a result of the world pressure to admit Indo-Chinese and other

refugees (Simmons, 1990: 143). In addition, more recent increases in the number of immigrants admitted to Canada, as Frideres emphasizes, reflect the government's concern to compensate for long term fertility decline. To demonstrate this fact Frideres (1992) notes that the federal government of Canada has estimated that if current death, birth, and immigration rates continue, by the year 2020, the population of Canada will begin to decline. If the projections are correct, in Frideres' view, the level of immigration will need to be in excess of 200,000 per year just to stabilize the country's population. To achieve this goal, in 1990 the government increased its annual anticipated immigration levels to 220,000 and increased it to 250,000 for the following four years. These figures, it should be noted, do not include the 30,000 to 40,000 people per year claiming refugee status when they arrive in Canada (ibid, 1992: 50).

Among other factors that are influential in determining immigration pattern levels and the government's policies regarding them the followings seem significant to Frideres:

> As new nation-states were created, large peaceful international resettlements took place because the receiving and sending nations were all part of the international network of economic activities... These changing patterns of immigration are also a function of a decreasing birth rate in Europe, which has meant that it no longer has surplus population to export. The changes in immigration policy after World War II also reflect and in turn have reduced the cultural ethnocentrism of Canadians as well as the virulent racism that had been so evident in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Finally, the rebuilding of Europe after the war enhanced employment opportunities in Europe, and the jobs available were better than the "entry level" jobs available in Canada (ibid, 1992: 51-2).

All these factors, together with escalating ethnic conflicts in a number of countries, have increased the number of immigrants (many of whom are refugees) seeking to take up residence in Canada. However, once a vanguard had established themselves in Canada, these immigrants themselves became a potent force in pressuring the Canadian

government to allow the admission of their ethnic and family kin (P: 57-64).

On the other hand, as Passaris (1989) has warned, Canada's demographic outlook suggests that Canadian cultural mosaic will become much more significant numerically and ethno-culturally diverse in the days ahead. That is because, immigration policy will be called upon to play an important role in correcting certain projected demographic imbalances (p: 2). Demographic studies in fact, show a considerable shift in the composition of the Canadian population. Among immigrants, the settlers of non-British non-French origin keep growing and are already the largest. The number of these ethnic groups that have become major players in the constitutional, and more generally in the whole political field, has increased significantly in the last decade. To ignore that fact is no longer politically possible (Berry and Laponce, 1994: 8).

An understanding of the general Canadian demographic trends has in fact led to the recognition and appreciation of cultural diversity. This recognition later opened doors for the implication of relevant policies and programs in Canada.

Immigration and demography:

Today, Canada is home to a variety of peoples sorted out into three major categories. The first category consists of aboriginal peoples including status Indians, Metis, and Inuits whose Asian ancestors arrived to Canada about ten thousand years ago. All native peoples, defined as aboriginal according to the Constitution Act of 1982, represented about 2.8 percent of the total population of Canada in 1990. The second category refers to the colonizing groups who began to immigrate to Canada in

seventeenth century and eventually defined themselves as the founding members of Canadian society. Known as the charter groups, both the French- and English-speaking sectors constitute a dominant group in Canada. The third category, racial and ethnic minorities who fall outside the charter group category, consist of those native- and foreign-born Canadians with some non-French and non-British ancestry (Fleras and Elliot, 1992: 27).

This rather unwieldy category of minority groups encompasses a broad range of diversity in terms of appearance, lifestyle, status, concerns, and aspirations. To impose some degree of order, we must make a distinction between (a) those minorities who are "racially" similar to charter group Canadians (nonvisible minorities) and (b) "visible minorities" whose physical appearance reflects their origin from outside Europe, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia (ibid, 1992: 27-8).

The general demographic data provided here demonstrate Canada's recognizing of the cultural diversity manifested at the level of ethnic and immigrant composition. By referring to the demographic profile of Canadian society we can better demonstrate this diversity. As Figure 2.1 shows and according to Friesen (1985):

In 1871, the first Census of the new nation revealed that sixty-one percent of the population was of British extraction, thirty-one of French and eight percent of other ethnic origins. By 1971 the British portion of our population was reduced to only forty-five percent, the French was fairly constant at twenty-nine percent and "other origins" had increased to twenty-six percent (Friesen, 1985: 2).

FIGURE 2.1: Ethnocultural composition, Canada (1871)

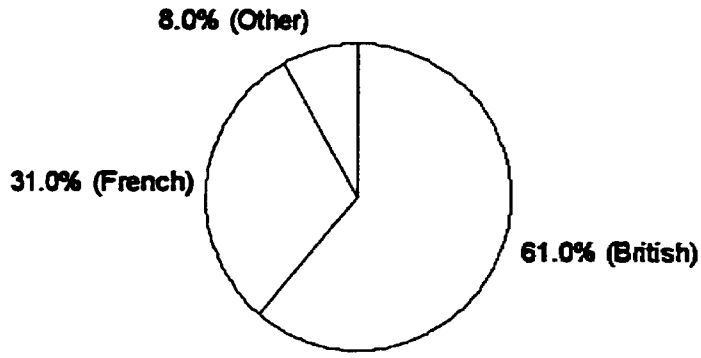
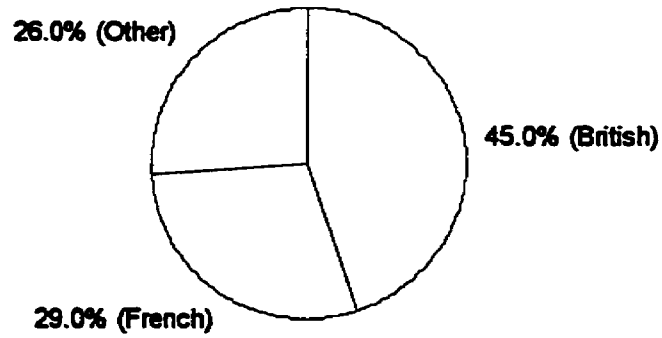


FIGURE 2.2: Ethnocultural composition, Canada (1971)



Cultural diversity however, continued to influence Canada's development over the years that followed 1971. By 1981, in Fleras's and Elliot's view for example, the British and French portion of the population declined to 40 percent and 27 percent, respectively. The 1986 Figures are even more revealing, for they demonstrate the inclusion of multiple

origins of ethnic and immigrant composition (see Figures 2.3).

Of Canada's total population of just over 25 million ..., nearly 9.5 million ... or 37.5 percent reported having some non-British or non-French ethnic origins, according to the 1986 census data. The ethnic background of 28 percent of Canadians included more than one ethnic origin ... While more than six million were recorded as having neither French nor English backgrounds. By way of contrast, the proportion of those with British-only ancestry declined to 33.6 percent, as did the French-only category (24.4 percent). Those reporting both British and French backgrounds remained at 4.6 percent (ibid, 1992: 29).

And by 1991, in Driedger's (1996: 68) view, no ethnic group in Canada remained to be known as the majority (see Figure2.4). In fact, "during the 125 years following 1871, a considerable demographic shift occurred, with a decline in the British charter majority proportion from 61% to 28%" (ibid, 1996: 68). These statistical facts (see Figure 2.3 and 2.4) can have important implications in our future discussions of definition of ethnic groups and ethnicity.

FIGURE 2.3: Ethnocultural composition, Canada, 1986

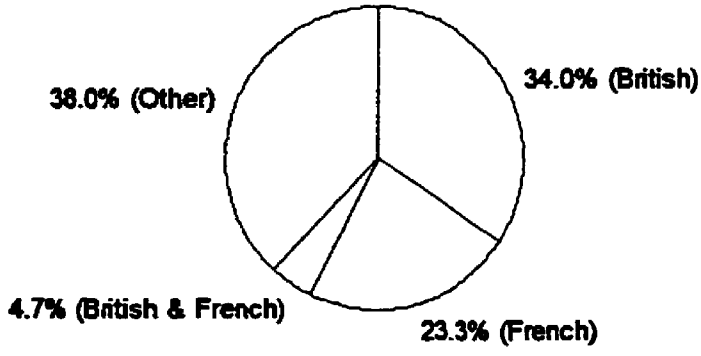
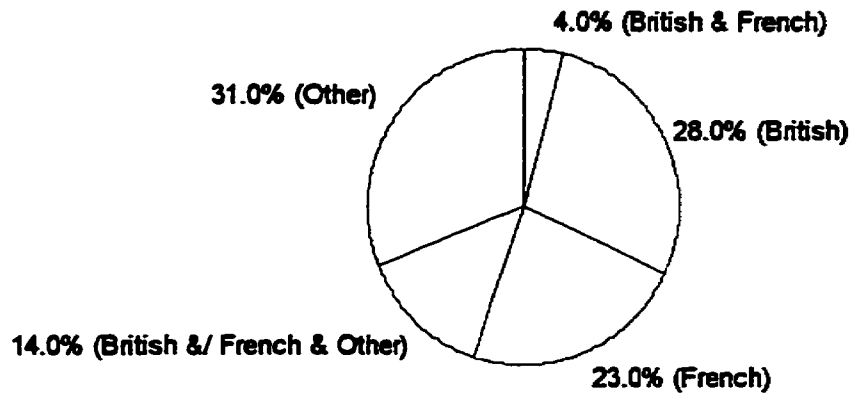


FIGURE 2.4: Ethnocultural composition, Canada (1991)



The statistics along with some other facts however, point to the fact that cultural diversity will continue to influence Canada's development. In the context of an aging of the population and low birth rates, for instance, much of the growth in population and labor force in the future is expected to come from what are now euphemistically referred to as 'visible minorities' (Satzewich, 1992: 14). Even if immigration were to cease, the issue of ethnic diversity is not going to disappear from Canadian national identity. However, continuing economic and demographic problems suggests that Canada will continue to use immigration to enhance or supplement its labor force, to address the refugee problem, and to reunite families (Frideres, 1992: 65).

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (1985: 668) stresses the corrective Role that immigration can play:

Canada should set its immigration levels on the basis of long-term objectives, rather than on that of short-term considerations ... Given the uncertainties involved in deciding both

on an appropriate population size and on its age composition, Canada should follow that course which, in the past, has served our country well: that is, a less restrictive policy than that currently in place... In recommending this approach to immigration policy, this commission is fully aware of the cultural, linguistic, economic and racial implications (quoted in Passaris, 1989: 3).

Cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity followed by dramatic changes of ethnic composition in Canada has been therefore, facts of life in Canada over the past two centuries. The federal government's multicultural policy, stated in 1971, is in fact, a critical response to the above historical occasion. This policy however, demonstrates the notable path Canada has paved toward creating a new wider role for education and broader social policies to provide socio/cultural and political cohesion.

A history of multiculturalism:

What is the Canadian identity into which immigrants are socialized and incorporated? The essence of this identity, according to Bagley and et al (1988), is multiculturalism: the acknowledgment of the richness and strength of cultural differences; and the ability and willingness to work together with other cultural groups in terms of mutual acceptance and support. A positive multiculturalism, as Bagley and et al view, should avoid the narrow obsessions of ethnocentrism, which often involve intolerance rather than acceptance of other groups (p: 30).

Since the 1960s, according to Berry and Laponce (1994) the Canadian official ground has been shifting in the direction of multiculturalism. Since then, the Canadian State has recognized ethnic minorities as groups within mainstream Canadian and has therefore displayed increasing sensitivity to issues of racism and multiculturalism within

the Canadian social structure.

Canada's official policy of multiculturalism, which aims to integrate and support the many different ethnic and cultural groups who make up Canada's mosaic of population (Verma, 1989: 101), was formally inaugurated on October 8, 1971 when Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau rose in the House of Commons to announce government support for a policy of multiculturalism. According to this policy every ethnic group had the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context. While the main motive of Pierre Trudeau in constructing this policy, according to Friesen (1985: 1) and Javed (1995: 234) was to complement the existing policy of official bilingualism, the policy contained the government's concern for ethnic groups' right to preserve and develop their own culture and values within the Canadian context. To demonstrate such concern the Prime Minister stated that:

> To say that we have two official languages is not to say that we have two official cultures, and no particular culture is more "official" than another. A policy of multiculturalism must be a policy for all (quoted in Friesen, 1985: 1).

Although the federal government at this time gave recognition and status to cultures other than French and English, it did not go that far to let the promotion of culture eventually extend to include language. Yet, the announcement of this policy was perhaps the biggest accomplishment in establishing a process toward social equality. As Fleras (1994) believes, Canada is perhaps virtually alone among the handful of nation-states that has productively capitalized on multicultural principles as an official framework for sorting out ethnoracial diversity. While countries such as Australia and New Zealand to some extent have been no less enterprising in reordering society along pluralist lines,

none have been ventured as far as Canada in formalizing a multicultural agenda, in the process validating its claim as the world's first and only official multicultural society (P: 267).

The government's stated objectives for multicultural policy presented in 1971 was in fact an official commitment to diversity. The multicultural policy issued by House of Commons (PP: 85-50-8581) at that time according to Friesen (1985) contained the following guarantees:

1. The government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop, a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance;
2. The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society;
3. The Government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity; and
4. The Government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society... (Friesen, 1985: 1-2).

The policy, as Berry and Laponce (1994) believe, intended to reduce levels of prejudice, to support and encourage heritage cultural maintenance, to reduce pressures towards assimilation, and to promote intergroup contact and sharing in order to avoid ethnocultural group isolation (Berry & Laponce, 1994: 8). To implement the government's objectives for such multicultural policy, we need the people's understanding of the richness and strength of cultural differences. Friesen (1985) sees educational institutions as critical in fostering understanding of cultural differences for all Canadian citizens. He impresses on educational institutions' significant role to provide greater appreciation of the value of other cultures. With this purpose, multiculturalism

needs to be studied as a progressive, innovative, and dynamic program that can impact on various levels of Canadian society. The future directions of an enlightened multiculturalism must in this sense, and according to Passari (1989) is at the very core of what Canada is all about (ibid, 1989: 5). This requires both the government and public support, and as Bagley and et al (1988) state, "if [multiculturalism] is to work it needs support at the grass roots" (P: 30).

It is not easy to determine what these grass roots are unless we provide an intensive study of the internal structures and workings of ethnocultural groups shaping the Canadian society. While this is beyond the scope of this study, this dissertation attempts to provide a working knowledge about the children of these groups (as recent immigrants) who are shaping the Canadian mosaic. To provide such information we need in the first instance to establish some vocabularies which will remain stable through this research. It is necessary for example, that we clarify at the outset what we mean by some key terms such as "ethnicity" and "culture" or "multicultural" and "multiethnic". Second, we need to understand what happens to different cultural or ethnic groups when they immigrate to a new society, i.e. Canada, and represent their traditional society while at the same time they try to adapt to the new environment. Our attempt in the following chapters is to answer these questions.

CHAPTER THREE

DEFINITIONS OF SOME KEY TERMS

The main duty of this chapter is to introduce and provide meaning for some key concepts that are salient to the study of diverse groups living in the Canadian society. The corpus of cases and terminology to be considered here will refer to the life of the ethnic groups, their adaptation to the new culture, their and the society's definition of their identity, etc. Starting with "ethnicity" and using, in particular, Berry and Laponce's historical look at the changing pattern of the terminology may enable us see the evolution from "biculturalism" to "multiculturalism" in Canada.

Less than 20 years ago, as Berry and Laponce (1994) note, it was widely assumed that ethnicity was a source of ancient cleavages, which were, at least in industrialized and democratic societies slowly waving. However, this assumption has been altered by new features of immigration in the industrialized countries of Europe and North America. Since it had been assumed that ethnicity was weakening, the older theories foresaw general homogenization as the broad pattern of modern ethnicity. However, ethnicity has reasserted itself as one of the major factors challenging and shaping modern societies over the last two decades. To explain this ethnic revival, Berry and Laponce (1994) believe that a varied set of fundamental structural factors that reinforce one another, must be taken into consideration. Among these factors they point to the globalization of the world economy which has led to a reawakening of ethnic consciousness. In their view, the desire to surround oneself with a familiar, smaller, and more 'meaningful'

community is a result of the globalization of the economy. On the one hand, Berry and Laponce (1994) argue that the weakening of the nation state, at a time when security and prosperity call for the formation of supranational markets and alliances, gives subnational entities a chance to assert their autonomy. On the other hand, the wide difference in population growth between a prosperous but demographically declining North and a poor but overpopulated South produces population migrations that keep diversify the industrialized countries, both culturally and physically (p: 3).

The revival of ethnicity is therefore a matter that cannot be taken for granted by any society influenced by the outcomes of the globalization of the economy. What do we mean by ethnicity?

Ethnicity:

Friesen (1985) states that the definition of ethnicity in sociology has originally been framed by John Wirth's statement about minorities:

> We may define a minority as a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination (quoted in Friesen, 1985: 20)

While some sociologists subsequent to Wirth have attempted to improve the definition of ethnicity based on an elaboration of Wirth's concept, Friesen believes that they have not been particularly successful. What they have missed, Friesen argues, is the criterion of a shared identity or 'peoplehood' which ethnic groups often seek to perpetuate among their members. To Friesen in fact, it seems that this single

characteristic can best distinguish ethnic minorities from each other. Friesen refers to Leo Driedger (1978: 9-19) who has elaborated the meaning of ethnicity in the Canadian context as followings:

1. Identification with an ecological territory, which implies that territory is an essential ingredient of any definition of such a community because individuals can identify with it and it is the ground within which ethnic activity can take place.
2. Ethnic institutional identification which suggests that institutional completeness can take place when such a group can develop a social system of its own with control over its institutions, to ensure that the social action patterns of the group will take place largely within the system.
3. Identification with ethnic culture, which is brought about by group adherence to language usage, endogamy, choice of friends, participation in religion, parochial schools and voluntary organizations.
4. Identification with historical symbols including a knowledge of their origins and pride in this heritage. In a case study of Jews, Driedger identifies such items as: special days, fastings, candles, and food habits - all symbols of their past history.
5. Identification with an ideology which can rally followers around a goal beyond cultural and institutional values. It can provide purpose and impetus for values which are considered more important than those of a cultural and institutional nature.
6. Charismatic leadership and identification. Such leaders can usually employ social or psychological means to gain a following and this creates a bond of trust which is then used to build cohesive loyalty between the follower and the group... (Friesen, 1985: 22).

Friesen (1985) then points to Abu-Laban and Mottershead's (1981) proposition that the criteria for delineating ethnic minorities should be regarded as variables rather than fixed categories and that there are always at least two such variables. The first, according to them, is the existence of a cultural tradition centering around one or more foci of ethnicity (norms, values, language, religion, race, and national origin) and a communal institutional structure, i.e., parallel institutions and enclosed associations. The second variable, in their view, is a dominant feeling in the group, or group consciousness, which represents the social-psychological dimension and involves attraction and loyalty to the ethnic group and identification with it (P: 22). Friesen then comments on the problems

rising out of the above definitions:

The status of ethnic groups is, by definition, frequently encumbered by problematic situations, because the existence of a minority also implies a majority which is usually in charge of things. In this sense, cultural groups specifically are subordinate entities in a complex societal configuration. Further, they may also have special physical or cultural traits which are held in low esteem by the dominant segments of society, or they may work rigorously to maintain and transmit their line of descent through endogamy, thus again attracting the disdain of the majority group. Such exclusivity or social isolation may in fact perpetuate the identity of the group but it may also serve to arouse the suspicion or scorn of society at large...(PP: 22-3).

Bagley and et al's (1988) definition of ethnicity is free from the above problems, for they have not characterized ethnic groups as minorities. But their definition is not as complete as the Abu-Labon's definition and needs to be refined and improved. According to them, an ethnic group is one which is culturally stable over more than a generation, and is marked by some distinctive style of religion, language, dress, belief or custom which gives members of that ethnic group a subjective but clearly defined sense of identity. The above authors also distinguish the difference between the term *ethnicity*, which is more used in sociology and applied anthropology, and *race* which is useful only in physical anthropology (P: 37).

Berry and Laponce (1994) present a clearer explanation of the above terms. They use the term *ethnic* to the transmission of cultural traits and values. In this sense, they keep this term separated from *race* which is used for genetic inheritance. While until the Second World War, according to them, using of the term *ethnic* was still under the shadow of *race*, after the war, the term *race* had become so loaded with negative political associations (partly stemming from events in South Africa) that it became an irresistible temptation to replace it with the term *'ethnic'* as a restraint.
As a result, ethnic now sometimes means race, and sometimes it does not; sometimes it

covers religion and sometimes it does not. One needs the *context* (my Italics) to be able to make sense of the term. In his *Thesaurus of Ethnicity*, Fred Riggs (1985) spends over 50 pages describing the uses and misuses of the word and proposing a whole set of specialized terms that would avoid confusion (P: 5).

Laponce (1994) also mentions that even within the sole discipline of political science, there is no agreement on what we mean by ethnic. He therefore tries to present his own preferred usage. He uses the term *ethnic* to refer to a community having a real or imaginary common origin that distinguishes it from other communities. Ethnic identity is thus according to him, a socially and culturally structured 'we' that gives meaning to the self. Laponce then continues that only a few of the elements of individuals' personal characteristics turn at a particular point in time into a group identity that cuts across social roles. The individual identities that most often become group identities are those of national and state origin, language, religion, and race (P: 179).

Thus, Laponce (1994) believes that all Canadians are ethnics, whether their ethnicity is defined by terms such as German-Canadian, Jewish, European, or even simply Canadian. In this sense and in Laponce's view, some people are mono-ethnic while others are *bi-* or *multi-ethnic*. In the latter case the operative ethnic identifier is triggered by circumstances, sometimes Jewish, sometimes German, sometimes German-Canadian, and sometimes simply Canadian (P: 179-80). This definition of ethnic identity is very different from the one presented by Friesen which separates ethnic groups as minorities from the majority who are known as Canadians. Friesen's definition of ethnicity compared to Laponce's is too narrow, for it does not exactly define what he means by the term majority as "Canadians". Since for the purposes of this dissertation we will consider the term ethnic group as a group of people who are distinguished by themselves

and by others as to be different from the rest of the population I prefer Laponce's (1994) definition of ethnicity that is not tied up to the simplistic and concrete view of identifying the people as being either Canadian or non-Canadian. Yet, this definition is very loose and incomplete and therefore, has its own problems. In the following chapter, devoted to a discussion of 'ethnicity' we will talk about these problems and try to provide a clearer definition of the term for the purposes of this study.

Culture:

The word 'culture' is not any clearer than ethnicity according to Berry and Laponce (1994). It was first used by Tylor (1871) to refer to 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.' Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) in a comprehensive survey, identified over 200 formal definitions of the term. They categorized these definitions into six groups:

descriptive (lists of what is included); *historical* (emphasizing heritage and descent); *normative* (emphasizing shared rules); *psychological* (emphasizing the processes of adaptation and learning); *structural* (emphasizing organization and pattern), and *genetic* (emphasizing the origin or genesis of culture) (Berry and Laponce, 1994: 5-6).

Berry and Laponce (1994) however, come to the conclusion that at the present time, no single definition of culture appears to have general acceptance. Since the usage of the terms *multiethnic* and *multicultural* does not therefore seem systematic, they believe that different disciplines involved have different definitions based on their needs. In terms of identifying the difference between the terms *ethnic* and *cultural*, Berry and Laponce suggest that the term *ethnic* is more likely used to refer to the primordial group into

which one is born, while the term *cultural* is used to refer to the primordial set of behaviors and attitudes that one experiences or displays. Yet, they believe that such kind of differentiation that makes the boundaries of a group more rigid and a function of inheritance criteria, may shift the characterization of that group away from the cultural toward racial (PP: 6-7).

As already mentioned, the term *race* was less likely to be used after the Second World War, for it was negatively loaded. By the same token, Berry and Laponce (1994) believe that the term ethnic had to be replaced by culture. The following demonstrate their perspective with this regard.

> Linguistics tells us that the life expectancy of words varies according to whether they are positively or negatively loaded. Words with negative loading die sooner than those with a positive charge and are replaced by euphemisms. We should thus expect that, one of our two key concepts, multiculturalism, will, at least in the ordinary language, push multiethnic aside since ethnic is partly used to mean race (P: 7).

Adaptation to the new society cannot be discussed without recognizing the centrality of 'culture' - the knowledge and understanding of other cultural patterns, values, institutions, metaphors and symbols - in the adaptation process. An operative definition of the term 'culture' is therefore, going to be presented in chapter five when we discuss the important subject of cross-cultural communication in the Canadian context.

Cultural pluralism:

A "culturally plural" society, in Bagley and et al's view (1988), is one in which there is some institutional separation between groups. In a culturally plural society, the various

groups or "pillars" which make up the society, support a framework of government in which the groups agree to disagree, and to respect the cultural, linguistic and religious autonomy of each other (P: 37). Bagley and et al continue,

Despite the often extreme cultural isolation of one group from another and strong sanctions against exogamy, class divisions cut across the cultural pillars, and there may be co-operation between elite groups of different ethnic groups at the level of national government. Indeed, for a plural society to survive, there has to be a commitment by all blocs to certain shared values which allow a nation to function efficiently as a cultural, economic and international entity (PP: 37-8).

Bagley and et al then argue that plural arrangements usually emerge as a compromise to resolve power struggles between different groups. A crucial principle of successful pluralism according to them, is that the political arrangements ensure more or less equality of power and access to economic and social resources between groups. The Netherlands up to the early 1970s in their view, was a classic example of a plural society. As far as Netherlands could accommodate the aspirations of different religious and secular groups, it could run a harmonious ethnic policy based on the idea of pluralism. To demonstrate this divergence, the above authors add:

Culturally plural societies have some inherent instabilities. For example, when there is a push towards assimilation of groups (as occurred in the Netherlands when the authority of religious institutions declined, and Protestant-Catholic and other intermarriages became common), then the plural blocs of society may disappear. Instability is also inherent when there are markedly different degrees of social, economic and political power between groups (ibid, 1988: 38).

This definition of cultural 'pluralism' is in fact very similar to that of 'multiculturalism' which is defined as the ability and willingness to work together with other cultural groups in terms of mutual acceptance and support. Cultural pluralism and multiculturalism are indeed two similar phenomenon. However, in general usage cultural

pluralism is usually used as a description of a *de facto* characteristic of a society, whereas multiculturalism is used to refer to explicit policies which promote or manage cultural pluralism.

Multiculturalism:

Admittedly, no consensus on the definition of the word "multiculturalism" prevails. Part of the reason for this could be that the word has not been around long enough for its standard usage to emerge and to identify the concept for which it stands. Social sciences encyclopedias published in the late 1960s and even more recent dictionaries do not include it among their entries. In fact, the word it is replacing in Canada, "pluralism," does not have a long history either. As the *International Encyclopedia of Sociology* (1984) points out, the culturally-oriented concept of plural society was introduced in 1948 by the economist J.S. Furnivall (in *Colonial Policy and Practice*) in referring to a society with a variety of peoples who were physically, linguistically, and religiously different and who occupied quite different positions in the division of labor (Magsino,1989: 54).

By referring to Burnet's (1983) and Kariel's (1968) definition of the terms "pluralism" and "multiculturalism", Magsino (1989) indicates that the terms have both descriptive and normative connotations. Descriptively, "multiculturalism" characterizes society as culturally or ethnically heterogeneous (in this sense, it is synonymous with "culturally pluralism"). Normatively, it implies valuing the co-existence of many cultures within society, whether in terms of generalized attitudes and behavior or of governmental

policy (P: 54).

The notion of multiculturalism in its descriptive sense may be confusing in terms of its conceptual and empirical implications. Conceptually, we need to have at least more than one cultural group within a society. The question that 'what sort of, and how many, differences are required for groups to be taken as culturally different and thus for society to be regarded as multicultural' cannot be answered clearly. Empirically, the persistence or change within cultural groups in terms of adaptation and assimilation is not distinctly ascertained. Anderson and Frideres (1981) for example, argue that adaptation by first generation immigrants and the assimilation of their offspring could lead to the conclusion that the extent of multiculturalism (or cultural pluralism) in Canada is not as great as people generally believe (P: 55).

Normatively, as an *ism*, Magsino continues, "multiculturalism" indicates preference for and devotion or commitment to many cultures in society. The problem that may arise at this point is that multiculturalism could appear insignificant for people committed to national unity or for egalitarians who foresee in it further institutionalization and deepening of political and economic inequalities for minority cultural groups. Fortunately, Magsino adds, due to the open texture of language, "multiculturalism" may mean more than just preference for retention of many cultures. Retention preference according to him, may be a necessary element, but it need not be regarded as a sufficient one. Magsino brings this argument to the end by stating that in the absence of consensus on a conception of definition for " multiculturalism, no definitional legislation is available to rule out a stipulative definition or conception for one's purposes. Magsino, at this

point suggests the necessity of making a stipulative definition of the term "multiculturalism based on practical needs and in response to cultural diversity in Canada. "In the 1971 statement," he writes, "Trudeau may be seen as stipulating, not inappropriately, one such conception for purposes of the Canadian government (P: 55).

While the 1971 statement in Magsino's view, did not expressly define or elaborate on the stipulated conception, he is still impressed by the Canadian conception of the term which is revealed in the following statement:

1. *Cultural retention and development:* The government will support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to society... The government will ... assist all Canadian cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop ... [and] a capacity to grow ..."
2. *Cultural sharing and respect to promote national unity and richer life for all:* [Various cultures and ethnic groups] will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for us all ... The government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.
3. *Full participation in Canadian society:* ... The government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society... The government will ... assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.
4. *Individual freedom:* ... A policy of multiculturalism is basically the conscious support of individual freedom of choice. The individual's freedom would be hampered if he were locked for life within a particular cultural compartment by the accident of birth of language (ibid, 1989: 55-6).

While the strategy of considering the concept of multiculturalism in general and through a study of numerous definitions, on the assumption that its essence will finally be discovered, has not proved to be successful (ibid, 1989: 56), a short review of some of the definitions may be productive in terms of demonstrating the problem of definition. Multiculturalism [in Canada], according to O'Neil and Yelaja (1994), refers to 'a society that is characterized by ethnic or cultural heterogeneity, to an ideal of equality and

mutual respect among a population's ethnic or cultural groups; and to government policy proclaimed by the Canadian Federal Government in 1971 and subsequently by a number of provinces (P: 485). Multiculturalism therefore, includes political sponsorship of cultural pluralism. It is a program that is first and only established, funded and promoted by the powerful government departments of Canada to integrate and support the many different ethnic and cultural groups who make up Canada's population mosaic. The premises of the program - the support of the separate cultural and linguistic identity of different ethnic groups, including recent immigrants (in 1980s) - was supported by all major parties, and by all provincial governments (Verma, 1989: 101). Yet, a major difficulty in this area is the lack of consistent terminology. This, as it is already mentioned, can reflect a lack of agreement on the meaning and objectives of multiculturalism in Canada.

In common parlance, Laponce (1994) writes, the term *multi* is used in Canada, to characterize individuals as well as communities that are neither Native, nor French, nor British; and in academic writings, the term ethnic is frequently used to refer to non-Charter minority groups. Laponce (1994) however, prefers not to isolate such *multis* and/or *ethnics* within a specific field of research or to contribute to specific groups of individuals or communities. This preference arises from his definitional assumption that everybody is an ethnic, even those who reject the term in the name of an overarching national identification that is in fact an ethnic identification among others. Hence his recommendation that we should approach the study of multiethnic groups from a global view of multiculturalism rooted in the above assumption. In Laponce's view however,

we cannot understand the attitudes or behaviors of specific minorities unless we compare them to other minorities as well as to the dominant (or "charter") groups (P: 195). In this sense he states his second recommendation which flows from the first:

> I noted, ... a one-way mirror effect, a tendency to study the perceptions or attitudes of the dominant groups vis-à-vis the minorities much more frequently than studying the reverse... My conclusion is thus a plea to open wide the field of multicultural research in order that it can take a global view of Canadian society, and a plea for removing the one-way mirrors that deprive us of the full view needed to study a rich set of interactions (ibid, 1994: 196).

The notion of multiculturalism, as used by the Secretariat of State and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), on the other hand; has a meaning that is both narrower and wider than Laponce's (1994) notion of ethnicity. It is narrower, Laponce believes, since it is limited to non-dominant groups and broader since its conceptual boundaries are not exclusively focused on the group, on the 'we within me' (P: 180). Consequently, the corpus of cases that are considered in Laponce's (1994) paper refer to both dominant and minority groups, and to individual ethnic origin (as typically defined by the objective categories of the census) as well as to group ethnic identity (as defined by the subject's own perceptions and sense of belonging). Laponce's consideration with this regard, will be followed later in this work.

Adaptation:

Many factors are working in terms of "adaptation" of immigrants to the new society. As Bagley and et al (1988) have emphasized, migration is a difficult process, and is associated with many psychological stresses. Migration, for instance, has profound implications for identity change as the individual tries to adapt to the new tasks in a new

culture, which is often ethnically and linguistically quite different from all that has been familiar. While the core of identity rooted in childhood development, should provide a buffer for the individual in the stressful times following migration, this identity does not usually function in parallel to the new culture. It is at this point that we may see strain and tensions not only between persons' original and existing values, but among members of the minority groups (especially between different generations) themselves and/or between minority groups and the majority groups.

Yet, Bagley and et al continue, Canada, as a nation seems to ignore the difficulties of migration. It is assumed that children of migrants will be absorbed into Canadian society more or less by a process of osmosis. While these children appear quickly and naturally to absorb the language, thought, values, habits and folkways of the new culture, this rapid acculturation brings a new set of problems for adult migrants, especially when parents and grandparents cannot speak one of the official languages and do not acculturate as quickly as their children (PP: 35, 40-41). Special consideration will be given to a discussion of such problems in the second part of this dissertation.

It is important at this point to define a couple of key terms in the adaptation of immigrants, and the relationship of cultural, ethnic and linguistic groups to the major society (P: 35).

Assimilation occurs when a group is absorbed totally within the new culture and retains only minimal vestiges of the old culture, in terms of language, dress, customs and even religion.

Integration occurs when a group retains considerable elements of the original culture, including the private or public use of traditional language, dress, religion and customs and is tolerated or perhaps supported in these practices by the host culture (P: 36).

Adaptation to the new society may therefore differ in terms of the level to which the individuals retain their traditional culture or ethnicity. It may range from desire to retain the whole package of the traditional culture to a complete assimilation. The most important problem implicit in this type of approach towards adaptation is the consideration of ethnicity as a package of adjectives or characteristics. Ethnic identity in this sense, is a static phenomenon which can either be retained or lost. Such an approach towards ethnicity is not very acceptable according to many theoretical and empirical studies. The idea that "ethnic identity" is constructed over time and space is the most dominant among the critics. Yet, whether it is believed that ethnicity is influenced and constructed by individuals themselves or there are structural and objective factors influencing the construction of such phenomenon, the definitions differ. Friesen (1985) for example, believes that ethnic minorities may not necessarily agree on the extent to which they desire to retain their particular status in dominant society, and one factor that, according to him, affects this is the attitude of the majority toward such groups.

> There is often a relationship between values espoused and survival crises and the latter may significantly alter the former... The continued existence of particular minority life patterns is frequently complicated by a variety of factors such as government policy, personal platforms of community functionaries (and sometimes reactionaries), and public pressure or opposition...(PP: 30-2).

It is therefore, the relationship between 'minorities' and 'majorities' which determine the level to which the individuals try to retain or get rid of their original identify. The same as Friesen, Bagley and et al (1988) note that ethnic groups themselves have different aspirations ranging from the desire to retain their culture, with a continuing interest in most of the aspects of their original homeland life (e.g. Sikhs in Canada); while other groups seek rapid assimilation (e.g. Jamaicans) (p: 36). Nevertheless, to study such

different aspirations, they believe, we need to understand many factors including the structural context of both the original homeland and the host society and the similarities or discrepancies between the social structures. To understand the level to which the subjective or objective factors determine individuals' definitions of themselves and their ethnic identity is the subject of discussion in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNICITY

Due to the limitations of definitions of the term "ethnicity" the purpose of this chapter is to provide a stipulative definition of the term that will later assist us in understanding the process whereby the children of immigrants cope with the new culture. To provide such discussion we have to go back to the previous chapter where according to Laponce (1994: 179) we defined the term *ethnic* as "a community having a real or imaginary common origin that distinguishes it from other communities". The major concern at this point was on specific identities that make a group distinguished from other groups. According to this view all Canadians could be considered as ethnic groups. While this assumption is accepted for the purpose of this study we still lack a clear definition of the term, for we do not clearly know what a "group identity" really means. Our lack of information with this regard, prevents us from knowing what happens in the lives of children of immigrants who are caught between two different social systems with different values and norms attached to these systems. What is in fact "ethnic identity" and how long and to what extent this identity can be preserved? As already mentioned, many definitions have so far been presented with this regard. In general all these definitions range between two extremes:

1) Traditional definitions which conceive "ethnic identity" as a historical and cultural reality which endures over time. Ethnic attributes or adjectives, based on this perspective, is a collection of fixed and determined factors over time. A very good

example of such definition is Driedger's (1978: 9-19) outline of the meaning of ethnicity in Canadian context. The criteria for sketching ethnicity here, is in fact based on fixed categories rather than some variables. Bagley and et al (1988: 37) have also depicted an ethnic group as a culturally and socially stable community that share some distinctive characteristics such as religion, language, dress, etc. An ethnic group according to this definition has a very clearly defined sense of identity.

Due to drastic cultural changes an ethnic group may experience over time and space (e.g. in the case of immigration and across different generations of immigrants) we can now claim that such cultural approach toward definition of ethnicity is very simplistic. While the traditional approach takes ethnicity as a phenomenon, the reality of "ethnicity" is in fact called into question in many aspects. A completely opposite approach toward definition of ethnicity, a situational one, may enable us to understand the possible flaws implicit in this definition.

2) Situational definitions demonstrate a strategic concept of ethnicity. According to this approach, ethnic terms and concepts are used by individuals situationally and strategically depending on the context the individuals are located. Ethnic identity in this sense, is not fixed but a loose collection of immediate situations and things that individuals are trying to accomplish. While Laponce's (1994) view of 'ethnicity' is among such definitions Moerman's approach towards the definition of the term is among the most extremes.

In his paper, "Being Lue: Uses and Abuses of Ethnic Identification", Moerman (1965), tries to demonstrate how and why an ethnic group (Lue) comes on the grounds

of their conception of a specific common culture despite the political state's definition of them (P: 57). To Moerman therefore, multiple ethnic identifications are always present according to different situations. The 'truth' or 'objective correctness' of an identification is never sufficient according to him, to explain its use.

> It is vacuous to say that the Lue call themselves and their customs 'Lue' because they both *are* Lue. To the serious student of society, the preferring of any identification should be a problematic phenomenon, not a comforting answer. The question is not, 'who are the Lue?' ... but rather when and how and why the identification 'Lue' is preferred. Truth or falsity is a criterion which should be applied to our analysis; it has no relevance to native category usage (PP: 61-2).

In terms of how and why a native community might find some ethnic labels or attributes desirable, Moerman talks about BanPing villagers of Tai as an example and points to the socio-political environment of the village and native's awareness of that environment, as the main factors determining peoples' achieving some ethnic attributes. Moerman's understanding of society in this respect is a cognitive system where people observe what they take to be human occurrences and ascribe them to categories of what they take to be persons. Moerman's (ibid, 1965) initial goal as an ethnographer's of Lue according to himself, is to learn the Lue categories of occurrences and persons and the implicit rules by which they are appropriately associated. In this sense, if some ethnic groups may call attention to the ethnic attributes they have achieved according to their circumstances, other ethnic groups may not associate themselves to such attributes. To the latter, such ethnic attributes can probably be inexplicit and even sometimes non-existent. Moerman finally, believes that social scientists must not establish fixed ethnic categorization schemes - as ways of reporting, recording and analyzing human occurrences - for they cannot make people understand and use category systems which

are not available to them (PP: 66-7).

This version of ethnic identity however, emphasizes on the fact that people have multiple identities which they utilize in particular situations. While this perspective can be very true in many of the theorists' view, it is still too situational, for the purposes of this study. By accepting the second view, which believes in ethnic identity as an achieved phenomenon, we cannot imagine that individuals may come up to any real identity. While it seems people may have multiple identities when situated in different contexts, it is still difficult to ignore the fact that human beings carry some ascriptive characteristics that are not easily changeable over time. We can here refer to Barth (1969) who has chosen a middle ground in this respect.

In Barth's (1969) view, the sharing of a common culture is an implication or result, rather than a primary and definitional characteristic of an ethnic group's organization. While this part of Barth's notion of ethnicity is similar to Moerman's, he still believes that an ethnic group has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (p: 11). In other words, ethnicity according to Barth (1969) is both achieved and ascribed. It is socially constructed but has a substantial reality of its own. This characteristic of self-ascription and ascription by others, as the central element in Barth's definition, classifies a person in terms of his general identity, "presumptively determined by structural factors; his origin and background. To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for purposes of interaction," Barth demonstrates, "they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense (PP: 13-4).

This generative model assumes individuals being surrounded by ranges of options from which they choose and from which they stress on certain attributes of their ethnic identity. Based on Barth's assumption of ethnicity, if we want to test a persons' identity empirically, we should hence, put them among certain degrees of selections of identities in particular social contexts where they are capable of interpreting their different situations in social discourse. One, at this point, and according to Barth (ibid, 1969: 14) cannot predict from first principles which cultural features will be emphasized and made organizationally relevant by these persons. Nevertheless, there is a general pattern emerged out of these situationally different behaviors. It is the emphasis on ascriptive ethnic identities that determines the nature of such general patterns and hence, the continuity of ethnic groups.

> The cultural features that signal the [ethnic] boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed even the organizational form of the group may change. Yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and context (P: 14).

Following this perspective toward a definition of ethnicity we can now say that ethnic identity is a selection of adjectives that can characterize members. These adjectives can emerge out of the particular history a person is raised and is known and can be transacted (interpreted by person during social discourse). In other words, ethnicity is a dynamic process which is known to the persons themselves and to others and which enters into social discourse. Ethnicity in this sense, is not a fixed thing but many things capable of being interpreted.

Over much of this work I applied with this view of ethnicity to provide a *generative*

model of individuals' ethnic identity. Such perspective assists us to understand the issue of ethnic persistence through organizational identity. While there are some research (c.f. Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz for example) which have tried to help us understand 'how ethnicity works across generations', attention has less been paid to observable patterns of behaviors that are generated through individuals' relationships with each other during social discourse. Yet, among these, with regard to practical outlines of this work, Isajiw's (1990) view fits well into the conceptualization framework I have implied in this work. The same as Barth, Isajiw does not determine any ultimate factor that determines ethnic identity. He demonstrates ethnicity as an epiphenomenon affected by many historical factors. In this respect, there is a potential for ethnic change although within limits. Since, among the most recent perspectives, Isajiw's adds some interesting dimensions of ethnicity that are not brought by Barth, the final part of this chapter is devoted to a short description of this view.

Ethnic identity in Isajiw's view, can be conceived as a social-psychological phenomenon that derives from membership in an ethnic group (ibid, 1990: 35). What is important to Isajiw (1990) is that an ethnic group gives rise to two phenomena of social organization and identity. To him, social organization is defined as an objective phenomenon that provides the structure for the ethnic community, whereas, identity is conceived as a subjective phenomenon that gives to individuals a sense of belonging and to the community a sense of oneness and historical meaning. By referring to the Lewinian "field" view(1948), Isajiw defines ethnic identity as a manner in which persons, on account of their ethnic origin, locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or

more social systems, and in which they perceive others as locating them in relation to those systems. The term ethnic origin to Isajiw (1990) therefore, refers to a process whereby a person has been socialized in an ethnic group(s) which can be real or symbolic (P: 35). In effect of such definition Isajiw demonstrates that:

> Locating oneself in relation to a community and society is not only a psychological phenomenon, but also a social phenomenon in the sense that the internal psychological states express themselves objectively in external behavior patterns that come to be shared by others. Thus, individuals locate themselves in one or another community internally by states of mind and feelings, such as self-definitions or feelings of closeness, and externally by behavior appropriate to these states of mind and feelings (P: 35-6).

Based on the above assumption, Isajiw distinguishes external and internal aspects of ethnic identity. Whereas external aspects, accordingly, refer to observable behavior, both cultural and social, internal or subjective aspects of ethnic identity refer to images, ideas, attitudes, and feelings. Although the external and internal aspects of ethnic identity, according to him are interconnected, he avoids assuming them being dependent on each other empirically.

Levels of attachment to the above aspects of ethnic identity and their components according to Isajiw can be different among ethnic groups as well as the members of the same ethnic group. Different individuals according to this perspective may respond differently to the norms and values of the host society as well as those of their parents or ancestors.

> A member of the third generation may subjectively identify with his ethnic group without having knowledge of the ethnic language or without practicing ethnic traditions or participating in ethnic organizations. Or inversely, he or she may practice some ethnic traditions without having strong feelings of attachment to the group. Furthermore, the same components of external identity may acquire different subjective meaning for different generations, ethnic groups, or other subgroups within the same ethnic group. Therefore, it should not be assumed that the ethnic identity retained by the third generation is of the same type or form of identity as that retained by the first or the

second generation (P: 37).

Isajiw finally concludes that the differential variation of the components of ethnic identity allows us to distinguish various forms of ethnic identity which can be derived from both theoretical and empirical findings. To demonstrate this issue clearly, he contrasts a few forms of ethnic identity as possible examples: one with a high level of retention of the practice of ethnic traditions accompanied by a low level of such subjective components as feelings of group obligation, and another, with a high intensity of feelings of group obligation accompanied by a low level of practice of traditions. "Negative images of one's own ethnic group, accompanied by a high degree of awareness of one's ethnic ancestry," as he states, "may be still another form of ethnic identify, a rebelling identity," whereas, "positive images of one's ancestral group accompanied by a practice of highly selected traditions, particularly by the third or a consecutive generation, may be still another form of ethnic identity, that of ethnic rediscovery" (Isajiw, 1990: 37-8).

The use of the term 'retention' will therefore be misleading if we do not consider the issue of ethnic groups' adaptation to the new culture as a dynamic process. In the next chapter we will therefore try to capture specific processes that take place when numbers of immigrants experience certain levels of discrepancy between their traditional and new environments. The chapter will try to provide a conceptual definition of culture in a plural society. It will also try to explore some theoretical/methodological standpoints that will assist us to understand cultural dissonance in a systematic way.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STUDY OF DISCREPANCY

Home and school are two distinguished worlds that surround a child's life. While some degree of culture clash are almost certainly experienced by all children as a result of differing expectations of home and school, children of immigrants have more difficulties in adapting themselves to their two "worlds" which often have sharp differences in perspective. A public/private model illustrates how these two worlds are differentiated. While a family-oriented life style, characterized by its specific norms is the principal example of the private world, the school, mostly known for its own climate concomitant with the youth culture is the principal example of the public world.

In general, ethnic and religious group identifications are fundamental factors accounting for differences in family structure and family norms and values both among the Canadian majority culture and ethnic minority groups. Considering the fact that Canadian immigration policies over the last few decades have permitted the admission of a significant number of immigrants from third world countries and that the majority of these immigrants bring traditional values, this constitutes one of the principal cultural dynamics shaping the lives of many thousands of young Canadians.

Clearly, not all these immigrants to Canada are homogenous in their values and attitudes. While according to Craft (1989) many of immigrants to Canada include highly Westernized families, "the often quite sharp differences in perspective between adolescents and their parents which is such a well-recognized feature of all rapidly-

changing societies will obviously be heightened for those children whose parents are from [non-European, and specially non-West European] overseas" (P: 137). Most of these immigrants have originated primarily from communities where the family has been a central institution for defining the social roles of adults and children and where patterns of parental authority differ sharply from late twentieth century Canadian norms. Therefore, although the cultural patterns of immigrants may be ethnographically diverse, they nevertheless, share certain basic features in common in contrast to the North American patterns.

Many different factors can be considered as immigrants' great sensitivity and interest to retain their traditional values and the life-style connected to them. Among these factors' their conservative social organizations and institutions and values and norms pertained to them should not be taken for granted. Such factors may in many cases have reinforced immigrants' inclinations to their former cultures. While in the previous sections I presented an explanation of the changing patterns of immigration and ethnicity over time, I also mentioned that the immigrants' tendency and willingness to maintain their ethnicity is not necessarily similar to their offsprings who are born and/or raised in the Canadian cultural atmosphere. For the children of immigrants, peer influences may be as important as parental influences. In his analysis of Canadian society, Bagley (1988) argues that the very openness of Canadian society is often overwhelming for, despite the symbolic supports for cultural retention offered by the Secretary of State, schools are very seductive institutions in terms of their emphasis on social development, the friendly culture of peers, and the relaxed and non-Homanding curriculum offered. Bagley and et

al (1988) also talk about children's ability for adaptation in contrast to adults. While most adult immigrants have a conservative view of family process and control, and are not easily receptive to ideas such as women working outside the home, or children choosing their own dates and marriage partners, children adapt to their two worlds with admirable skill - often by keeping home and school as separate as possible. At this point, children of migrants find it easier to form a dual identity which reflects private and public cultures (P: 41, 49). Yet, many children of immigrants find it difficult to put up with the traditional life that is imposed by their parents on them.

Young people within a group trying to maintain a distinct cultural identity, may wish to avoid the controls of traditional religion, dress and language and enter the mainstream of Canadian society, often also wanting to date and marry across ethnic lines. While these young people have a constitutional right to do this, social and institutional supports for such behavior may be lacking, and their "deviance" may carry negative sanctions related to continued conflict with their family and culture of origin (ibid, 1988: 48).

Furthermore, Bagley and et al (1988) believe that the ease with which children from minority groups are absorbed into Canadian society in comparison with the many difficulties which their parents may have, is known to be another source of strain and tensions between generations, and between sexes. This is especially problematic according to the above authors, when the traditional role of the parent or grandparent has been one of great wisdom or authority. In the authors' view however, when an adolescent or even a younger child is the only person who can communicate and negotiate effectively with the wider society, then some role strains inevitably occur (ibid, 1988: 49).

The greatly diminished authority and social effectiveness of older people in the minority group may also be associated with a greater prevalence of both depression and other psychological problems, and family conflict where none existed before. Where an age sector within an immigrant group is threatened in various ways, it may retreat to a level

of conservatism which did not exist before migration...

These problems pose some major but unanswered questions for the major society: what should be done when principles of supporting the cultural integrity of a minority ethnic group clash with other principles ...? How can school organization and curricula approach these problems (ibid, 1988: 49).

The key question at this point is directed toward children of immigrants who attend Canadian school systems and who are placed among new groups or individuals whom they most interact. How can the family norms as an important corpus of the traditional culture be followed by these group of children who are more exposed to the new culture than their parents? To provide an appropriate answer to this question we should have a clear understanding of the meaning of culture in a cross-cultural society like Canada.

Based on our previous discussion of different meanings of the term 'culture' and following Berry and Laponce's (1994) view that different disciplines have presented different definitions of the term according to their own needs, an applicable definition of the term is needed here for the purpose of this work. To understand how Canadian immigrant groups adapt to the major society, and to understand the variable degrees of assimilation, integration and retention, we need to clarify the concept of cultures, the intrinsic value and diverse origins of all of them in a multicultural society. Culture in Gutierrez' (1973: 17) view is defined as;

... a way fully characteristic of organizing life, of thinking and of conceiving the underlying postulates of the principal human institutions, of relating to and interacting with other intelligent human beings ... providing a combination of intermediate patterns which channel our feelings and thoughts, making us react in a particular way, different from those who have been submerged in different patters (cited in Zapf, 1989: 243).

According to this definition, the concept of culture is linked to a network of shared patterns and meanings. Zapf (1989) believes that the "reality" of this network is taken for

granted by the people interacting within it. Based on such a view of culture, a community of people construct a common model or "map" of the world derived from their shared experiences and world views, and then use these socially constructed categories as a "filter" through which incoming world views and experiences are interpreted and made meaningful. Without such a model or map, in Zapf's notion, people would experience the world as totally chaotic and unpredictable. Cultural patterns therefore, have a profound effect on shaping peoples' perceptions (ibid, 1989). Perception at this point is conceived as an interactive process of interaction and negotiation.

> People attempt to structure the outside world by matching external stimuli against internal conceptual patterns. When such a match is made, the person is able to give meaning to an outside event. If the match cannot be made, however, the person may feel disoriented, frustrated, or afraid. Human beings have a need to seek meaning, to avoid chaos, to generate expectations, to predict. In order to survive and manage in our world, we must develop a useful set of expectations (ibid, 1989: 244).

This essential and continual process of perception, formed through internalization of our taken-for-granted shared worldview, differs according to culture. In this sense, people from different cultures may perceive the world differently because they become selectively sensitized to certain arrays of stimuli as a function of membership in their own cultural group. The network of shared meanings that constitute culture is, at this point, the set of patterns against which new external stimuli are matched in an effort to understand and "organize" the world. Therefore, different patterns of experience over time will result in different worldviews or background expectancies and people of different cultures will literally "experience" the same stimuli differently.

Zapf (1989) makes the important point that, so long as a person is interacting with

others who share the same worldview, s/he may not consciously be aware of the particular cognitive map being used. The shared reality at this point, is simply taken-for-granted. Our concern at this point, is more directed toward the view of culture, illustrated by Zapf (1989), as "transactional". It is primarily through contact and transaction with persons who see the world differently, Zapf believes, that an individual can become aware of the perceptual framework he or she is using. By referring to Green (1982: 7) he introduces the term "intercultural communication", as a situation where the assumption of reciprocal perspectives is no longer valid, where there is no consensus about reality, and where the background expectancies are not shared. In this situation, he assumes, a person may experience frustration and disorientation as predictability breaks down and incoming stimuli do not match familiar patterns (Zapf, 1989: 244). Zapf's demonstration of what happens when a person first encounters another culture is worthwhile to note here.

> If the intercultural communication occurs over time between persons of relatively equal power and opportunity, there is the potential for tremendous personal growth and the discovery of new world view. Adler (1975) described this as a depth experience that "begins with the encounter of another culture and evolves into the encounter with self," allowing the person to move from a "state of single reality awareness ... to the awareness and acceptance of the interdependence of many realities" (P: 18). On the other hand, intercultural communication also has the potential to be destructive when the persons involved have unequal power and opportunity, as in contact between a dominant culture and a minority culture (Zapf, 1989: 245).

While a part of Zapf's (1989) interpretation of the cultural communication is based on institutionalized power relationships in the society it is not the central point of his discussion, for it is studying the power relationships in a macro-sociological level which requires its own theoretical discourse (See the chapter on methodology). With regard to

the main subject of *this* work, more consideration will be given to the transactional view of the culture that becomes salient through contact with persons holding different worldviews or cultures. The focus at this point is on micro-sociological processes whereby individuals attach subjective meanings to certain situations or contexts (Weber, 1964 in Meighan, 1986: 245) when they enter into social discourse and negotiate and re-negotiate their interpretations of their situations. Migration is one particular process that tends to highlight such transactional communications in an "open" society such as Canada. However, the fact that the multicultural mosaic of Canada is becoming much more numerically and ethno-culturally diverse, suggests that we should pay increasing attention to the study of the situation of individuals who are suspended between norms and values of their home society, which are mostly attuned to moral and/or religious expressions, and those of a non-religious society, with its secular orientation. Not very many theories and/or perspectives have thus addressed this situation.

In the field of psychology, the processes of assimilation to or resistance to the dominant culture can principally be found under the topic of "cognitive dissonance theory", such as proposed by Festinger (1957) four decades ago. According to this theory, if any two cognitive elements (knowledge, opinions, or beliefs about the world, about oneself, or about one's behavior) are incompatible with each another, a state of cognitive dissonance may exist.

To illustrate, consider the cognitive elements "Cigarette smoking seems to cause serious illness and shortened life expectancy." and "I smoke." Assuming a person has no suicidal tendencies, these cognitions are incompatible (Brigham, 1986: 93).

In the case of immigrants' children, with reference to this perspective, when the

potential clash between their exposure to an ethnically diverse world view, psychological tension, or *dissonance* occurs, it motivates the person to do something to reduce the dissonance. The more important the two cognitions on a specific topic, the greater the amount of dissonance. To reduce the dissonance, according to this view, an individual may change an attitude, change the dissonant behavior, or seek new information or social support to strengthen one of the cognitive elements (ibid, 1986: 93). The essence of the concept is that dissonance produces strain and humans act to reduce the strain by re-mapping their picture of reality.

Although it relates to the sort of internalized conflict that is my subject matter, cognitive dissonance theory is not directly applicable for the purposes of this study for several reasons. First, and generally, it is a theory in psychology that attempts to find reasons for certain aspects of people's behavior by going beyond the causal, individual observations that we usually have to rely on when we attempt to interpret and understand our everyday interactions with people (Brigham, 1986: ix). Although cognitive dissonance theory may enable us to understand some of the factors causing or influencing people to behave in certain ways (through creating made-up examples) it remains at the level of theory without presenting enough concern for practical and concrete- live situations which we are personally familiar with and which we are in search of a problems-solving tool. In the case of studying the children of immigrants' dilemmas and conflicts, the concept of cognitive dissonance may therefore, help us understand some of the dilemmas but it does not help us to understand how people manage to get on with and move beyond their conflicts.

Second, according to its psychological concept, cognitive dissonance perspective mostly deals with two situations to which the individual is equally attracted. The individual at this point and according to the theory has to deal with some possibly negative aspects of the item chosen and some possibly positive aspects of the item rejected (ibid, 1986: 93). Owing to the relative and normative definition of culture (Magsino, 1989) and according to Zapf's (1989) definition of culture and its effect on people's perception immigrant students' suspension between the two cultural values of home and school cannot really be compared to an individual's problem when dealing with a situation of dissonance such as smoking versus not smoking or lying versus not lying. Since the students' perceptions of different situations they are located in are influenced by active processes of interaction and negotiation, they may not be in a position to find and select a particular positive aspects of one situation over another. In a cross-cultural communication, the multiplicity of cross-cutting factors and social bonds makes it too difficult for the students to choose certain aspects of their home values over the public or vis-à-vis. In particular, however, children do not "choose between" two incompatible cultures. Indeed, in most of the cases, it is more possible to see children attempting to deal and/or keep the cultural values and elements of ***both*** cultures.

Third, cognitive dissonance takes the social structure as ***a given***. Although, as a result, it can describe how individuals may confront particular conflicting events it does not try to explain how and why the individuals manage to overcome the conflicts. Moreover, and due to its objective perspective, the cognitive dissonance approach is not interested in discussing how new socio-cultural patterns might emerge as a result of

people's involvement with different social contexts and their interaction with each other. The cognitive dissonance approach, in other words, does not emphasize the conceptual framework that individuals construct when coming into similar situations and agreeing on their interpretations and definitions of those situations. In the case of the children of immigrants' lives, for example, it does not sufficiently take into account the social and cultural dimensions of the problems these children experience as a result of confronting two different world systems, home and school. The cognitive dissonance approach cannot therefore, by itself, provide the analytical tools that meet our practical concerns in this study.

In sociology, where it is believed we can find more appropriate problem-solving tools, the most important view in this regard is presented by Weber (1964) who speaks of the above tension as an aspect of "rationalization" and suggests that this process begins when a religious world view has to adapt to a practical context. This is a conflict between what ought to be as opposed to "what is" in the present situation. What Weber believes is that the "tension" is eventually accommodated through a series of compromises, until a new constitutional form comes into being that resolves the tensions in a manner acceptable to those participating by redefining the social order itself. According to this notion, people encounter and deal with tensions *collectively* through this processes of rationalization. While Weber's concept of "tension" deriving from the clash between the ideal and real, or between one form of religious and/or socio-cultural structure and another may allow us to see how part of the experience of immigrants' children in Canada is transpired, it still has its own theoretical problems. Although this

perspective can illuminate the process and consequently some of the problems of adaptation in the new environment, it ignores the fact that religion and/or socio-cultural values and norms are not always an ideal part of life, but they can represent themselves in the practical and everyday life of the people.

While giving more credit to structural forces, Weber's perspective also does not adequately explain *how* people as individuals begin to come into a social interaction, *how* they actually make choices, *how* they start to revise their picture of the world (in spite of the importance of their traditional value system) that is sometimes totally different from the new pictures, *how* they find a coherent world with others, and finally, what the elements of such a process might be. In other words, while in most of his works, Weber presents an optimistic view of people and the possibility that some human acts are motivated by the subjects themselves, this view discounts the ability of the individual to create meanings, to constitute social situations, and in short, to control the social and natural world.

This perspective is therefore, similar to some structural-functional approaches, which presuppose ethnic assimilation as a frequent outcome of individuals' increased exposure to the 'public world' (that is compatible with Weber's description of real world) and especially to a more integrated culture among the youth group. Such perspectives have not in fact, taken into account the assumption that human beings do confront external realities - structures, value systems, religious doctrines - and respond to them. Applying an objective functional approach, although it might describe the final outcome, is not therefore, going to help us explain the specific forms of creativity that

individuals display when confronted with different social contexts. This approach is, in a word, too macro-scopic and thus not applicable for the purposes of this study.

By trying to find their own ways of maintaining their attachment to private home culture while at the same time making relationships to the public world and the 'youth culture', children in fact, invalidate those theoretical perspectives in which the individuals' are considered as passive recipients of social forces. The assumption that children of immigrants' involvement with the public world, does not necessarily erode the norms and values of their private worlds, but rather help them exercise creative intelligence in interpreting and reinterpreting their value conflicts is in fact, well supported by symbolic interactionism.

As an analytical device, symbolic interactionism, can be introduced at this point, to help us understand how students, actively participate in their public and private worlds without necessarily offending any of these worlds. By referring to Meighan's (1986) view of this perspective, we can assume that students are active participants in their social worlds via acting within and towards situations. Through the complex and *flexible* processes of interaction, social identities, meanings and roles are created, maintained, modified or changed. Combined with this perspective is an awareness of and interest in the interplay of personal, social and structural features and how these influence social situations. So, to arrive at an adequate description of the two world situations, according to symbolic interactionism, we would have to comprehend the various definitions of the situations the students are located in and the ways these different definitions rub against each other, involving a series of negotiations of the acceptable definitions for the peoples

involved (P: 225-6).

It is important at this point to caution against the idea that individuals are always aware of the nature of the processes which make up their social interactions. The extent of such awareness is open to question and the social observer is, therefore, constrained to be alert not only to the overt intentions and understandings of his subjects but also to the results of unexpected events within the interaction and the unintended consequences of action (ibid, 1986: 226).

Thus, inspired by Martin (1976, cited in ibid 1986), while we admit that not everything is intentionally negotiated, we still assume that through careful exploration of the dynamics of interactions between immigrant students we find certain patterns of behaviors that may seem common in many respects; By sharing their own interpretations and at the same time, absorbing given interpretations of the different social contexts and situations from others, the students may in fact, produce that totality which I call "a transactional setting".

Since I am going to discover what is going on when children of immigrants' communication is in effect a covert struggle to define specific situations they are located in, I will first, refer to those interactionists who would look for an answer to this question by referring to the methods by which the people involved come to terms with conflict of interests. An influential writer in the symbolic interactionism, where several approaches to the development of a theory of situation have emerged, is Erving Goffman. The dramaturgical concept of defining the situation suggested by Goffman (1959 and 1971), which figures dominantly among these approaches can well answer the above question. According to Goffman, "[W]hen an individual appears before others he will have many motives for trying to control the impression they receive of the situation" (Cited in Meighan, 1986). What Goffman attempts to demonstrate at this point is:

to show how, in a wide variety of social contexts involving several different 'audiences', people seek to exercise and maintain some degree of control over their situation so that they do not suffer the embarrassment and personal distress that results when an asserted identity is seen as a facade or sham. This 'presentaion of self' is an important influence on the dynamics of social interaction... (Meighan, 1986: 256)

Although Goffman's view of social interaction in this sense, is an important analytical device for understanding definitions of the situations the students are involved, it is not necessarily enough to be applied for understanding of certain patterns of behaviors produced by the students as a result of their ongoing interaction with each others. The same as the former approaches, Goffman's view of the "people adapting and accommodating in their endeavor to impress a definition of the situation and themselves upon others" has not so far been extensively employed in an in-depth *generative* study of groups of people who have confronted common social dilemmas. As a result of being suspended between different world views and values, these people have been equipped with specific resources, strategies and goals to negotiate their perception of reality with each other. The importance of such processes of negotiation and re-negotiation and the analysis of the peoples' making choice when confronted with different value systems has been given more recognition in Barth's (1969, 1981, 1987) writings, particularly through his transactional analysis in, *Models of Social Organization* (1966). However, as Buchignani (1994) has noted,

a paradigm shift marked by Fredrick Barth's (1969) elegant but theoretically incomplete ... effort led to a worldwide (1970-early 1980s) fluorescence of ethnographic ethnic research. This new approach made central the analysis of personal ethnic identity, inter-group personal social relations, and those cultural symbols used to signal or identify ethnic affiliation. It was highly dependent on individual-level models of choice and identity activation, which decreased earlier tendencies to overbound ethnic groups, insured more thorough group social, cultural, and political contextualization, and generated a much more dynamic approach for the analysis of consensus, dissensus, and individual variation (P: 207).

In *Models of Social Organization* (1966) and in the article "'Models Reconsidered" in *Process and Form in Social Life* (1981) as well as in his later works, e.g. *Cosmologies in the Making* (1987), Barth has theoretically and methodologically proved fruitful and insightful in demonstrating how ethnic identity is actor-generated and is modified in social interaction between individuals of divergent ethnicity.

Barth's approach in this regard, is a rather straightforward extension of symbolic interactionism through the works of Goffman (1959, 1961, 1963). Nevertheless, his transactional analysis which is inspired by social exchange theory in one way, and is compatible with an interpretive approach in another way, has enabled him to explain the generation of certain regularities in social life seen as the cumulative result of a series of choices and decisions individuals make when acting vis-à-vis one another in different social contexts. We can therefore, apply Fredrick Barth's view of transactionalism along with his generative model in this research project in order to construct a theoretical model that will adequately depict how offsprings of immigrants interact when they are located in Canadian school systems and in constant interaction with other students.

A brief statement of Barth's approach in this respect may prepare us to make an insightful model to imply for the purposes of this study. According to Barth, a model of transaction can be used to represent the salient aspects of people's agreements on the definition of their present situation by re-negotiating the definition of themselves. People establish and maintain this by stressing which among their various statuses and identities should form the basis for their behavior in particular contexts (both in formal and informal organizations). This situationally determined interaction can better be

understood by referring to Goffman's (1959) notion of strategic interaction:

> Individuals typically make observations of their situation in order to assess what is relevantly happening around them and what is likely to occur. Once this is done, they often go on to exercise another capacity of human intelligence, that of making a choice from among a set of possible lines of response. Here some sort of maximization of gain will often be involved, often under conditions of uncertainty or risk. This provides one sense in which an actor is said to be "rational" and also an ethically neutral perspective from which to make judgments concerning the desirability and advisability of various courses of action (Goffman, 1959: 85-6).

Inspired by this notion, Barth (1966) makes his theoretical model to explain how the observable frequency patterns are generated. Barth believes that patterns are generated through processes of interaction and reflect the constraints, goals, and incentives under which people have acted in the aggregate. He holds that this transformation from constraints and incentives to frequentive patterns of behavior in a population is a complex process but has a distinctive structure of its own, and that by understanding it we should be able to explain numerous features of social form. According to him, the processes which affect that transformation can be identified if we have a clear conception of transaction, namely: the process which results where parties, in the course of their interactions, reciprocally try to assure that the value gained for them is greater or equal to the value lost.

At this point, Barth again refers back to Goffman (1959) who compares interaction with 'performance' and believes that there is discrepancy between individuals' appearance and their actual activity.

> If the activity of an individual is to embody several ideal standards, and if a good showing is to be made, it is likely then that some of these standards will be sustained in public by private sacrifice of some of the others. Often, of course, the performer will sacrifice those standards whose loss can be concealed and will make this sacrifice in order to maintain standards whose inadequately cannot be concealed (Goffman, 1959: 44).

Therefore, and according to Goffman an individual:

tends to conceal or underplay those activities, facts, and motives which are incompatible with an idealized version of himself and his products. In addition, a performer often engenders in his audience the belief that he is related to *them* in a more ideal way than is always the case (ibid, 1959: 48).

Based on this perspective Barth introduces the phenomenon of over-communication that which confirms the relevant status positions and relationships, and under-communication that which is discrepant in the particular situation or role-set. The effect is to generate stereotyped forms of behavior in a pattern of social form in these situations. Such transactional viewpoint, as Barth (1981) himself believes, serves as a necessary part of a model for the whole transformation from factors affecting choices to empirical regularities (P: 37). By concentrating on *transaction* he emulates what he regards as the most crucial aspect of the theory for his purposes and notes that:

What is good in this view of transactions is that it gives us a logically consistent model of an observable social process. It is a model whereby one may *generate* forms according to the rules of strategy, given the parameters of value; and these forms generated by the model may then be compared to the empirical patterns which one has observed. The logical analysis can be rigorously separated from the cumulative presentation of data; and the adequacy of such a model can in each case by judged by the degree of fit between the patterns which are logically generated and the patterns which are observed. We are not committed by any prejudged 'view of society' - the adequacy of the transactional model for any and every particular relationship is continually on trial. And since the model claims to depict actual empirical processes, all its part and its operations - its exchanges, its value parameters, etc. - may be questioned and checked (ibid, 1981: 39).

By emphasizing on the concept of 'transaction' and assuming that it is implicit in the peoples' whole ideas of *values*, Barth then, introduces an "individualistic" theory of social exchange that can be distinguished from "collectivistic" theories for its concentration on the process whereby the various institutional elements within a society

become integrated, and the conditions and processes which may (or may not as the case may be) produce generally shared meanings and understandings. By emphasizing on individuals' choice-making behaviors and the way observable frequency patterns are generated by individuals, this model differs from the "collectivistic" models which define any social problem with relevance to structural forces controlling human life.

While many anthropologists and sociologists accentuate the importance of adopting symbolic interactionism or phenomenological approaches by touching on the interpretive procedures employed by actors in their transactional activity, it is important to note here that the transactional approach I am choosing to apply in this work differs from symbolic interactionism in important respect.

> A transactional approach sees values and meanings ... as part of an environment, all of whose elements are brought into association through the search for benefits and rewards. Interaction is promoted according to this principle. This is not so with symbolic interactionism, which sees cognitive systems, values and meanings as being created and as creating behavior independently of such principles as benefit and reward. [Yet, this] ... does not deny some degree of overlap between the two approaches. Both view interaction and the nature of relationships so formed as sustaining and modifying the ideas, values, and meanings which have entered into the process of social activity. [Therefore] ... the extent to which transactional analysis can legitimately incorporate aspects of symbolic interactionism and phenomenological approaches depends on its reliance on decision making/maximization principles (Kapferer, 1976: 12).

The transactional model can therefore explain the generation of social forms and, I believe, as well the variations within them as the central focus of this study.

The conception of transaction adopted in my research is intended to explain the generation of 'general features' or regularities in social life. In this model, patterns of social forms "are the cumulative result of a number of separate choices and decisions made by people acting vis-à-vis one another" (Barth, 1966: 2). While this may illustrate

Barth's objection to "collectivistic approaches", his view of feed-back effect embedded in the process demonstrates that through transaction, patterns of individuals' choice or the shared values will be modified and 'corrected' in the direction of the emergent forms. Inspired by Barth's approach, we now need to construct a theoretical model suited to our own purposes in this research, that can help us to seek students' ways of making choices and decisions when being suspended between different world views. This model should enable us to provide what in Buchignani's (1982) view Barth's model originally lacked.

> Barthian notion of ethnicity were very static; it was just something you had. Although he noted the possibility of taking on a new identity, his approach [in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries] could not easily explain when ethnic identities were activated or how they could change. Nor Barth was able to specify clearly the frame of reference in which identities were meaningful (P: 7-8).

Therefore, by applying Barth's later views for studying a group of people who have moved from their original natural habitat and who are in direct contact with many other different groups who have similarly immigrated to Canada we hope to prove that while individuals' identities are often very fluid and situationally specific (ibid, 1982: 8), when located in certain social contexts they are in effect with those contexts; individuals' identities are negotiated and transacted by individuals themselves and in effect with their social contexts.

CHAPTER SIX

NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITY: A MODEL

The focus of this work is upon the micro-sociological processes whereby children of recent immigrant families (1) become aware of cultural contradictions in their lives and (2) make these contradictions intelligible to themselves in discourse with other multicultural students who have experienced comparable contradictions and/or with the members of their youth group. However, rather than dwelling on the "confusion" and "dissonance" engendered by the contradictions, and their dysfunctional consequences, the emphasis here is upon the creative intelligence of the students in dealing with the contradictions through interpretive techniques which (it is hypothesized) give rise to distinctive multicultural youth cultures whose existence has gone largely unrecognized.

In this chapter, I present a general model which isolates the factors which I believe are crucial in understanding the process whereby children of immigrants cognitively adapt to the new situation. The purpose of constructing such a model is first, to identify the contextual determinants of social actions, and to conceptualize how ethnic identities are negotiated (activated) and second, to capture the "feedback" that is involved, i.e. to allow for the fact that social institutions are as much created by human action as they determine the human action. To orient the reader where I am coming from theoretically, I need to mention that, I propose to make a bridge between some elements of symbolic interactionism and transactional analysis as my model's philosophical background.

As a presupposition of my model, I believe that people live in a meaningful universe. This idea is based on three fundamental premises of symbolic interactionism, as summarized in Blumer's classic formulation:

> The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them... The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arise out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters (Blumer, 1969: 2).

When facing discrepancies between home and school life, the students recognize these discrepancies and make sense of them in the first step. The students would then, have to look for an answer to how some agreement is reached when they confront some difficulty in providing a harmonious situation for the purpose of making less costly involvement. In other words, when the students' definitions of their home and school worlds are in conflict, they have to seek to find an easy solution which would not cause a withdrawal from any of these circumstances. Due to the children's indispensable involvement with both settings, offending the norms of any of these settings would have a high cost.

> Thus the meaning of action has to be viewed in terms of the interlock between various definitions of situations which are contingent upon an individuals' understanding of his place in any single situation (Meighan, 1986: 257).

The students do not try to find solutions for the value conflicts entirely alone, but engage in discourse with other individuals who are in a similar situation. The question that may arise here is, how are these individuals identified in a group of students? Through interaction with others, certain indices of behavior which may not have standardized meanings within the students' communities, become meaningful to them.

These indices represent different meanings through the students' interaction with different peoples in different contexts. Imagine for example, an offspring (A) of an Iranian-Kurd immigrant couple who have recently immigrated to Canada. As (A) becomes a student in a Canadian school system s/he experiences a condition of social change and/or displacement. That is, values and norms in the home culture are challenged by exposure to peers in the school setting. This, I believe, creates a unique awareness of (A)'s location in different social "worlds". When among Iranian-Persian friends, the basis of her/his interaction is more likely to be her/his Iranian identity. Yet, among Iranian-Turks, it may become a non-Persian-Iranian identity. The person may later find an Iraqi-Kurd at school. At this situation, (A) may identify him/herself as a Kurd. If under a different social circumstance (A) finds a friend from elsewhere in the Middle-East, her/his religious (assuming they are both Muslims) and/or Middle Eastern identity may become the main frame of their identity reference. (A)'s identity in this regard, is subject to some sorts of transformational or in Barth's (1969) view, transactional processes. Based on being in different social contexts, (A)'s certain indices of identity such as language, rituals, customs and traditions, religious beliefs, ethnic belongingness, etc. can take on different symbolic meanings. In other words, definitions of situations are negotiable according to the desires and design of the partners and the social contexts involved.

Here, it is important to stress this point (well documented in anthropological studies of ethnic identity, Moerman, 1965) that while in particular social situations, the very same object of identity, for example, religion, may become a symbol of belongingness or

inclusion, in a different context of usage, it may become a symbol of separateness or exclusion. In the above example, the same symbol that is exclusive in one context (e.g. Kurd/Persian) may be inclusive in another context (e.g. Kurd/Kurd). The point that is essential to consider in my analytical model is the fact that the students' communication is in effect with their attempt to find agreements in many different issues of their social life. Among these issues, the most important ones are understanding dilemmas they have encountered as being situated between different world views.

Through interaction with other students, children of immigrants tend to form friendships with other students who are in similar situations and who share at least some of the same bases of identity as their own. By negotiating and re-negotiating the definitions of themselves and their situations at a micro-level, the children come into agreements with other students and particularly with other immigrant fellows on the definition of their present situations and the problems they are going through.

> [It is] through a series of negotiations and bargainings, [that] a number of compromises take place. Strategies are developed by which some concessions are agreed by the various social factors involved; certain interests are renounced in return for reciprocated accommodation. ... [I]t is through identification and exploration of such practices that a point of intervention is revealed: in coming to know the real basis for action, we make available those areas upon which people could act in order to regain control of essential elements which influence social conduct (Meighan, 1986: 257).

These compromises or agreements are therefore more or less transactory and are specific to the context of their interaction. As already described, the students establish and maintain this type of "communicating" or in Barth's (1966) words "transacting" their problems by selecting and 'over-communicating' (emphasizing) which of their statuses should form the basis for their role identity in different contexts. To conceptualize this

situationally-determined interaction, like Barth (1966), we can refer to Goffman (1959), who suggests the phenomenon of "over-communication" of that which confirms the relevant status position and relationships, and "under-communication" of that which is discrepant in the particular situation or role-set (Barth, 1966: 2). Thus as Meighan (1986) points out:

> It is through careful exploration of these dynamics which are, perhaps, revealed through coming to appreciate the differences between one partner's intentions in interaction and co-participants' interpretations and reactions to them that the 'hidden' elements of interaction are revealed (ibid, 1986: 256).

The effect of such transactive communication is to find agreements in many issues including a certain pattern of behavior in opposition to or interaction with two things: 1) the wider Canadian society and 2) the parents. To explain the dynamics of such social interaction I feel committed to Goffman's related view which "attempts to show how, in a wide variety of social contexts involving several different 'audiences', people seek to exercise and maintain some degree of control over their situation so that they do not suffer the embarrassment and personal distress that results when an asserted identity is seen as a façade or sham" (Meighan, 1986: 256).

Despite many differences, the students' similar situation that is conceived as a cumulative result of their interaction and negotiation over certain elements of their new life circumstances, nevertheless, empower them in many respects. Thus, as Meighan (1986) has remarked, people, in Goffman's (1971) view are seen as being involved in attempts to manage the impression they 'give off' to others. To improve this notion he continues:

> The definition of the situation which is used as a basis of action by participants in that situation is a 'working consensus' arrived at by those involved in the specific social

encounter. The level of this consensus is variable. Where people involved in a social situation share common understandings and accept the validity of each other's definitions it will be strong; however, if there is disagreement or lack of awareness by participants of their associates' interpretations, consensus will be weak (Meighan, 1986: 256).

When the students' private ideas are recognized and receive *validation* by others, these ideas are reinforced and as a result of that the students feel being empowered. There are two key aspects to this process of 'empowerment'.

1. The students' view of reality is validated or confirmed by other people in the same situation. So they are not the only individuals who feel suspended between their home and school values. There are many other individuals who are in similar situations and who have the same ideas and feelings of conflict. As the first advantage of transacting their problems, the students can therefore, overcome the feeling of anxiety and isolation.

2. The students communicate and share their creative interpretations of their lives with each other. This creates new informational resources which the students can access to during interaction with friends. To explain this point, I use data collected in an interview with two immigrant students (students 1 and 2). The following is their explanation of how they behaved when they asked their parents to go out with their friends.

Student (1):

My parents did not let me go out to an outdoor school program with my friends. I told them, "No matter what you say, I will go out with them because I know there is nothing wrong with it. We are going to a safe place, we will have a few of school staff supervising us, boys and girls will have separated rooms, etc..." Despite my parents' disapproval, I joined my friends in that trip. My parents got very upset and angry with me at first. Although later on, the idea became less upsetting to them, they still remained unhappy about it. I feel this action proved two points: 1) I will continue to do what I feel is correct and , 2) I am just as concerned with my behavior and well being as they are. My parents have now, learned that such activities are important to a student's social life in Canada. Therefore, they try not to over-control me anymore.

Student (2):

I once wanted to go out with friends. My parents were too worried and therefore, said that I was not allowed to go out with my friends. I understood that their anxiety was because of their love for me. On the one hand, I did not want to upset them while at the same time, I did not want to miss that occasion. Moreover, I did not like to accept the fact that as my parents, they had the right of using their authority to stop me from doing something normal and legitimate in the Canadian society. I feel that if we were in our home country, this right would be theirs, but we are no longer there, we are in Canada. Things are very different here and therefore they needed to understand my position. What could I have done in that situation? I did not want to hurt their feelings and I did not want they think of me as a disobedient daughter. So, I started to talk to them and let them know that as their child, I respected their authority and was as concerned with their values as they were. But, as a very good and successful student, I felt it was necessary to attend those outings. I also told them that I needed to feel that I was trusted. I therefore asked them, "If you do not trust me how can you expect other people to trust me?....". Through this conversation, I convinced my parents that their using of authority and their lack of trust in me could defect my social life at school and outside. This discussion worked very well. They allowed me to go out. Yet, we still come across problems (in terms of getting their permission) whenever I want to go out with my friends.

Imagine now, that the two students are friends and as a result of their daily interaction share the above information with each other. As soon as they find out about the existence of discrepancy in their friend's school and home worlds they realize that they are not alone. By talking about their common problems they soon come into agreement about their conflicts, and as a result their feelings of loneliness and guilt may get lessened. What these students do at this point is 'transacting' their interpretations of their worlds as well as the ways they deal with these worlds. Out of this transaction they may come into new interpretations about their life in their host society. By this, I mean that their inchoate feelings and ideas are given concrete expression. They are socially shaped, refined and acquired a certain legitimacy as a result of the transactional process they are making themselves involved in. For example, when talking to each other, student (1), may present some view of how a child can practically gain authority through

making her/his parents understand how they are mistaken about their child/children. Student (2) on the other hand, may teach her/his friend that children are verbally capable of convincing their parents to change their attitudes towards them. The two students therefore, share their information about child/parent negotiation or transaction of certain indices of behavior in the new culture.

Therefore, the nature of contradictions with others as well as with their parents in an alien society may seem as a real puzzle to children as far as they are not in relationship with others. Nevertheless, through interaction with others they will find certain strategies and techniques to deal with their contradictory situations. While at the beginning they may think that they cannot find commonality with non-homogenous immigrants, they soon realize that there are many things they have in common with these individuals. The typical things that make it possible for them to find out the common areas are: their conservative and/or religiously oriented cultures and social organizations, authoritative societies, distinctive cultures and languages, endogamous marriage patterns, family values, etc. When they find a person who comes from situations which have some or even one of the above characteristics and enter into discussion about their situations, they can begin to overcome their feelings of loneliness by showing their interest to negotiate and agree on some distinctive aspects of their lives. Furthermore, through their interpretations of their worlds, they start to construct a 'theory' to account for the discrepancies, e.g., how and why their parents are mistaken and why they are right. By theory here, I do not mean an abstract pattern of formal reasoning, but rather a theory in the sense of 'practical reasoning'. It is a 'folk' theory, perhaps implicit and unformalized,

but it is a theory nevertheless, i.e. it is a premise upon which future action can be predicted.

By taking account of the students' models or theories of social reality constructed during their communication with others we can portray their creative management in dealing with discrepancies between home and school in the new society. Following the above argument that – as individuals, the students manipulate many indices of their identity, in order to create a 'definition of situation' that is in accordance with their interests and designs as well as other peoples' definitions – I can now discuss another supposition of the model I have outlined here. "In order to come into an account or agreement on their interpretations of different situations and definitions of them, while the students show more conformity to some sub-cultural groups' norms, they may concomitantly distance themselves from other groups which do not share the same norms with them." A further step the students may take at this point, is to develop their own sub-cultural norms and values through reinventing an identity which will enable them to find meaningful solutions toward their conflicts.

The students' process of interaction, negotiation, re-negotiation, and agreement is therefore, the key point of the dynamic model I am proposing to use in this study. Such a model can, I believe, capture the processes whereby new patterns (students' peer groups' norms and values) emerge. My first emphasis in this regard, is therefore, on conceptual reality the students as individuals are making when participating in social interaction and coming into grips to deal with contradictions through transaction with others. My second emphasis on the other hand, is on the coherent meaningful universes that are produced by social agreements. And, the emphasis on "generation" of social agreements is the last,

but in many respects, most important part of my model. While similar to cognitive dissonance theory, the analytical model I have constructed here, agrees that coherent conceptual orders are indispensable in shaping human beings' social lives, it does not take social structures as givens. My analytical model is therefore, generative, in the sense that it explains how new patterns of norms and values as coherent meaningful universes emerge. As much as these patterns are created by the individuals involved in different situations and social contexts, and in transaction with each other, once these patterns are established and formed, they channel and conduct the individuals behaviors in return. In other words, social institutions are as much created by human action as they determine the human action.

CHAPTER SEVEN

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the techniques, methods, and strategies I used for documenting and analyzing the students' relationships with others as they make sense of their world they are located in, negotiate and re-negotiate their definition of these worlds and manage the contradictions between their worlds. I will start this chapter by discussing my methodological perspectives in general. I will then go on to discuss the specific methods I have employed to collect and analyze my field data.

Methodological perspectives: Theoretical background

This research is addressed to the possibility of implementing some sociological and anthropological research methods as well as achieving a conversion between two of the major schools of twentieth century social science theory. By using certain interpretive methods to elicit actors' models of their choice behavior, and by noting the similarity of these models to one particular variant of social exchange theory (transactionalism), I explore the possibility that, at least in certain types of situations (specially the socio-cultural life of children of recent immigrants), we can find social actors making sense of their own social existence by means of transactional models.

This is an interdisciplinary research designed to take account of the students' own ideas and intentions when located in different social contexts and situations and in their

discourse with their peers. In particular, following Barth (1987: 3) this is an attempt to recognize the creativity which directs us to go into specifics of beliefs and as not to map them out and depict them as structural wholes. Thereby, the methodological position I have adopted in this research follows from Barth's statement,

> Much of my writing in the ensuing years has consequently focused on the task of developing a perspective on the subjective and goal-pursing actor. This has entailed taking up the questions of what place considerations of value and utility have in canalizing the behavior of persons; the variation exhibited in behavior and the factors generating this variation; and what it is that propels and constrains individual actors and thus shapes their behavior and their lives. I believe that a conceptual apparatus which can treat these topics *and* integrate them with other major ... concepts is an indispensable component in any theoretical system ...(Barth, 1981: 2).

Although, I feel attracted to 'interpretive' approaches, I do not limit myself to a methodology of 'observing' and 'describing' but supplement with the task of 'explaining' which is central to tradition of objective approaches. To show where my methodological approach differs from interpretivists I again, follow Barth (1981) who states:

> Where I seem to part ways with most of ... them is in emphasizing the need to understand behavior *simultaneously* in two, differently constituted, contexts. One is the semiotic one, where strings of events are shaped by actors so as to embody meanings and transmit messages and thus reflects the rules and constraints of codification. But the same events also enter into the material world of causes and effects, both because acts have consequences and because persons must relate to others who also cause things to happen.
>
> Within this comprehensive perspective, most of my discussion ... has focused on actors' strategies of instrumentality and the aggregate consequences of such strategies (ibid, 1981: 3).

And therefore, like Barth (1987), while I am inspired by Weber's (1949) definition of culture: "Culture is a finite segment of the meaningless infinity of the world process, a segment of which *human beings* confer meaning and significance" (P: 81) and Geertz's (1973) formulation: "Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has

spun" (P: 5), I attempt to connect individuals' interpretations into their larger system of world views and demonstrate how these world views are subject to a process of change as individuals enter into social discourse and negotiate and re-negotiate their interpretations of their situations. Such an attempt enables us to understand the web of concepts, connections and identities whereby the students' attitudes and orientations to the various parts of their new world are directed, shaped, and reshaped. It also demonstrates how new subcultures emerge and in turn how they *feedback* and *shape* individuals' behavior.

Even though the research focus suggests that a documentation of the students' interactions should be the core of study, I strongly believe that a consideration of the dynamics of the students' cumulative relationships with each other can not be separated from the observable patterns of behavior that provide the basis for the emergence of the students' sub-cultures. To demonstrate such patterns as a process of 'subjectification' as well as one of the 'objectification', as my model suggests, I have not stopped at a level of observing but have combined other techniques such as formal and informal unstructured interviews for data collecting.

Through the model I have constructed and the techniques and methods I have applied in this research, I therefore, strain to understand the processes which children of immigrants employ to resolve their problems. In this sense, I can apply the students' account of their world as a folk model to supplement my own analytical model. By doing so, what I really seek to grasp is not 'the truth' itself but rather, the truth as people negotiate and therefore, *bring it forward as* an issue. While in this way, I depart from the

dominant orthodoxies of theories like normative consensus and structural-functionalism which regard the social system as being logically prior and therefore, determinative of individuals' lives, I, nevertheless resort to objectivist methods as a means of socially situating the creativity of the students.

What I want to emphasize therefore, is that the emergence of students' sub-cultural groupings is based on their social behavior which is shaped by consciousness and purpose, and which is negotiated and which is related to the conceptual systems of its actors. In this sense, while not totally rejecting some positivistic approaches and their relevant methodological techniques, I abandon the assumption that as victims of the social forces, the students are exposed to pre-existing social forces regulating their behavior in the new society. As a means of providing both a description and explanation of the students' meaningful behaviors, I am therefore implementing a combination of methods which I believe can account for the students' subjective and objective behaviors.

Finally, by applying the above methods I have attempted to bring out and combine two opposing 'objective' and 'subjective' approaches of studying the students' behavior into my research. This approach depends on a conception of the relationship between the individual and the society and therefore implements both folk models and analytical models together to study human action. Both of these models focus on a transactional approach which models the ways in which individuals make sense of their world and implement their agreements when they are in relationship with others. By considering these models we do not assert that our or the students' account of the world is true or not. Instead, we enrich our understanding of the complex situations the students are

located in and the ways they make sense of these situations through interaction with their peers. In this sense, as Barth (1987) states "[a]ll we need to believe is that we are developing theory and method which enhance our ability to see and reflect on how cultural traditions cope with the task of understanding the world...(P: 88).

Specific methodological perspectives: Empirical background

I have implemented both sociological and anthropological methods to document the students' behavior even though the research focus is more designed and centered around a sociological analysis of the students' behavior at home and school. However, several techniques and methods are combined for the purpose of data collecting. While at the beginning, the main plan was to implement constant techniques and methods of collecting data for the purpose of providing a solid analytical ground for the dissertation, the implemented techniques in fact evolved and were modified during the actual process of the research. The subtle changing and modification of the research method was due to (1) the occasional problems and difficulties of accessing immigrant students as subjects of the study and (2) the continuous interplay between analysis and data collection. Since the informants were not all located in the same location (school), and came from varying cultural and administrative settings, the methods and strategies of data collection had to be modified as well.

While part of this study implements sociological research methods based on 'objectifying' the research subjects, it may be argued that as an 'insider' researcher, i.e. one who is an immigrant and who has children attending public schools, will find it

difficult to maintain sufficient social and emotional distance from the research subjects and therefore will find it difficult to be 'objective'.My methodological status at this point is like Altorki & El-Solh (1988) who do not ignore the subjective elements affecting fieldwork and draw attention to the fact that both researcher and informants participate in 'structuring' the social reality. I am also attracted by Rabinow (1977) who believes that the data collected by the researcher is doubly mediated, first by his/her presence and then by the self-reflection he/she elicits from the informants (Montazer(a), 1994: 3-4).

As one of the many immigrants who have recently entered Canada along with their families and being interested in patterns of adaptation and their inevitable results such as identity change and cultural transformation, as well as being interested in the nature of choices my own children (as second generation Canadians) make at home (their private world) and at school (their major public world) I became interested in doing research on the effects of the social changes on children of recent immigrants to Canada in similar situations. The way in which apparently trivial details of the children's everyday life at home as a representative of traditional culture and at school as a representative of the new habitat, with its own values and norms and socio-cultural characteristics interested me and struck me as important research topics seemed to be illuminated by my studies in social theory. Hence, I resolved to attempt to apply certain theories and methods in a research study of a group of children of immigrant parents who are in many situations similar to my children. Since as offspring of recent immigrant family groups to Canada, all of my research subjects have socio-cultural links of varying strength with their former home country, i.e. at home, they are actively involved in practicing elements of their

parents' culture, I have attempted to document the way they strain to arrive at patterns of behavior which enable them to validate certain aspects of their identity, while at the same time being well integrated into the Canadian norms by coming into new versions of interpretation of their home and school worlds.

My specific methodological perspective in this sense is inspired by Young and Goulet (1994) who believe that, while the personal identity of the researcher is mostly a matter of given, and therefore is followed by some biases (discussed by Montazer (b), in CASCA conference, 1994), it is the researcher who should find out these aspects of his/her personality which are attuned to the research questions and who should try to apply them in his/her research as a means of becoming sensitized and of experiencing the other peoples' perspectives (Montazer (a), 1994: 5). While my cross-cultural sensitivity has enabled me to feel being actively involved in the environment, for most of the periods of research I tried to provide a clear concrete, and tangible explanation of the students' behavior by employing Barth's (1987) idea of locating them in their social settings (situations) and their praxis of communication. This, as Barth (1987) believes, tends to emphasize the place of the students' elements of creative behavior - that is derived from their shared experiences with their sub-cultural groupings and that is constructed and directed by themselves in the context of their social life - more than the place of their behavior in the context of an abstract logical system constructed by the analyst.

> This runs counter to two common premises in our own scholarly tradition of knowledge: namely that an increase in abstraction represents an increase in truth value, and that knowledge should be integrated into a universal science (ibid, 1987: 85).

This leads to the third point in my methodological perspective which directs me to a

micro-sociological study of the students' behavior, namely the intersection between the two 'objectivist' and 'subjectivist' approaches in social sciences. Despite the conventional wisdom which classes the two approaches as separated ones, and despite the general tendency for most of the writers in these two schools to remain in separate epistemological universes, I have attempted to bring together these two schools in this dissertation.

Research strategies:

1. Case study:

To discover how the children of immigrant parents interpret and make sense of their cultural life by means of transactional models, I have adopted a case study approach in order to study different situations the students believed they were located in and to describe the processes or sequences of events in which their behavior occurred. I preferred a case study approach because together with Yin (1984), I believe that this approach could enable me to find answers to the "how" and "why" questions" about the students' behavior when posing to contradictory situations in their cultural life. It is also useful to apply this approach "when the investigator has little control over the events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (P: 13). Moreover, by implementing a case study approach I could collect adequate information about what a group of students actually did in trying to find solutions to their problems as a result of feeling some discrepancies. To provide a detailed investigation of what may happen in children's lives when being confronted by contradictory situations, a

case study apprcach could moreover enable me to enhance my understanding of the children's lives and their behavior in their relationship with their parents at home and with others at school. In addition, such an approach could generate an insightful and in-depth understanding of selected aspects of the students' lives according to their own interpretations.

While some believe that the case study approach has some weaknesses, such as:

problems over confidentiality of data; problems stemming from competition of different interest groups for access to and control over the data; problems concerning publication, such as the need to preserve anonymity of subjects; problems arising from the audience being unable to distinguish data from the researcher's interpretation of the data (Macdonald &Walker cited in Bosetti, 1990: 39),

I tried to take an appropriate consideration of these potential problems by following the ethical guidelines of Social Sciences and Humanities Research Canada (SSHRC). A short review of this guideline can be found in the consent forms (see appendix II) addressed to the students and their parents. Finally, it should be added, the case study approach has some inherent strengths that can recover the potential problems. The strengths of this approach is briefly explained by Kimball Young (cited in Bosetti, 1990).

[First], the case study gives a more or less continuous picture through time of the individual's interpretation of his own experience and often that of others ... the nature of social reality is revealed only when we know the meaning which people put upon their experiences. [Second], the case study furnishes a picture of ... situations which give rise to new meanings and new responses ... [third], repetitions of situations, meanings, and responses may be noted and used for comparative purposes in forming generalizations ... and finally, by the use of the case-study method inferences and generalizations are based upon an intimate knowledge of the situation and the habits and attitudes of the persons interacting (P: 40).

The case study method therefore, could enable me to provide a detailed examination of the students' behavior and their involvement in the processes of interactions with their

parents at home and with their friends at school environments and the consequences of such interactions which are manifested in the forms of shared meanings and understandings.

2. Data collection:

In conformity with the case study approach, I conducted this research using a qualitative methodology. The main attribute of this methodology, as Bogdan & Biklen (1982: 27) suggest, is that the peoples' lives in their "natural setting" are the key sources of data, while the researcher is the key instrument in describing and observing events, or in interviewing actors in order to reconstruct how they interpret or ascribe meaning and significance to events under observation or consideration" (Bosetti, 1990: 41). As a rationale for adopting a qualitative research method for this study, and in data collection and analysis, I would like to refer to Filstead's (1970: 6) characterization of this method,

> Qualitative methodology refers to those research strategies, such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing, total participation in the activity being investigated, field work etc., which allow the researcher to obtain first-hand knowledge about the empirical social world in question. Qualitative methodology allows the researcher to 'get close to the data,' thereby developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself (cited in Bosetti, 1990: 41).

By implementing such a qualitative research methodology I carried out my research among a range of students attending several Calgary public and separate high schools through several phases as the main steps of my research activities. In the first phase, my principal concern was to elicit a corpus of information relating to the perception of cross-cultural contradictions, from a range of students attending several Calgary public and separate high schools. To acquire preliminary information on the students' common themes in as non-directed a manner as possible in this phase, I showed the students a

brief video, consisting of clips from existing videos depicting a selection of cross-cultural dilemmas. The video had already been checked and approved by the school administrators. The students were then asked to react to the video specifically, i.e., whether and how the scenes in the video related to situations in their own lives. During this phase, as much as possible, I endeavored to allow the students discuss the situations among themselves. I refrained from asking leading questions, and intervened rarely and only to keep the discussion focused on the topic. Some notes were taken from these discussions for the purpose of establishing common themes and acquiring a corpus of statements about the perception of the contradictions, as initial clues to the strategies of coping which will be studied more intensively in the next chapter.

In the second phase, formal but unstructured interviews with selected students who either participated in the first phase, or students who were introduced by these students, was conducted. The purpose of carrying out interviews at this phase of study was to provide information in greater depth on the students' reactions when confronting contradictions. The interviewing at this point of the study was more directed and focused on specific situations from the life of the students (discussed in the first phase) and related to certain indices of their behavior (e.g., their relationship with peer groups, their practice with regard to symbolic markers such as clothing and food habits). This phase was intended to establish how specific individuals saw themselves as managing the cross-cultural contradictions in their lives. Since it was expected that students generally, and in particular at the point of entering into a new life condition (the school world), strive to minimize the contradictions by emphasizing those aspects of their culture which are

shared between their home environment and those of generic Canadian culture, while at the same time de-emphasizing the discrepant elements, by focusing on specific situations, discussed in detail, I hoped to be able to document the students' interpretations in depth and in their own words in this phase. However, it was discovered that, while at least at the beginning, some students had different means of managing the contradictions (since each of them interpreted the discrepancy in his/her own way), in the later stages of friendship with their peers (i.e., with other students who experienced discrepancy between their home and school lives) and during constant communication of norms and values with them, they started to find more common ways of managing contradictions. The contribution of peers to legitimize the students' interpretations in this regard, was discussed from the individuals' point of views at this phase of the research.

In the third phase of the research, which was in fact an outgrowth of the second phase, and partly synchronized with it, I attempted to meet selected sets of peers (identified during the first two phases) for the purpose of discussing with them their peer-to-peer interaction in the context of the common cross-cultural contradictions which they faced. The purpose of this phase of research was to gain insight into the role of peer-group relations in coping with contradictions, and to determine how new social forms might emerge from these interactions. By meeting a selected subset of students in both individual and peer-group settings therefore, I was able to see some of the processes in action, i.e., in a group setting.

While the data collection in the second and third phases of research started with unstructured interviews, it progressed and evolved to somewhat more structured

interviews as the research became more focused. The research questions at this point became clearer and more pointed, as similar themes of the students' life were found as the basis of discussion. An interview guide was therefore, established and refined at this point and was used as a starting point for two further steps in the process of collecting data. In the first of these, the interview guideline was to be employed when attempts were made to identify the themes that had emerged during the first phases of research.

Based on the interview guideline and as the second step of advancement of the investigation, certain topics of inquiry that were eventually turned to an open-ended questionnaire sheet, were worked out. This questionnaire was administered to for the purpose of obtaining information from those students who participated in the first phase of research but who did not feel comfortable about being interviewed face-to-face. By distributing the questionnaire sheets among these groups of students, it was suggested that the students could initiate their own ways of sharing their experiences with the researcher. Talking onto the tape or writing papers in response to the questions were suggested as examples of other ways of responding to the research questions. While six students were willing to talk on tape, a couple of them wrote about their experiences on papers. Forty interviews in all were conducted during the period from February 1996 to September 1966 and through the above stages.

To complement the information and themes that emerged from the interview data, and to provide new perspectives and insights to the evolving themes which were grounded in the data, participant observation was used as a further strategy of data-collection, concurrent with the interview conduction. Through participation in some of

the students' ESL classes, their lunch times, their gatherings in certain places (e.g., watching their preparation performances for their international week in one of the schools, attending the interview sessions earlier than the appointed time and leaving the schools later than each interview session, going into the schools' cafeterias and libraries, etc.), I was able to obtain a closer view to the world of the students, to get to know them and to be known and trusted by them as well. Through participant observation, I was able to amplify the written record of what I heard and/or observed. Finally, the research was supplemented by insights derived from talking to the school administrators, ESL teachers, and other staff who worked with the students on a daily basis (e.g., librarians, consultants, etc.).

My own multicultural identity provided a ready means of access to the world of the multicultural students with whom I had contact during my participation in certain clubs, socio/cultural and religious activities, gatherings and religious observances. My attendance at these public gatherings provided me with the opportunity to make contacts with students who experience cross-cultural discrepancies, as well as their parents and relatives.

Data collection procedures:

There were several factors influencing the sample selection. The schools were basically chosen from all four major quarters of Calgary (the Northeast, the Northwest, the Southeast and the Southwest) concentrating on schools which had large multicultural populations. Following contacts with the Calgary Board of Education and Calgary

Catholic Board of Education and the school administrators in charge of research projects, permission to conduct my research in five of target schools was granted. Each school introduced one of its staff as the school's representative to coordinate and assist with the research conduct in terms of facilitating access to the research subjects and supervising the research program. The main contribution of the staff at this point, was first, identifying children of immigrant parents and second, facilitating these students to become involved in the research project as subjects of the study. The research coordinators identified different ranges of students according to their sex, length of stay in Canada, and nationality and/or ethnic identity. (See appendix I). While in the first step of the research, a broadly representative sampling was chosen for the purpose of identifying and selecting those interviewees who could best meet the purposes of the study, the research population became a snowball sample in some cases in the later steps of the research. This occurred when some of the subjects of study found they enjoyed participating in the research and felt comfortable to recommend and encourage their friends to join the research project. It was at this point of study where selected individuals (out of the five selected schools) were also identified for in-depth interviews.

Consent forms were provided to explain the research purposes, a brief review of the theories and methodology, benefits of the research and assurance of confidentiality and anonymity (See appendix III). Beside their own consent those students who were below the age of eighteen had to have their parents' signature on the consent forms if they were willing to participate in the research project. Students above the age of eighteen did not need to have their parents' consent.

Data interpretation:

To interpret and make sense out of the collected materials I adopted data analysis procedures most appropriate for the qualitative research techniques. By arranging the interview transcripts, fieldwork notes and other materials that I collected during the research project, I became familiar with the main outcome of my data and stated outlines of inquiry to be followed in the subsequent interviews.

Data analysis started soon after I organized the data, divided and classified it into different categories based on certain themes, and synthesized it for the purpose of searching for patterns. A part of data analysis, in this sense, occurred concurrently with the process of data collection. After any form of participation in the fieldwork and each interview conduction I kept notes about the observed events as well as a record of my interpretations of the events or experiences. Through this process, I was able to identify emergent common themes, questions and viewpoints that provided me with the opportunity to gain a comparative perspective on the outcomes of the students' relationships with each other as well as a comparative perspective on the results of my field work; for example, their age and gender differences and the different experiences of various ethnic groups.

To make sense of data and to provide a reflective analysis of them during different stages of the research and to identify the potential themes and questions about the students' lives, I used Glazer and Strauss' (1967) and/or Strauss and Corbin's (1994) constant comparative method of grounded theory. According to this theory, "the sample as well as the analytical categories and hypotheses are developed all along the research"

(Laperrière & et al, 1994: 197). Such theory is in fact, a methodology that aims at constructing theories with a special interest for processes and interactions (ibid, 1994: 197). Grounded theory is therefore,

> *a general methodology* for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed. Theory evolves during actual research, and does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection. A central feature of this analytic approach is "a general method of [constant] comparative analysis" (Glazer and Strauss, 1967, P: Viii), hence the approach is often referred to as the *constant comparative method* (Strauss and Corbin, 1994: 273)

Although the information received from such empirically grounded methodology was not of sufficient depth to allow me to document the students' relative skills in negotiating solutions to the value conflict problems derived from their multicultural identity, it nevertheless served to inform and direct the data collection in the further stages. To provide a means of more detailed analysis of the students' choices, interviews were mostly transcribed after they were conducted. This enabled me to enrich my reflections on the interviews for easy reference during the final stages of analysis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FINDINGS

In this chapter my sole aim is to present to the reader a representative sample of the interview tapes and notes. In this respect, I am going to present the research subjects' own characterization of their situations in their adopted society. My methodology at this point is geared for producing some data which is self explanatory. Data subsequently, are not subjected to an analytical procedure; giving the reader a sample of interviews and responses and keeping the data separated from any analytical generalization, will make it easier for us to move to the next chapter which intends to be analytical. This will satisfy a purpose of this study which, as explained earlier, is to elicit the students' interpretations of their chosen behavior at first, and in the following chapter, connecting these interpretations into their larger system of world views through an analytical demonstration.

Typical questions (See Appendix III) asked of the informants were centered around the subject of the students' social life at school and home, and the discrepancy they felt as a result of differing expectations of these two world settings. These questions are also asked to serve the purpose of opening topics for discussions relevant to the students' lives in Canada. Not all of the responses were directly relevant to the questions I asked. Nevertheless, some of them were relevant to the topics or themes that were already or later asked during the interview or in the questionnaire protocol. Also, the students'

interest in talking about their public and private life is not the same among the whole sample population. Most of the data are therefore, centered around half of the students' statements, who are mostly attending public schools, as well as some of the information the researcher has observed as a participant. However, a brief introduction of the informants will be followed by the students' statements of certain aspects of their lives in their adopted society in this chapter.

These statements are provided in response to a series of unstructured questions arranged before and evolved during the research project. The students were free to answer the questions in the order they preferred, they did not have to respond to the questions they did not wish to and they could add anything they would like. While the collected data did not therefore, follow any rational order, I have tried to organize and classify it according to the themes and ideas implied in the final questionnaire protocol. The data has been broken up into different pieces of themes as far as it has kept its clarity. Further classification has been avoided with this regard. You may therefore, in some cases find some ideas or themes that have come under certain questions but are not quite relevant to them. Yet, for the purposes of clarity the order has been kept. While a range of responses were therefore given to the questions, in the following, I am going to show (1) what the average common responses were and (2) what the extremes or typically different ones were.

1. Introducing themselves with their first name or a pseudonym, their place of birth, their original home country or the culture[s] they are identified with, when they immigrated to Canada (if they did), the countries or places they have already lived in, their age, their grade and anything they like or feel necessary to add.

Shina moved to Calgary five years ago accompanying her family who followed her sister and her sister in law's advice to immigrate to Canada. Shina's sister had already moved to Canada following her marriage with a Lebanese immigrant to Canada. Shina speaks English very well and has some Lebanese and Indian friends. She has not had any Canadian friends so far and is not interested in having any. She likes Canada and feels there are no problems regarding her immigration. She believes that there are many things in Canada that differ from her home country. As an example, she points to religion and remarks that although it was difficult for her to follow the rules of her religion in public in the first days of her moving to Canada, it has become easier with time.

Rita is also from Lebanon. She has lived in Canada for a year and half. She still cannot speak English very well. She was interviewed twice. During the first interview due to the language barrier she could not answer some of my questions. Later, when I interviewed Rita a second time, she expressed her willingness to sit with Shina as her only Lebanese friend, and talk more about herself. In the second interview Shina worked as a translator whenever the communication became difficult. Although Rita does not wear *hijab* (a woman's head covering according to the norms of Islam) she and her family believe in it. She respects the norms and values of her family. These cultural values are mostly religion oriented. She is more comfortable being amongst her own Lebanese-Muslim community.

Sara is born in England. Her parents are Egyptian. They moved to Canada in 1969, lived here for a couple of years, moved back to Egypt, stayed there for a few years ,and then immigrated to England where she was born. She has had short visits to Egypt

several times. Sara has two older sisters. Her sister's interest in continuing her education in medicine in a Canadian school was one of the reasons, among others, that her family moved to Canada. Sara is a Muslim and just as her mother and her older sisters she has started to wear *hijab*[1] since two years ago.

Hana is the youngest member of a Pakistani family. She has two sisters and three brothers. In 1993, their parents decided to move to Canada in spite of their interest in their home culture. She and her family have strong belief in their religion, Islam. Due to their belief in the Ahmadyyah faith which was not approved by most of the Muslims in Pakistan they decided to leave their home country to seek better conditions of life in Canada. She believes in *hijab* and her dress is a form of loose Pakistani national dress.

Emy and her younger sister Samy, are the youngest children of the family. They immigrated to Canada accompanying their parents and their older brother. Due to the problem of unemployment (for the Ahmadyyah sect followers) in Pakistan, their father and older brother worked in Kuwait for several years before they immigrated to Canada. Since the rest of the family lived in Pakistan, immigration to Canada could provide the means of their family reunion. Just as Hana, Emy and Samy believe in *hijab* and respect the norms and values of the family which is integrated to Ahmadyyah Muslim faith. Their dress was similar to Hana's. They had a long rectangular sheer scarf around their neck. When I met them at school they said that they pulled their scarf up on their head whenever they were out of school or along with their family among the members of their own community.

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[1] Islam's ritual requirement for the modest covering of the (majorly women's) body including the head. In different cultures and legal traditions it is interpreted differently.

Farah, a nineteen year old friend of the above three students is an Isma'ili Muslim originally coming from Afghanistan. Farah and her family lived in India for five years before they immigrated to Canada in February, 1993. She lives in a family where most of the traditional norms and values are preserved. As the oldest child of the family and due to the length of her residence out of her home country, she has not been directly exposed to these norms. Yet, as she states, their traditional norms are strongly preserved by her parents and the members of the community they are affiliated with. Her mother, for instance, wears *hijab*. Yet the style has been changed since they have moved to Canada. Although Farah does not wear *hijab* she respects the values and norms of the family and the Isma'ili Muslim community.

Sima, is a sixteen year old East Indian student who moved to Canada in 1991. She believes in Hinduism but respects other cultures and religions as her own. Her friends come from different cultural and religious backgrounds. She enjoys her life in Canada as a result of her significant progress in being integrated to Canadian culture. Being well adjusted to her adopted society, according to herself, is the key to her successfulness and happiness in her future live in Canada.

Homa, Reno, Sara, and Sprink are all East-Indian Sikhs who in spite of not being in the same class and age group are friends. I met them all in the same place during a lunch time after my interview with Hana and Farah. They were among a group of non-Canadian female students who were rehearsing a dancing program to be performed during their international week. While they had not attended the first group meeting which was set in the first stage of my research, through their peer group, they had found

some information about it and expressed their willingness to be interviewed. They all spoke English very well, but their preference was to be interviewed together. Since two of them had to leave for their class at that time, I set up a group interview and met them later at the same place in the school.

Ehsan, the only male student among the twelve research informants who attended one of the public schools, moved to Canada around September 1995. Before coming to Canada he and his family stayed in Turkey for six months. They had to leave Iran before Ehsan's fifteenth birthday. Otherwise, according to the Iranian regulations, Ehsan could not have left the country permanently until he would have finished his two year military service duty, starting after his eighteenth birthday. They applied for immigration from the Embassy of Canada in Turkey. Ehsan has a younger sister and brother. He had a little knowledge of English before immigrating enabling him to improve his language ability in a faster rate than his peers. This has also enabled him to find a few friends from diverse cultural backgrounds during his short stay in Canada. Yet, he believes he has to work harder on learning the language in order to be able to find more friends including Canadians.

Wendy, Loretto, Bob, Alice, and Ferin among other students chose to talk on tape (by receiving the questionnaire protocol) instead of being interviewed by the researcher. The first three of these students who came from Hong-Kong, Philippines, and China respectively, talked individually while Alice and Ferin, preferred to talk together at the same time. Alice was from Hong-Kong whereas Ferin who was born in Vietnam was originally Chinese. Except Bob who was born in Canada, the rest of the above were

recent immigrants.

Claudia, who was born in Hong-Kong and immigrated to Canada as a one year old girl was interviewed by telephone. Linda as a Canadian citizen who was born in China and moved to Canada in 1990 and her friend Maryam an Iranian girl who moved to Canada a year later decided to write down about their private and public lives on paper. Linda and Maryam have been friends since Maryam has moved to Canada. They met Claudia when they went to junior high school and as friends, they have continued their relationship. They had graduated from junior high school when I met them as my informants. They were about 15 years old by that time.

Riba, Mark and Olivia were the only students who accepted to be interviewed in one of the Catholic Schools. Mark, as my first informant, moved to Canada along with his mother and his nine brothers and sisters, in May, 1994. About the end of the interview, Olivia, Mark's girlfriend who is the same age as Mark, 18 years old and studying in grade 11, joined us and became my second interviewee in that Catholic school. As a member of a family of three, Olivia lived with her uncle and her grandmother in Canada. She was sponsored by her uncle. My third informant Riba, a 16 years old student studying in grade 10, was interviewed right after Michael and Olivia. She talked to me about half an hour at school. Later, that day, when I was leaving the school I met her again when going back home. We walked together and took the same bus and then the city train. The talk on the way home provided me the chance of gaining more information about her life.

The rest of the students who studied in another Catholic school were mostly

interviewed in groups of three and four. It was just Amir who among the others preferred to be interviewed alone. He is originally an East Indian and is the only child of his family. Amir was born in Canada but around the age of two or three his family took him to Qatar. They stayed there for four years and then moved to U.A.E. They lived there till august 1994 and moved to Canada afterward.

Among the rest of the informants Ana Maria and her older sister came from El Salvador and lived with their father and their step mother and step brothers. Their mother along with their two brothers is living in El Salvador. Adalo and John, as twin brothers were born in Canada, they left Canada when they were about twelve to thirteen years old, stayed there for a few years and came back to Canada around September 1995. Since there is no preliminary information about the rest of the informants attending the mentioned Catholic school I will end this part of the paper by introducing them only according to the interview groups they participated in. The informants were interviewed in the following groups: (1) Ada, Mac, and Tad, (2) Mary, Lyne and Morisa, (3) Richy, Rose and Terry, (4) Jane, Lili and Francis, (5) Alex, Abe, Joe, and John. A demographic description of all of the above students according to age, sex, length of stay in Canada, original nationality, and their range is listed in appendix I.

2. On how the students feel about their social life in Canada, their original culture, and the advantages and disadvantages of living in Canada:

The initial question, "What do you like about Canada and what don't you?" could in most of the cases help me to find out whether the students felt they were experiencing a major problem as a consequence of their immigration to Canada. "I like Canada." was

the very sentiment most of the students expressed about their social life in Canada. The reasons the students presented for their contentment in living in Canada was various. Morisa, Amir, and Sarah, for example, preferred to live in Canada rather than their home countries because they pointed that there were more opportunities in Canada than in their original country. Amir and Morisa referred to the opportunities in education (learning the English language and having access to secondary education). Along with these opportunities, Sarah had more to say in this regard

> I really like Canada. Before, in England, people were more conservative. Here, the people are more tolerant to other cultures... I went to an all girl school in England. So that was my problem. I prefer to go to a school in Canada. There, I could feel myself to be a part of the whole. We were separated from the majority. That is not because I or my parents wanted that. I am not the kind of person interested in separating myself from others. I am an easy going person. ... So it is not really me who makes the separation. It comes from the other side.

Sarah at this point, names the 'society' as the major cause of their separation from the majority. When I asked her why she was enrolled in a segregated school she was not straight forward with her answer. Nevertheless, her statement on different types of schools in England and boys' and girls' varying academic achievements could not be an irrelevant response to the question.

> It is proven that girls learn better than boys. ... The school I attended was a grammar school ... and that is why we can find segregated schools in England.

The follow up question "Where were the students usually from in your school?" could however, provide a complementary response to the above question: "There were," she replied, "a fairly large Asian community and then British at our school". She then continued, "I did not like being addressed as a 'Paky' by the British students as the majority. I took it as a sign of intolerance in my former school. Yet, as far as I found

myself among minority groups at school I felt happy". While at this point, she appreciated her Canadian school atmosphere for its tolerance she still considered her British identity a matter of fortune since it made her adjust more easily to the circumstances in her Canadian mixed school.

When I came to Canada I went to a mixed school. I was there just for one year (grade 12). People there, were very nice, very nice (she put a great emphasis on this statement) and the teachers were just great. ...but I suppose when I came in, I was a little worried and that was my problem. I wasn't that open right away. Yet, I think other girls (Egyptian?) would have had more problems; maybe someone coming (directly) from Egypt or someone younger than me.

Some of the students stated that they liked to live in Canada because they could enjoy the best of both of the cultures. Sima who was an originally Indian student coming to Canada about five years ago, for example, said:

I like it here because now, I can have the best of both cultures. Everything that came up interesting here, I joined it, like Christmas and Easter. I am now enjoying being a part of both cultures. I find them both very fun and I like the variety living in Canada brings. I do all the stuff that is in my tradition as well.

While the same as Sima, Sarah declared that by living in Canada she could take the best of both Egyptian and Canadian cultures, she believed that there were certain things in her Egyptian culture that were still important to her and that she could not gain them easily in Canada.

My parents gave me the Egyptian culture and the religion and I also got the Westernized aspects of the Canadian and its luxuries here. Life in Egypt is tough and I don't know if I could live there. But I think I miss something that people in Egypt take for granted and that is praying in the mosque and hearing the *adhan*[2].

Hana also liked most of the aspects of her life in Canada except the fact that she had to be more economically independent in her future.

What I don't like about Canada is that we (women) must work here. We can no longer

[2] Or *azan*: the call for prayer, cf. Muazzin (Arabic, muadhen)

be dependent on our parents to support us for education and everything. Higher education here is very expensive so I have to work here and study at the same time. Back at home, it was my dad who was working and supporting us. In terms of the idea of being dependent or independent, it is a big change here for me. I have never worked so I don't really like the idea of being independent yet.

Farah at this point agreed with Hana and remarked that she missed her country because there, (it sounded as if she was talking about the time when they were living in India) they had their own house and car while here they just owned a car. She then continued:

If we are nine members in a family at least three of them should work but there, one person is enough to support the others. My dad was working there and our job was to have fun.

Tresa and Riba coming from Nicaragua and Philippines said that they loved to live in Canada because they liked the sense of freedom that exists here. Riba also added that she liked Canada because aspects of different cultures are appreciated in Canada. And the same as Riba, her friends Magie and Mark (Magie's boy friend) remarked that they were impressed by the opportunity they had to enjoy certain aspects of their own culture here in Canada. To explain her interest in her life in Canada, Magie recalled the information she had received from her social studies:

I was really impressed when I came to Canada. Canada is a multicultural country. I feel I am in my country. Here you can go with your own culture unlike America that is like a melting pot. There is less violence here than the USA. Unlike the USA there is more freedom here to keep your culture.

Lyne who is born and raised in New York and is the offspring of a Chinese couple lives with her uncle in Calgary. She also liked her life in Canada because in her view, that there is less violence, and more peace and quiet in Canada compared to her country, USA. Lyne's idea in this respect was unlike some of her peers who felt less secure here

in Canada compared to their home country. Yet, they did not consider this as a serious problem. For example, when I asked the students about what they did not like about their life in Canada Tresa said:

> What I don't like about Canada? I don't know. ... Based on what I have heard, sometimes it is too dangerous here, like the crime... but I haven't faced anything scary yet.

Richy, a Filipino immigrant to Canada along with his two country-mate friends Rose and Terry seemed to be more certain about their answer to the above question. While they all mentioned that they liked Canada, they still did not like the gangs and the easy access to drugs and weapons in the country. Ehsan, a sixteen year old boy from Iran also expressed his happiness in gaining freedom as a result of moving to Canada. Yet, he did not like the "unlimited freedom" that exists here because, according to him, such freedom could result in disadvantages such as the students' using drugs and alcohol and smoking cigarettes as well as its follow up consequences such as car accident, crime, and harassment.

While missing friends and relatives and/or language problems were also common concerns with most of the students who have immigrated to Canada within the last couple of years, only one of the students counted these problems as reasons for being interested in going back to her home country, Lebanon. During interview time with Rita, who is the last child of her family immigrating to Canada following her eldest brother, she did not show any interest in her social life here in Canada. While a year and half had passed from Rita's leaving her home country, she could still not speak English well when I met her. In the first day of the interview when I met Rita individually, she could

only respond to a few of my questions in short phrases or sentences. The only thing that she wanted to express on that day was that she was interested in the kind of life she had already been situated in.

I don't really like it (Canada). First thing, I don't really speak the language. Secondly, the weather is different. I don't have many friends here. I just have two friends at school. One from Lebanon and the other one from Russia. I still miss my old friends. I don't like the Canadian culture.

Rita talked about some other aspects of her social life in Canada as other reasons for her disapproving feelings about her live in Canada. According to their relevance to other topics of discussion, some of her views in this regard will be brought up.

3. About their friends, their origin and culture, how many they are, to which of them they feel closest, their activities and hobbies when they are together, and anything else they would like to add in this regard.

In terms of their relationship with friends, none of the male students but Amir felt having any difficulty in finding friends. Most of these students stated that they had many friends (mostly above ten) but as their very close friends, they usually referred to those who had similar cultural backgrounds to theirs. Most of these students mentioned they were participating in athletic programs when they were among their friends at school. When out of school, they played or watched games and went to bars or restaurants with their friends. Some of these students played in their school teams. At home, they basically watched TV or played video games as their hobbies.

All of the female students studying in Catholic schools, the same as most of the Middle Eastern female students had friends who came from societies where they shared a lot of cultural backgrounds. Students from Latin America, for example, referred to their

culture as Spanish and introduced their friends as being Spanish regardless of their nationality. This was the same among the students coming from Oriental societies. In general, the female students attending Catholic schools reported that they spent some part of their free time with friends at the mall in their neighborhood. They also spent some time together in their houses watching movies and chatting. A few of these students' subject of talking was 'guys'. They said they were interested in this subject because it was fun. Some of these students complained about their schools' regulation of calling their parents when they were absent. These students believed that in spite of their family's values they sometimes needed to go out of school with their friends. They believed they would not break the norms of their culture and religion if their parents controlled them less. Yet, among these students, a few of them felt less restricted and sometimes broke their family rules. Francis, who comes from El Salvador and who lives with her older brother as the only member of her family living here in Canada, for example said:

I sometimes go home later than my curfew. If my brother asks why I am late, I bring some excuses such as, I couldn't get on the bus on time. I also may go out with friends including guys but I don't tell my brother about that.

When I asked Rita about her relationship with her friends and other peoples out of home she responded:

I have relatives and communicate with them. My Russian friend and I both know a little bit of English but we still can understand each other. ... I can't visit my friends and they can't visit me because of the distance. I don't have a car and I can't drive, so it is difficult.

At this point, I told her that I was sure she would understand English in a few more years, and as a result, she would be able to overcome most of the problems she

mentioned during the interview. Her immediate response to my comment was not common with the other newcomers' views (such as Ehsan' and Ana-Maria's) who expected to have some Canadian friends as soon as they would gain the ability to speak better in English.

Yes, I am sure I would be able to make more friends later, but it does not mean that I would like to be with them very often. I won't go to their parties. I won't go to their dances, I won't drink and I won't do many things that they do because I am not allowed to do these things. And even if I was allowed to go out with them I wouldn't feel comfortable.

In general, none of the Muslim female students, except Sarah and Farah, showed any tendency to make Canadian friends. None of these students (except Maryam) were allowed to go out with their friends. Their relationships with friends were limited to talking over the phone and meeting each other at each other's houses. Maryam, Sarah, and Farah had established more relationships with friends including boys although these relationships were basically academic oriented. However, all of the Muslim students, but Rita, were happy about the situation in which they were located.

Amir responses compared to his other male peers were typical.

The thing that I don't like about Canada is the fact that people are not friendly. When I first came to school nobody liked me. They treated me as a stranger.

Yet, this feeling had not affected his whole view about Canada. On the contrary, he looked at the problem from a positive perspective.

The thing that I like about Canadian social life is that people get along with other people, although I haven't had a friend so far.

He therefore, did not believe that the problem was irresolvable. He could see himself having friends in the near future. "The next year, I have to try to make some friends." he

stated.

As married students, Homa and Sara, find themselves mostly among Indian friends. Reno and Sprink have found friends from Asia, Pakistan, Iran and even Canada. Yet, their relationship with their non-Indian friends is limited only to conversation over the phone. They believe their friends understood their situation and therefore, did not expect to meet them out of their homes.

Sprink, the same as her other Indian friends, was not happy about the way she had been treated by other students and specially Canadians.

Here, people stick together in groups. Our culture is different from Canadians and it is hard. Sometimes, people who are nice are still worried to have relationship with you because of others. I have not been able to become friend with Canadians because they don't want to accept my culture. I do have friends who have accepted my culture but they are not Canadians. The Indians are not racist but they (Canadians) are. They pretend they are not, but in their hearts they are.

Yet, Sprink was looking forward to having friends from various groups including "whites" (her and some other students' term to refer to Canadians).

I don't think that I shouldn't talk to white people. I would like to have different friends from different cultures.

Farah and Hana, the same as their Indian peers complained about the situation where students like them had more difficulty in establishing friendships with 'whites' than others. According to them, this was specially difficult in the first years of their immigration when the problem of language was joined to the problems of racial differences. Yet, both of them had accepted this situation as a matter of fact. Hana for example said:

There are many people living here. So we can say that there is a little bit of racism here that we face when we come to Canada. But we get used to it later.

She then stated that she had to correct herself by changing the term 'racism' to 'feelings of being different', for she still believed that "'diversity' was more respected here than anywhere else. She then becomes more positive in defining her situation in terms of her relationships with friends.

I have four friends whom I am very close with. They are all girls. We share secrets and talk about our problems. My best friend is Hana. Yet, my friendship is not limited to these four. I have friends from Africa, China, and Pakistan. I also have guy friends. Most of them are Indians.

Shina's view of her social life and her relationships with friends was different from her Indian and Muslim peers. While the same as the above students she had not established considerable relationships with Canadians and/or the students with diverse cultural backgrounds she was still very happy about her social life. Shina's friends were mostly Lebanese but considered it as a privilege to establish friendships with those students who came from similar cultural backgrounds. She stated, for example, that it was easy for her to communicate with her Indian friends although they did not share the same religion with her.

Culturally, we looked very much alike when I first met them. I did not wear *hijab* when we moved to Canada. I was very young at that time. I was not aware of the differences before and when I met my Indian friends. Now, I know about our religious differences. But, we share stuff about our religions that are OK to talk about. I don't tell them things they wouldn't understand.

She then adds that she doesn't like to think about their religious or racial differences, for she declared that it was not going to be helpful in Canada. She then pointed to the things that mattered to her with regard to her choosing of friends.

I become friends with people I find nice and the religious differences does not matter in our social life. With my friends now, we share some similar family values comparing to the Canadians and I don't want to hang out with the Canadians, adapting their culture, and forgetting my own.

Sima and Sarah present more approving points about both their relationships with friends and their friends' attitudes towards them in contrast with the above student

Sima, who has lived in Canada for a longer period of time than her other Indian peers declared that she had experienced more success in establishing her social life at school and in public. She stated that over time, she had gained the knowledge and experience she was after.

As a result of my having friends from different cultures, I now can have the best of both cultures. Everything that came up interesting I joined it like Christmas and Easter. I am now enjoying being a part of both cultures. I find them both very fun and I like the variety living in Canada brings. I do all the stuff that is in my tradition too.

Sima then points to her new strategy, speaking in English, as an important key for opening the doors of friendship with others.

I like speaking English to my Indian friends because it gives none-Indian people the right to understand. I will be rude to those who do not know our language if I talk in our language. They may also think that we are talking about them. I like giving everyone the impression that I am open to them, regardless of their nationality. Misunderstandings can be avoided that way. Besides, the more we talk in English, the better we get at speaking it.

Although Sima, among all of her Indian peers, seems to enjoy a considerable amount of freedom, further investigation shows she is still limited with almost the same barriers.

My friends are from Canada, Jamaica, Pakistan, and Iraq. I have a relationship with my Canadian friends after school. I usually talk with them over the phone. I have not had the chance of going out with my Canadian friends yet. Over the phone, I sometimes say that I will be out with them but when the time comes I never go because I don't feel I like it. Before, my parents did not like me going out with my non-Indian friends, but as they became more familiar with the culture (they are working here and have learned to speak English), they are OK with my going out with them. They give me much more freedom. I don't think that this is because of my culture. Not at all. It is because of their further understanding of the Canadian culture.

Sima, at this point, links her new achieved freedom with her family's exposition to

the new norms and values of their adopted society. Yet, she does not believe she can use this freedom to establish considerable relationships with her Canadian friends.

Now, I go out with my friends a lot, but not with Canadian friends. It never works out with them. I think that this is because of the cultural differences between us.

Sarah considers the Westernized aspects of her identity as an important reason for her feeling comfortable to be among diverse friend groups.

I have lots of friends both at school and out of school. One of my friends is Polish, the rest of them are mostly Egyptian and Canadian. I have about six close friends. Maybe if I came straight from Egypt, I wouldn't have much in common with them but the fact that I have been brought up in the West, and the fact that we are all in the engineering department makes us close.

As a Muslim male student, Ehsan's views about his social life in Canada are in many ways different from most of the female Muslim students. During the short period he has lived in Canada he has found some friends from a few different cultural backgrounds including Canadians. His social life is in fact, influenced by his goal toward adaptation.

The friends I have chosen so far have not been exactly based on my choice. Now, most of my friends are Asians. They are very good friends. Yet, I believe we should try to adapt ourselves to the situation we are in. It is not possible to keep yourself away from things around you. That is why I have tried to have some Canadian friends and so far I have got a few but I would like to have more and extend my relationship with the ones I have.

When I asked Ehsan about the limitations he has in order to achieve his goal. He pointed to the language and cultural differences as the important barriers.

I could almost speak English when we moved to Canada. Yet, it was not enough to enable me to find Canadian friends soon. Yet, it may have not been the main reason. Since our culture is closer to Asians, probably it could have been one reason why I have found more Asian-friends.

Ehsan then talks about the strategies he has employed to find friends from diverse cultural backgrounds.

We should learn how to find common things among ourselves when we are together. At school, so far, the common area has been more relevant to the school programs and activities, especially the athletics. In the family level, the best way to set relationship with others has been through some community center programs such as the church programs or athletic activities in the neighborhood. The best way to communicate with others through these community services is to talk about ourselves and our cultures as far as long as it is about the things we share.
Also, culturally speaking, some of us are very close. For example, I have Muslim friends who practice religion. I guess they are Sunni but I haven't asked them. I have not talked about my sect (Shi'a) as well. When among Canadians, I have not talked about the differences between my culture and theirs. My Canadian friends have also not asked anything about my country.

This reminded me of what Shina said when she was talking about the reasons for her tolerance with the differences between her culture and her Indian friends' culture. Nevertheless, the difference between Ehsan's and Shina's social life was in terms of their level of freedom to set relationship with friends from diverse cultural groups. This issue, made me go further and ask him about how he dealt with cultural differences when he was among his friends. In terms of whether he felt there were any problems he faced confronting different cultural situations he believed he did not really have any problem. When for example, he was asked how he dealt with the norms of food, cross-gender relationships and communication with non-Iranians at a family level he stated:

In terms of differences, I have not experienced or felt anything. I have not had any problems so far. We (the family) have not so far made relationship with people different from us but that is just because we have been here for a short time. My parents are now taking some classes. So far, they have not found a job. So they don't have many relationships with people living here. In the future, we will be establishing such relationships. Nevertheless, I have found very close friends from different cultures. My friends are from Pakistan, Vietnam, Canada and two brothers who are from the Kurdistan of Iraq. when among friends, each of us may not like to eat some kind of foods and since it is a matter of taste we can easily say we do not like to eat certain kinds of foods. My Muslim friends for example, do not eat pork. I personally do not like to eat pork and it makes sense to everybody. None of my friends have so far been smokers or addicted to any drugs or alcohol. I don't drink or smoke and I don't think I would feel like doing so.

At this point, Ehsan did not mention whether such feelings and behaviors were resulted from his religious beliefs or they were just a matter of taste. He only referred to the way he was raised in his family and believed that in the future he wouldn't have any problem with regard to his relationship with friends.

After I become eighteen years old, I may attend some parties or gatherings where some of my friends or other attendee's may smoke or drink. Since I am not interested in these kind of activities I won't have to be involved with them. There are always some people who the same as me, are not interested in such activities regardless of their culture or religion. I also don't think my parents will have any problem in letting me be with my friends outside of school.

4. About cross-gender relationships.

All of the South Asian females reported experiencing of some limitations in establishing relationships with their male peers. Due to the norms of their communities and according to their family culture, these students were not allowed to have any sort of cross-gender relationships. Girls were not guaranteed to find someone from their own culture as their future husband if they already had relationships with boys. As a result, relationships with friends outside of school as well as cross-gender relationships were generally avoided by these students.

The Muslim female students' comments on their relationships with their male peers were more religious oriented. Except Sarah and Farah, for example, the rest of the Muslim female students did not believe in any sort of relationships between boys and girls. The students' relationships with boys were limited to participating in school projects and activities. Indeed, none of these students expressed any kind of objection to this way of life, for they mostly thought that in Muslim communities there was no need

for such relationships. In fact, some of them even appreciated this view for its religious value.

While Emy and Samy were happy about being in Canada, they did not appreciate what was happening here in terms of cross-gender relationships. Emy for example said, "the thing that I don't like about Canada is the sex and the kissing that is constantly going on. It is disgusting." and then her sister continued,

The thing that I don't like about Canada is teen smokers and drug users and drinkers. We both would welcome Canadian friends but only girl friends. We are not allowed to have boy friends. I think that this is a religious view. Or maybe we are not allowed to have boy friends but they (they point to some Indian students) are allowed. It is not mentioned in their religion. But I am not sure how their culture views this. I think it is both the religion and the culture that does not allow us to have this type of relationship.

Sima's view about the cross-gender relationships had also affected her approving view of the new cultural environment she lived in.

I like every aspect of Canadian living except that I miss the true love that existed between the Eastern people. In here, "artificial" love is too common. People don't really know what love is.

Yet and in whole, she did not approve of her peoples' view about cross gender relationships as well.

I don't like our culture because guys' lives are much easier than girls. They can do anything and still be noble, but a girl in our culture can ruin her life forever with one event. If you go out with a guy and the people see you and then you marry someone else, the people will say, "Oh, I saw her with that other guy, I saw her ..." and then probably it (the marriage) won't work out.

Sarah has dealt with this problem in her own way. To her, the relationships between boys and girls in certain environments (e.g., in the workplace or at academic settings) is indispensable. Since most of her peers in the Engineering Department are males she has found her own way of making friendship with these students. Unlike the rest of the

Muslim female students who were hesitant to think about having any cross-gender relationships, and unlike the Indian students who could not establish relationships with their male peers because of their traditional norms, Sarah believed that there could not be any problem in this regard if the person was open about her religion and let others know about that. Her words in this regard are worth hearing.

Most of my friends in engineering are guys. My friendship with them is the same as with the girls. We go outside together, we chat and talk and ... do activities together. We watch soccer, or do projects or things like that. I don't go out alone with guys. They know that and they know that they cannot ask me to go out with them. In order to go out with a person you need to know the person at first. And my friends know that I have faith in my religion and they know what it is all about.

In answer to my question, whether she has ever been asked to go out with a guy and what she has said or done in that case her respond is positive.

I have had friends who have asked me to go out and I told them 'no'. If they ask me why I would explain. I am very open and they know. I always go out with a group of friends but not with one.

Sarah's respond to the question, whether her reaction to everybody who asks her to go out would be the same is also interesting to mention.

If somebody, as a Westerner asks me to go out with no wrong intention (dating as a couple) and I know that the person does not know about my religion, I would say OK. But I would suggest we go somewhere like a bowling place and in a bowling place you need to be in groups.

She then tries to convince me that it is possible for people to follow the rules of religion and at the same time not to be worried about cross-gender relationships. She demonstrates such possibility according to her own way of reasoning:

I am not the sort of person to accept anything if I don't believe in it. I have to believe it in order to accept it. And in order to accept things, I would ask "why", so if somebody asks me to go out to a movie or somewhere in private because that person needs to be with a friend and/or because he does not have any other friends as good as you are, I would say, lets go to a public place. I would say, it is not necessary to go to a movie or

somewhere like that. We can go somewhere else. If the person really thinks of me as a friend he will understand what I say.

While the Spanish and Oriental female students did not feel having as much restriction in having relationships with boys as the Middle Eastern and South-Asian students they still did not feel free to establish relationships with boys beyond school work. All of these students expressed some sorts of cultural commitments in this regard. Magie, Mark's girlfriend was the only female informant, who among the whole female sample, had a boyfriend. Magie and Mark's family were in fact aware of this relationship. Magie who lives with her uncle and her grandmother said that since she and Mark were going to marry and were following all of the rules of their religion and culture they did not have any difficulty in publicizing their relationship. She added that her relationship with Mark was of a platonic nature.

All of the male informants regardless of their cultural background did not feel they had any sort of difficulty in making cross-gender relationships. Yet, none of them but Mark from Philippines and John, Loretto's twin brother from Chile had so far been involved with girls as their friends.

Ehsan talked about his relationship with girls and noted that he had not already had any girlfriend, but to him, this did not mean that he could not have had any. He believed that even here, in Canada, boys and girls were still living in different worlds and made their own separate groups. He believed that the relationship shared by boys and girls in western societies was very different from those in eastern societies.

Here, the main reason for boys' and girls' having separated worlds is based on different outlooks they have. Boys are mostly interested in athletic activities while girls are less interested. Girls prefer to be less physically active but more socially involved. Boys, are almost opposite. Also, boys' and girls' hobbies are not exactly the same. Yet, both boys

and girls have the chance of talking to or being with each other.

In answer to my question, whether he believed he could have any sort of relationships with girls in the future, Ehsan felt positive. He appreciated the situation that existed here, in Canada, in terms of letting boys and girls feel free to establish friendships.

Isolation is the cause of the sexes viewing each other as alien (Ehsan presented this issue in a joking manner). This proves negative, as males and females tend to not understand each others' motives and/or interests. This is not good at all. Boys and girls must be together to know each other. The criticism we hear in the non-Western societies about boys' and girls' relationships with each other is not really present here in Calgary. One probable reason could be the existence of different cultures here.

Ehsan then pointed to the effect of parents' over-controlling their children in non-Western societies and believed that such kind of controlling could cause children to get involved with many unpleasant activities such as buying adult newspapers and movies. Yet, he did not believe that this was true in Canadian societies. He pointed to his family's possible attitude towards his future relationship with girls and expressed that he did not expect to feel any conflict. Nevertheless, when I asked him if his parents would feel comfortable to see his sister establishing any sort of relationships with her male peers, he did not give a clear response. "My sister is still very young." was the only expression he presented with this regard. When asked to be more specific, he replied that as this situation was not clear in his imagination, he couldn't predict the outcomes. He then remarked that his sister was one year younger than him and therefore was not in a situation to concern the family with this issue.

5. About their families' attitudes toward their relationships with friends, their clothing, their hobbies, and their social activities.

Unlike their male peers, the female students mostly coming from oriental and Latin American societies, expressed having difficulty (although not as much as the Middle Eastern and South-Asian female students) in establishing friendships with boys because of their families' concerns. Most of these students said that according to their families' values they would be allowed to have relationships with boys when they reached their twenties. While they did not have considerable objection to this matter they did not feel comfortable about the fact that such restrictions were not applied to their male siblings. They also did not have the same amount of freedom in terms of having out of school activities such as going out to certain places and curfew. While some of them could spend a little part of their time out of school, they still respected their family values and therefore did not go to bars or restaurants which were not approved by their parents.

Farah, among all of the female students is the only one (except Magie who is Mark's fiancé) who points that she had a boyfriend (as her husband now) before. Among all of the Middle Eastern students, she is also the only female who has had relationships with male students at school. Yet, this has not totally been approved by her parents. When I asked Farah to talk about her family's attitude toward her friends she said:

They did not feel comfortable with my friends before. I was going out with girls and guys despite their disapproval. I did not like their over-controlling me because I did not do anything wrong. I think if they over-control us we might sometimes make a wrong decision such as going away from them. So, I went out whenever I felt like it and I told them that despite their feelings I will continue to do what I think is right. I did it because I thought it was not right that they did not trust me. I have so far done whatever I wanted to and nothing has happened to me.

At this point, I asked Farah to be a little more specific in explaining how and to what extent she had limited her relationship with guys. Her response to this question was

not very clear.

I have had guy friends but they have not been involved with anything like drugs or smoking. They are all smart. We work together in the library along with girls. We have had all gone on camping trips. Last year, we had a camping trip. To my mother it was OK but my father did not want me to go out for this trip. I said, "this is my first experience to go out with friends. I like to experience new things and I don't like to lose this chance. I want to become a journalist in the future. I will therefore, have to travel far from home, so I need to start having such kind of experiences from now. Such reaction changed them a lot.

How did this incident change your parents' attitude toward you? I asked her and when I found her not replying to my question I thought that my question had not been clear enough. I therefore added, "Can you explain it by giving me an example?" Farah at this point, broke her silence and responded immediately:

You see, I have younger brothers and sisters who sometimes would like to go out with friends or attend birthday parties or holiday parties like Christmas or Canadians' celebrations at their houses. At first, they did not like to let any of us go out for such parties. My younger sister once said, "I wish I was born in a Canadian family". So I thought, since I am the oldest child of the family I must change things and my reaction to them has in fact changed them a lot. Now, they allow their kids to participate in many activities like swimming, soccer, skiing, and activities like those including camping.

I interrupted Farah at this point and asked, "Couldn't your parents' changing of attitude be a result of their giving up to the new situation you brought into the family?" Farah shook her head and disagreed to this point and said:

I don't think that this changing of attitude towards us is because they have no other choice. I think they have learned this through their relationship with other people. We are Isma'ilis and when we go to our mosque, we meet different groups of Isma'ilis from different parts of the world attending ceremonies and praying. These people come from Africa, India, Pakistan, and many other places including Canada. They have different cultures and all know that to be able to live here we should accept the Canadian cultural system as well.

To emphasize on the importance of adaptation to Canadian cultural system she then points to Hana and continues:

Like Hana for example, if she wants to work in a place like McDonalds, she has to wear its uniform. If she doesn't, she can't work. We have to work in order to be able to live here.

Hana who has listened to Farah for a considerable period of time interrupts Farah and says:

The reason I am so obedient to my family is because of my religious belief. Yet, I am aware that I would like to be able to talk to guys in certain situations. We sometimes need to talk to each other in order to know each other better. But personally, I am not interested in having any relationship further than this with guys. I do not therefore obey my parents by force because I believe in what they believe. There is not therefore, any sort of serious conflict between us. I don't really like to lose my community and I want to be acceptable. So I don't mind if I can't work in certain places because of religious belief or because of my dress. I don't even mind not being able to have relationships with guys. I am engaged. It was arranged but I am happy about it.

Here, Farah interrupts by opposing Hana's view about the cross-gender relationships and remarks:

I strongly recommend boys and girls relationships before marriage although my parents do not believe in it. Before I was married I had a relationship with my husband. Such kinds of relationships enable you to know all guys better and to know what kind of guy you are going to have as your future husband. If you don't know your husband before marriage, it will be difficult to live with him. I was my husband's girlfriend for a year and a half before marriage. Then my family figured it out and therefore, I told him that we had to stop seeing each other. But he said that he loved me and therefore proposed.

Hana enters the conversation here and tells Farah, "If you believe in what you say, how come you ended up marrying your boyfriend as soon as your family found out about your relationship?" Farah's respond at this point is implicitly close to what Hana already mentioned about her interest in keeping her bounds with her community.

Although I strongly recommend a boy and girl relationship before marriage, I don't believe in any physical relationship. The relationship should be set just for knowing each other better. I don't even believe that I could have any relationship with a non-Afghani or somebody out of culture. I don't want to lose my relatives' respect. I want to always be considered a member of our community.

By looking at each other and sharing a smile it seems that Hana and Farah have eventually come to a mutual agreement at this time.

6. about their parents' relationships with them in terms of trusting and/or controlling, their attitude toward them as a daughter or a son, and/or the older or younger members of their families.

While Mark and Magie, the same as all of the male students did not feel any sense of being controlled by their parents, Riba, the same as most of the non-Middle Eastern and South Asian female students believed that they were over-controlled by their parents. Since Riba's voice at this point is similar to these groups of female students it is worth hearing his point.

I usually like to spend some time with my friends. I have the same number of boys as my friends as girls. If I go out with them, I know that I won't do whatever I think is wrong. My parents know all about this. I try to do what my parents want but it sometimes is hard because my values in some respects is not exactly the same as them. They don't let me go out to the bar with my friends. That's fine because I usually do stuff with my best friends (she points to Mark and Magie) whenever other friends are going to the bar. Yet, I think that parents should trust kids, who are like us. Mostly because we don't do anything wrong unless we are provoked (by them?). I think that kids know that they should not abuse the rights their parents give them.

I then asked Riba how she dealt with this situation. "Do you do anything to express your feelings?" I asked her. Her response to this question was interesting.

I try to deal with parental over protection in the ways of communication. I try to explain that we are in a different country and we don't have to keep all of our old morals. I try to explain that I sometimes don't see things the way they want me to, and that I am a different person from them.

Riba then remarked that it was not just her parents who put her under pressure. Her brothers were also difficult.

We have ten people in our family. Sometimes my older brothers put too much of pressure on me and control me more than my parents do. My brothers always tell my guy friends that if they ever hurt me they will kill them. But they are just joking. So my

friends do not feel bad. Yet, my brother means something. I therefore, can't share my secrets with my brothers. I share them with my sisters.

On my way back home, where I met Riba at the bus stop again, Riba talked more about her cross-gender relationships as a part of her private life.

I once, had a Canadian boyfriend. Based on my culture and religion, I think of a boyfriend as a friend who treats me almost like my brother. He invited me to go out for a meal. I found that we did not have the same understanding of the situation. I told him about my different cultural views in terms of our relationship. He made me sure that he understood me, so we could not continue that kind of relationship. Now, we are just friends.
I now have a boyfriend who is from Singapore. He is 24 years old. He is my brother's friend. He is like a brother to me. We sometimes go out and have a meal together. We do not have any physical relationship. We just talk about normal stuff. In the Philippines, we believe that boys must propose to girls and this must be done through their families. Boys must request to have a girl as their future wife. We do not like to go out with them very easily. This is more romantic.

Riba was not the only student among the informants who had made a certain way of making relationship with her boyfriend so that it could be approved by her family. Magie's relationship with Mark and her other friends was also supervised by her uncle. Whenever she went out to a party or with a group of friends, she had her uncle with her. Yet, she did not think of it as a problem because she believed that all of her friends including Mark knew about her life and therefore, everything seemed OK to them.

Among the rest of the female informants, the Middle Eastern students' relationship with their parents were different. While most of the Middle Eastern informants believed that they were sometimes over-controlled by their parents as well as by their older male members of the family, they still did not feel like objecting to this fact. They believed that their parents did it because they cared about them and because it was their religious duty to support to female members of the family. While some of the students (e.g. Ada and

her sister) believed that their fathers' or brothers' following them outside the home was a kind of over-controlling them Emy and Samy did not see any problem in having such kinds of a relationships with their parents or their elder brothers. They in fact, even enjoyed their male members of their family being with them when they were out-door. For example, in answer to my question "what do you do during your free time" Emy said:

We watch TV, help our mother and do our homework. My brother tells us that we can go to the mall and have fun. After school we go out, usually with my brother and/or my father. Our friends don't ask us to go out with them anywhere because they know that we will say "no". They know that we can't go out.

Farah was the only female student who objected to parents' controlling their children and who had tried to find some ways of changing this situation in her family. Yet, as she said, she tried to do that "in a compromising way". She believed that she did not do anything against her family's norms. Although she broke some of the norms she did feel as either religious or moral. Her strategy at this point, as she herself said, was to adapt the traditional norms and values to the new situation.

Sarah also never felt restricted since she never experienced any conflicting situations.

My parents trust me enough to be with anyone, because I am the sort of a person who trusts herself. My parents know me and they trust my judgment and they know that I won't do anything *stupid*. Maybe sometimes my parents act very protective by always wanting me to keep my eyes open to what might happen to me, but that is fine because as the last person, *I am* the one who decides what I can do.
If for example, a guy asks me to go out with him to a movie, first, I won't think about doing this, but if under certain situations I feel I need to go I will probably ask my dad but it has not happened yet.

Sarah then explains how children can influence their parents' view of trusting them.

She believes that there should be a mutual relationship between parents and their children in terms of the establishment of a situation of trust.

To be trusted, is not something that we can just take. We need to create a situation where parents can feel comfortable to trust us. When we act in certain ways, our parents' trust in us either increases or decreases and thanks God, in my case, it has always been increased. They have therefore, never over-controlled me.

Sarah did not take the parents' part in creating such situation for granted. She points to the role of parents in teaching their children to respect the norms and values. She believes that this cannot be gained unless parents have enough reasons for convincing their children to honor their values.

You can only control your children to a certain extent, so from a young age you have to bring the children out with questioning and reasoning and explaining and never just tell them what to do and what not to do. That's the way my parents brought me up and so that's why I understand what their thinking is and if I disagree with something we will talk about it and it is not just cut or dry.

Sarah then points to the age of the children and their situation in the family, important factors influencing parents' trust or controlling their children. She points to her situation in the family as an example.

I don't think if I had any difficulty in understanding my parents because I am the youngest. But maybe my older sisters had problems because they had to go through things first. My sisters' existence in the family has probably made things easier for me. They might have faced lots of things that I have not. But so far, my sisters have not talked about having any problems with our parents or any social problem as a result of being raised in this family....

Here, Sarah points to an important issue in her life in specific and in the life of most of the Middle Eastern female teenagers in general. That is the role of a brother or brothers in influencing the parents' treatment of their daughters.

I think if I had an older brother it would have made a difference in my life and my relationship with my parents. An older brother would have become a second father towards me and would probably control me. I think it would have been different if I have

had a brother in the sense of my parents' attitude toward controlling, but yet, I don't know.

What Sarah believes and the way she lives is not exactly similar to what an average Middle Eastern teenager may think or do. I therefore, asked her about her community's reaction to her typical behavior.

The Muslim community are very talkative. I spend most of my time with my friends but yet, during my free time, I am sometimes with the community during rituals and ceremonies. Anything that you do will go right around and if you do anything wrong everybody will soon know all about it. I don't change the way I am because of all this and I don't do things because I will hope people will like it. I know that I can't doubt myself and I do what I think is right. So, what the community says doesn't really bother me but it would bother a lot of other people.

I then asked her about her parents' reaction if she does something that might not be approved of by the members of her community. Her response was as follows:

My parents and I are very close. Everything I do they can know about it. They can read my mind. So I would never go to them to explain some of my actions. In some situations if I feel some of the people say things behind my back because I have done something which has not been approved of by them I would not go to my parents to talk to them about it. They would themselves figure out what the case has been and as I said, they would read my mind.

While Muslim females were almost tolerant about their parents' controlling them, Indian female students objected to this way of being treated. They specially complained about this situation because they believed they were discriminated by their parents and their community in terms of application of the norms for different sexes. This was unlike the Muslim students who believed that although the rules of their culture and their religion did not give the same rights to different sexes, their families were still concerned with applying the relevant rules for both sexes. Muslims therefore believed that *both* sexes had restrictions in having cross-gender relationships. Hana, Shina, Rita, Emy, and

Samy who had older brothers, for example, stated that the same as them, their brothers did not have any relationships with the opposite sex and their marriages were all half-arranged. Indian female students did not talk about their situation in the same way. All of them, regardless of their religion felt that their parents and their communities were more tolerant about what men did in terms of setting relationship with girls. Sima's statements in this regard, are interesting to be heard.

Based on our religion, we cannot date. My mom says I can but only if I get an eighty percent average, and she knows that I can never achieve this. My average is about sixty-five now. Girls in our culture usually don't go out. Maybe one out of hundred goes out with boys. That is because all the fault is considered to be the girl's.

She then explains her situation in the family compared to that of her brothers.

I have two older brothers. I am sixteen years old. I have no boyfriend. I never had one. My brothers influence my parents view in this business. According to them, I am allowed to have a boyfriend but as my parents they have also made it conditional, meaning a very higher average.

She then announces her disapproval in this kind of treatment:

I think that my parents respect my brothers' opinions more because they are guys. I can't do lots of things they can. They can do whatever they want to because when they marry they won't be blamed for any of their actions such as going out with girls. But a girl would have so much difficulty if she did any of these things.

Sima's view at this point became very similar to her Indian female peers who were not happy about being treated different from their male peers. They all agreed with Sara's idea that whatever people say, hear or believe about a guy is not going to matter to other people in their culture. Therefore, if a guy had made any sort of relationships with girls in the past, it wouldn't have mattered to the family of the girl he married. "On the contrary," Sima stated, "it really matters what people may say about a girl in this regard." Reno approved of Sara's point by continuing, "A girls' life could be totally

ruined by what people say about her in our culture."

7. About their family, the size, the home language, the communities and/or clubs at which they spend their free time, the rituals or religious ceremonies, the cultural gatherings, and anything else relevant to the family values.

While all of the female informants mentioned that they had affiliation with the members of their own community during their rituals and ceremonies, the level of participation was not the same. Among these students, most of the Middle Eastern and South-Asians remarked that they were active members of their community with regard to their attendance in their religious as well as their cultural ceremonies. The Catholic students referred to their going to the Church on Sundays. While some of these students referred to these kind of rituals as boring they still did not show any objection to participate in them. A few oriental students pointed to their cultural center as the main place where they could meet some of the members of their community. A few of these students, e.g. Claudia, Bob and Ferin did not point to any cultural or religious activity. Wend's life condition with this regard is different from the other students.

I am a Christian. My mother is a Buddhist, and my father believes in nothing. Basically my parents don't blame me for being a Christian. But they are hesitant to let me go to church. ... the main problem is my mother. She worries about me when I go to Church with my friends. ... My parents seem very open-minded regarding my clothing and my interests. The only problem I have is about my parents attitude towards my friends. Yet, they always tell me to choose what is right. But I think that their definition of right is their own point of views. Actually I think that my parents' concern is mostly connected to my becoming a Christian. They therefore ask me not to go out with my friends after school. They say that if I do so, I won't have enough time to study. ... I feel though that such activities (going to the church with friends) teach me lessons and brings me closer to my friends. Those things are things that cannot be taught in books.

Wend then talks about her friends in Hong Kong. She said she missed them but when after a while she went back home to see them she felt a big gap between herself

and her friends there. "This gap between my friends has been a result of my move to Canada." She then states that even in Canada she does not feel like she belongs.

The males' response to my question about the students' communities and/or clubs at which they spend their free time, and their rituals or religious ceremonies, their cultural gatherings and anything else that was relevant to their family values was different from most of the females. Unlike those female informants who spend some part of their free time among the members of their own communities by participating in their religious and cultural activities, none of the male students except Mark talked about this part of their social life. In fact Mark among these students expressed his enthusiasm in talking about this aspect of his life. A part of his statements in this regards are as the followings:

When we wake up we are supposed to pray and thank God for everything, and before sleeping we are supposed to pray as well. ... Not all of my friends have this habit. There are just a few who pray and go to the church. Yet, it is a tradition. My girlfriend always prays before eating and I do that as well. I do this at school as well, but other students do not pray. To make it unnoticeable, I do it in silent. I just make a sign of the cross. Then in silent I say some words.

Mark then tries to refer to the above issue as the main reason for his having a girlfriend. To explain why unlike most of his male friends he was interested in continuing his relationship with his girlfriend and spend most of his time out of school with her instead of them he refers to his religious values and states:

My parents like my girlfriend. They trust me. They know that I am concerned with my school activities, my progress and my attitude. My guy friends have not been helping me in gaining this progress. Some of them are smart. Yet, during religion course, we usually argue. They do not believe in Jesus the Christ. My girlfriend is encouraging me to make progress. I am proud of her. I don't smoke and drink except in special occasions that I drink a little bit of bear. My guy friends drink more. Sometimes they drink too much. For example, last year we went to Heritage Park. My friends went to drink. They invited me to join them and offered me a glass of bear but their bottles were empty. They were all drunk. I don't like to be with them when they are drinking. I prefer to spend most of my time with my girlfriend. We have a few female friends. Girls are more respectful to

religion and moral values than boys. Boys seem to have less insight on such unworldly matters. Most of boy's spend most of their time thinking in terms of worldly issues. That is why I am more amongst girls than my guy friends.

Riba, Magie's and Mark's friend at this point joined the discussion and said that she felt disappointed because she saw some of her friends going out with guys and getting involved with smoking and drinking. She also said that the same as Mark and Magie she had many friends. Yet, the same as her other two friends, she did not join their out of school activities at all because she could not trust what they did. She said that she tried to advise them and have friendly relationships with them during school time but what they did in response was telling her that she was a J.K. (Joy Killer). But since she and her other two friends had proved to their friends that they were more concerned with their progress at school, their friends had accepted that as a matter of their being different from them and hence liked them as friends. She also appreciated the Canadian multicultural society, for it helped the people like her, not to go through any problems in having other peoples know about their different value systems. Mark at this point approved of what Riba said and added:

Our reserved behavior has not made our friends annoyed because we have never objected them. They like us. For example, Riba and Magie try to talk to them about the peoples' lives in Philippines. They talk about the subjects that sound interesting to our friends. I always make them laugh by making jokes and teach them to say words in my language. When we advise them not to drink or smoke, we do not say it in a bad way. For example, I tell them about a bad experience of mine when I was in the Philippines. My father died there because of excessive drinking. Yet, they sometimes suggest that I smoke. To make them believe that I can't smoke, I smoked one time and then pretended that I choked a lot, so they didn't suggest me to smoke anymore. When we advise them not to smoke, some of them say, "OK, we won't smoke." but they lie to us. They do it when we are not together.

Mark, Magie, and Riba finally said that they enjoyed their relationship with friends

although it was limited to school time. In spite of their feeling of being different from the rest of their friends, they said that they still liked them because they appreciated different cultures and different ways of living. They believed that through having relationship with different friends, they had shared information about their cultures and they had learned a lot about different peoples and their lives in Canada and that had made their lives easier.

8. About their marriage plans, their career ambitions, and their future roles.

All of the Middle Eastern and South Asian students stated their beliefs in half arranged marriage. They all believed that this sort of marriage would enable them to share their lives with a persons who were approved by both themselves and their parents. They all preferred to see their future spouse coming from their own ethnic group or nationality. Since Ehsan believed that he was too young to think about who would be his future spouse, he did not make any point about this issue but he did not object to the idea of a half-arranged marriage. The reasons the above students brought for supporting their views were mostly based on the issue of their parent's experience, their support, the approval of their community, and above all, their sharing of the same culture. While Sarah's views among the rest was very typical it seemed more clear and convincing.

I don't believe in any physical relationship and any dating before marriage. You can always know a person in your group and if you like him and he likes you then fine, we will marry. I don't know what you mean by an arranged marriage. You mean parents finding me a husband and then I marry? Yes, It is almost like that. It will go through parents but I would always have a voice, but if you mean my parents will choose for me someone without my will, no it is not what I want.
My marriage plans would then become too public. If I met someone I liked I would tell my parents and ask their opinion, and if it happened the other way, it will be OK as well because I know that it is ultimately my decision, so my parents have to be involved.

Sarah, then tries to demonstrate why she prefers to marry a person who would come

from the same culture as hers.

I would like to marry a person who first of all is a good Muslim. Second, if my husband is an Egyptian it will be the best, because it will be easier for my children. I think it would be hard for the children if we [parents] held two different cultures. The child would be very confused by asking, "What am I, for example, a Lebanese or an Egyptian?"

When I asked Sarah if she has not asked the same question about her identity from herself or her parents she responded,

No, I haven't. If you take a Jewish mother and a Muslim father for example, the kid would be really confused as to, "Oh, who is right, mom or dad?" Here, I take two different religions as my examples to say my point and I think that with cultures, it is the same sort of thing. Because, things are done differently in two different cultures like Lebanon and Egypt as my examples and I think that would confuse a child. I was raised in sort of a situation when my parents were one to me and then, *later*, I was put into a different situations.

Sarah then explains that a cross-cultural marriage cannot certainly work when we see the lives of the children affected by it. Her marriage plans would therefore, be influenced by her view in this regard.

In case of a Canadian-Egyptian marriage, sometimes the marriage may work out but not always. The difference may show up as conflicts to children. My priority is therefore, marrying a Muslim. I would like to marry somebody who knows better than me in reading and writing and speaking Arabic. Anybody, who is better than me, a Lebanese, an Egyptian, etc., will be fine. But, if I see two men from the mentioned countries and see them being equal in having the values I am concerned with, I will end up choosing the Egyptian.

Sima's views in this regard which are different in some ways are also interesting. While talking about her religion, Hinduism, she expresses that there would be no difficulty if she married someone out of her culture.

According to the religion, I can marry someone out of my religion, culture, and race. I think that I will want to marry someone out of my culture. It will be OK with my parents as well. My religion says that you can mix with other cultures. But some parents do not like this idea.

Sima refers to her culture as the main source of the people's hesitance to let their children have freedom in choosing their future partners. While she admires the Western outlook at this point, she cannot rid herself of her original values. Her following statement demonstrates her conflicting views in this regard.

About marriage, both the input of parents and the couple is important in our culture. Now, you can pick anybody you want, but, your parents can tell you "no, this is not a good choice," or they may say, "yes, why don't you continue and get to know him?" and that is how a relationship starts or ends. Now, marriages are suggested rather than arranged. I think a marriage in the West is more successful than in the East. If parents would give more attention to what the couple feels it would help a lot. I think both ways are good in different ways. Sometimes. I like the idea of having our parents suggesting what to do about marriage.

She then explained her future plans regarding marriage. This was contradictory to what she said earlier in our conversation about cross-gender relationships.

I think I will marry someone from my own culture. I think the clash of two cultures would make a marriage difficult. I am trying to adapt to the new culture, but I am also trying not to change as much as I can help it. I think I practice Canadian things like Christmas and Easter, because I am respecting the new culture, not because I am believing in them. I will practice Canadian norms but I still am attached to my original traditions as well. I think that you should have your culture and stick to it, but you must learn how to respect the culture of others. Especially the culture of the country you are living in it. There are too many things here. You can't stick to everything. You should choose something as your own but at the same time respect other things because they belong to the country we are living in. While, therefore, I always go over what is popular, I know that I should not forget my own culture.

While the Latin American and the students coming originally from the Oriental societies did not feel as restricted as their Middle Eastern fellows did in marrying people from their home country, they still expressed some important concerns in this respect. The female and male students' responses to this subject was somehow different. The female students expressed their willingness to have their future husbands coming from the societies where they shared the same cultural backgrounds as Spanish or Oriental

regardless of their nationality. All of these students referred to their home and family norms and values as the major source of their view in this regard. They believed they could not marry someone out of their culture because it could cause difficulty in terms of communication.

The difference between the males' view and their female peers was based on the level of freedom they had in case of deciding to marry someone out of their own culture. While most of the girls believed they had to marry someone coming from their own cultural background, due to their parents' wills, boys did not feel they would face any problems in doing so. Nevertheless, most of these boys thought that it would be easier for them if they were married to women from their own culture.

9. About their national and/or ethnic identity.

The last major subject of conversation rotated around the students' ideas about their ethnic and/or national identity and how they communicated with others with regard to this issue. The students who had spent a longer period of time in Canada or in any Western country seemed to be more willing to take part in this part of the conversation. While among these students some, e.g., Sarah, were more comfortable to talk about the differences as well as the similarities, others, e.g., Sima and Farah, remarked their interest in adaptation to the new culture.

When I asked Sarah about her nationality she said that she did not really know what it was. She did not want to put emphasis on any of the countries she had been associated with in her life. She said that she used all the three countries, Egypt, England, and Canada to her advantage. She also said that she could not prioritize any of these

countries regardless of the situations she may live in. To explain her view about her situationally determined nationality she states:

If an Egyptian-Canadian comes to me and starts talking to me I would probably say that I am an Egyptian. I will probably feel the least Canadian at this point because I haven't been here any more than two years. I may also feel more British than Canadian in the sense of my nationality. I don't know yet. It depends on what I feel like at that situation. If there is a certain advantage, or there is something to my benefit in being attributed to any of these cultures I may attribute myself to that culture.

To get sure about what Sarah meant in this respect, I asked her to make her views clearer. She presented the following example at this point.

If I was in the British airport for example, and the passport controller gave me a hard time (assuming that I was an Arab), I would say, "excuse me, you have no right to do this to a British citizen or a Canadian citizen. This is sort of easing our life probably. If I am in Europe therefore, I would probably know myself as a British and if I am in the Middle East and find it easier to communicate with people through my Egyptian identity I would refer to my Egyptian identity.

Sarah then mentioned that she did not have such a mixed view about her identity when she was in England. " When I was a child," she said, "I did not like to be associated with my Egyptian background because the children then, would call me *Paky.*" She then added, "but now that I am older, when I am with my friends it doesn't matter to me what they know me as or what they call me". When I asked Sarah about her mother language and her ability in reading and writing it, it seemed that she finally came to an idea about her identity.

I am a Muslim. We speak Arabic and English at home. My parents taught me Arabic. I can read and write Arabic with difficulty so I can't translate it into English unfortunately. I also have difficulty in reading Qur'an as well as an Arabic newspaper.

When at this point, I asked Sarah about the sect she was associated with she replied:

I am just a Muslim. I don't like to emphasize on differences. I believe in Islam and the *Qur'an* and the *hadith*[3] and the petty little differences shouldn't come into it and I think

[3] The sayings of the prophet and his followers (not written in Qur'an)

that's the way we are breaking it down rather than becoming stronger and coming to unity.

I then asked if she did praying and how she did it. The following was her response.

I try to pray during the day (the five time daily praying). Sometimes I become lazy but I usually do. I don't have any problem in praying at school. Usually we have ten minutes breaks between classes. There is a chapel in McEwans Hall. To make *Wodhoo*[4], I go to the washrooms and if anybody asks me what I am doing I would explain.

My next question was about Sarah's wearing and *hijab* and the way she dealt with them if she faced people who considered her as someone different.

As a Muslim, you always get questioned about your *hijab* either out of peoples' curiosity or just to bug you. But most often, it is a genuine curiosity and to me, that's fine. I did not have *hijab* until a year ago. So I did not feel difficulty during my early teenage years. We (she and her family) all wore it when we became older. Now, I feel having confidence in talking about my *hijab*. As a Muslim, I am proud of it and therefore I enjoy talking about it.

"What made you decide to wear *hijab*?" I asked Sarah. Her response was as the following:

A few people from my community, my sisters, and I had gone to the mountains. They all wore *hijab*. It was actually a little kid who went to my sister and said, "You are a better Muslim than your sister is!" and it seemed true to me because I thought why weren't I wearing *hijab* while I was proud of my religion and we were all the same in this regard. I had already been thinking about wearing *hijab* for a long time and it was just a reminder.

Ehsan, unlike the female Middle Eastern students did not show any interest in talking about his ethnic identity. His short time of living in Canada, may in fact have not let him think about this issue so far. Sima and Farah had found some ways of integrating into the new culture while respecting and keeping some aspects of their old lives. They put less emphasis on those aspects of their culture that could make them visible among Canadians. They said they did not have any national dress on when they were at school

[4] Ritual requirement for the cleaning of the body including washing the face, the hands and the feet

or in public among Canadians. They believed that by making themselves look less visible and by trying to emphasis on similarities they could integrate well into the Canadian society. By respecting the less visible norms, e.g., having their traditional dress when among the members of their community and participating their ceremonies and praying, they believed they could keep their bonds with their traditional culture.

The rest of the Middle Eastern students emphasized more on their original identity as an important part of their life in Canada. Nevertheless, they were looking forward to finding some ways to integrate into their new society, while at the same time preserving their traditional values. Most of these students said that through communication with others they tried to talk about what they had in common instead of differences. While Shina for example, wished if she could do her afternoon praying at school she had not found a special place suitable for this act. Yet, she had never gone to the school authorities to ask for such a place. In my question whether the school would have suggested a place for her praying she responded:

I have never asked them. I am sure if I had asked they would have provided a place for this kind of practices. I don't like to ask because I might be the only person who wishes to have a part of her daily praying at school.

"Have you ever asked them to announce and see if there are some other people who would like to pray at school?" I asked her.

"Not indeed," she replied. "I don't like to become conspicuous. I don't like to seem very different." and with a short pause she continued, "Yet, If I knew several people who the same as me wanted to ask for such a place I would probably join them. In that case, I did not feel being alone and different."

Emy and Samy also stated that in order to save their friendship with their Indian friends as well as their Muslim-Sunni friends, they discussed the similarities rather than differences. "We may end up fighting if we talk about differences." Emy said. This view was in fact a typical notion about how to make or save friendships among the rest of the students regardless of their ethnicity or nationality. Not talking about the differences but respecting them in certain ways was the common strategy among all of these students.

10. About the observed data regarding gender differences.

As the above information shows, there was a significant difference between the males' and females' responses with regard to their experiences of discrepancy between their home and school worlds. While more than ninety percent of all female children of immigrants included in the study reported experiences of at least some discernible cultural dissonance as a result of conflicting expectations between their home and school environments, no considerable report of discrepancy between the two social environments was reported by the male students. These data therefore, triggered my interest towards writing a brief record of my observations regarding existing gender gaps as the last part of this chapter.

My significant attention at this point has been given to: A) the students' attitude towards different stages of the research conduct which was started with an introduction of the problem and 2) their level of interest and participation in the research project.

As it was already mentioned in the chapter devoted to methodology, the first stage of the research was conducted among selected children of immigrants attending five Calgary public and Catholic schools. Based on the position of the appointed staff

cooperating with this project (the ESL teachers in the two Catholic schools as well as in one of the public schools, and the librarian and the school counselor in two other public schools) the students were selected differently. While the ESL teachers selected their own students as the research subjects, the school representative in the fourth school (the librarian) invited all of the multicultural students, who had experienced different value systems between their home and school, to participate in this project. This was managed by publicizing a brief description of the research purpose and the eligible students as the research subjects on the school Board. In the fifth school, the school consultant contacted all of the teachers and asked them to inform the multicultural students in their classes of this research project and invite them to participate. While the research subjects in the first three schools were therefore, already selected, the appointed staff in the last two had to wait for the interested individuals to announce their willingness to participate in the research project. Because the first three schools did not require to wait for interested volunteers, they therefore expressed their readiness soon after the preliminary contacts.

In my first meeting with the ESL students in one of the Catholic schools, I found all of the female students sitting in the front and middle side of the class. During the period I talked to them and showed a video tape to introduce the problem. After this period of introduction four female students participated in a discussion about their problems with regard to their home and school cultures. The rest of the female students along with these four students tried to express their active attendance and interest in the topic through less verbal methods such as nodding, approving or disapproving others' ideas

and by using of short expressions such as "yes" and "no" words, etc. On the contrary, none of the male students expressed any interest whatsoever in the topic of discussion. By sitting at the margins and corners of the class from the beginning of the meeting and moving later to the last rows (close to the exit door) they slowly prepared the class for a gradual leave. One by one most of the male students left the class after providing different excuses. However, about the end of the introductory video-tape and my following short statement, a discussion of the topic was opened by the female students. Finally, nine female students as well as one male student (Mark, although he had previously, in the presence of the other males, shown a lack of interest in the discussion) demonstrated their interest in participating in the following stages of the research. Yet, not more than four of these students (three of the females and one male) had their parents' consent forms signed and therefore could not later be interviewed in the next stage of the research.

In the next Catholic school the ESL teacher arranged the conduction of the first stage of the research and assigned all of the ESL students to participate in the second stage followed by the first as their class assignment. The Interviews were therefore, held in the classroom over several periods of a day, and all seventeen ESL students attending those classes participated in the interview. Due to the limitation of the assigned time (eight hours over a whole day), and also most of the students' interests in being interviewed collectively, groups of two to three (with two single individuals) were assigned for the interview conduction. Again, as the first school, the females' and males' attendance in the interview were different. Girls in general talked more, and spoke of

their two different life situations extensively. Boys on the contrary, were not willing to talk much about their lives, and therefore, most of their responses were as short as possible. In most of the cases for example, they tried to shorten the conversation by stating that they did not have any problem. More than eighty percent of the whole interview time was in this sense, spent by the girls.

My third subject group were the ESL students from a public school. The same as the second Catholic school, I met these students during one of their ESL classes and started my introduction to the problem by giving a short statement about myself as a multicultural person in the Canadian society. Soon, after I started to talk several students including Shina, Farah, and Hana immersed themselves into the subject matter by asking me if I was a Muslim and whether I knew Arabic and how I was lived with the differences. To me, it seemed as if my position, as the researcher, and the students' position as the subject matters was changed. Right after I told them that their guess about my mother tongue as Arabic was not correct, Farah asked if I spoke Farsi. When I asked why she thought of me as a Persian, she referred to my accent and stated that she spoke the same language, albeit a different accent, and found my accent similar to her Iranian friends and relatives including her brother in law. Without any prodding done by me in order to introduce the subject to the students, some of the girls proved to be so in touch with the topic that they themselves brought their female friends into the conversation. My attempt from this point on was directed towards encouraging the male students to participate in the discussion. Yet, no positive sign of willingness to participate was presented by males at this part. Since in the video-tape there was a more

extensive discussion of the adolescents' views about their multicultural lives in their Canadian environment and also a group of males were involved in the discussion I then planned to show the video-tape and hoped that at the end I will have some males attracted to the research subject. However, I needed a VCR and it was not available in the classroom. The teacher asked if one of the students would help the class in borrowing a VCR from the library. All of the males announced their willingness at once and rushed towards the door, only to be stopped by the teacher and asked to return to their sits. Two of these students were chosen to pick up the VCR while the rest were made to again join the class. While then we had to wait for the VCR, the female students proved their interest in continuing the discussion about multicultural students' lives in the Canadian school systems. The boys at this point sat unhappily without a single note of interest at the topic being discussed. The indifferent attitudes of these males were not changed until the end of the class. What in fact these male students busied themselves with over the whole period was doing quiet activities (e.g. reading or writing). Following the ringing of the bell all of the males left the class, but most of the girls, even those who were less active in the conversation, sat and did not leave until the end of the group discussion. This was a period of about fifteen minutes after the bell. In fact a couple of these girls came to me after the class and complained about the impolite attitude of their peer boys.

Among the twelve students who attended the second and third stage of the research, eleven turned out to be girls. The only male attendant was an Iranian student who accepted to be interviewed not because of his willingness but my strong request in our

shared native language, Persian. Out of all students who had expressed interest in attending the next stages of the research, only four were included in the second stage of my conducted research. This was due to the fact that the others had not brought back consent forms signed by their guardians. Yet, because of the encouragement expressed by the attending members in the first meeting, seven friends of these individuals joined the group of students already assigned to be interviewed in the following stages. Four of these seven students were in fact above eighteen years of age and did not need their guardians' consent forms. In fact it was during an extracurricular program, when the students were preparing programs for the multicultural week that I was introduced to these students via the mentioned female students. During their lunch time (after one of the ESL classes) for over several weeks the multicultural students were invited to participate in an activity for organizing the school multicultural week programs. Since the place assigned for rehearsal was connected to the ESL class, with its door open towards us, after performing the interviews I had the chance of attending and watching and during the break times as well as the lunch hour have some chat with the multicultural students. The very interesting thing to me in the first instance was that no male students ever participated in such programs although both sexes were invited for participation. When in one of my attendants I asked why the girls were only participating in such preparation sessions all the females agreed upon the fact that 1) the boys did not have any interest in participating and 2) they did not need to participate while they had more interesting and exciting (according to the boys themselves) programs such as indoor and outdoor athletics and non-athletics programs to participate.

During these sessions all girls including those who did not participate in the formal interview discussed many things about their home and school cultures. These students were from South-Asia, Middle East, Oriental societies, and one from Latin America. The major concern of South Asian students was the existing discrimination regarding their communities and parents' treating boys and girls in terms of their cross-gender relationships. The Oriental students complained about their parents' lack of trust and therefore over-controlling them. Middle Eastern students needed a little bit more of freedom to extend their relationships with friends outside school and home. And the Latin American girl had a lot more to say. She was from a Catholic family with Spanish culture. She had a Hindu boy friend and she wanted to marry him but she was not sure about her future. She wanted to keep her religion and culture but she was not sure if her marriage with a Hindu Indian will let her to retain her culture. In addition to that, her parents were not happy about this marriage and therefore she could not feel comfortable to go for this marriage even if the problems from her point of view could be solved. She believed that although the society is a multicultural one there are still many barriers in front of the people to improve their feelings of tolerance about other cultures. She believed that our educational institutions have an important role in providing the whole society and its members an understanding and acceptance of other cultures and to prepare them to be more tolerant toward those cultures. She also believed that she would feel less problems in marrying a person from another religion or culture if she was a male.

My observations in the fourth and fifth schools were limited to the first groups

discussions in the first phase of the research. The attendants in these schools were in fact volunteered to participate in the research program by reading the relevant announcement on the school board as well as through their social and English teachers in their classrooms. Therefore, before their attending in the first stage of the research they had a brief view and understanding of what the subject was about. In the fifth school, the numbers of the male and female attendants in the first meeting were almost equal (about sixteen). About the end of the introductory statement and the showing of the video tape half of the male students plus one female left the class. The remainder sat in the class till the end of the discussion which did not last long. A few (three to four) girls involved in a short discussion and eventually asked if they could either interview themselves (by having one of their friends as the interviewer) or have an interview protocol to talk into a tape. This idea had already brought about in a preliminary discussion of the subject matter among their librarian staff and the students. Their suggestions were accepted and therefore the fifth school's data collection differed in this way from other schools. However, the librarian arranged some time and place for the students to talk into the tape and finally presented the results to me. Five students (three girls and two boys), in this way talked into the tape. The very distinctive matter about the differences between girls' and boys' in this case was the amount of time spent on this issue as well as the subject matter. The two boys had talked into the tapes about five minutes by just introducing themselves and then saying that they did not have any problem. The only major problem discussed by one of them was that he was not happy with his curfew time. Each of the girls on the contrary had talked about one hour and brought many issues about their

home and school lives some of which were about the very distinctive differences between their two worlds.

All of the students attending the first phase of the research in the fifth school were girls. One of the students was born in Canada with a Pakistani father and a Yugoslav mother. The girl introduced herself as a Canadian-Yugoslav-Pakistani Muslim. Her closest friend was an originally Hindu Indian students. While her physical features looked more Western European she still had proved her interest in identifying herself with her European side. She had dyed her brown hair to a slightly lighter color (the new growth parts showed this) and worn a very western dress style. Yet, when later talking to one of the school staff about her, the lady in the staff believed that the girl identifies herself with her mother in terms of her external identity (codes of dress, nationality, by putting always her Yugoslav origin before the Pakistani) but in terms of her internal identity (exercising the norms of religion, choosing of friends, and attitudes and behaviors) she is closer to her father's Pakistani identity. In whole, all of the students stated that they were very involved with the discrepancies between their home and school lives and by actively involving within the first group discussion as well as verbally expressing, proved their interest in participating in the next stages of the research. Yet, it was unfortunate that the follow up interviews could not be performed in this school due to the research coordinator's relapse of her asthma disease and the lack of time to ask for another coordinator because of the end of the schooling period.

Many other things were observed, talked about and discussed but the topics more relevant to this dissertation were selected. The methodology applied in this chapter was geared to transform the students from objects to subject resources who understand,

interpret and make sense of their social lives while forming and shaping them at the same time. My task in this chapter (with the last part of it as an exception) was to elicit some of the interpretations of the students in order to reveal some important aspects of their lives without imposing my own models over those of the students (known as the folk models according to anthropological perspectives). We therefore, take the above as a sample representation of the research subjects' own interpretations of their situations and wind up this chapter at this point.

CHAPTER NINE

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

While in the previous chapter my major goal was to document the students' perceptions of contradictions and their subjective and goal-pursuing attempt to manage them, in this chapter, by referring to the model I presented in chapter six and by following my methodological principles, presented in chapter seven, I propose to present an analytical framework capable of explicating specific processes taking place when numbers of students from immigrant families experience certain levels of discrepancy between their home and school environments. At this point, I am therefore shifting from a 'subjective' perspective to a relatively 'objective' one. My purpose in doing this is not to 'validate' my model as a truth, but rather to sensitize the reader to certain patterns that are generated by the students themselves and that reflect their experiences of discrepancy. The main task of this chapter then, is to apply the Barthian model so that we can enrich our understanding of children's creativity and their ability to manage their social dilemmas in their new cross-cultural environment. By combining subjective and objective perspectives in this dissertation, and by borrowing on a variety of symbolic interactionism, social constructionist and interpretive approaches, already discussed in my model, my intention is to develop some operational concepts that develop our understanding of the frequentive patterns of the students' behaviors when they are in relationship with others and are located in different social contexts.

As the basis of my model, I have selected Barth's view of 'transaction' to illuminate the processes which result from the students' interactions and which need to be better recognized by our educational institutions. As the starting point, I have placed the students among groups or individuals with whom they most interact. By doing this, the reader can see how these students "negotiate" or "transact" certain aspects of their experiences and world views when caught between contradictory value systems. It is through transacting their views, I believe, that the students empower themselves to deal with discrepancies between their home and school worlds. By referring to my model, and like Barth (1981: 14), what I am suggesting here is:

> transactions are of particular analytical importance because (a) where systems of evaluation (values) are maintained, transaction must be a predominant form of integration; (b) in them the relative evaluations in a culture are revealed; and (c) they are a basic social process by means of which we can explain how a variety of social forms are generated from a much simpler set and distribution of basic values.

Speaking of values here, as the first two of the above themes, we shall be, at the same time, concerned with the students' home values (into which they were socialized, and which still exert a major hold over them in so far as they spend the majority of their time in the home environment) as well as the various scales of evaluation experienced by them specifically at their schools and generally in their public lives. What may generally happen is that, through interaction, the students discuss, compare and contrast, negotiate and eventually revise their home values. This is a process - let us call it 'negotiation" or, as Barth (1981) has defined it 'transaction', - which may create some level of agreement over certain aspects of the students' lives, which are, at this point, the value conflicts. The differences between the students' experiences of their cultures and ethnic identities

in this sense is not totally determined by the social structures they are involved in, but is partly based on their social behavior which is shaped consciously and purposefully and which is negotiated (ibid, 1981: 14-15). Attention at this point is given to the students, as unique characters, who are continually making sense of their worlds and (through transaction) negotiating with others the details of their discrepant orientations. In particular, the notion that they need to have their interpretations confirmed by peers is axiomatic in this respect.

Here, it is also necessary to pay special attention to the important point that the terms 'negotiation' and 'transaction' do not really refer to a practically formal or necessarily obvious process that happens in the students' lives when they are being located in their new habitat. This is a process that tends to occur below the surface of the relationships between the students, a process whereby some of the students' value elements may become integrated with other students, and as a result create shared meanings and understandings. In fact, this process is so subtle that it may appear to a casual observer as if it is not happening at all. What I am trying to do in this chapter therefore, is to give the reader some clues to indicate that, through transacting their worldviews, the students make steps towards constructing new norms and values that help them to manage their conflicts. It is through transaction, I believe, that the students find they have a very important (among many) thing in common with other immigrant students. Although at first glance, each student's life may seem very peculiar to him or her, by observing them transacting their life conditions, we can come to recognize commonalities among them.

School is a very important time in the children's lives. It is the time when the students make their way out of their private and personal world in to a larger world where they encounter many other peoples experiencing feelings similar to theirs. It is at this time that, through sharing their world-views as well as their feelings of discrepancy, the students' inchoate feelings transmute into shared folk models which are constructed and reconstructed by the students themselves through processes of negotiation and re-negotiation of their worldviews. In these processes, the students empower themselves in the face of their value conflicts. To put this another way, while the students share and transact their worldviews, these views, as Barth (1981) explains, become *systematized*. That is because, "when, and only when, we are faced with the repeated necessity of choice, are we forced to resolve dilemmas and make some kind of comparison between, and evaluation of the alternatives with which we are presented" (P: 50). These worldviews also become *institutionalized*, "because in groping for a solution to the dilemmas, we prefer to use other people's experience as our guide rather than risk the errors implied in a trial-and-error procedure" (P: 51). To draw these linkages, I am going to refer to data contained in selected cases shown in Appendix I, as my examples.

Here, I should remind the reader that this is essentially a qualitative research endeavor, trying to explain processes of "transaction" and "negotiation" the students employ in their daily life activities at home and school. My actual interest is therefore, on the students' interactions and the dynamic processes pertained to them. The dissertation therefore, is not testing a hypothesis according to information received from statistically significant numbers of individual cases and strong empiricist methods. Instead, it is an in-

depth, explanatory study which has restricted the number of cases in order to provide a more in-depth understanding and exhibition of transitive processes that affect the course of interaction in relationships; The research sample as well as the analytical concepts have been developed all along my central task of making intelligible the students' interactions and the dynamic processes pertaining to them.

To investigate how children of immigrants deal with the value conflicts between home and school as their two distinct 'social worlds' and the discursive strategies they employ to manage the contradictions between the two worlds they are surrounded by, I refer to some certain sociological views which try to develop understanding of peoples' every day life social activities. The main emphasis in this regard, is upon the fundamental premises of symbolic interactionism, which assumes that human beings absorb given interpretations of the physical and symbolic universe from others and act accordingly.

My task, as an interactionist analyst (at this point), is similar to what Blumer envisions: to reveal the process through which the children of immigrants construct their views and actions as a response to the new situation (in Meighan, 1986: 251). To explain this, I refer to my analytical model and the three fundamental premises of symbolic interactionism and assume that the children become aware of the discrepancies in their new environment by trying to make sense of them. It is at this stage that the students "see themselves as both objects [to which things happen] in the world and subjects acting upon that world" (ibid, 1986: 253). They see themselves as objects as far as they see themselves being caught between their two discrepant worlds and reference groups. When confronted with contradictory situations and finding themselves exposed to and

surrounded by different value systems the subject side of children of immigrants enable them to react and respond to the situation, that is, on the basis of their making sense of them.

All of the students included in this study reported that they had experienced many things in their new life that were different to, and in some cases in conflict with their life at home. Nevertheless, they believed that their immersion into their new lives were in some ways advantageous and in other ways disadvantageous. What is interesting at this point, is the *conscious reflection* the students make on the new part of their lives in order to develop their advantageous situations. For example, those students who felt they missed their friends and relatives in their home countries, believed that they could reduce the pressure by finding new friends in their new environment. In spite of their desire to have some Canadian friends, some of the students (Amir and Ehsan for instance), realized that they could not establish relationships with such peers at that time. Yet, they did not view it as a major problem in their school lives because, they believed they *would* form friendships with more Western students as their residence in Canada lengthened and barriers such as language and cross-cultural differences became less acute. Perception or recognition of specific aspects of the ongoing events in which these students found themselves and some sort of action (or inaction) as the necessary consequences reveals their ability to act within and towards situations (255). Indeed, Amir and Ehsan (our examples at this point) have constructed a definition of the situation as a basis for their inaction at this point.

Understanding and making sense of the situation is not the only step students

undertake in their new social setting. According to my model, it is assumed that - by considering theirs and the other peoples' roles in a social setting - the individuals then attempt to recognize the barriers and seek certain strategies to overcome them. "This process of *defining the situation* is very much a part of the task of 'taking the other', in which the individual acts in relation to his interpretation of what he thinks others expect of him" (ibid, 1986: 255). To view this assumption, I go back to the data I have collected in this study. Most of the students who reported experience of at least some discernible cultural dissonance as a result of conflicting expectations between their home and school environments did not remain passively at the stage of 'confusion' and 'dissonance' but tried to deal with these contradictions through certain proactive (though not necessarily conscious) techniques. Their definitions of their social lives in this sense, were primarily taken as bases for their actions. Mark and his girlfriend attending the Catholic school as well as the majority of Middle Eastern and South Asian students in the public schools for instance, talked about the dominance of the secular views experienced by them in their public lives and considered it as a disadvantage in their new environment. Nevertheless, they did not see themselves 'trapped' by such views but rather rethought the cultural premises (in discourse with others like them) in order to reduce the pressure such views could impose on their lives. When at school, they tried not to offend their peers' secular views by concealing not only most of their negative feelings about the secular environment, but some of their routine religious behaviors as well. For example, Mark said that he did not do the required rituals of saying grace obviously when having lunch at school. In order not to attract his peers' attention, everyday before lunch, he praised

God not in loud words but in his heart. That was because, as he mentioned, none of his peers, excepting his girlfriend, observed saying grace before all meals. In order to reduce the discrepancies, Mark attempted to make frequent relationships with the members of his own ethnic communities. By sparing some part of their time for religious and cultural activities held in the church, Mark and his two female friends tried to reduce the disadvantages caused by secular setting they were surrounded by in the new environment.

To further explain my standpoint, I refer to the fact that while the students viewed their worlds differently, this did not prevent them from striking up relationships with each other (The norms of socializing with peers seems to know no cultural boundaries). Although their feelings of discrepancies between their home and school values were different in many cases, through making relationships with each other and making efforts at understanding what their peers (in turn) felt about discrepancies, they were exposed to others' definitions of situations and thus compelled to deal with discrepancies interactively. To conceptualize what happens at this point, I would refer the reader to Meighan (1986) who believes that through interaction, individuals' different definitions of their situations match or rub against each other and involve a series of *negotiations* of the acceptable role definitions for the different actors involved, so as to construct a mutually agreeable set of (re-)definitions (of the situation) that manage the value conflicts. Through interaction, what in the first stage of research revealed itself as common among all of the students, was the point that none of them viewed the discrepancies as a major non-resolvable problem. This is likely one of the most important

factors in bringing many of these students to come together in order to discuss their problems with each other. To all of the children of immigrants participating in this study, the discrepancies between their two worlds had become to a greater or lesser degree intelligible and it seemed that most of them had found some ways to overcome the dilemmas resulting from these discrepancies. Here, I am going to go through some of the conflict management strategies used by the students in order to explain how they try to contextualize and interpret discrepancies in discourse with their peers.

To minimize the disadvantages caused by their multicultural identity in Canada, and to deal with discrepancies, the students attending public schools alluded to various means. To Farah and Sima for example, their life in Canada and among peers would work better if they found themselves among a group of friends coming from different socio/cultural backgrounds. By establishing friendships with diverse students, they believed, they could enhance their knowledge of English as well as their understanding of the Canadian culture. This, according to them, was necessary if they would fit into the new society and to find an appropriate job in the future. Yet, in their practical life, and owing to their family values, they did not think it would be easy to manage this. For Rita, Shina, Hana and two Pakistani sisters, Samy and Ambrine, on the contrary, it seemed easier and more convenient to establish friendships among their peer Muslims. By choosing friends from their own ethnic communities and/or groups, the latter believed, they could reinforce the importance of their traditional values. To these students, unlike their Afghani and Indian peers, Farah and Sima, involvement with private life and household duties were more important than working outside home in the future. In fact,

these students' definitions of their private worlds were different from their other peers but mutually supported within their own in-group (at the time of this study). To them, the house, as the private domain belonged more to females and in contrast, the working place, as the public domain belonged more to their male family members. They nevertheless believed that they needed to get to know other people as well as to be among them if they wanted to live in this society and to learn the language. With regard to their family values and the difference between these values and those prevalent in the public, they still found it difficult to manage this well. In the light of Meighan's (1986: 255) view at this point, I would like to consider the process in which the students become aware of the interplay of personal, social and structural features that influence their social situations, and focus on the students' actions within and towards the situations in which they are located.

By focusing on the importance of the social contexts, and following Rock (cited in Meighan, 1986), my attempt at this point is not only to reject subjective idealism by acknowledging the facticity of the world but also, at the same time, to resist the gross empiricism which depicts objects and relations as laden with inherent meaning. The essence of my perspective in this regard, relates to the students' definitions of their situations constructed through their social interactions. The students' definitions in this sense, as Meighan (1986) adds, relates to what they hope to get out of the specific situations they are located in, and which features within the situations are taken to be more important than others. My major concern is therefore, on the importance of the processes of interaction in creating, maintaining and changing of the meanings the

individuals attach to the ongoing events in which they are fitted in (P: 255) and their ability to reinterpret events and situations by focusing on various diacritica in "defining the situation" in various contexts. The fact that the children of immigrants perceive and recognize the specific aspects of their school environments were not the same in public and Catholic schools can perhaps shed light on both the objective and subjective aspects of these children's lives in their new environment. In other words, the students' different attitudes and perspectives towards understanding and defining their situations as well as their acting on these situations can better be understood if we contextualize these attitudes and perspectives. Meighan (1986) makes this point as follows:

> In attempting to explore how social actors present, understand, take on and act on their interpretations of the roles of others and how the resultant patterns of conduct emerge from this inter-subjective organizing of perceptions, meanings and behavior to form what we might call the 'interactional situation', sociologists working within the interactionalist perspective employ a variety of ... concepts which enable analysis to move from simple descriptions of the unique experiences of isolated individuals towards a full description of the locations of these experiences (P: 155).

Unlike their peers in public schools (who tend to represent more diverse perspectives) most of the students attending Catholic schools were not very much concerned with their friends' cultural or ethnic backgrounds. The sharing of a common religion as well as the fact that the majority of these students came from similar cultural origins[5], I assume, can be among contributing factors allowing these students to report less pressure when at school and among their peers than the students enrolled in public schools. Compared to their fellow students in public schools, when the majority of these students arrived in Canada and attended school, they found themselves amongst a

[5] More than 90% of the sample population had Latin American/Oriental backgrounds. Also based on the students' and the staff's view, this sample was a representative sample of the whole population at the two Catholic schools.

relatively homogenous group of people (e.g. Spanish and Oriental cultures). None of these students referred to language, religion, nationality and/or culture as major factors causing for the feeling of discrepancy between their home and school lives.

In order to explain the interplay of subjective and objective components influencing the students' definitions of their situations and their choosing of coping strategies, we can also refer to the students' ethnic affiliations in the new society. Based on the degree to which the students' home values are reinforced by their ethnic groups, their coping strategies may vary. After moving to a new area, as Anderson and Frideres (1981) have pointed out, some immigrants still remain firmly embedded at least on a sub-societal level, in a web of familiar social relationships. These relationships, according to them, are more important for the satisfaction of ordinary social needs than are relationships with society at large. While Anderson and Frideres call these types of ethnic groups as "primary ethnics" they contrast them with ethnics of secondary type which enter the new social system as isolated individuals or as small aggregates of migrants. The latter, depend entirely on the host society for the satisfaction of almost all their basic needs (P: 50).

Although it may be overly simplistic to classify immigrants into two different types I still find this classification useful in explaining how some of the students' views of value conflicts and feelings of dissonance related to their ethnic affiliations and the significant criteria that seemed important to them as the basis of their cohesion. Farah and her family's exposure to diversity within the Isma'ili Muslim community, where religion is the primary basis of cohesion, for example, has provided them the chance of becoming

more open and therefore tolerant to the socio/cultural differences. It is not therefore surprising that Farah's attitudes toward diversity and her making sense of the new environment are different from her close Pakistani Muslim friends who are immersed into a more homogenous group, the Ahmadyya community, whose majority are Pakistani, and who are characterized by their other Muslim peers in Pakistan as heretics. By trying to maintain their original identity and solidarity and to preserve their particular ethnic community, such groups mange

to continue functioning in the host society in much the same way as they did in the parent society. This is so because their members are not compelled to rely entirely on the co-operation with the host society in order to satisfy their most pressing economic and social needs (Francis, 1976, cited in Anderson and Frideres, 1981: 50).

Most of the comments the students made about their further prospects related to their understanding and evaluation of the situations they were located in at their home and their school environments. To provide some examples at this point, I refer to the South Asian students' views about their feelings of respect to their home culture while at the same time being affected by the public views. Sprink, Sara, Reno and Homa, our principal examples, appreciated the Western perspective towards treatment of different sexes and complained about their families' discriminatory views toward them, in contrast to their male siblings. While during the interview, they kept being critical of this aspect of their home culture, they still believed they had to maintain their respect for such values as far as they (the values) continue functioning in the host society. These students' ideas that the South-Asian community was strictly concerned with the females' attitudes and relationships, and the point that the females' level of loyalty to traditional norms could be among important factors influencing their future marriage, appeared to assist them in

understanding the importance of following their traditional norms for the sake of their own happiness in the future.

How do these children come to attribute meanings to discrepant situations with which they are confronted in their new life? The central concern at this point is not just the students' definition or making sense of the situation but is the way these definitions emerge out of interaction between them. Following the second premise of the symbolic interactionism, I have assumed that the children make sense of discrepancies through their interaction and discourse with others. In other words, the children of immigrants try to arrive at a mutually-agreed definition of their life situations when they are among their peers. To look closely to the social activities that may affect these students' behavior and to the revision of their values at this point, we can pursue the implications of 'transaction' as a process. When they initially come into these situations, the students first start to negotiate over the definition of their identity (who they are and why they think the way they think) when in social interaction with others. While they find themselves among different groups of people at school and in certain places, they start to recognize not only their differences from those people, but the similarities they share with them as well. In the first few months of their living in Canada, most of the children of immigrants perceive themselves in a very alien universe. In this situation, they search for the things they have in common with other groups. Because of the language problems and/or socio/cultural limitations, at the beginning, some of them may think that they can only find commonality with other members of their same group. However, they later find many things they have in common with other groups as well.

We can take our East Indian students, Sima, Sara, Sprink, Homa and Reno as our first examples here. They started to feel solidarity with students similar to themselves when they first immigrated to Canada. After overcoming the barrier of language and learning a bit about the culture around them, they began to move out of their microscopic privatized worlds and to understand that there were many non-Indian students with whom they had a lot in common and with whom they had many values and norms to share. Sima, for example, who lived in a less conservative family than her other Indian peers and whose parents were familiar with Canadian culture and language when immigrated to Canada, soon found many friends with different cultural backgrounds including the Euro-Canadians. While Sara, Sprink, Homa, and Reno retained their friendship with each other, they had found some friends from Pakistan, Iran, and Lebanon. Soon, after their arrival in Canada, these students recognized their life situations in the new environment and managed to deal with these situations by finding friends from the cultural backgrounds that were more or less similar to theirs. Although they did not share the same religion with their non-Indian friends, there were things that made it possible for them to find out some common areas with them. Their conservative religiously oriented cultures and social orientations, the endogamous marriage patterns, many values and norms regarding family life, were among these common areas.

Shina's and Ehsan's situations when coming to Canada is almost the same as that of their East Indian peers. Unlike them, they did not find any friends who come from their homeland. Yet, this situation did not stop them from trying to strike relationships with people who were in many respects like them. Ehsan's reason for selecting his Asian

friends (coming from Oriental societies, Pakistan and Kurdistan, etc.) and Shina's reason for having her Pakistani, Iranian and East Indian friends were basically the same as the above East Indian students. Soon after arriving to Canada, according to them, they learned that many of the people around them were not all alike. Yet, there were many things that brought groups of these people together and helped them to establish friendships. In the first months of their arrival for instance, Ehsan and Shina found that there were some people whom they saw more similar to themselves than some of the people from their own home countries. Among many similar aspects of their lives, these students' feelings of discrepancy between home and school were the most prevalent and significant in striking their first friendships.

To fill the gap between their home and school worlds the students' first attempt is to find friends who experience and share the same things. This is managed through interaction with students in different classrooms, during break times in places such as the cafeteria, homerooms, during the school indoor and outdoor activities, during ceremonies and rituals (set for some multicultural students, e.g., Friday prayers for Muslims in certain schools, Chinese new year, etc.), athletic and/or extra-curriculum programs. The students' attendance in such places is a very good signifier (indicator) of their interests, customs, traditions, and needs. It is in these places that certain indices of behavior become meaningful to such students. When one of Emy's classmates, for example, sold tickets for a dance at school, Ambrine and her Spanish classmate stated that their parents did not let them to participate in those programs and therefore, would not purchase a ticket. This event, as Ambrine mentioned, helped the two students to start

a discussion of their cultures that eventually ended to their friendships. During the first weeks of attending a Canadian school, Shina also found many things about the Pakistani and Indian students' food and clothing norms. This, as she herself mentioned, helped her to find many visible commonalities between her own and those students' cultural norms and values.

It seems that by finding themselves and some other students in similar situations such students begin to move out of their private worlds and start to see themselves in a larger world. This usually happens after the students manage to absorb the new language and culture. Based on my model, it is at this time that the students start to establish further relationships and contacts with new individuals and different situations. At this stage, they may show more conformity to some cultural and/or group norms, and they tend to distance themselves from other groups which do not share the same norms with them. This is based on the students' background as well as their recent experiences about their peers and their cultures and the degree to which these students see themselves in similar situations.

To explain how these students manage to see themselves among a group of peers, according to my model, I refer to Goffman (1959) who argues that:

> agreement on a definition of the situation must be established and maintained to distinguish which of the participants' many statuses should form the basis for their interaction. The process of maintaining this agreement is one of skewed communication: *over*-communicating that which confirms the relevant status positions and relationships, and *under*-communicating that which is discrepant (Barth, 1981: 36).

By understanding the transactional nature of interactions that happens through the process of over-communicating the similarities and under-communicating the

discrepancies we may therefore be able to explain how the students find themselves among their peer groups in the school setting. By referring to the research data, we can become more sensitized to such kind of processes. Discussing of her striking of relationships with friends, Shina, as our first example, did not see any reason why she should be worried about her Indian friends' religion. As the basis of making relationships with others, to her, having common norms was more important than having a common religion. That was because, as she stated, having common norms had more to do with her public life at school, which seemed more practical and external to her, while having a common religion was more private and internal. "It is not important for me whether they believe in God or not. This is at the level of belief." She said, "The thing that is important to me is that our cultures are practically very alike." She continued. Maryam's reason for having chosen Oriental friends in Canada resembles Shina's. "There are not many students who share the same religion with me here. My friends are therefore, basically Oriental." She reported. "Nevertheless, we are very alike in many respects." She added. Among the things she mentioned as being similar in their lives were, their placing family welfare over their personal desires, their conformist attitude toward their family norms, their respect and reverence for their parents, their strong family ties, and their bilingual backgrounds. All of the Middle Eastern as well as South and East Asian students in the study likewise demonstrated similar reasons for having chosen friends who shared a common culture, but not, necessarily common religion, with them and who were basically experiencing similar contradictory situations. All of these students believed that they had to be *more concerned* with talking about and negotiating *similarities than*

differences when among their friends or in public places

The negotiation and re-negotiation of identities was not limited to the students' interaction with each other at school. They believed that the intersubjective sharing of commonalities could help them to solve many of their problems both at school and out of school. Sarah's idea of using her multiple nationalities depending on different situations or contexts she was in, is a good example of this point. Based on whether she was among her Egyptian, European, and North American friends, she stated that she referred to herself differently. For instance, she said that she would identify herself differently (as an Arab, a Muslim, a Middle Eastern, a Western, a British, a Canadian, and a North American depending on where she was, to whom she talked to, what the subject of the conversation was, and many other things as important factors defining the situation.

Also by negotiating and re-negotiating their common situations, the students come to agreement on many issues, especially in opposition to their parents, to the school, and to the wider Canadian society. Through communication with friends, and use of words, the students negotiate over things that are not necessarily obvious on the surface. In case of their relationship with parents for example, most of the children in the study defined their situations based on 'trust' while they experienced their parents using words about 'authority', and in some cases 'power', to shape the communication. When together and during their discussions, the students may transact their views and interpretations in this regard. The definitions presented by the students who had spent more time in Canada and/or spent more time with diverse groups, and hence, had become more familiar with Canadian situation, were more evolved in this case. Sima and Farah, for example,

believed that in order to be able to live in this society successfully, they had to educate themselves and their parents about the differences and the possibility of integrating to the new culture without necessarily offending their traditional value principles. They therefore, believed that the concept of 'authority' was not appropriate to be used by parents in Western society. While a few of the students (e.g., Rita, Shina, Ambrine and Samy), along with their parents had already agreed in using the term authority to define their situations, most of them could not face it any longer as they faced other definitions through discourse with their peers. Most of the Oriental students attending the public schools as well as the students attending Catholic schools presented much the same perspective on their parents' roles in their lives. It is interesting to mention at this point that all of the second generation Canadian students in the study reported that their parents rarely used the words and expression of authority in their discourse with them. They believed that this situation was a result of (1) their parents' exposure to other possible situations in the Canadian society resulted from their relationships with others and/or (2) their parents' discourse with their children over time. Sarah, Claudia, and Illeen were among these students.

As the students interact and negotiate over certain elements of their identity, their interpretations of their new life, as well as the outcoming problems, their views about differences between their two worlds are reinforced. During discourse with friends, their views are transacted, interpreted and reinterpreted and validated and revalidated by each other. This process is employed similarly irrespective of the group. All of the students in the study, regardless of ethnic origin or gender reported experiencing changes of their

situations over time and space. They basically indicated that their contact with other peoples, and with their friends especially, as well as with different situations had resulted the changing of their perspectives and perceptions of their life. The most important common situation that all of the students discussed was their life in Canada and its difference to their life in their (or their parents') country of origin. The basic differences they mentioned were with regard to their distinctive cultures and languages, norms and values, social organizations, and religions.

The most important consequence of the students' communicating and transacting their common problems and situations is their sense of empowerment. The fact of contradiction between home and school was the common thread which initiated their process of negotiation and transaction. Through their communications with friends, most of these students had found at least somebody who could understand and agree with them on same issues. While in some cases these students did not necessarily react the same way to their common problems, they still transacted their interpretations of their worlds as well as the way they dealt with their problems to find solutions contradictions.

Through transacting their interpretations with their friends, most of the students attending public schools reported had their own theories to account for the discrepancies, e.g. how their parents were right in some respects or mistaken in others, how they were right because of the way they thought or acted or experienced, or how they had managed some of the problems caused by the differences between their home and school norms. For example, Farah, who could understand her Pakistani friends' views about their new life but could not agree with them, had convinced them that they

needed to establish new relationships with their parents concerning their codes of clothing and the necessity of allowing more relationships with friends out of school. Sima had also become sensitive to her East Indian peers' perception of their parents' different attitudes towards them and their brothers as well as the Canadian students' passivity in initiating friendships with them. Yet, she recommended her fellow East Indians as well as other children of immigrants to follow her techniques of managing the contradictions.

Through her relationship with Shina, Rita had also learned many things about how to strike relationships with friends at school. Despite her feeling of being quite different from most of the students at school because of her faith, through her friendship with Shina, she had started to learn that among many multicultural students she could find allies who at least were similar in several aspects of their social lives. This had, for example, helped Rita to manage establishing friendship with a Russian fellow who, like her, was preoccupied with adapting to the new environment and who was experiencing similar value conflicts between the home and school environments (how Rita had found herself setting up friendship with her new friend in spite of their language and cultural differences was not discussed by Rita during the interview). Nevertheless, the fact that she referred to her friend as one of her best friends and that she spent considerable time with her was evidence that she managed to bridge the linguistic and cultural gaps. Similarly, Rita, Ambrine and Samy had a Spanish friend by coming into agreement with some aspects of their lives and the existence of discrepancy between their school and home worlds. This case illustrates excellently the way in which certain diacritics can be selected to form the basis of value negotiation.

When communicating and transacting their experiences and their interpretations of these experiences at different contexts, the above students 'reinvented' an identity which was based on important markers agreed to by them and their friends. By coming to agreements all of the above students had not only managed to decrease their feelings of loneliness but to find certain means to deal with and manage discrepancies as well. Furthermore, by sharing their views and transacting their experiences and their interpretations of their worlds with their friends, the students reinforced and strengthened their expressions as important concrete social facts (or conceptual realities). This enabled the students to overcome their feelings of loneliness by validating their interpretations in discourse with others.

By negotiating and agreeing on certain aspects of their lives, the students therefore, construct and legitimize some of their (folk or *ad hoc*) theories that explain the value conflicts between home and school. The more students can find conformity to some sub-cultural groups the more they may be able to manage their value conflicts. This, as already mentioned in my model, may provide the 'grass-roots' of development of the students' sub-cultural groups. These sub-cultural groups may be shaped and reshaped under different conditions and situations. The students' process of interaction and communication, as well as their manipulation, negotiation, and re-negotiation of certain indices of their identities to create situations that are in accordance with other people's definitions, are important factors influencing the construction of such sub-cultural social entities.

The way in which multicultural students manage cognitive dissonance between the

culture of their schools and their homes is, I believe, a process that is similar across all ethnic groups. The small but subtle changes that happened in most of the multicultural students' lives in this study seemed to emerge out of the symbolic interaction between them, but to move in a similar direction. All of the students in the study demonstrated some levels of creativity in finding meaningful solutions to their problems by manipulating language and their definitions of situations and finding concepts that were fitted and related to different contexts in which they were located. When finding themselves among a group of students who in some respects were similar to them, they reported multitude of actions and interrelations which afforded them opportunities to discover new ways of looking at their home and school worlds. Resulting from these actions, students manage to build their sub-cultural groups to overcome their dilemmas when in relationships with these groups. This proved to be general throughout this study. Regardless of their culture and/or originality, all of the students pointed to their distinctive sub-cultural groups as their main frame of reference when interpreting their social life and trying to deal with contradictions. The students' changing of views and attitudes as an outcome of their entering into social discourse was therefore, an important indication of (1) the emergence of their new microscopic subcultures and (2) how these new sub-cultures in turn feed back and shape their behavior.

The students' cumulative interrelations with each other and the background of common features of their social life are, in my conceptualization, the critical features which lead to the emergence of new forms of social life' amongst them. A consideration of the dynamics of such relationships and the subsequent patterns of behaviors enable us

to read the emergence of the students' sub-cultures as a 'subjective-objective' process. It is subjective to the degree that it consists of processes whereby the children of immigrants employ to resolve their problems. The students' subcultural groupings in this sense, represent that part of the students' social behaviors which are consciously shaped and reshaped by their actors and which are negotiated and re-negotiated according to the conceptual frameworks of their actors.

But it is also objective, because once they are shaped, the sub-cultural norms and values that the students are exposed to channel their subsequent behaviors and influence new students who come into their circle. Since these norms and values do not originally exist, they cannot be considered as determining factors of shaping and forming the individuals' behaviors. Instead, they are still evolving and modified by the students during the actual process of shaping their behaviors. The students' formation and reformation of their subcultures and in return, the effect of those subcultures on their behavior, is therefore, an ongoing process that causes the students' changing of definitions of their identities over time. A consideration of such a process may enable us to understand the nature of activities and relationships in which the students are engaged.

The more the students interact with their peers, the more their ideas and views move out of individual levels and become more corporate with group values. As far as these ideas are not expressed and negotiated in group, they may seem imprecise and vague to the individuals. When the individuals learn English language and can more clearly express and negotiate their feelings of discrepancies and their outcomes (e.g., inchoate feelings such as feelings of frustration, rebellion, loneliness, etc.), their interpretations are

symbolically reinforced and validated and thus, begin to seem more precise and real to them. It is therefore, through a process of symbolic interaction that the students reconsider their worlds and start to redefine their situations by subjecting themselves to new markers of identifications.

The students' statements of their lives along my experiencing different levels of communication with them during the participant observation, also, provided me with an understanding of how children change their interpretations and definitions in accordance with the situations they are located in. The students' inconsistent and contradictory interpretations, as result of their being involved with and exposed to different life situations, can be understood and explained well in symbolic interactionism which emphasizes the processes, patterns, and changes of views in interaction.

Based on the students' evaluations of what the important markers are going to be, they often put different frameworks of meanings around events that happen in different contexts. This basic insight helps us to understand their presenting different and in some cases contradictory definitions of certain events they experience in various situations. As the case studies reveal, the students' interpretations or discussions of their lives were not consistent; We should not therefore be critical of them or discount them on this account, because according to our model, this is a very human characteristic when one lives in and is exposed to a world of contradictions. Therefore, although Rita's views about her life in Canada and whether she really liked it or not, the four Sikh Indian students' discussion of the possibility of their setting up relationship with Canadian students and the causes of their reservations about entering into such relationships. Farah's statements about cross-

gender relationships and her real life (marrying a friend from her own community right after her parents became aware of the relationship) and her reasons for her early marriage (satisfying her family's expectations) and, Sima's perspectives about marrying someone out of her culture, were among the most inconsistent views; nevertheless, these views needn't be regarded as 'invalid'. Sima's idea of being interested in marrying someone out of her culture, for instance, was stated when she was appreciating the freedom that exists in the West and that lets the two sexes know their partners before marrying them. But later, when she talked about the importance of family ties and the romance and true love that still existed in non-Western societies, she remarked that she preferred to marry someone from her own culture. When these two views in the first glance, seem to be contradictory, they are less so if we put them into the special contexts in which they were offered. For the purposes of this study, we can therefore, examine the students' transaction or negotiation and re-negotiation of their identities and the substance of the meanings of situations, derived from their relationships with each other in different contexts, as important subjective-objective mechanisms mediating the dynamics and outcomes of interaction between them.

Conclusion:

To implement progressive and dynamic multicultural curricula we need to identify the needs of ESL students broadly. Except for their language requirements and the problems around these issues, many aspects of these students' needs are not yet understood well. As a result, our schools experience tensions regarding identifying and

responding well to the children of immigrants' needs. Although some research has been done such groups, not much has so far provided concrete findings which would enhance the children's chances for strengthening their connection to their home and school worlds without experiencing discrepancy and resulting consequences such as feelings of tensions and conflicts. What this study documents is that the basic endeavor toward such connection is continuously made by the students themselves. This research is not therefore a standard empirical study that proposes to predict social events. It is a qualitative research method that sketches a model that can enable us to look at people in a more insightful way. The major concern of this research is not so much about providing or falsifying premises. Instead, it tries to provide means of looking at social events with more tact and sensitivity.

While this research is not one that has tremendous implications for policy makers, it is significant in that it can provide in-depth understanding of immigrant children's lives in relation to their home and school environments. The research is therefore significant in that it enables us to look at immigrant students in a new way and to understand that these students have already been creating models and theories that help them to deal with their contradictory situations. The research in this sense, is very original, for it suggests that before making any policy program we need to enrich our vision of the students' lives and their special needs in that relevance.

This study seeks to enlist the students in the research activity by listening to them in certain ways. The research (it is hoped) provides a new awareness of (1) how the children of immigrants experience value conflicts, and (2) how they evolve and use skills

and reasoning to manage these value conflicts. By taking an interdisciplinary approach and by attempting (contrary to established methods) to combine both subjective and objective approaches, this research has sought to explain what happens when groups of people immigrate from their home countries to a new society with different cultural networks and values.

By providing a short history of immigration patterns in Canada, the first part of this dissertation has made effort to provide the reader with an understanding of how cultural, linguistic and religious diversity have been followed by changing of ethnic composition over the past two centuries in Canada. The definition of 'ethnicity' used in this dissertation provides a dynamic model for understanding how individuals identify with their school and home cultures. The federal government's multicultural policy demonstrates the recognition of the plurality of cultures in Canada. However, in order to support this policy, we need to have a working knowledge about different ethnic groups with their distinct values, problems, and heritages as well as a fair awareness on what these groups place emphasis as the principal markers of their ethnic identification

In the second part of the dissertation, by implementing an analytical model for understanding ethnic identity, I have tried to look at a group of adolescent immigrants in a rather optimistic way. Instead of considering these students as the victims of their social systems, this work has tried to look at the children of immigrants as active *individuals* who perceive who they are and who conceive of their existing new multicultural society. This work suggests that in order to begin identifying the needs of children of immigrants, we need first to consider the existence of both subjective and

objective factors working in the students' lives.

In recognition of such factors, we advance the construction of a curriculum which addresses the needs of diverse groups. Such curriculum, as Banks (1993) believes will be built on the major goal of reconstructing our schools so that all students will acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function in an ethnically and racially diverse nation and world (P: 2). It will also prepare students for a future when the transformation of identity will be valued rather than feared (28), for only in this way we will be able to move toward achieving the plans and goals addressed by the Multiculturalism policy.

Finally, as an exploratory work (it is hoped) this research will provide some basic grounds for further studies such as teacher preparation programs, examination of the studens' attitudes and skills with regard to special attention to theories relevant to adolescent's developmental stages and the processes involved in them. Other topics that are raised in this dissertation and deserve further attention are ethnic continuity, gender differences in management of cultural dissonance, generation gap and value conflict. Such studies can aknowledge the recognition of the Canadian identity that is multiculturalism and that recognizes diversity as the nature of the country.

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APPENDIX I:
LIST OF INFORMANTS AND SELECTED CASES

No[6]	Name	Sex	Age	Grade	Country of Origin	Immig-rated from:	Country of birth	Immig-rated on:
01	a[7]: Ada	female	17	11	El Salva.	Elsalva	El Salva	94
02	a: Mac	male	16	10	Chile	Chile	Chile	95
03	a: Tad	male	17	11	Vietnam	Vietnam	Vietnam	94
04	b: Mary	female	16	10	Nicara...	Nicara.	Nicara.	94
05	b: Lyne	female	16	10	China	USA	USA	95
06	b: Tina	female	18	11	El Sal.	El Sal.	El Sal.	94
07	Amir	male	17	11	India	India	India	94
08	c: Richy	male	16	10	Philip...	Philip.	Philip.	94
09	c: Rose	female	16	10	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	94
10	c: Terry	female	18	12	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	94
11	d: Jane	female	15	10	Granada	Granada	Granada	93
12	d: Lili	female	15	10	Vietnam	Vietnam	Vietnam	92
13	d: Fran	female	17	11	El Sal.	El Sal.	El. Sal.	93
14	e: Alex	male	15	09	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	92
15	e: Abe	male	15	09	Philip.	Philip	Philip	94
16	e: Joe	male	15	09	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	94
17	John	male	16	10	Chile	Chile	Chile	95
18 *	f: Riba	female	16	10	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	94
19 *	f: Mark	male	18	11	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	94
20 *	f: Magie	female	18	11	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	94
21 *	g: Shina	female	17	12	Lebanon	Lebanon	Lebanon	91
22 *	g: Rita	female	18	11	Lebanon	Lebanon	Lebanon	94
23 *	h: Hana	female	19	12	Pakistan	Pakistan	Pakistan	93
24 *	I: Emy	female	17	11	Pakistan	Pakistan	Pakistan	93
25 *	I: Samy	female	16	10	Pakistan	Pakistan	Pakistan	93
26 *	h: Farah	female	19	12	Afghan.	India	Afghan.	93
27 *	Sima	female	16	10	India	India	India	91
28 *	j: Homa	female	19	12	India	India	India	93
29 *	j: Mona	female	16	11	India	India	India	93
30 *	j: Sara	female	19	12	India	India	India	93
31 *	j: Ema	female	16	11	India	India	India	92
32	Sina	male	16	10	Iran	Turkey	Iran	96
33	Ale	male	16	11	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	93
34	Wendy	female	17	11	H-Kong	H-Kong	H-Kong	91
35	k: Sue	female	17	12	H-Kong	H-Kong	H-Kong	79
36	k: Liz	female	18	12	China	Vietnam	Vietnam	80
37	Rob	male	17	12	China	China	USA	not stated
38	Jenny	female	15	09	H-Kong	H-Kong	H-Kong	80
39	Linda	female	15	09	China	China	China	90
40	Leila	female	14	09	Iran	Iran	Iran	91
41 *	Mina	female	18	College	Egypt	England	England	94

[6] Selected cases are identified by (*) next to their numbers.

[7] Individuals who were interviewed in a group are indicated by the same letter in front of their names.

APPENDIX II:
CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

This form confirms that .....

Parent's or guardian's signature .....

gives permission for .....

student's signature .....

to participate in the research project titled: **Multicultural Students in Canadian Systems.**

The research is conducted by **Zahra Montazer**, under the supervision of **Dr. Tom Gougeon** in the Department of **Educational Policy and Administrative Studies** (University of Calgary).

The subject of the research has been chosen according to the investigator's own experiences as a Ph.D. student of the University of Calgary and a mother of three Multicultural students attending Canadian (Calgary) Public schools.

The purpose of the study is to document the problems multicultural students perceive to exist as a result of the different cultural expectations in the home and school environments. The principal aims of the research are:

> (1) to document the problems as the students experience them by themselves and (2) how they manage the contradiction in a way that both home and school norms will not be offended.

The research will proceed in three phases: In the first stage a brief video consisting of clips from existing videos depicting a selection of cross-cultural problems will be shown to small groups of three to five students. Subsequently, the students will be encouraged to discuss the situations among themselves and according to their own experiences. The investigator will refrain from asking leading questions, and will intervene only to keep the discussions focused on the topic.

In the second stage, interviews with selected students who participated in the first stage will be conducted. The interview will focus on specific situations the students have experienced while managing the cross-cultural contradictions in their lives.

In the third stage a few selected sets of peer groups will be invited. The purpose of the research at this point is (1) to discuss with them their peer-to-peer interaction and support and to document the role of peer group relations in coping with contradictions and (2) to determine the influence of individuals' interactions in shaping new social institutions (a theoretical examinations).

Participation in this research may not directly benefit the students or their families. Yet, by addressing the students' own perspectives of their dilemmas, an attempt will be made to look at the students as active individuals who can use language creatively and who can make small groups of their own to identify and solve their problems. This attempt may enable both the parents and the educational administrators to obtain better understanding of

the students problems and therefore accomplish more appropriate decisions.

Since the results of this research will be used for scholarly publication and presumably for presentation to scientific groups, data will be used in such a manner that individuals will not be identified. Privacy and confidentiality will therefore be protected by the preservation of the subjects anonymity. Nationalities won't be mentioned if it makes a multicultural student seem distinct from others or it offends privacy or confidentiality.

All the records and the tapes of discussions in the three phases will be tape-recorded and disposed of, after the research is completed.

Participation is voluntary and individuals have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without any penalty. Furthermore, participants have the right not to respond any kind of question that makes them feel uncomfortable.

Participation or non-participation will have absolutely no effect on the student' position at school.

If you have questions or concerns at any time during the research, you may contact myself at (403) 220-0621 or the followings:

my supervisor, Dr. Tom Gougeon: (403) 220-7292

Chair, Faculty of Education Joint Research Ethics Committee:

(403) 220-5626

Office of the Vice President (Research):

(403) 220-3881

With regards,

Zahra Montazer

APPENDIX III:
QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDELINE

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study on "Multicultural Students in Canadian School Systems". Your participation will help us to understand how you feel. While your thoughts will be shared with the educationalists through this research, your identity will be kept totally confidential.

Most Canadians have the same challenges, problems, worries, frustrations, joys, satisfactions, and so much more in this study. Yet, we experience these things in different ways.

When you are talking into the tape recorder, please answer the following questions in the order you would like. You don't have to respond to questions you do not wish to. You can also ad anything you would like.

.....

1. Introduce yourself with your first name or a pseudonym, your place of birth, your original home country or the culture you are identified with, when you immigrated (if you did), the countries or places you have already lived in, your age, grade, and anything else you might like to add.

2. How do you feel about your social life in Canada and in your home (or original) country; what are the advantages and disadvantages of living in Canada according to your personal experiences?

3. About your friends, their origin and culture, how many they are, to which of them you feel closest, your activities and hobbies when you are with them.

4. About your family, the size, the home language, the communities and/or clubs at which you spend your free time, the rituals or religious ceremonies, the cultural gatherings, and anything else relevant to the family values.

5. About your parent's relationship with you in terms of trusting and/or controlling, their attitude toward you as a daughter or a son, and/or the older or younger members of your family.

6. About your family's attitude toward your relationships with your friends, your clothing, your hobbies, and your social activities.

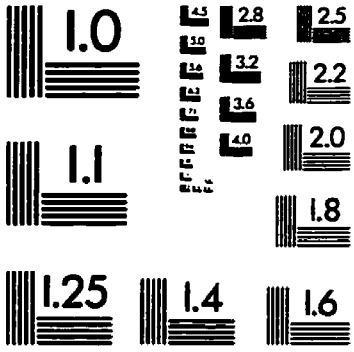
7. About any sort of conflict or clash of values you may feel between home and school or the Canadian society. For example, your relationship with the opposite sex, your marriage plans, your future careers, working outside...

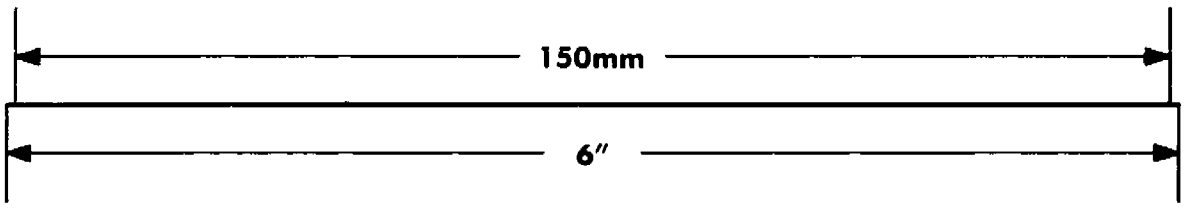
Please add anything you would like, even though I have not addressed it in these questions.

I wish you happiness and success, and thank you again for "talking" to me.

Zahra Montazer

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)





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