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Abstract

A second generation South Asian can be faced with contrasting and conflicting cultures which can impact the formation of a healthy ethnic identity. The present study investigated what facilitated and hindered a South Asian’s adolescent experience of becoming bicultural. Flanagan’s (1954) Critical Incident Technique was used in interviewing 8 adult participants, including 5 females and 3 males, aged 20 to 26 years of age. The results identified 88 critical incidents, forming 10 helping categories and 4 hindering categories. The 10 Helping categories were: (1) Cross Cultural Friendships, (2) Speaking both Punjabi and English, (3) Personal Attributes, (4) Shared Experiences with Peers in the ‘Same Boat’, (5) Family Support and Influence, (6) Involvement in Recreational, Cultural and Religious Community Activities, (7) Visiting India, (8) High School Experience, (9) University Education and (10) Acceptance of Parent’s and / or Grandparent’s Views. The Hindering Categories were: (1) Parental and / or Familial Expectations, (2) Media Influence / Societal Expectations, (3) Personal Conflict of Cultural Values and (4) Experiencing Racism. The categories were found to be reliable and valid through procedures such as exhaustiveness, independent raters, co-researcher’s cross checking, participation rate and theoretical agreement. The resulting categories provide a list of comprehensive factors that can facilitate and hinder an individual’s process towards developing a bicultural identity. The findings are discussed in relation to implications for counselling theory and practice, and future research.
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Chapter I

Introduction

Adolescent, youth or teenager - these terms signify a time of growth, change and opportunity. Adolescents struggle with who they are, who they want to become, how they relate to their family and peers, and where they belong in their sense of the world. Adolescents already face a number of developmental tasks, and if successful, those challenges will eventually lead him or her to building a stable sense of self. One can say that being an adolescent is a challenging period. Making growth even more difficult is being a 'bicultural youth,' where one is faced with the challenge of dealing with a particular cultural context at home and another in the mainstream community. A bicultural individual can be defined as one who has managed to incorporate values from two contrasting cultures so that one does not feel that he or she is forfeiting one particular culture or the other but is instead integrating aspects of both into his or her personal identity (LaFromboise, Hardin & Gerton, 1993). Children of immigrants, or second generation youth, may struggle to incorporate or integrate two different cultural traditions without compromising their sense of cultural identity. Bacon (1996) suggests that the South Asian bicultural youth lives in 'two worlds' - an Indian world at home and North American world in the neighbourhood, and in school. Zavala-Martinez (1994) describes a Latino adolescent's experience of growing up in the United States as 'entremundos,' or between two worlds, where he or she is faced with a difficult co-existence between two cultural orientations, two languages, two sets of values, and two philosophies of life. Garrett (1996) addresses the narratives of American Indians and how one experiences cultural conflicts in identity development due to the differences between the values and expectations of tribal traditions and those of the mainstream
American social and educational systems. Ghuman (1994, 1999) and Lau (2000) have extensively researched South Asian youth in Britain, where individuals struggle over appropriate behaviours and values as they try to adhere to distinct cultural norms and value systems. These youth have been labelled as the generation ‘caught between two cultures’, having the ‘best of two worlds’, involved in a ‘culture clash’ (Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1996) or as ‘ABCD’s’ (American Born Confused Desis – “desi” referring to the native land or India) (Rangaswamy, 2000).

The development of a coherent ethnic identity is critical to healthy coping and the creation of a positive outlook on life during adolescence (Falicov, 1998). Dosanjh and Ghuman (1996) have stated that in order to cope with the tensions and anxieties of the economic recession in Britain in the 1990's, the South Asian adolescents have “developed bicultural identities” (p. 24). For example, the youth think of themselves as British / Sikhs or British / Punjabis. Shaw (1994) suggests that bicultural identities are constructed as a functional response to one’s predicament - to be a Sikh at home and English at school or place of work is an effective way of dealing with the world. LaFromboise et al. (1993) defines ‘bicultural efficacy’ as the belief that one can live effectively within two groups without compromising one’s sense of cultural identity. The development of an integrated bicultural identity must be an active rather than a passive process, since choices must be made about which elements of each culture to retain and value, which to modify and which to reject. A healthy bicultural identity is more likely to develop in those individuals who have the opportunity to experience and integrate both cultures in an accepting and tolerant community. Virtually, these individuals are faced with the challenge of integrating two contrasting worlds while developing a healthy sense of self and personal identity that
recognizes and validates both cultural worlds.

Rationale for the Study

The ethnic minority youth is rapidly increasing in our communities. In Canada, the South Asian population, by ethnic origin, is close to 600,000 - 140,000 of which reside in British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 1996). There are nearly 280,000 South Asians under the age of 24 in Canada, second only to the Chinese population. In Surrey, one of the largest municipalities in B.C., South Asians make up 33 percent of the entire foreign born population, an increase of 19 percent in the last 10 years. In the United States, more than 5 million children of immigrant parents entered public schools in the 1990's; about 3.5 million come from homes where English is not the first language (McGoldrick, 1998). In the year 2000, the ethnic minority adolescent comprised more than 30 percent of the youth population in the United States (Taylor & Wang, 1997).

Goodenow and Espin (1993) note the potentially negative social and psychological consequences when the immigration and acculturation process is not smooth. There is a considerable need for research on factors which facilitate healthy adjustment and development in ethnic minority adolescents. This is especially relevant when research suggests that healthy adaptation involves psychological integration of one’s culture of origin and the mainstream culture, rather than adopting a new one. The alternation model (LaFromboise et al., 1993) best reflects this process, suggesting that it is possible to gain competence within two cultures without having to choose one culture over the other. The adolescent develops an understanding and appreciation for both cultures and, depending on the demands of the social context, may use different interaction or communication styles. The integrated form of acculturation has been found to be most positively correlated with
mental health (Berry, 1986). Researchers have suggested that people who are able to alternate their use of culturally appropriate behaviours exhibit higher cognitive functioning and mental health than those individuals who are monocultural (Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991). Schiller (1987) completed research on Native Americans and his study showed that bicultural students were better adjusted than non-biculturals in the areas of academics, social, psychological and cultural adjustment. Further, the biculturals perceived their Native American heritage as an advantage. LaFromboise and Row (1983) and (Garrett, 1996) identify bicultural Indian students as having less personal, social and academic difficulty because of their ability to effectively utilize a greater range in modes of social behaviour and cultural communication that are appropriately employed in a variety of contexts and situations. Birman (1998) puts forth that biculturalism will predict a sense of global self-worth, and increase perceived competence and self-esteem for adolescents — with a better awareness and understanding of cultures, and two lenses to view the world.

There is a need to generate more information regarding acculturation and biculturality issues from the perspective of the adolescent. Much of the previous research has focussed on the adult immigrant population, with the findings and models translated to how youth deal with different cultural contexts. Ghuman (1997) states that most models relate to the acculturative process of adults but do not accurately reflect the adolescent’s journey, where “individuals are in the midst of forming their views and opinions about their cultural identity” (p. 25). As the youth’s attitudes may not be as crystallized as that of an adult, more research is needed on those children of immigrants who are trying to incorporate aspects from both cultures. Taylor and Wang (1997) suggest that there is a pervasive lack of inquiry into the development and learning of children and families from ethnic minority backgrounds.
and that an increased effort needs to be made towards building a research base for preventive and intervention-oriented programs. Future research should focus on interventions that will foster the resilience of adolescents from ethnic minority backgrounds as previous research has seemingly ignored the normative development of these individuals. More information regarding the experiences of second generation youth is needed, especially in situations involving ethnic identity – For example, when do these cultural conflicts arise? What values influence one’s choice in how the conflict is dealt with? And, what are the resulting effects from the decisions one makes? Information generated on what acculturating factors or strategies influence ethnic minority youth are significant in informing the practice of adolescent counselling and working with immigrant families. Conceivably, practitioners will be provided with research in the areas of parent-youth relations, intergenerational conflict and identity formation – topics that will enhance awareness and clinical practice in the field of counselling psychology.

Focus of the Study

The focus of this study is to address the effects of biculturalism on identity formation in South Asians adolescents and intergenerational conflict within those families.

Effects on Identity Formation. Pettys & Balgopal (1998) refer to the bicultural youth who is particularly vulnerable to feeling lost in both the Indian and American cultures and in need of support as he or she struggles with identity issues. One is given conflicting messages such as ‘retain, but assimilate’. For example, one is to ‘proudly display your diversity, but assimilate into the mainstream, that is, talk like, think like and act like an American’ (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998, p. 412). According to Dasgupta (1998), a new generation of South Asians, the ‘second generation,’ has started to make its presence felt. This second generation consists
of individuals who face the unenviable task of retaining a distinct ethnic identity. New issues such as dating, marriage, individualism, obedience to parent’s wishes, and responsibility towards extended families, are emerging as critical concerns within the South Asian communities as the second generation approaches adulthood. For example, if there are conflicting values between home and school, how does one achieve this integration and still be accepted by his peers? Which values should be given priority over others? And, how does this impact one’s formation of identity, especially during the years of adolescence? These are significant questions that need to be considered when addressing the concerns of identity formation in a bicultural youth.

Inter-generational Conflict. Inter-generational conflict, or clashes of values, between parents and adolescents may result because of the fundamental differences between what adolescents want for themselves and what their parents want for them. There can be difficulty of having to interact between the Canadian and Indian cultures ‘simultaneously,’ and the subsequent conflict between what is taught at home and what is emphasized in the mainstream culture. Adolescents receive mixed messages regarding their emerging roles and identity from the differing cultures. Non-Western or Indian parents traditionally have expectations of using their authority, having their children be obedient, and placing the focus on the family rather than the individual. In the traditional North American or Canadian style of parenting, autonomy, individualism, and authoritative parenting is valued (Khare, 1997, Rangaswamy, 2000). For example, children of immigrants often receive the message that they must fit in and perform well academically, which suggests embracing a more autonomous, individualistic and competitive cultural attitude. Yet, at home, they are expected to adhere to prescribed cultural roles that entail co-operation, interdependence,
humility and obedience (Khare, 1997). How does the youth maintain parts of his cultural heritage to satisfy not only his own wishes, but those of his parents? How does the youth go about balancing the Western values of independence and assertiveness with those of interdependence and obedience from the more traditional Indian home? These challenges exist and pose a concern in how family members can effectively communicate and develop a healthy relationship while meeting both the demands of the individual and the family.

**Purpose of the Study**

In this investigation, Flanagan’s (1954) Critical Incident Technique (CIT) will be employed when interviewing individual participants. Eight South Asian young adults (Indo-Canadians), aged 19-26 years of age, will be asked to give retrospective and detailed accounts of their bicultural adolescent experience. Specifically, the research question to be addressed is *What facilitates and hinders a second generation South Asian’s experience of becoming bicultural?* Adult participants will identify factors which were influential during situations when they were integrating aspects from the Indian and Western cultures into their identity. Using the CIT, a list of categories will emerge, identifying those experiences and strategies which helped and hindered an individual’s negotiation of the bicultural process. Focus will be placed on the factors that supported and challenged the individuals during their adolescent years and how those factors impacted the integration of both cultures into their way of being, living and interacting? By producing a list of reliable and valid categories that can be added to the existing research, both the understanding of the individual’s experience and the development of the construct of biculturalism will be enhanced.
Chapter II

Review of the Literature

South Asian Population

Immigration History. South Asians, or more commonly known as Indo-Canadians or East Indians, are one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in Canada. Historically, the ‘Sikhs’ were the first settlers in the Vancouver, British Columbia area in the early 1900's (Ghuman, 1994). In 1921, there were just under 1000 South Asians, mostly Sikhs from Punjab, in Vancouver (Buchignani, Indra & Srivastiva, 1985). By 1961, the total population of Sikhs in British Columbia was approximately 4000 (Ghuman, 1994). Prior to 1967, Canadian immigration laws made it difficult for individuals to emigrate from India into Canada. However, with the 1967 Immigration Act, individuals of non-racial criteria were allowed to enter into Canada which led to a greater influx of people from India. The majority of immigrants were young to middle aged males, from a rural background, who worked and saved their money to provide passage for their relatives in India (Dhayna, 1972). Many of these first generation immigrants were faced with language difficulties and discrimination in areas of employment. In Vancouver, B.C. specifically, the political and social climate has changed dramatically since the 1970's. Pluralism and multicultural education have been strongly encouraged. Nationally, the first Canadian Minister of State responsible for multiculturalism was appointed in 1972 and the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism was created in 1976. By the early 1990's almost 75,000 Sikhs inhabited British Columbia and Punjabi was recognized as the 5th highest spoken language in Canada, following English, French, Chinese and Italian languages (Statistics Canada, 1996).

Although the recent immigration rates have levelled off, the population of second and third
generations are rapidly increasing. There are nearly 280,000 South Asians under the age of 24 in Canada, second only to the Chinese population. In 1996, South Asians made up 10 percent (92,140 people) of the foreign born population in British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 1996).

**Sikhism.** Immigrants from the Indian sub-continent belong to three main religions, specifically Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. Christians and Bhuddists are also prevalent but make up a smaller number. The majority of Indian immigrants who came to Canada belong to the Sikh and Hindu faiths, whereas immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh are mostly Muslim.

In India there are about 15 million Sikhs, with the majority living in Punjab. It is estimated that approximately another million live overseas, with over 150,000 people living in Canada today (Statistics Canada, 1996). Although Sikhs make up only about 2 percent of India’s population, they comprise the majority of the Indian immigrants in British Columbia (Ghuman, 1994).

Sikhism is considered the youngest of the major world religions. Led by its founder Guru Nanak (1469-1539 AD) it emerged in the sixteenth century. The period from 1469 - 1708 is considered the ‘Age of the Gurus,’ as it was during that Guru Nanak challenged the Islam and Hindu religions and preached the existence of ‘One God’ and the unity of mankind. Guru Nanak was followed by nine Gurus, or spiritual leaders, the last being Guru Gobind Singh, who died in 1708 AD. In 1699, Gobind Singh shifted the character of a purely religious group of Sikhs to a community of ‘saint soldiers,’ who were given a code of conduct and dress. The khalsa panth (‘the community of pure’) was created and the practice of khande-de-pahul (baptism) was instituted. During the Heroic Age (1707-1849), the Sikh
community struggled to exist as a separate entity. At that time, the growing influence of Sikhism and its Gurus became a threat to the prevailing dominant state religion of Islam, which led to many battles and struggles for independence and power. The Age of Revival and Reform, from 1840 – 1947, eventually led the Sikhs to establishing their own kingdom in the Punjab and north-western parts of India, which they lost to the British forces in 1849 A. D. (Lau, 2000).

Collectivistic vs. Individualistic Orientation. Newly arrived immigrants all over the world tend to retain and even reinforce their existing identities to cope with their sense of loss of ‘home ethos’ (Ghuman, 1999, p. 29). With the passage of time, most first generation parents believe that their host country is now their home country. A study in Britain (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990) found nearly sixty percent of first generation parents to state Britain to “feel like my own country because I have been here so long” (p. 29). However, when it came to identifying one’s personal identity, only one person out of 120 individuals, opted for British identity, the rest stating themselves to be Indian. The first generation appear to maintain a strong sense of their Indian value system. However, it is more likely for following generations to incorporate the values and beliefs of the new host society. As a result, the second generation children and youth face a more complex process of integrating the two cultures. In the same study (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane, 1990) done with young people in Britain, seventy-four percent regarded Britain as their home country and fifty-seven percent stated their identity to be British. “The second generation have different expectations, values and social attitudes compared with their parents” (Dosanjh & Ghuman, 1996, p.25). Changing family structure and the influence of the Western culture suggests modifications are taking place within the next generation of South Asians but that there is
still continuity of the Sikh family traditions.

The South Asians come from a ‘collectivistic’ culture. Collectivism is defined by Triandis (1994) as those cultures that organize “their subjective experiences, values, and behavioural mores around one or more collectives, such as family, the caste, the religious group, or the country.” In the collectivistic mode, an individual’s thinking and behaviour are largely governed by the influence of a group to which he or she belongs. For example, it may be the extended family, the South Asian community or religious leaders. There is a notion that any individual achievements in life are considered to be a success for the entire family. An individual in this society is often called upon to “make personal sacrifices to support their extended family which includes aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces and distant relatives” (Ghuman, 1999, p. 22). As a result, one’s identity can be defined by group membership and the internalization of group values rather than individual independence (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). In an individualistic value system, children are most likely encouraged to develop autonomy, independent thinking, self-expression and achievement for themselves. The western culture emphasizes identity as being based upon individual characteristics, as autonomy and individuation are the primary developing tasks of adolescents. When countered with the more traditional Indian values and norms, conflicts regarding family, society, peer, and multigenerations can arise. Relationships among South Asians would emphasize collectivism and family centredness rather than the western values of privacy and individualism. The traditional family structure and norms do not reward competitiveness, achievement orientation and self-orientation. The welfare and integrity of the family supersedes individual self-identity, especially in areas of marriage and career (Segal, 1991). From this, one might suggest that South Asians and North Americans come from very
different traditions, values and world views, making the synthesis of the two cultures a complex and formidable task.

Models of Cultural Adaptation

**Acculturation.** Acculturation can be defined as a cultural change resulting from continuous, first hand contact between two distinct cultural groups (Berry, 1994). For a South Asian adolescent, it may mean the “process of giving up one’s traditional cultural values and behaviours while taking on the values and behaviours of the dominant social structure” (Atkinson, Low & Matheus, 1995, p. 131). Pettys & Balgopal (1998) suggest that within this process of adaptation there are significant changes in identity, ranging from adding new features, re-defining old group boundaries, or changing symbols and meanings used to define one’s cultural identity. Kleinman (1986) states that these changes can possibly have a negative impact on both physical and mental health. Berry (1997) suggests that four acculturation strategies (integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization) are used by individual immigrants to address two major questions. The first question is: Is it of value to maintain the cultural identity? The second question is: Is it of value to maintain relationships with other groups? The responses of minority groups to these two questions range from positive / positive (integration), positive / negative (separation), negative / positive (assimilation) to negative / negative (marginalization).

**Biculturalism.** The concept of biculturalism is closely related to acculturation, but the term suggests that acculturation can take place without a corresponding loss in ancestral cultural patterns (Buriel, 1993). Thus, in biculturalism, one can inherit two different cultural traditions, or have a sense of belonging in two cultures without compromising his or her sense of cultural identity (Birman, 1998). “Biculturals hold each group in positive regard
allowing them to experience a sense of efficacy within the dominant culture and a sense of pride and identification within their ethnic culture” (LaFromboise et al., 1993, p. 404).

Ramirez (1983) defines biculturalism as an integration of the competencies and sensitivities associated with two cultures within a single person. Many studies (Birman, 1998; Buriel 1993; and Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980) have demonstrated that biculturalism is the most advantageous style for acculturating persons because it allows for individuals to utilize a range of different skills when faced with varying cultural demands. Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) stated that the bicultural communities in which immigrants live may have conflicting or distinct cultural contexts, requiring specific sets of cultural responses. LaFromboise et al. (1993) states that in order to be considered biculturally competent, one must possess a strong personal identity, have knowledge of cultural beliefs and values, display positive attitudes towards both majority and minority groups, communicate effectively in both cultures, have a range of culturally appropriate behaviours or roles, and have a sense of being grounded within a well-developed social support system. Thus, demonstrating bicultural competence requires the individual to possess a high level of skill and reasonable sense of self-awareness that will enable him or her to navigate through the differing cultural contexts.

Valentine (1971) originally developed a bicultural model that suggested a dual socialization process for minority groups. The acculturation process focused on those enculturation experiences within one’s own cultural group, along with exposure to socialization agents within the majority culture, resulting in a form of ‘cross-culture socialization.’ The model provided a conceptual framework for understanding the process by which an individual learns to function in varying degrees within two systems (minority culture and majority culture). However, it did not offer information regarding the specific
mechanisms through which dual socialization occurs.

LaFromboise et al. (1993) refers to biculturalism as the process of second-culture acquisition, or specifically, the alternation model. This type of biculturalism allows individuals to come to know and understand two different cultures. This model postulates that an individual can choose the degree and manner to which he or she will affiliate with either the second culture or his or her culture of origin. The alternation model implies that individuals learning to alternate their behaviour to fit into the cultures in which they are involved will be less stressed and less anxious than those who are undergoing the process of assimilation (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Further, LaFromboise et al. (1993) believes that the essential strength of this model is that it “focuses on the cognitive and affective process that allow an individual to withstand the negative impact of acculturative stress” (p. 400). This model addresses how the individual chooses to interact with the second culture and the person’s culture of origin. Further, it considers the bi-directional impact that individuals from both cultures have on each other.

De Anda (1984) suggested six factors that accounts for variations among and within different ethnic groups in their degree of biculturalism and positive interaction with the mainstream society: (1) the degree of overlap between the two cultures with regards to norms, values and beliefs; (2) the availability of cultural translators or mediators; (3) the amount and type of corrective feedback provided by each culture regarding attempts to produce normative behaviours; (4) the conceptual style and problem-solving approach of the minority individual and their interactive style with the majority culture; (5) the individual’s degree of bilingualism and, (6) the degree of dissimilarity in physical appearance from the majority culture. De Anda suggests that the variation in these six factors and their interaction
accounts for different levels of biculturation. Although de Anda does provide a list of factors that enable one to cope with the bicultural socialization process, it is only a general framework lacking empirical evidence that is widely applied across different ethnicities and age-groups.

Research studies in the area of biculturalism have shown this mode of cultural adaptation to be effective. Kazelah’s (1986) study of biculturalism demonstrated that although identity conflict was present in the adolescents, many of them had developed a range of mechanisms for dealing with the contrasting cultures and were adept at alternating between both cultural orientations with minimal anxiety. The individuals who had most difficulty balancing the two cultures were those whose parents and community members resisted accepting aspects of the mainstream influences and reacted with greater anxiety to the integration process. Buriel (1993) looked at Mexican-American adolescents and their attitudes towards acculturation, biculturalism and respect for cultural differences. Buriel suggests that under conditions of trying to maintain ties to the native culture while adapting to the dominant culture, adopting a bicultural orientation represents a “psychologically advantageous response to the multicultural demands in the environment” (1993, p. 14). Hutnik (1991) has suggested that the majority of second-generation Indian adolescents have learned to “affirm effectively both the ethnic minority group and the majority group of cultural adaptation variables” (p. 128). Ghuman’s (1997) quantitative research study on South Asian adolescents in Britain suggests that both boys and girls are “seeking some form of synthesis of home and school cultures, so that they can incorporate these elements into their personal identities” (p. 33). Their hope is to retain certain elements of their community’s culture but, at the same time, they want to be familiar with aspects of the
British way of life. Further, Modood, Lakey, Nazroo, Smith, Virdee and Beishon's (1997) survey on identity related issues showed that over two-thirds of the young people in Britain preferred the integration mode of adaptation.

Models of Adolescent Identity

Adolescence is a time where many demands can be placed upon an individual - there is a struggle for autonomy from parents, a desire to develop and maintain friendships, a need to find a sense of belonging in society, and a pressure to succeed academically. For most young people, it is a period of transition and learning, one that will have a lifelong impression.

Adolescence is a critical stage in an individual's development. One is intensely aware of how he or she is seen by others. It is a time when the values and perspectives of others become clearer to the developing mind. The adolescent must first attempt to evaluate his or her options, those being religious beliefs, accepting or rejecting societal norms, ideological stances - before he or she can choose among them. In this sense, the search for identity is not only the process of molding an image of oneself, it is also the attempt to understand the fundamental components of the clay that will be used. (Garrod et. al, 1999, p. 8)

In adolescence, individuals begin to ask themselves questions such as: Who am I? Where do I belong? What would I like to be? The formation of one’s identity is neither formed nor completed at adolescence, but it is period where one’s identity is explored in great detail. Much of one’s conflicts relate to his or her view of the self, how he or she feels unique, likeness with peers, and personal identity.

According to adolescent developmental theories (Miccuci, 1998), early adolescence
(11-13 years) involves adjusting to pubertal changes, learning to use new cognitive capacities and dealing with gender-related expectations. Middle adolescence (14-16 years) involves handling sexuality, making moral decisions, developing new relationships with peers and balancing autonomy and accountability. Late adolescence (17-19 years) looks at consolidating an identity, experiencing intimacy and perhaps leaving home. Most research suggests that the struggle to establish an identity is the major developmental task of adolescence.

Erik Erikson (1968) was the initial theorist on identity formation and identity crisis. He suggested that the human life cycle is comprised of 8 stages of ego development, with the sequence of stages thought to be biologically fixed. According to Erikson, personality is thought to be determined by 3 components: the inner (physical) maturational plan, the external societal demands and the development of psychological meaning for the individual as a result of the interaction between the physical and societal elements. In Erikson’s theory, each stage is marked by the struggle between two opposing tendencies. He identifies adolescence as the fifth of his eight stages of ego development, which is characterized by the task of establishing an identity (identity versus role confusion). In adolescence, the choice an individual makes regarding his or her identity, has to do not so much with who we are at the present time, but, rather, who he or she can become. Identity confusion results when the individual struggles to accommodate the need to select a suitable self with the desire to try out many possible selves. Erikson believes that successful resolutions will establish the basic areas of psycho-social strength, whereas unresolved issues will impair ego development and adversely affect future struggles. The 8 stages that Erikson puts forth extend across the whole lifespan, and thus, it requires a lifetime to acquire all of the psycho-social strengths. Further,
Erikson suggest that each psycho-social strength has its own unique time of ascendancy, or period of particular importance.

James Marcia (1994) defined identity as a "coherent sense of one's meaning to oneself and to others within a social context. This sense of identity suggests an individual's continuity with the past, a personally meaningful present, and a direction for the future" (p. 70). Marcia (1976) suggests four possible "identity statuses" (Identity Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Identity Achievement) as a means of identifying an adolescent's position in the process of defining an identity. Identity Diffusion is marked by a lack of commitment, where an adolescent may show little concern about the future, and is more focused on immediate gratification. Foreclosure refers to taking on the preferred views of one's parents, or 'significant others' without further exploration. There is a sense of certainty and lack of consideration towards other alternative views. Moratorium is a state where one is in exploration of issues, and no commitment has been made. For example, one has not decided on a particular direction for his or her future, and is actively considering alternatives. This status is also referred to as "identity crisis." Identity achievement results in a firm commitment after a lengthy period of exploration and decision-making. Marcia further expands upon Erikson's construct of identity versus identity confusion. Marcia establishes two concepts - crisis and commitment - as the determining variables in identity achievement. "Crisis refers to times during adolescence when an the individual seems to be actively involved in choosing among alternative occupations and beliefs. Commitment refers to the degree of personal investment the individual expresses in an occupation or belief" (Marcia, 1967, p. 119). Studies using Marcia's model have suggested that adolescents who are exhibiting problematic behaviours are in the midst of Identity Diffusion (Adams, Gullotta
& Montemayor, 1992). These adolescents, who are not committed to an identity definition and are not motivated to do so, are more susceptible to negative peer influence and are more likely to be less motivated in school or other achievement-related areas. Marcia suggests that those individuals in the Foreclosure status have committed themselves to a decision without a period of experimentation or exploration and are generally well-adjusted. However, they are more likely to be conservative regarding risk-taking. Often, these adolescents were reared in authoritarian homes with parents who were themselves foreclosed. They are apt to identify strongly with their parent's values. Other 'foreclosed' adolescents may reject parental values but borrow an identity by affiliating with a deviant peer group (Muus, 1996). Ghuman (1999) suggests that the Foreclosure status of identity development "mirrors closely the identity status of most first generation South Asians, and should be of value in understanding the identity of their offspring" (p. 58). According to Marcia, the ideal position for adolescents is Moratorium. In this status, adolescents are at a stage of exploring who they are but defer making any decisions until all possible alternatives have been exhausted. These individuals eventually emerge with a clearly defined identity, at which time they would be classified in the Identity Achievement category. Research has shown that the number of adolescents in the Identity Achievement category increases with age (Meilman, 1979).

Although both Erikson's and Marcia's models have been useful frameworks, a number of limitations are apparent. First, these models assume that the establishment of an identity is characterized as a 'task' to be achieved or completed, rather than acknowledging that the sense of self is constantly evolving and changing. Second, one must be aware that 'identity' cannot be limited or comprised of one 'single' thing. It is much more complex and involves multiple aspects such as occupation, gender, religion, politics, values and ethnicity.
These are facets that should not be considered 'time limited', and can be difficult to 'categorize' into stages. Third, it must be noted that Erikson's and Marcia's models have been developed and tested in a European-based setting, mostly with white males, and translating this model to ethnic minority adolescents is questionable. Finally, one must address how these models deal with the issue of gender. It is clear that as adolescents make the transition into young adulthood, the importance of establishing an intimate bond with a peer increases. Erikson (1959) identifies the "identity crisis" as a stage preceding the "intimacy crisis", suggesting that one must know who they are before they can be truly intimate with another person. Gilligan (1986) suggests that all adolescents must find strategies to negotiate a sense of individuality in developing an identity that is unique, separate from that of their families. Normative male development has often been portrayed in terms of the growth of autonomy and separation - 'exit' in Gilligan's terms. Likewise, Miller (1976) and Surrey (1984) state that previous identity development theories have focussed on the autonomy and separation rather than connection and relationship. However, for young women, Gilligan argues that they are more likely to place greater emphasis on maintaining close ties, valuing family relationships and may choose to struggle not for separation from the family, but for a new and more adult role and voice within it. Jossellson (1987) suggested that women often consolidate their identity in the context of an intimate relationship with another person, typically a romantic partner. Erikson's theory does recognize that in the development of identity for men, identity precedes intimacy and generativity in the ideal cycle of an individual's separation and attachment, but for women these tasks are fused. However, with this point stated, it makes it difficult to suggest that identity can precede the stage of intimacy (Gilligan, 1982).
Ethnic Identity. Ethnic identity is defined by Tajfel (1981) as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group, or groups, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 255). Phinney (1996) has suggested that ethnic identity formation depends on a “process of exploration that includes questioning pre-existing ethnic attitudes and searching into the past and present experiences of one’s group and relations with other groups” (p. 143). This exploratory process will ideally result in the development of a secure, positive sense of one’s identity as a member of an ethnic group, together with an acceptance of other groups. Phinney states that the area of ethnicity lacks a clearly defined theoretical framework and has only a limited empirical base. Although research suggests that ethnic identity is vital to the psychological well-being of members of an ethnic group, there has been little consensus on exactly what ethnic identity, how it should be measured and what are the specific factors that contribute to its presence (Phinney, 1996). Further, much of the early work on ethnic identity has focused on ethnic groups of European origin, and with the changing demographics, especially in North America, there has been increasingly more research on individuals of ethnic minorities.

Phinney (1989) has adapted Marcia’s model of identity development in adolescents to study the ethnic identities of minority groups in the United States. In the initial stage, there is an ‘Unexamined ethnic identity’ (diffusion or foreclosure). This is a period when ethnicity is not salient and little exploration has been done (Phinney, 1996). The individual child or adolescent unquestioningly accepts the values, attitudes and beliefs present in his or her environment. When the family and community present a strong positive image of the group for the individual, the adolescent will most likely identify in a positive way with the group,
without consciously examining that belonging. Further, one may internalize negative images and stereotypes from the mainstream community. Thus, adolescence may be a period of mixed messages, both positive and negative, regarding one’s ethnicity. The second stage involves ‘Search’ or ‘Immersion’ (moratorium or exploration), where one is motivated to discover more about his or her ethnicity. One is keen to learn more about his or her culture but also confused about the meaning of ethnicity. This initiation may be influenced by the natural developmental issues regarding ego identity (Erikson, 1968), but is more likely to develop from one’s exposure to the environment. Experience begins to play a major role as one encounters individuals from different backgrounds and is exposed to discrimination. The final stage of ‘Achieved ethnic identity’ (Identity Achievement or internalization) is where the individual develops a sense of confidence and understanding of his or her own ethnic group (Phinney, 1989). One feels secure in his or her own ethnicity and assumes to hold a positive but realistic view of his or her group. At this stage, the individual’s identity may merge aspects from both cultures as a means of developing his or her identity, and yet still be able to display uniquely individual characteristics. Both Phinney’s and Marcia’s model suggest that Achieved Identity results from experiencing a crisis, moving into a period of exploration, and eventually making a commitment.

A number of studies have shown a consistent positive, although modest, correlation between ethnic identity and self-esteem (Phinney, 1999). A study by Phinney and Kohatsu (1997) gave evidence of individuals with diffuse ethnic identity having low self regard and feelings of inadequacy, whereas those with ethnic identity achievement were associated with a positive self-concept and absence of psychological distress. Phinney (1989) interviewed ethnic minority adolescents and reported that those who were assigned to the diffuse ethnic
identity had a low self-concept, but those with achieved ethnic identity had the highest positive self-concept. A longitudinal study by Phinney & Chavira (1995) on ethnic minority adolescents from three different ethnic groups was conducted. Interviewed at age sixteen, and then three years later, the study confirmed that self-esteem was significantly correlated with ethnic identity at each period and across the three year time span. Roberts, Roberts & Chen’s (1997) study showed a significant positive correlation with measures of psychological well-being (coping, mastery, optimism, happiness and self-esteem) and a negative correlation with loneliness and depression.

The stages of ethnic identity that have been described are important conceptually but remain difficult to measure accurately. Further, there is insufficient empirical research to validate the stages. Much of Phinney’s research has used questionnaires, based on a conceptualization of ethnic identity as a continuous variable, ranging from a low or weak identity to a high, strong, positive identity. Although Phinney suggests that the interview is the best way to study ethnic identity stages, this method is frequently not used because it is time-consuming and difficult to code for assignment of stages.

In summary, this chapter focussed on bridging the research between South Asian culture, models of cultural adaptation and adolescent identity. There are important social and psychological reasons for researching the area of biculturalism. However, more attention needs to be turned to this process of cultural adaptation and its impact on identity formation, especially in the period of adolescence. Many of the studies dealing with biculturalism are recent and have been completed in countries such as the United States and Britain, ignoring a growing and representative multicultural community such as Canada. More qualitative and longitudinal research is needed, especially with specific ethnic groups and adolescents.
Although qualitative research has been labelled as time consuming for the study of identity, it will allow for more detailed and relevant accounts from individuals that can be applied to the current models on ethnic identity. This investigation will focus on the bicultural socialization of South Asian adolescents, but it is equally important to recognize and research other ethnic groups. For a complete picture on the development of an individual’s bicultural identity, future studies are needed which address the experiences of individuals from different cultural heritages. The reviewed models of adaptation are suitable starting frameworks to build upon; however, it is important to recognize the complexity of assessing an individual’s ethnic, racial and cultural experiences and how it relates to one’s core identity and coping mechanisms in differing cultural contexts.
Chapter III

Method

The Critical Incident Technique (CIT) developed by John Flanagan (1954) is a “procedure for gathering certain important facts concerning behaviour in defined situations” (p. 335). This method was designed to collect direct observations of human behaviour that could potentially be used in identifying psychological principles and clarifying practical questions. The CIT is a form of interview research considered useful in generating exploratory information in a particularly new field or theory-building to existing studies (Woolsey, 1986).

Definition of terms

Flanagan (1954) identified the term ‘incident’ as “any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act” (p. 327). By ‘critical,’ Flanagan suggests that “an incident must occur in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and where its consequences are sufficiently definite to leave little doubt concerning its effects” (p. 327).

History of the Critical Incident Technique

The Critical Incident Technique was initially developed during World War II as a means to collect and classify information regarding effective pilot performance. Pilots were specifically asked to report incidents that were helpful or harmful to their flying experience. Flanagan was able to compile a list of factors affecting task performance from the pilots’ description of their experience. After World War II, the CIT was formalized and made available to industry, where it was used in developing ethical standards in psychology,
measuring task proficiency, selecting and classifying personnel, clarifying motivation and leadership attitudes, and identifying factors in effective counselling (Woolsey, p. 243).

The CIT has been used in various areas of counselling psychology research - Borgen and Amundson’s (1984) study on unemployment, McCormick’s (1995) study which looked at factors facilitating healing in First Nations people in British Columbia and Alfonso’s (1997) dissertation which addressed those incidents facilitating the coping process of individuals after an HIV+ diagnosis.

There are two basic principles that govern the Critical Incident Technique. First, the classification of critical incidents needs to be established. Although this process is relatively subjective, once the incidents are placed in defined categories, a suitable degree of objectivity is attainable (Flanagan, p. 335). Second, one must consider the application of practical procedures as a means to improve task performance. Relevant and sufficient information about those conditions are needed to help predict the effects on performance.

Why use the Critical Incident Technique?

The CIT method is beneficial in allowing the participant to give his or her specific experience, perspective and detailed account pertaining to the research question. It can be helpful in heightening the awareness of one’s experience and eliciting specific factors that helped or hindered a particular process. In reference to this particular investigation, the ‘critical incident’ feature was well suited to identifying those factors which can be attributed to facilitating and hindering an individual’s bicultural process. Another positive feature of this method is its adaptability. The CIT procedure is considered to be a “flexible set of principles which must be modified and adapted to meet the specific situation at hand” (Flanagan, p. 335). Further, there has been considerable research in the area of acculturation
and ethnicity, and the CIT will provide a specific, yet comprehensive, approach to organizing the information gathered and contributing to the field of biculturalism.

**Procedures**

In the Critical Incident method, the five main steps in collecting the data are: (1) identifying the aim of the study, (2) developing plans and specifications regarding the observations to be made, (3) collecting the data, (4) analyzing the data, or categories that emerge and (5) interpreting and reporting the findings (Flanagan, 1954).

(1) **Aim of the Study**

The first step is to establish a general statement of the objective of the study. "In its simplest form, the functional description of an activity specifies precisely what is necessary to do and not to do if participation in the activity is to be judged successful or effective" (Flanagan, p. 336). The aim allows a standard to be set from which the particular behaviours that contribute to the performance of the activity can be evaluated.

In this study, the participant’s experience of developing a bicultural identity was investigated. Specifically, the aim was to address those factors which facilitated and hindered the individual’s movement towards becoming bicultural in adolescence.

(2) **Plans and Specifications**

The second step is to provide a set of clear instructions as to what constitutes a critical incident to those who are observing the behaviour. "It is necessary that these instructions be as specific as possible with respect to the standards to be used in evaluation and classification" (Flanagan, p. 338). Further, the group to be studied is clearly specified.

**Participants.** Participants for this investigation were recruited through advertisements placed at the University of British Columbia, by word of mouth and by the ‘snowballing’
method (Kerwin, Porterotto, Jackson & Harris, 1993) – where individuals recommend other participants who may be suitable for the study. Participants were required to meet the following criteria:

1) 20-26 years of age,

2) second-generation South Asian (ie. Indo-Canadian; born in Canada),

3) self-reported having lived within the two contrasting cultures, Indian and Western (North American),

4) bilingual (English and Punjabi) and lived in a home where both English and Punjabi were spoken,

5) individual’s parents are originally from and born in India,

6) belong to the Sikh religion,

7) reported an awareness of and experiencing obstacles in negotiating his or her sense of identity, related to balancing conflicts between the Indian and Western cultures and,

8) willing to reflect back upon his or her passage through adolescence and discuss those experiences which helped and hindered the bicultural process.

All participants voluntarily self-reported that they were bicultural, that is, each individual has managed to integrate values from both his or her Indian heritage and Canadian / Western influences, to the point where he or she felt comfortable in both cultural contexts. Thus, the ‘bicultural’ sample associated with both environments as opposed to being solely entrenched in the Indian or Western culture. Participants were mailed a consent form (Appendix A) prior to the initial interview which included: a statement on the purpose of the study, the criteria for participant selection, a general self-report form (Appendix B) a list of interview questions, and information regarding confidentiality.
Demographics on Participants. While there are a number of different ethnicities within the South Asian population, this study will focus solely on 'Punjabis' and those belonging to the Sikh religion. Participating individuals were second-generation Sikhs, whose parents were originally from India. One must be cautious about grouping all South Asians within the same bracket, as there are significant cultural and religious differences between groups (ie. Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Hindus). The term South Asian, or Indo-Canadian, encompasses a broad range of traditions, religions and values, and must be thoroughly defined. Further, there are differences between those studies conducted in the United Kingdom, the United States, India and Canada. All participants chosen for this study were born in Canada. It is important to consider the community one lives in as having a relevant and significant impact on one's views and experiences. Thus, participants were screened to ensure that they identified themselves as second-generation Sikhs or Punjabis.

(3) Collecting the Data

The third step involves data collection. According to Flanagan (1954), participants are to be interviewed individually, with a list of specific questions to be asked. Through a set of semi-structured individual interviews, 8 South Asian (Indo-Canadian) participants, aged 20-26 years of age, were asked to give retrospective and detailed accounts of their adolescent experience. The five main steps of the CIT included: (1) participants were oriented to the purpose and objectives of the study in the first (audio-taped) interview, (2) events were then elicited regarding what helped and hindered the participants bicultural process, (3) critical incidences were extracted by the researcher and grouped according to thematic similarity, forming categories, (4) the emerging categories were stated and then confirmed by the participants in the second interview and, (5) the findings were interpreted and reported as a
comprehensive list of what facilitates and hinders the process towards becoming bicultural.

**Interviews.** Individual interviews were conducted with each South Asian participant. The Critical Incident Interview was divided into two sections, an orientation and an elicitation of events. The orientation involved establishing rapport with the participant, introducing the purpose of the study and addressing confidentiality and interview procedures. The aim of the study was made clear to ensure the participant’s understanding of what data would be relevant. For example, the participants were told: “The purpose of this study is to find out what helps and hinders a South Asian’s experience of growing up in two contrasting cultures and his or her formation of a bicultural identity. By gaining information from your personal experience, my hope is to use the information to help individuals and families deal with issues regarding identity and intergenerational conflict. I want to thank you for your participation in this study and appreciate your willingness to share your personal experience.”

The second part of the interview involved asking specific questions which elicited the critical incidents that facilitate or hinder one's process towards becoming bicultural. Participants were encouraged to be specific and provide as much detail regarding their experiences. Participants were asked to provide information as to what led up to the events, what occurred at the time, and what was the eventual outcome or impact. Details regarding the specific time in life and how that situation was experienced were elicited. Examples of questions used in the interview process were:

1. Think back to a time when you were an adolescent and struggling to balance a situation between the two cultures, Western and Indian.

2. What do you remember from that time?
3. What was that experience like?

4. What helped you through that obstacle?

5. What hindered your ability to meet that challenge?

6. How do you know it helped you or hindered you?

7. What was the outcome of that experience?

8. How did that experience affect your view of your identity at the time?

The second interview was completed within 3 months after the initial interview. The interviews were conducted over the telephone for purposes of convenience. This interview added a phenomenological component to the study (Alfonso, 1997, p. 64), where participants had the opportunity to add information, clarify responses and suggest names for the tentative categories that had formed. Participants were told “The purpose of this second interview is to check the categories that have emerged and find out if the general themes and your incidents fit for you. I will read the incidents and you can tell me if they relate to your experience and if you believe they are placed under the most suitable category. You can also modify any part that does not fit, or suggest anything that you feel will give added meaning to that incident.” This interview can also be considered a type of validation procedure as participants were involved in confirming the categories names and the placement of their critical incidents within these categories.

(4) Analysis of Data

The fourth step involved analyzing the data, with the purpose being to “summarize and describe the data in an efficient manner so that it can be effectively used for many practical purposes” (Flanagan, p. 344). In this process, there are 3 main stages (Flanagan, 1954).

In the first stage, an appropriate frame of reference is selected so that incidents can be
extracted from the interviews and recorded. Each participant’s interview was audio-taped, coded and transcribed. Each interview was tape recorded and then transcribed by the primary researcher for analysis and extraction of relevant themes. This process was particularly beneficial in ensuring consistency and appropriate translation of the participant’s experience. It allowed for closer inspection of the participants stories and gave a greater depth of understanding to each experience. Incidents were extracted if they met the following criteria (Flanagan, 1954):

(i) An actual and detailed behaviour is reported and observed by the participant.

(ii) The behaviour is relevant to the general aim of the activity.

(iii) The behaviour is judged to be critical by the participant.

Individual cards were used to record the incidents, with each card representing one incident. An incident was considered critical if it helped or hindered one’s experience towards becoming bicultural and had a relative impact on the participant.

In the second stage, categories are formulated by grouping the incidents into similar themes. The individual cards were thematically grouped, forming tentative categories of critical incidents. The categories were defined and added to until the creation of new categories were needed. For example, existing categories were divided into two separate ones. Or two categories were modified into one category. Each incident was recorded into its source, what actually happened, and the outcome. When sorting the incidents into similar categories, the focus was placed on the second part, ‘what actually happened or what action was taken’.

Woolsey (1986) states that the “formulation of the categories is done inductively, by sorting the incidents into clusters that seem to group together” (p. 249), recognizing the subjectivity that can occur within this process.
The clearest categories emerged first, and the rest were placed in categories labelled as ‘tentative’ or subject to a ‘participant check.’ After reviewing the categories, it is possible that some incidents could be placed into more than one category. Novotny (1993) categorized these types of incidents “on the basis to which extent they resembled the prototype of a particular category more than the other” (p. 54). The participants were asked to confirm the category or suggest which category would be most suitable in their view. In the final step, the categories’ validity and reliability are investigated and reported. Flanagan (1954) states that the aim is to “increase the usefulness of the data while sacrificing as little as possible of the comprehensiveness, specificity, and validity” (p. 344). This process involved a number of small revisions and refinements (ie. renaming of categories) to solidify the reliability of the categories. Supervisor examination and the participation of independent judges helped in validating the categories and continued until stability was achieved.

(5) Interpreting and Reporting the Findings

The fifth and final step is the interpreting and reporting of the findings. A total of 88 incidents were reported by eight participants (5 females and 3 males) regarding what facilitates and hinders a South Asian’s development towards becoming bicultural. Further, the categories were given self-explanatory titles with complete descriptions. Reliability and validity were demonstrated using a variety of procedures including exhaustiveness tests, independent raters, co-researchers cross-checking, and theoretical agreement.
Chapter IV

Results

A total of 88 incidents were identified by the eight participants, five females and three males, in determining what helped and hindered each participant's development towards a bicultural identity. Ten helping categories along with four hindering categories emerged after the analysis procedures.

Part I: Description of Categories

In this section, the 10 helping categories and 4 hindering categories will be described. Table 1 lists all categories in the order of highest participation rate followed by the remaining categories.

Helping Categories

Category 1: Cross Cultural Friendships (7 incidents, 88% participation rate)

This category refers to the participant's relationships with peers or members of the community from varying ethnic backgrounds. These friendships have allowed him or her to experience both the western and Indian culture. It may also reflect the experience of growing up in a multicultural setting or environment where they were exposed to aspects from both cultures. Cross cultural experiences during adolescence has been influencing force on many of the participants identity development. Outcomes from this category have included: Developing a stronger sense of self, learning about and respecting other cultures, helping the family navigate and adapt to the western lifestyle, promoting positive interaction and socialization with peers, and fostering a sense of belonging.
Table 1: List of Categories, Frequency of Critical Incidents and Participation Rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency (# of critical incidents for each category)</th>
<th>Participation Rate (% of participants in each category)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Helping Categories</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Cross Cultural Friendships</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Speaking both English and Punjabi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personal Attributes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Shared Experiences with Peers in the “Same Boat”</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Family Support and Influence</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Involvement in Recreational, Cultural Religious &amp; Community Activities</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Visiting India</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. High School Experience</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. University Education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Acceptance of Parent’s and / or Grandparent’s Views</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hindering Categories</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Parental and / or Familial Expectations</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Media Influence / Societal Expectations</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personal Conflict of Cultural Values</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Experiencing Racism</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Number of Critical Incidents</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 1 (Participant B3)

In school, I had a mix of friends which was great. I had an Indian group of friends and a Western group of friends, mostly Canadian guys. And then I’d have some friends from the Caribbean and other Chinese friends, from all over and I thought it was neat being in a mixed group like that. They were still separate groups but at the same time it was one big family of friends that we had. I felt very proud to be Indian. I felt in that type of a setting where I had other groups of friends around me, that I was proud to say that I was Indian. Being in that group of people help me realize that I was Indian. Of course, there were differences in some of the values, but I thought it was neat because I got to share those values with my friends. I shared some of my culture with my friends by taking them to Indian parties like a wedding reception, and vice versa. I got to experience it going to mass with one of my friends. It was a great experience for me. I learned so much about him and parts of his culture and values. So integrating with different friends helped a lot in forming my identity. It let me experience different cultures. My friends were interested in knowing what I was all about and I was interested in finding more about them. It helped me in respecting other cultures and in understanding those parts of my Indian culture.

Example 2 (Participant G12)

Friends have helped. They have never hindered. I have always learned from them. I used to have all white friends in high school, and then at University I had mostly brown friends. Recently now there is more of a mix, and I think the mix is good. There is no point in alienating one crowd as you just become ignorant to more things. You can make yourself a better person, by being more accepting. When I was younger I was more western, and then when I went to university, there was more brown people and I was confused, and now I am here, with a mix of different cultures which I feel comfortable with.

Category 2: Speaking English and Punjabi (8 incidents, 88% participation rate)

Participants in this category acknowledged the importance of speaking both the English and Punjabi language in developing their bicultural identity. Being bilingual has helped participants adapt to both cultures and gain knowledge about particular cultural values, beliefs and traditions. Outcomes have included: Developing a sense of awareness of family roots and heritage, having the opportunity to communicate with elders, relatives and grandparents, hearing stories about one’s family history, feeling a sense of belonging in both
the Indian culture and Canadian culture, obtaining an understanding of the history of both cultures, helping to deal with both personal and professional situations, and allowing one to develop a greater appreciation of both cultures.

Example 1 (Participant B1)

Speaking Punjabi has been a great help to me in various situations. It has allowed me to speak with my grandparents which, to me, was a very big thing. I learned a lot about what my parents were all about when they were growing up in India and how distinctly different things were for them compared to the kids growing up here. And without knowing Punjabi, that wouldn’t have worked. It would have been really difficult, actually, it would have been impossible to find out the stuff I did. My grandparents do not speak English and it would have been close to impossible to describe or try to describe the things that happened in India without me having an understanding of the language. So that helped me a lot and that’s one thing that I’ll cherish, the fact that I got to learn those things. As well, it just allowed me to talk with them. To communicate with them and have a first hand experience with somebody who was born and raised in India. My parents both came here when they were fairly young. My dad was in his early 20's and my mom was still in high school. Speaking to my grandparents, I got to find out how they grew up and what sort of things they did.

Example 2 (Participant C2)

Being able to speak Punjabi helped in lots of ways - meeting and talking with people, like when you go over and visit other Indian people’s homes you meet their grandparents and you speak Punjabi with them. That way they can talk with you and interact with you because of the language. That makes me feel like I am part of the Punjabi tradition or culture, rather than the Western. I feel like I am one of them and I belong. Speaking Punjabi helped me in getting jobs too. Working at a store where you have lots of Punjabi customers – it helped me being able to speak Punjabi because I knew what the elder people were asking for and they felt comfortable with me being there.

Example 3 (Participant H6)

Speaking English and Punjabi is huge because it helps you adapt to both cultures. I would be able to have a conversation with an older Indian lady and get know my grandparents, aunts and uncles. And with the English I could do the same with my white friends. The language helps you to adapt to both sides. It makes it easier to go back and forth. It was huge to cross the barriers, to be able to communicate easier. For example, if I am talking to my Dad and it is a long story, it will most likely be in Punjabi. But if it is very short, direct and brief, it will be in English. I use Punjabi
with my aunts and uncles too. It is fun because you slip right into it, without thinking twice. It is something that I am proud of - being able to do that. And when I see the Indian parents of some of my students, it puts them at ease knowing I can speak their language. It has really helped in my professional life which I never thought it would.

Example 4 (Participant G2)

In order to understand a culture or religion, one’s language is hugely tied into that. For example, if you are translating something like the Koran, you can’t translate that into English because you are going to lose a lot of the meaning. So speaking Punjabi has certainly helped my understanding of what it is to be Indian. There are certain words that you use in Indian that you don’t in English, and different connotations, and it increases your understanding of why people believe what they do and what it is to be Indian. You’re are able to understand slang and cultural aspects more, you can relate more to the people because you can speak to them and to the culture as well. I think if I didn’t speak Punjabi I certainly would be missing something. It has helped my understanding of what it is to be Indian and to have an appreciation for it. When you want to learn about the history of a culture you speak to the elders, and they have so much knowledge, they have seen so much. To be able to communicate with them increases my knowledge base. So Punjabi has helped in a lot of ways. Sometimes I think in Punjabi. If I hang out with my family I will speak more Punjabi.

Category 3: Personal Attributes (7 incidents, 88% participation rate)

In this category, participants stated personal characteristics or qualities that have helped with the cultural challenges associated with becoming bicultural. Characteristics such as understanding, accepting, hard-working, adaptable, flexible, tolerant and open-minded have allowed individuals to persevere and handle the conflicts associated with balancing the western and Indian values. Outcomes included: Feeling accepted in and belonging to the community, recognizing and feeling comfortable with different opinions, increased involvement in family functions, and having the ability to stay positive and make the best out of a situation.

Example 1 (Participant B4)

Without being open-minded and accepting, I think it is almost impossible to experience any bi-culturalness. If I wasn’t, or if I didn’t accept certain things or be open to where my parents came from and what they were all about and their values,
then it would be difficult to develop my bicultural identity. Being born in Canada, I don’t feel that I was forced to learn the Indian culture. Ultimately, it is up to me. It was up to me whether I wanted to hold some sort of Indian identity or not, and it still is today. The fact that I was open and I wanted to learn about the Indian culture and I was willing to learn, helped me a lot. Even though some things were different, I would accept them and take them for what they were worth, mostly just learn from them.

Example 2 (Participant D9)

I think the things that have helped me is that I am pretty reasonable and flexible. I am not too stubborn. I like to think of myself as easy and open-minded. Even though if I know that this person is trying to make me be this way, I usually try to reason it out. I try to think about how they have been brought up or what environment they come from. I don’t take anything that people say for face value. I try to understand like ‘why is my aunt trying to push me towards making tea?’. And then I realize that is because she was raised very Indian. So I can’t get mad at her, this is what she knows. She’s not trying to offend me or make me upset, but maybe I need to relax a bit, and understand where is this coming from. I really have to sit back and bite my tongue sometimes, but I also understand where others are coming from. I know that they are trying to do the best for me, even though this is what they think is the best for me. Being tolerant and adaptable has helped me realize that others have different opinions than me and that is okay.

Example 3 (Participant H1)

I think you have to be adaptive - you cannot be someone who is stuck in his or her ways. I couldn’t be that way, so I was always able to adapt from one side to the other. And socially, we were brought up to basically accept that is the way things are, and to make the best of the situation. So from early on, I was very adaptive. If I am going to be in one situation, I’ll just change and make it all good, and if I am in another situation then I will try to make the best of it. I had to be easy going, be able to laugh things off and take things in stride. That really helped with both sides and being bicultural. For example, I think the typical roles that you are supposed to do as an Indian girl, like helping with all the chores and taking care of your baby brother. That was always done without any issue. And then on the other side, adapting to what kind of music is in and staying in touch with my western friends. But at home one had a certain role as a kid growing up in terms of what you are supposed to do. So I just adapted to all the roles that were expected of me rather than rebelling. For me, it was empowering, it was like I can maintain this and still keep everyone around me happy. Even though I may be really upset inside and confused I was taking control of the situation, and it was empowering to have my parents say ‘Oh, you are such a wonderful daughter’ and to have my friends say ‘she is pretty cool’, and that kept things going and to this day, my family still says we wish our other kids were like you, and for me that is the ultimate acceptance, just to be wanted and needed, and
that is what kept it going.

**Category 4: Shared Experiences with Peers in the ‘Same Boat’ (6 incidents, 75% participation rate)**

This category points to the importance of having support from peers or relatives who have shared similar cultural experiences and are able to understand the challenges associated with growing up with conflicting cultural values. Outcomes include: Helping one to validate the choices he or she is making, giving one a sense of belonging, or ‘home’, where he or she is not alone, a sense of normality has taken place where the individual has been able to move towards ‘accepting’ his or her cultural identity, a sense of collectivism, or ‘second family’, has developed with others who share similar experiences and understand the situation, participants have learned more about the Indian culture by speaking Punjabi with their peers and there has been an increased awareness and acceptance of the children’s views by the parents resulting in better communication in their relationship.

**Example 1 (Participant A8)**

Having friends that are in the same boat as me made it much easier because I didn’t have to constantly explain to them where I was coming from. We could relate and we didn’t have to explain it. And now, I wasn’t alone - there was a whole group of us who fit into this ‘grey’ area and it made it feel more like a home, a place where I belonged to. People who shared the same experiences as me made it a lot easier. You are not the ‘oddball’ anymore. And it is okay to be bicultural now.

**Example 2 (Participant D4)**

Well, my group of girlfriends that I have now, my brown friends, they all have had pretty much the same experiences as me. So we’re very in tune with one another and can all understand what some one else is going through because we are not the typical girls who have lived the sheltered life. We all have the freedom that we want, we can go see a movie whenever we want and are allowed to go to clubs. There are other brown friends that I had growing up whom I could not relate to, even though we were both brown. They were raised completely different than me. Here in Vancouver, all my friends parents are friends with my parents, and within our circle of friends. They
are all very forward and ‘biculural’. My friends are good at giving advice – they tell me to just remember that that’s how your grandparents have been raised, they’re from the old school, and this is what they expect. Just keep a level head and remember what you believe in. That kind of stuff has been helpful.

Example 3 (Participant H2)

I come from a large extended family where there are about 15 other girls and where a lot of them have gone through the same thing. We all hung out together and went to the same schools and dealt with the same issues. That was our support system. For example, ‘your parents are saying the same things as mine’, and we had a chance to debrief a lot of the issues. If I was alone, it would have been a very hard time but since I knew that there were others going through the same things, that gave me support. It was nice having others to rely on and it made you think and say ‘I can hang in there until I am a lot older and can do things on my own’. So it is a collective thing and we all kind of stuck together. Slowly our parents began to change and accept things from our view. They began to let us do more and experience more. Having the support made a big difference in helping us be who we were and developing our identity.

Category 5: Family Support and Influence (9 incidents, 75% participation rate)

In this category, participants stated that parents, grandparents and relatives had a positive impact in shaping their identity. Parental involvement, supportive and open relationship, role modeling and healthy communication were important in participants developing a clear sense of where they fit into the two cultures. Outcomes included: Feeling integrated into the Canadian society, obtaining a sense of closeness and connection with one’s family and extended family members, realizing which family and parental values fit for the individual, exposure to different aspects from each culture, increased understanding between parents and children and a desire to reproduce those ideas and values stressed in the home environment such as education, marriage, spirituality and honesty.

Example 1 (Participant B6)

My parents have helped me a lot in developing my identity, especially towards the western culture. They have been very open with me and I am lucky that I have been free to explore what there is in the Western culture. A lot of other Indian kids, second
generation Indian kids that were born here, didn’t get the chance to do those things because of their parent’s strong Indian values. But I was lucky enough to have parents that helped me integrate into the Canadian society. This helped me to do what all the other kids were doing and so then I wasn’t singled out like a lot of the other kids. I may be a rare case, in having Indian parents who are accepting of their children. For example, I have a sister a couple of years older than me, and she can go out with her friends or have them over at the house. With most Indian parents, having friends of the opposite sex even phoning the house is a big thing. I found that having parents being completely open to things like this has helped me a lot in the development of the Western cultural aspects. At the same time, through my grandparents and my parents as well, I have learned a lot about my Indian culture.

Example 2 (Participant E4)

Family ties - I find that I have become a family oriented person because I find that in the Western culture it isn’t there as much. I think that when I think about all of my aunts, uncles and titles - I realize the importance of family. How much it means to have family, and the importance of having closeness in family. As an East Indian person you know who your cousins are, but in the Western culture you know your Aunts and Uncles, but that’s basically it. Like second and third cousins are rarely known, but with us we are very close with our cousins. I really like the whole title system with Aunts and Uncles, so you know who’s who and you can identify with them. You know what part of the family they are from. Just the closeness, warmth, understanding and who you can turn to - that is important. I am glad I learned that because it is important in learning the closeness of families. I got this from going to these family gatherings. And knowing who’s whom. Family is important especially when you are growing up. Friends are friends, but family is a totally different aspect. They are always going to be there, and whenever you need someone, even knowledge wise, family is there - it is ingrained in me that family is important.

Example 3 (Participant F3)

After I turned 12, my Dad provided a positive connection for me when he became more religious and spiritual. That shift affected my mom and she became more spiritual and went to more of the religious functions. I got more positive stuff from the family environment. Like obtaining peace with yourself, and trying to do good for others. Be good, be helpful and be a nice person- those ideas I latched onto and they have definitely affected who I am today. And they say that when you grow older you become like your father but I believe that it’s not just the father, it is the family environment. That influences you as you get older and then you rebel less. And when you are trying to make sense of who you are and develop an identity, you go back to what you grew up with. It is comfortable to go back to what you know. The environment I grew up in, it’s what I know a house functions like. It’s like the number of children you want is usually close to the number of siblings you have...not very many less. You reproduce in a lot of ways with what you grow up with. That’s
what I am trying to do, reproduce some of these values. The difference is that I have to reproduce them in a contextual milieu of western Society, not in India, where you would just photocopy it and apply it. I have to fit it in to a different world view and context.

Example 4 (Participant G11)

I guess a lot stems from my Mom being comfortable with herself. She is a strong female, and she has been a huge role model for me. My Dad has recently become more of a role model for me, but growing up my Mom was the pillar of strength in my life. She was a neat, educated Indian woman, which has made her different from a lot of other Indian women. I know a lot of my friends who feel comfortable coming over to my house and talking with my parents. They have always been a go between for the older generation and the younger generation in my family. So the younger generation has always talked to my parents about their problems. My mom is an educator, and she has really shaped who I want to be like and what I want to be like. She is very strong in her belief systems and comfortable with herself. And I look at that and say you made it, you did well, you are Indian, you have faced a lot of adversity, and you have embraced being Indian, so why can’t I? It has made me want to be more like her. It has made me want to live my life honestly, and definitely strive for an education at least as high as my mother’s.

Category 6: Involvement in Recreational, Cultural and Religious Community Activities

(9 incidents, 63% participation rate)

This category emphasizes the significance of the participants involvement in recreational, cultural, and religious activities in the community. Athletics, cultural arts, religious festivals and work – the involvement in these activities have been an influential factor in the development of one’s identification with the contrasting cultures. Outcomes of this category included: Helping one to integrate into the Canadian society and being part of a larger group, giving one a sense of ‘acceptance’ with his or her peers, exposing one to different activities and people resulting in the discovery of new areas of interest and strength, helping to learn the traditions and meanings of each culture – For example, what were the underlying values and why things are done in that particular way. Other outcomes led to an
increased understanding and acceptance of the cultures and of the self, increased the
‘connectedness’ within the family and identified one’s place within the family.

Example 1 (Participant E5)

Celebrating Christmas and Thanksgiving - I am glad that we did those things because if we didn’t we wouldn’t know what it was and that would be sad. For example, when all the other kids would talk about it at school we understood what they meant. It would be difficult if we didn’t share in that experience. We don’t go all out when celebrating those western traditions, but we practice it and understand it. If we didn’t then it would be hard to relate to other people when they were talking about it, we would miss out on the conversation. It is important to know what it is about so we can relate and understand what they are doing and why they are doing it. Just knowing the background of it. I celebrate these events and they are important to me. Plus, we do this celebration as a family. It ties into the East Indian belief and tradition of family gathering - it is important in that sense and it is also important in that we are celebrating something that is not East Indian. We’re celebrating a Western tradition but it is our family that is getting together. It encompasses both.

Example 2 (Participant G4)

I have gone to the Gurudwara since I was little, about 5 years old. I have also gone to Indian weddings. I have always worn Indian clothes since I was little and I always loved Indian clothes. My family is all Indian, or the majority. I have gone to Indian receptions and Indian parties, I had to sing at the Gurudwara, and have been to the Basakhi parades. We celebrated different holidays in our home growing up from Chinese New year, Christmas, Davali, Basaki, all different types. There was a great deal of exposure to the Indian culture growing up.

Example 3 (Participant H4)

I took up dance, music, diving and different activities near the end of high school. I thought that life just can’t be about ‘Am I Indian or am I Canadian?’ I took up sports that I never tried before. I always had ideas of things I wanted to do and I did them. Things I would have never done before. The western influence helped me do that. I just got opened up and realized that there is more to life than what my background is about. I always was into things that other Indian people were not into doing. I don’t know if it was interest or if I wanted to get away from being labelled as an ‘Indian’ person. It helped us to flourish a bit when were able to do more things.

Category 7: Visiting India (5 incidents, 63% participation rate)

This category addresses participants who have had the opportunity to visit India on at
least one occasion and how that experience impacted their sense of identity. Outcomes included: Acquiring knowledge about one’s family history resulting in greater understanding and respect of parental beliefs and values, associating with the Indian aspects of identity on a deeper cognitive and spiritual level, and appreciating India and one’s Indian origins which has resulted in greater sense of pride.

**Example 1 (Participant G7)**

In 1994, the summer before I graduated from high school, I went to India. I don’t think I knew much at that time. I remember coming home and saying “I had found something in myself that I didn’t know was missing”. Here in Canada I had all my friends and stuff, but over there I felt very comfortable, I really felt at home. The smell and tastes, I had a really positive experience. Seeing what it was like, where I came from and where my families came from was amazing. The history is so rich you can’t help but appreciate it, and knowing you are part of if makes you feel proud. And knowing that my family is from there was special. It helped me be more comfortable with myself at a time when I hadn’t explored that part of me.

**Example 2 (Participant F7)**

Visiting India a few years ago reinforced a lot of things for me. I got to see a vision of what it means to be Indian, how it actually is played out in the pure sense. You could actually see it at work when you were there. It is a different system and different way of living but you could see that it functions which gives you hope. It gave it validity and made me realize that neither one is necessarily more privileged than the other. It definitely reinforced the Indian part in me and helped me be okay with who I am here in Canada.

**Example 3 (Participant A9)**

One big thing that influenced us when we were young was when we visited India. Our parents sent all the children to India for awhile so we could learn about the Indian culture and speak Punjabi and Hindi. I was only four at the time, so I was quite young. I didn’t even know what India was and we stayed at a boarding school which was pretty strict. At the time I resented my parents for sending me because when I came back it was difficult to relearn the English and I think it set me back. I was mad at them about doing that. And I know it was also hard for my brother too. Actually, when I look back on it I think there was a lot of good that came of it. I can speak, read and write Punjabi and Hindi and, it just gives me a stronger sense of who I am. I am appreciative of it now.
Example 4 (Participant H5)

The trip I took to India definitely helped me. It was very different when you are in one culture - it is totally different. You can be yourself, or you think you are yourself, but you only have to worry about that one culture, you don’t have to worry about defending that second side of life. But when you come back, the second culture shock begins. The trip to India was relaxing because you are hanging out with family, getting to know more about your history, but coming back is a little hard to get used to because it was like a vacation. It was tricky at times in terms of getting to know the family, fitting into things there but on the most part it was like home, this is where I fit in. When I went there it was like, oh I am at home, it was a revelation. I was able to find out what it was like to be an Indian person on a deeper level, much more so than here in Canada. It was a different way of thinking and speaking. It was so much more. More in the spiritual sense. We miss that here in Canada. It was more than the typical mainstream stuff, it made who I was much stronger. And then you come back here and it like I have to figure out where I fit in again. Maybe it was just easier having to deal with the one culture. In India I felt like I was totally Indian again, speaking the language, wearing the clothes, acting the role, and then you come back here and it’s a complete switch, like a chameleon.

Category 8: High School Experience (6 incidents, 50% participation rate)

This category emphasizes the influence of one’s high school experience on his or her sense of identity. The opportunity to meet different individuals, be exposed to the western lifestyle and learn from teachers has been important in developing a healthy and balanced bicultural identity. Outcomes included: Allowing individuals to meet different people and make friends with those of diverse ethnic backgrounds, expanding one’s way of thinking about and viewing different cultures and the world, having teachers as role models who were able to provide a link between parents and the western school system, and helping one to successfully cope and adapt to the western lifestyle by having first-hand experience.

Example 1 (Participant D7)

Well, the high school that I went to was a very multicultural school - I was involved in different activities and organizations that helped me deal with a variety of different people, different cultures and different races. It’s all about exposure - seeing different people, eating different foods, knowing about different cultures and realizing that Indian isn’t the only race out there. I think it has a lot to do with the schools I went to.
I think high school helped me be more bicultural than Indian.

**Example 2 (Participant A3)**

One side was being at home and the other side was when you went to school. In high school, there was the opportunity to meet different people, make friends who were not of an Indian background. Having that presence in my life affected who I was and what I liked. It was a very different atmosphere than being at home and I developed some very different cultural views from that experience. High school was a time where I was allowed me to meet friends of the Western background and it gave me more contact with the western lifestyle.

**Example 3 (Participant C10)**

My high school teachers helped me a lot. They told me to do things a certain way, which made things easier and helped me to learn more. Like, one time we had a parent-teacher conference and my parents came and he spoke with them and that helped. He helped them understand some of the things that were going on in the class which my parents did not know about. It made it easier at home with my parents and at school with my friends.

**Category 9: University Education (4 incidents, 50% participation rate)**

This category refers to the importance of the experience of a university education and its effect upon the participants development of a bicultural identity. The opportunity to be involved in an educational setting where one could explore different areas of interest and learn from other individuals. Participants have stated that education has provided them with options and a means to explore their interests in more depth. Outcomes included: Realizing that there are many areas of interest that are worthwhile to explore, recognizing that the views one’s parents carry do not necessarily reflect those of the participant, making independent and informed decisions based on increased knowledge, increasing one’s ability to understand and accept his or her parent’s situation and realizing the effect it has had on him or herself, and the opportunity to discover concepts to make sense of the world and imagine different possibilities for oneself.
Example 1 (Participant A10)

Getting an education has helped me recognize that there are so many other things out there to explore. It has made me realize some of the views that my parents have are not suitable for me. And I think that university and college gave me that option in finding out what else is out there and giving me options to choose from. I took a few courses on ethnic relations and identity formation in university, so I thought about a lot of things at that time – racism, our customs and traditions compared to the western ones. And it has influenced who I am and what my beliefs are. Just having more information has given me more choices and options and I feel more informed about the decisions I am making.

Example 2 (Participant F5)

My university education enabled me to hear about different worldviews, from various criminology and sociology courses. It stimulated a lot of different areas for me. In psychology, I had the opportunity to learn about things like identity and understand the world and personal boundary systems. It afforded me the opportunities to learn about myself and discover concepts that allowed me to make sense of the world - to have that personal theory about the world and create narratives about what is going on. Having all these diverse ideas gave me so many cognitive tools to ascribe me to my world. So I have many more ways to make sense of things and understand the world. I have all these different ways to give meaning to my world. It helped me translate what the heck is going on in this world into an identity. If I didn’t have it there would be more limits as to how I could make sense of the world, more constraints in developing my identity. I wouldn’t be able to do this as thoroughly if I didn’t have my education.

Category 10: Acceptance of Parent’s and / or Grandparent’s Views (3 incidents, 38% participation rate)

In this category, participants claim that in order to fully accept themselves and their identity, they must have gained an understanding of their parents beliefs, values and traditions. A recognition and acceptance of the differences that exist is significant in helping the participant develop his or her own bicultural identity. Outcomes included: acceptance of one’s parental beliefs and values has resulted in better communication and greater understanding of one’s parents, increase in one’s peace with the self and who he or she is
striving to be, a decrease in anger, blame and resentment towards his or her parents, and a
greater acceptance of the Indian culture.

Example 1 (Participant A1)

At some point I had to accept who my mom was, and what our relationship was like and what my parents wanted. I had to accept it and they had to accept some of my differences. And that kind of led to a better relationship between us. At first, I just didn’t attempt to understand where they were coming from, like they were too backwards and it didn’t make any sense to me. They thought I was ‘too white’, so that caused a lot of problems in our relationship. But, I just began to realize that they are not going to change much and these are the things they believe in, the things that they were brought up with. So once I accepted them and where they stood it made it easier for me to move towards those things I wanted. I could decide when I was going to compromise and when I wasn’t. The acceptance of where my parents were coming from helped us in building better ways of communicating with one another. It just made me more comfortable with who I was.

Example 2 (Participant E7)

I think just growing up and the knowledge I have gained has helped me to accept my Indian parts and understand my parents a lot better. With maturity, growth, going to school and working with families – that has helped me understand my parents more and accept certain things. I understand my parents more whereas before I didn’t. I resented being Indian before- the whole being an Indian woman thing, the traditions that we had to follow. I understand it now and have accepted it and there is less fighting between us. Accepting my parents and the ways they expect me to be. There is an acceptance of them in the way of understanding them and not being mad and upset at them for what they say because that is the way they were raised and that is the things they understand and not blaming them for me being upset. Before it was all blame, more or less. and I believed they were just doing things to hurt me. Whereas now I know they are doing things because that’s who they are, that’s the stuff that they learned and they don’t know any better. It’s not because of me, and that has helped me to accept them for who they are. And it has helped me accept my culture more. It has helped me become a little more traditional and to come to peace with them somewhat and not blame them. Peace with myself, understanding that this is the way it is and that is the norm. It is changing slowly and I am part of that transition. I don’t want to resent it, that’s who they are and this is who I am. I have to let the culture in. Instead of pushing it away I am letting it in more. So it has helped me get closer to my Indian culture.
Hindering Categories

Category 1: Parental and Familial Expectations (11 incidents, 88% participation rate)

In this category, participants expressed that parents and grandparents expectations of him or her negatively impacted the growth of a bicultural identity. Different beliefs, cultural conflicts and intergenerational challenges were hinderers to exploring certain areas of identity. Outcomes of this hindering category included: Lack of freedom to explore the western lifestyle, lack of openness about personal issues (resulting in dishonesty), ‘backlash’ against and resistance about learning about the Indian culture, inner conflict and turmoil when making personal decisions, a feeling of being controlled, lack of independence in trying new things, and resentment of being female when there were differing expectations between boys and girls.

Example 1 (Participant E8)

On thing that affected me was my step-dad’s expectations of being a traditional young East Indian lady with values of the Indian lifestyle. It was really hard for me to accept so I resented the culture because of his expectations, the rules and regulations that I was supposed to follow because I was a young East Indian lady. There was so much that I was totally against that I did not want to find out more. For example, staying at home and not being able to go out, and having to come home right after school. I wasn’t even allowed to baby sit. I had to stop because it meant I would be staying late at another person’s house. Playing sports, coming home late, things like that I would always get in trouble for. That didn’t make any sense to me because I had been doing it all along and everyone else was doing it so why couldn’t I do it. My brothers got to do it so why couldn’t I do it. The whole comparison thing came into play. My brothers got better treatment than me just because they were boys. So I started to resent the idea of me being an East Indian female, just because of the whole rules and regulations and expectations that he had on me. I think that hindered me in that I didn’t want to be East Indian and didn’t want to learn, didn’t want to accept and didn’t want to understand - I just hated it. It was tough. Because I really didn’t talk to anybody. I kept it inside and would be upset. I would have stomach aches and would be stressed, and I was too young to have stress. I really didn’t care to do well in high school and as a result I didn’t do so well because of that. So I think it had a very negative effect on me, the expectation part of it. At that point I didn’t want to incorporate any of the Indian in me. I wanted to stay away from it more. That is partly
why my language wasn’t so great, I didn’t want to accept it, I didn’t want to be East Indian. It hindered me in that it limited myself from learning in that time - learning about my culture, and understanding why he was expecting what he was expecting, what was the basis of it, and what was behind it all.

Example 2 (Participant D3)

I get the feeling that my grandparents and my Mom are trying to pull me away from the Western side. They want me to come back to the middle, the ‘grey area’. When they were raising me, they wanted me to go to the Western side – explore everything, see everything, do everything. But lately, there has been, this pull back to the Indian side because it’s getting scary for them. They think that because I am getting older now and want me to get married soon, and they don’t want to have any controversy there. I am blessed to have the upbringing I had but at the same, sometimes I think was it worth it? Now I have all this turmoil in my head about being pulled back. It’s like you are on a really long leash, where you can run as far as you want but at some point you are tugged back – you’re like an elastic rubber band. If you go a little too far, then they pull you right back. It’s frustrating because there has been countless arguments. For example, in the past few months, my Grandma has been pressuring me to meet some guy. ‘Let me introduce you to this guy’ – they don’t even know his name or what he looks like, but it’s like, ‘meet this guy’. I am just not ready right now for that kind of stuff. But it’s hard for me to listen to it because even though I know it’s traditional and every brown girl probably goes through it. But for some reason for me, it’s really hard to listen to and deal with. I want to have a job and a career started before I even think about getting married. My grandparents think ‘What is she talking about, why does she need to work?’. If I didn’t have this extra pressure I could just grow into the person I am supposed to be and I wouldn’t have to worry about upsetting others.

Example 3 (Participant H9)

Family roles and expectations led me to rebel against the Indian culture – my parents just wanted me to be at home all the time. They would say, ‘Why can’t you just stay home so we know what you are doing’. And if you chose an interest that not everyone else did, they would think you are a little bit different. For example, if I wanted to go hiking, biking or play sports, or travel, there were always the questions of ‘Why do you want to do that?” or ‘Why can’t you just be like all of your other cousins?’ There is always a lot of comparing and not understanding and that made me rebel even more against what is Indian because to me that means control, putting me down, repressing. I have this fear of being repressed, whereas the western side is finding out who you are, developing your identity, being able to try different things. So at that time in my life when I was wanting to try new and different things, I moved away from the Indian culture. My parents are having a hard time letting go and they are struggling with that. We are moving away from the Indian culture and asking questions that they don’t have the answers to, so they area bit shaken by it.
Example 4 (Participant C7)

My parents – they want you to be a certain way, the ‘Indian’ way. But they want you to make a ‘u-turn’ into the Western culture so that you can get a good education, and then still come back and be Indian. They want me to be educated from the Western culture, but still stay Indian. How can you do that? You have to have some Western to do that. So, ‘be Indian, get an education from the Western side, and then get a job and come back to be Indian’. For me, I pretend to go to the Indian side, even though my mind is elsewhere, and I don’t tell my parents. Personally, I am on the Western side, but pretending to be on the Indian side and when it hits, it will hit big time for my parents. It will happen soon. Like when I am 29 and they want an arranged marriage, it will hit hard. Right now I have to hide things, and can’t be all that open which has affected the way I would like my identity to be. I am going towards Indian, probably down the road, but personally I want to go the Western side. But my parents are pushing me to stay Indian.

Category 2: Media Influence and Societal Expectations (6 incidents, 75% participation rate)

This category refers to the negative influence of the media and community upon participants identity development. Television, newspapers, and society’s perceptions have impacted the way South Asian individuals view themselves, their families and culture of origin. Outcomes included: Holding beliefs that being Indian is inferior, or second class, based on community and media stereotypes, resentment of being an Indian female, fear of integrating into the Western community, fear of being involved with the Indian community because of what the community perceives one to be and a resistance to be associated with or learn about religious aspects of the Indian culture.

Example 1 (Participant A5)

Television and newspapers usually portrayed Indians in a negative light so when I was growing up I would try not to associate myself with the Indian culture too much. It was hard not to think that being Indian wasn’t that cool. Only until I felt comfortable with my identity and didn’t care what people thought was when I was able to take more of the Indian culture in. Before I got to that point, I always thought I didn’t want to be Indian.
Example 2 (Participant H10)

There is responsibility in terms of how you act and what you do. You keep the community strong and don’t disrespect the community. You don’t be an individual, you look for the good of the community, and do things to make it stronger. And there is the fear of assimilating, with all of the kids in the western culture, so they have to keep it tight knit. And I am out (of the community) right now because my Dad is not too involved, and I keep myself busy with my own life and I don’t give it too much time. My parents would hope to have me more involved. It has become so political once again, people are really realizing that it is not the best path, and even though it is tight knit community, there is still a lot of animosity between the people in it. That gives the young people more freedom to question it and not be so involved. It has a negative impact on me because you don’t want to associate yourself with issues going on in temples, shootings on the street, and gangs - so you distance yourself. And I know a lot of it is propaganda and the media. Any little thing will be brought up over and over again, but generally the image is negative and that is another reason why I tend to disassociate myself. They make it seem like it is the ‘typical’ Indian that is the one causing the problems, and you don’t want to be associated with that.

Example 3 (Participant G6)

I remember the big thing in 1984 in India and all that uprising around Sikhs, when the people were shot in Amritsar. A friend asked me “What are you?” and I said “Sikh”, and she said “Well, aren’t you bad?”, and I went home and I asked my Mom what she meant by that, as I guess my friend had seen this footage on television. That experience hindered my Indian development. How the media portrayed those people wearing turbans and having beards as terrorists, and the air-India bombing. For me it left an image of Khalsa and fundamentalism that was scary. The way Sikhs were represented was unfair. For me there is an image of turban wearing, long bearded men attached to a negative stereotype. It didn’t push me away from Indian but it may have pushed me away from religion at the time. I was able to make the distinction of those are the people on television and these are the people in my bubble and that is okay. But it did scare me a bit.

Example 4 (Participant D10)

I think Indians are all painted with the same brush when it comes to the media. There are these assumptions that all the new brides are getting beat up by their refugee husbands, or that all Indian guys are gangsters, so and so is a drug lord, a lot of stuff that is not positive. Even when I go into work, people ask me if I am East Indian, and when they find out they say “You don’t look like one, or act like one”. When I was younger, it was kind of cool when that happened, but now I feel insulted. You know, it’s not their fault, it’s what they have been taught. Indian people are supposed to act and look a certain way. Girls are supposed to be quiet and demure; they are not supposed to be funny or laugh. There is definitely a perception of society at large
about how Indian people are, and it will take time before it will change. I get offended nowadays when I get that comment. If anything it makes me want to change people’s views, like if I am given and opportunity to do it I will. Like when I started working at this restaurant, one of the first things my manager said to me was ‘I don’t want you to be offended but East Indians don’t tip, so if you get an East Indian customer and you don’t get a good tip, don’t be offended because they are just cheap’. I looked at him and said ‘You know I am Indian right’ and he said ‘Yeah’. Well, that was inappropriate. So I told me Dad and he and about twenty of his friends made a reservation and tipped out everyone in the restaurant to prove a point - the kitchen, the bartender, all the waiters - to prove a point. To show them that East Indians do tip. Like someone said I don’t know many East Indian girls who are funny, I and I will say well you just haven’t been exposed to it. Which is kind of sad, but there is definitely a perception out there which sucks. Well people will be ignorant, and you can’t do much about that.

**Category 3: Personal Conflict of Cultural Values (4 incidents, 50% participation rate)**

This category refers to an individual’s internal struggle over trying to incorporate the two contrasting cultures with differing values. Outcomes included: Different standards of judgement, priorities, gender roles and ‘worlds’ have resulted in one being unable to develop a clear sense of identity, feeling confused and frustrated from being ‘caught’, or lost, between two groups of peers with similar yet conflicting values. Other outcomes were questioning the integrity of the values one holds because they are conflicting and a lack of self-acceptance and confidence about the self based on having to constantly explain one’s identity to others.

**Example 1 (Participant B9)**

As far as I can remember, from grade 4 until I graduated from high school, I always felt kind of caught between two worlds. Even though I had my different groups of friends, I always found myself ‘caught’. I mean, there was a distinct Indian group of males that hung out together at school. And I made my choice to hang out with a different crowd. I didn’t do it purposely, it’s just the way things happened. But it made me caught in between two groups of friends. And I would take a bad rap from the Indian group, like when I would walk by they would say ‘there goes the white guy’. And that troubled my sense of identity. It was a weird feeling knowing that I was Indian and then there are guys that had completely different values than myself, even though we all were Indo-Canadian. Yet there was still a very different set of
values for both of us and that had me caught between the two groups, kind of lost.

Example 2 (Participant E11)

Sometimes I find it difficult because I do have values that clash. I want to be an Indian woman who respects the values and traditions but I also want to enjoy the western part of myself and let loose a bit more than a traditional East Indian woman would. So sometimes it is hard. I find myself compromising and making it work. Now that I am older, I am getting to a point where I understand. I don’t resent things anymore. I am able to weigh it out and balance things. Like going out ‘clubbing’ – that’s a common one. ‘East Indian woman don’t do that’. But in the western culture why would you even question it, it is just a normal activity. So there are things where I go through periods and say I am not going to go clubbing anymore and just have little get togethers at home and then I think, hold on, I am not doing anything wrong, I am just going out with my friends. So I go through periods like that where I think I shouldn’t or I think it is okay. That’s one major issue.

Example 3 (Participant A11)

I would constantly get asked by people in the community and school questions like, “Where do you come from?” or “Who are you?” or “Where are you from?”. So you become aware that you’re not really part of the Western culture - that you’re different than everyone else. It wasn’t until I was actually around 20, when I began to accept the Indian parts in me and accept that part of my identity. Before then, it was like I was stuck between two opposing views, not knowing which way to go, one day thinking my parents views were right and then shifting back to the other side- there was that constant shifting back and forth. If I wanted to make a decision about something it was very frustrating. It was very difficult sitting on the fence and wondering where do I fit in.

Example 4 (Participant F8)

There were different standards of judgment between the two cultures which made it very difficult. The ‘Caucasian’ rules or how success was defined definitely influenced me. Like you were competent if you had a girlfriend. That was one of the markers in high school. So in Grade 8, if that’s what it meant to be popular, I went and got a girlfriend. Whereas growing up in a Punjabi environment, having a girlfriend is not much of a priority. There is much more emphasis on family. To have a good family, friends and social network is important. More value is placed on being collectivistic. Whereas the western is more individualistic. You try to find a partner, and that is your status symbol. Having a girlfriend in high school is a big status symbol. But having a good family, that is irrelevant. For the Sikh way, having a good family is way more important, so it was a lot of those western markers that I bought into because that is mostly what I saw. So I started following those rules for success, those markers for success. You got to get a girlfriend, you have to rebel against your
parents, and you can’t tell your parents where you’re going, things like that. And this caused turmoil in the family because they were looking at the Sikh markers for success and I was looking at the Western markers. So there was some personal conflict and I just dealt with it. There was a lot of conflict trying to balance the different value systems.

Category 4: Experiencing Racism (3 incidents, 38% participation rate)

In this category, participants’ experience of racism played a negative role in identity development. Being teased, seeing others face racism and direct experience were forms of racism that participants encountered. Outcomes included: Resistance towards accepting the Indian culture, feeling inferior (lower status) or shameful in the community, assimilating negative attributes of being Indian into the self, holding the belief that the Indian culture is ‘bad’, a wish to be white, and the inability to feel relaxed and confident about who one is and where he or she fits in.

Example 1 (Participant H11)

If I had been exposed to more Indian people then it would have been different. My sister and I were the only brown people in the whole school, and it was weird. There was huge racism. And I didn’t think it was racism at the time. I would have teachers come up to me and ask if I was okay changing in the change room with others, and I thought well why wouldn’t I be I guess they thought that because I came from a different background, they should be extra protective. That was a form of racism, not understanding, but presuming where we had come from. And you heard, but not to our face, the comments such as ‘Punjab or Hindu’ - the slurs, and it was all kind of laughed about, but I didn’t say anything because you didn’t want to make it obvious. You wanted to just fit in and just float there and not stand out. I wanted to become invisible. At home you are normal. When you go to school, you change. You don’t do certain things, you pretend to like the stuff that they like, you act a certain way, you get this different air about you, and then you go home. You are probably more yourself at home just because you have been brought up in that environment, so you can relax where as at school there is more of a front that you have. I can’t really remember too many times where I was relaxed or completely myself. It was until Grade 12 where I began to feel confident in who I was, as usually there was this front the minute I got into school. It was just a coping skill. I hated the Indian side. I pushed it away. Especially the outside things that made you look Indian. I cut my hair, so it wasn’t long and in braids. I started shopping in places, getting the Keds, the jeans, the Espirit t-shirts, just so that I would look like everyone else. Whereas
before, you wore whatever your parents bought for you, so clothes became a big issue because you wanted to look like everyone else and wanted to act like everyone else. If you could do that on the outside, even if you didn’t feel that way on the inside, at least it would be okay because people wouldn’t point you out as being different. There was never a sense of really fitting in – I always felt like I was thinking about my actions.

Example 2 (Participant F2)

Just the racism. Especially in elementary school. I had one guy who had a ‘jurda’ (turban) on and he just got it so bad. You really feel for the guy because I just had one on a few years before that. I felt like I was guilty by association because I was brown too. He was called a ‘turban twister’, and there wasn’t very much pride in being a Sikh or Punjabi when people made fun of you. There weren’t very many of us and it was a position of low status and lower power, lower authority. So as a kid, my job was to assimilate into the environment as much as I could and when the environment was giving me negative things, I assimilated that into myself. ‘That this is a bad culture, and I was a bad person because I am part of that culture’. I had low self-esteem and didn’t think very highly of myself or my abilities because I was just a ‘turban twister’. One takes it in a lot more when they are young. And this absolutely did push me away from being Indian. I wanted to be white, I wanted to minimize as much of the brown in me that I could. Like they say, ‘when in Rome do as Romans do, when among the white folk do as they do’. That definitely hindered developing my Indian cultural identity. It wasn’t until my early 20’s that I started to come out of that. There is more acceptance of myself. But I also experienced the brown people being racist against the whites, and I didn’t like that either. They were just being the same as the others. I have seen both sides of the pendulum, as I have seen racism against me and been racist against white people. So now I have a greater appreciation for myself and for diversity. I am a big fan for diversity and not assimilating cultures, which is why I am not a fan of assimilating into one identity, because no one has the answers.

Part II: Validation Procedures

Exhaustiveness

According to Anderson and Nilsson (1964), categories emerge after the classification of a few critical incidents. Following McCormick’s (1995) study, approximately ten percent of the incidents were set aside (4 responses from Participant A and 4 responses from Participant B) until all the categories were formed. These unexamined incidents were then
classified into the defined categories with no new categories needing to be formed. The category system was then considered comprehensive as a result of the incidents being placed under the existing categories.

**Co-researchers Cross-checking**

In the second interview, participants were asked to give their input as to what they felt would be the most appropriate heading for each category, if it differed from the original. A total of 6 categories were jointly re-named during this process. “Involvement with Peers from Different Cultures” became “Cross Cultural Friendships”, “Peers in the Same Boat” became “Shared Experiences with Peers in the Same boat”, “Involvement in Cultural Activities” became “Involvement in Recreational, Cultural and Religious Community Activities”, “Media Influence” became “Media Influence and Societal Expectations”, “Cultural Conflict” became “Personal Conflict of Cultural Values”, “Parental Expectations” became “Parental and Familial Expectations”. These groups were renamed to provide a broader categorization that would include all relevant incidents.

**Participation Rate**

Participation rate is determined by calculating the percentage of participants who responded to each category. For example, 7 of 8 participants responded with critical incidents in the “Cross Cultural Friendships” category resulting in a 88% participation rate. Borgen and Amundson (1984) suggested that a 25% participation rate would be sufficient in considering a category as valid. In this study, the participation rates varied from a low of 38% in 2 categories (Acceptance of Parent’s and /or Grandparent’s Views and Experiencing Racism) to a high of 88% in 4 Categories (Cross Cultural Friendships, Speaking both English and Punjabi, Personal Attributes and Parental and / or Familial Expectations).
Independent Rater

Two independent raters participated in sorting the incidents into the defined categories. Each sorting session was completed one-on-one with the researcher and lasted approximately 40 minutes. Both independent raters were Masters students in the Counselling Psychology Program at the University of British Columbia having familiarity with cross-cultural issues and the critical incident technique. Raters were read a description of each category and given index cards listing all 14 categories. The researcher demonstrated the validation procedures by giving the raters two examples of critical incidents, (typed on index cards) and sorting them into an appropriate category as a means to provide an understanding and example of the categorical process. The raters were then asked to place 35 randomly selected critical incidents under what they believed to be the most appropriate category. Each category was represented at least once but no more than three times. The raters were left alone during this process with no communication taking place. Results of the categorizing were as follows: Rater #1 correctly placed 33 out of 35 critical incidents reaching a 94% agreement, and Rater #2 categorized 34 of the 35 critical incidents correctly, thus having a 97% agreement.

Anderson and Nilsson (1964) and McCormick (1994) have suggested two independent raters being sufficient for this sorting process. Anderson and Nilsson (1964) have also stated that it is necessary to reach a level of agreement between 75-85 % for the categories. Categories are considered valid if an agreement of 80% is accomplished.

Theoretical Agreement

A final method for assessing the validity of the defined categories was completed by addressing the theoretical agreement with previous research. McCormick (1994) suggests
that a comparison of each category with past research will identify consistencies or discrepancies. If consistency was found, the category would be considered sound. If consistency was not found, validity of the category could be questioned. The emergence of a new category, not addressed in previous research, would be considered as a ‘possibility’ until future research confirmed or disconfirmed its validity. Theoretical agreement was found for 13 of the 14 categories, with only “University Education” not having any relevant research supporting its role in bicultural development. All the categories were retained with the hope that future research will expand upon or clarify its validity. Thus, the findings have supported the soundness of the defined categories. The theoretical agreement with previous research and the current categories are as follows:

Cross Cultural Friendships. Peer relationships provide a means of social comparison, belonging, companionship and intimacy, as well as a source of information outside of the family (Garrod et al., 1999). LaFromboise et al. (1993) suggests that those individuals most successful at managing a bicultural existence have established some form of stable social networks in both cultures. This experience of having a well-developed social support system has been labeled as a ‘sense of being grounded’ (p. 407). Lewis and Ford (1991) state that being grounded in both cultures through a social network enhances an individual’s ability to cope with those pressures of living in a bicultural environment. A study by Ghuman (1994) in Vancouver, Canada, showed that there was a favourable degree of cross-ethnic friendship patterns by South Asian youths which resulted in the emergence and development of bicultural identities. Further, the youth supported the idea of interacting with the indigenous culture and rejecting the ‘ghetto mentality’ of sticking to their own respective ethnic group. Rangaswamy (2000) suggests that most Indian youths who are passing from adolescence into
adulthood view the opportunity to be exposed to different cultures, languages and individuals as an enriching rather than limiting experience. Participants stated that cross-cultural relationships gave them a sense of belonging, promoted positive socialization with different ethnic groups and helped them learn more about themselves in relation to other cultures.

Speaking English and Punjabi, Northover (1988) suggests that each of a bilingual’s languages is the mediator between differing cultural identities within one and the same person. Ghuman (1999) states that the ‘role of the mother tongue is deemed crucial in maintaining inter-generational links and in the teaching and learning of religion and its rituals (p. 114). Language can be viewed as one of the core elements of an individual’s culture, as it encapsulates one’s worldviews and is the main vehicle for transporting values, attitudes, ideas and skills (Ghuman, 1999). De Anda (1984) states that the bilingual individual has the greatest opportunity to become bicultural and by being able to converse in both languages, one is more likely to be exposed to a greater number of individuals and learning situations, resulting in increased competence and understanding. Baker (1995) identifies language as playing an important role in developing one’s personal identity and serving as a social identity marker. Young and Gardner (1990) demonstrated the positive relation between second-language proficiency and ethnic identification. In their study, they found that participants who had a positive attitude towards both cultures were proficient in both languages or were motivated to improve their skills in the second language. And those participants who feared losing his or her cultural identification, had a weaker language proficiency. Speaking both Punjabi and English gave participants in this study the opportunity to develop an awareness and understanding of their familial, cultural and historical roots, as well as a sense of identity that encompassed both the Western and Indian
cultures.

**Personal Attributes.** Schlossberg (1981) recognizes that there are a number of individual characteristics that may be considered significant in the development of a bicultural identity – ranging from personal identity traits, cultural attributes, age and life stage, gender and socioeconomic status. All of these factors can potentially impact an individual’s ability to develop and refine his or her skills. Triandis (1980) addresses the role of individual personality and suggests that self awareness and the ability to analyze social behaviour are two factors in determining one’s ability in becoming bicultural. Open-minded, tolerant, adaptable hard-working are a few of the traits identified by the participants as helping them in conflicting cultural situations.

**Shared Experiences with Peers in the Same Boat.** De Anda (1984) considers an individual who has had experience dealing with the dual socialization process as a cultural translator or mediator. These individuals are considered effective agents in promoting biculturalism as he or she can share his or her own experiences and provide information that facilitates understanding of the contrasting cultural values and perceptions. This interaction allows the opportunity to exchange similar ethnic views and also meet the demands of the society without compromising personal values and norms (De Anda, 1984, Brown, 1990). In this study, participants described supportive peers or relatives as giving them a sense of normality and belonging which has led to a greater acceptance of his or her cultural identity.

**Family Support and Influence.** Dryfoos (1998) addresses the importance of parents helping children form strong attachments to responsible adults so that the children can successfully move through adolescence into their own adulthood. Pettys and Balgopal (1998) state that the ability to maintain contact with family and extended family is a great source of
support throughout the family life cycle, as it helps the family maintain family values, language and religion, all of which are contributors to identifying with one’s Indian identity. Segal (1991) showed the importance of having family support, especially during critical periods. Although there was a lack of communication and a certain level of control exercised by the parents, adolescents spoke of an unshakable sense of support and grounding in basic human values that gave them a sense of stability and confidence within their family system. Pettys and Balgopal’s (1998) research recognized that those families in search of a ‘middle-ground’ orientation fell in between the ‘collectivistic’ India and the ‘individualistic’ America. Their findings suggested that those successful families had a ‘family orientation,’ where emphasis was placed on assertiveness, egalitarian roles and a combination of individual independence and internalized group values. Positive role modeling, open communication and supportive parental involvement were addressed by participants as key areas that allowed for a strong connection with family and community to develop.

Involvement in Recreational, Cultural and Religious Community Activities.

LaFromboise et al. (1993) refers to ‘cultural awareness and knowledge’ as one dimension of an individual’s bicultural competence. It can be defined as the degree to which an individual is aware of and knowledgeable about the history, institutions, rituals and everyday practices of a given culture. Gibbs and Huang (1998) note the significance of community activities (ie. church, youth groups, drama, work, organized sports and volunteer activities) in providing minority adolescents with a sense of competence, specialized skills and meaning that is not available in the school or home environment. A study by Schiller (1987) demonstrated that bicultural American Indians were better adjusted than their non-bicultural counterparts in areas of academics and cultural knowledge. These bicultural students had more effective
study habits, higher grade point averages and demonstrated a stronger commitment to using school resources. The bicultural students had higher rates of participation in cultural activities and educational courses and perceived their Indian heritage to be an advantage. Kazelah (1986) showed that American Indian youth who were given more opportunities for social expression, both in the ethnic community and outside of it, demonstrated more confidence in their abilities and tolerance of their ethnic lifestyle than those individuals who were restricted in their activities with peer groups and in the community. Participants in this study described athletics, cultural arts and celebrations, and work as helping them integrate into the mainstream society, gain acceptance with peers and feel more confident in the areas they chose to explore.

Visiting India. Ghuman (1994) interviewed adolescents who had visited their parents' country of origin. Many respondents viewed the experience as positive in terms of seeing their family and experiencing the culture. However, the majority stated that they would not be in favor of residing there in the future. Participants in this study discussed how this experience allowed them to see their cultural identity from another perspective which led to a greater understanding and appreciation of their parents and Indian origins.

High School Experience. Ghuman (1999) suggests that next to family, school is the most important institution of socialization for young people, as it plays an integral role in the development of one's ethnic identity. Frydenberg (1997) states that even the relatively formal school based contacts with other individuals will start the progression of building a sense of support and intimacy. Teachers are major players in helping the education system cultivate a positive outlook towards ethnic cultures and developing an atmosphere for one to grow biculturally (Ghuman, 1994). Teachers can provide an environment of understanding and
acceptance of different cultural values which can facilitate the process of learning and motivation for students (Lau, 2000). High school was described by the participants as a time where one could interact with different peers, create a social network and have support from teachers.

**Acceptance of Parents and Grandparents Views.** Dasgupta (1998) suggests that there must be a compromise met by both the child and parents in order to find a solution for conflicting values, where the parents learn more about their child’s struggles and for the child to take time to teach his or her parents about new ways of looking at a situation. A student Dasgupta’s (1998) study stated: “It is a two-way relationship. It takes two to tango. I talk to them (parents) which means that I trust them, which means they have to trust me. The way to teach your parents is to be their role model. Raise your parents well!” (p. 968). Szapocznik et al. (1986) uses a process of ‘bicultural effectiveness training’ where family members attempt to value things about the culture they less identify, which helps to value both cultures and allows for a redefinition of the conflict and resolution possible. Participants in this study have stated that recognizing and understanding where their parent’s beliefs and attitudes originate have provided better communication and greater acceptance of the Indian culture.

**Parental and Family Expectations.** Falicov (1998) addresses the clash of values between immigrant parents and their teens as a manifestation of areas regarding attitudes towards sexuality, gender definitions, interpretation of hierarchies, standards for curfew, alcohol use and dating. Unhappiness, depression, confusion and anxiety have been found to occur in Latino adolescents who have been raised in a strict home environment with close supervision (Falicov, 1998). Segal (1991) addressed the parent-child conflict that exists
when parents felt that their children were unable to make sound independent decisions and exercised greater control. The resulting power struggle led to the children responding with rebelliousness, verbal retaliation and passive-aggressive behaviour. Rangaswamy (2000) states Indian youth as having felt constrained, resentful and confused when faced with values that were constantly at odds with those of their parents. Pettys and Balgopal (1998) addressed the interpersonal and multigenerational conflicts that immigrant families experience as a result of balancing the Indian value system based on autonomy and the Western value system based on individuation. Lau's (2000) study on British Asian adolescents showed that those faced with cultural ambivalence felt significantly more constrained within their families, perceived their families as interfering more in their daily lives and felt less valued and emotionally close to their parents. In this study, participants have expressed that conflicting beliefs and expectations have resulted in inner turmoil, a lack of openness, and a feeling of being controlled.

**Media Influence and Societal Expectations.** Mani (1992) claims that the maintenance of Indian traditions and identity have historically been placed on South Asian women's shoulders, resulting in the second-generation daughter's role to be more strictly monitored than the son's. As a result, there is an expectation from within the Indian community for Asian Indian women to maintain a more traditional gender role, which has limited them in their ability to fully express themselves (Dasgupta, 1998). Further, Lafromboise et al. (1993) claim that an individual must be able to live in an environment where there is positive regard for both cultures and groups. If one is unable to feel comfortable about interacting with a particular culture that is the target of negative feelings, that individual may display negative behavioural and educational outcomes and a negative self-concept. Ghuman (1999) notes
that in order for biculturalism to materialize it is important for the community to be accepting and tolerant of cultural diversity. Participants have addressed television and society's perceptions as negatively affecting their view of Indian identity and involvement in the Indian culture.

**Personal Conflict of Cultural Values.** Ghuman (1994) suggest that in the process of identity formation, South Asian adolescents encounter increased role confusion at home and in society, as they try to reconcile the conflicting values between what they believe, what their families suggest and what the school system promotes. If values are not synthesized appropriately, it can lead to internal tension and compartmentalization of experiences. Segal (1991) states that role conflict and role discrepancies result in role partialization during the adolescent's maturation phase. Garrett's (1996) study looked at American Indian students who had difficulty reconciling existing cultural differences and discovered a decline in academic functioning and motivation, along with higher feelings of rejection, depression and anxiety when compared with other students. In this study, participants have stated that the internal struggle has resulted in confusion, questioning of values and a lack of self-confidence about one's identity.

**Experiencing Racism.** Racial prejudice and discrimination has been shown to occur in numerous settings and affects self-esteem, confidence, and personal identity of South Asian youth (Ghuman, 1999). Further, it can be a negative influence upon one's integration into the mainstream culture resulting in identity diffusion. Falicov (1998) suggests that encounters with racism or discrimination can result in ethnic affirmation or ethnic shame, a wish to assimilate with the dominant culture or a desire to isolate from it. Participants state that racism has led to feelings of inferiority, resisting to accept aspects of the Indian culture
and feeling shameful about their ethnic identity.

In summary, the categories’ validity were supported by the five tests used in this investigation (exhaustiveness, co-researchers cross checking, participation rate, independent raters and theoretical agreement). Soundness of the category system was accomplished when withheld incidents were placed into suitable, established categories. The trustworthiness of the categorical system was achieved by obtaining a high level of agreement when using independent raters to classify critical incidents. The process of cross checking with co-researchers allowed for additions and modifications to be done jointly, and provided a way of ensuring accuracy of the participants responses. Participation rates were above 38% for all categories, achieving soundness based on a reasonable interpersonal agreement. Theoretical agreement with previous research was shown for 13 of the 14 categories. The lone category, “University Education,” was retained with the hope that future research would provide support in confirming its role in the bicultural process.
Chapter V

Discussion

After conducting interviews with 8 participants on what facilitated and hindered their process towards becoming bicultural, 14 valid and reliable categories (10 helping and 4 hindering) emerged. The 14 categories included: ‘Helping’ - Cross Cultural Friendships, Speaking both Punjabi and English, Personal Attributes, Shared Experiences with Peers in the ‘Same Boat’, Family Support and Influence, Involvement in Recreational, Cultural and Religious Community Activities, Visiting India, High School Experience, University Education, Acceptance of Parent’s and / or Grandparent’s Views, and ‘Hindering’ – Parental and / or Familial Expectations, Media Influence / Societal Expectations, Personal Conflict of Cultural Values and Experiencing Racism. In this chapter, general findings, implications for counselling theory and practice, limitations and future research will be addressed.

General Findings

This study focused on those factors which facilitated and hindered one’s adolescent bicultural process. For many individuals, the full effect of the role biculturalism plays does not become evident until adulthood when one may leave the confines of the home, pursues a career, changes communities or gets married. For the South Asian youth, the development of one’s identity in adolescence will most likely extend into adulthood based on the fact that the majority of individuals continue to live at home with their parents or extended family. All of the participants interviewed lived with some members of their family. Six participants lived at home with their parents, while the remaining two lived with siblings. In reference to ethnic identity models, one may still be in the process of developing a firm sense of ethnic identity well into adulthood. Smith (1991) suggests that ethnic identity development posits a lifelong
process that begins in childhood and continues throughout adulthood. Many of the events shared by the participants addressed experiences from late childhood, through adolescence, all the way to the present time, suggesting that the ‘biculural process’ was still in effect. It was apparent that individuals had developed a stable framework for a bicultural identity to exist, but that their identity formation would still be challenged as they continued to move along that continuum in adulthood. For example, participants suggested that there was a ‘re-negotiation’ of their identity as they moved into adulthood around issues of career, relationships, independence and marriage. Some participants an increased pressure from parents and grandparents to return to more of a Indian lifestyle in adulthood after deviating from the Indian culture as a means to explore the Western lifestyle. In reference to ethnic identity models, it could be stated that factors such as visiting India, developing cross-cultural friendships, and being involved in recreational and cultural community activities were examples of experiences when one was ‘immersed’ or motivated to search and discover aspects about his or her ethnicity. These ‘passages’ or processes definitely influenced the development of an ‘achieved ethnic identity’ where values of both cultures had been internalized. It is also important to note that there were identity challenges that still existed in participants as they were still exploring conflicting areas such as independence vs. family interconnectedness and marriage vs. career.

Unlike many of the stage theories, one must be careful in assuming ‘biculurality’ to be a fixed experience where there are fixed personal and social identity markers when making the transition from adolescence into adulthood. Categorizing these individuals as ‘biculural South Asian’ may be inappropriate as the continuum is broad for a group of individuals such as this. The participants experiences suggest a continual fluctuation back
and forth from the Indian and Western cultures, where one appears to carry two identities simultaneously (i.e., at home and at school). One's identity can be considered relational—with parents, grandparents, extend family, peers and community. Both the developmental and contextual elements need to be considered when addressing the identity of an individual.

Although a select sample of individuals were chosen for this study based on their ethnicity, age, religion, place of birth and parents' heritage, it is vital to state the 'uniqueness' of each individual and their experiences. Each participant encountered different life events which influenced their movement towards becoming bicultural and they all continue to develop parts of their ethnic identity at their own pace. It is difficult to narrow down all the factors and suggest that only these categories influenced one's identity—other significant life events may have played a role in the formation of values, attitudes and worldviews.

A noteworthy finding has been the role parents and family played in both facilitating and hindering participants' bicultural experiences. Critical incidences were highest in the Family Support and Influence (9 incidents) and Parental and/or Familial Expectations (11 incidents). Some participants stated their parents as being supportive, accepting, open to communication, flexible, role models or a spiritual influence. Other participants stated their parents as being restrictive, controlling, and inflexible. Thus, depending on the parenting styles and beliefs, an individual's identity can be greatly affected one way or the other. The positive and negative parental influences lend support to this factor playing a prominent role in the development of one's identity. It would be imperative to focus on this category when addressing implications for theory and practice. One may attribute the different parenting styles of these families to many factors ranging from their own age at immigration, personal acculturation process, parents' style of communication, and education.
The category 'Shared Experiences with those Peers in the Same Boat' showed that this was a support strategy used predominantly by the female participants. All female participants reported that this category was a facilitating factor in giving them a sense of belonging, acceptance and self-confidence in their identity. Having the support network of female peers who could relate to their situation seemed to normalize the participants experience and also gave them a belief that they could change the views of their parents as a group. These findings may suggest that some bicultural experiences of females are different than their male counterparts. Parental expectations such completing household duties, filling the role of a traditional Indian woman, meeting ‘female’ standards within the Indian community and preparing for marriage before career were some of the conflicts identified by female participants. This is an area that can be expanded upon in many respects. Addressing the differences in expectations between males and females in childhood, adolescence and adulthood would be beneficial in learning about how it has impacted an individual’s socialization experience, role within the family and internalization of cultural attitudes and beliefs.

The findings in this study suggest that there a number of factors that can enhance and inhibit one’s ability to integrate two cultures into his or her sense of identity. The identification of these factors and how they impact one’s bicultural process provides a greater understanding of what are the most influential factors in allowing one to converge two differing cultures. Since it has been researched that biculturalism is an advantageous method of acculturation, the recognition of those agents would be considered significant. To know what allows one to successfully integrate the two cultures will be useful in counselling, education, and identity research.
Implications for Theory

Although there has been considerable research on different methods of acculturation and their effects, this study focused on those processes that have enabled individuals to become bicultural. The findings in this investigation provide exploratory evidence which confirms and extends research relating to those factors which support and challenge a South Asian individual in the bicultural process. Previous research has stated that biculturalism is becoming the most advantageous form of cultural adaptation but there has been a considerable lack of research into how the process occurs and what the influencing factors upon the individual are.

Findings from this study provide support for the 'alternation' model of biculturalism, where one is able to arrive at a place where he or she can understand, appreciate and practice two different cultures. Speaking different languages representative of each culture, being involved in varying cultural, religious and recreational activities in the community, having personal relationships with members of varying ethnic backgrounds, developing a stable support system, and recognizing different culturally appropriate roles are strategies that have allowed participants in this study to move towards integration in both cultural contexts. Further given these resources, a sense of 'bicultural competence' (LaFromboise et al., 1993) can be confirmed.

The categories also provide current models with specific strategies that have helped individuals navigate from childhood to adulthood, impacting upon their personal, social and cultural aspects of identity. Phinney (1996) stated that the development of ethnic identity has been influenced by family, community and society but research in the specific factors that help one reach an 'Achieved ethnic identity' has not been documented empirically. Birman
(1998) also suggests that methodology needs to be developed that will enable researchers to understand the different ways that individual may be bicultural. In this study, the findings have provided a stepping stone for other investigations to support or disconfirm evidence linked to an individual’s bicultural process. The categories can be used to create a model consisting of those positive and negative processes which have influenced a South Asian adolescent’s movement towards developing a bicultural identity.

Implications for Practice

The current study offers insight and information that will be valuable for educators, helping professionals, counsellor training and program development. The findings will be useful in counselling practice in a number of areas. First, it will allow practitioners to recognize and understand that many factors exist and are associated with culture and identity. Second, the categories can be used by counsellors when working on cultural and intergenerational conflicts between adolescents and their families. Counsellors can help support families by:

(i) Helping clients validate and strengthen the connection to their cultural heritage.

(ii) Help parents and youths identify with aspects of the two contrasting cultures that is a source of conflict and with those parts that are considered a positive in the adaptation process.

(iii) Create and awareness and use support systems such as peers, schools, extended family and community.

(iv) Finding out what cultural beliefs, values and traditions are important to that particular individual and family (avoid making assumptions or generalizations based on cultural or religious beliefs).
Third, the findings will help counsellors working with issues related to identity in adolescents and young adults. One may:

(i) Encourage the individual to explore areas of interest and attitudes towards both cultures.

(ii) Help the individual identify and promote strategies for one to develop a stable network of support comprised of peers, family and relatives.

(iii) Help the individual explore and examine areas where he or she may internalize negative attributes or images of their own ethnic group.

Findings from this investigation can be used in the development and design of a supportive program for youths experiencing cultural conflict in acculturating families. A goal of such a program would be to jointly address the prevention of family and cultural conflict issues, and the effective facilitation of a youth’s identity. As well, the findings will help provide a framework for working with parents and youths a group setting, addressing issues of intergenerational conflict. For helping professionals living in a multicultural society such as Vancouver, Canada, the awareness and understanding of how cultural conflicts may impact families is imperative. The resulting categories provide a framework for practitioners who work with immigrant families faced with intercultural conflict and parent-teen challenges.

Limitations

The current study has a number of limitations. First, using the critical incident method, participants were asked to recall events that helped or hindered their movement towards developing a bicultural identity. Those elicited events were stories that participants remembered during the interview, as it may be possible that other relevant ones from adolescence had been forgotten. However, the second follow up interview did allow for
participants to modify or give additional information to their original responses regarding their bicultural process. Second, one must note that the incidents or events were reported by the participant rather than observed by the researcher. In this case, participants recollection of the events relating their experience may not have been an accurate representation of their adolescent experience. The impact of the event may have been perceived differently at the current time in comparison to when it actually happened. A third limitation to consider is that of the sample size and population. Only 8 participants (5 females and 3 males) were interviewed producing 88 critical incidents. Although all participants met the selection criteria, one must be cautious about generalizing the results to all second generation South Asians who fall within this demographic bracket.

**Future Research and Recommendations**

Future research should focus on the following areas:

(1) As there appears to be a lack of controlled research, longitudinal studies looking at various ethnic populations from different communities is required. More qualitative research with in depth interviews are needed to give support to the specific processes that exist in cultural adaptation as most bicultural models are speculative, lacking empirical evidence to support their claims. This will allow a more complete picture of how biculturalism occurs, what are the socialization processes for each cultural group, and what are the related outcomes for those individuals and the surrounding community. Although this study was focused on second generation South Asians and their adolescent experience, it is important to note that different ethnic groups face bicultural conflicts that can be similar. It is important to recognize the fact that these individuals are, in a sense, not only challenged by the conflicting cultures but enriched when the integration of the two cultures is successful.
Future research should examine each of the categories developed in this study as a means of providing further validity and reliability. The evidence generated can be used in developing models for adolescents and families who are faced with bicultural challenges.

(2) It is important to recognize the differences that exist between the older first generation, the ‘knee high’ generation (immigrants who came to Canada as children), the second generation, and most recently the third generation individuals who are now entering the school system. Studies need to specify age ranges and other demographic variables, as past research has ignored the generational differences. There are different cultural challenges placed on each individual, and these demands continue to change as our communities continue to grow in diversity and complexity. How the present generation is supported in their quest for a bicultural identity will undoubtedly affect how future generations cope and adjust to cultural conflict.

(3) It is evident that biculturalism is most likely to materialize in a society where cultural diversity is not only tolerated, but supported. In this type of environment where different cultures can promote their beliefs and attitudes, the dual socialization process will be enhanced. In a setting such as Vancouver, Canada, there lies a society with multicultural ideals – an environment that allows for and values cultural diversity and encourages positive attitudes among different cultural groups. As there is support to create multicultural communities, more studies should examine not only the positive and negative effects of biculturalism, but the processes of achieving biculturalism.

(4) It is important to realize that there are different ways that individuals can become bicultural, so there must be more information generated on those methodologies which can help us understand the process of acculturating individuals. The strategies and creative ways
that one responds to the cultural conflict must be explored from different procedures so that reliable methods of assessment can be established.

(5) To expand upon this study, it would be beneficial to interview individuals who have moved through the phases of living at home and marriage. Gaining insight into how those experiences impacted their identity would be extremely beneficial in adding to the findings of this study. None of the participants interviewed were married and all participants lived at home, except for two who lived with siblings at the time of the interview.

(6) Interviewing individuals in adolescence years would provide information on those conflicts that existed at the time and how one was managing to navigate through the obstacles. Interviewing the same individuals in late adulthood after addressing the areas of career and marriage would provide a more complete retrospective account of what factors helped them through the conflicts. Further, it would be valuable to address what values, beliefs and traditions those bicultural individuals will likely try to pass onto the future generations.
References


American Association for Counseling and Development.


Appendix A

Letter to potential participants

Dear

I am a Master’s (M. A.) student in the Department of Counselling Psychology at The University of British Columbia. I am looking for participants to be involved in my study addressing the development of South Asian (Indo-Canadian) bicultural identity. My research is interested in gaining more information about one’s adolescent experience and how he or she adjusted to balancing the contrasting cultural contexts between the Indian and Western cultures.

If you are 20 years of age and older, are a second generation South Asian (Indo-Canadian) and feel that you have experienced some cultural obstacles in negotiating your sense of identity during adolescence, you may be suitable to participate in this study.

Participation will involve approximately 2 hours of your time, involving two separate discussions. Initially, a face-to-face interview will be conducted to discuss your thoughts and feelings regarding your bicultural experiences as an adolescent. The following questions may be asked: What helped and hindered the development of your bicultural identity? Think back to a situation where a coping strategy helped you overcome a challenge and allowed you to move towards a bicultural identity? How do you know it helped you? Can you give an example? What was the outcome of your experience? How do you feel it impacted upon your identity? You will be asked to recall as many of these incidents as you can. The interview will be audio-taped and kept confidential. Names will not be attached to any documents. Finally, a follow-up phone interview will occur to verify any information from the initial interview.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me at 521-7002.
Appendix B

Participant Questionnaire: Demographics

Age: ___________                      Participant Code Number: ___________

Gender: ________________                  Place of birth: _______________________

Ethnicity: ________________                Religious affiliation: ___________________

Where are your parents originally from: _____________________________________________

When did your parents immigrate to Canada (approximate year): _______________________

Do you have siblings?: How many? __________________________________________________

Level of Education: _______________________________________________________________

Current occupation: ________________________________________________________________

Length of residence in Canada: _____________________________________________________

Which heritage do you feel you belong to? (circle all the ones that apply):

Indo-Canadian           Canadian

Sikh,                   Punjabi

Any others? ____________________________

Would you consider yourself more ‘Indian’ or ‘Canadian’ or ‘bicultural’?

_________________________________________________________________________

(Bicultural can be defined as one who has managed to incorporate values from both the
Indian and Western cultures and has been able to integrate aspects of both these cultures into
one’s identity).

Further comments?

_________________________________________________________________________
On a continuum from 'Indian to Western', where would you place yourself, closer to Indian, Western, or near the middle? (put mark near area that you feel is closest)

INDIAN -------------- WESTERN

Please list as many incidents and give examples of those times that helped and hindered you in your process of becoming bicultural. An example would be: "Being exposed to both the Indian and Western community activities, able to speak both languages and the support of my friends helped me to become bicultural" or "My parents expectations of me to only maintain ties with my Indian roots, strong messages about who I should be from the community and not being exposed to the different ethnic groups hindered my ability to become bicultural".

HELPED

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

HINDERED

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

(Use back page if more space for examples is needed)
Monetary Benefits:
There will be no monetary compensation to participants.

Contact:
If you have any questions or concerns at any time during the study, you may contact Dr. Marla Arvay or Anil Baines at the numbers listed above.

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact Dr. Richard Spratley, Director of Research Services at the University of British Columbia, at 822-8598.

Consent:
I have read the information regarding this study and understand that my participation is completely voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time without consequences.

I freely consent to participate in this study and acknowledge receipt of a copy of the consent form,

_____________________________  __________________________
Signature of Participant        Date

_____________________________  __________________________
Signature of Investigator       Date

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study.
Appendix E

Question List

1. Think back to a time when you were an adolescent and struggling to balance a situation between the two cultures, Indian and Western.

2. What do you remember from that time?

3. What was that experience like?

4. What helped you through that obstacle?

5. What hindered your ability to meet that challenge?

6. What was the outcome of your experience?

7. What do you attribute your coping strategies to?

8. What did you learn about yourself?

9. What was meaningful about this incident?

10. What would you have done differently?

11. What else would have been beneficial at that time/

12. Tell me what it's like for you being an Indo-Canadian?

Self-report on identifying bicultural identity

Do you feel that you identify with both cultures? Do you see yourself as belonging to two cultural worlds at times? How do you see them as being different, or conflictual?

Have you ever felt lost or caught between these two worlds?

Do you believe that being bicultural has been beneficial?

What hindered your ability to bridge these two cultures?

What helped or facilitated your ability to bridge these two cultures?
### Appendix F

**Summary of Demographic Information**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Code</th>
<th>Age of Participant</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Customer Service Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Child &amp; Youth Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
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<td>Female</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All participants in the study met the following criteria:

- Born in Canada (second generation Indo-Canadians)
- Completed high school education
- Bilingual (both English and Punjabi spoken in home when growing up)
- Parents were born in India and had immigrated to Canada