MAKING CANADIAN CULTURE VISIBLE

ACCULTURATION AS A CO-CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURE

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation research explored the acculturation phenomenon while considering the reciprocal, interminable, polycontextual, multivoiced and multiscripted nature of this complex process, and the impact that residence in a culture contact zone has upon this culture change process. In exploring the visual and written texts captured by persons living within the culture contact zone of the Vancouver Lower Mainland through a collaborative visual ethnographic approach, the process of acculturation was explored as a co-construction of culture as participants' collaboratively defined Canadian culture. The Vancouver Lower Mainland's cultural plurality provided a promising culture contact zone in which to examine the complexities of an acculturation process for all acculturating members, both newcomers to the culture contact zone and old-timers of the culture contact zone (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rudmin, 2003), and to interrogate the complexities that these intensified intercultural contacts present.

While critiquing the fourfold approach of assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization, this dissertation drew on a sociocultural theoretical framework in conceptualizing culture contact zones as *third space*, and the acculturation process as a *co-construction* of culture within this third space. Third spaces can be disharmonious and hybrid spaces and it is proposed, in this third space, that cultural practices are contested, created and shared — co-constructed by its members. Participants' captured images, artist statements and interview texts were analyzed (1) thematically; in identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns observed within the data pertaining to participant conceptualizations of Canadian culture and, (2) interpretatively; where data were further analyzed employing Bakhtinian text mapping (Tobin, 2000), a strategy developed to glean a text's potential deeper and/or multiple meanings in

exploring the polycontextuality, multivocality and multiscriptedness inherent in a co-constructed acculturation process.

Findings suggested that for the participants in this study, both newcomers and old-timers, the culture contact zone of the Vancouver Lower Mainland presented itself as third space as its diverse cultural members were confronted with alternating and competing cultural discourses and positionings within the intercultural contact situations that they were presented with; situations that created new cultural tensions that must be negotiated and managed at some level. Implications to Canada's multiculturalism policy are discussed.

PREFACE

This dissertation was approved by the Behavioral Research Ethics Board at the University of

British Columbia (H10-00036) and the Research Ethics Board at Douglas College.

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They say it takes a village to raise a child. I would like to extend this and say that it takes many villages to complete a Ph.D. with children, and to my many villages, I say thank you.

I want to express a deep gratitude to the community visual ethnographers that helped in Making Canadian Culture Visible. This would not have been possible without your creativity, thoughtfulness and willingness to share your lived experiences with me. Thank you for trusting me with your stories.

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Above all, I want to thank Daniel. Without him, this would simply not have been possible. McKay and Griffin: dreams do come true.

For Parker

My baby, now everybody's angel

May, 2005 - February, 2006

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

It is not too much to say that there is no people whose customs have developed
uninfluenced by foreign culture, that has not borrowed arts and ideas which it has
developed in its own way. (Boas, 1888, p. 631)

As Franz Boas (1858-1942), an early pioneer of modern anthropology, recognized many
years ago, acculturative processes include everyone. His statement has arguably only increased
in its validity. Within Canada alone, particularly over the past two decades, we have seen a vast
increase of persons from a wide variety of countries adding to Canada's cultural mosaic. With
our policy of inclusion and multiculturalism, Canadians have both the challenge and the
opportunity to embrace new cultures and to further enhance our cultural awareness and cultural
understanding of others.

Furthermore, issues relating to culture including cultural unity, cultural diversity and
divisiveness (Baldwin, Faulkner, & Hecht, 2006) abound, not only within multicultural Canada,
but also on the world stage providing ample opportunities for Canadians to exercise and extend
our multicultural muscles. From the rejuvenated cultural unity generated with the inauguration
of the first African-American president of the United States in 2009, to the pervasive terrorism,
oppression, controversies and conflicts continually felt in many countries worldwide, issues of
culture for better or worse, "consume people's everyday existence," (Baldwin et al., 2006, p. 4).
For these reasons the study of acculturation is timely, especially today where the "moving and

mixing" of cultures (Hermans & Kempen, 1998, p. 1117) has given rise to increasingly permeable cultural boundaries thereby creating ample intercultural contact opportunities.

Observed Justification for Studying Acculturation

Part One: Acculturation Processes: Unidirectional, Bidirectional or Multidirectional?

On the most part, the process of acculturation has been explored through examining the ways in which newcomers come to understand and reconcile the cultural differences between their country of origin (heritage minority culture) and their newly adopted (mainstream majority culture) country (Lieber, Chin, Nihira, & Mink, 2001). During this process, the acculturating person must decide on the extent to which the values, practices, and beliefs of a different cultural group are adopted (Chun, Organista, & Marin, 2003; see Figure 1).

CULTURE A

CULTURE B

Minority Culture
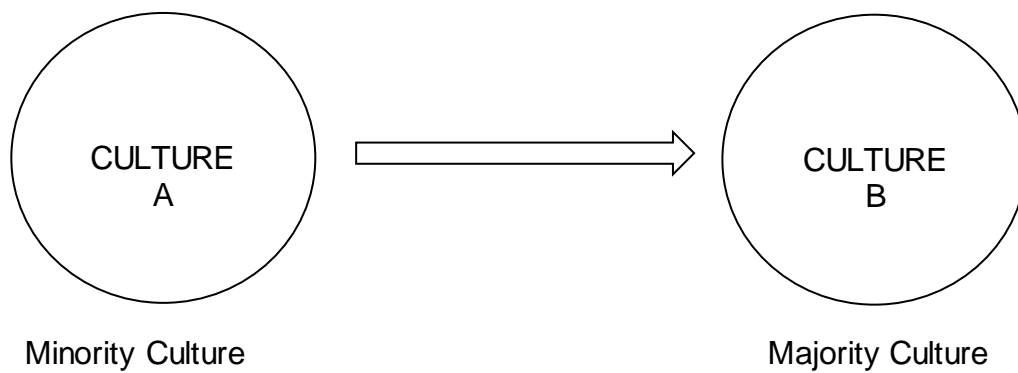
Majority Culture

Figure 1. Acculturation of minority cultures.

While many acculturation models and frameworks have arisen and fallen over time (see Rudmin, 2003 for a history), Berry's fourfold approach has led if not defined contemporary approaches to studying acculturation (Ward, 2008), with Chirkov finding over 55% of

researchers utilizing his approach in his recent literature review (2009). Within Berry's approach (1980), four distinct acculturative strategies have documented a newcomer's culture change process. When individuals seek out daily interaction with other cultures and do not wish to maintain their heritage cultural identity, the *assimilation* strategy is being utilized. The direct contrast to this strategy is *separation*, which occurs when individuals value their heritage culture and desire to avoid interaction with others. *Integration* occurs when there is interest in both heritage culture maintenance and culture interaction. Lastly, when there is no interest in either maintenance of one's heritage culture, or in having relationships with other cultural groups, *marginalization* is defined (Berry, 2005).

Noticeably Berry's fourfold approach is largely unidirectional (as depicted in Figure 1); that is, concerned or interested in acculturative processes from a newcomer's perspective. This focus on newcomers dominates acculturative literature and has resulted in concerted efforts in understanding how newcomers attempt integration into their new host culture. Further acculturation scholarship has examined newcomer issues relating to *acculturative stress* (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987), *adaptation* (both psychological and social) (Berry, 1992; Masgoret & Ward, 2006), *communication* (Gudykunst, 1993; Kim, 1977, 1991), *culture training* (Bhawuk, Landis & Lo, 2006; Masgoret & Ward, 2006; Ward, 2004), and *ethnic identity* (Liebkind, 2006; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Tajfel, 1978).

However, in their pursuit to understand the newcomer's transition process, acculturation researchers have notably forgone a critical acculturating group essential to understanding the

acculturation phenomenon in its fullness. What is oddly absent from acculturation scholarship is the acculturative process of the majority culture leading to Rudmin's statement in 2003:

> A fixed focus on the acculturation of minorities implies that acculturation is something that happens only to minority people and that the cultures of dominant people are somehow monolithic, immutable, and without acculturation origins. (p. 6)

When considering Rudmin's statement within the context of Canada, this deficit in acculturative literature becomes especially relevant given Canada's cultural pluralism rooted in its acculturative origins.

The majority culture's odd absence from acculturation studies becomes increasingly perplexing given the early acknowledgment of the potential for reciprocal culture change among acculturation scholars, primarily anthropologists (see Teske & Nelson, 1974 for review). When commissioned with the task of analyzing and defining the parameters for acculturation research, Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) defined acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of *either or both groups* [italics added]" (p. 149). Herskovits later (1958) discussed acculturation as a comprehensive interchange between two bodies of tradition, while Foster (1960) conceptualized acculturation as a two-way process. Curiously Redfield et al.'s definition still remains one of the most frequently cited acculturation definitions within acculturation literature (Chirkov, 2009). Yet despite these early conceptualizations of acculturation recognizing the potential for reciprocal culture change (see

Figure 2), the receiving culture by in large has not been explicitly studied in this regard (see

Chen, 1997; Geschke, Mummendey, Kessler, & Funk, 2010; Kim & Park, 2009 for exceptions).
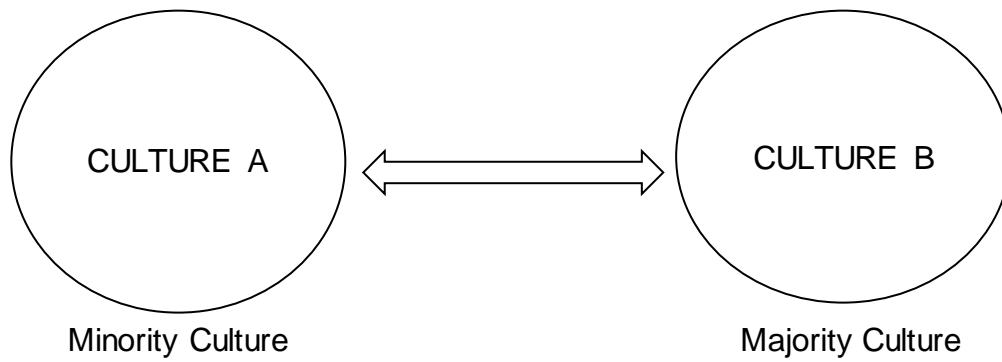
Figure 2. Acculturation as a reciprocal or two-way culture change process.

In response to this omission on the part of acculturation scholars, in this case with

reference to psychologists specifically, Rudmin (2006) stated, "The failure of psychologists to

study the acculturation processes of majority populations, discussed earlier, is an example of a

phenomenological observation that implies that there is something fundamentally wrong with

theories and research on acculturation" (p. 68). Rudmin's statement becomes especially pertinent

if one stops to consider some of the concrete evidence of this phenomenon around us. Within

Canadian culture, we observe acculturatively acquired items like tobacco, pizza, French fries,

wine, yoga, aikido, salsa, and sushi.

Rudmin (2006) proposed several potentially fruitful areas for examining majority group

acculturation including mixed marriages, conversions, foreign-postings, going-native, the

"-ophile" phenomena, re-minoritization, and sub-cultures that all entail the majority culture recognizing and adopting aspects of a minority group or foreign culture. In brief, while the acculturative process has been acknowledged as a two-way culture change process with concrete evidence for its reciprocity, by in large it has not been studied as such.

Part Two: Acculturation in a Canadian Context

When considering how acculturative processes have influenced and affected Canada, and how they have affected me more personally, I found myself asking, "What exactly is Canadian culture?" Does Canada have a distinct 'Canadian' cultural identity, moreover do I? I realized that given our acculturative origins, cultural diversity, and policy of multiculturalism, I had difficulty answering these questions. I also found that I was not alone in this regard.

In 2009, the Globe and Mail published a piece (Phipps, 2009) asking Canadians the same quintessential question, "What is Canadian culture?" Responses varied greatly proposing that: "Canadian culture doesn't exist.", "Canadian culture is regional, there's Québécois culture, Prairie culture, Newfie culture and all of the new cultures that arrive here.", "There is no such thing as a Canadian, only the multitude of cultures that exist here. That's what Canadian culture really is", "Just a mishmash of different cultures of different regions", and that Canadian culture is "Very different from Chinese culture."

Given that Canadians had difficulty in arriving at a conceptualization of their own culture, I wondered what newcomers were acculturating to. What is '*Culture B*' in leading acculturation models? What is the *dominant culture* in Canada? Moreover, if Canada is home to such a "mishmash of different cultures of different regions", how do we begin to conceptualize

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this acculturation process? How does the process of acculturation look within the context of multiple cultures in contact? Is Canada a cultural mosaic of persons living together, but at the same time living different cultural lives? Or, are Canadians *co-constructing* or creating together new or shared cultural processes and practices during an acculturative process?

Acculturation in changing times. More recently, postcolonial theorists Bhatia and Ram (2001), Hermans and Kempen (1998, 2001), Bhabha (1994, 1997), and sociocultural theorists Monzó and Rueda (2006) have all been influential in expanding, and at times challenging current conceptualizations of culture, and consequently acculturation. Bhabha (1997) affirmed, "The very concepts of homogenous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or "organic" ethnic communities – *as the grounds of cultural comparison* – are in a profound process of redefinition" (p. 30). When considering the acculturative process in an increasingly interconnected world, the conception of independent, coherent, and stable cultures becomes even more questionable. As such, the overly linear trajectory from a Culture A to a Culture B as expressed by the majority of acculturation scholars once again is noticeably problematic.

A shift to 'contact zones.' In alignment with Bhabha, and exemplified in today's ever-increasing moving and mixing cultures, Hermans and Kempen (1998) have endorsed a shift in research to the study of cultural processes on their 'contact zones.' Conceptualized as 'meeting points' or 'spaces' of intercultural contact and exchange, the study of cultural processes within contact zones embody this age of transnational immigration, border crossings and growing diasporas (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, O'Sullivan-Lago & de Abreu, 2010). Contact zones, (also

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called cultural contact zones; O'Sullivan-Lago & de Abreu, 2010) permit intensified intercultural contacts that run across multiple boundaries of many cultures (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). As Bhabha argued, "the location of culture today is not in some pure core inherited from tradition, but at the edges of contact between civilizations where new "in-between," or hybrid identities are being forged" (p. 30).

Given the intermixing of multiple cultures within culture contact zone situations, wherein I put forward the majority/minority culture distinction is often close to extinction, does Rudmin's proposition of an examination of majority culture acculturation as a means for understanding the acculturation phenomenon in its fullness go far enough? As Denoux (1994) expressed, "In an intercultural situation, new forms and rules of life, as well as new systems of meaning are produced following the fusion of dynamic systems and people in contact" (¶ 18, my translation). With this in mind, culture contact zones as 'meeting points' (Hermans & Kempen, 1998) or 'meeting spaces' (Denoux, Dubet, Wieworka, & Lapeyronnie, 2003) enable, and at times, force (O'Sullivan-Lago & de Abreu, 2010) the construction of new, alternate and shared realities allowing for two or more distinct cultural identities to position themselves in relation to each other and to (re) create relationships and meaning (Denoux et al., 2003). In this way, culture contact zones create an opportunity for not only a reciprocal, or two-way culture change process, but a potentially *regenerative* acculturative process as well that locates new cultural processes and shared practices as a *co-construction* (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995) of the unique cultural combinations living within particular culture contact zones (see Figure 3).
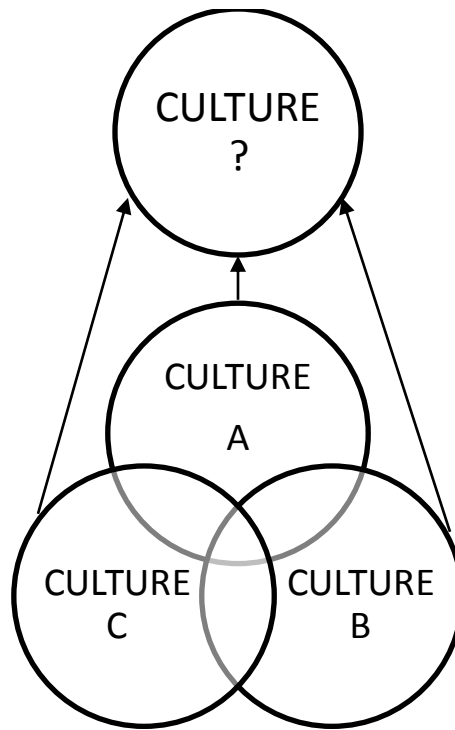
Figure 3. Acculturation within culture contact zones.

So while an examination of the acculturative processes of majority culture members on its own presents a much-needed addition to acculturative literature, this rendering of the acculturation phenomenon could also potentially be considered deficient given today's changing world. What arguably needs to be considered among acculturation scholars is an acculturative process that is an *ongoing*, *shared* process of reciprocal cultural exchange that most importantly also involves the potential for the *co-construction* of new or shared cultural processes and cultural practices between diverse cultures. Thus, the acculturative process is not only a *reciprocal,* two-way culture change process, but a potentially *regenerative* process as well in its co-construction of new or shared cultural practices, as noted earlier and reiterated here.

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Co-construction: A Definition

Central to the development of an understanding of acculturation processes as co-constructed is in providing an overview of what is meant by the term *co-construction*. According to Jacoby and Ochs (1995), the concept of *co-construction*, while now considered from a number of disciplinary perspectives, most notably linguistic anthropology, conversation analysis, and applied linguistics, is historically located in fields traversing the social sciences and humanities inclusive of Soviet psychology, child language studies, the literary theory of the Bakhtin Circle, ethnomethodology, and conversation analysis. In addressing how this dissertation conceptualizes *co-construction*, I use Jacoby and Ochs definition (1995) where co-construction is referred to as,

> *the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity,*
> *institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful reality.* The *co-* prefix
> in *co-construction* is intended to cover a range of interaction processes, including
> collaboration, cooperation, and coordination. However, the co-construction does not
> necessarily entail the affiliative or supportive interactions. Any argument, for example, in
> which the parties express disagreement, is nonetheless co-constructed. (p. 171)

So while the *co-* prefix in co-construction entails a joint creation, or *mutually constitutive* construction of a culturally meaningful reality through a range of interaction processes, these processes are not always harmonious. Rather, as Jacoby and Ochs argued, co-constructions can also be discordant processes. As the acculturation process is conceived in this way, prevailing discussions around topics of culture hybridity (Hermans & Kempen, 1998), diaspora (Bhatia &

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Ram, 2009), cultural frame switching (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet- Martínez, 2000), and the dialogical self (Hermans, 2008) become especially meaningful in understanding the acculturation process. In this way, the foci of acculturation research begins to change from a linear transition from Culture A to Culture B to what is being co-constructed between and within cultures, indeed the many cultures living within culture contact zones. A co-constructed process of acculturation would arguably include an examination of how cultural practices are negotiated, contested and realized among diverse cultural members. In this way, acculturative processes not only affect and include everyone as outlined by Boas years ago, but also serve to form the foundation for the (re) creation and (re) generation of shared cultural practices among diverse cultural individuals.

Acculturation and Identity

Also of key interest as we begin to conceptualize acculturation is a discussion of the relationship between acculturation processes and identity. In thinking about acculturation within culture contact zones, how does a mutually constitutive process of acculturation impact the identities of those living within these diverse zones? How do persons living in multicultural contact zones make sense of the many competing cultural discourses and practices that confront and surround them? Many scholars have explored issues of identity over time (Erikson, 1950; Tajfel, 1978; Hermans, 2008) with underlying assumptions shifting from an identity that is "supposed to be identical to the identity of the group to which they belonged, which was consistent with [classical] anthropological theories about the relation between person and group or community," (therein presupposing an identity of stability and permanence), to the more recent conceptualizations of multiple identifications where "in increasingly multicultural

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contexts identity obtains its meaning primarily from the identity of the other with whom self is contrasted" (van Meijl, 2008, p. 173). Thus the new conception of identity "refers simultaneously to the difference *and* sameness of self and other, both with psychological *and* sociological connotations" (2008, p. 173; italics in original). The attention has therefore changed from a singular identity to multiple identities emphasizing the flexibility and changeability of identity. In exploring the acculturation process as a co-construction of cultural processes and practices within a diverse culture contact zone, this new conception of identity as multiple, flexible and changeable, with the recognition that constructions of self will both coincide, and sometimes collide, is an important distinction and consideration in conceptualizing how individuals navigate their evolving 'ethnoscape' (Appadurai, 1996) in an acculturation process.

Acculturation Discussed within a Specific Context

The Vancouver Lower Mainland as a Culture Contact Zone

The Vancouver Lower Mainland is home to just over 2.5 million people (Statistics Canada, 2006) encompassing its namesake, Vancouver, in addition to its numerous suburb communities (see Figure 4, Map of the Vancouver Lower Mainland). Vancouver is also the next largest receiving city of immigrants in Canada, next to Toronto. With over 200 self-identified members of ethnic groups living in the Vancouver Lower Mainland, and three Lower Mainland cities reporting that more than half their population is comprised of visible minorities (Statistics Canada Census 2006; Richmond, 65%; Burnaby, 55%; Metro Vancouver, 51%), the Vancouver Lower Mainland's cultural plurality provided a promising culture contact zone in which to examine acculturative processes between multiple cultural groups in contact.

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Figure 4. Map of the Vancouver Lower Mainland (Copyright © 2012 Google).

Whilst considering the acculturation process of the 'majority' culture that has been long neglected, this dissertation explored the acculturation process as a potentially *mutually constitutive* process that is most importantly a *co-construction* of culture among the individuals, and cultural groups living within culture contact situations. This not only more fully represents the ongoing cultural exchange that occurs between members of culturally plural communities, but also serves to recognize the acculturative process as a reciprocal, shared, and potentially regenerative process. In doing so, this dissertation theorized the acculturation phenomenon in ways that reflect today's moving and mixing cultures, but within the more localized context of a culture contact zone. Likewise, given the 'elusiveness' of Canadian culture, perhaps due in part to its cultural diversity, this dissertation assisted in 'making Canadian culture visible' through the

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collective efforts of research participants utilizing a unique participatory community visual ethnographic approach to be introduced hereunder.

Selected Qualitative Research Methodology and Justification for Its Use

As prevailing acculturation theoretical frameworks have been challenged, so too have the methodologies sustaining them. Chirkov (2009) more recently stated, "Acculturation researchers have been trying to apply a deductive-nomological and quantitative approach to a phenomenon of acculturation that is far beyond the capacity this approach has to comprehend it" (p. 2). Not only has the primary approach been cited as inappropriate for fully understanding the acculturation phenomenon, scholars have also more recently demonstrated the faulty science and problematic psychometrics underlying Berry's popular fourfold approach (Rudmin, & Ahmadzaheh, 2001, Rudmin, 2003, 2006), the lack of content validity of acculturation measures across studies (Zane & Mak, 2003), and the problematic unidimensionality (Escobar & Vega, 2000) of many of the measures that have been, and currently remain in use today to investigate the acculturation process.

Given this, there exists a pressing need to not only reassess how the acculturation phenomenon is conceptualized theoretically, but *methodologically* as well. In using an innovative qualitative methodology, this dissertation aimed to address both these critical issues through a *participatory visual ethnographic approach* that recognized the complexities of the acculturation phenomenon within a context pertinent to Canada's changing 'ethnoscape' (Appadurai, 1996). The addition of a *participatory visual* component presented a unique method

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of investigating the acculturative process through the lens of Canadians as they 'made Canadian culture visible' in their co-constructions of Canada's cultural practices.

Ethnography has been utilized for decades by anthropologists studying culture, as well as acculturation. For the purposes of this dissertation I utilized Pinks (2007) definition of ethnography wherein ethnography is,

> … an approach to experiencing, interpreting and representing culture and society … Rather than a method for the collection of data, ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on an ethnographers' own experiences. It does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account of reality, but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers' own experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge is produced. This may entail reflexive, *collaborative or participatory methods*. (italics added; p. 22)

In consideration of Pinks words, a *participatory* visual ethnographic approach was employed where research participants served as *community visual ethnographers* capturing visual representations of 'Canadian culture' through the photographic images that they took within their culture contact zone. In addition to the images captured, research participants included artist statements to supplement their captured images as a means to assist in interpreting and understanding the meanings behind their produced images. Lastly, upon reviewing their images and accompanying artist statements, participants were interviewed as a means of inquiry into how and what decisions were made on what to include/exclude in their various images of

'Canadian culture' they submitted. How did they arrive at their images captured? Both their images and artist statements also served as an exceptional elicitation tool or probe from which to initiate a dialogue into the processes behind the subsequently captured images within the interview; a tool used successfully by many researchers (Daniels, 2003, as cited in Daniels, 2008; Luttrell, 2006; Tobin, 1989).

Data were then analyzed (1) thematically; in identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns observed within the data and, (2) interpretatively; where the data were further analyzed employing *Bakhtinian text mapping* (Tobin, 2000), a strategy developed in an effort to glean a text's potential deeper and/or multiple meanings.

Research Questions and Implications

In general, this dissertation asked: What is Canadian culture in a culture contact zone wherein multiple cultures are in contact? What does the process of acculturation look like in a multicultural contact zone wherein a majority/minority distinction is becoming closer to extinction? How might cultural plurality affect acculturation? More specific questions that were explored included: What does Canadian culture entail for Vancouverites? Or, what does it mean to be Canadian for someone living in the Vancouver Lower Mainland? What are 'Canadian' cultural practices as experienced by those living in this culture contact zone? Do Canadians of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds co-construct Canadian culture together? If so, what are the processes behind this co-construction? What are its outcomes? What are some of the challenges/obstacles and/or advantages/benefits of living in a diverse culture contact zone?

These questions considered the acculturative experiences of persons living within a dynamic culture contact zone, while also realizing that acculturative processes affect and include everyone, and most importantly are mutually constitutive, complex and continually evolving.

This dissertation also presented an alternate framework for examining acculturation that is most importantly pertinent for today's cultures in today's changing world. Monolithic, stable, coherent, homogenous cultures are in the past, if ever in existence (Boas, 1888), creating a need for an approach to acculturation research that reflects a dynamic, fluid and evolving acculturative process, that is also a reflection of a dynamic, fluid and evolving understanding of culture.

Structure of the Dissertation

The primary focus of this dissertation research was to examine how acculturative processes and cultural practices within a culture contact zone are shaped, formed, negotiated and contextualized by those situated within one. In chapter two, I present a historical overview of the study of acculturation to date, outline key scholarship pertinent to its study, and examine the major critiques associated with its study, both conceptually and methodologically. Chapter three presents an alternative theoretical and/or conceptual framework for acculturation research embedded within culture, history and society, while also recognizing the complexities inherent in this kind of interrelationship. In doing so I utilize sociocultural theory to form a foundational framework for examining acculturation processes, while simultaneously questioning dominate models of acculturation founded on universal assumptions of a psychological acculturation process that fails to recognize the interrelatedness and interdependency of the individual with his or her environment. Chapter four details the qualitative methodology employed aimed at

addressing some of the problematic areas of concern with the dominant methods utilized by acculturation researchers to date as was briefly described already. The engagement of research participants as community visual ethnographers participating in a collaborative visual ethnographic approach, while equipped with the cultural and psychological tools of today (Vygotsky, 1981) is outlined. The analytical steps taken in the thematic and interpretative analysis are outlined in chapter five, along with a discussion of how my participants, in disregarding my proposed method for co-constructing their images of Canadian culture, deepened my understanding of this complex process.

The results and discussion of the dissertation findings are presented in three subsequent chapters. Community visual ethnographers' images, artist statements and interview narratives are presented in these chapters as they helped to make Canadian culture visible in their culture contact zone, while also exploring the process of acculturation as a co-construction of culture. In doing so, I have used participant voices wherever pertinent and possible in an attempt to preserve their acculturative experiences and stories as captured through their lens. Their voices are presented utilizing italicized quotes within the body of the dissertation, in addition to italicized text boxes containing their artist statements, image titles or references made to their images during the interview process. The use of italics also serves to differentiate the narratives told by my participants from those told by the many scholars whose work I draw on to help both construct and deconstruct, understand, and at times, confuse the intricate intercultural dance that members in culture contact zones enter into as they navigate this *third space*.

In chapter six, I present the narratives told by community visual ethnographers as they captured 'Canadian culture' in their various texts, both written and visual. Chapter seven explores research participants' acculturative experiences as reciprocal, ongoing, and above all, challenging "sites of contention" in addressing the acculturation *process*. Lastly, chapter eight discusses the implications of the dissertation findings to current acculturation scholarship, while also providing new directions for acculturation researchers to study, explore, and examine this complex phenomenon with today's moving and mixing cultures.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Rationale

This study attends to a gap in acculturation scholarship and initiates an examination of the acculturation of so-called dominant culture persons. However, in recognizing that within many culture contact zones this cultural distinction is no longer or decreasingly relevant, this dissertation proposes a conceptualization of acculturation as a co-construction of cultural processes and cultural practices relevant to the members within a particular culture contact zone. This approach recognizes the growing realization that homogenous cultures are in the past, if ever in existence at all (Boas, 1888). Moreover, it realizes the potential for transformation, (re)creation and (re)generation of cultural processes and practices. Finally, the utilization of a participatory community ethnographic approach selecting from the tools and techniques of ethnography permits an exploration of 'Canadian' cultural practices by and through Canadians living within a culture contact zone. If given the opportunity, how do Canadians living within the culture contact zone of the Vancouver Lower Mainland co-construct their own meaning (s) of Canadian culture?

Historical Context

Acculturation in History

Although acculturation has received considerably more attention in the last two decades, the process of acculturation and its accompanying challenges have conceptually been around since antiquity (see Rudmin, 2003 for a historical review). In fact Rudmin (2003), like Boas

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(1888), recognized acculturation as an ancient and universal human experience. Acculturation's effects have been documented on inscriptions dating as early as 2370 B.C. wherein the Sumerian rulers of Mesopotamia established laws to protect their traditional cultural practices from change due to foreign commerce (Rudmin, 2003). In addition, Hammurabi, the first Babylonian ruler (1780 B.C.) wrote an extensive code of law to culturally integrate his Sumerian and Semitic citizens thereby "weld[ing] together his vast empire by a uniform system of law" (Johns 1910/1991, as cited in Rudmin, 2003, p. 9). Further acknowledgement of the acculturative process can be found within the Persian, Roman, and Greek Empires that were all faced with the challenges of multicultural societies due to expansion through imperialism (Rudmin). Even Plato (1969) offered an acculturation policy noting its potential effects when he discussed the possible social unrest that may occur when different states have free interaction between one another. As a possible solution to the potential for social unrest, Plato proposed that only those over the age of 40 should travel abroad as older persons were less likely to acculturate than those younger (Rudmin); a finding that still remains true many years later (Chen, 1997).

Closer to home, acculturation has been and remains a particularly salient feature in Canada. In fact our Canadian history is an acculturative one. With the arrival of Cartier to the shores of the St. Lawrence in 1534, the process of acculturation for Canadians was initiated; though Franz Boas would probably argue that acculturative processes were already at work within the diverse First Nations tribes prior to Cartier's arrival. As a nation with the highest per capita immigration rate in the world (Becklumb, 2010), founded by settlers from a wide variety of Western European nations that displaced (and at times joined, Métis) a variety of First Nation

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inhabitants, acculturative processes have arguably shaped the very character of Canadian society, perhaps contributing to its 'elusive' culture.

Acculturation in the Academy

Defining acculturation and its parameters. Interest in acculturation within academia began with the coining of the term in Powell's 1880 report to the Bureau of American Ethnography wherein acculturation referred to changes in psychological processes induced by cross-cultural imitation (Rudmin, 2003). Powell's colleague McGee (1898, p. 243) later provided a view of acculturation as a process by which "devices and ideas are interchanged and fertilized in the process of transfer" (as cited in Rudmin, 2003, p. 11). Years later, Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) comprehended acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). This last definition has become the classical definition of acculturation and still remains today the most frequently cited definition of acculturation within acculturation literature (Chirkov, 2009).

These inaugural definitions capture key components of acculturation from which acculturation scholars across multiple disciplinary boundaries have developed within their conceptualizations, measurements and discussions surrounding the acculturative process. These include acculturation as an individual and group process, and acculturation's directionality and dimensionality discussed hereunder.

Key Components of Acculturation

Individual and Group Acculturation

One key component of acculturation is the distinction between acculturation at the individual and group level. Scholars across disciplines have examined (and continue to examine) acculturation at both the individual and supra-individual level (Rudmin, 2009). In 1967 Graves coined the term *psychological acculturation* which he described as the changes a person encounters as a result of being in contact with other cultures, or participating in the acculturative process that one's cultural or ethnic group is undergoing (Sam, 2006). Psychological acculturation, therefore, examines the changes in the *psychology* of the individual whereas group acculturation is interested in changes in the *culture* of the group (Berry, 1997, 2005). This distinction is important, as acculturating individuals are known to vary greatly from their acculturating cultural groups. For example, acculturating individuals may vary in terms of their participation, their goals and to the extent they participate within their own culture's changes. Historically, *psychological acculturation* provided a specific term and definition for the differentiation between individual-level changes arising from acculturation that interested primarily psychologists and those occurring at the group level that had been investigated for some time already by primarily sociologists and anthropologists (Sam, 2006).

Directionality and Dimensionality

Two other interrelated issues within acculturation research and theory are directionality and dimensionality. Directionality asks, "In which direction does culture change take place?"

while dimensionality is concerned with whether the culture change taking place occurs along a single dimension or two or more independent dimensions (Sam, 2006).

In regards to directionality, some early acculturation scholars (Gordon, 1964; Graves, 1967) viewed acculturation as a unidirectional process wherein change occurred only within one group (i.e., one cultural group moves unidirectionally towards another 'stationary' cultural group). In many instances, this unidirectional process was referred to as *assimilation*. On the other hand, bidirectional acculturation assumes that both individuals and groups in contact can change reflecting a more reciprocal or mutual process of culture change.

In close relation with directionality is dimensionality. Followers of a unidimensional perspective perceive acculturation to occur as a strong inverse relationship. That is, as one adopts the majority culture, one's heritage culture becomes less influential to one's personal identity (assimilation). More explicitly, acculturating persons are viewed as in the process of relinquishing values, attitudes, and behaviours of their native culture, while also adopting those of the new culture at the same time (Gans, 1973; Gordon, 1964; Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992). Conversely, followers of the bidimensional or multidimensional perspectives (Berry, 1997; LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) perceive the relationship between heritage culture and majority culture as independent of each other. Therefore individuals are free to adopt the values of the new mainstream culture without giving up their identity within their heritage culture.

Current Acculturation Scholarship

The Research of John Berry

Quite possibly the most prolific scholar writing on the subject of acculturation today is Canadian scholar John Berry. As Ward (2008) expressed, "John Berry has led, if not defined, contemporary approaches to acculturation" (p. 105). Chirkov, in his 2009 analysis of 42 articles in the acculturation field noted that the most popular theoretical model was Berry's fourfold approach with 55% of the studies examined utilizing this approach; while Ward linked "Berry" and "acculturation" to over 800 PsycINFO citations in 2008. Given the extensive application of Berry's work within acculturation research by many scholars, I have chosen his efforts for review and discussion of both its significant merits and its problematic shortcomings that have more recently been voiced by some acculturation scholars. These critiques are important as they greatly impact the future direction for acculturation research in the questioning of the current contentment of many acculturation scholars with the status quo; a contentment that "arise[s] from ideological biases that blind the entire research community" and may result in "decades of research [that] might need to be dismissed" (Rudmin, 2006, p. 5).

Berry's (1980) pioneering efforts began with his first "Berry box[1]" outlining his model of acculturation strategies, also labeled acculturation attitudes, orientations, preferences, dimensions, and modes. Since this initial work, Berry has subsequently produced two additional boxes to classify acculturation attitudes and orientations, broadly conceptualize within an acculturative framework acculturation processes and outcomes, and to categorize acculturating

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[1] The term "Berry boxes" was coined by his colleagues for Berry's talent of creating graphical representations of his theories and models usually depicted within numerous connecting squares or rectangles, hence "Berry boxes."

groups. I will utilize Berry's three boxes throughout this section as a means to both outline his large contributions to acculturation scholarship, while simultaneously initiating a critical discussion and review of this body of work that has been critiqued on several important levels to be discussed hereunder.

Berry box 1: Acculturation strategies. The first Berry box (see Figure 5; Berry, 1980, 1997, 2005) comprises a four-fold classification that specifies four acculturation strategies including, "assimilation," "integration," "separation," and "marginalization."

ISSUE 1

Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?

"YES" ⟷ "NO"

ISSUE 2

Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger society?

"YES"

"NO"

INTEGRATION   ASSIMILATION

SEPARATION/
SEGREGATION   MARGINALIZATION
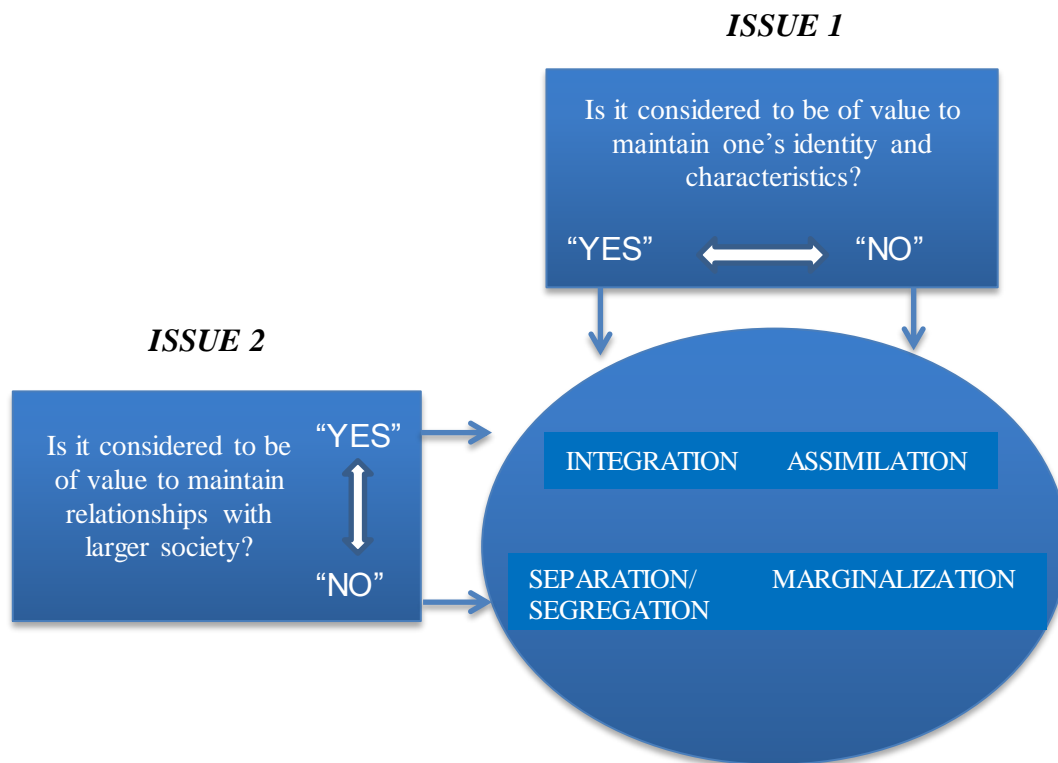
Figure 5. Berry box 1: Reprinted from "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," by J.W. Berry, 1997, *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *46*, p. 10. © 1997 International Association of Applied Psychology.   Reprinted with permission from John Wiley & Sons Inc.

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According to Berry (1980, 1997, 2005), newcomers face two key questions as they undergo acculturation: (a) Is it important to maintain my own original heritage culture? and (b) Is it important to engage in intercultural contact with other groups, including members of the dominant culture? If the responses to these two questions are dichotomized as **YES-NO** answers, the following four acculturation strategies are being employed: a **YES-YES** response indicates an integrated individual as both culture maintenance and culture contact are desired; a **YES-NO** answer indicates the desire for culture maintenance only (a separation); a **NO-YES** is indicative of assimilation wherein culture maintenance is not desired; and a **NO-NO** response indicates that the individual wants neither to maintain his/her own culture nor to have contact with his/her new culture; this is referred to as marginalization.

According to Berry and Sam (1997) and later reiterated by Donà and Ackerman (2006), the optimal acculturation strategy is integration; acculturating individuals adopting an integration strategy have more positive outcomes as manifested in their lower levels of acculturative stress and overall better mental health than those implementing other strategies. Also central to Berry's acculturation strategies is their universality; that is, even though there exist a wide variety of individuals from varying cultural groups experiencing acculturation phenomena, "the psychological processes that operate during acculturation are essentially the same; that is, we adopt a *universalist perspective* on acculturation" (Berry & Sam, 1997, p. 296). In other words, all individuals undergoing acculturation will experience similar psychological processes leading to an adoption of one of the four acculturating strategies; more recently coined as their *acculturation profile* (Berry, 2006) with integration also being the preferred strategy by

newcomers (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

Berry box 1: Some challenges. Although widely utilized and adopted within acculturation studies for over three decades, Berry's acculturation strategies have been challenged in more recent years which may call into question their continued usage within acculturation research (see Bhatia & Ram, 2001, 2004, 2009; Boski, 2008; Chirkov, 2009; Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Rudmin, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2009; Ward, 2008).

The acculturative process. To begin, one key dynamic that seems to be missing from Berry's work is the *process* behind it all; or in other words, the 'how.' As Ward (2008) expressed:

> The emergence of acculturation strategies obviously occurs as a process and is set in a broader sociocultural context, yet it has most often been examined as a static outcome in itself or as a predictor of broader adaptation. The process elements have been largely overlooked. (p. 107)

This is problematic as we are left with many important unanswered questions as to how, for example, integration as an end goal is to be achieved. Or for that matter, what it really means to be integrated. Also, who decides when one is integrated, marginalized or assimilated? Are these strategies stable or do they change over time or change within different contexts? Berry's model arguably leaves these kinds of quintessential questions unanswered.

Vague conceptualizations. The formulations or descriptions that Berry provides for each of his four acculturation strategies, while intuitively appealing, have been challenged for their vagueness, lacking both clarity and interpretive quality (Boski, 2008; Triandis, 1997). Berry (see Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dansen, 2002) has described integration as:

> When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while having daily interactions with other groups, integration is the option; here some degree of cultural integrity is maintained, while at the same time members of an ethnocultural group seek to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. (p. 354)

According to Boski, this description leaves much room for interpretation of the psychological mechanisms that support an individual functioning in a bicultural environment. In an effort to elaborate on the meaning of "integration" beyond that of Berry's formulation, Boski (2008) traced the acculturation literature and in doing so noted four additional meanings of integration including (a) integration as a psychological similarity or fusion of two cultures, (b) integration as functional specialization wherein individuals adopt an integrationist strategy in their public life only, (c) integration as bicultural competence and frame switching, and (d) integration as constructive marginalization. These additional meanings or "layers of integration," as Boski structured them, provide some insight into the answer of 'how' an integration strategy might be developed within an acculturation process and at the same time, as noted in (d) also casts doubt on not only Berry's formulation of the integration strategy, but also on his conceptualization of his marginalization strategy as well.

To illustrate, Bennett and Bennett (2004) drew a distinction between *encapsulated marginality* and *constructive marginality*. In the former, the separation is experienced as alienation, similar to Berry et al.'s (2002) marginalization, whereas in the latter the movement in and out of cultures is viewed positively as the fully integrated individual is able to transcend the limitations of any culture. Moreover, Rudmin (2006) challenged the actual existence of Berry's marginalization strategy as Rudmin argues that logic, commonsense, and pilot studies all indicate that minorities would not make such a decision to reject both cultures. In both cases, the marginalization and integration strategies as originally conceived by Berry become potentially problematic.

Achievement of integration. In relation to the section above, but in a different voice, post-colonial theorists like Radhakrishnan (1996), Bhatia and Ram (2001, 2009), and Hermans and Kempen (1998) have challenged the ability or even possibility of an immigrant to achieve integration as defined by Berry and colleagues. Although a worthy goal, Bhatia and Ram (2001) contend that for most people living in culturally plural societies, negotiation with cultural sites is "fluid, dynamic, interminable and often unstable" (p. 13) due in part to the ongoing, pervasive "moving and mixing" of contemporary cultural sites or "contact zones" (Hermans & Kempen, 1998, p. 1117). Consequently, these notions confront the idea of a "blissful marriage" (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, p. 13) or integration of the cultures between the hyphen (Radhkrishnan). From this perspective, integration is not likely to ever be achieved as an end state due to the constant negotiation "between here and there, past and present, homeland and hostland, self and other" that presents as an ongoing acculturative process involving issues of conflict, power, and

asymmetry, rather than a self-selected achieved end (Bhatia & Ram, p. 3). To say that one acculturates from culture A (e.g., Japanese culture) to culture B (e.g., Canadian culture) in a linear trajectory is not only outdated, but absurd for post-colonial theorists as it does not take into account the growing presence of diasporas, hybridized or heterogeneous notions of culture taking shape in an increasingly interconnected world where the boundaries between cultures are becoming increasingly obscure (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). To function in this kind of interconnected world arguably requires multiple and changing identities, thereby calling into question an end to acculturation processes.

       Berry box 2: A framework for acculturation research. The second Berry Box is a graphical representation (see Figure 6; see Berry, 1997, p. 15) of an overarching framework for the study of acculturation.

Figure 6. Berry box 2: Reprinted from "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," by J.W. Berry, 1997, *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *46*, p. 15. © 1997 International Association of Applied Psychology. Reprinted with permission from John Wiley & Sons Inc.

With the help of Ward (2008), this rather complex figure can be broken down into group-level variables (including the society of origin, society of settlement and group acculturation on the far left) and individual-level variables (moderating factors prior to and during acculturation and the accompanying core changes in behavior, stress and psychopathology), which lead to a

long-term outcome of *adaptation* that Berry (1997) defined as the "changes that take place in the individuals or groups in response to environmental demands" (p. 13). According to Berry, group-level phenomena are *situational* variables (i.e., political context, social support, multicultural ideology, and economic situation) that can affect an individual's psychological acculturation in addition to the already moderating influence of present individual or *person* variables (i.e., age, gender, education level) that existed prior to, and have subsequently arisen during, acculturation. According to Berry (1997), the main point of the framework is to illustrate the key variables that should be considered when carrying out acculturation research, as he contends, "that any study that ignores any of these broad classes of variables will be incomplete, and will be unable to comprehend individuals who are experiencing acculturation" (p. 15).

Berry Box 2: Additional challenges.

The real-world. Berry's acculturation framework has been both praised for its ambitious attempt to provide an all-encompassing approach, while at the same time being so abstract that the details or "flesh and bones" of the framework are lost (Lazarus, 1997). Other critiques of the framework concern its functionality and applicability in the "real world." For example, Triandis (1997) noted that due to the framework's complexity, it was not even testable, while Pick (1997) noted that the framework's functional relationship resembled that of a *Lego* structure wherein the pieces fit so perfectly together that the framework becomes closed to the inevitable diversity of variables involved in such a diverse area of study.

Furthermore, Kagitcibasi (1997 b) questioned Berry's conceptualization of multiculturalism within the society of settlement as an ideal, rather than real, scenario, which

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again brings into question its "real world" applicability. Kagitcibasci argued that multiculturalism on the one hand can be culturally enriching, but on the other hand, it brings with it the risk of accentuating cultural "us-them" differences if concerted efforts are not made to create an appreciation of cultural differences through the means of *equal-status interdependent contact opportunities*, which in reality is a very difficult condition to achieve. Kagitcibasci brings to the table a realization that multiculturalism through means of integration as proposed by Berry is not so straightforward, which reiterates the position of postcolonial theorists, as well as those of postmodern thinkers, that emphasize the role that issues of power, conflict, and asymmetry have on the acculturation process (Bhatia & Ram, 2009).

Berry box 3: Types of acculturating groups. In 2006, Berry provided his third Berry box (see Figure 7; Berry, 2006) that classifies and distinguishes the variety of acculturating groups within the context of culturally plural societies.

MOBILITY	VOLUNTARINESS OF CONTACT	
	VOLUNTARY	**INVOLUNTARY**
SEDENTARY	ETHNOCULTURAL GROUPS	INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
MIGRANT permanent temporary	IMMIGRANTS SOJOURNERS	REFUGEES ASYLUM SEEKERS

Figure 7. Berry box 3. Reprinted from *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology* (p. 30), by D.L. Sam & J.W Berry, 2006, New York: Cambridge University Press. Copyright © 2006 Cambridge University Press. Reprinted with the permission of Cambridge University Press.

Within the context of his third box, Berry examined three underlying factors that explain why people of different cultural backgrounds now find themselves as neighbours as follows: (a) voluntariness of contact (chosen vs. forced), (b) mobility (sedentary vs. mobile), and (c) permanency of relocation (temporary vs. permanent). In accordance with these three factors, Berry classified numerous acculturating groups, including ethnocultural groups, immigrants, sojourners, indigenous peoples, refugees, and asylum seekers. Berry also utilized these three factors in identifying risks coupled with their status. As explained by Ward (2008), "Mobile (as opposed to sedentary), permanent (as opposed to temporary), and involuntary (as opposed to voluntary) acculturating groups tend to experience greater acculturative stress" (p. 111).

Berry Box 3: Yet More Challenges. Berry's third box demonstrates in some regard the complexities involved in living in culturally plural societies for various acculturating groups. However, as outlined in the introductory chapter, one major acculturating group, the host culture, which arguably also undergoes acculturative processes, is not denoted in his Berry box representing types of acculturating groups. Though Berry more recently proposed (2006) that ethnocultural groups includes majority culture members in his types of acculturating groups, his large body of research examining acculturation arguably has not. This exclusion becomes especially pertinent within today's culturally plural societies. Although some early acculturation scholars, primarily anthropologists, have (see Teske & Nelson, 1974 for review) acknowledged this potential as recognized in their early definitions of acculturation as a reciprocal culture change (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936), a two-way process (Foster, 1960), and a comprehensive interchange between two bodies of tradition (Herskovits, 1958), as noted in the introduction chapter and reiterated here, the receiving culture as of yet has not been explicitly studied in this regard (see Chen; 1997; Geschke, Mummendey, Kessler, & Funk, 2010; Kim & Park, 2009 for exceptions).

Summary of Berry's Boxes

Thus far the contributions of acculturation scholar John Berry have been examined and critiqued on several important levels. From Berry Box 1, we learn that four (-1 potentially) acculturation strategies are being employed by newcomers. Yet we do not understand how the acculturative process occurs or whether or not there is an endpoint to the acculturative process. Berry Box 2 provides acculturation scholars with an overarching framework for the study of

acculturation. However, its complexity has rendered it un-testable and closed to the inevitable diversity of variables involved in such a diverse area of study, including the critical issues that power, conflict and asymmetry have on the acculturation process (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Lastly, Berry Box 3 serves to identify and distinguish the variety of acculturating groups within the context of culturally plural societies, arguably essential given today's globalized world. However, Berry fails to examine a large essential acculturating group, the majority culture that is also simultaneously acculturating. A fixed focus on the acculturative processes of minorities "implies that acculturation is something that happens only to minority people and that the cultures of dominant people are somehow monolithic, immutable, and without acculturative origins" (Rudmin, 2003, p. 6). This is simply not true.

Culture: The Missing Link

Chirkov (2009) and Rudmin (2009) have recently noted that the etymology of the word "acculturation" suggests that culture is embedded in "acCULTURATION", to use Chirkov's neologism. Given this, the word acculturation implies that it is concerned with, or at least, acknowledges, the existence of a notion of culture in the discourse about the phenomenon. Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits' (1936) classic definition still presently being cited by acculturation scholars (including Berry; see Berry, 1992; Berry, 2005; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989; Sam & Berry, 2006 for examples) wherein, "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different *cultures* come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original *culture* patterns of either or both groups"[italics added; p. 149] recognizes this basic

assumption. However, critics of current approaches to acculturation research have commented that the predominant way of operationalizing culture was to erroneously equate it with ethnicity or nationality or both (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Chirkov, 2009; Rudmin, 2001). As Chirkov (2009) recently stated, "My personal answer is that there is no culture in the studies on the psychology of acculturation" (p. 6) in reply to Triandis' (1997) question asked many years earlier, "Where is culture in the acculturation model?"

Interestingly, acculturation scholars have provided definitions of culture in their work. For example Segall, Lonner and Berry (1998) indicated that conceptions of culture include the views that, "(a) culture is 'out there' to be studied, observed, and described; (b) culture is a shared way of life of a group of socially interacting people, and (c) culture is transmitted from generation to generation by the processes of enculturation and socialization" (p. 1104). Furthermore, in the same article, these three authors discuss the interdependency of culture and self as acknowledged in their quote of Miller (1997, as cited in Segall et al., 1998, p. 1104) wherein Miller conceives of culture as not outside the individual, but rather an "intersubjective reality through which worlds are known, created, and experienced." Moving from their overview of conceptions of culture, Segall, Lonner, and Berry (1998) later argued in the same paper that a "more meaningful way to grasp the concept of culture… is to consider how it is conceptualized in the research, in short, to glean its operational definition" (p. 1105). This definition, Segall et al. continue, is "a label for a group within a set of groups" (p. 1105) constituting nationalities or ethnicities. In other words, culture is operationalized as a group label equated, or rather, conflated with nation and ethnicity as noted earlier, and reiterated here.

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In fact Chirkov (2009) found that 88 percent of the articles in his recent review conceptualized or operationalized culture in this way.

Methodological Issues in Current Acculturation Research

In addition to the problems discussed relating to the conceptualization of acculturation, critiques relating to its assessment have also been recently brought forward by some acculturation scholars. Rudmin (2006) began his award winning paper, *Debate in Science: The Case of Acculturation*, with the following quote by Francis Bacon:

> But with far more subtlety does this mischief insinuate itself into philosophy
>
> and the sciences; in which the first conclusion colors and brings into
>
> conformity with itself all that come after though far sounder and better.
>
> Besides, independently of that delight and vanity which I have described, it is
>
> the peculiar and perpetual error of the human intellect to be more moved and
>
> excited by affirmatives than by negatives; whereas it ought properly to hold
>
> itself indifferently disposed toward both alike. Indeed, in the establishment of
>
> any true axiom, the negative instance is the more forcible of the two.
>
> — Francis Bacon, New Organon, XLVI, 1620

I reiterate it here as I appreciate Bacon's words as they embody the current state of acculturation research, so much so, that though an author wins a prestigious award (the Otto Klineberg Intercultural and International Relations Award; APA Division 9) for his paper, he is rejected by mainstream acculturation publishers, editors, and reviewers (Geschke, 2007). Conceivably, acculturation scholars' over reliance and perhaps overconfidence in the scholarship of prominent

acculturation researchers, like John Berry, may have prevented scholars from looking beyond

this status quo, therein permitting "this mischief [to] insinuate itself" (Bacon).

The next section of this literature review chapter is devoted to an examination of some

recent critiques pertaining to the prevailing methodological approaches in the assessment and

measurement of acculturation. It will begin my highlighting Rudmin's (2006) seminal critique

of Berry's fourfold acculturation framework, followed by a discussion regarding voiced

challenges to popular measures of acculturation, and concludes with a proposal for an alternate

theoretical and methodological approach for studying acculturative processes that better reflects

acculturation in today's changing world.

Psychometrics of the Four-Fold Approach

Beginning in 1995, Rudmin entered acculturation research as a late stand-in supervisor

for Merametdjian's (1995) thesis examining the acculturation of Somali refugees in Norway.

Meramametdjian utilized acculturation measures developed by Sam and Berry (1995) to measure

the fourfold acculturation strategies (assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization) as

theorized by Berry and colleagues. Recall that acculturation strategies are understood to be

mutually exclusive, that is, one cannot be integrated, assimilated, separated or marginalized at

the same time; or in measurement terms, agreement to items about one construct should impede

agreement to the corresponding items about the other three constructs. However,

Meramametdjian's findings indicated that respondents agreed to two or more scales about these

mutually exclusive constructs, which provided strong evidence for psychometric problems.

In 2006, Rudmin expanded on the questionable psychometrics of the fourfold approach while also considering its problematic widespread misuse among acculturation scholars. The faulty psychometrics, and therefore faulty science, as described by Rudmin call into question the validity of the measures of the constructs, and in doing so, the fourfold constructs themselves. Most noteworthy were the significant correlations found between measures of what were supposed to be mutually exclusive constructs across several studies. For example, Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki (1989) and Montreuil and Bourhis (2001) both found significant positive relationships between the supposedly mutually exclusive constructs of assimilation and separation; $r = .33$ ($n = 117$, $p < .001$) and $r = .60$ ($n = 637$, $p < .001$) respectively. Furthermore, to have divergent validity, measures should show a strong inverse relationship. However, Rudmin found near-zero correlations reported between assimilation and separation across several studies. As was ascertained, "Such well replicated lack of divergent validity for acculturation scales is evidence of systematic psychometric problems" (Rudmin, 2006, p. 7).

Problems Associated with Acculturation Measures

In addition to the problematic psychometrics of the fourfold approach to acculturation, Escobar and Vega (2000) commented on measures of acculturation more generally:

The absence of solid, empirical literature demonstrating the value of acculturation scales after so many years of development and use is perplexing and discouraging, but even more discouraging is to see many of these scales discarded only to simply reinvent them a few years down the road. (p. 738)

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Zane and Mak (2003) provided a closer examination of 21 of the most frequently cited acculturation measures in an effort to observe the varying acculturative domains assessed by the numerous measures of acculturation. It was their hope that by examining the diverse domains assessed by the various acculturation measures, they might be able to ascertain the extent to which studies converged in terms of investigating the same construct, and thus clarify the pattern of findings among acculturation studies that up to this point seemed conflicting.

Results from this study (Zane & Mak, 2003) indicated large variation in the areas that the acculturation scales measured to the extent that it was "questionable whether the measures [were] assessing the same acculturation phenomena across different ethnic groups" (p. 52). Furthermore, very few measures sampled over three domains thoroughly thus raising content validity concerns as it remained unclear whether any of these 21 measures sufficiently sampled the disparate behavioural and attitudinal domains in which acculturative change would normally take place (Zane & Mak, 2003). Language was used most frequently as an acculturation indicator. Though language is arguably important, it represents only a small component of the acculturation process. Components such as attitudes, behaviours, beliefs, and values (i.e., culture components) are also thought to be essential to the acculturation process, yet only five of the 21 scales measured cultural values, and eight of the 21 assessed cultural traditions. This under representation of domains within the scales, and overrepresentation of some domains such as language may end up distorting the assessment of an individual's overall acculturation (Zane & Mak, 2003) leading to invalid and unreliable assessment.

In addition, as noted earlier, there is debate as to whether acculturation is essentially unidimensional or whether it is multidimensional with complex variations taking place. Zane and Mak (2003) established that the most frequently used acculturation measures were linear (unidimensional). In fact, 14 of the 21 measures included in Zane and Mak's study (2003) were bipolar in nature, that is, they measured acculturation along a continuum wherein the culture of origin lies at one end with the host culture at the other end. This finding seems to support the initial general impression that acculturation occurs in an assimilation context (Gordon, 1964) in which the possibility that individuals may retain elements of the culture of origin, while also learning about another culture, is precluded. This difference is important as the latter multidimensional perspective permits for multiple cultural identities and acculturative strategies.

In 2000, Ryder, Alden and Paulhus examined comparatively the unidimensional and the bidimensional, or more generally, multidimensional approaches. These authors found support for a bidimensional approach to acculturation as the unidimensional approach, although more parsimonious, was found to be incomplete and often misleading in its representation of the acculturating process. These authors' indicated that the unidimensional model was unable to capture those individuals that functioned well within more than one cultural lens, thereby excluding a rich arena of relevant information on the acculturation process.

It appears then that measures utilizing a unidimensional approach are arguably becoming obsolete, as their renderings of the acculturating process are deficient. It is interesting to note then that 14 of the 21 measures utilized most frequently (Zane & Mak, 2003) are unidimensional in their approach. What are we missing then by continuing with measures that only offer part of

the picture? If we desire to continue with the primary use of questionnaires as our choice of methodology, then it becomes even more imperative that we ensure that we are constructing the best picture we can with what we have. Knowingly creating an incomplete rendering of the acculturative process at this juncture is futile.

Alternate Approaches

Given these challenges in the use of acculturation measures, some scholars have proposed taking an alternate approach to understanding acculturation processes. As Chirkov (2009) stated, "Acculturation researchers have been trying to apply a deductive-nomological and quantitative approach to a phenomenon of acculturation that is far beyond the capacity this approach has to comprehend it" (p. 2). Davis, Nakayama and Martin (2000) suggested two alternate research paradigms to be used in ethnic research that arguably would be very applicable to acculturation research as well, the interpretative paradigm and the critical paradigm. According to Davis et al., within these paradigms future investigations into acculturation research should be grounded in history, grounded in the larger social conditions and contexts, be fluid and dynamic and be based on lived experience. In alignment with these authors, Bhatia and Ram (2001) proposed the need to pay attention to the historical, political and social forces that shape migratory experiences of those who are being studied. Moreover, Rudmin (2006) and Chirkov (2009) have noted the need for more interdisciplinary approaches in understanding the acculturative process.

Chapter Summary

As can be ascertained, the critiques related to current acculturation scholarship are deep. They challenge both the current conceptualization of acculturation, and its prevailing methodological approach on many levels. These critical issues within acculturation research based on Berry's approach, and the work of numerous scholars utilizing this approach can no longer be disregarded. It is important to begin considering a conceptualization of acculturation on more fitting terms, terms that include an examination of an acculturative *process* that is inclusive of all acculturating persons within a theoretical framework that is *culture-inclusive*, and that recognizes the *cultural diversity* (and the complex issues relating to this diversity) of today's culture contact zones.

In doing so I utilize sociocultural theory to form a foundational framework for examining acculturation processes as co-constructed in chapter three, while simultaneously questioning dominate models of acculturation founded on universal assumptions of a psychological acculturation process that fails to recognize the interrelatedness and interdependency of the individual with his or her environment. In chapter four, I outline a research design aimed at providing both researcher and participants with cultural and psychological tools (Vygotsky, 1981; described as artifacts/artefacts by some; see Cole, 1995, 1996; Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006 for a discussion) for exploring the acculturation process as a co-constructed process within the culture contact zone of Vancouver. While chapter five outlines an analytic approach for understanding acculturation processes as co-constructed in using *Bakhtinian text mapping*; an analytic tool developed by Tobin (2000) that, in accordance with its namesake, recognizes the

interdependency and interrelatedness of the individual with society; "all our utterances are filled with others' words, varying degrees of 'our-own-ness'…which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89), therein once again recognizing a co-construction process at work.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Experience does not go on simply inside a person… In a word, we live from birth to

death in a world of persons and things which is in large measure what it is because of

what has been done and transmitted from previous human activities. When this fact is

ignored, experience is treated as if it were something which goes on exclusively inside an

individual's body and mind. It ought not to be necessary to say that experience does not

occur in a vacuum. There are sources outside an individual which give rise to

experience. (Dewey, 1938/1963, p. 39)

Re-conceptualizing Approaches to Acculturation Research

I appreciate Dewey for his challenge to Cartesian assumptions that mind and society are

categorically distinct, and in doing so, for his realization of the interrelatedness and

interdependency of the individual with his or her environment; that is that mind and society are

mutually constitutive, and in unique combination give rise to human experience. While placing

an emphasis on the interrelatedness of the individual with his/her cultural, institutional, and

historical situations, it is the goal of sociocultural theorists to explicate the interactions between

human mental functioning on the one hand, and the cultural, institutional, and historical

situations in which this functioning occurs on the other. Throughout this chapter I explore how

sociocultural theory's key tenets of mediation, internalization or appropriation, and the zone of

proximal development rooted in the works of Russian psychologist, Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1981,

1986) provide a formative framework from which to begin a re-conceptualization of the

acculturative process as co-constructed: an interactive, socially situated and socially mediated learning process, where the learning taking place is the learning of new cultural practices applicable to the individuals and cultural groups that find themselves living within diverse culture contact zones.

Although sociocultural theory is frequently cited within educational discourses, I agree with Vygotsky (1978) that its developmental method, as will be described throughout this section, can be conceived as a central approach for psychological science as he envisioned, or extended as an interdisciplinary or non-disciplinary approach as Rogoff (1995), and Wertsch, del Rio, and Alvarez, (1995) envisioned. I appreciate a sociocultural perspective to understanding acculturation on three accounts. First, it brings human mental functioning (i.e., the individual or self) so keenly of interest to psychologists back into closer quarters with other areas within the social sciences and humanities that are more socially situated, and that are interested in the study of acculturative processes as well. Second, it recognizes the interrelatedness and interdependency of the individual to his or her culture, history and society as stressed by many post-colonial and post-modern theorists whose work is arguably informed by sociocultural theory. And third, it includes culture as an essential part of its theoretical framework.

Within the context of acculturation, sociocultural theory's key tenets are applicable in understanding the acculturative process as a learning process wherein the learning entails the learning of new cultural processes and practices situated within the shared intercultural contexts that all persons living within a culture contact zone must negotiate at some level. In using this approach to understanding acculturation, the acculturative process is indicative of a reciprocal,

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interdependent, or co-constructed process that conceives of learning new cultural practices as a product of the individual in interaction with their social context; a social context embedded within culture, history and society's institutions, and recognizes the complexities that are associated with this kind of interrelationship. With this alternate conceptual framework for acculturation in mind, I begin by providing an outline of the sociocultural approach to learning as conceived by Vygotsky (1978, 1981, 1986), the sociocultural theorists influenced by his work (Cole, 1985, 1995, 1996; Leont'ev, 1981; Rogoff, 1995; Wertsch, del Rio, & Alvarez, 1995), as well as those social and cultural theorists whose work has been arguably informed by sociocultural discourses.

Following this introduction, I will apply its key tenets to the learning of new cultural practices, or more simply, the acculturative process as presented and understood by each. When uniquely combined, these theorists begin to provide acculturation scholars a way to cross disciplinary borders in their study of people crossing borders at a time when the very concept of borders is being challenged; arguably an indispensable feature for any acculturation scholar.

An Introduction to Sociocultural Theory: Key Tenets

Mediation. An underlying assumption of sociocultural theorists is that "humans have access to the world only indirectly, or mediately, rather than directly, or immediately" (Wertsch, del Rio, & Alvarez, 1995, p. 21). Given this assumption, Vygotsky (1978) was interested in understanding how an interpersonal process gave rise to or was transformed into, an intrapersonal one, or in other words how external forms of socially shared activity are

internalized; the key according to sociocultural theorists is mediation. Wertsch (1994) elaborated on the importance of mediation in Vygotsky's work:

> [Mediation] is the key in his approach to understanding how human mental functioning is tied to cultural, institutional, and historical settings since these settings shape and provide the cultural tools that are mastered by individuals to form this functioning. In this approach, the meditational means are what might be termed the "carriers" of sociocultural patterns and knowledge. (p. 204)

For Vygotsky (1978), learning and development involve the shared processes of (a) an immersion in culture, and (b) the simultaneous emergence of individuality in the context of social practice. The key, as noted, to these shared or co-constructed processes is *mediation*— defined as "those processes that allow for an understanding of transformation of actions realized in the interpsychological or intermental level into internalized, intramental actions" (Smolka, De Goes, & Pino, 1995, p. 179). Vygotsky believed that any function in a child's cultural development appeared twice: first, on the societal level (between people), and afterward on the individual level (inside the child).

In Vygotsky's (1978) view the individual and the context cannot be separated, that is, the division between the self and the environment is nonexistent. In this way, learning is neither an invention nor a result of a direct transmission of knowledge from the social context; rather individuals actively construct knowledge in negotiation with others, and through the use of psychological or cultural tools within their social contexts (Monzó & Rueda, 2006). According to Vygotsky (1981), cultural or psychological tools (also labeled as artifacts/artefacts by some

theorists, see Cole, 1995, 1996; Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006 for a discussion), include: "language; various systems of counting; mnemonic techniques; algebraic symbol systems; works of art; writing; schemes, diagrams, maps and mechanical drawings; all sorts of conventional signs and so on" (p. 137). In today's parlance, more familiar tools might include computers, calculators, electronic dictionaries, Blackberries, digital media, television, and the internet — all central to the appropriation or internalization of knowledge through activity by learning individuals. Wertsch (1991) thought of these tools metaphorically as a socially provided tool kit of semiotic means.

Internalization or appropriation. A related concept central to mediation is *internalization* or *appropriation*. Although it is mentioned above, appropriations role within the learning process warrants further clarification, as does its relationship to 'cultural/psychological tools.' While the terms internalization (Vygotsky, 1978) and appropriation (Leont'ev, 1981) have been used interchangeably by sociocultural theorists (see Rogoff, 1995 for a discussion), both entail the notion that intermental processes have undergone a transformation into intramental ones. What is important to note is that the process of internalization or appropriation is realized as a dynamic, *participatory* approach in which individuals and their social partners are co-dependent, their roles active and dynamically changing, and the specific processes by which they communicate and share in decision making *are* the essence of development (Rogoff, 1995). Internalization is not a static, spoon-fed collection of stored possessions or objects, "Instead of studying individuals' possession or acquisition of a capacity or bit of knowledge, the focus is on the active changes involved in an unfolding event or activity in which people participate" as

stated by Rogoff (p. 151). The very definition of event or activity entails a dynamic, rather than static process of learning. Hence, "participation is itself the process of appropriation," (Rogoff, 1995, p. 151) or "the process *is* the product" as described by Wertsch and Stone (1979, p. 21).

The zone of proximal development. The zone of proximal development (ZPD), as first described by Vygotsky (1978), provides additional support for understanding *how* social practices are internalized or appropriated within social settings. The ZPD as described in reference to children's development, is the "distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through the problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). The ZPD defines those things that have not yet matured but are in the process of doing so (Vygotsky). Using a more general conception provided by Cole (1985), the ZPD is the "structure of joint activity in any context where there are participants who exercise differential responsibility by virtue of differential expertise" (p. 155). While Leont'ev (1981) extended the ZPD further and proposed that in the course of social interaction, identities and perspectives of participants may intermingle such that they become part of each other's interior makeup (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995).

In order to work one's way through the ZPD, the use of scaffolds (a term coined by Bruner, 1975), whether people or culturally relevant tools, can be harnessed to facilitate a learner's development a step at a time. The ZPD, therefore provides a shared interactive space (or zone) where learners and more knowledgeable others can come together to participate with one another or with culturally relevant tools, thereby facilitating the appropriation or

internalization of social and cultural practices. The ZPD therefore, facilitates a learner's ability to build on existing knowledge through active participation in their social contexts. Cole (1985) further elaborated the ZPD as the locus in which culture and cognition create each other.

A Summary of Key Tenets in Sociocultural Theory

In summary, sociocultural theory as informed by Vygotsky, conceives learning as a product of the individual in interaction with their social context. From this perspective the learning of new sociocultural practices is a socially and tool-mediated process that is mutually constitutive or co-constructed in specific sociocultural and historical contexts, with the possibility of reconstitution, if needed, as contexts shift or change (Monzó & Rueda, 2006). Through mediational means and by way of semiotic toolkits the social practices of a community or culture are internalized or appropriated. Zones of proximal development become zones of possibility (Moll & Greenburg, 1992) as they provide an interactive space where social practices can be learned, challenged, and changed among its members.

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Sociocultural Theory Applied to Acculturation

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As stated earlier and reiterated here, I appreciate a sociocultural approach to acculturation on three accounts: First, it brings human mental functioning (i.e., the individual or self) so keenly of interest to psychologists back into closer quarters with other areas within the social sciences and humanities that are more socially situated, and that are interested in the study of acculturative processes as well. Second, it recognizes the interrelatedness and interdependency of the individual to his or her culture, history and society as stressed by post-colonial and post-

modern theorists. And third, it includes 'culture' as an essential part of its theoretical framework.

In the next section I will work in ascending order based on the above three themes to explore how sociocultural theory may contribute to facilitating a more nuanced understanding of acculturation phenomenon.

Acculturation as a Co-construction of Culture

The search for 'acCULTURATION.' As Rudmin (2009) and Chirkov (2009) have noted, the etymology of the word acculturation suggests that culture is embedded in 'acCULTURATION.' This fact can no longer be overlooked or operationalized more simply as a label meant for nation or ethnicity as has been the case in the past. Perhaps one reason why acculturation scholars have failed to include culture in their research on acculturation is because it is such a difficult concept to define (see Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952 for a classic review and Baldwin, Faulkner, Hecht, & Lindsley, 2006 for a more recent review):

> Culture is something that Western societies have not clearly understood, so that the challenges they have to face in an increasingly multicultural world are particularly difficult to manage. Understanding culture is certainly not only a Western problem, but a universal problem as well. (Montovani, 2000, p. 1)

In fact Williams (as cited in Jenks, 1993) declared, "Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (p.1), or as Pookie, a participant in this study echoed, "*it's a single word, it's not a simple word*." While I realize that my own definition of culture will most likely differ from that of the community ethnographers that served to capture

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Canadian culture in this study, I feel it important to clarify how I begin to define and understand "culture" as my data analyses and the interpretations I provide in chapters six through eight are informed, situated and contextualized within this understanding of culture, as well as through the cultural lens I see through.

Vygotsky (1981) considered culture to be the product of social life and human activity. While I appreciate Vygotsky's definition for its simple eloquence, Cole's definition of culture (1996), while also a reflection of Vygotsky, specifies and details the inherent ability of the development and reproducibility of culture, which is particularly meaningful within the re-conceptualization of acculturation as has been outlined.

> Culture, according to this perspective [sociocultural], can be best understood as the entire pool of artifacts accumulated by the social group in the course of its historical experience. In the aggregate, the accumulated artifacts of group—culture—is then seen as the species specific *medium* of human development. It is "history in the present." The capacity to develop within that medium and to arrange for its reproduction in succeeding generations is *the* distinctive feature of our species. (p. 110; brackets added)

In other words, culture is the jointly accumulated collection of artifacts (whether values, beliefs, histories, or practices) appropriated by a social group through mediational means that can be subsequently changed or reproduced as required by succeeding generations of a culture's members. In this way, culture can be argued to be evolving.

The Individual as 'Culture-Inclusive' and Culture as 'Individual-Inclusive'

Recall that from a sociocultural perspective the individual and their social context (or the individual and their culture in the case of the acculturative process) do not function apart from each other, they are interdependent, rather than independent. Consequently, culture is situated and interacted upon at both the individual and cultural level simultaneously, thereby avoiding "the pitfalls of treating the self as individualized and self-contained, and culture as abstract and reified," as post-colonial theorists have charged current acculturation scholars with doing (see Bhatia & Ram, 2001, 2004; Hermans, 2001, p. 243). This stance allows for a study of the individual as 'culture-inclusive' and of culture as 'self-inclusive' (Hermans). Thus a sociocultural perspective upholds the dynamic, interdependent relationship of culture and the individual leading research into the study of transformed cultural practices, as is the case when studying the acculturative process (Monzó & Rueda, 2006).

By understanding culture from this perspective, the acculturative process or the learning of new cultural practices can be conceived as a co-constructed product of a complex, dynamic and interactive process between individuals in interaction with their social and historical contexts, while the potential for transformations and reproductions of these cultural practices and cultural identities is also being recognized. Hence, 'acCULTURATION' is realized once again, as is the process or mediational means behind it. The cultural processes and practices produced during the acculturative process are thereby a co-constructed product created by its members for its members. This conceptualization of acculturation becomes especially relevant in multicultural societies or "contact zones" (Hermans & Kempens, 1998), where individuals and

cultural groups are confronted with multiple competing cultural identities and practices that they must make sense of or appropriate in some way. A sociocultural approach allows exploration of these competing processes, while also welcoming a conceptualization of acculturation as a co-constructed process that includes *all* acculturating groups and *all* acculturating persons, thus taking into account today's culturally plural societies that require an acculturative process that addresses the issues of today's "history in the present" (Cole, 1996, p. 110).

The Acculturative Process

To further clarify the acculturative *process,* the zone of proximal development (ZPD) becomes especially useful as it represents an interactive space where social practices can be learned, challenged, and changed among its members. Other social and cultural theorists have conceived the ZPD as a *third space* (see Bhabha, 1994; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999; Soja, 1996). For example, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda (1999) recognized the ZPD as a third space wherein members from "alternating and competing discourses and positionings transform conflict and difference into rich zones of collaboration and learning" (p. 286). Third spaces can also be disharmonious and hybrid spaces (Bhabha, 1994; Sava & Nuutinen, 2003), and therefore in their hybridity are *polycontextual*, that is involving multiple and connected contexts, *multivoiced* in their inherent polyphony, and *multiscripted* in the official scripts and counterscripts occurring within competing discourses and practices (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999). As Sava and Nuutinen articulated, the third space is:

> *strongly experiential, sensory, multi-interpretive, like a fleeting shadow, intuitive and*
>
> *ever changing ...* must accept borderline existence of the two or more worlds, the

meeting place as *a mixed stream of fluids*, as something multi-layered, not known, always to be created anew, as the field of many understandings. (p. 532, original emphasis)

Third spaces can represent sites of contestation wherein conflict, tension, and diversity, inherent to culture contact zones, are potential sites of rupture, innovation, and change that may generate new, or alternative cultural practices relevant to the members within a particular contact zone. It is in this third space that cultural practices are contested, created and shared — *co-constructed* (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995) by its members. As Trice and Beyer (1993) hold, "human cultures emerge from people's struggles to manage uncertainties and to create some degree of order in social life" (p. 1). In this way, it is the heterogeneity within culture contact zones that fosters new human cultures.

I appreciate this conceptualization of the acculturative process as it reflects the much needed shift from a cultural comparison between countries or regions to the study of cultural processes within culture contact zones, pertinent to today's rapid mixing and moving of cultures (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). I agree with Bhabha's (1997) statement:

The very concepts of homogenous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or "organic" ethnic communities – *as the grounds of cultural comparison* – are in a profound process of redefinition. (p. 30)

For Bhabha, the location of culture today is not in some unadulterated core inherited from tradition, but rather "at the edges of contact between civilizations where new "in-between," or hybrid identities are being forged" (p. 30). Bhabha's views are significant for me as they reflect

a vision of acculturation as a hybridization of culture that is most importantly co- constructed among its members within contact zones as has been discussed. However, I have come to appreciate all the more the words of a scholar arguably well ahead of his time that realized so long ago that "there is no people whose customs have developed uninfluenced by foreign culture, that has not borrowed arts and ideas which it has developed in its own way" (Boas, 1888, p. 631) as stated at the start of chapter one and reiterated here. In fact, Boas was well-known for his art of drawing boundaries around cultures with the sole intent to "gauge the historical traffic across them" (Bashkow, 2004, p. 445), thus realizing the co-constructed quality of culture years before.

Lastly, in bringing the individual back into culture, sociocultural theory offers the ability of bringing psychology back into closer quarters with the social sciences and humanities in its study of acculturation. Sociocultural theory realizes psychological acculturation but does so while realizing its interconnectedness or interdependency on cultural, historical and societal terms as well. In its constructs of internalization through mediation, psychological acculturation becomes less psychological (individualized and self-contained) and joins 'acCULTURATION' once again. In doing so, acculturation scholars across disciplines find common ground on which to co-construct.

Chapter Summary

The acculturative process is complex, dynamic and most importantly, interactive. It is a process that affects everyone, everywhere. Franz Boas realized this long ago and it is only becoming increasingly accurate with today's' ongoing "moving and mixing" of cultures. As a result, cultural practices are being challenged, redefined and transformed, especially within

culture contact zones. When conceptualized as third spaces, culture contact zones represent polycontextual, multivoiced and multiscripted places wherein members of culturally plural societies come together, though not always in harmony, to negotiate their cultural practices and identities, and renegotiate them as contexts shift and change; thus realizing the acculturative process as an on-going, and co-constructed culture change process.

This conceptualization of acculturation provides a *process* by which to understand acculturation within a *framework* that includes *culture* and that comprehends the acculturative process in its "*history in the present.*" In doing so, sociocultural theory provides an acculturative framework that allows acculturation scholars to cross disciplinary borders in their study of people and cultures crossing borders in a time when the very concept of borders is being challenged.

Finally, the addition of a methodological approach to studying the acculturative *process* that comprehends the individual as 'culture-inclusive' and of culture as 'individual-inclusive,' and that recognizes the acculturative process as a co-constructed process will serve to further enhance our understanding of this complex process. To this, I turn to next.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Vygotsky (1978) wrote,

> The search for method becomes one of the most important problems of the entire
>
> enterprise of understanding the uniquely human forms of psychological activity . . . the
>
> method is simultaneously prerequisite and product, the tool and the result of the study.
>
> (p. 65)

Newman and Holzman (1993), later echoed by Thorne (2005), interpreted Vygotsky's statement

as "making a distinction between tool-for-result-, which ontologically separates a method from

the knowledge it produces, and tool-and-result, which explicitly observes an ecology between the

methodological choice a researcher makes and the resultant knowledge, description, or

understanding he or she produces" (Thorne, 2005, p. 397). In this way, these authors present

Vygotsky as a "pre-postmodernist" (Newman & Holzman, 1997) in his critique of research that

divorces or ignores the mutually constitutive relationships between methodology (the tools and

techniques employed by the researcher), and epistemology (the knowledge 'uncovered' by the

tools and techniques employed by the researcher); "though method does not dictate results, it sets

parameters that channel the construction of data and interpretative possibilities" and in doing so,

relays the importance of building reflexivity into our research approaches.

Rationale for Selected Qualitative Research Methodology

Given the need to reevaluate past approaches employed by scholars in their study of

acculturation, I chose to undertake a qualitative approach in understanding the process of

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acculturation as a co-construction of culture. As specified within my chosen theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter, and with an understanding of the ecological relationship between method and research results, a qualitative approach to understanding the acculturation phenomenon is important as unlike the quantitative approaches utilized in the past, a qualitative approach "recognizes the influences of a dynamic reality rather than a static one" (Munhall, 2007, p. 10). That is, unlike the immutable reality located within the quantitative perspective, a qualitative approach is open to a dynamic, changing reality; and is therein able to recognize the variable flows of today's moving and mixing cultures, an important feature when considering the dynamic nature of a co-constructed process of acculturation.

Beneloiel (1984, as cited in Munhall) articulated the following five points in differentiating qualitative approaches from quantitative approaches:

- Social life is the *shared creativity* of individuals and *their perceptions*.

- The character of the social world is *dynamic* and *changing*.

- There are *multiple realities* and frameworks for viewing the world: the world is *not* independent of humankind and *objectively identifiable*.

- Human beings are active agents who *construct their own realities.*

- No *response sets* are highly predictable. (italics added, p. 10)

When considering Beneloiel's five points in relation to Vygotsky's statement above, I believed there was much to be gained from employing qualitative methods to the study of acculturative processes. A qualitative approach realizes the dynamic, changing, interrelatedness and shared creativity of individuals actively constructing multiple realities; thereby having the potential to

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capture the dynamic, changing, interrelatedness and potentially co-constructed cultural processes and practices relevant to the study of acculturation, while doing so in a manner whereby reflexivity is built into the approach and the analysis.

From an ontological stance, in deciding to take a qualitative approach, I have also decidedly taken a departure from the more positivist approaches that have dominated cross-cultural psychology in its study of acculturation to date as outlined in chapter two. In doing so, I present a counter position to acculturation models founded on positivist assumptions, like the fourfold model of acculturation strategies that presumes: (a) an underlying universal acculturation process; i.e., that all immigrants undergo a universal psychological process of acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997), and (b) that integration (or for that matter, separation, assimilation, marginalization) is something that can be objectively identified and categorized as a strategy being/or been employed by acculturating individuals. Instead I adopt a 'reflexive' approach (Pink, 2007), whereby I conceive of reality, and therein the process of acculturation, as dynamic, changing, interrelated, and evolving; situated within multiple realities, with multiple positionings, drawing multiple meanings, while also realizing the subjective and value-laden nature of the research process. Given this, I was drawn towards an ethnographic approach given ethnography's emphasis on the cultural perspective (Wolf, 2007), however with an understanding that the cultural knowledge generated in using the tools and techniques of this method are interpretations about the world, and are therein open for reinterpretation by those that also engage them; a tool-and-result.

Research Approach

Ethnography: An Evolving Research Tradition

Notably, ethnography was the original methodology for the study of acculturation employed by early anthropologists (Herskovits, 1938), and its methods have been utilized for decades in the exploration and examination of culture, and issues of culture, across numerous disciplines; sociology, cultural studies, economics, social work, education, ethnomusicology, folklore, geography, linguistics, communication studies, performance studies and psychology are other fields which have made use of ethnography.

However, within this dissertation work, it was the 'spirit' of ethnography that was captured as described by (Barker, 2008), whereby the "qualitative understanding of cultural activity in context" was what was being captured (p. 32). Within cultural studies, for example, this 'spirit' of ethnography has been centered on the qualitative exploration of values and meanings in the context of a 'whole way of life'; its tools and techniques utilized in order to explore questions about cultures, life-worlds and identities (Banks, 2008). This is juxtaposed with the more classical conceptions of ethnography whereby the "ethnographer participates in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 2). Ethnography in this classical sense attempts to "represent the subjective meanings, feelings and cultures of other" (Willis, 1980, p. 91), therein underscoring a realist epistemology in the assumption that it is possible to represent the 'real' experience of people within ethnographic writing (Barker, 2008).

In using a selection of ethnography's tools and techniques in capturing the 'spirit' of ethnography as described by Barker, I take an additional departure, but this time from classical ethnography's realist assumptions, and instead join Clifford and Marcus (1986) in 'writing culture;' that is, an awareness that ethnographies themselves are constructed narratives, 'fictions', a genre of writing that makes use of rhetorical devices, often obscured, to maintain its realist claims (Barker, 2008; Pink, 2007). Rising from the post-modern turn, this 'new ethnography' introduced ideas of ethnography as fictional texts while emphasizing the centrality of subjectivity to knowledge production. This challenged positivist arguments and realist approaches to knowledge, truth and objectivity, while simultaneously paving the way for a new found acceptance of visual methods in ethnography as it was recognized that film or photography were no more subjective or objective than written texts (Pink, 2007).

In addition to paving the way for the acceptance of visual methods, the challenges to positivist arguments and realist approaches created a need for more reflexive and dialogical approaches to ethnographic work that entailed writers/researchers to elaborate on personal assumptions, views and positions. Some ethnographers, in taking a more reflexive, dialogical approach, have sought to engage with the 'subjects' of ethnography through further consultation (Pink, 1993; Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989; Tobin, 2000) and collaborative and/or participatory methods (Mizen, 2005; Okley, 1994) in an attempt to make ethnography "less an expedition in search of 'the facts' and more a conversation between participants in a research process" (Barker, 2008, p. 33). It is here where visual methods have surfaced as a means to engage, interact, and begin to include participant voices in the meaning making process (Goopy & Lloyd,

2005; Radley & Taylor, 2003), and it is here where I most comfortably situate this dissertation's collaborative visual ethnographic approach.

Visual Ethnography

While visual methods in ethnography have been employed since the 1890's (see Pink, 2007) either through film (e.g., Robert Flaherty's Nanook of the North,1922 and Mead and Batesman's Bathing Babies in Three Cultures (1941), or photography (e.g., Bateson and Mead's Balinese Character,1942 and Gardner and Heider's Gardens of War, 1968), the use of and interest in visual methods in research has exploded in more recent years with the rapid increase in the availability, ease of use and dissemination of visual technologies, combined with a new acceptance of their use provided in the 'post-modern turn'.

Why use visual methods? Bourdieu (1990 [1965]) expressed that images are an expression of shared norms of the photographer's society that s/he is a part of, "that the most trivial photograph expresses, apart from the explicit intentions of the photographer, the system of schemes of perception, thought and appreciation common to a whole group" (p. 6). Or as Pink (2007) paraphrased Bourdieu, "'photography cannot be delivered over to randomness of the individual imagination" but instead "via the mediation of the *ethos*, the internalization of objective and common regularities, the group places this practice under its collective rule"' (p. 35). Pink also more recently (2007) voiced,

> Images are 'everywhere'. They permeate our academic work, everyday lives,
> conversations, our imagination and our dreams. They are inextricably interwoven with
> our personal identities, narratives, lifestyles, cultures and societies, as well as definitions

of history, space and truth. Ethnographic research is likewise intertwined with visual images and metaphors. When ethnographers produce photographs or video, these visual texts, as well as the experience of producing and discussing them, become part of their ethnographic knowledge. (p. 21)

Given my interest in "making Canadian culture visible," and in doing so, gaining an understanding of how Canadians living in a diverse culture contact zone define and understand Canadian culture, I needed a tool that would assist in capturing this cultural data, but within a theoretical understanding that the visual texts produced by participants were also a representation of the shared norms of the society that they are situated within given the interrelatedness and interdependency of the individual with his or her environment (Vygotsky, 1978, 1981, 1986) as was outlined in the previous chapter.

The Tools and Techniques of Ethnography

This dissertation utilized multiple ethnographic tools both for purposes of exploring and securing an in-depth understanding of the research questions, while at the same time helping to ensure the soundness and trustworthiness of the research through triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). These tools included (1) participant-produced visual images in the form of digital photos representative of "Canadian culture" for participants, (2) participant-produced written artist statements of their images to assist with both interviewing and later analyses, and (3) interviews with participants. This next section briefly outlines these tools and how they were proposed to be employed followed by a more detailed account of the research context and actual research process as it unfolded over the course of data collection, including an introduction to

each of the community visual ethnographers that participated in "making Canadian culture visible" in their culture contact zone.

Participant-produced visual images. Community visual ethnographers were asked to collaborate in partners or small groups to co-construct together five photographs in response to the simple prompt, "What is Canadian culture?" This collaborative photo making project was intended as a means of (a) exploring how Canadians, if given the opportunity, begin to define and articulate their culture as experienced within their culture contact zone, and (b) generating an intensified third space, where cultural practices are contested, constructed and shared by its members. As participants came together to co-construct Canada's culture and its defining cultural practices in the images they captured, I proposed that community visual ethnographers would enter into a 'space' of intensified intercultural contact wherein multiple competing discourses and practices were being presented, challenged, negotiated and subsequently managed at some level in deciding what constituted Canadian culture. In theorizing culture contact zones as third space, and in understanding the acculturation process as a co-construction of culture, the co-construction process that participants were engaged in while negotiating their conceptualization of Canadian culture is reflective of an acculturation process as experienced within the broader culture contact zone, the visual texts captured by participants becoming an expression of the shared norms of the photographer's society that s/he is a part (Bourdieu,1990 [1965]) given the interrelatedness and interdependency of the participants with their culture contact zone (Vygotsky, 1978, 1981, 1986).

Participant-produced artist statements. Artist statements were also utilized as a means to provide participants with an opportunity to reflect on their co-constructed images (see Appendix A), and as a means to assist me with the interpretation of their images. An artist statement is a brief text composed by an artist with the intention to explain, justify, and contextualize his or her body of work (Wikipedia, 2011). For the purposes of this dissertation, I provided a template for participants to follow in writing their artist statements as many had never written an artist statement and were unfamiliar with this concept. I asked participants to write and provide commentary on four aspects of their image making process: (1) Why did you choose to capture this image? How is it representative of Canadian culture from your vantage point? (2)What did you want to express through this photo? OR What message do you wish to convey to viewers through this photo? (3) What or how were you feeling when you took this picture? and (4) Where was this photo taken? Who, if anyone, is in this photo? Responses to these questions provided a written text of my participants' visual texts offered in their *own voices*. Additionally, the artist statements were a useful comparative tool for the interpretation of visual data as they provided a way to potentially "see" areas of inconsistency or gaps between their images and their written texts that were insightful in the later analyses process.

Participants were given a timeline of four weeks for submission of their images and artist statements to me electronically whereby I could review their images and artist statements in preparation for the group interview, and therein use their images and artist statements both as a data collection tool and as data for further analyses; a tool-and-result (Vygotsky, 1978).

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The group interview. As Spradley (1979) so eloquently expressed in reference to the learning process the interview provides for researchers:

> I want to understand the world from your point of view. I want to know what you know in the way you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experience, to walk in your shoes, to feel things as you feel them, to explain things as you explain them. Will you become my teacher and help me understand? (p.34)

In an effort to understand the processes that took place as participant-groups co-constructed their images and artist statements, I proposed to follow-up with a group interview to gain further insight and understanding of their co-construction process, while also allowing participants to reflect and debrief this experience. In order for me to gain an optimal outcome during this interview, I needed to establish and build rapport (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) with my community visual ethnographers.

In order to build rapport and develop a level of trust with these participants, I was engaged with them on a weekly basis during the course of data collection. On a more formal level, I met with participants on two occasions: (1) during an introductory interview where I had an opportunity to meet with potential participants at the start of their class to discuss the details of the study and its method, their role and contributions within it, and answer any clarifying questions; and (2) during a scheduled interview time where I drew on their submitted images and artist statements in an audio recorded interview which allowed me the opportunity to speak with the voices behind the images and inquire about their photo making process. However, I feel that it was our more informal meetings and conversations that allowed me to build a much richer

rapport with participants through weekly visits during their class time breaks where I was able to talk with each of them and get to know them on a more personal level. While they shared their captured images of Canadian culture with me, many participants also shared their personal photographs with me of their children and grandchildren, the trips they had taken, and other meaningful images for them. In addition to these experiences, I also communicated with participants over email addressing questions and concerns related to the project (ex. Do I have to work with a partner or group in capturing my images?), while also sending out reminders and thanking them as their images began to be submitted to me. These meetings, both formal and informal, are detailed below as I introduce the community visual ethnographers within the research context.

The Research Context

The Vancouver Lower Mainland

As briefly introduced in chapter one, the Vancouver Lower Mainland is home to just over 2.5 million people (2006, Census) encompassing its namesake, Vancouver, in addition to its numerous suburb communities (refer to Figure 4, Map of the Vancouver Lower Mainland). Vancouver is also the next largest receiving city of immigrants in Canada, next to Toronto. With over 200 self-identified members of ethnic groups living in the Vancouver Lower Mainland, and three Lower Mainland cities reporting that more than half of their population is comprised of visible minorities (2006 Census; Richmond, 65%; Burnaby, 55%; Metro Vancouver, 51%), the Vancouver Lower Mainland's cultural plurality provided a promising culture contact zone in which to examine acculturative processes between multiple cultural groups in contact.

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Site Selection: Douglas College

Participants were drawn from a community-based introductory digital photography class, and from three community college psychology classes. All classes were based out of Douglas College, a community college located in Coquitlam, British Columbia, selected for its cultural diversity, therein establishing "maximum variation" (Siedman, 1998) quite naturally. For example, the 2006 Census reported that 41% of Coquitlam residents were foreign-born, much higher than the 27% foreign-born for the whole of British Columbia. The largest visible minority groups for Coquitlam included Chinese (17.2%), Korean (5.3%), South Asian and West Asian (both 3.7%), and Filipino (2.7%), while 61% of respondents claimed to not be a visible minority. Fifty eight percent of respondents listed English as their mother tongue, while 96% stated having knowledge of English (Census, 2006). The community college draws in students not only living in Coquitlam, but throughout the Vancouver Lower Mainland, inclusive of the communities of Burnaby, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam, Maple Ridge, Pitt Meadows, New Westminster, Langley, Richmond, Surrey, White Rock, Delta, Vancouver, North Shore, and the Upper Fraser Valley within its 10 000 + student body, while also representing a minimum of 40 countries in its study body (2011, Douglas College Fact Book).

In addition to these selection criteria, Douglas College was also a site where I felt I could find a wider variety of ages and life stages in participants than at, for example, my own University campus where the ages and life stages of students are more homogenous than in a community college setting. In particular, the variety of community education classes that Douglas College offers draws individuals of a variety of ages and life stages into its college

community. My familiarity with this campus as a former member of its college community also enhanced by access to potential participants as I was able to navigate through the Ethics Board with the help of the Vice President of Education, a former colleague, and find additional support, when needed, in recruitment efforts from an instructor that I used to teach with. In the end, 18 participants became community visual ethnographers ranging in age from 19 to 65 years of age.

Eleven women (61%) and seven men (31%) participated in the study representing 14 diverse, and often uniquely combined, self-identified ethnic backgrounds: South African, Finnish, Irish, Iranian, German, Indian, First Nations (Cree), Arabic, English, Scottish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Turkish, and Canadian, "*whatever that might be*" (Participant quote). The percentage or ratio of women to men that participated in the study was a close reflection of the general demographics of the college community, 37% male, 63% female (2009, Douglas College Fact Book). The following section introduces these 18 individuals in the form of brief portraits, in addition to an introduction to two key individuals that also played a significant role in "making Canadian culture visible."

The Community Visual Ethnographers

In this section, I introduce the 18 community visual ethnographers that participated in this study, in addition to details on how I came to meet them, and details of our interactions together throughout the data collection process. These brief portraits, which also include an image and artist statement captured by each community visual ethnographer, attempt to introduce and describe the personalities, life histories, and identities that were performed as they made Canadian culture visible in the various texts they so generously captured and provided me. I

offer what I know of their backgrounds, the relationships that many of them had with each other, and their experiences with living in a culture contact zone that provided context as I gleaned an understanding of their various created texts situated within these contexts. I present these portraits from my perspective, which may be interpreted entirely differently from their own or others' perspective (s). I see them through a researcher's lens, doting over their every action, from the body language they used while presenting their views in our conversations together, both more formally during the interview process and informally, in the College hallways, over coffee at Tim's, or over our email exchanges. I intently examined their images captured and statements written, dissecting their texts. However, much like Joanou (2011) articulated, I doubt this obsession was reciprocal.

Introductions Part One: Gaining Access through Scott

> *Thanks again for offering your class as potential research participants for my*
>
> *dissertation. The study is currently being reviewed by UBC's and Douglas College's*
>
> *Research Ethics Boards and I should have approval by next week. Everything is going*
>
> *well so far! Just a quick question that was brought up by UBC's ethics board... do you*
>
> *have many students under the age of 19 that registered in your class?*
>
> *Also, once you have a class list would it be feasible to let me know how many students*
>
> *have registered? This would be helpful for logistics on my end. I look forward to meeting*
>
> *you and once again, many thanks!*
>
> *Lisa*

at this point the class is full 18 plus several on the waiting list as far as I know all are

over 19. cannot believe we are already into September

see you soon

Scott

Scott

Royal Hudson Under Load: This image represents the pioneer spirit of Canadian frontier. To live the past. Live the power of steam.

Scott was one of the two key figures in this study that I referred to above. He was my ticket to other potential participants before becoming one himself. Scott is a manager at a camera shop in a shopping center and a photography enthusiast; a passion he shares with others

through a continuing community education course at the Douglas College where he teaches a Digital Photography course periodically. As I thought through potential recruiting options and sites for the study, I thought a community-based introductory photography class may be a route worth exploring given that there would be an interest in photography within class members, and because it was a community education class, it would draw a more diverse group of participants in age than a typical undergraduate classroom.

When I first emailed Scott, after looking him up in the course catalogue, he was on vacation, a cruise with a group of his photography students out capturing Alaska. His colleague provided me his store number, and so I called him and left him a long voicemail outlining the research study. I followed up a few days later with another call and spoke with Scott directly. I had found a supporter of this work! Over the next couple months, Scott and I conversed over both phone and email periodically as I made my preparations for data collection. I recall my first face-to-face meeting with Scott. It was the night of his first class. I arrived at the campus early, butterflies in my stomach, as I had so much riding on tonight's recruitment session. I assisted as he busily set-up the projector and computer as we discussed how best to introduce me and the research study to the class. I knew the class was full at 18 students, all over 19 years of age, given our last email exchange before my arrival as was shown above.

Scott described himself as a second generation Canadian. He was 51 years of age at the time of the study, born in Vancouver, and grew up in Steveston, which he described as predominantly Japanese during his boyhood, his best friend while growing up being Japanese. His grandparents were immigrant farmers to Canada from Ireland. Scott showed a particular

interest in and affection for Canadian history and the contributions of early immigrants "*that changed the face of this nation.*"

Tia

This picture shows me that Canada has a heart and love for others as well as itself that is set in stone. We welcome people to be themselves into our country and not conform to what we want them to be. We are loved and continue to love others.

Tia is the 20 year old daughter of Scott. She is a fulltime college student at Douglas College where her father teaches. She, like her father, was born and raised in her culture contact zone. She shares her father's interest in photography and even more recently emailed me a photo

of her dad with a bag of coal that he had received for Christmas. Tia would often attend her father's photography class, not as a student, but as her dad's assistant; helping him find examples of photos that illustrate the photo concepts being taught that evening.

Tia described herself as Canadian and recalls how growing up with so many different cultural backgrounds that it was not until she learned about racism and cultural segregation in High School that it occurred to her that , "*if you have a different background and you're in a different country, people tend to stay with someone who is more their race*." This was not her personal experience. I had several informal conversations with Tia throughout the data collection period on campus. She was always interested in how things were progressing, and liked to joke around regarding her dad (and continues this as evident by the more recent photo of her dad she sent me).

Amy

Issues of French Canadian impact, the French language and separation etc. have always been a part of my life. Seeing the French language on labels and signs throughout the country, studying French in high school etc. have been a huge part of my life as a Canadian. With that said, I felt pretty strongly that I was capturing a true symbol of Canadian culture when I took this photo. As I mentioned above, it's not just the language that is a symbol of Canadian culture. It's the feelings, opinions, politics and controversy that surround it all that is the real symbol of Canadian culture.

Amy, at the time of the study, was a new mother that was currently on maternity leave from her position as an elementary school teacher. I recruited her through Scott's digital photography class. Amy was born and raised all her 32 years in the Vancouver Lower Mainland. She speaks Punjabi in addition to English and spoke about growing up with a "*mishmash of everything*" in reference to her cultural upbringing:

I know growing up I was Indo-Canadian and a lot of people use that term and I've fine with that term, but for me I don't really identify very much with Indian culture. I don't, I mean. My dad was born in Canada too. My mom wasn't so I've kind of grown up with a mishmash of everything but I just see myself as a Canadian and that's how I plan to raise my son.

Amy's experiences as a school teacher in the west side of Abbotsford were particularly meaningful for her in our conversations together, especially the cultural segregation she observes in her school's community, where 20 out of the 21 students in her class are Indian. She also notes how the student population has changed over the seven years she has taught at her school:

Gradually every year we lose more and more of the native English speaking sort of kids which is a problem for us because they're the models of good English language for their peers so they move out and more immigrants move in.

Many of Amy's images and iterations dealt with topics around Canada's diverse people and the controversies that surround this diversity, as seen in her photo and artist statement above.

James

I feel these images represent one of the hallmarks of Canadian Culture, that is, it's multiculturalism. Canadian Culture, in other words, is the sum total of all the many subcultures living and thriving in Canada.

James was the eldest participant in the study and was born and raised in the Vancouver Lower Mainland all his 65 years. I also recruited James through Scott's digital photography class. James described himself as "*Canadian, whatever that might be*." Both his parents were also born in Canada. James likes the cosmopolitan nature of his culture contact zone and recalled a recent to trip to Scotland where he commented on the lack of cultural diversity he

observed there, "*if you see an Asian in Scotland, he certainly stands out.*" Though he articulated his appreciation of the multiculturalism within his culture contact zone both in his images captured and within his interview narrative, James also revealed a frustration he has when newcomers do not embrace Canada and desire to transplant exactly what they left, in particular when they bring all the problems of their previous country with them:

> *If I were moving, I would try to take on, learn, whatever you want, that country's culture or important aspects, certainly try the language. What I don't understand is people that move here and want exactly what they left. Why this, why move? In particular if they're bringing all the problems that they had back there and transplanting them here.*

Pookie

The photos/plaques in my image are those of mazes from years past - a bear, a moose and an eagle (rather than the puzzling geometry from an Old World gardener). Not only is the maze celebratory of its animal theme, but its very existence is inviting, engaging, and interactive; again, I dare say these are Canadian proclivities. Fun for children and adults alike. There's a "look and touch" approach to this construction, rather than a "don't touch, stay out" attitude that could prevail within other cultures using the maze. Our maze wants you to come in; other countries prefer that one simply admire the cutting, but avoid the challenge of walking through it."

I had to laugh a little when "Pookie" provided me this pseudonym for himself based on his childhood nick name. I guess I never knew him as Pookie, and at times, even as I write, have difficulty picturing him as Pookie. Pookie was also recruited through Scott's photography class.

He was born in Saskatchewan and spent the first 25 years of his life there while the most recent 33 years have been spent in BC in the Vancouver Lower Mainland. At the time of the interview, he was almost 58. He grew up with a German heritage, his family having German roots. When his grandparents immigrated to Canada, he described how they came to settle on Lemburg, Saskatchewan as their final stopping place.

> *Well my grandparents, I also meant to say this, when my grandparents immigrated to Canada from Europe in the 1920's, they took the boat from Hamburg to Quebec City, got on a train and headed west because they heard there were some German speaking people out there. Then got off the train in Lemburg, Saskatchewan because there were a bunch of German people standing on the platform talking German and they said well at least we can talk to these people, I guess we'll stay.*

Throughout his texts, Pookie drew comparisons between Prairie life and its culture of co-dependence and life and culture in British Columbia.

> *Again having grown-up in Saskatchewan and having studied history, history of the Prairie west and literature, survival is a big theme in other parts of Canada, whereas it's not necessarily a theme here so much. You will categorically die if you spend the night outside in Saskatchewan in January, not necessarily so here.*
>
> *This goes back— again I have within my own family immigrant stories where Europeans would come to Canada and arrive in August and the locals would say, "You should get ready for winter", "What does that mean? What do you mean by get ready?", "Well it*

gets cold!" "Okay, it gets cold in Bremerhaven too" and by November these people are

digging lean-to's into the side of hills and covering them with sod so that they don't

freeze to death, and so you really learn a dependence on your neighbors, and you don't

burn any of your bridges because you never know when you're going to need someone's

help to come to your rescue simply so that you can survive either by getting firewood to

burn, or water to drink, or food to eat, or shelter from penetrating cold.

That's not so much a theme in a more temperate climate that we have out here, but

certainly in the Prairies, survival is an attribute and the camaraderie and the co-

dependence that that builds up are attributes that people here in British Columbia who

meet Prairie people recognize. They're so friendly, they're so friendly. They've

developed to be that way.

And Pookie lived up to this Prairie reputation, so friendly and easy to talk with. I remember several informal conversations we had before and after class, and during breaks. He was always emailing me his thoughts throughout the study, and sharing many images with me. He had a great sense of humor, and a willingness to share his life stories and experiences.

Mary

I think the scenery is really what pulls us apart and makes us separate and unique.

Mary was born in Ontario and moved out to BC when she was three or four years of age. She moved briefly to Alberta in her 20's and subsequently returned to BC after her first son was born. Mary's images, artist statements, and interview narrative revealed a great sense of pride for her Canadian heritage as expressed in her iteration below:

Pride of your heritage… I think the pride would be the same from coast to coast. I hope, I really hope that stays big. As the culture changes and as we have more people from different cultures coming here, I hope they still maintain that in years to come but I do think, going from the Island all the way to the east coast, I think you would find that. People are very proud that they're families have sacrificed for our country and there is a sense of pride.

Though I was unable to speak with Mary as frequently as I did with some of the other participants given her busy schedule, she was very open and forthcoming during our scheduled interview time together regarding her lived experiences within her culture contact zone. I was admittedly a little taken back at first by her candidness, but appreciative of it more and more as we talked together. She came across as a "straight shooter;" there to get her message across to me, and to make sure I received it clearly.

Mary alluded to her experience of culture change in the iteration above, and throughout her interview narrative discussed many of the challenges she experiences associated with living in her diverse culture contact zone, both for her and her children. Her hope is that as Canada becomes increasingly culturally diverse that Canadians never lose their sense of pride for their country.

Lori

So we came with two kids and no job and about $10,000. That was 30 years ago and never been sorry we did it and I think that's probably why the flag means that much to me. Very proud to be Canadian. Very glad that we moved here.

Lori and her husband immigrated to Canada with their young family from South Africa in

1979. Now 61 years of age, Lori recalled how at age 29 they made the decision to come to

Canada with, "*two kids and no job and about $10 000,*" as her and her husband did not feel

South Africa was the country they wanted their children to grow up in given the safety concerns they had at the time. Lori was currently working as a special education teacher assistant in a local elementary school at the time of the study. Lori also articulated an appreciation of the diversity of her culture contact zone and the acceptance of different cultures in comparison to her experience in South Africa, "*The different ethnic groups and the different cultural groups and I enjoy that, the diversity. Accepting of different cultures… Well different from South Africa.*"

Lori speaks some French and also used to be fluent in Afrikaans, though she articulated that she has lost some of her fluency. Lori spoke about how proud she is to be Canadian and about her family's plan to ensure that they associated with Canadians when they moved to Canada in 1979:

> *I didn't want to say it at the time, but my husband who passed away two years ago, but one of his big things was we are not associating with South Africans all the time. When we get here, we have come to Canada and we are going to make Canadian friends. Sure we know a few South Africans, but we've never been into, like some people glob together and in a group of South Africans always. That just wasn't what our plan was. No.*

Introductions Part Two: Gaining Access through Kim

While Scott played a key role in my first attempt of participant recruitment, after some discussion with my dissertation chair, it was decided that I needed more participants in case of attrition. Fortunately, I had another "insider" within this community college site, though I knew I would most likely not get the same kind of age variation as I did within the continuing

education digital photography class, it was the next best place to start, and so I turned to Kim, a

longtime friend and former colleague.

> *Hey Kim,*
>
> *I had a chat yesterday with my dissertation chair. He suggests that I might want to include another class or two in my recruitment efforts in case of attrition. More data is always better than not enough. Let me know if you are still open to that. Thanks again for all your support!*

> *Hi Lisa!*
>
> *It was wonderful to see you on Tuesday. Yes, you can recruit in my classes.*
> *When would you like to come?*
> *Bryan told me that Daniel is working but was not able to tell me what he is doing. We are looking forward to seeing you again and helping any way we can.*
> *Must run. Take care. Kim and Bryan*

All three of Kim's classes I recruited in were undergraduate psychology classes, two daytime

and one evening class. I provided these classes with the same letter of explanation (see

Appendix B) I had prepared for the digital photography class with the addition of providing

cameras for anyone that did not have a camera they could use. It was not so much a concern in

the other class, as being a digital photography class most participants would have their own

cameras, or ready access to one. This turned out to be a non-issue. In fact, some laughed.

Apparently everyone has a cell phone camera at minimum they could use to capture and send

images. Who knew?

The next 11 participant portraits describe the community visual ethnographers recruited

through Kim's classes, with the exception of one that was described already, Tia. Tia was

located in both recruitment sites, as a daughter/photography assistant and as a psychology student.

Joey and Heather

You'll find them from Vancouver British Columbia all the way to Saint John's Newfoundland and even in Kandahar Afghanistan.

As Molson Canadian puts it, "We have the best backyard." So much of Canada is filled with provincial parks, lakes, beaches and mountains. We have an amazing panoramic view everywhere we look and we all seem to appreciate the beautiful landscapes surrounding us.

Joey and Heather are siblings. Both were born in the Vancouver Lower Mainland and have lived in the area all their lives. Joey was 23 years old and his sister 22 years old at the time of the study. They attended the same community college and were both enrolled in the same psychology class together. They also both speak French having attended French immersion schools during their grade school years, though they both articulated that, "*you lose it fairly quickly after high school…it fades. It fades.*"

They are "*half English, a quarter Italian and then like a mix of all European countries,*" however according to Heather, though they are only a quarter Italian:

Well, we follow Italian culture in our family. We're only a quarter but our— (Joey: I guess). But our family is—we mainly are with our mom's side and our grandmas and

great aunts all speak Italian. (Joey: They'll sing Italian songs). Yeah, so that's like our

main direction. (Joey: I guess).

So while these two community ethnographers are siblings, and grew-up and continue to live in the same household, there appeared to be some disagreement on the family's cultural identity. I thought this interesting as these two participants had worked together in creating/constructing their images and artist statements of Canadian culture. If they could not agree on their own family's cultural background, what was the co-construction of Canadian culture like for them?

Michael

Quiet Solace: This picture represents Canada's sacrifice to battlefields in WWI WWII, Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq. I wanted to speak to the feeling of respect for our veterans dead and alive and leave a memory of the quiet silence of the day.

While most of the community ethnographers I recruited through Kim's classes did not outwardly define and identify themselves as photographers of any kind, amateur or professional, Michael did. He was passionate about photography. The small details in the above image, the use of the red accents in select places, are suggestive of his enthusiasm for capturing "that

perfect shot." I had many informal conversations with Michael around campus. He wanted to share his love of photography, and was intrigued by the idea of doing academic research through photography, something Kim, a "classically" trained clinical psychologist was also intrigued by.

Michael, during the time of the study, was 47 years of age. He described himself as English, Icelandic, and Cree, his grandmother being "*pure blood Cree*." He was born in Canada in a small British Columbia town before moving to the Vancouver Lower Mainland at eight years of age with his parents and four brothers. His youngest brother, number five, was born in the Vancouver Lower Mainland. He talked about growing up in his earlier years before moving to the Lower Mainland around First Nations people, though he preferred to use the term Indian and so I will honor his preference here. However he recalled that he did not know he was part Indian until he was 12 years old, as his half Cree mother rejected her Native culture. Overtime, Michael described how one of his older brothers returned to their native culture and now embraces it, while another brother entirely rejects it. For Michael, it was his culture of religion that he most strongly identified with at this particular point in his life. At one point in time in our interview together Michael stated, "*You have to mix in and become a lot of things*," in relation to his advice he would give to a newcomer to Canada. I wondered how many "things" Michael had mixed in and become.

Natalie and Kevin

Oh Canada!: The photos message is that even though Canada is a very multicultural Country, we all share the Canadian identity. This photo expresses the true Canadian spirit everyone had during this time. It was amazing to me how many people came downtown to celebrate. The streets were packed and the atmosphere was very fun and exciting.

Freedom: As a Canadian we have many rights and privileges which entitle us to freedom. There is a significant freedom being out in the wild where we can engage in fun recreational activities without the daily nagging interests of the media, work and society. There is also no better place to do this than Canada's vast beautiful forests.

Natalie and Kevin were good friends and classmates in the same psychology class at the time of the study. Like Heather and Joey, they worked together in creating their images and artist statements, though in this case, each community ethnographer also identified the

photographer behind each of the images submitted; that is, who pushed the button to actually capture the shot.

Kevin, age 22, and Natalie, age 20, were born in the Vancouver Lower Mainland, and have lived in this area their entire lives. Kevin described himself as Indian-African, while Natalie described herself as Arabic. Both Kevin's and Natalie's parents immigrated to Canada, Kevin's mother from England and his father from India; whereas Natalie's parents immigrated from Africa, Kenya and Uganda. Culturally, Natalie described herself as "very Canadian":

Yeah, I would say like me and my brother are very Canadian and our cousins and even our parents, I'd say. But older generations like my grandparents. I think we're very, we follow like an Indian culture. When we get together it's very Indian I'd say, like we have dinners and the weddings we go to are very—we still follow that culture, the Indian culture. Yeah. And my grandma prays like five times a day and she's very, very religious but me and my brother and my dad aren't very at all.

This is somewhat different from Kevin's experience where he described his life on two planes:

I'm kind of like on both their planes. Like I feel like it varies within the context. If I'm with my traditional family, then I feel like I'm totally not in touch with it because I'm so different from them. But when I'm with my friends, who are all multicultural I feel closer to my own culture just because they're all different and I can see the difference between me and them. But with my family, my traditional family, I feel like I've totally lost touch with my culture.

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In their various texts, this dyad spoke a lot to Canada' multiculturalism and what it was like to live in a culture contact zone that's "*distinct for its indistinctiveness…a country of countries*." Natalie talked about her aunt, also Arabic, that recently had a baby with her Caucasian husband and the challenge they had in picking a name for their new son, and some of the family pressure from both sides they encountered:

> *Yeah, my aunt just had a baby and her husband is Caucasian and she's like me and they had the toughest time picking a name. They're like I don't know. My grandpa is like "Make it like Arabic" and his grandpa's like "Make it like, you know, Mike" or something. But it ended up being Lucas, which suits him, but it's cute and his middle name is Nabil, so it's both.*

Abbie

Many Canadian's hold on to their own ethnic traditions and customs. Canadian culture is a mosaic of a variety of cultures, not a melting pot with specific defining attributes.

Abbie was 26 years of age when I met her. She was born in the Vancouver Lower Mainland and is second generation Canadian. She is half Italian on her mother's side, her mom being the first child in her family to be born in Canada. From her father's side she is part Irish, English, Scottish and German. Later in the interview Abbie noted the following:

When I travel and people ask me my nationality I always say Canadian and I do a lot of

traveling. I'll always say that I'm Canadian. When I'm here and somebody kind of asks

me like I never say Canadian. I always say Italian. It's kind of funny I guess.... Because

I don't think there's a lot of pressure to like conform to one thing like specific and I don't

think that Canadian culture or people have like specific attributes because it's so diverse.

I mean especially here on the west coast.

As Abbie articulated in one of her artist statements, "*For some Canadians ethnic blood is thicker*

than Canadian water. I don't think that being Canadian has ever been about forgetting where

you came from."

Lucy and Leslie

This image, I think, is symbolic of Canadian culture in a couple of ways. In Canada, a key aspect of our society is our ability to choose. Anything. From our religious beliefs to what shoes we're going to wear. We are a relatively free society in this fact. I have spoken with people from other countries who have immigrated here, and that was something they were really struck with, how free we are to make choices. We have a lot of freedom; as is declared in our national anthem, we are "the True North, strong and free."

However, freedom is a double-sided coin. With the freedoms and choices we have, we also have a consumerist society. This picture conveys this. This really is my shoe collection – and since this photo was taken it has grown to over twenty pairs. What is it that has made me buy all these shoes? Do I really need them all? Other cultures might see this as wasteful. Canadian media and advertising, however, encourage this consumerism of their products.

Lucy was 20 years old and a full-time student when I met her. She and her father were both born in Canada while her mother immigrated to Canada from Finland. She speaks French in addition to English as she attended French Immersion schools. She also speaks a little Spanish and some Finnish because of her Finnish background. When I asked how she identified herself culturally, her response was strikingly similar to that of Abbie's:

That's an interesting question. It's funny, when people ask me, I consider myself Canadian but because of my heritage and because of the way Canada is structured, its multicultural society, that I say I am 100% Finnish, so because even though my dad is Canadian, but his grandparents were Finnish so because of the rare thing too being Finnish here, I am kind of proud of that I guess so I identify with Finns, but then like I said I consider myself Canadian. That's me.

Lucy also talked about how growing up in a French immersion school may have contributed to a more open and accepting perspective of cultural diversity, "*We always loved when there was a new exchange student coming, this is so exciting, I can't wait to meet them, hear about them and what their culture and society that they come from.*"

I interviewed Leslie and Lucy together. They are friends and were classmates in the same psychology class at the time of data collection. While Lucy spoke about her experiences of cultural tolerance in her school experience, for Leslie, a different story unfolded:

There was a little of crossing over but it wasn't as popular and I would jump from group to group and I guess that's what bugged people, what they didn't like that I was jumping,

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that I just didn't stay where I belonged, and where I belonged was with my own specific group and as kids you are so brutally honest and some of them just didn't grow-up in a household where multiculturalism was taught so they were demonstrating what they were taught, and that's to stick with your own kind and everyone else can go away.

Leslie

Open Wide: It was a perfect day. To me it seems as if it was a day open to possibility, which is an aspect of being Canadian. Life does not constantly bear down on you; it sets you free. The sky is so endless. It was a connection to nature with the water just there. It seems so intimate but accessible. Life should be enjoyed and try not to be defined in such limited ways.

Leslie is a first generation Canadian. She has lived in the Vancouver Lower Mainland her entire 19 years. Her parents emigrated from Hungary and Germany. She speaks a little German with her mother and grandma, but "*basically it's just English.*" While Leslie considers

herself a part of Canadian culture, she articulated that she defined herself more as a student, how she fits in overall Canadian society:

> *I find that I consider myself a part of the Canadian culture but I define myself more as a student, where I fit into society. That's how I fit in the overall Canadian society. So I define myself more that way.*

Leslie and Lucy spoke with me about the many roles a person plays in Canadian society, being a woman in Canada was particularly meaningful to them. They both appreciated the openness to interpretation that Canada accepts in how these various roles, especially pertaining to their role as women, are played out within Canadian society.

> Leslie: *Luckily it's open to interpretation. We can wear all those roles and like especially as women. Like in a different culture we wouldn't have as many things as we do now in Canadian culture and I think that's an important part of that as well.*

> Lucy: *I totally agree. And I have spoken to people from other cultures where women don't have exactly that freedom and it's almost shocking to me when I first started talking to people. I was talking to someone from China and they were saying how when they have kids its more preferable to have a boy and so I don't know those are foreign ideas to me but you know I would love to have a little girl and I love being a woman and so it's kind of interesting aspect of Canadian culture I think.*

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Von

Sunday Afternoon: Canada is full of life and freedom.

Von was the first community visual ethnographer that I interviewed. He, like Lori described above and Susie described below, was an immigrant to Canada. I interviewed Von individually. He was born in Bulgaria and moved to Canada when he was six years old. At the time of the interview he was 21. He speaks both English and Bulgarian fluently, "*Yeah my*

parents very — value that quite a bit. So it's important. It's important to them, so at home we'll

speak Bulgarian, but they know the English is—I mean language so they want to get integrated

quite quickly which wasn't very hard at the age of six."

Von's family originally immigrated to Toronto before deciding a year later to move out West to Vancouver. He has been living in the Vancouver Lower Mainland since he was seven. He finds people in Vancouver much more calm and relaxed in comparison to Toronto. Von loves the outdoors and landscapes. Many of his images, like the one above, were indicative of his passion for outdoor activities, something his parents played a role in developing:

> *Very few places have I been where you can actually go to something like that and capture*
>
> *like the—further out in one of the other pictures that I didn't send you was the twin lines.*
>
> *I've actually been up top there feeding birds. I don't know. It definitely helped because*
>
> *my parents were like that as well. When I was younger we used to do a lot of hiking, so it*
>
> *kind of transferred over as I got older.*

Von also provided details on his family's immigration story, outlining the challenges they encountered along the way, "*Yeah, a lot of sleeping in front of embassies.*" He is proud to be Canadian, and discussed his appreciation for "*the fact that Canada is so open to taking in other people, because well I am one of them.*" He also described his Bulgarian values instilled in him by his parents, and how they will play a dominate role in how he plans to raise his children someday:

> *We just hold onto our values. My parents are raised old fashioned so that's how they*
>
> *raised me, and I think it's turned out quite well, because I've seen both sides of the*

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spectrum of how people are raised, and I like the way they raised me. So it's most likely

how I'm going to raise my kids, even though I live in Canada.

Von was appreciative of the fact that he grew-up in the Vancouver Lower Mainland and was

therefore "eased into" the diversity that surrounds him making it a lot easier to accept or

appreciate others points of view, over being "*thrown into an environment where there's all these*

different kinds of people—and these different traditions that I'm not used to."

Susie

I send you the most important things in Canadian culture !!!
1) Native people 2) Multicultural 3) Tim Hortones 4) Hockey
5) Canada Beer.

At the time of the study, Susie had spent just two years in the Vancouver Lower Mainland. She emigrated first from Iran to Turkey, and then from Turkey to Canada ten years later. She described her first eight months in Canada as very difficult, "*It was very bad for me because I had no hope. I had no information about my environment, about what I'm going to study, what I'm going to do.*" Susie was 23 years of age when I met her and a full-time student. She was very articulate in English, though it was her third language learned; Farsi, Turkish and then now English. When I asked Susie how she identified herself culturally, she responded:

I don't know because some of my characteristics come from Turkey and some of my personality comes from Iranian nationality, and some of my learning from Canada; at least all three countries. I spend lots of my time with Iranian people; I'm seeing myself as an Iranian. I took the good things of Turkish culture, good things of Canadian culture, and I mix the culture for myself... Yeah, I'm seeing myself also like a combination three cultures.

She also described how this can, at time, present itself as a balancing act and spoke to how she manages this balance using the following example:

Yes, actually, some things become very hard because you're Iranian but you're living in Canada. You don't know that you need to behave like an Iranian or like a Canadian. For example, when one of my friends wants something and in Iranian culture, we need to say yes. We cannot say no. It's very hard for us to say no.

But Canadian people are not like this. If they don't have time, they say sorry I would like to help you but I can't. Sometimes I'm stuck in this situation and I'm really busy but I cannot say no to my Iranian friends. But on the other hand, I'm living in an open-minded country that everyone can say what they really mean. Sometimes I have problems with this kind of situation.

I try to have balance between these two. I don't have this problem with Canadian people. I have it with Iranian people; Iranian people who are living in Canada. On one side, I expect them to know that Canadian culture but on the other hand, they expect me to

behave like an Iranian. It's hard, yeah. It depends on the person. I usually behave as it depends on the person that I'm connected with him or her. If he really can understand me when I'm saying no, I really feel relaxed and feel open. If I know a little bit about him or her, that she's going to be sorry if I say no, I try to help her.

Susie also spoke about liking the diversity of the Vancouver Lower Mainland as it gives her a sense of self-esteem allowing her to, "*trust myself. For example, in class when I'm talking in English, my accent is not very good and nobody laughs because everybody's the same.*"

I also interviewed Susie alone. Her openness and relaxed personality made it easy to probe and ask clarifying questions. I was especially interested in her choices around her submitted images, something I discuss later in the dissertation.

Monica
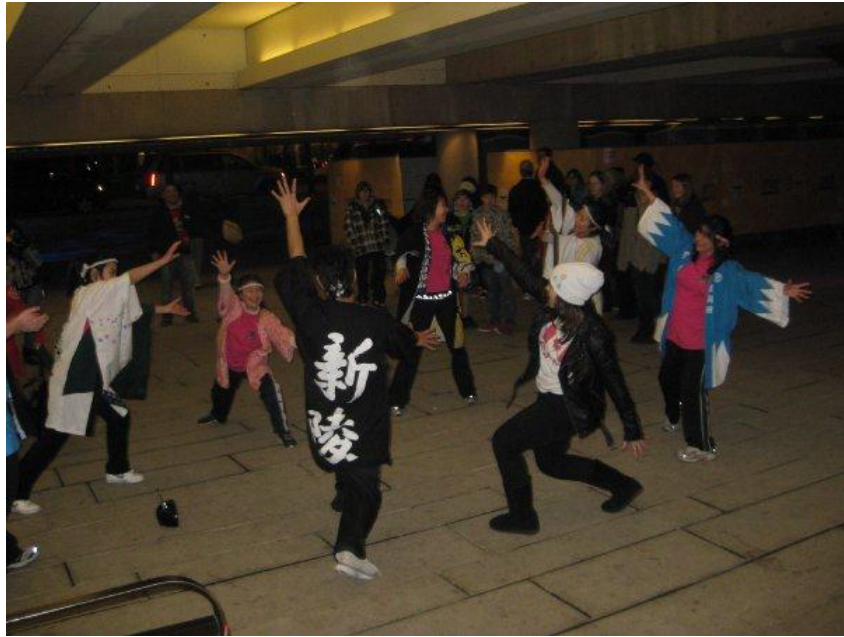
This is a picture I took during the 2010 Olympics. I think it is representative of Canadian culture because it shows how Canadian's embrace all different cultures and are supportive of everyone. People from across the country came together to host a world event and because of everyone's positive energy and hard work it was successful.

Monica was born and raised in the Vancouver Lower Mainland. She was 19 when she participated in the study. Her father was born in Scotland, while her mother was born in Canada and moved frequently between Eastern and Western Canada; Ontario and British Columbia. Monica described herself culturally as Canadian, "*which is like just a mish/mash of everything almost it seems like. Maybe like of European descent.*"

While I interviewed Monica individually, she had worked with two other classmates' in capturing her images, one of which I received images and artist statements from but did not have

the opportunity to interview. When I asked how she chose the five images she submitted to me, Monica explained, "*I guess it's sort of like bias to me. Just stuff that I thought was important and has had a big impact on me. Those are the things that I wanted to include.*"

Monica described her culture contact zone as, "*a mix of everything. People are accepting of everyone's cultures and there's a good representation of everyone... I think that people do live distinct cultural lives but the commonality is that everyone is surrounded by different cultures here.*"

Data Collection Procedures

Prior to my departure from Phoenix, Arizona to the Vancouver Lower Mainland, the preparations for data collection had already begun. The data collection site had been chosen, the letter of explanation, consent forms, interview questions and other ethical review documents and procedures had been submitted and approved by both The University of British Columbia and Douglas College ethical review boards, initial contacts with Scott completed, and the details of a very tight data collection schedule outlined given my relatively little time period I would have in the field of seven weeks.

9/16/10

Hi Scott,

I just got final ethical approval from both Douglas College and UBC today! Yeah!

I get into town on Saturday. Are you going to be at Coquitlam Center anytime over the weekend or the beginning of the week before class? I wanted to meet you (quickly) and

just touch base prior to the start of the class. Do you have a class weekly schedule you

could send me? I would love to see what you cover over the class.

Thanks again!

Introductory Interview

The introductory interview was key to the successfulness of this dissertation. In addition

to providing an opportunity to meet with potential participants, to discuss the project and their

role within it, and to answer any questions, I feel very strongly that the enthusiasm and support

for the study from both Scott and Kim played a key role in not only helping to build rapport with

participants by allowing me into their classrooms weekly during break times to speak with

participants, but also in maintaining a high level of interest in the project as it unfolded. The way

I was introduced by Kim in particular, as an old member of the Douglas College community,

gave me an "insider status" among potential participants in her classes that I may not necessarily

had in Scott's class. Though I introduced myself in Scott's class as a former Douglas College

community member in trying to achieve an "insider status" on my own, and though I had Scott's

overwhelming support and endorsement of the project, I felt like in Kim's classes something was

different. As she detailed what she knew about me and my family, my prior position I held at the

College for 10 years, and my current endeavor as a Doctoral student from UBC trying to

complete her dissertation through their participation, I was not seen as a stranger by the

community members in her classes, but rather an old friend and colleague returning home,

seeking their help. As Fetterman (1998) noted, "An introduction by a member is the

ethnographer's best ticket into the community" (p. 33). I received 24 consent forms from Kim's

classes and 11 consent forms from Scott's class with 18 community visual ethnographers completing all three data collection activities.

Data Collection Timeframe

10/6/10

Hey Everyone!

I hope all your tests/quizzes went well this week!

Thank you to all those who are sending in their images and artist statements!! They look great!! You're awesome! Keep them coming...

Just a couple of reminders:

Double-check that you send artist statements to accompany your images (I have a few images without an artist statement and I need your help in interpreting them for me). If you need the word.doc again for this that was attached to the prior email, let me know.

I am hoping to have your 5 images and artist statements in to me by October 12th for the Tuesday Evening Adolescent Psychology class, and by October 13th for the Psychology 1200 classes. I need them so I can begin preparing for the interview component which I am hoping can take place during the week of the 18th-22nd.

You can either email them to me OR bring the digital files to class the 12th or 13th and I will download them to my laptop.

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I will send out a later email to organize the interview component.

Thank you for all your help in Making Canadian Culture Visible and Happy Canadian Thanksgiving this weekend!

Any questions, just ask!

The following four weeks that followed the initial two-week long recruitment were spent managing the activities of the collaborative project that participants were engaged in; sending reminders, planning logistics, and making myself a continual part of campus life in visiting with students, both those participating in the study and many times just talking with students and faculty on campus, observing their interactions, and getting their opinions on living life in a multicultural contact zone. If fact, though her images are not included in this dissertation as she did not sign a consent form, a faculty member also sent me a couple of images as I had talked with her about what I was doing my dissertation research on and intrigued by the concept of using images in research, sent me two images that were meaningful to her. Given the responsibility I had given to my participants to collect the data for my dissertation, I felt helpless at times over the next few weeks, especially as these kinds of emails entered my inbox:

10/7/10

Hey Lisa!

So sorry for the late notice, but I don't think I will be able to be part of the research you

are doing.

Once again, sorry for any inconvenience I may have caused you :)

10/10/10

Hi Lisa,

I'm sorry but I'm going to step out of doing this project due to other commitments. Thank-

you for the opportunity and I hope your research goes well!

Was this method going to fail despite the extra effort to recruit additional participants? Would I

receive any images and artist statements? Had I placed too much dependence and reliance upon

my community visual ethnographers in the method of this dissertation?

While I was admittedly relieved when images and artist statements began to be

submitted, I soon realized that many participants were submitting images "individually" rather

than collaborating together as a participant-group. I wondered why they opted for this method,

and how I should now approach the "group" interview to achieve my research purpose. How

was I to secure an in depth understanding of the "co-construction process" within this culture

contact zone if participants did not co-construct their images in the way I had asked them to?

What were participants going to reflect on and describe for me in regards to how they decided

what to capture in their co-constructed images of Canadian culture given that most community

visual ethnographers submitted their images individually? This gave me great pause.

Given that I still wanted to gain an understanding of how persons living in a culture contact zone understand Canadian culture more collectively as they come together, I approached the interviews very openly and asked participants to sign-up for a particular time-slot that worked into their schedule. Those participants that did work collaboratively with someone as outlined in the recruitment script signed up for the same interview time slot, though there were potentially other participants that could also sign-up for that time-slot as well.

The "Group" Interviews

Interviews were completed on campus in a reserved conference room. In the end, I conducted a total of seven interviews, three individual interviews with Susie, Von, and Monica, two dyadic interviews with Mary and Lori, and Lucy and Leslie, and two group interviews all lasting between 1-1.5 hours each:

Dyad 1: Mary, Lori

Dyad 2: Lucy and Leslie

Group 1: Scott, James, Amy, Tia, Pookie

Group 2: Joey, Heather, Abbie, Michael, Kevin, Natalie

These interviews were vital to the research on many levels as they provided me with the much- needed qualitative description of my informants' world along with interpretation of its meanings (Steiner, 1996). Despite the identified hurdle I encountered during the project phase of data collection in how the images were being captured, the interviews still allowed me the opportunity to speak with the voices behind the images and inquire about their photo making process. How did they choose or decide on their chosen "Canadian content"? What were they

trying to convey? What is/are the meaning(s) behind/within their images? How were their images a reflection of each of the participant's own cultural background and identities, or were they?

Additionally, I was still able to use the images and artist statements as a springboard to initiate or elicit a dialogue regarding their interpretations of Canadian culture, a strategy that has been utilized by other ethnographers (see Daniels, 2003, as cited in Daniels, 2008; Luttrell, 2006; Tobin, 1989 for examples). For example, Daniels (2003) described how visual data have also been used very effectively in gaining knowledge about conflict situations in communities as a non-threatening elicitation tool for initiating dialogue among community members (Daniels, 2003, as cited in Daniels, 2008). This particular benefit of visual data proved to be very useful within the present study, as will be outlined in a later section.

Through creating PowerPoint slide shows that included the participants' images and artist statements that they had submitted, I was able to draw on this content in creating some individualized questions to follow-up and explore with participants, integrating these questions into the interview protocol. For example, Susie presented an image of a maple leaf with a crack or rupture down the center as seen in her images above. I used this image in our interview together and was able to inquire of her what the meaning behind this crack meant for her, if anything. Or consider this iteration between Lucy, Leslie and I in reference to her photo *Open Wide,* also presented above:

Interviewer:	*The opportunity is what you refer (Leslie: Yeah) to here right if I remember. The nature of days open to possibilities, life sets you free, intimate yet accessible.*
Lucy:	*That's lovely, I like that.*
Interviewer:	*There was something on life defined limits that I wanted to ask you about. Life does not constantly bear down on you, it sets you free. Life should be enjoyed and try not to be defined in such limited ways. I guess I am curious in what the limited ways you are talking about.*
Leslie:	*Just returning to nature, returning to who you are and trying not to go so fast and just taking it easy once in a while and just enjoy pictures like that and just enjoying nature and where you come from.*
Interviewer:	*So appreciating—*
Leslie:	*What you have in life.*

Each slideshow included the images and artist statements of the participants that were being interviewed according to their chosen timeslot for a total of seven presentations. As Pink (2004) noted, "We should not treat the visual as an add-on, but as an integrated aspect of the experience of interviewing or interacting with informants" (p. 395). In doing so, the visual component served to readily enhance the quality of the interview, and therefore the data acquired therein. Lastly, this interview served a more pragmatic means of collecting demographic information regarding participants in terms of their cultural heritage, ages, gender, and length of time in Canada etc. that may be pertinent to the research questions.

During the scheduled interview, I utilized a semi-structured interview format (see Appendix C for interview protocol) employing Spradley's five types of descriptive questions for ethnography beginning with the "grand tour" questions to help position my subsequent

questions, to more contrast questions that assist in understanding, for example, "what happens when events go as planned or do not go as planned, what was good or bad about a crisis, or how to classify the benefits or detriments of a mistake" (p. 308). In my case, I had both some predetermined questions for my participants based on the research questions and questions prepared based on their photographs and artist statements. However, I also had an openness to change the content and sequence of questions as needed in order to address the forthcoming content from the interview, "as most good researchers know, it is not unusual to make up methods as you go along" (Pink, 2007, p. 5). This allowed for a flexible and more fluid interview experience to unfold that was open to the multiple realities that participants brought to the interview table.

I remained in contact with my participants over email, as I knew I might need further clarification as I began the analysis process. As well, I wanted to reassure them that I had not forgotten their important contributions that they had so willingly provided me and let them know where I was in my own research process as I promised to share my findings with them once written. A few participants also remained in touch with me, at least for a short while, after our time together; our more frequent exchanges taking place up until March of 2011 whilst deep in the analysis process, and additional member checks occurring up until April of 2012.

When data collection was complete, community visual ethnographers had captured a total of 90 images and artist statements that served to make Canadian culture visible for these participants. These images and artist statements, along with their interview narratives formed the social texts used for data analysis. I turn to this next.

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Chapter 5

DATA ANALYTIC METHODS

The term, *text* is used to describe diverse productions including written words, oral discourse, performance, or works of art across disciplines (Reifel, 2007). A text is anything with which we make meaning from. From this position, the data collected within this dissertation represented various texts from which meaning was drawn. In analyzing these text, we find its meaning(s) as a cultural production (Reifel, 2007), as "expressions less of their [participants'] individual concerns and understandings than of larger social concerns and understandings that get articulated by and through the individuals as they speak (Tobin, 2000, p. 19). Mikhail Bakhtin's (1990) *polyphony* or "multivocality" is applicable here when he stated, "The word is half ours, and half someone else's" representative of the idea that:

> Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including our creative works), is filled with other's words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of "our-own-ness"… These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate. (p. 89)

In this way text can be interpreted as a voice from larger society but within a more localized context. Therefore the intercultural interactions and co-constructed processes and cultural practices relayed by my community visual ethnographers within their localized contexts, can also be understood as a reflection or co-construction of the larger societal context as well; in this case, the larger culture contact zone of the Vancouver Lower Mainland.

For Bakhtin, who was also notably a contemporary of Vygotsky, it was impossible to separate out individual's actions from larger shared discourses. Consider this concise but salient statement from a participant in response to my question:

> *Interviewer: If there was someone that was arriving to Canada tomorrow, what*
> *advice would you give them on how to become Canadian?*
> *Scott: Don't come by boat.*

While Scott's words of advice are brief and could be interpreted literally or denotatively (Barthes, 1972) as a preference for planes, cars or other modes of transportation in traveling to Canada as opposed to boats, his sarcasm used during his statement is poignant and could arguably reflect a much broader societal issue contextualized within his cultural contact zone in its larger connotative (Barthes, 1972) reference to the boats filled with 500+ illegal immigrants from China that attempted to enter Canada's border via Canada's West Coast in 1999. In using a Bakhtinian lens to understand these kinds of texts, the larger societal tensions and implications are realized (Tobin, 2000). In this way, these kinds of close readings of text exemplify how they are not about individuals but rather are about representative individuals who interact with a shared set of meanings and symbols that represent a shared structure (culture perhaps), not the structure of the individual (Adair, 2009).

Method of Analysis

The analysis process taken was two-tiered, involving both a thematic analysis of the major themes observed in the data pertinent to the outlined research questions, followed by an interpretative (close) analysis wherein the text was analyzed using a technique called *Bakhtinian*

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text mapping, a strategy developed by Tobin (2000) as further outlined below (and touched on above) in an effort to glean a text's potential deeper, or multiple meanings.

Thematic Analysis: Bottom-up Coding Scheme

Thematic analysis is an approach for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns observed within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During the thematic analysis, a bottom-up coding scheme (Flick, 2006) was developed where interview transcripts were read multiple times, preliminary codes generated by grouping together meaningful iterations along an observed theme, and then text relevant to each code was organized into potential themes. Observed themes were then systematically checked and reviewed to ensure transparency and plausibility across both the coded iterations and the data set. Once clear definitions were generated for each code, a code list was created and inserted into HyperRESEARCH, a qualitative analytic software system. HyperRESEARCH was then used to code the transcripts along generated themes and assisted in data extraction for the secondary interpretative analysis. Many themes were coded across the data set and those themes most pertinent to the research questions are discussed in detail in chapters six and seven. Within these analyses, images and artist statements were also used as a comparative tool to their interview transcripts. They served both as a means of support for what they said, and at times, as a means of dissonance within their discourses.

Interpretative Analysis: Bakhtinian Text Mapping

Following the thematic analysis, an interpretative analysis was completed utilizing *Bakhtinian text mapping*, entailing an array of literary techniques outlined by Tobin (2000) to interpret the various texts used within this research study: images, artist statements, and

interview transcripts. Tobin's (2000) diverse repertoire of interpretative "tools" borrowed from diverse theoretical perspectives, disciplines and fields, assisted in finding meaning within my texts in going beyond more surfaced meanings in my analysis, for a close interpretative analysis.

Speech hybridity. Freud's parapraxes ("Freudian slips") may provide insight into the psyche, while Voloshinov (also argued to be Bakhtin writing under a different name) suggested that slips and other "double-voiced" speech may act as "windows into the conflicts and tensions of the larger society to which the speaker belongs" (Tobin, 2000, p. 13). In my close readings, I followed a Bakhtinian theoretical approach and interpreted slips and other "double-voiced" speech sociologically rather than intrapsychically as within social contexts such as group interviews or viewing socially constructed images, I did not have access to the psyches of the speakers. Given this, I benefited more from treating these texts as social texts as Tobin (2000) states in his reiteration of Voloshinov:

> …such situations call for a different kind of psychoanalysis, a psychoanalysis not of individual psyches and intentions, but instead of the anxieties, concerns, and tensions of the larger society as verbalized in the utterances of individuals. (p. 13)

Sources of "double-voiced speech" including direct and indirect quoting of others, irony and sarcasm (as in Scott's iteration), parody and mimicry, bricolage and intertextual associations are examples of literary tools particularly useful in identifying the anxieties, concerns and tensions as they played out within the Vancouver culture contact zone.

Aporia. Literary scholar Zizek (1991) discusses the importance of looking awry and in doing so illustrates this by drawing a comparison of the professions of detective and

psychoanalysis. Both professions requiring the ability to discover or uncover the critical clue, which may be something that is:

> 'odd' —'queer'— 'wrong'— 'strange'— 'fishy'— 'rummy'— 'doesn't make sense,' not to mention stronger expressions like 'eerie,' 'unreal,' 'unbelievable,' up to the categorical 'impossible.' What we have here is a detail that in itself is usually quite insignificant … but which nonetheless … denatures the scene of the crime and produces an … effect of estrangement— like the alteration of a small detail in a well-known picture that all of a sudden renders the whole picture strange and uncanny. Such clues can of course be detected only if we put in parentheses the scene's totality of meaning and focus our attention on the details. Holmes's advice to Watson not to mind the basic impressions but to take into consideration details echoes Freud's assertion that psychoanalysis employs interpretation en detail and not en masse. (p. 53)

In its application to interpreting texts, the deconstructionist literary tool of *aporia* becomes useful in looking awry and finding the critical clue that helps to "solve the case." Aporias are sites of doubt or perplexity in the text where the coherence of a text begins to unravel and provides a "way in" to the text's underlying meanings below the surface (Tobin, 2000). Consider the conversation below between Joey, his sister Heather and myself:

> *Interviewer: All right. I just wanted you to speak on a little bit, and like I said open to anybody who wants to answer, I guess how do each of you identify yourself culturally? So how do you feel at least culturally speaking?*
>
> *Heather: Well, we follow Italian culture in our family. We're only a quarter but our—*
>
> *Joey: **I guess.***

Heather: But our family is—we mainly are with our mom's side and our grandmas and great aunts all speak Italian.

Joey: They'll sing Italian songs.

Heather: Yeah, so that's like our main direction.

*Joey: **I guess.***

Interviewer: And you're saying I guess. So you're saying not as much—

Joey: With family. With family yeah.

Interviewer: So it's in context.

*Joey: I'd say it's like **an** Italian culture, but we're not with them all that often. I'd say like when I'm with my friend, when I'm at home it's very different. I don't know what culture I would say it's like but—*

Interviewer: Something.

Joey: Something.

Interviewer: You can't put your finger on it.

Joey: Yeah. Which I think is sort of Canadian in my mind.

In this section of interview text, we can see how Joey almost immediately begins to question his sister's description of their family cultural life. While Heather talks about being a quarter Italian, Joey repeatedly uses the iteration, "*I guess*" to question his sister's response to my question. This moment of uncertainty presented by the repeated contradiction on the part of Joey led to an opening where I probed further and learned that for Joey, his Italian-ness is contextualized within his extended family, namely his older relatives that he does not see very often, while with his friends and at home with his immediate family, "*it's very different*" as he

struggles to identify what culture it is, which he ultimately presents as kind of Canadian in his

mind. Furthermore, Joey's word choice of *an* Italian culture is an interesting one. What is meant

by his iteration"*... it's like **an Italian culture**"? It is within these aporias, or moments of doubt

and uncertainty, or places where the word choice may seem 'odd' —'queer'— 'wrong'—

'strange'— 'fishy'— 'rummy'— 'doesn't make sense,' that provide opportune ways into a text's

potential meanings, as well as opportune moments for interviewers to probe deeper while in the

moment regarding the expressed doubt being articulated by interviewees.

Binaries. From anthropology, psychoanalysis, and literary theory Tobin (2000) has

borrowed the idea of analyzing slippages (Freud, 1901/1974) and double-meanings (Bakhtin/

Voloshinov, 1927/1976) while looking for core binaries within texts (Levi-Strauss, 1969). Levi-

Strauss demonstrated how the beliefs and ideas of a culture could be elucidated through using

core binaries; defined as those things in opposition to one another where one side is valued and

the other is not (J. J. Tobin, personal communication, 2009). Binaries observed within the data

of this study most noticeably pointed to underlying areas of tension for participants. For

example, the observed binary of younger versus older generational perspectives of Canadian

culture introduced the tension of "lost" cultural practices.

While this large repertoire of interpretative tools assisted in drawing deeper meaning

from my close reading of these texts, the thematic analysis was central in finding and organizing

observed themes discussed by participants in their images, artist statements and interview

transcripts important to the research questions. I feel this unique combination of analytic

strategies provided a way into participants' texts that on the surface might appear to be racist,

prejudicial, illogical, and at times incomprehensible, to point to deeper level issues or concerns

of fear, uncertainty, and confusion that living in cultural contact zones can at times present for

participants. However, I am ever mindful that interpretations are just that, interpretations, and

therein open to re-interpretation by others reading these same texts (Tobin, 2000).

<div align="center">**Trustworthiness of the Research**</div>

Triangulation, Crystallization and Taking a Multi-Layered Approach

The aim of trustworthiness in qualitative research is to support the argument that the

inquiry's findings are "worth paying attention to" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 290). In a

discussion of the trustworthiness of the research, both the data and the interpretations of them, I

first reiterate Pink (2007) in describing ethnography as:

> …a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and
>
> individuals) that is based on an ethnographers' own experiences. *It does not claim to*
>
> *produce an objective or truthful account of reality,* but should aim to offer versions of
>
> ethnographers' own experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context,
>
> negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge is produced. This may
>
> entail reflexive, collaborative or participatory methods. (italics added; p. 22)

In considering the epistemological and ontological frameworks I situate this research within, I

approach trustworthiness from an understanding that there is no independent, objective or fixed

reality, "but local and specific constructed realities and findings" which "are 'literally created'

through the research process (Perlesz & Lindsay, 2003, p. 23). Triangulation has been

purported as one way to increase the trustworthiness of qualitative research. Denzin (1978), in outlining the underlying logic of triangulation, articulated:

> …no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors…Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observations must be employed. This is termed triangulation. (p. 28)

While I concur with Denzin on the need for trustworthy research, and engaging in multiple methods, multiple sources of data, using multiple researchers and using multiple theoretical perspectives as a way of increasing trustworthiness through triangulation, the position taken in the quotation above is arguably positivistic in its use of the terms 'causal factors' and 'empirical reality', which this dissertation's research is decidedly not situated within. To enhance the trustworthiness of this study's analyses, I prefer Richardson's (2000) term 'crystallization' which reflects a more post-modern text where he draws on the allusion of a crystal that reflects, "an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach" in opposition to the 'three sides' of triangulation (p. 934). Triangulation in this sense, builds trustworthiness through building up a more rounded, credible and coherent narrative by adding richness and new perspectives to the data collection, not as a guarantee of internal and external validity (Perlesz & Lindsay, 2003).

In using a multilayered approach in data collection in way of visual data, artist statements and interview narrative, I was able to crosscheck these data and observed findings from these multiple sources in search of regularities and irregularities within the data (O'Donoghue & Punch, 2003) that led to a more nuanced understanding of the acculturation

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phenomenon. For example, did participants' images reflect the messages articulated within their artist statements? Were themes among the visual data similar or different from those relayed by participants during the interview? While James' images reflected multiculturalism as being an important part of Canadian culture, when compared to his interview narrative, a more comprehensive understanding of multiculturalism in his culture contact zone became evident as will be submitted in chapter seven's interpretative analyses. Also, in the visual data captured by participants, features of Canada's Indigenous cultures were captured by several participants. For one group of younger Canadians, while articulating the historical importance of these Indigenous cultures to Canada, they nonetheless found fault in the 2010 Olympics opening ceremonies focusing too much on this historical aspect of Canada's culture. They felt this did not represent today's Canada and the intercultural experiences they were experiencing that are more representative of Canada's multiple cultures in contact. In using a multilayered approach in data collection and analysis, the complexity of the acculturation phenomenon in this culture contact zone was enriched by the multiple sources of data as they both converged and diverged in the building up of a more rounded, credible and coherent narrative in the richness these alternating and competing perspectives/discourses provided.

Reflexivity: The Researcher as the Primary Research Instrument

In recognizing that in qualitative research the researcher is the primary research instrument (Moustakas, 1994), reflexivity also played a role in establishing the trustworthiness of my results. As I reflected on my own experiences in this research process, I was ever mindful of my position in relation to (a) to the informants, and (b) within the data (Lipson, 1989, as cited in

Wolf, 2007). I, too, was a voice in the polyphony of voices heard in this written text, and my interpretations of my participants' texts are therein open to re-interpretation by those reading this text as we continue the co-construction process. My hope in this research was to offer *an* account of the experiences of community visual ethnographers as they made Canadian culture visible within their culture contact zone, in offering *an* interpretation of the stories told as they voiced their lived experiences in this third space.

Position to the participants. In reference to my position in relation to the community visual ethnographers that participated in the study, while I deliberately opted not to participate in the photo-making process with participants aside from the more logistical aspects of reminders and answering clarifying questions as participants proceeded to make Canadian culture visible in an effort not to influence their conceptualizations of Canadian culture, as Potter and Hepburn (2005) proposed, it would be a mistake to delete the interviewer from the interview process that followed. The interviews played a central role in this study's method as it provided me the opportunity to inquire about the photo-making process, and to understand how participants conceptualized Canadian culture as captured through their own lens. Moreover the interviews provided a space and place for participants to come together to share their visual conceptualizations of Canadian culture and, in doing so, negotiate Canada's culture and accompanying practices connected with these visual representations.

While I aimed to develop a rapport with interview participants over the course of the photo project period in order for me to gain an optimal outcome during the scheduled interviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I also remained aware of my position as a researcher, just as the

community visual ethnographers were aware of their position as participants in a research study as was frequently noted in their articulation of hoping that what they said would somehow be useful to this research, and in my assurance that it was. However, much like Vygotsky's and Bakhtin's assertions of interdependency and multivocality, Lincoln likewise (1997) asserted that the 'self' is not a single unit, but multiple and nuanced. So while my primary position and role played was as a researcher throughout this process, I was cognizant of the many roles that I also performed at times during this process: as a wife, a mother, a student, a teacher, a woman, an insider, an outsider, White, multicultural, young and old, a Canadian and an American, a photography enthusiast; the roles expressing themselves at various times, both during the photo-making period as I met and talked with participants informally and throughout our scheduled interview time together.

I was also cognizant that the community visual ethnographers were also engaged in multiple performances; performances of disparate roles, and at times, similar roles. As Shah (2004) noted, there are many and varied factors than can influence an interview: gender, age, social status, race, ethnicity, and religion. So while all community visual ethnographers were participants in this study, they played this role in accordance with their multiple and nuanced selves. In approaching an interview, especially relevant to interviews I conducted in a group setting where these multiple selves were enacted, I was also keenly aware of another role, "referee;" though I played this role not in terms of settling disputes or resolving areas of debate as this was part of the co-construction process, but in an attempt to ensure that all voices were heard given the many and varied factors presented during this process.

Position within the data. As Potter and Hepburn (2005) remind us, interviews are always an interaction. In this case, interviews were sometimes an interaction between a single participant and myself, and at times, between multiple participants that were also simultaneously interacting with each other as well. Given the dynamic nature of this process, interviews are always a co-construction in their interrelatedness and interdependency situated within the research context (Harding & Norberg, 2005), which was central to exploring the process of acculturation as a co-construction of culture. So while 'good research' is supposed to be value and culture free, in utilizing a sociocultural framework, the implausibility of this assumption is immediately recognized given my own location *within* the research context, in addition to the participants interrelatedness and interdependency to this research context as well. These contextual ties ultimately allowed for an extension of the co-construction process occurring within the interview context to be used in gaining an understanding of the co-construction processes occurring within the larger culture contact zone. In recognizing that I, too, was a voice in this process, I strived to include it where I thought it important in an effort to not "delete the interviewer" from the conversation in taking participant iterations out of their contexts. Potter and Hepburn (2005) showed that often participants talk is taken out of context when it is presented, or more notably the interviewer's questions, commentary and interjections are removed from the transcripts. In an effort to keep the interviewee's talk within the context it was asked and spoken, my voice is present in the descriptions of the findings as I make reference to the questions I asked of participants, and at times, my voice is directly within the transcripts I present.

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On the other hand, while recognizing my position within the data, I also attempted to limit my voice from the interview dialogue as I wanted to hear and understand my participants' voices. While it would be misleading to propose that I did not affect the interviews, as at times I interjected to ask for clarification, probe deeper, and call on participants that had not yet had an opportunity to voice their perspective, much like O'Sullivan Lago (2009), I felt that participants responses and expressions were not directed *at* me. Rather, the interview became a safe space to engage in a co-construction process where participants could express their likes, dislikes, opinions, frustrations, challenge each other, and agree with each other concerning their conceptualizations of Canadian culture they captured, and their lived experiences situated within their common culture contact zone that they were all a part of. Given this, I have also let their voices "stand-alone" at times, where my voice as researcher in the data has been removed to let their co-constructions be heard from their distinctive positions and voices.

It is my hope that in recognizing the role(s) I have in this work in the construction of the narrative I tell in the subsequent chapters that is based within my own interpretations of my participants voices, that the interpretations honor their voices. While they may have told the story differently, I hope I tell it in a meaningful way for them that honors their contributions in making Canadian culture visible.

Ethics and Consent

When engaging in visual research, additional ethical issues relating to consent arise. Before beginning their participation in the study, each community visual ethnographer signed a consent form that protected their confidentiality. It was also disclosed that only my committee

members and I would see their photographs during the data analysis. However, given that I would like for participants to have the opportunity to display their works in the forum of a public exhibition, additional consent for this purpose was sought. Also in this regard, if and when the time comes, participants will participate in the selection of the images they would like to display, if any, for the purpose of exhibition. Furthermore, any future use of the images on my behalf whether for scholarly publication, display at academic conferences or events, or otherwise, was governed by a separate agreement. Participants also provided me with a pseudonym chosen by them, or gave me permission to choose one on their behalf for the purposes of illustrating their voices in this study.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

This section acknowledges and addresses the strengths and limitations of this study in terms of: (a) conceptualization of the acculturation phenomenon, and (b) the research methodology as both conceptualized and implemented. I then provide recommendations for future research based in potential methodological changes, improvements or design variations that may serve to enhance an understanding of the acculturation phenomenon given the experiences of study participants.

Strengths

It may be regarded as a unique strength that this study conceptualized the process of acculturation as a co-construction of cultural processes and practices within the members situated within a particular culture contact zone. This conceptualization is in contrast to the more dominant conceptual models of acculturation that do not take into account the acculturation

experiences of dominant cultural members. It holds that acculturative processes are inclusive of everyone, especially at a time when moving and mixing cultures are creating increasingly culturally plural communities. The qualitative approach this study took was designed to address the need for new approaches to the study of acculturation. The use of a visual ethnographic approach utilizing research participants as community visual ethnographers uniquely situated acculturation research within its originating anthropological roots. However, this was done with an innovative twist appropriate given the framework of the study wherein acculturation was conceptualized as the co-construction of cultural processes and practices. The context for the research in identifying and exploring the participants' notions of "Canadian culture" and "Canadian identity" situated within a culture contact zone provided an interesting platform for participants' own cultural identities to be challenged, contested and redefined as they collaborated in co-constructing Canadian culture through their images, artist statements and within the interview process. In providing participants with the simple prompt of "*What is Canadian culture?*," this study presented the opportunity for the participants to co-construct their conceptualizations of Canadian culture and their Canadian identity(ies) without potentially biasing or interfering in the co-construction process had I, as the researcher, directly observed and/or participated in their co-constructions in the field. This may be regarded as an overall strength to the research design as conceptualized given that the co-constructions captured in the images and artist statements of participants would be those captured and defined through participants' own lenses and voices, and not through the lens and voice of the researcher. This

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strength of the design, however, also came with associated trade-offs, which are addressed under limitations.

Limitations

As has been noted, research design involves a careful consideration of the costs and benefits involved in the decisions around the methodology and tools used to collect data. In desiring to use a methodological approach that was open-ended, collaborative and in large part participant-driven certain limitations arose from using this approach with respect to the following: (a) obtaining the data in the desired way (i.e., via participant-groups), (b) varied degrees of participant level of involvement in the photo project, and (c) contextualizing and interpreting the data due to the absence of observation of the participants in the field during the photo project, as discussed below.

Obtaining data in the desired way. In making the decision to not engage in participant observation to avoid potentially influencing participants in their co-construction process, and instead taking a retrospective approach in the scheduled interviews in asking about this process, I also introduced, albeit non-intentionally, the opportunity for participants to redefine aspects of the method of the study. For example, some participants opted not to follow the established protocol for co-constructing images and artist statements of Canadian culture within a participant-group, but made their submissions individually.

This decision on the part of some participants to submit images and artist statements individually also later impacted the proposed participant-group interview process. Readers may be reminded that the purpose of this collaborative group project was conceptualized to bring a

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diverse group of Canadians together to co-construct an understanding of Canadian culture. This was designed in order to gain an understanding of the lived experiences behind the coming together of diverse cultures in contact. In doing so, it was my hope to get a more nuanced understanding of some of the challenges that were involved in this kind of co-construction process for persons living in culturally diverse culture contact zones. In engaging participants in a third space through this collaborative project, it was also my hope to understand the kinds of discourses and positionings in which participants engaged while making Canadian culture visible in the various texts captured during data collection and to subsequently have participants reflect on their experiences of co-construction in the photo making process during the participant-group interviews process.

Interestingly, as participants gathered together to discuss their photo making process in their decisions around what to capture in the context of the interview, a third space emerged wherein a co-construction of Canadian culture began. Participants' images and artist statements that captured Canadian culture for them, *when presented to others*, initiated a cultural discourse wherein competing knowledges and positionings were brought into negotiation, and in doing so began to challenge and change cultural practices, while also speaking to larger shared cultural discourses (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999; Soja, 1996). The positive aspect of this limitation may be that while the co-construction of Canadian culture did not occur in the way I had proposed to examine this process, it did occur within the context of the interview where they were openly confronted with competing knowledges and discourses that they had to negotiate and manage at some level.

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Observed variation in participant levels of involvement. As discussed in the section above, participants showed varying levels of involvement in and commitment to the study protocols/methods as they added this project into their busy lives. Two conceived possibilities for the varying levels of involvement in and commitment to study protocols include: (a) time constraints, and (b) possible feelings of insufficient psychological safety within the context of participant-groups in co-constructing images of Canadian culture.

In reference to time constraints, participants may have found it too challenging to find the time to work in participant-groups as this required planning on the part of participants in finding common timeframes to meet with group members to co-construct images and artist statements. This has implications for ensuring that participants selected have the time, energy and interest needed to dedicate to a research project employing more collaborative methodologies.

While in considering the possibility of feelings of insufficient psychological safety within the context of participant-groups in co-constructing images of Canadian culture, these feelings of insufficient psychological safety may have also contributed to participants choosing to capture and submit images and artist statements individually. This possibility reinforces the need for safe spaces for persons living in diverse culture contact zones to explore issues around culture and identity such that they feel they can engage in mutual discussion and sharing, and the roles culture and identity play in their sense of self and sense of belonging with and among culturally diverse others.

Contextualizing and interpreting the data. An additional consequence of some participants' selecting to capture their images individually over collaborating in participant-

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groups was in how I should approach the group interviews as I had originally proposed. Having fewer group interviews than proposed has an obvious effect on an exploration of a co-construction of culture from a dialogical framework. Fewer group interviews meant less opportunity to examine the negotiation of culture process and practices "in action." This meant there were fewer opportunities to gain a more nuanced understanding of this negotiation as a *process*, and instead was presented with more *products* (individually captured images and artist statements) to contextualize and interpret from within this framework.

Methodological Considerations for Future Research

To capture the defining features of culture visually was challenging for these participants. From this research experience I learned that while the 18 participants' voices provided a substantive springboard from which to continue this work, the variability in level of involvement in and commitment to the project made data collection challenging. For example, challenges were encountered in ensuring the proposed method was implemented as designed, to challenges in study logistics like scheduling interviews, and ensuring follow-up conversations during member checking procedures. Given these challenges, the following are three methodological recommendations for future research: (a) conducting an in-depth qualitative inquiry with fewer participants, (b) finding ways in which researchers can more actively engage participants in the study protocols in order to avoid unanticipated changes to study protocols, and to help ensure maximum commitment to the study, and (c) search for more suitable designs for data collection to help ensure that the subtle, or not so subtle, nuances between the acculturation processes and

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experiences of old-timers and newcomers can be captured. Each of these recommendations is discussed briefly below.

In-depth qualitative inquiry. First, an in-depth qualitative inquiry with fewer participants, for example, a case study approach, would allow for deeper and more active involvement and participation in a project like this that is central to the dialogic exploration of a co-construction of culture. The smaller number of participants used in a case study approach would allow the researcher a more manageable number of participants to work with, and therein permit a deeper and richer understanding of the acculturation phenomenon from varying perspectives based on the researcher's selection of cases.

Active engagement of study participants. Second, using methodological approaches such as a participatory action research approach that is designed to engage participants as co-researchers from the creation phase of the study would significantly increase the level of involvement and investment in the study. Given its greater level of involvement and investment required of participants by design, a participatory action research approach would provide opportunities for more active engagement, and therein also provide additional opportunities for active co-constructions to emerge.

Variations in research design. Finally, the third recommendation for future research involves variations in research design that include focus group interviews where we consider the narratives of old-timers and newcomers on their own *separately*, and together. Such an alternative design, compared to the method used in the current research study, may be able to better highlight and capture both the similarities and differences, and subtle or not so subtle,

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nuances between the acculturation processes and experiences of old-timers and newcomers on their own in addition to capturing the negotiation between these groups as well. This would serve to inform the old-timer and newcomer acculturation narratives on their own in addition to the narrative they capture and tell together.

In addressing the weaknesses and limitations as have been described, future researchers will be able to study more effectively the acculturation phenomenon as a co-construction of culture with both old-timer and newcomer groups, while also avoiding some of the challenges and limitations encountered in this research study around implementation fidelity. While there were challenges in capturing culture visually as articulated, the photo project was particularly effective in initiating a dialogue among participants in and around conceptualizations of culture and identity and how these constructs play a role in culture contact zones. For example, participants' visual images were a particularly useful tool in eliciting and engaging participants in dialogue, as a springboard, especially given the fact that they were captured *by* them and were therein particularly meaningful *to* them. It is therefore recommended that researchers consider using visual approaches in engaging participants in and around challenging subjects such as issues around culture, identity and diversity. As we continue to develop, challenge and change conceptual, theoretical and methodological approaches and models in the work that we do as researchers, it is imperative that we continually seek out and engage diverse voices in our research. When we fail do so, we are allowing in the opportunity for "this mischief [to] insinuate itself" (Bacon, XLVI, 1620), an opportunity we can no longer afford to take.

In the two chapters that follow, I present the results of the dissertation. Community visual ethnographers' images, artist statements and interview narratives are presented in these chapters as they helped to make Canadian culture visible in their culture contact zone, while also exploring the process of acculturation as a co-construction of culture. In doing so, I have used participant voices wherever pertinent and possible in an attempt to preserve their experiences as captured through their lenses, and voiced within their texts. Participants' voices are presented utilizing italicized quotes within the body of the dissertation, in addition to italicized text boxes containing their artist statements, image titles or references made to their images during the interview process. The use of italics also serves to differentiate the narratives told by my participants from those told by the many scholars whose work I draw on to help both construct and deconstruct, understand, and at times, confuse the navigation of this *third space*.

Chapter 6

RESULTS PART A

Thematic Analysis

What does Canadian culture entail for Vancouverites? Or, what does it mean to be Canadian for

someone living in Vancouver?

It's kind of like a paradox that Canada's distinct for its indistinctiveness.

Like our culture is our multiculturalism.

As Benhabib (2002) articulated, "The negotiation of complex cultural dialogues in a

global civilization is now our lot" (p. 186). As has been ascertained, globalization is changing

the way that we think about and talk about culture. Once debated whether or not globalization

would result in an increasing homogenization or heterogenization of customs and cultures

throughout the world (Ritzer, 1992), it is no longer disputed that heterogeneity is the way (van

Meijl, 2008). However, Appadurai (2001) was adept to point to some caveats to

heterogenization that serve to complicate the ability of the nation-states to nationalize (Appadurai, 2001; van Meijl, 2008); caveats pertinent to the findings within this data.

Similar to those interviewed by Phipps (2009), the thematic analysis of the data indicated that research participants found it very challenging to identify what Canadian culture is and therefore what its practices entailed. One participant remarked, "*I was baffled for a while!*" while another stated, "*It's still kind of hard to think of what 'Canadian' is.*" Two participants working collaboratively described their tale of how they jumped into their car to go out and capture Canadian culture only to look at each other and ask, "*Where are we going?*" while another participant simply stated, "*Man this is hard.*" Feelings of panic came over another participant as the "deadline" for images to be submitted loomed over him and he had yet to come up with anything he felt worth submitting.

Keeping this articulated difficulty in mind, at the end of data collection, I received just over 90 images and artist statements that served to "capture Canadian culture" for the community ethnographers in this study. Along with their interview narratives, these data inform how these Canadians living within the culture contact zone of the Vancouver Lower Mainland went about making Canadian culture visible. In doing so, they convey how they understand and begin to define "Canadian culture," and often on a more personal level, their own "Canadian identity." These data also serve to inform the foundations of new approaches to the study of acculturative processes as experienced and expressed by those living within culture contact zones.

Making Canadian Culture Visible: Results of the Thematic Analysis

In addition to the commonly articulated difficultly in arriving at a conceptualization of Canadian culture as was described, there were several additional thematic observations noted within this analysis. Some related to an articulation of how Canada's culture differs depending on the region or particular place or space in which one finds themselves situated, inclusive of *Vancouver's own cultural identity*, and the implications of this unique cultural identity to those living within it.

Others involved community visual ethnographers' arrival at their own, more personal conceptualizations of "Canadian culture," as briefly introduced in the previous chapter. Many participants' texts,' visual and written, overlapped thematically in their reference to conceptualizations of Canadian culture and Canadian cultural identity, and in doing so, some participants' conclusions also included their perceptions of what Canadian culture is NOT. These observed themes are presented in Table1 and are considered in more detail throughout this chapter's thematic analysis.

Table 1

Thematic Observations of Canadian Culture

Canada's Multiple Cultures
Canada's culture is defined by its regions
The culture of Vancouver
Canadian culture: What's meaningful to you?

Common Elements of Canadian Culture
Pride
Canada's backyard
Canadian stereotypes

Canadian Culture: A Changing Culture
Themes of Canada past, present and future

Canada's Multiple Cultures

    Canada's culture is defined by its regions. As articulated, for many community visual ethnographers, Canadian culture was described as something *regional*; that is it varied greatly depending upon where you are situated in Canada, which speaks to the poly-contextuality of Canada's cultural identity given its acculturative origins. As Lori articulated, "*I mean things are so different in different parts of Canada. While it is really diverse in Vancouver, it's probably really different in Saskatchewan, Manitoba or –.*" Pookie, being originally from the Prairies (a term used in reference to the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba), differentiated

between his experiences with Prairie culture and Vancouver culture, where Prairie culture was described as a culture of *co-dependence*, constructed upon the survival of the severe cold winters experienced there. In his image, titled "Crushed Mazda" and addressed here in his interview narrative he comments on this regional difference he identifies with:

> *That's not so much a theme in a more temperate climate that we have out here [Vancouver Lower Mainland], but certainly in the Prairies, survival is an attribute and the camaraderie and the co-dependence that builds up are attributes that people here in British Columbia who meet Prairie people recognize. They're so friendly, they're so friendly. They've developed to be that way. Pookie*

Crushed Mazda: It's an interesting bit of Canadiana, in that (a) the vehicle is an import – representative of our cultural diversity (b) it's a piece of machinery sitting in the forest, providing juxtaposition between the natural and the man-made and (c) Nature has won – underscoring the perennial theme of the Canadian identity, which is/was survival (and man doesn't always win). Pookie

While interviewed separately, both Lori and Scott spoke about how the culture of cosmopolitan Vancouver differs from that of more rural areas like that of small town British Columbia:

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One thing that I've noticed in my travels even in British Columbia between city and small town is in the city, I mean I barely know my neighbors two doors down. People are very channeled, very private, very cold. Yet small town, rural areas, much more friendly, much more open, two really different mentalities. I would dare say Vancouver city life has become very much a life of individuals. Whereas once you get to places as you're saying, rural life in the Prairies, rural life in small town BC, it's definitely much more social. Even in our townhouse complex, I think I know 3 people in it and I've been there 5 years. Scott

And frankly I have a friend in Qualicum Beach. She's been there two years retired. And she says to me, "You know, Lori, sometimes I walk around in Qualicum Beach and I miss the Lower Mainland because everybody is Caucasian and everybody's old [here]." She said, "I miss the—I never thought I would. She said, "I never thought about that when I moved there," but she said, "I actually miss the diversity of seeing different people. They're all just old White people, like me", she says.   Lori

Scott, in his iteration above, echoes Pookie when he describes Vancouver city life as "*very channeled, very private, very cold*" in comparison to the co-dependence of Prairie life, or rural life in small town British Columbia. While Lori's friend describes how only a few hours away from Vancouver city life in Qualicum Beach, the homogeneity in race (White) and age (old) situated there has created a new longing for diversity for her friend, for seeing different people, as she relates, "*They're all just old White people, like me*."

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James proposed how the Rocky Mountains, in his view, serve to isolate us from the rest of Canada, not just geographically, but culturally and politically as well:

I think, going back to what I said earlier as well, the mountains, the Rocky Mountains around here. My perspective, a bit more isolated. You talk about the rest of Canada as all east and the further east you go, the more they think they're so very important and the Canadian culture on a broad term is English and French, but when you get out here, it's English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indo-Canadian. You don't see that much of the French influence. So I think in that respect I look upon where I'm living here giving me a different perspective than certainly they would have in Toronto or Montreal.

While Tia submitted, "*It's a big wide space so it can be different from one end of the country to the other.*"

Susie, a new immigrant to Canada, relays her friend's experience as a new immigrant living in Quebec as she compares it with her own experience of being a new immigrant living in her Vancouver Lower Mainland culture contact zone:

I like Vancouver just because there are lots of people from other countries and you're not feeling that you're alone between these people.

I like this one [pointing to her image] because the most positive things about Canada—well, Vancouver is that you can find from every kind of people, every kind of culture, and you cannot feel that you are alone between this kind of people. They do not behave here like a racist people. In Quebec, one of my friends told me that because I didn't talk French with my doctor, she told me to go and learn French and then come back.

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Given this experience, not surprisingly when I later inquired whether she thought Canadian culture was the same throughout Canada, Susie responded,

> *No, it's not the same. As I said, in Quebec, it's really French-Canadian culture, but here, it's multi-cultural. I don't have any idea about Toronto but my friends live there and they told me that they are like here; but Ottawa, it's again is like Quebec. People are very proud of being Canadian and they don't really behave good with people who are coming from other cultures.*

In her iterations, Susie alluded to one of the most positive things about Canada being its diverse cultures, but in the first iteration qualified her response with, *well Vancouver*, as she expressed her perceived regional differences using the example of her immigrant friend's experience of going to the doctor in Quebec. Her second iteration not only provides her perspective of regional cultural differences, but also relays experiences of racism and prejudice experienced by people she knows within other regions of Canada, which she articulates is different from her own experiences in her culture contact zone.

   The culture of Vancouver. As Susie alluded to above, some community visual ethnographers identified the regional nature of Canada's culture through their descriptions of Vancouver's very own unique "cultural identity." For example, Leslie commented more specifically on how separate from the rest of Canada we are in Vancouver, noting "*we have our own kind of life going on over here… we have our own sort of identity within the whole Canadian identity.*" When I asked Leslie about this identity she was referring to, to essentially describe it for me, she explained,

Everywhere else in Canada we're so— Vancouver is a metropolitan area, but we have

our own places where we slow down and take in the scenery and get to know who we are

surrounded with and get to appreciate a lot and have our own sort of identity within the

whole Canadian identity. Little pockets of communities and just knowing who you are in

the whole thing and taking— taking the time to appreciate where we live and who we live

with.

Many community visual ethnographers' images and artist statements also captured Vancouver's unique cultural identity as was noted in Leslie's iteration above, but drew on different aspects of Vancouver's unique cultural identity. Monica, in her image "Crazy Vancouver" desired to portray Vancouver's active lifestyle and the compassion and spirit that Vancouverites have in her image depicting the Underwear Affair, a 10 k run raising funds for cancers below the waist.

Yeah, like helping out and everyone's really spirited and they really care about the event.

It also shows it's a big part of Vancouver culture to like exercise and there's always

people running down on the water and stuff. You always see people down there being

healthy and exercising. It's like really important.

Leslie, in her image "Building" juxtaposes Vancouver's natural surroundings bringing "*us back to ourselves and peaceful times*" against the backdrop of the ongoing development that currently surrounds her.

I chose this picture because it shows the active lifestyle that people in Vancouver live. The crazy outfits everyone is wearing shows how spirited Canadians can be.

Monica

Crazy Vancouver
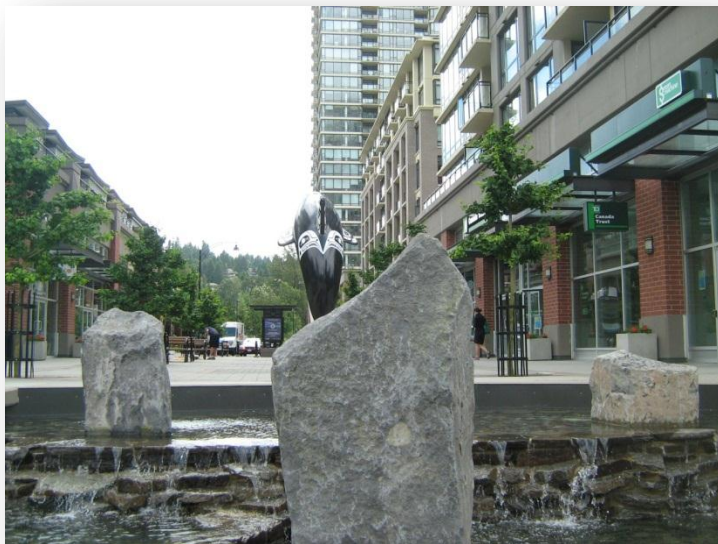
What really made me want to take this photo was because of the whale with the fountain. There is so much development going on, but there is still a connection to such things like Native art in how the whale was designed as well as the connection to the water in the fountain. It brings us back to ourselves and peaceful times.

Leslie

Building

Canadian culture: What's meaningful to you? Given the difficulty that many participants articulated in not only deciding what "Canadian culture" is, but also in deciding what to eventually capture, some participants described their images taken and submitted as those that were most meaningful to them, personally:

> *Maybe our definition of culture is, are we at a point where we are what we want to be, that's different for everybody? Kind of like a photographer, if you're happy with it, then it's a good photograph. If winning hockey games and wearing red and white mitts and seeing totem poles and fishing for sturgeon is what makes me happy then that's my definition of what makes me a Canadian and that might be different for someone else to a greater or lesser degree. Pookie*

Much like Pookie, other participants after going out and "capturing Canadian culture" arrived at the decision to capture "*their own piece of Canada.*" What is my Canada? What is meaningful for me?

> *Like I realized I could go and take some totem poles, Indian art and that would suffice but as much as I like it and I can look at it, that's not what Canada means to me personally. Lori*

Or as Mary simply stated, "*It's gotta be your own.*"

For Amy, an elementary school teacher, her participation in the study proved to be instructional as she confronted head-on her 1990's unit she had developed for her students on Canadian culture that she was still using in her classroom. "*Hmmm, maybe I should update this now*" she pondered aloud, "*because we do the stereotypical—what the Canadian symbols are,*

our stampede, the beaver, the schooner, it's like the maple leaf, hockey, right." At the end of the interview she promised aloud:

> *And for me, I really am going to take that unit from 1990 something, I am. I am going to*
> *start at their level, the kids level, the kids who live in the west side of Abbotsford in a*
> *British Columbia town, at their level and work up to develop— I think we will be*
> *developing it together. Come up with our own symbols and things like that and see what*
> *we come up with at the end.*

For this grade five teacher, a potential outcome of her experiences participating in this process was the creation of a new unit on Canadian culture that considered not only incorporating an alternate perspective that what Canadian culture means is more personal, but also that it is something to be developed or co-constructed together as well.

Common Elements of Canadian Culture

Given its perceived distinctiveness, I wondered if there was anything that the community visual ethnographers saw as shared elements of a common Canadian culture, or commonly perceived Canadian cultural practices that somehow unified Canadian culture for Canadians. What are *Canadian* cultural practices for person's living in this multi-culture contact zone? In examining the data for such perceived commonalities among participants, I observed the following frequently captured features of Canadian culture: Pride in being Canadian, but for a variety of reasons, respect for preserving the environment and awe for Canada's natural beauty, and a common identification of Canadian stereotypes and classic icons.

Pride. Community visual ethnographers spoke about a sense of pride that they perceived across Canada in being proud to be a Canadian. As Von articulated:

The pride. The pride would definitely be there. Being Canadian, I'm sure would be a big value that would definitely be held nationwide.

The sacrifices that Canadian heroes have made with a common reference to Terry Fox and Canadian soldiers that have served, and continue to serve their country, were also a source of pride for Michael, Mary, James, and Lori who all took photos capturing this component of Canadian culture. Scott and Amy identified being proud of the progressive social benefits and programs provided to Canadians like socialized healthcare and paid maternity leaves. James, Pookie, Scott and Tia were proud of Canada's stringent gun laws, therein making it a perceived safe place to call home. Abbie, Susie, and Lori also commented on the safety of Canada, but outside of the reference to its gun laws. Some of these features are presented in the images and artist statements shown below.

In this photo, my nephew was holding a gift from his grandfather, the tags from when he was in the army. This photo was taken with very mixed emotion. Happy to see the pride of two people who are working to serve our country, nervous for the future, and pride because our country is worth standing up for.

Mary

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By daring to dream big and by taking one step at a time, a seemingly impossible task becomes possible and that one person can make a difference. I [am] proud to be a Canadian and proud that I live in the same community that Terry did.

James

Canada's backyard. For many community visual ethnographers, the beauty of the Vancouver Lower Mainland was captured as they captured and portrayed the landscapes and geography that form a part of their culture contact zone, while others extended this awe to
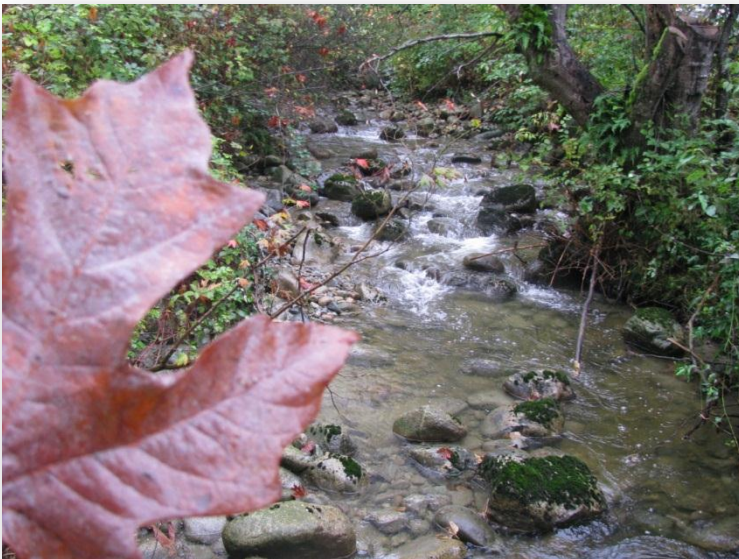
As Molsen Canadian puts it, "We have the best backyard." So much of Canada is filled with provincial parks, lakes, beaches and mountains. We have an amazing panoramic view everywhere we look and we all seem to appreciate the beautiful landscapes surrounding us.

Heather and Joey

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include other parts of Canada:

> *You talk about attributes of Canadians, I think one of the attributes of somebody that has*
> *been fully Canadianized is the awe that you must feel for our geography. We flew a few*
> *years ago 900 K's north of Tuktoyaktuk onto an island and kayaked for 10 days and*
> *flying back over the McKenzie River delta, it's 10 000 square kilometers in size, the delta*
> *of the McKenzie River. As far as the eye can see is water and bog and nothing else. It's*
> *just awesome how big and empty this country is. That was a real Canadian moment for*
> *me. Pookie*

Community visual ethnographers' also commented on the extreme weather, like snow, as part of a common Canadian culture. Other participants spoke to Canada being known for its beautiful land more generally, while articulating that, "*The appearance of our country really reflects our uniqueness, as a young, fresh, clean and green country.*" Von talked about how an appreciation for Canada's geography was instilled in him by his parents from a very young age:

> *Yeah. Very few places have I been where you can actually go to something like that and*
> *capture like the— further out in one of the other pictures that I didn't send you was the*
> *twin lines. I've actually been up top there feeding birds. I don't know, it definitely*
> *helped because my parents were like that as well. When I was younger we used to do a*
> *lot of hiking, so it kind of transferred over as I got older.*

In my own attempt to communicate and portray community visual ethnographers' passion for their own backyard, I created a collage of their captured images, which I hope begins to express this element of Canadian culture.

Canadian stereotypes. Canadian stereotypes and/or classic Canadian icons/symbols

were captured and discussed by community visual ethnographers in making Canadian culture

visible: the stampede, the beaver, the schooner, the maple leaf, hockey, beer, Tim Hortons, maple syrup, Mounties, Inukshuk, and two newly added symbols, the 2010 Olympic torch and red and white mittens, "*those red and white mitts are going to be around for a long time.*"

Tia rejected the more stereotypical iconic nature of Canadian culture in her comment, "*It's not maple syrups and Mounties,*" and hoped to break "*the stereotypes that we're all lumberjacks, and Mounties singing throughout the Rockies.*" In my group interview with Joey, Heather, Abbie, Michael, Kevin and Natalie we talked about the 2010 Olympics' closing ceremonies and how this event, they felt, potentially served to enhance the stereotypes of Canada and Canadians on a world stage:

> *I wonder more about other countries that that kind of probably enhanced their stereotypes of Canada. I mean for us we knew like that was the closing ceremony. We know it wasn't true. Joey*

They decided that they did not find it offensive that this was the focus of the closing ceremony; however it stood out for them that this was what Olympic organizers chose to focus on in showcasing Canada on a world stage:

> *Yeah, I don't think we care. I just thought it was very — just it stood out to me a lot that that's what they focused on. But yeah, I don't think it's a problem. Heather*

For Scott, classic icons such as the Bluenose, the Royal Hudson, and the Monarchy, though not as germane in today's Canada, forms a part of a common Canadian history as he proposed in his iteration below:

You mentioned the schooner, the Bluenose, part of Canadiana. I showed you some images of the Hudson. To me, that's definite Canadiana, brought the Royal family, part of the Monarchy who I feel we should no longer have because we're cosmopolitan but it's part of history.

Canadian Culture: A Changing Culture

Much like Scott in the previous iteration, community visual ethnographers wrestled between perspectives of "Canada past" and "Canada future" while currently being situated within Canada present; indicative to a changing Canadian culture within their culture contact zone. For example, Amy wondered, given the cultural diversity of her culture contact zone today, whether or not French was really necessary any longer. Likewise, Pookie echoed Amy's comments when he discussed the school demographics of a nearby elementary school in his community that was a French immersion school serving 90% Chinese students. This struck him as a stab at bilingualism, *"Why have English or French on there?"* he questioned. Tia also proposed that given the demographics of her culture contact zone, *"You can have different languages; you can have Mandarin, you can have Spanish. You don't need French on this part of the country."*

Lucy and Scott both submitted images of Canada's past that emphasized the importance of Canada's history in both informing and contributing to Canada's culture today. In "A History Story," Lucy noted about how each stone in the wall represented a piece of Canada's past cementing together Canada's future. While Scott looked to how our ancestors changed the face of this nation in his image, "Royal Hudson at Rest" with the unique skill-sets they brought with them, the feats of skilled labourers.

This is a picture of the impressive walls of Louisbourg, with the guards standing, welcoming us into the settlement. It is very neat, even beautiful, to see in person. Each stone serves its purpose, just as each event in Canadian history helped make Canada what it is today.

Lucy

A History Story

I love old trains. This is a piece of living Canadian History. I wanted to show the power of this historic machine. I wondered how much this locomotive could tell of the places it had been.

Scott

Royal Hudson at Rest

Community visual ethnographers also captured images of Canada's indigenous cultures and the complex history of these cultural groups that has taken place over time; identifying Canada's acculturative origins as an important part of Canadian culture. As Amy proposed in her artist statement:

> *The entire country of Canada can be considered a gathering place for Aboriginal people. Aboriginal culture and all of the issues that surround First Nations people is embedded in the larger culture of Canada. First Nations people and their culture are a huge force in every province and territory of this country. There are signs and symbols of their heritage everywhere. There are also many issues and controversies that surround Aboriginal people and their place in Canada. I would argue that the issues of land*

> *claims, residential schools etc. are just as much a part of the culture of Canada as the traditions etc. of the First Nations people.*

Abbie, Susie, James, Kevin, Natalie, Leslie and Pookie also represented aspects of Canada's indigenous people and their culture as an important defining feature of Canadian culture in their captured images presented in the collage below. Many were interested in capturing and representing the artistry of Canada's indigenous people through their various forms of artwork, as well as recognizing Canada's interest in and commitment to preserving the customs and traditions of the First Nations people as reflected in Canadian art and historic sites.

For Joey and Heather, it was not so much the history that currently defined Canadian culture for them, rather the prospective future that was captured in their image, "Young and Innocent," emphasizing the relatively young age that Canada as a nation is when compared to other countries in the world. They described the need for their country to be cared for and nurtured much the same way one nurtures a young baby during its rapid growth and development as depicted in their other image, "Development."

Young and Innocent   *Development*

Leslie, while using Lucy's image "A History Story," described during the interview how Canadian culture is like the stones in the wall building on top of each other; "*we are kind of constructing it day by day…*", whereas Susie proposed that, "*The people living in Canada are making their cultures. Different people are making Canada's culture. Different cultures making*

Canada's culture." For many of the participating community visual ethnographers, "not knowing" or "not being able to put a finger on it" represented a sense of freedom for participants as it established a context "*where we are what we want to be, that's different for everybody. Kind of like a photographer, if you're happy with it, then it's a good photograph.*"

Making Canadian Culture Visible: Summary of Thematic Findings

With over 200 ethnicities living in the Vancouver Lower Mainland, and three Lower Mainland cities reporting that more than half of their population is comprised of visible minorities (2006 Census; Richmond, 65%; Burnaby, 55%; Metro Vancouver, 51%), the Vancouver Lower Mainland is uniquely situated as a multicultural contact zone wherein a majority/minority distinction is increasingly closer to extinction.

The thematic analysis of this chapter supports a conceptualization of Canadian culture that is a reflection of this increasing diversity, while also situated and contextualized within the changing culture contact zone in which these data were captured. For the community visual ethnographers that participated in making Canadian culture visible, Canadian culture was denoted by (1) *Canada's multiple cultures*: (a) its regional cultures, both across Canada and within rural and urban British Columbia, (b) Vancouver's own cultural identity presented through an appreciation for the beauty of the natural surroundings, the diverse people living in the Lower Mainland, and the active lifestyle of persons living there; (c) participants' more personal conceptualization of their own Canadian culture; (2) *Common elements of Canadian culture* inclusive of (a) pride in being Canadian, (b) an awe and respect for Canada's landscapes and geography, and (c) a recognition of common Canadian stereotypes, icons and symbols; and

(3) a *changing Canadian culture* in participants' exploration of Canada's past, present and future.

In returning to my own guiding definition of culture articulated in chapter three, that is, *the jointly accumulated collection of artifacts (whether values, beliefs, histories, or practices) appropriated by a social group through mediational means that can be subsequently changed or reproduced as required by succeeding generations of a culture's members*, the interminable nature of culture more generally, and Canadian culture more specifically, was observed in the various texts captured by community visual ethnographers living in this culture contact zone.

In support of the notion of an evolving Canadian culture, Amy articulated how her new unit on Canadian culture for her grade five students would incorporate both perspectives on what Canadian culture means for her students situated "*in the west side of Abbotsford in a British Columbia town*," and that it would be something developed or co-constructed together as well. While other community visual ethnographers found freedom in the fact that they could not put their finger on it, and in noting that freedom, established a context "*where we are what we want to be, that's different for everybody.*" Or as Kevin articulated at the outset of this chapter, "*It's kind of like a paradox that Canada's distinct for its indistinctiveness. Like our culture is our multiculturalism.*"

Chapter 7

RESULTS PART B

Interpretative Analysis

What does the process of acculturation look like in a multicultural contact zone wherein a

majority/minority distinction is close to extinction?

I guess I probably wouldn't even realize if I was taking parts of other cultures… because

it just seems like your own because you're around it so much…because there's so many

different cultures… I think it's hard to tell where one stops influencing the other, I guess.

Monica

Culture contact zones are not static. Rather they are dynamic and interactive sites, where

cultural practices are continually challenged, contested, discovered and explored. While the

previous chapter examined the various ways that community visual ethnographers living in the

Vancouver Lower Mainland defined and articulated Canadian culture and its associated

practices, this chapter explores research participants' acculturative experiences as reciprocal,

dynamic, interminable, and above all, challenging "sites of contention" in addressing the process

of acculturation in culture contact zones within a sociocultural theoretical framework as was

outlined in chapter three. Given its diverse culture(s), as was presented by the community visual

ethnographers in this study, the culture contact zone of the Vancouver Lower Mainland provided

a promising backdrop for examining and exploring acculturative *processes* contextualized with today's "moving and mixing cultures."

Culture Contact Zones as Third Space

In building from Vygotsky's conceptualization of the zone of proximal development, social and cultural theorists have introduced the concept of third space (Bhabha, 1994; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999; Soja, 1996; Vygotsky, 1986). Portrayed as sites of contestation, tension (and contention) representing polycontextual, multivoiced and multiscripted places, I use this conceptualization of third space to both illustrate and demonstrate how members of culturally plural societies come together, though not always in harmony, to negotiate cultural practices, their cultural identities, and renegotiate them as the contexts they find themselves in continually shift and change. Analyses from the Bakhtinian text mapping are used here to illustrate how cultural practices and processes are negotiated and co-constructed by the community visual ethnographers in this study. In doing so, the acculturative process is theorized as an ongoing, complex, fluid, dynamic and mutually constitutive process involving all members of a culture contact zone.

Dichotomous Tensions

> *This is a whole can of worms, but the different ethnic people that have come to Canada, I have no problem with that. I don't care what colour they are. I don't care what language they speak, but I would like them to embrace Canada. I want them to be here because*

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they want to be a part of us and not convert us to them… I don't want it to come across

as a racial comment because it's really not… I just wish they would embrace more of our

culture. That's a frustration and a negative. Mary

To be Canadian? Hmmm, all of my information, maybe it's not very true because I'm

living here for only two years. I haven't spent lots of time with my Canadian friends but

in general, I don't know—I can give an example. One of my friends that came from

Turkey just about a month ago… We went to Tim Horton's, I said, "Oh, okay, you are

welcome to Canada." You know if I were living in Iran or Turkey for two years, I could

get more information about culture, but here I don't know why I didn't get information.

Susie

These two iterations, the first from Mary, a 46-year-old Caucasian woman born and

raised in Canada, and the second from Susie, a recently immigrated 22-year-old Iranian woman,

were both expressed when I asked participants to give advice to a hypothetical newcomer on

how best to become "Canadian" or how best to go about "integrating" into Canadian culture.

Their responses, while polarized, both serve to highlight the complexities, and at times

confusion, that is associated with living in a dynamic culture contact zone, wherein multiple

cultures are in contact, and as depicted in this dichotomy, the resulting tensions for each. For

Mary, we arguably witness a rupturing point in her decision to go ahead and "open the can of

worms" and in doing so she articulated her feelings of frustration that she is experiencing within

this third space. She finds herself confronted with "alternating and competing discourses and

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positionings" (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999) within the intercultural contact situations she participates in within her culture contact zone; situations that are creating new cultural tensions for her. In much the same way, Susie expresses frustration as a recent immigrant in her attempts to learn about Canadian culture, whereby she is left confused by the lack of information that is available to her about the new culture in which she is now situated; a problem she relays as not having when she was living in Iran and Turkey.

Throughout the interview process with both Mary and Susie, I was not only captivated by their willingness to share with me their vivid lived experiences situated within their common culture contact zone, but also by the polarity of their lived experiences as expressed in their images, artist statements and their interview narratives. Their combined texts represented core binaries of one another. Levi-Strauss demonstrated (1964, 1969) how the beliefs and ideas of a culture can be elucidated through using core binaries, and so I welcomed the opportunity to use these core binaries as a potential window into the conflicts and tensions of the larger culture contact zone in which both these women belonged in understanding how cultural processes and practices are negotiated and understood in these multicultural zones.

Dialectical Experiences of Acculturation

When Susie first submitted her images depicted above, I was admittedly perplexed as they appeared to have been copied and pasted from various Internet websites and then sent directly to me over email. Her images included a First Nation's person within the Canadian flag, the Team Canada logo for the 2010 Olympic Hockey Team, a Molson Canadian beer, a Maple leaf with a mosaic of diverse faces demarcated by the noticeable crack through the middle of the leaf, and a picture of two people standing outside of Tim Hortons. At first glance, I was frustrated a little by what I viewed to be a somewhat null effort on the part of this participant, and so I looked forward to our interview together to inquire why she had selected these five images, to which she replied:

When you told us to find five pictures about Canadian culture, I really asked one of my

friends and they told me that you can chose Tim Horton's or you can choose beer or

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hockey. But that's not culture, I told them, that's not culture…I don't know why I don't

get anything specific for Canadian culture. Except that they are busy. Maybe they don't

have one really. Susie

Her response was instructive for me for the following four reasons, (a) it seemed that she may have misunderstood my instructions as she used the phrase, *"When you told us to **find** five pictures about Canadian culture"* (emphasis on *find* versus *take* 5 pictures), (b) that the first thing she did was go and ask someone, therein engaging in a shared or co-constructed process with another individual in her culture contact zone, (c) while she decidedly rejected her friend's conclusion on what Canadian culture is in the above iteration, she nonetheless included images of the suggestions her friend gave to her, namely, beer, hockey and Tim Hortons, and lastly, (d) she ultimately provided her own personal perception she arrived at which was that Canadians are busy, and maybe don't really have a culture. As I reflected on her submitted images and her response above, a number of meaningful possibilities began to unfold. For this new immigrant to Canada, the transition process was multi-voiced (Bakhtin, 1986) in both her co-construction with her friend and the media in which she participated, multi-scripted in the official scripts and counterscripts observed (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López and Tejeda, 1999), and polysemic (Barthes, 1977) as she attempted to arrive at an understanding of Canadian culture in her new culture contact zone. As she indicated in her iteration at the start of this chapter, *"You know if I were living in Iran or Turkey for two years, I could get more information about culture, but here I don't know why I didn't get information,"* she expressed frustration with her new country's culture as she unsuccessfully seeks out information on Canada's culture and with the help of her

friend arrives at beer, hockey, multiculturalism, Tim Hortons, and First Nations people in her selected images.

While for Mary, the perceived lack of integration or "embracing" of Canadian culture on the part of newcomers within her culture contact zone was both frustrating and a negative for her. Her word choice of "convert" is interesting in its conceivable intertextual association to and metaphor for an underlying theme of a religious conversion story, where the acculturation process here is being likened to a conversion process, in this case a conversion process that she is feeling forced to participate in, "*I want them to be here because they want to be a part of us and not convert us to them.*" Mary's continual use of dichotomous/binary terms (us/them, right/wrong, insider/outsider) is suggestive of an ongoing negotiation with the multiple positionings, competing discourses, and cultural identities (Aveling & Gillespie, 2008; Hermans, 2008; O'Sullivan-Lago & de Abreu, 2010; Tajfel, 1978) of her growing culture contact zone, while also demonstrating the accompanying challenges and complexities of the acculturative process involved within this space.

In this next iteration, Mary speaks further regarding her perceived position as an outsider, as well as her son's position as a minority in his elementary school experience:

It's very hard to feel like you're the outsider and yet your ancestors built this country. That just doesn't seem right. There's something wrong with that. I think you're right. When you come to Canada, you should integrate with other Canadians. That's what they came for, right?

He [her son] came home from school crying one day. I'm like, "What is the matter?" He said, "Mom, they're all talking different languages and laughing at me," and it shocked me that my son is the minority. Because they want, the other cultures may want to cling together because I'm sure it's familiar to them and comfortable and I understand that. But if we could all integrate together it shouldn't be anybody laughing at anybody. That was really upsetting.

For both newcomer and old-timer (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in the context above, the culture contact zone of the Vancouver Lower Mainland presents as a site of ongoing intercultural contact wherein multiple competing discourses and practices are being challenged, contested, negotiated and managed at some level. Mary, a 'former' majority culture member, must now confront her perceived position as a cultural minority within the country 'her' ancestors built, while Susie unsuccessfully (according to her) seeks out information on her new culture's practices in her attempt to integrate into Canadian culture. For both these participants this process can result in articulated feelings of frustration, confusion, shock and at times, anger.

Intergenerational Perspectives

When I asked other participants the same hypothetical scenario, that is to provide advice to a hypothetical newcomer that is arriving to Canada tomorrow on how best to become "Canadian," or how best to integrate into "Canadian culture" an intergenerational theme was also observed in the data, both in the kinds of advice provided and in how the advice was provided.

The prominent theme of advice to newcomers for younger participants (i.e., participants under 26) was that of open-mindedness. As Joey articulated, "*You have to be open-minded, for*

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sure… as soon as you step out of your door, you have to be very open minded", while Abbie

advised to, "*Be yourself and accept other people's right to do the same.*" For Natalie trying a

variety of things was important advice, "*Instead of being with your own traditional views, I*

guess you could just try a little bit of everything and it's kind of hard." While Heather, in

questioning her peers' advice, articulated:

> *I don't think you necessarily—if you're immigrating here I don't think you even*
>
> *necessarily have to have an open mind about adapting to different cultures. I think you*
>
> *can just come here with whatever culture you've grown up with and you'll fit right in*
>
> *because it is so multicultural and you can pretty much find any area that you will fit into.*

Given the diversity of her culture contact zone, according to Heather's iteration above, an

immigrant could potentially move to her culture contact zone and "*fit right in because it is so*

multicultural."

For the older participants in the study (i.e., those over 50), Bakhtinian polyphony seemed

to be vocalized in the advice provided to newcomers on how to become "Canadian" through the

allusions they chose to use within their advice. For example, Scott in response to the question

articulated his view in four words, "*Don't come by boat.*" Although only four words, his

iteration becomes especially meaningful if understood in its potentially larger reference to illegal

immigration, and the 500 + illegal immigrants from China that attempted to enter Canada's

border via boat on Canada's West Coast in 1999. While Pookie's message to newcomers was

one of "*respect for what you are coming to,*" he conceivably framed his message in reference to

the widely known illegal fishing practices that have occurred where sturgeon, an endangered

species, are being served-up on plates in Vancouver restaurants, "*Be respectful of the fact that the sturgeon are catch and release, don't sneak them into an East Vancouver restaurant in the back of your truck.*" James opted to voice his message to newcomers in the form of a question with wider implications, "*What I don't understand is people that move here and want exactly what they left. Why this? Why move? In particular if they're bringing all the problems that they had back there and transplanting them here.*" While James does not overtly reference *all the problems* he was referring to, his iteration could arguably speak to a number of immigration issues that Vancouver continues to grapple with, the ongoing gang problems that arrived at Vancouver's doorstep with the Triads in the 80's and continue to be problematic in 2011, or perhaps the lack of perceived 'assimilation' of Canada's immigrants to the 'Canadian way of life' inclusive of learning the language as James later added, "*If I were moving, I would try to take on, learn, whatever you want, that country's culture or important aspects, certainly try the language.*"

For these older Canadians, their adept use of allusion in their advice provided to newcomers may be both indicative and representative of their own marked cultural literacy of their culture contact zone; for an allusion is understandable only to those with prior knowledge of its reference. Therefore, its interpretation is dependent upon the readers' or listeners' cultural repertoire, which Barker (2008) proposes to be differentially distributed along lines of class, gender, nationality, etc. With this in mind, I wondered to whom the advice was intended for? In their choice of words, the advice provided seemingly becomes unavailable to the newcomer who would presumably lack much of the cultural competency and contextualized knowledge to

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understand its referent. To whom was this advice meant to be helpful to then? Was the advice meant for me? Was it meant for the potential readers or audiences of this research study? What was the purpose of the advice?

The Negotiation of Multiple Cultural Planes

The younger community visual ethnographers participating in the study noticeably responded with more discernible advice, more readily interpretable for a newcomer as the intent of the advice was at least more evident. Their discussion around themes of "mixing in," "becoming a lot of things," "being open-minded," "acceptance," and "trying a little bit of everything" seems like advice from someone with experience living and negotiating multiple cultural planes. Their immersion in and ties to the cultural, institutional, and historical settings (Vygotsky, 1978) of their diverse culture contact zone since birth, I propose, have helped to shape and provide the cultural tools necessary to be master negotiators of their culture contact zone. Earlier literature on the notion of cultural frame switching (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000) and more recent literature around multiple identities (Hermans, 2008) argues that individuals can possess multiple cultural identities and engage in active cultural frame switching in which they move or switch between different cultural meaning systems in response to situational/context cues and demands. Kevin, a 22 year old first generation Canadian of mixed heritage (Indian and African) reflected on how he is "living on two planes" dependent upon the context in which he finds himself, with his family or with his friends:

> *I'm kind of like on both their planes. Like I feel like it varies within the context. If I'm*
> *with my traditional family, then I feel like I'm totally not in touch with it because I'm so*

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different from them. But when I'm with my friends, who are all multicultural I feel closer to my own culture just because they're all different and I can see the difference between me and them. But with my family, my traditional family, I feel like I've totally lost touch with my culture. Yeah, when I go to visit my traditional family, but then with my friends I feel like I'm in touch with it because they're all kind of just like me. They all have their culture but they're all Canadian. I kind of feel like I'm more in touch with my culture when I'm with them than with my own family, ironically enough.

For Kevin, he feels more in touch with his heritage culture when he is with his friends of differing cultural backgrounds, while when he is situated with his traditional family, he feels out of touch with his heritage culture.

In her image and artist statement she submitted, Abbie portrayed her strong affinity for her own heritage culture but uses her Swiss friend as the exemplar of how "ethnic blood is

The man cloaked in a Swiss flag is Canadian. During the Olympics' he cheered for Switzerland. For some Canadians ethnic blood is thicker than Canadian water. I don't think that being Canadian has ever been about forgetting where you came from.

Abbie

thicker than Canadian water." In her interview, Abbie described how the context is important in how she describes herself culturally:

> *When I travel and people ask me my nationality I always say Canadian and I do a lot of traveling. I'll always say that I'm Canadian. When I'm here and somebody kind of asks me like I never say Canadian. I always say Italian. It's kind of funny I guess.*

Similarly, for Lucy, the multicultural structure of Canada plays a role in how she identifies herself culturally. While considering herself to be Canadian, when asked by others she says she is 100% Finnish,

> *It's funny, when people ask me, I consider myself Canadian but because of my heritage and because of the way Canada is structured, its multicultural society, that I say I am 100% Finnish… I am kind of proud of that I guess so I identify with Finns but then like I said I consider myself Canadian. That's me.*

While for Monica the cultural boundaries are blurred where she thinks of her Canadian identity as a "*mishmash of everything almost it seems like.*"

> *I guess I probably wouldn't even realize if I was taking parts of other cultures… because it just seems like your own because you're around it so much…because there's so many different cultures… I think it's hard to tell where one stops influencing the other, I guess. You can definitely see like if someone moves here from another country… If they come from Asia, they will eat with chopsticks. That's just like a basic example. Then there's a lot of people here who do because they can eat with chopsticks and will go out and do that. They go for sushi and they can and will do that. It's part of our culture now…*

Culture contact zones, in their polycontextuality, multivocality and multiscriptedness are theorized here as *third space* (see Bhabha, 1994; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999; Soja, 1996). Negotiating members hold disparate cultural repertoires that are differentially distributed in accordance with the cultural capital, defined as the accumulated knowledge that confers power and status (Bourdieu, 1986) that they hold. The learning of cultural practices, or the acculturation process, as a result is imbedded within these disparities, asymmetries, and power differences (Aveling & Gillespie, 2008; Bhatia, 2002; Bhatia & Ram, 2009), and as observed, how members can opt to exercise this cultural capital. Cultural identities are articulated as multiple, and at times, competing identities that are invariably situated and contingent upon their multiple, and often overlapping contexts (Baumann, 1996). While cultural practices, like the use of chopsticks, in their reciprocity and adoption by those living in culture contact zones are described as blurred, where "*it's hard to tell where one stops influencing the other.*"

Third Space as a Transformative Space

As discussed in earlier chapters, Bhabha (1994) and other third space theorists (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999; Soja, 1996) have conceptualized third space as a productive culturally hybrid space in which competing knowledges and discourses are brought into dialogue, and in doing so challenge and reshape cultural practices by participating members. In the iteration that follows I get a glimpse into this negotiation process at work within this third space as four participants' wrestle in coming to terms with what exactly is Canadian food when

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James raises the question of whether or not anyone has ever eaten at a Canadian restaurant abroad.

> James: I don't know, I think you know, we were talking about restaurants and you go away somewhere and you can go and you can have American food, you can have Japanese, you can have Korean, has anyone ever gone to a Canadian restaurant?
>
> Amy: Exactly. Right.
>
> Tia: North American.
>
> James: No! Canadian.
>
> Scott: No. Canadian. There is no Canadian.
>
> Tia: That's the thing—
>
> James: What is it? It isn't.
>
> Tia: Canadian is North American.
>
> Scott: No.
>
> James: So I think to me that sort of speaks in there, I mean I know there's things, we've all come up with things, that for us, for me individually and some communally give us an idea as to what Canada is but I had to go back to the dictionary and I said, "What the hell is culture?" So I took a look, now can I take a picture of this? It is I guess what we are talking about; it's not where I started from.

In this iteration, these four participants animatedly grappled with the topic of Canadian food, and in doing so allowed me to observe the negotiation of cultural practices in this heated process to

the point where James articulated a need to go to the dictionary to look up the meaning of culture in his attempt to come to a decision of what to capture in his images of Canadian culture. While in this next iteration, Amy wondered aloud if the festival Diwali, a five-day religious holiday in other parts of world, was a Canadian cultural practice while she simultaneously introduced, "*the great debate*" which she defined as "*about how much to expect immigrants to assimilate:*"

> *What is Canadian culture? The festival Diwali, is that part of Canadian culture? Well at my school on November 5*th *it sure is going to be because they're all Canadians and we are going to be partying it up because that's what they're celebrating at home. When it comes time for Christmas it's really difficult because a lot of them don't celebrate Christmas. But we still do the carols and we expose them to it because I think that they should know, they live in Canada, they should know about other cultures so that to me is one of the big debates. How much, how much?*

Tia also articulated a resulting tension in the more recent questioning of keeping Christmas as a national holiday given Canada's multicultural sensitivity:

> *The question is how far back is the government going to push back some say traditions that we would have had before people started—they say, oh we don't want to offend anyone or oh we—how medium, how tepid is the water going to stay and how many more— for example, Christmas Day was a day that people fought for to get off originally so that they could spend time with their families. We've had that for so long, but now people who don't celebrate Christmas are trying to force it to be a working day again,*

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which for a lot of us who do celebrate Christmas becomes a problem because this is our day off, our day to spend with family or however we chose to celebrate it. There are still those who do celebrate it.

While Susie, a newcomer to Canada, frustrated by her inability to find information about the culture that she recently moved into, asked her friend for help:

You know if I were living in Iran or Turkey for two years, I could get more information about culture but here I don't know why I didn't get any information. When you told us to find five pictures about Canadian culture, I really asked one of my friends and they told me that you can chose Tim Horton's or you can chose beer or hockey, but that's not culture. I told them, that's not culture... I don't know why I didn't get anything specific for Canadian culture. Except that they are busy. Maybe they don't have one really... Maybe there is or maybe there isn't any specific culture; or maybe because it's multiple culture, there isn't any specific culture, I don't know.

As participants struggled to negotiate Canada's culture and shared cultural practices during the interview, points of contention, frustration and debate were poignant in their conversations, both with each other, and with those they associated with in this intercultural contact situation illustrating how third spaces become transformative spaces as competing knowledges and discourses challenge and reshape cultural practices through dialogue (Monzó & Rueda, 2006).

Chapter 8

DISCUSSION

This is real, this is lived,

This is not an arrow from A→B,

This is about what lies in-between.

These are the "Voices of the Mind,"

So rare someone takes the time to find.

And so I answer in the way I can,

through the discourses that we share.

Their voices never leave my head,

Their faces never leave my heart.

As we co-construct together these texts,

I wonder where they will lead us next.

This dissertation has explored many things. It not only has discussed the timely need for

acculturation researchers to include "majority" culture members in gaining a more complete and

nuanced understanding of the acculturation phenomenon, but is also about how persons living

within culture contact zones, where this distinction is nearing extinction, experience and talk

about culture with others. It has made use of innovative approaches in capturing their

acculturative experiences through their own lens, while simultaneously acting as representatives

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of the larger social concerns of their culture contact zone in their interdependency to their culture, history and society (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986) and in their texts' multivocality (Bakhtin, 1986, 1990). This final chapter serves to weave together the findings of this dissertation as they relate to theoretical, methodological and resulting implications they have for future acculturation scholarship. In doing so, I challenge prevailing theoretical and methodological orientations while considering new directions for acculturation scholars in exploring this multifaceted phenomenon. Lastly, I explore how today's moving and mixing cultures requires a new level of citizenship for tomorrow's world.

As has been gleaned from the community visual ethnographers that participated in this research, culture contact zones present both numerable and interminable opportunities for acculturative experiences in their diversity and their hybridity for all cultural members. Chapter six presented defining features of Canadian culture as was captured and conceptualized by the diverse Canadians living within the culture contact zone of the Vancouver Lower Mainland that participated in this study. Their expressed difficulty in capturing "Canadian" culture within this multicultural contact zone potentially speaks to the caveats Appadurai (2001) recognized in the rising challenge of "nation-states to nationalize" given today's vast cultural flows. For example, Canada's ideoscape (global flow of ideologies; Appadurai, 1996) of multiculturalism fostered by its Federal Government endeavors to "recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society," while also promoting "the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the

elimination of any barrier to that participation" (Canadian Multiculturalism Act). While Canada's multicultural policy aims to recognize and promote Canada's culture as diverse, with full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins (an official script), the lived reality of this policy as experienced by those living in Canada can be challenging as observed in participants' counterscripts (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999). As Mary articulated in decidely opening the whole can of worms, the lived reality of this policy is challenging as multiple cultures in contact come together to negotiate "Canada's" cultural practices. In doing so, they begin to inform how these evolving practices will continue to shape and transform a rapidly growing Canadian society through acculturation processes, as has been described and contextualized throughout this dissertation.

Increased cultural plurality presents new challenges for the study of acculturation as when Culture B is not easily articulated even among its longtime members, what must a newcomer acculturate to? What must they integrate? The polyphony of voices in this research represent these complexities as experienced by those living within the Vancouver Lower Mainland contact zone. An ongoing negotiation of many "Canadian" cultural practices was observed within their co-constructed texts. Experienced tensions around language, food, observed holidays, curriculum taught in schools, history, and assimilation and integration were exposed, contested, explored, challenged and negotiated by community visual ethnographers in their various texts, therein permitting an opportunity to begin to "see" how an acculturation process in culture contact zones unfolds. As witnessed throughout chapters six and seven, culture contact zones are not static. Rather they are dynamic and interactive sites, where cultural

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practices are being continually challenged, contested, discovered, explored, and as expressed by the community visual ethnographers in their texts, can be both wonderful and difficult "places" and "spaces" to be.

Chapter seven explored how culture contact zones can be conceptualized as third space in addressing the acculturation process utilizing a sociocultural framework in theorizing third space as a zone of proximal development. In doing so, it demonstrated some of the articulated challenges associated with living in these zones and how mediation and appropriation transfer and transform cultural practices within these third spaces through shared discourses. Much like zones of proximal development, third spaces are not necessarily equitable spaces. Issues of power and asymmetry can be pervasive, and were demonstrated in the old-timers (Lave & Wenger, 1991) advice to newcomers where cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) was decisively exercised in their responses, and in doing so the advice offered was arguably out of reach for a newcomer, but understood in its intertextual association for the old-timers of this culture contact zone.

However through mediation and the use of cultural tools, new immigrants like Susie come to learn the culture of her new culture contact zone, even when this culture is not easily identifiable or understood. Through the use of cultural tools like the internet, Susie discussed how she was able to Google Canadian culture, and then subsequently began a co-construction and negotiation of her findings with those in her culture contact zone. However this has not been an easy negotiation process given the cultural diversity of her culture contact zone as she challenges the official scripts obtained in her co-construction with her friend while countering

her friend's suggestions of Tim Hortons, beer and hockey, saying, "*that's not culture.*" Nonetheless she submitted images of her friend's recommendations of Canadian culture, once again demonstrating the multiscripted nature of this third space.

Nor has this rapidly increasing cultural diversity been an easy process to negotiate for those who were born in Canada many years ago, whose ancestors helped build Canada, that now find themselves lost within the cultural mosaic, and at times negotiating their long held cultural practices and traditions. As Mary described in her attempt to help her son navigate through a new school where he is the cultural minority and where English is not the most commonly spoken language on the playground, as James described himself culturally as, "*Canadian, whatever that might be*", as Tia wondered how far the Canadian government would push back on long time Canadian traditions like celebrating Christmas, and as Pookie questioned whether a French immersion school serving 90 percent Chinese speakers was a stab at bilingualism, these participants portrayed how acculturation processes are not only relevant to "dominant" cultural members within this multicultural contact zone, but also how these sites bring new cultural tensions that must be negotiated at some level.

While for many younger Canadians in the study, born more recently into and raised within the diversity of their culture contact zone, living and negotiating multiple cultural planes has been, and continues to be, a part of their lived experience since birth. Their immersion in and ties to the cultural, institutional, and historical settings (Vygotsky, 1978) of their diverse multi-cultural contact zone since birth have helped to shape and provide the cultural tools necessary to become master negotiators of this culture contact zone. Much like the agentic second generation

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Turkish adolescents in Aveling and Gillespie's (2008) study in their ability to appropriate the necessary cultural resources to enact a novel and hybridized identity, the young community visual ethnographer's in this dissertation articulated how their cultural identity was both situated and contingent upon the multiple and interconnected sociocultural contexts they find themselves in; between family and friends, homeland and hostland, and at times, simply (or not so simply) blurred (Aveling & Gillespie, 2008; Back, 1996) exemplifying the polycontextual nature of this third space.

Regardless of their position within their culture contact zone, all members living within these zones become "carriers" of the sociocultural patterns and knowledge of their culture contact zone in their appropriation of the sociocultural patterns and knowledge of their contact zone (Smolka, De Goes, & Pino, 1995). However, they do so differentially, always situated in a macro context influenced by historical and political issues of racism, gender, imperialism, and power (Bhatia, 2002). With this in mind, the acculturation process becomes a reflection of these characteristics embedded within the culture contact zone or third space.

Challenges to the Prevailing Approaches to Acculturation

With this understanding in mind, this dissertation presents challenges to the prevailing approach to acculturation research in several domains: (1) theoretically, (2) methodologically, and (3) politically. Challenges within each of these three domains will be considered before turning to a discussion on the imminent challenges culture contact zones present in preparing tomorrow's global citizens given today's moving and mixing cultures.

Theoretical Challenges

As has been articulated, all members living within culture contact zones, regardless of their position within it, become "carriers" of the sociocultural patterns and knowledge of their culture contact zone in their appropriation of the sociocultural patterns and knowledge of their contact zone (Smolka, De Goes, & Pino, 1995). However, as was observed they do so differentially, always situated in a macro context (Bhatia, 2002). With this in mind, the acculturation process becomes a reflection of these characteristics embedded within the culture contact zone or third space. Using this we can begin to consider alternative theoretical frameworks that posit acculturation within alternative discourses that are culture-inclusive, that comprehend an acculturation phenomenon as diverse as those experiencing it, and that realize that acculturation processes are reciprocal, contested, interminable, dynamic, fluid and contextual. When considering this, the fourfold acculturation model as expressed by Berry does not capture the nuances of the acculturation phenomenon and therein is challenged on multiple grounds: (1) that acculturation processes affect only newcomers, (2) that integration is something that is achieved by newcomers (or old-timers for that matter), and (3) that acculturation processes are universal, i.e., the psychological processes that operate during acculturation are essentially the same, therein reminding us that the methods employed to date fall short in taking into account the complexities of the acculturation phenomenon observed in the texts presented by the community visual ethnographer's participating in this study. Berry's model misses the continual traversing between the four strategies (if these four strategies in fact exist at all), the contexts in which this occurs, and the implications of this traversing to the cultural identities of persons living in

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Canada, and therein to a Canadian national identity. As Ishiyama stated (personal communication, 2012) there is cultural ambivalence occurring in these spaces.

Methodological Challenges

The use of a qualitative methodology in this dissertation in studying acculturation initiated a repositioning of acculturation research back within its historical anthropological roots, while making use of new cultural tools to explore this process. It also addresses Davis, Nakayama and Martin's (2000) call for new approaches for the study of acculturation phenomenon that are grounded in history, grounded in the larger social conditions and contexts, be fluid and dynamic and be based on lived experiences. In using a collaborative visual ethnographic approach to understanding acculturation I was able to take a snapshot of the lived experiences as captured by those living within this diverse contact zone, and begin to gain an understanding of the acculturation process in how they negotiated Canada's culture and cultural practices together. In using both a thematic (content) and interpretative (close) analyses of the captured texts, these texts took on additional meaning as they were understood as social texts in their multivocality and interdependency reflecting the polyphony of voices situated within the culture contact zone in which they were captured. That is, these texts became "expressions less of [my participants'] individual concerns and understandings than of the larger social concerns and understandings that get articulated by and through individuals as they speak (Tobin, 2000, p. 19). In this way, the various texts captured by community ethnographers became co-constructed texts in their texts' multivocality and situated interdependency.

In taking this approach to understanding the acculturation phenomenon I decidedly took a departure from the more positivistic approaches that have defined the study of acculturation to date. Moreover, my decision to engage old-timers in an examination of acculturation processes was an entry point into a consideration of a reciprocal acculturation process within a diverse culture contact zone. Given today's moving and mixing cultures, acculturation processes are inclusive.

Political Challenges: Post-multiculturalism in Canada

As stated at the outset of this dissertation, given Canada's policy of multiculturalism Canadians have both the challenge and the opportunity to embrace new cultures and to further enhance our cultural awareness and cultural understanding of others. However, the lived reality of this policy as experienced by those living in Canada is challenging as multiple cultures in contact come together to continually negotiate "Canada's" culture as they seek out their place and space within the cultural mosaic.

In a recent report, *The current state of multiculturalism in Canada and research themes on Canadian multiculturalism 2008 - 2010*, Kymlicka (2010) presented 10 proposed research themes or areas for consideration around multiculturalism in Canada based on the recommendations of six regional reports. The authors of the six regional reports conducted both literature reviews and interviews to help identify appropriate research themes for the 2008–2010 period. One common proposed research theme represented across all six regions was around the long-term prognosis for multiculturalism as a concept or model, and "whether inherited ideas of

multiculturalism need to be replaced with new, post-multicultural approaches in an era of "hyper-diversity'" (Kymlicka, 2010, p. 24).

Though multiculturalism in Canada is widely seen as having made important contributions, domestic and international circumstances are rapidly changing as have been conveyed throughout this dissertation. With this realization of these larger or "big-picture trends" in mind, it was proposed in this report that specific attention needs to be paid to research questions around (a) the emergence of "hyper-diversity" in which ethnic and religious diversity no longer arises primarily or exclusively from permanently settled citizens, but also from growing numbers of people with various legal statuses and degrees of attachment and residence, ranging from highly mobile globe-trotting professionals to unskilled migrant workers on repeat temporary work permits. What does multiculturalism mean in this context?; and (b) the impact of international debates and trends regarding multiculturalism on the situation in Canada given the clear backlash against multiculturalism in several countries around the world, most notably in Western Europe, but also arguably in the U.S. and Australia (Kymlicka, 2010). It is my hope that this dissertation is an entrance into discussing aspects of (a) or issues around "hyper-diversity" and how this hyper-diversity introduces additional complexities to multiculturalism in Canada and to the acculturation experience of those persons living within this hyper-diversity; articulated within this dissertation as culture contact zones. What does multiculturalism mean in this context and how does hyper-diversity play a role in comprehending an acculturation experience as diverse as those experiencing it?

The polyphony of voices represented in this research through the multivocality of the various texts captured by participants begin to address these complexities as experienced by those living within the Vancouver Lower Mainland culture contact zone. Culture contact zones are not static. Rather they are dynamic and interactive sites, where cultural practices are being continually challenged, contested, discovered, explored, and as expressed by participants in their texts, can be both wonderful and difficult "places" and "spaces" to be.

In regards to (b) or the impact of international debates and trends regarding multiculturalism occurring predominantly in Europe, but also within Australia and the U.S., Kymlicka (2010) reports that multiculturalism has been blamed for a variety of social ills promoting:

- the residential ghettoization and social isolation of immigrants (Cantle Report 2001, as cited in Kymlicka, 2010);

- increased stereotyping, and hence prejudice and discrimination between ethnic groups (Sniderman & Hagendoorn 2007, as cited in Kymlicka, 2010);

- political radicalism, particularly among Muslim youth; and

- the perpetuation of illiberal practices among immigrant groups, often involving restricting the rights and liberties of girls and women (Wikan 2002, as cited in Kymlicka, 2010).

Kymlicka (2010) reports that critics of multiculturalism have proposed that these identified problems have been worsening since the 1980s but were ignored due to,

… the naïve and indeed pernicious ideology of multiculturalism, which assumed that it was somehow "natural" that society should be divided into separate and disconnected ethnic groups, each with its own territorial space, political values and cultural traditions. As a result, European societies were "sleepwalking to segregation," leading to an ethnic crisis. (p. 12)

While it may be somewhat premature to think that Canada is sleepwalking to an ethnic crisis, this study's results indicated that at least for these 18 persons that gave voice to some of the challenges associated with living within this multi-cultural contact zone, their experiences served to highlight the need to pay closer attention to the lived reality of the policy and the difficulty, at times, it presents for people living in these multicultural zones as they negotiate multiple cultures in contact. More recently, after sharing a conference paper I wrote with my participants based within this work, Pookie shared the following with me in an email:

Congratulations on a provocative piece of work that I believe accurately reflects the ongoing (and "interminable") quest for a national state of mind that is minimally content with its current holdings.

Pookie's comment resonated for me Kymlicka's report. And so I wondered how this quest for a national state of mind that Pookie is referencing, and Canada's policy of multiculturalism will play out in this third space as multiple and competing discourses come together to negotiate Canada's culture, and how the Vancouver Lower Mainland in its cultural diversity, will play a role in that negotiation given its minimal contentment with its current holdings.

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Culture Contact Zones: Imminent Challenges for Acculturation Researchers

As we consider the future of multiculturalism in Canada, we must consider how an increasingly diverse Canada affects all its cultural members. Acculturation processes are not exclusive to minority culture members, and within culture contact zones like the Vancouver Lower Mainland, these processes are intensified as multiple competing discourses, positionings, and cultural practices are continually being contested as the moving and mixing of Canada's multiple cultures continues to grow. In 2008 Banks stated:

> Global immigration and the increasing diversity in nation-states throughout the world challenge liberal assimilationist conceptions of citizenship. They raise complex and divisive questions about how nation-states can deal effectively with the problem of constructing civic communities that reflect and incorporate the diversity of citizens and yet have an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all citizens of a nation-state are committed. (p.130)

The results of this dissertation highlighted the complexities of this culture/citizenship divide (Ladson-Billings, 2004) where some overarching shared values and ideals were identified (ex. pride, Canada's backyard, and common Canadian icons and stereotypes) in the thematic analysis, while some significant challenges in negotiating Canada's shared cultural practices given the diversity of citizens within this culture contact zone were prominent themes articulated within the interpretative analysis. As I reflect on these issues, two prominent roles in my own life come to mind, parent and educator. How are we to shape the upcoming generations of Canadians to be prepared to live in tomorrow's cultural world given today's pace of change?

Preparing Tomorrow's Global Citizens

In 1995 Kymlicka proposed that "the world's 184 independent states contain over 600 living language groups and 5,000 ethnic groups. In very few countries can the citizens be said to share the same language, or belong to the same ethnonational group" (p. 1). As national boundaries continue to erode as millions of people live in several nations or hold multiple citizenships (Bank, 2008), the need for *deep citizens* (Clarke, 1996, as cited in Banks, 2008) continues to grow where deep citizens,

> both in the operation of [his or her] own life and in some of its parameters…[is] conscious of acting in and into a world shared with others…[and is] conscious that the identity of self and the identity of others is co-related and co-creative, while also opening up the possibility of both engagement in and enchantment with the world. (p. 136)

These words resonated very strongly given the texts captured and shared by the community visual ethnographers within this study. How are we to foster *deep citizens* prepared to be both *engaged in and enchanted with the world*?

Culturally relevant pedagogy. Banks (2008) has argued that "students need to develop the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that will enable them to function in a global society" (p. 132), while Journell and Castro (2011) more recently articulated, "The dynamic of teaching and learning is a political undertaking in which students bring with them social and cultural experiences into the classroom" (p. 10). With both these things in mind culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995) and/or culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2000, 2002) that

are contextualized within the social and cultural experiences of students becomes imperative in today's school classrooms in preparing tomorrow's global and deep citizens.

Multicultural education scholars have emphasized the need for culturally relevant pedagogy. Growing out of a need to recognize the myriad of ways in which culture affects learning and how best to cultivate meaningful education experiences for all students, culturally relevant pedagogy recognizes that for students to be successful they need to make connections to things that are familiar to them (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Journell & Castro, 2011). Siwatu (2007) recommended four areas around how "to do" culturally relevant pedagogy including:

1. Using students' cultural knowledge (e.g., culturally familiar scenarios, examples, and vignettes) experiences, prior knowledge, and individual learning preferences as a conduit to facilitate the teaching-learning process (curriculum and instruction);

2. Incorporating students' cultural orientations to design culturally compatible classroom environments (classroom management);

3. Providing students with multiple opportunities to demonstrate what they have learned using a variety of assessment techniques (students assessment); and

4. Providing students with the knowledge and skills needed to function in mainstream culture while simultaneously helping students maintain their cultural identity, native language, and connection to their cultural (cultural enrichment and competence). (p. 1086-1087).

I propose that teachers engaged in using culturally relevant pedagogies are a starting place in the development of global citizens. In drawing on culturally familiar scenarios and prior knowledge

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contextualized within the everyday experiences student bring, teachers help students make

meaningful connections between the official scripts and the counterscripts students are

confronted with (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999). As Michie (2009) proposed,

> Some educators would shudder at the thought of using Marcia Brady or Al Bundy as
>
> subjects of serious study. But in many ways, the 'texts' of which these characters are a
>
> part are richer and more multilayered than the textbooks and basal readers that clutter
>
> classroom shelves (p. 104).

By inviting the cultural tensions experienced by students into the classroom in ways that students

can make meaningful connections with, much like the community visual ethnographers that

participated in this research, the opportunity for co-constructions open within this third space

wherein "alternating and competing discourses and positionings transform conflict and

difference into rich zones of collaboration and learning" (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, &

Tejeda, 1999, p. 286); once again illustrating the potential of third space as transformative space.

However Banks (2008) cautions that while transformative and democratic classrooms can foster

cooperation promoting positive interracial interactions and deliberations and help students

acquire the knowledge, values and skills needed to become deep citizens, if students from

different racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds are mixed in contact situations without

structured interventions that create equal-status conditions, then racial and ethnic conflict and

stereotyping are likely to increase; a caution I propose can be extended beyond the classroom

scenario that Banks has described to the wider culture contact zone that these students are also a

part.

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With this in mind, I am reminded of the importance of Amy's promise that she made during our interview together where she situates her students learning within the various contexts and cultural materials that her students identify with in co-constructing together a conceptualization of Canadian culture:

And for me, I really am going to take that unit from 1990 something, I am. I am going to start at their level, the kids level, the kids who live in the west side of Abbotsford in a British Columbia town, at their level and work up to develop— I think we will be developing it together. Come up with our own symbols and things like that and see what we come up with at the end.

Amy's promise also ties into a scenario whereby Denoux (1994) considers the potential educational implications an understanding of acculturation as a co-construction of culture could have within culturally plural classroom contexts illustrated through a simple story. Bearing in mind the three acculturation Figures (1, 2, 3) from chapter one as a backdrop, does a teacher working in a culturally plural classroom in planning a story unit curriculum for her students choose a story him/herself from his/her own culture and have the students work from within this chosen story? Or, does the teacher ask each student to bring a back a story from his or her own culture of origin and discuss and share the cultural differences associated within these stories? Or, does the teacher propose to his/her students to create or construct a story together starting from the cultural materials that they each possess (Denoux, 1994)? As we consider the scenario proposed by Denoux we must be ever mindful of the implications each of the three options have

as we continue to co-construct a multicultural Canada and its accompanying cultural practices while fostering the global citizens of tomorrow given today's challenging global scapes (Appadurai,1996, 2001).

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Appendix A: Artist Statement Template

Making Canadian Culture Visible

Thank you again for your willingness to participate! Below is a template to assist you in writing your artist statements to accompany your images of Canadian culture. Each image that you would like to use for the study should have an artist statement to help me in interpreting the image and why it is important to you. Remember I would like a **minimum of 5 images and artist statements per participant**, but **no more than 10.** Also, you can work with a partner/group that has also signed up for the study and collaborate together or co-construct together your images and artist statements of Canadian culture.

Please remember that I am not concerned with the photographic techniques behind the picture (lighting, aperture, shutter speed etc.). You can even take the pictures with your cell phone camera! I am more interested in learning the "story" behind your captured picture/image. I want to understand how you think about Canadian culture or your own Canadian identity and how the image that you captured plays a role in that relationship.

I will bring my laptop computer with me to your class during the week of the 11th of October so I can download your selected images and artist statements off your memory card or USB memory stick (i.e. Tues eve class on the 12th and M/W classes on the 13th).   Alternately, you can always email your photos and artist statements to me. Below you will find the template for your artist statements. You can print it off and bring the statements into me the week of the 11th or just email them to me with your images by the **13th of October (deadline).**

Note: Please **title your image and accompanying artist statement with the same name** so I can connect the two files. Please also include your name/pseudo name in the file name as well; (Name-Title): (ex. Lisa-Solitude).

Title of Picture:

_____

Date captured:

_____

Artist/Photographer:

_____

Group Name:

_____

1) Why did you choose to capture this image? How is it representative of Canadian culture from your vantage point?

2) What did you want to express through this photo? OR What message do you wish to convey to viewers through this photo?

3) What or how were you feeling when you took this picture?

4) Where was this photo taken? Who (if anyone) is in this photo?

Appendix B: Letter of Explanation

<div align="center">

PARTICIPANT LETTER OF EXPLANATION
The University of British Columbia
Douglas College
Making Canadian Culture Visible

</div>

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your consideration in being a part of Ms. Colling's research study for her Doctoral dissertation, *Making Canadian Culture Visible*. Your participation will assist in understanding how Canadians perceive and understand their culture in an area like the Vancouver Lower Mainland where there are multiple cultures in contact. It will help in *making Canadian culture visible* for Canadians through the photographs that you will take/create as a part of the study.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you can decide to stop participating at any time. Leaving the study will not have any effect on you. No names will be put in the dissertation or other publications. All names will be changed. Every effort will be made to exclude identifying information from publications and within the dissertation.

As part of this study, the researcher will be placing participants (you) into groups of 3-4 people for a collaborative photography project that you will participate in throughout your 5-week course at Douglas College. You will also be asked to write brief artist statements to assist the researcher in interpreting your photographs that you will be taking with your group members. Lastly, each group will be interviewed for approximately one hour by the researcher to help the researcher learn more about how your group decided to "capture" Canadian culture. The group interview will be audio taped so that the researcher can be certain that your responses are recorded correctly.

 As a thank you for your willingness to participate, participants will be entered into a draw for a prize; a canvas print of a personal image of your choice (like the one the researcher showed you) worth approximately $100.00.

The researcher will also provide you an informed consent that answers further questions about the study. It will need to be signed in order for you to be a part of the study.

If you have other questions or want more information, please contact Lisa Colling at or Dr. Ishu Ishiyama.

In appreciation,

Lisa Colling and Dr. Ishu Ishiyama

PARTICIPANT-GROUP INTERVIEW

Making Canadian Culture Visible

Demographics:

1a) How long has each of you lived in Canada? How long have each of you lived in the Vancouver Lower Mainland area?

1b) If you weren't born in Canada, when did you come to Canada? Did you come to the Vancouver Lower Mainland first, or did you come from another part of Canada?

1c) What languages do each of you speak?

1d) How does each of you identify yourself culturally?   Has this changed at all as a result of participating in this study? If so, what aspects have changed?

1e) How old are each of you?

1f) What do each of you like most about living in the Vancouver Lower Mainland? What do each of you like least about living in the Vancouver Lower Mainland?

The Co-construction of culture:

2a) Overall, how did the group project go?

2b) Did you ever arrive at a definition, conceptualization or idea of what is *Canadian culture* for your group? Tell me more about this definition/conceptualization/idea.   How did your group come to arrive at this definition/conceptualization/idea?   How is this conceptualization represented in

your group's work (i.e. within your images photographed and artist statements written)?

2c) What were some of the greatest challenges/obstacles for your group in "capturing" Canadian culture using images? Were you able to overcome these challenges and obstacles? If so, how? If not, what prevented you from overcoming your groups' challenges and obstacles that you faced?

2d) How did your group decide on what to include or exclude in your images of Canadian culture? How are your artist statements a reflection of the images taken?

2e) How was your experience working on this project as a group? Do you think exploring Canadian culture as a group was different than if I had asked you to do the project individually (on your own)? If so, describe how? If not, why not?

Melting Pots and/or Cultural Mosaics:

3a) Given the diversity of your group's members (i.e., race/ethnicity, ages, sex/gender), how did this diversity influence your group's conceptualization/ideas of Canadian culture?

3b) Did any of you ever feel that you needed to compromise, "give-in", or stand your ground in your personal perspectives/ideas of Canadian culture within your group? Tell me more about this experience.

3c) How has living in the Vancouver Lower Mainland influenced your perspective of Canadian culture?

Group Images and Artist Statements:

4a) Why these images? How are they representative of Canadian culture from your group's vantage point?

4b) How did you decide what photographs to take or images to capture?

4c) What were the most important aspects for you to include in your images of Canadian culture? How did you all decide what was most important for your group's images?

4d) How are your artist statements for each image a reflection of that image?

NOTE: In addition to these general questions, the researcher will be asking more specific questions pertinent to each group's photographed images and accompanying artist statements.

Concluding Questions:

5a) What is the most significant experience that you have come away with from participating in this research project?

5b) Has your personal conceptualization of Canadian culture or what it means to be a Canadian changed as a result of your participation in this project with your group members? If so, how has it changed?

5c) Do you think Canadian culture is similar across Canada, or does the definition/ conceptualization of Canadian culture change depending on where you live in Canada? How is it similar/different?

5d) Do you have anything you want to add? Is there something I did not ask you about that you want to talk about? Do you have any questions for me?