

**THE EXPERIENCE OF CULTURE CONFLICT IN
SECOND-GENERATION
INDO-CANADIAN WOMEN**

by

SUKHI SOHI

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1986

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS**

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of

Counselling Psychology

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 1992

© Sukhi Sohi, 1992

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

(Signature) _____

Department of Counselling Psychology
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date April 28, 1992

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore the experience of culture conflict in second-generation Indo-Canadian women. An existential-phenomenological approach was used to gain an understanding of culture conflict from the perspective of those who have experienced it. Five second-generation Indo-Canadian women participated in this study. The participants took part in an indepth, unstructured interview in which they were asked to describe their experience of culture conflict. The interview was taped and transcribed. The transcripts were then analyzed and common themes were explicated. The 29 themes that emerged from the data were written into an exhaustive description of the experience of culture conflict. The themes and exhaustive description were then presented to each of the participants for validation. From the exhaustive description, the essential structure of the experience of culture conflict was also formulated. The findings of this study are discussed in terms of implications for further research as well as implications for counselling individuals who are experiencing culture conflict.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
Chapter I	
INTRODUCTION	1
Significance of the Study	9
Purpose of the Study	11
Definition of Terms	12
Summary	12
Chapter II	
LITERATURE REVIEW	14
Conflict in Values	14
Identification With The Majority Culture	18
Culture Conflict in the Second Generation	21
Problems in Identity Formation	25
Opposition to the Idea of Culture Conflict	28
Indo-Canadians	35
Summary	37
Chapter III	
METHOD	38
Participants	41

	Demographic Information	41
	Phenomenological Interview	42
	Analysis and Interpretation	43
Chapter IV	RESULTS	46
	Formulation of Themes	46
	Themes	48
	Exhaustive Description	57
	Essential Structure	83
	Summary	87
Chapter V	DISCUSSION	88
	Theoretical Implications	88
	Limitations of the Study	103
	Implications for Further Research	103
	Implications for Counselling	105
	Summary	108
References		110
APPENDIX A		115
APPENDIX B		116

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Each of us grows up in a culture through which we learn different beliefs, values, traditions and ways of interacting with each other. Different cultures teach different ideas and values. Some cultures are individual-oriented while others uphold a more collectivist approach. As we grow up, we learn acceptable ways of behaving based on the messages we receive from our cultural group. We learn what is valued and what is not.

But what happens to people who are exposed to two cultures, rather than just one? And, what if those two cultures have many contradictory values and beliefs. Which culture do these people adhere to? Do they accept the teachings of one culture and reject the other, or do they try to integrate the two? Is it even possible for them to integrate the two? These questions highlight some of the issues that confront many second-generation Canadians. This study will focus on a group of people who, as second-generation Indo-Canadians, have been socialized into two very different cultures, and as a result have experienced conflict in meeting the differing expectations of their two cultures.

My interest in this topic stems from my own experience of culture conflict. I am a second-generation Indo-Canadian. My parents were both born in India and they came to Canada as adults. Their migration to Canada brought them to a culture which is profoundly different from the culture they left behind. The beliefs, values and traditions of the two cultures are in many ways opposite to each other.

Although my parents had immigrated to a new country, they did not want to abandon the ways of their home culture. In which ever way possible, they attempted to maintain their culture of origin and pass it on to their children. As a young child, I was socialized primarily into the Indo-Canadian culture. It was not until I began school, that I had much exposure to the mainstream culture. However, it did not take long for me to begin to identify more with the majority Canadian culture than with the Indo-Canadian culture of my parents. This created much conflict for both me and my parents.

As I got older, I discovered that many other second-generation individuals had experiences similar to mine. They, too, had faced many of the problems and difficulties that I had experienced as a result of growing up with two different cultures. As I tried to make sense of and gain a better understanding of this experience of culture conflict, I realized that it was a topic that had not received much attention from researchers. Very little was known about the nature of this experience. Yet, from my own and others' experience, I know that culture conflict is a very real experience that can have a profound negative impact on the lives of many people. As such, it is a topic that warrants some investigation.

I realize that my own personal experience has an influence on how I approach this research. With this in mind, I have attempted, throughout this study, to recognize my own biases and to maintain objectivity.

Second-Generation Canadians

Second-generation Canadians are the Canadian born offspring of immigrants. As Canadians, they are socialized into the culture of the mainstream Canadian society; but, as the children of immigrants, they are also socialized into the parental culture of origin. The differences in these two areas of socialization may depend on the degree of variation between the two cultures. In Canada, immigrant groups cover a wide spectrum in terms of how much they differ culturally from the majority Canadian culture. Some are very similar culturally, while others differ considerably.

Immigrants may decide to assimilate completely into the new culture or they may choose to maintain elements of their culture of origin. In some cases, it may not be a matter of choice. Some immigrants may find it very difficult to completely abandon the beliefs and values that have been ingrained in them from birth. DeAnda (1984) believes it is harder for immigrants to integrate the values of the new culture with their own if the amount of overlap between the two cultures is minimal. She suggests that shared values, beliefs and norms facilitate assimilation and integration while conflicts in these areas hinder these processes.

The amount of conflict between values may depend on the overall orientation of the two cultures in question. All cultures can be placed on a continuum from collectivist to individualistic (Hui & Tiandis, 1986). A collectivist orientation focuses on the needs and goals of the group in contrast to an individualistic orientation which gives precedence to the needs of the individual. Respect for authority, conformity and maintenance of strong family ties are some of the characteristics of collectivist

cultures while self-reliance, individual achievement and autonomy characterize individualistic societies (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987; Hui & Triandis, 1986). The values emphasized by each of these orientations are often contradictory in nature. Thus, immigrants originating from cultures that emphasize a collectivist orientation may have difficulty with the individualistic orientation of Canadian society.

Because of contrasting orientations, some immigrants may choose not to assimilate into the majority culture. Instead, they may have a strong desire to maintain the traditions and values of their culture of origin, either because they prefer the values and beliefs of their own culture to those of the culture to which they have migrated or because they do not understand the ways of the new culture. Rosenthal, Demetriou & Efklides (1989) suggest that immigrants may "cling to the values of their culture of origin in an attempt to make sense of and achieve some degree of control over a new and confusing world" (p.208). The adherence to traditional ways may serve as a means of protection in an environment that appears strange and insecure (Sommers, 1960).

Immigrants who choose to adhere to their culture of origin not only want to maintain that culture, but quite often, they also want their children to be socialized into the same culture. When the values emphasized in the majority culture are antagonistic to their own values, immigrants may be especially determined to keep their children from participating freely in the opposing culture (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1989). Rosenthal, Demetriou & Efklides (1989) observed

that immigrant parents may become increasingly authoritarian and limit their children's behavior in an attempt to reinforce their own cultural norms.

The attempts made by immigrants to ensure the transmission of the ancestral culture to their offspring may cause difficulty for those offspring who find themselves juggling the demands of two different cultures. Simply by virtue of their position, second-generation Canadians are socialized into both the ancestral culture of their parents and the dominant culture of Canadian society. Weinrich (1983) points out that early socialization for second-generation individuals is primarily with the cultural group of their parents, but once they begin school and are exposed to the mass media, they begin their socialization into the majority culture. This secondary socialization into the dominant culture may differ markedly from their initial socialization by parents and other members of the ancestral culture.

Stonequist (1937) believes the children of immigrants are in a distinctive social situation:

As native born residents they are identified with the land of their birth and its institutions; but as children of immigrants they inevitably absorb much of the culture carried over from the "old country". Thus they are the meeting point of two streams of culture. To the extent that the two cultures conflict they experience this conflict as a personal problem. (p.96)

The amount of conflict experienced by second-generation individuals may be influenced by the degree of variation between the two cultures. The greater the

difference between the two cultures, the more likely it may be that the individual exposed to both cultures might experience conflict (Berry & Annis, 1974; Stonequist, 1937).

The level of conflict may also depend on the second-generation individual's perception of the ancestral culture and their parents' role in promoting it. Their socialization into the majority culture may lead them to question or reject the values of the parental culture. As they begin to identify with elements of the majority culture, they may indicate a desire to be like everybody else in the mainstream culture (Mendelberg, 1986). Second-generation individuals may resent their parents for expecting them to adhere to cultural values which they consider inappropriate (Rosenthal, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989).

If the immigrant parents continue to rigidly adhere to ideas that their children consider outdated or inappropriate, Sommers (1960) suggests the younger generation may begin to defy their parents and perceive them as enemies who are keeping them apart from the majority culture which they desperately want to identify with.

The feelings of conflict experienced by second-generation individuals may be heightened if they find themselves not only feeling alienated from their ancestral culture but also from the majority culture. Their desire to be like everybody else may be blocked not only by their parents, but also by the majority culture which may not fully accept them because of their different cultural background (Mendelberg, 1986; Stonequist, 1937).

For some second-generation individuals, the conflict that results from the opposing demands of their two cultures may be severe enough to negatively affect their mental health (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987; Sommers, 1960). Another possible effect is that the second-generation individual's inability to identify completely with either culture may lead to problems in identity formation. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) suggest that "while identity development is a complex task for all youth, it is particularly complicated for children and adolescents belonging to ethnic and racial minority groups" (p.290). Thus, identification with members from two cultural groups can generate identity confusion and cause difficulty in formulating a clear sense of self.

Indo-Canadians

In this study, the focus will be on one particular group of second-generation Canadians: second-generation Indo-Canadian women. Some of the literature on Indo-Canadians suggests that culture conflict may be a common experience for many members of this group (Basu, 1989; Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ramcharan, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981). Ramcharan (1984) observed that "the impact of cultural conflict has not escaped this group, and conflicting parent-child value systems can lead to severe tensions in the home" (p.39).

Indian culture differs greatly from the majority Canadian culture. Its' collectivist orientation emphasizes strong kinship ties, interdependence and a great respect for authority in comparison to the Canadian culture's emphasis on

independence and individualism (Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981). There are many elements of the Canadian culture that many Indian immigrants disapprove of, thus creating a strong desire in them to keep their children from succumbing to the majority culture's negative influence (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ramcharan, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981).

Second-generation Indo-Canadians must learn to negotiate two sets of cultural values that contradict each other in many ways: the values inherent in their parents' culture of origin and those expressed by their peers, the media and the educational system of the majority culture (Buchignani & Indra, 1985). Basu (1989) describes the second generation as:

A generation facing identity conflicts, uncertain of which heritage to claim for their own, trying to adapt socially but looking alien, burdened by the contradictory expectations of parents and peers.

(p.98)

The conflicting messages received by these individuals make it difficult for them to choose an appropriate course of action. Their identification with both cultures may create a feeling of being torn in separate directions.

As a result of their socialization through school, media and their peers, second-generation Indo-Canadians may begin to identify more with the Canadian culture than with the Indian culture (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ramcharan, 1984). This shift in primary identification may lead to conflict within the family. Indian parents may feel threatened by this apparent change in allegiance, and they may go to

great lengths to prevent their children from becoming too much like members of the dominant culture for fear that they will lose touch with their heritage. Wakil, Siddique & Wakil (1981) reported that immigrant parents view their children's preference for Canadian ideas as an indication of disrespect and rejection of their ancestral traditions and values.

Thus, the dilemma created by the opposing values of the Indian and Canadian cultures affects both the second-generation and their parents. The pressures inherent in such a dilemma can lead to psychological and emotional conflicts for both parents and children (Ramcharan, 1984).

Significance of the Study

Research on minority groups has primarily been focused on such areas as ethnic identity, the experience of immigrants, and minority/majority relations. Very little research has been conducted on the experience of culture conflict, especially as it relates to second-generation Canadians.

What little research there has been in the area of culture conflict has been primarily quantitative in nature. There has been limited research of a qualitative nature. Typically, researchers have focused either on determining whether or not conflict actually exists for those who are socialized into two different groups or on determining the level and cause of conflict. Very little attention has been paid to the actual experience of the conflict. There does not appear to have been any attempt

made to understand the meaning of the experience from the point of view of those who have experienced it.

This study will go beyond the observable, measurable aspects of culture conflict that have been the focus of quantitative approaches. It will attempt to make sense of the actual experience, to understand the experience from the perspective of those who have been involved in it. By focusing on what the experience of culture conflict means to different individuals, we can begin to identify common themes in their experience. These themes will then allow us to formulate a picture of the experience and identify the essential structure of the experience.

The insight gained through such an approach will be valuable not only from a theoretical perspective, but also from a counselling perspective. From a theoretical perspective, this study will expand upon the current knowledge in the areas of culture conflict, second-generation Canadians and Indo-Canadians. From a counselling perspective, we will gain a better understanding of what individuals are going through when they experience conflict as a result of being immersed in two different cultures.

This study will offer insight into a problem that has received limited attention. It is hoped that this study will prompt those in the helping professions to recognize that culture conflict may be a key issue for second-generation individuals who are seeking help. The number of second-generation Canadians constitute a significant proportion of the Canadian population; thus, their special concerns are worth investigating. By exploring the problems faced by a group of second-generation Indo-

Canadians, we may gain insight into the problems that many others in the second-generation may also face.

The results of this study will allow counsellors to become better informed in the area of culture conflict. Through gaining an understanding of what difficulties result from the experience of culture conflict, counsellors will be better able to plan therapeutic interventions for clients who may be involved in such an experience.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the experience of second-generation Indo-Canadian women who have experienced conflict as a result of growing up with two different cultures. The goal is to understand what meaning the experience has for these women. Rather than asking the participants to confirm or deny what the researcher considers important, this study will allow the participants to reveal what is significant about the experience for them.

An existential-phenomenological approach will be used for this study because it does not attempt to separate the individual from the experience. Instead, it focuses on the meaning of the experience as understood by the individuals who have lived it. By exploring what the experience of culture conflict means to the women who went through the experience, we are able to acquire an understanding of the experience itself. Through comparing the experience of each individual, we will be able to discern common themes that will allow us to formulate a picture of the experience of

conflict as experienced by those who have been socialized into two very different cultures.

Definition of Terms

Several key terms have been used throughout this study. The following definitions have been provided to indicate how these terms have been used in the context of this study:

culture - the beliefs, values, behaviors and traditions that embody a way of life for a particular group of people.

culture conflict - difficulties, confusion and negative feelings that result from the opposition of two cultures.

immigrant - a person who has come to a country in which he or she was not born in order to settle there.

second-generation Canadian - the Canadian born offspring of an immigrant.

values - opinions, ideas and beliefs regarding what is worthy, right and desirable.

Summary

This study will explore the experience of culture conflict in second-generation Indo-Canadian women. The following chapter provides a review of the literature in

the areas of culture conflict, second-generation individuals and Indo-Canadians in Canada.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the early researchers to focus on the area of culture conflict was E.V. Stonequist. In his book, Marginal Man, Stonequist (1937) describes the individual caught between two cultures as "one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds" (p.8). Stonequist sees the second-generation individual as being torn between his/her feelings towards the parental culture and the majority culture into which he/she has been socialized: "He is bound to his parents by the usual family sentiments. But his loyalty to them clashes with his loyalty to his friends and the American culture which they symbolize" (p.99).

Conflict in Values

Underlying the conflict experienced by second-generation individuals is essentially a conflict in values (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987; Leutgart, 1977). The conflict results when the values espoused by the two cultures into which these individuals have been socialized are contradictory in nature. They represent opposing philosophies and contain different guidelines and expectations regarding appropriate beliefs, attitudes and behaviors.

For second-generation individuals, this conflict in values begins to reveal itself as they become socialized into the majority culture. Before their exposure to the

majority culture, children of immigrants are initially socialized into the ancestral culture of their parents (Mendelberg, 1986; Rosenthal & Cichello, 1986; Weinrich, 1986). Harrison et al (1990) found that a primary goal of the socialization practices of minority groups is to foster a positive orientation among children toward their ancestral culture. They also report that the values promoted in the homes of minority groups are predominantly reflective of a collectivist orientation.

Through their primary socialization, children of immigrants develop a sense of group membership and begin to incorporate important cultural values and behaviors into their self-definition (Rosenthal & Cichello, 1986). But once these children are exposed to the majority culture through the educational system and the mass media, those initial values and behaviors are no longer accepted without question (Weinrich, 1986). If the values and expectations of the two cultures clash, conflict may ensue.

Individualistic Versus Collectivist Values

The amount of disparity in the values of two cultures can be viewed in terms of where each culture fits along the individualistic/collectivist continuum. Individuals who have been socialized into a collectivist culture are likely to experience difficulty with the values inherent in an individualistic culture (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987). If they become involved in an individualistic culture, they may find the values to be the exact opposite of those by which they have thus far lived their lives.

Hui & Triandis (1986) provide a look at the many ways in which collectivist and individualistic cultures differ. Collectivists, he points out, are more likely to

consider the implications of their actions on others. They recognize that the basic unit of survival is the group, not the individual. As such, collectivists are likely to be more conforming than individualists; they are more willing to go along with the group in order to maintain harmony. Individualistic cultures, in contrast, tend to be more self-oriented. Another difference Hui & Triandis point out is that parents in collectivist cultures are more involved in their children's choice of friends, studies, career and living arrangements than their counterparts in individualistic cultures.

DeAnda (1984) discusses the conflict that may result from the conflict between specific values. She provides the example of the contrast in opinion between the Hispanic and majority white American culture regarding the proper way for a young adult to express responsibility:

In the mainstream culture, a young adult demonstrates maturity and responsibility by physically separating from the family and establishing an independent living situation. In contrast, in the Hispanic community such behavior would be viewed as a selfish disregard of familial responsibility. Instead maturity and responsibility would be demonstrated by the young adult remaining at home and contributing to the support of the family, particularly to afford greater opportunities to younger siblings. (p.103)

Leutgart (1977) also explored the difficulties that arise for individuals who are faced with two contradictory value systems. Leutgart's study focused on ethnic university students who were experiencing problems in the areas of independence,

identity, and interpersonal relationships as a result of the different expectations of their two cultural groups. In the traditional collectivist culture of their ethnic group, these students were expected to maintain a child-like dependent role within the family constellation, whereas the more individualistic majority culture, represented by the university, expected them to assume a more adult role. The contradictory values surrounding independence and freedom in choosing a marriage partner were especially conflict-ridden for these individuals. In the mainstream culture, Leutgart points out, it is considered desirable for individuals to be independent and to make their own decision regarding a marriage partner, but in many ethnic cultures, these behaviors may be perceived as a rejection of their culture and its core beliefs and values.

The conflict experienced by second-generation individuals when confronted with opposing value systems may take many forms. Stonequist (1937) describes the conflicted individual as one who suffers from divided loyalty and an ambivalent attitude:

This ambivalence of attitude and sentiment is at the core of those things which characterize the marginal man. He is torn between two courses of actions and is unable to calmly take one and leave the other. (p.146)

Berry & Annis (1974) use the term "acculturative stress" to describe the feeling of conflict that may result from attempting to cope with the conflicting values of two cultures. Hostility, uncertainty, identity confusion and depression are some of the emotions associated with acculturative stress (Berry, 1986).

Identification With The Majority Culture

The conflict experienced by the children of immigrants is likely to be intensified if their parents resist the new culture while the younger generation embraces it (Rosenthal, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989; Sommers, 1960). The discrepancy in the level of acculturation between parents and children may be a key factor in the conflict. Aldwin & Greenberger (1987) observed that:

Parents are likely to maintain more traditional values than their more acculturated offspring and young people with more traditional parents may experience heightened psychological distress in their attempts to adapt to a new culture. (p. 793)

Immigrant parents often have very little contact with more than just superficial aspects of the majority culture in contrast to their children who are usually immersed in it (Padilla, 1980; Stonequist, 1937). This essential difference may often be at the root of some of the conflict between the second-generation and their parents.

Second-generation individuals may, at some point, begin to identify more with the majority culture than with their ancestral culture. This may be accompanied by a rejection of their parents' culture (Leutgart, 1977; Mendelberg, 1986). Leutgart (1977) suggests this preference for the values of the majority culture may be due to the pressure faced by subcultures to assimilate to the values of the mainstream culture because of the implication that the subculture is less valid than the mainstream culture. If the minority culture is not regarded highly by the members of the majority culture, second-generation individuals may feel shame and embarrassment about their

ethnic affiliation (Leutgart, 1977; Liebkind, 1989; Mendelberg, 1986; Stonequist, 1937). Consequently, they may find it difficult to take pride in their ancestral culture and they may, in turn, deny or reject their heritage in an effort to be like their peers in the majority culture.

This pattern of rejection by the second-generation was first identified by Hansen in 1938 (Herberg, 1989). Hansen identified a pattern of cultural acceptance and rejection across three generations. He observed that the first generation maintained their culture of origin while the second-generation rejected it in order to express their identification with the majority culture, and finally, the third-generation indicated a renewed interest in the culture of their grandparents.

Isajiw (1975) expands upon Hansen's ideas and labels the three stages as:

1. The pattern of transplantation of the old culture.
2. The rebellion pattern.
3. Returning or rediscovery pattern.

Isajiw identifies the rebellion pattern as being especially characteristic of the second-generation, though not exclusive to them. He associates this pattern with the heightened awareness of one's own cultural and social background which results from the psychological confrontation with the ways of the majority culture. Isajiw reports that such a confrontation may lead to embarrassment, dissatisfaction or shame of the ancestral culture, and these feelings may lead to a rejection of one's past or an over identification with the dominant society.

Some members of the second-generation may also fit into the rediscovery pattern, according to Isajiw. He suggests this third pattern may be applicable to members of the second-generation who have been socialized into the majority culture and who may or may not have gone through the rebellion pattern.

In a later article, Isajiw (1990) focuses on a number of studies which have explored the Hansen hypothesis with various ethnic groups. The studies reviewed by Isajiw offer both support and refutation of Hansen's idea, with some showing rejection in the second-generation and others not. Isajiw suggests that a different approach is required in this research:

There now seems to be general agreement that culturally the second-generation assimilates relatively quickly, and also that the third-generation, or at least part of it, retains a degree of ethnic identification. The question of rebellion and return still remains, but it has to be approached in a different context. (p.41)

Isajiw basically questions whether the children of immigrants really do rebel against their ethnicity. He finds that because they are rapidly assimilating into the majority culture, their behavior has been interpreted as rebellion. He believes their behavior can be interpreted in a different way. Isajiw suggests these individuals may simply be exemplifying the values of the culture into which they have been socialized, namely the mainstream culture. In the next section, the focus will be on specific studies that have explored the idea of culture conflict in the second-generation.

Culture Conflict in the Second Generation

Pallotta-Chiarolli (1989) focuses on the dilemma faced by second-generation Italian-Australian women who have encountered opposing values regarding sexual norms and codes of behavior. In this study, questionnaires were administered to twelve second-generation Italian-Australian women in their late twenties. The results showed that these women felt they were victims of the cultural stereotype of the "good Italian girl". Pallotta-Chiarolli points out that the "good Italian girl" as embodied by chastity, femininity and domesticity is highly valued by the Italian culture and the attainment of this ideal is considered necessary to maintain family honor. In the dominant Australian culture, however, this same image carries with it negative connotations. It represents passivity, sexual frigidity and insularity of character and ambition, all undesirable characteristics in the Australian culture.

Thus, these second-generation Italian-Australians find themselves caught between the differing expectations of their two cultures. They view their experience as being very different from their peers in the majority culture. All of the participants in Pallotta-Chiarolli's study recalled feeling very different from Australian girls during their adolescence, and they also reported feeling torn between wanting to participate in the outer world and wanting to maintain strong family ties.

The immigrant parents of these women reinforced the idea of "us and them" for their daughters. Pallotta-Chiarolli describes the Italian parents as building "an invisible barrier between their inner limited core and 'them', the outer society in which all races are classified as 'Australian'" (p.56). She goes on to say, "They

endeavoured to prevent the adoption of 'Australian' attitudes and reinforced the 'us' and 'them' situation for their offspring" (p.56).

Despite the difficulties experienced by these women as a result of their parents' restrictiveness, Pallotta-Chiarolli observes that all of them have maintained a sense of Italianness and they all identify certain elements of their parents' value system as being worthy of retention.

In another study on Italian-Australians, Rosenthal & Cichello (1986) explored some of the factors that may affect the psychological adjustment of these individuals. This study focused primarily on ethnic identity, but with regard to psychological adjustment, they concluded that "where being Italian was related to the perception of problems in living and where one's immigrant status was regarded as a source of conflict, adolescents reported lower levels of psychosocial adjustment (p.499)." Overall, however, the authors reported that for this group of adolescents, there seems to be a strong sense of Italian identity as well as a preference for maintenance of the traditional Italian culture over assimilation. Thus, it appears that the individuals who had difficulties were those who did not feel comfortable with their Italian identity within the Australian context.

The psychological problems experienced by second-generation individuals have also been examined by Sommers (1960). She uses two case studies to reveal how culture conflict may affect mental health. The two cases were Chune, a second-generation Chinese-American and Ichiro, a second-generation Japanese-American. Both individuals had difficulties reconciling their American

identity with their ethnic identity. Sommers points out the contrast in American and Asian values and the difficulty that may ensue from the clash:

Oriental emphasis on unconditional parental authority and ever-lasting filial piety ascribes a role and responsibility which, against the backdrop of American democratic values and ideals, hardly any second-generation child can comfortably accept and discharge. (p.64)

Both Chune and Ichiro experienced psychological difficulties as a result of the conflict between their two cultures. Chune felt ashamed of being Chinese and found himself wishing he was white. He felt different from other Americans as well as from other Chinese. He was envious of parent-child relationships in the majority culture and he viewed the Chinese culture as being weighed down by tradition.

Similarly, Ichiro also felt ashamed of his ethnic heritage. He said he hated everything Japanese. Ichiro identified wholly with the majority culture but found that he was not fully accepted into that culture, leaving him feeling as if he was wandering in two worlds.

In a more recent study, Aldwin & Greenberger (1987) compared the mental health of Korean-American and Anglo-American students. The authors set out to explore four different issues. They were as follows:

1. Whether Korean-American students were more depressed than Anglo-American students.

of culture contrast on the mental health of Greek-Americans. Papajohn compared a sample of Greek-American families with a second-generation individual who was a schizophrenic to a matched group of families without a history of manifest psychopathology.

The results of this study show that in the family with the schizophrenic member the parents still strongly adhere to traditional Greek values while their children have attempted to adopt more American values. The children, however, show some ambiguity in their identification with the majority culture, and they acknowledge a strong pull toward traditional Greek values.

In contrast, the families without a schizophrenic member, reveal a greater openness in the parents to the influence of the American culture. These parents show a greater acceptance of American values than the parents in the first group. The children in the two groups also show differences in their identification with the majority culture. The children in the second group appear to be more decisive in the adoption of American values. They do not share the ambiguities of the individuals in the families with a schizophrenic member.

Problems in Identity Formation

In a study of Mexican-Americans, Mendelberg (1986) reported that individuals of this minority group may have difficulty deciding which cultural group to identify with. The author observed that identification with significant and powerful

individuals in both the parental culture and the majority culture can lead to contradictions and disturbances in ego-identity.

Most of the Mexican-Americans in Mendelberg's study were strongly influenced by the Mexican culture in their early years, and had little contact with the dominant culture until they started school. Upon their introduction to the majority culture, these individuals were confronted not only with different images for identification, but also different connotations of their early images. In the dominant American culture, Mexicans are often portrayed in a negative light compared to the more positive images of Anglo-Americans. Mendelberg suggests that the negative view of Mexican-Americans prevalent in the American culture makes it difficult for individuals of this group to form a positive identity.

Some Mexican-Americans choose to reject their ethnic identity to be more like people from the majority culture (Mendelberg, 1986). As a result, many feel estranged from their ancestral culture. This feeling of estrangement was also reported by Ruiz (1990). Often the fate of those who reject their ethnic identity is that they find they do not completely fit into the majority culture either, leaving them feeling alienated from both cultures (Leutgart, 1977; Mendelberg, 1986).

Stonequist (1937) also focused on this feeling of alienation. He suggests that it may be difficult for children of immigrants to completely assimilate into the majority culture, especially if they are racially different. He gives the example of Oriental-Americans who may feel American but are not always viewed as such: "His

soul may be American, but his face is Oriental He is considered and treated as an Oriental, not as an American" (p.102).

Being unable to identify completely with either cultural group may create difficulties in identity formation for individuals who are caught between contrasting cultures (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Erikson (1968) states that identity is developed through the integration of all previous identifications into a cohesive whole, and Waterman (1982) suggests that "the greater the range of identity alternatives to which an individual is exposed prior to or during adolescence, the greater the likelihood will be of undergoing an identity crisis" (p.345). Thus, there may be a strong likelihood that the second-generation Canadian, because of her identification with individuals that represent conflicting values, may encounter difficulty integrating those identifications into a unified whole.

Conflicting values and conflicting role expectations have both been identified as barriers to identity formation for members of minority groups (Lian, 1982; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Lian (1982) suggests that being faced with opposing messages may "make it very difficult for individuals to establish a core system of meanings which are in any way related to each other" (p.44).

Identity formation may also be hindered by the negative portrayal of the ethnic culture within the majority culture. Spencer & Markstrom-Adams (1990) regard the preponderance of negative stereotypes of minorities as being counterproductive to acquiring a solid sense of self. Minority members may find themselves developing a

negative identity as the result of accepting the negative images that have been projected onto them (Erikson, 1968).

The efforts of second-generation individuals to integrate their dual identification into a cohesive whole may be hampered by both their parental culture and the majority culture. The ideal of biculturalism may be very difficult to attain. Pressure from both groups to conform to their ideals may make it difficult for second-generation individuals to achieve an identity that reflects a balance between their two cultural identities (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

Opposition to the Idea of Culture Conflict

Although the idea of culture conflict in second-generation individuals has been commonly accepted, there are some researchers who question its existence. Weinrich (1986) proposes that culture conflict contributes little to the problems of identity formation. He argues that all adolescents have to incorporate different identifications into their identity; thus, it is not any different for immigrant offspring who identify with two cultures.

Weinrich's conclusions, however, seem to contradict the results of his research. In a study conducted in England, Weinrich (1986) used his Identity Structure Analysis to compare the identity of 45 second-generation immigrant adolescents with the identity of 37 indigenous English adolescents. The second-generation sample consisted of 32 adolescents of West Indian ancestry and 13 of Asian ancestry. The results showed that 36% of the second-generation individuals

were in states of identity diffusion or defensive high regard compared to only 8% of the indigenous English adolescents. To account for this higher level of identity problems in immigrant offspring, Weinrich suggests that some people have greater vulnerabilities in their internal identity structures, thus they are less able to handle identification conflicts.

Weinrich's (1986, 1989) general premise is that conflict in identification can happen to anyone. He explains it as follows:

One's identification with another may be considered conflicted when one empathically identifies, while simultaneously contra-identifies with that other - in other words when one simultaneously experiences similarities between self and the other and recognizes in the other characteristics from which one would wish to dissociate. (1989, p.53)

Weinrich (1989) suggests there are two courses of action that an individual may take to resynthesize their existing identifications with further identifications. Firstly, individuals may attempt to resolve conflicts and thereby induce reevaluations of themselves in relation to others within the confines of their existing value system or, secondly, they may broaden their value system and establish a new context for self-definition.

Although Weinrich's premise is that problems which result from conflicts in identification may affect anyone, his research suggests they are more likely to occur for second-generation individuals. In addition to the higher percentage of immigrant offspring showing overall identity problems, Weinrich's (1986) results also indicated

that 90% of the immigrant offspring have identity conflicts with their own people compared to 50% of indigenous adolescents. Weinrich suggests this finding can be explained in terms of dual socialization. He explains that immigrant offspring are usually socialized initially into the parental culture of origin, and later once they begin to attend school and become exposed to the mass media, they begin their secondary socialization into the majority culture. Their socialization into the majority culture may lead them to reevaluate their early identifications because of the differences in the two cultures. In other words, immigrant offspring experience greater difficulty in identity formation because their identification with the majority culture conflicts with their identification with their ancestral culture.

What Weinrich is describing is what other researchers have labelled as culture conflict: the conflict that results from being socialized into two cultures that hold opposing values. Weinrich (1986) prefers the term "conflict in identification", but essentially he is describing what has commonly been regarded as culture conflict.

Kelly (1989) also argues against the idea of culture conflict by rejecting the assumption that second-generation individuals experience identity conflict as a result of the opposing values, beliefs and ideologies of their two cultures. Kelly (1989) states "although there is evidence that a small number may suffer as a consequence of such processes, it is neither inevitable nor as widespread as so called conventional wisdom might suppose" (p.80). The author, however, doesn't indicate what evidence this claim is based on.

Kelly agrees with Weinrich's (1986, 1989) preference for the term "conflict in identification" rather than culture conflict. To explore the idea of conflicts in identification, Kelly used Weinrich's (1986) Identity Structure Analysis to compare the identity of second-generation Pakistani Muslim and Greek Cypriots with a group of indigenous English youth. The subjects all ranged in age from sixteen to twenty-two.

With the Pakistani Muslim group, the author found it necessary to distinguish between progressive and orthodox individuals because of the differences in their level of empathetic identification with the indigenous culture (the progressive group had a much stronger identification).

The results of this study showed that the progressive Pakistani Muslim group had the highest level of identity diffusion while the indigenous English group had the lowest. Like Weinrich (1986), Kelly explained this result in terms of the dual socialization received by the first group, suggesting that they begin to identify more with individuals in the dominant culture whose values conflict with those with whom they initially formed identifications.

For those individuals who did experience a conflict in identifications, the highest level of conflict was between them and the individuals who provided their early socialization, namely their parents and other members of the ancestral culture. The Pakistani Muslim and Greek Cypriot groups both displayed greater conflict with their parents than the indigenous English adolescents. Kelly's results are similar to Weinrich's (1986) results which indicate that conflict experienced by

second-generation individuals is most evident when they begin to question or reject their early identifications in favor of their new identifications with individuals in the dominant culture.

Rosenthal (1984) is another researcher who questions the amount of intergenerational conflict within immigrant families. She wonders if the prevalence of this type of conflict has been exaggerated. In a study comparing adolescents and parents from Greek, Italian, and Anglo-Australian families, she explored the presence of intergenerational conflict, and its possible relationship to ethnic identification. The results of this study indicate that the overall level of perceived conflict were relatively low among all three groups. However, the results do show that Anglo-Australian adolescents and their parents reported less conflict than the Greek-Australians and Italian-Australians.

The degree of identification with either the ancestral culture or the majority culture appeared to have little impact on the amount of intergenerational conflict. However, Rosenthal (1984) does point out that where ethnic identification was relevant, it was the adolescents that identified most strongly with the majority culture that were associated with higher levels of conflict. She suggests that:

For these adolescents, conflict arises not because of having to deal with two different normative systems of behavior, but because they have adopted or wish to adopt the attitudes and behavior of their Anglo-Australian peers while their parents retain old cultural traditions.

(p.73)

Low levels of intergenerational conflict in immigrant families were also reported by Rosenthal, Demetriou and Efklides (1989). These authors compared 20 Greek-Australian families with 20 Anglo-Australian families and 40 families in Greece. The focus of their study was on the level and seriousness of conflict as well as the nature and consequences of the conflict. Another purpose of the study was to examine whether either the culture conflict model or the cultural difference model might account for parent-adolescent conflict in immigrant families. The culture conflict model suggests that higher levels of intergenerational conflict result from difficulties in dealing with two cultural worlds simultaneously, and the cultural difference model suggests that cultural variation exists in styles of dealing with conflict as well as in levels of conflict (Rosenthal, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989).

A conflict questionnaire was administered to both parents and adolescents. The questions focused on the amount of conflict, the seriousness of the conflict and the behaviour of each person during the conflict. Responses to the questions were rated on a four point scale from "none" to "a lot".

There were some differences in specific aspects of conflict behavior and conflict resolution, but the level of conflict in each group appeared to be low. The authors conclude that for the parents neither the culture conflict model nor the cultural difference model was supported. However, they do not indicate if either of these models held any relevance for the adolescents.

The authors did find that the adolescents in the Greek-Australian sample were more similar to their Anglo-Australian peers than to their Greek peers.

This high level of assimilation lead the authors to conclude that although there was not a high level of conflict reported at that time, it may become more evident as the adolescents grow older. They offer this conclusion based on Rosenthal's (1984) research which suggests that most conflict in immigrant families occurs where the adolescents identify more strongly with the majority culture than the parental culture of origin.

Although both Rosenthal (1984) and Rosenthal, Demetriou, and Efklides (1989) reported low levels of conflict in immigrant families, their conclusions are not necessarily refutations of previous research. The focus of these two studies is on the conflict between second-generation individuals and their parents, rather than on the conflict within individuals which some other researchers have focused on. Stonequist (1937) states that "the tension in the mind of the second-generation is more pervasive and profound than appears on the surface" (p.96). He observes that while an individual may appear well adjusted from an external point of view, internally there may be considerable conflict.

Another consideration with Rosenthal's (1984) and Rosenthal, Demetriou and Efklides (1989) conclusions is that the immigrant populations used in their studies are of European descent. The cultural differences between Europeans and Australians may not be large enough to generate high levels of conflict. Perhaps with an ethnic group of Asian descent, different results may be evident since the amount of conflict may be related to the amount of disparity between the two cultures (Berry & Annis, 1974; Stonequist, 1937).

Indo-Canadians

There has been very little focus on the experience of culture conflict within the Indo-Canadian population in Canada. The prevalence of culture conflict within this population has been acknowledged by some researchers (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ramcharan, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981) but there has not been much focus on what the conflict actually involves.

The small amount of literature that does exist on this topic suggests that the main source of culture conflict for Indo-Canadians revolves around the subject of dating and marriage (Buchignani, 1984; Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ghosh, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981). Indian immigrants originate from a culture in which marriages are arranged by parents and family members. This tradition contrasts sharply with the Canadian practice of choosing one's own marriage partner. Most Indian immigrants do not approve of the Canadian practice of dating and marrying for romantic love (Buchignani, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981). Wakil, Siddique & Wakil (1981) reported that Indian immigrants viewed dating and romantic love with "great alarm and horror" (p.939), and as a result, they wanted to prevent their children from becoming involved in such activities.

Their Canadian born children, on the other hand, do not usually agree with their parents' view on choosing a marriage partner. Having been socialized into the Canadian culture, these second-generation individuals accept the majority culture's views on dating and marriage far more readily than their parents do (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ramcharan, 1984). In sharp contrast to their parents, they wonder

"How can you marry a person whom you don't love?" (Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981, p.939).

This tendency for the second-generation to identify with Canadian values causes much concern for Indian parents. They worry about their children falling under the influence of a culture which they consider far too permissive and lacking in moral values (Buchignani & Indra, 1985). In an effort to prevent this negative influence, Indian immigrants often restrict their children's participation in many aspects of the Canadian culture, especially activities that involve interaction with the opposite sex (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ramcharan, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981). Because of traditional views on female roles and family honor, the restrictions placed on daughters are usually greater than those placed on sons (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ghosh, 1984; Ramcharan, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981).

Indian parents' efforts to control and restrict their children's behavior creates additional conflict for these second-generation individuals who often have difficulty understanding their parents' point of view (Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981). Once again, the conflict stems from the essential value differences between the Indian and Canadian cultures. In this case, the conflict revolves around parent-child relationships. In the Indian culture, there is much emphasis placed on respect for age and authority. Children are expected to display strict obedience and acceptance of parental authority (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ramcharan, 1984). In contrast, the Canadian culture encourages children to become independent and accept responsibility

for making their own choices. These value differences create tremendous conflict for second-generation Indo-Canadians, especially if they prefer the values endorsed by the Canadian culture.

Summary

The review of the literature suggests that culture conflict is a reality for many second-generation individuals who have been socialized into two different cultures. Some researchers have attempted to explore the affects of culture conflict on the individuals involved, but no attempt has been made to focus on the experience from the perspective of those who have lived it. The present study will attempt to fill this gap in the literature by providing a greater understanding of what is involved in the experience of culture conflict. The following chapter will focus on the methodology that will be used to achieve this goal.

Chapter III

METHOD

The purpose of this study is to understand the phenomenon of culture conflict in second-generation Canadians from the perspective of those who have experienced it. The main goal is to discover the basic nature of this experience and the emotions, thoughts and behaviors surrounding it.

With that purpose in mind, an existential-phenomenological approach was chosen for this study. Valle & King (1978) describe existential-phenomenological psychology as a combination of the disciplines of existentialism and phenomenology. They describe existentialism as the school of thought that "seeks to understand the human condition as it manifests itself in our concrete, lived situations" (p.6) and they define phenomenology as "a method which allows us to contact phenomena as we actually live them and experience them" (p.6). Thus, the aim of the existential-phenomenological approach is to reveal the totality of human experiences as understood by those who have lived them.

Giorgi (1970) stresses the need to focus on the perspective of the people who have been immersed in the experience. He states:

We must go back to the origins; we must see how meanings are experienced and lived and then see what perspective will be most suitable for understanding them as they are lived and experienced" (p.159).

The general premise of existential-phenomenological psychology is that the phenomena should speak for themselves rather than be subject to a researcher's preconceived notions (Colaizzi, 1978; Giorgi, 1970; Valle & King, 1978). This approach runs counter to the traditional quantitative methods used in psychological research, methods which seek to explain and quantify human experiences (Giorgi, 1970; Valle & King, 1978).

The natural scientific approach which has been prevalent in psychological research is questioned by those who prefer an existential-phenomenological approach. Colaizzi (1978) suggests "if only observable, duplicable and measurable definitions have psychological validity, then a crucial dimension of the human psychological existence, namely, experience is eliminated from the study of human psychology" (p.51). Existential-phenomenology strives to understand the underlying meaning of an experience rather than focusing only on observable facts.

To fully understand the meaning of an experience, a method is required which does not deny experience or transform it into operationally defined behaviors (Colaizzi, 1978). The descriptive approach suits this purpose because it "remains with the human experience as it is experienced" (Colaizzi, 1978, p.53). Description allows the phenomenon to reveal itself through the person for whom that phenomenon is a reality.

Through descriptive techniques, existential-phenomenological psychology seeks to reveal the basic structure or essence of human experience and human behavior (Valle & King, 1978). The structure of a phenomenon is described by Valle & King

(1978) as the essential meaning or commonality that runs through the many variations of a particular phenomenon. The assumption of this approach is that although the experience of each individual is unique, there are common patterns that reveal themselves in human experiences.

Regardless of which of the phenomenon's particular variations is revealed at any given time, this phenomenon is seen as having the same essential meaning when it is perceived over time in many different situations. (Valle & King, 1978, p.15)

Thus, the essential meaning of an experience may be explicated by comparing the descriptive accounts of several individuals who have shared a similar experience (Colaizzi, 1978). The comparison allows common themes to emerge and, in turn, reveal the essential structure of the experience.

The present study seeks to reveal the essential structure and meaning of the experience of culture conflict in second-generation Indo-Canadian women. Unstructured interviews were used to obtain descriptive accounts of culture conflict from women who have experienced it. An unstructured interview encourages participants to reveal aspects of the experience they consider to be important rather than focusing on what the researcher may consider important. Thus, it allows us to understand the meaning of the experience from the perspective of the individuals involved in it.

Participants

Five participants were involved in this study. They took part in two interviews. In the first interview, they described the experience of culture conflict through an unstructured interview format. The data obtained in the first interview was analyzed and the results were presented to the participants in a second interview in which they were asked to verify the results and suggest changes.

The participants were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

1. Female.
2. Age 18 or over.
3. Second-generation Indo-Canadian (born in Canada to immigrant parents of Indian origin).
4. Identify themselves as having experienced conflict as a result of growing up with two cultures.

Participants were selected through the process of advertisement. Posters highlighting the criteria were placed in various locations in Vancouver. The nature of the study, its purpose and methodology were explained to all respondents, and only those who fit the above criteria were selected for the study.

Demographic Information

Participant selection was not based on any demographic information. The demographic information presented here was obtained at the time of the first

interview. The participants were all second-generation Indo-Canadian women. Their ages at the time of the interview were: 21, 21, 22, 25, and 38. The religious backgrounds of these women were as follows: two Sikh, two Hindu, and one Muslim. However, not all of the participants currently adhere to the religious backgrounds of their families. The occupations of the participants were: Customs Officer, Teacher Assistant, Consultant, and University Student (2). (Refer to Appendix B for a more detailed profile on the participants and their parents.)

Phenomenological Interview

The participants were interviewed twice over a six month period. The length of the first interview ranged from one hour to two hours. Before the start of the interview the purpose of the study was explained to the participants and they were asked to sign a consent form. The interview was unstructured; the participant was asked to describe her experience of the conflict which resulted from growing up with two cultures. Open ended questions were asked during the interview when necessary to clarify or expand upon the description. Reflective listening was used throughout the interview in order to stimulate the process of dialogue while at the same time an attempt was made not to influence the direction of the interview.

Although the first interview was primarily unstructured, the following questions were asked if they were not answered during the participant's description:

1. Do you feel the conflict has been resolved? If so, how did the resolution come about? If not, what do you think it will take for resolution to occur?

2. What, if any, advantages or disadvantages do you see in growing up with two cultures?
3. How do you see yourself in terms of being both Indian and Canadian? Do you consider yourself to be more of one than the other?

The first interview was taped and transcribed. The transcripts of the interviews have not been included in the appendix because they contain too many statements that may identify the participants, thus violating the confidentiality that was promised to the participants.

In the second interview, participants reviewed the themes that were extracted from their descriptions, and they were asked to verify them and recommend any changes. The second interview was not taped, but the participants' comments were all recorded in detail. Because of its' length, the exhaustive description was not reviewed during the second interview. Instead, participants were given a copy to read on their own time, and the validation of the exhaustive description took place over the telephone.

Analysis and Interpretation

The transcripts of the interviews were analyzed according to the procedure described by Colaizzi (1978). Mostyn's (1985) ideas on content analysis were also taken into consideration. The main purpose of the analysis is to give meaning to the descriptive accounts. Mostyn (1985) views content analysis as the "diagnostic tool of

qualitative researchers" (p.117) which allows them to convert the raw data of words into scientific data.

Colaizzi (1978) outlines seven steps necessary to the process of analysis and interpretation. All seven of these steps were followed. The first step involved reading the transcripts over several times to "acquire a feeling for them" (Colaizzi, 1978, p.59). In the next step, specific phrases and sentences were extracted from the descriptions. The guiding principle at this point was to select phrases that seemed in some way significant in relation to the experience of culture conflict.

The third step was one that involves what Colaizzi (1978) describes as "creative insight" because the researcher must go beyond what is said to determine what is meant. Each significant statement was analyzed to determine the underlying meaning. After the meanings were formulated the next step was to develop a list of themes that represented these meanings. During this step, it was important to refer back to the original transcripts to ensure the themes were validated by the descriptions.

The list of themes were then integrated into an exhaustive description. The exhaustive description is essentially a narrative that describes the phenomenon of culture conflict as experienced by the five participants. Basically, it is the combined story of these woman and it reveals the commonality of their experience. Direct quotes from the transcripts were used in the exhaustive description to highlight the personal nature of the experience. From the exhaustive description, the essential structure of the experience of culture conflict in second-generation Indo-Canadian

women was revealed. The essential structure represents the basic essence of the experience.

The final step involved validation of the results. After making a list of themes and weaving them into the exhaustive description and subsequently the essential structure, I returned to the participants for verification. Any discrepancies or recommended changes were then incorporated into the final presentation of the results.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

Formulation of Themes

Analysis of the five transcripts revealed 29 themes. Each of these themes represent one aspect of the phenomenon of culture conflict as experienced by the second-generation Indo-Canadian women involved in this study. As much as possible, the themes were based on the actual words of the participants.

Some of the themes overlap with each other and may appear to be similar. For example, theme 22 (lying and keeping secrets), theme 23 (feeling as if they have to hide true self) and theme 24 (leading a double life) are all interrelated themes and could be grouped together under the category of lying and keeping secrets. However, these themes have been kept separate because each theme provides a more detailed picture of the experience. For example, people in many situations may feel as if they have to hide their true self but they may not necessarily feel as if they are leading a double life. These woman have experienced both; thus, the separate themes were included to account for this difference.

After the list of themes was compiled, it was presented to each of the participants for verification. Twenty-seven of the 29 themes were verified by all of the participants. The two themes that were not verified by all of the participants were theme 12 (participants and their parents differ in their expectations regarding

marriage) and theme 19 (participants worried about possibly negatively affecting others' lives).

E disagreed with theme 12, stating that her parents' expectations regarding marriage did not differ from hers. Her parents made it clear to her that it would be her choice whether or not to have an arranged marriage. They also have not indicated a desire for her to marry an Indian, although E believes that would be their preference. Where E and her parents do differ is in their views on dating. E's parents did not permit her to date; they did not want her to date or be involved in a romantic relationship until after she has established herself in a career.

B does not consider theme 19 to be reflective of her experience. She does not recall worrying about the negative effects of her actions on others. She said she could see why this theme would be significant for the other participants, but in her case, it was not a consideration because of her family situation. Supportiveness and concern for others were characteristics that were not prevalent in her family, thus each person focused primarily on their own needs. As a result, she did not worry about how her actions may negatively affect others. Also, she did not think she was doing anything wrong so she refused to accept responsibility for how others may have been affected by her actions.

Although theme 12 and 19 were not verified by all of the participants, they have still been included in the results because they represent important themes for four of the five participants.

The following is a list of the 29 themes. The exhaustive description and essential structure will be presented later in this chapter.

Themes

1. **PARTICIPANTS BELIEVE THEIR EXPERIENCE IS UNCOMMON:** The participants all feel that their general experience of growing up in Canada was different from most other Canadians that they know. The difference stems from growing up with two cultures that are very different from each other.
2. **FEELING RESTRICTED BY PARENTS:** A strong sense of feeling restricted by their parents colors the experience of the participants. They were not allowed to do many of the things that Canadians take for granted. This restrictiveness is not just present in childhood and adolescence, but also follows them into adulthood.
3. **FEELING AS IF THEY ARE MISSING OUT:** At times, the participants have felt as if they are missing out on activities that are taken for granted by most Canadians. These activities range from spending time with friends to dating openly to being able to live on their own.

4. **PARENTS FEAR THE NEGATIVE INFLUENCE OF THE CANADIAN CULTURE:** There are many aspects of the Canadian culture that the parents do not approve of and they worry about their daughters becoming involved in such activities. As a result, they try to restrict their daughters' involvement in certain aspects of Canadian culture.

5. **PARENTS BELIEVE THEIR DAUGHTERS ARE DIFFERENT FROM OTHER CANADIANS:** The parents stressed to their daughters that they are different from other Canadians, and can never be like them because of their different cultural heritage.

6. **PARTICIPANTS IDENTIFY MORE WITH THE CANADIAN CULTURE THAN THE INDIAN CULTURE:** The participants feel more comfortable with the values and lifestyle of the Canadian culture compared to the Indian culture. They all identify more Canadian characteristics within themselves than Indian characteristics.

7. **PARTICIPANTS IDENTIFY WITH THE INDIAN CULTURE BUT REJECT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE CULTURE:** All five participants presently feel comfortable with their Indian heritage; but, there are some elements of the culture they do not agree with, especially its' oppressive nature and the limitations it places on women.

8. **PARENTS DETERRED INTERACTION WITH MALES:** The participants' parents attempted to limit unnecessary interaction between their daughters and unrelated males. The parents were guided by the cultural view that it is inappropriate for males and females to interact freely outside the bounds of marriage or family relationships.
9. **PARTICIPANTS WERE NOT PERMITTED TO DATE:** The parents of the participants consider dating to be an undesirable activity that they do not want their daughters taking part in. Dating is regarded as highly inappropriate because it violates the cultural taboo against male/female interactions prior to marriage. Because of their parents' strong feelings against dating, the participants knew that if they did take part in any dating activities, they would have to do so without their parents' knowledge.
10. **PARTICIPANTS DISAGREE WITH THEIR PARENTS' VIEWS ON DATING:** The participants do not agree with their parents' views on dating. They agree with the mainstream view of dating, regarding it as a normal activity that they should be allowed to participate in.
11. **PARENTS ADHERE TO TRADITIONAL INDIAN VIEWS ON SEXUALITY:** The participants' parents do not approve of the mainstream

culture's views on sexuality. They disapprove of premarital sex and frown upon overt displays of affection such as holding hands or kissing in public.

12. **PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR PARENTS DIFFER IN THEIR EXPECTATIONS REGARDING MARRIAGE:** The participants and their parents have differing opinions regarding different aspects of marriage such as how to choose a marriage partner, who to marry and when to marry. This difference in opinions is a major source of conflict for these women.
13. **PARENTS DO NOT VALUE INDEPENDENCE:** The parents do not want their daughters to become too independent. They believe major decisions should be made based on the needs of the family, rather than the individual; and, they also believe that parents have the right to make choices for their children. These beliefs create conflict for the participants who wish to be more independent in making life choices than their parents are willing to allow.
14. **PARENTS ARE CONCERNED WITH WHAT PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITY WILL THINK:** The parents of the participants do not want their daughters behaving in any way that may reflect negatively on the family. Their concern with maintaining family honor causes them to stress to their daughters the importance of behaving in a culturally appropriate manner. This

concern over community acceptance creates pressure on the participants to conform to community ideals that are rooted in traditional viewpoints.

15. **PARTICIPANTS REGARD THE INDIAN COMMUNITY TO BE JUDGEMENTAL:** The participants consider the Indian community to be quite judgemental and gossipy; as a result, they can understand their parents' concerns with what the community will think. However, because the participants do not agree with many of the expectations of the Indian community, it is sometimes difficult for them to conform to them, thus, making the participants possible targets for community gossip.

16. **CONFLICT BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR PARENTS:** The participants feel caught between the expectations of their two cultures. The main conflict arises from the fact that they identify more with the Canadian culture than the Indian culture; thus, they have to deal with the possibility of disappointing their parents. All of the participants feel pressure to conform to their parents' cultural expectations.

17. **INTERNAL CONFLICT:** Not only do the participants experience conflict with their parents, but they also feel tremendous conflict within themselves. Because they identify with aspects of both cultures and have internalized values

from each culture, it is often a struggle for them to choose the appropriate course of action.

18. **PRESSURE:** The participants feel constant pressure to live up to their parents' expectations of them because the expectations are often contrary to their own needs and goals.

19. **PARTICIPANTS WORRIED ABOUT POSSIBLY NEGATIVELY AFFECTING OTHERS' LIVES:** The pressure experienced by the participants is increased by the fear of negatively affecting other people such as their parents or siblings by behaving in ways that may be considered culturally inappropriate.

20. **FRUSTRATION:** Frustration is a common experience for these women as they continuously fight to be true to themselves and be accepted for who they are. They feel frustrated at not being able to live their life the way they would prefer.

21. **RESENTMENT AND ANGER:** The participants have experienced a lot of resentment and anger towards their parents and the Indian community. They feel anger towards their parents for not understanding their point of view and not accepting them for who they are. They also resent not being able to live

their life the way they choose. Some of their anger is directed towards the Indian culture for its' oppressive nature and towards the Indian community for being so judgemental and gossipy.

22. **LYING AND KEEPING SECRETS:** All of the participants have kept secrets from their parents about their involvement in activities that their parents would disapprove of. These women feel as if they are forced to lie. They believe there is no option but to lie if they want to experience certain things that are considered acceptable in Canadian culture but highly unacceptable in the Indian culture. They feel justified in keeping secrets, but they don't like having to do so.
23. **FEELING AS IF THEY HAVE TO HIDE TRUE SELF:** The participants often have to hide aspects of themselves from their parents because revealing their true selves would create problems. These women believe their true selves would be unacceptable to their parents because they embody too many aspects of Canadian culture. As a result, they often feel guarded with their parents.
24. **PARTICIPANTS ARE LEADING A DOUBLE LIFE:** All the lying and the denial of their true selves makes the participants feel as if they are living a double life. With their friends, they can be their real selves, but with their

parents and relatives, they put up a front and behave in culturally appropriate ways. These women all take part in activities that their parents have no knowledge of.

25. **FEAR:** The participants live in constant fear of being caught in their lies. They also fear what may happen to them if their parents discover that they have been taking part in activities that they consider inappropriate. Some of their fears are: fear of being further restricted, fear of disappointing their parents, and fear of being disowned by their family.
26. **TENSION AND STRESS:** The participants experience constant feelings of stress and tension as a result of the pressure they are under. The feelings surrounding the conflict are often overwhelming and everpresent, like a heavy weight that must be carried around. The constant state of tension negatively affects many areas of their life such as school and interpersonal relationships.
27. **ALONENESS:** At times, the participants have felt isolated in their struggle to make the right choices. Because a lot of their conflict is internal, it has been difficult to elicit the support of others. Some of the participants have found that it is difficult for their non Indian friends to fully understand their dilemma.

28. PERIODS OF FEELING DEPRESSED AND DISCOURAGED: The participants have, at times, felt as if they don't have control over their own life. They often feel as if they will never be able to live their life the way they want. Feelings of hopelessness and powerlessness often characterize these periods of discouragement.
29. PARTICIPANTS UNDERSTAND THEIR PARENTS POINT OF VIEW: Despite the difficulty caused by their parents' expectations, the participants do understand their parents' viewpoint. Although all of them have experienced feelings of anger and resentment towards their parents, they have come to realize that their parents were only adhering to their cultural norms and were trying to protect their daughters. They also understand how difficult it is for their parents to live in constant fear of what the members of the community will think.

Exhaustive Description and Essential Structure

Context for Viewing the Exhaustive Description

The exhaustive description is a written narrative of the theme descriptions. It weaves the themes together to illustrate the experience of culture conflict as it was experienced by the five participants. Although the themes are described in a linear

fashion, it is important to note that many of the themes were experienced simultaneously.

Exhaustive Description

All five participants were born and raised in Canada; yet, each of them consider their growing up experience to be quite different from most other Canadians. They attribute the difference to the fact that they grew up being exposed to two cultures that were in many ways very different from each other: the Canadian culture and the Indian culture. For these women, being exposed to these two diverse cultures often meant being faced with two opposing value systems.

Although the parents of the participants varied in the extent to which they had assimilated into the Canadian culture, each of the participants considers her parents to be traditional in many ways. In an attempt to instill traditional values in their children, the parents often restricted their daughter's involvement in activities that were not typically Indian. D describes her parents as being "very strict". She remembers "they didn't even like me staying after school" or "going to friends' houses". E had to struggle just to be allowed to go to sleepover parties and B wasn't allowed to go to school dances. The activities that many Canadian children and teenagers take for granted were often off limits to these women.

It was often a constant struggle just to achieve small gains. "It was sort of like you had to beg, please, please" recalls D. The restrictiveness was a pervasive part of the lifestyle of these women, sometimes even into adulthood. E "felt deprived" when she was growing up; she remembers envying her friends' freedom to go out and have fun. She feels as if she "missed out" on a lot of normal activities as a youth.

Parents' Desire to Maintain the Indian Culture

The parents' attempts to control their daughters' involvement in Canadian culture arose not only out of their desire to pass on their own cultural values, but also from their desire to prevent what they perceive to be the negative influence of the Canadian culture. There are many aspects of the Canadian culture that the Indian parents find offensive and immoral. E's parents are "totally appalled" by certain elements of mainstream culture, especially the apparent promiscuity of the youth. C believes that her parents regard certain behaviors and attitudes to be violations of the basic values they grew up with.

The parents all consider their Indian values and traditions to be something that sets them apart from other Canadians. As a result, the message that has been passed onto their daughters is that they are different from other Canadians; therefore, they are expected to behave differently. When B began school, her mother told her, "You can't think like white children, you can't be like white children, and you can't want what white children want." A says her mother believed that "her culture must always

be different from any other culture." She advised A: "Don't get mixed up in the sense that you can also be like them because your culture is different and don't you forget it. They're not bad and you're not bad, but both are so different that you can never interact."

Often at the root of the parents' desire to restrict their daughters' interactions with the Canadian culture, there seems to be a fear of rejection. They fear their daughter's possible rejection of the Indian culture, and perhaps even her parents. A thinks her mother is worried that she will "lose all awareness of her culture and she'll forget about her parents."

Participants' Identification with the Majority Culture

None of the participants have lost awareness of their culture. Each of them recognize characteristics of the Indian culture within their personality; they all hold certain values which they trace back to their identification with the Indian culture. All five women consider themselves to be more Canadian than Indian in their identity. Their attitudes and preferences seem to be more in line with the Canadian culture than the Indian culture. "I think more Canadian than Indian" reflects E. Similarly, B views her "thoughts and consciousness" as being primarily "western". When her mother told her she couldn't be like white children, she recalls "so profoundly looking up at her and knowing that I was already white". In considering her Indian identity, C describes herself as being "more of an intellectual Indian rather than just naturally flowing from it because I am almost an observer at some levels."

The participants do not share their parents views on culture. Not only do they have different opinions on the importance of adhering to traditional values and maintaining some distinctiveness from the majority culture, but they also differ greatly in their perception of the Indian culture itself. All of these women find the Indian culture to be restrictive and limiting. B and C both describe it as a culture that can be "very oppressive". To D, the Indian culture is "too restrictive, especially on women" and she finds herself wanting "more than my culture dictates". C's statement "I don't reject the culture but I reject a lot of aspects of it" seems to sum up the feelings of all the participants. There are many aspects of the Indian culture that they value; but, at the same time, there are many other elements that they have great difficulty with.

In addition to their different viewpoints on the merits of certain Indian cultural characteristics, the participants also reject their parents' ideas on the meaning of culture in general. A sees herself as having a culture that is different from her mother's culture. "It's not the same as hers but she thinks because I'm Indian and she's Indian, the cultures are the same." The difference in cultures, A points out, is due to the fact that hers is an amalgamation of the Indian culture and the Western culture, rather than only a continuation of the Indian culture.

Like A, B does not agree with her mother's idea of different ethnic or racial groups being so different that they can't interact beyond a superficial level. To her, people are "all the same" and "cultural stuff is so trivial". She sees cultural stuff "as something to be enjoyed ... like icing on the cake". She does not consider cultural

background to be the "foundation" of who people really are. In her own life, she says, "culture has always played a secondary role to my deeper inner self".

C believes that the interaction of different cultural groups is more likely to enhance her cultural awareness rather than diminish it, as her parents fear. She observes, "When you bring two cultures together ... you're forced to understand what your culture is".

Dating and Marriage

The differences between the participants and their parents are especially evident in their attitudes towards dating and male/female relationships. All five women find themselves battling their parents' traditional views on the subject. Dating is a concept not understood by the parents of the participants. The parents all grew up in a culture in which there were strict rules governing interaction between males and females, and dating was basically non-existent since marriages were arranged by family members.

Although the parents now live in a country in which interaction between males and females is much freer, they still adhere to the views of their culture of origin. They regard dating as an undesirable activity, one that they don't want their daughters participating in.

The participants all knew from a young age how their parents felt about dating. B knew it was "forbidden" and C understood that "this is something that you cannot do. It's not acceptable" and "it's wrong". D recognized that "outright dating

would be a major problem". The messages received by these women were not always presented in an overt fashion. Parents did not always come right out and warn them against dating. Sometimes the messages were presented in a more subtle manner. A discovered her parents' feelings through overhearing stories about other Indian girls who had dared to go against their parents' wishes. She realized that "the unwritten rule" was that she "wasn't supposed to do that".

It was not just dating that parents disapproved of but any unnecessary interaction with males. C's parents tried to "deter interaction with boys" while B was prevented from taking part in any high school activities where boys might be present. "It was that simple. If there were boys there, you couldn't go." D still struggles with this issue. She is twenty-one years old and her parents still have difficulty with her spending time with male friends. "If I say I'm going out for dinner with my friends and there's going to be a couple of guys from school there, they would flip".

Thus, from an early age, each of the participants knew how their parents and the Indian culture felt about male/female relationships. At the same time, however, they were each immersed in a second culture in which it is considered normal for people to date and spend time with members of the opposite sex. The opposing messages that they received have been at the root of many of their struggles. They were each faced with the dilemma of what to do in the face of such apparent contradiction. B recalls "there was a lot of conflict in those years about what do I do now about dating?" All five women realized that if they did get involved in dating

activities or even interactions with male friends, it had to be without their parents' knowledge.

Each of the participants has kept information about their interactions with males from their parents. The nature of these interactions has ranged from coffee meetings to a two year dating relationship to a relationship that eventually lead to marriage. B,C, and E have all openly acknowledged their dating relationships to their parents, but only after years of keeping secrets. B kept her boyfriend a secret from her mother until she was ready to marry him, while E found herself downplaying the significance of her relationship with her boyfriend in order to gain her parents' acceptance. It was only after she had been dating her boyfriend for four and a half years that her parents finally acknowledged him.

Much of the difficulty that these Indian parents have with dating relationships stems from their culture's views on sexuality. C believes they consider the idea of premarital sex to be "offensive". She goes on to say that "sexuality isn't discussed and a sexual relationship isn't permitted." Within the Indian culture, any overt signs of a sexual relationship are considered taboo. Kissing or holding hands in front of others, even between married couples, is highly frowned upon. These attitudes towards a physical relationship make it very difficult for those women that are in an open dating relationship to have what they consider a "normal" relationship. C says "we don't even touch, like hold hands, in front of them" and she can't let her parents know it is something she would like to be able to do because "it would offend them and hurt them".

The differences in opinions about dating and male/female interactions also carry over into the area of marriage expectations. These women have faced a major struggle in reconciling their own and their parents' expectations regarding marriage. They hold conflicting opinions, not only about how to choose a marriage partner but sometimes also about who would be an appropriate partner and when the appropriate age is to get married.

The parents of each of the participants all had an arranged marriage, having grown up in a culture in which that was the norm. In traditional Indian culture, marriage is viewed as a merging of families rather than individuals. As such, it is a family decision. It is considered appropriate for parents and older family members to choose marriage partners for their children.

The parents of the participants seem to vary in the degree to which they want to adhere to the traditional practice of arranged marriage. B grew up with the "very heavy burden of arranged marriages". She recalls "I was in major conflict because I knew what was expected of me was to have an arranged marriage." For C, the expectation of arranged marriage "was never formally presented" but all around her were examples of arranged marriages, and she knew the her parents wanted her to have an arranged marriage. From an early age, she let her parents know that she rejected the idea of an arranged marriage, but her father continues to insist "you must give me some choice". E's parents seem to have adapted to a more western view of marriage. She remembers being told "I would never have to have an arranged

marriage and if I wanted one I would have one." However, their openness in this area is contrasted by their restrictiveness regarding dating.

Another issue that causes difficulty is the perception of who an appropriate marriage partner would be. All of the participants believe their parents would prefer that they marry an Indian. Some of the parents are adamant about this preference while others would not totally object to a non Indian. The parents' preference for an Indian son-in-law relates in some ways to their desire to preserve their cultural heritage. C thinks her parents would prefer that she marry an Indian because "it's easier; it's something they can understand more, like the other family" and "it's easier to keep the culture and traditions alive".

For some of the parents, the issue of their daughter marrying an Indian isn't just a matter of simple preference; it is a matter of family honor. A believes that if she married a white man, "it would be the most humiliating thing in the world" for her family. She recalls her mother warning her that "if you ever marry a white person, she'll never speak to me again".

For B, who she should marry seemed to be a matter of life or death. What was expected of her was not only that she marry an Indian, but also that she let her family choose her marriage partner. She remembers "it was a very heavy kind of expectation ... if you didn't you'd be - they never said - killed, but you certainly, as a child growing up got that impression". She struggled with the expectations that were placed on her, and she remembers asking herself, "is there any part of me that can respond to that, or is my truth that I just can't ... that it's just not right to marry

someone you don't know". She came to realize that what was important was that "I have the right to marry who I feel close to or love." Despite reaching that conclusion, she recalls that her decision to marry her white boyfriend was not a completely happy decision since "it excluded my family because it was really clear that if somebody ever married someone white, you're dead in their eyes."

Not only did B fear being disowned from her family, but she also literally feared for her life. Her fear stemmed from an incident that took place while she was in India. During her visit, a young woman was murdered by her father because he discovered that she had a boyfriend. What frightened B the most was "the people's response to it". She explains "there was no outrage, there was no feeling like this was something terrible that happened. It was like he had the right. He had just exerted his right to kill his daughter for seeing somebody". B's fear of death never materialized, but another of her worst fears did come true: when she did marry a white man, she was disowned from her family and ostracized by the Indian community.

B points out that Indian parents seem to have become a bit more flexible than they were at the time of her marriage which was in the early 1970's. It is becoming more common to have partially arranged marriages that allow the prospective bride and groom to have some choice and involvement in the decision. C regards the more modern approach as being "only superficially modified". She doesn't think the opportunity is provided for potential partners to really get to know each other before they make a commitment.

Another area of disagreement is the appropriate age at which to marry. Both A and D find themselves currently being faced with the pressure to marry soon. Both of them are presently twenty-one years of age. D is experiencing pressure not just from her parents, but also from community members. She finds herself wanting to change a few of her parents' expectations before she makes a commitment to marriage. Her father originally wanted her to marry her cousin from India, and it was only recently that she was finally able to dissuade him of that idea. He was very set on the idea which for her was "too awkward" and "too gross". Now, the battle she faces is to convince her parents that she does not want to marry someone from India.

Similar to D, A does not feel ready to get married. Her views on marriage have changed over the last few years. She once thought that when she graduated "if my parents tell me to get married, I will". But now that that time has arrived, she is reluctant to follow through. She does not feel ready for marriage, and she doesn't want to get married in the way her parents have planned; but, she is resigning herself to the fact that her eventual marriage may not be everything she would like.

Although A had a two year dating relationship with someone who was white, she thinks she will probably marry an Indian. "I seriously think my dad will drop dead if I don't". She realizes that marrying a white person will mean giving up her relationship with her family, and she doesn't think it would be worth it. She does not totally rule out the possibility of being in a long term relationship with someone white: "if I was to fall head over heels with a white guy and it was just incredible ...

anything is possible". However, she adds, "if an Indian guy half as good came into my life, I'd probably marry the guy just to make my parents happy".

If A does go through with the type of arranged marriage her parents want for her, she doesn't expect to ever "really love the guy". A does not believe the cultural message that a woman grows to love her husband. She says, "I think you grow to get along with a person. I don't think you ever grow to love him".

Independence

Central to the subject of getting married is the issue of choice and making one's own decisions. This idea of being independent and making choices for oneself, not just as it relates to choosing a marriage partner, but also with regard to making life choices in general, is another area which stirs up conflict for the participants. Once again, they find themselves caught between two different sets of cultural expectations.

E considers this issue to be the biggest area of conflict for her because she says "people here teach you to be independent" whereas Indian people "don't want you to". E doesn't like how dependent she was taught to be in her family, and she prefers the Canadian way in which "you make decisions on your own and think for yourself". D faces a similar conflict with her mother who thinks "you can't be too independent if you're a girl".

In the Indian culture, parents maintain much greater control over their children than their counterparts in western culture. Parents are expected to make decisions for

their children, even when their children become adults. In their culture, the family, rather than an individual is the primary focus when major decisions are made. Thus, independence is not highly valued. D explains, "they don't ever do anything for the self ... it's always for the family, or for the betterment of the family ... they never do it for the betterment of the self". This focus on the collective unit makes it difficult for an individual to act independently, even for something as seemingly simple as leisure activities. D's parents do not understand her desire to do things on her own rather than with her family.

C's struggle for independence has been an ongoing battle with her parents. At age twenty-five, she is still living at home with her parents who do not approve of the idea of her moving out. They maintain the Indian view that it is not appropriate for a single woman to live on her own. Like D's parents, they expect her to live at home until she marries. C, however, is planning to move out on her own, and she expects that "the conflict that is going to surround that will be overwhelming".

Community Expectations

Not only have the participants struggled with the challenge of meeting the expectations of their parents, but they have also been burdened with the extra responsibility of fulfilling community expectations. Each of their parents socialize primarily within the Indian community and all of the parents are concerned with how their daughters' behaviors will be regarded within that community. C recognizes that there is a lot of "peer pressure within the Indian community to have their children

children conform to a certain ideal". She believes that pressure "plays a big role" in the expectations that parents pass onto their children. D suggests that one of the reasons her mother wouldn't want her to move out on her own is because "she probably doesn't like how it looks in the community". E also sees the influence that the community has on her parents. She thinks that some activities that her parents have restricted her from are things "they could deal with but they're afraid of what all their friends would think".

E describes Indian people as being "really judgemental" and "gossipy", a description that has been echoed by the other participants. It is this judgemental nature that the parents fear. A points out that the parents' concern over what others will say is rooted in the fear of being blamed for their daughters' divergence from community traditions. She suggests, "They wouldn't say 'what did A do wrong?'; they would say 'what did you do to raise A wrong?'" Thus, it is in the parents' best interest to make sure their children do not behave in any way that may be considered disgraceful.

Feelings of Conflict

The many differences in viewpoint between the participants and their parents have led to overwhelming feelings of conflict for them. All five women describe feelings of being torn in two directions. They feel caught between the expectations of the Indian and Canadian cultures. Their preference for Canadian values is what fuels the feelings of conflict between themselves and their parents. C describes herself as

being "caught between what I think and what they think", and D realizes that because her preferences are not those of her parents, they would not approve of the choices she would like to make. "I've realized that I can't have it my way and have them be happy with it - there's no way they would". C sums up the essential conflict as one that requires "balancing what they perceive should be my values and what I feel should be my values".

The conflict experienced by the participants is not just the external conflict between themselves and their parents, but it also takes the form of an internal conflict within themselves. Each of them recognizes a part within herself that is the Indian side of herself, and sometimes there is difficulty in reconciling that side with the Canadian side.

One value that all five women attribute to their identification with the Indian culture is their emphasis on the importance of family unity. It is this same value that serves to heighten their feelings of conflict. Because family is so important to them, they have a difficult time placing their own needs ahead of the expectations of their parents for fear of disappointing them. C confesses, "You do want the approval of your parents. I disagree with a lot of what they say, but it's really hard for me that they don't accept that". B also wanted to avoid disappointing her mother. "I wanted to please her. I wanted her approval. I didn't consciously want to marry somebody white and create all that conflict that would ensue".

What each woman is faced with is the dilemma of determining what she should have to sacrifice, if anything. How much should she compromise? B considers the

essential question to be: "How much do I owe a culture?" The answer to that question has not been an easy one for any of the participants.

Living in such a state of conflict brings with it an enormous feeling of pressure for the participants - pressure to be a certain type of person, pressure to conform to an ideal, and pressure to sacrifice their own needs. C doesn't think her parents have any idea "how much pressure" she lives with on a daily basis. Similarly, B found the pressure to be "overwhelming", while E describes it as a "total mental burden".

The pressure experienced by these women is often increased by the realization that their actions may negatively influence the lives of others. A believes that if she marries someone white, she's "looking at ruining at least half a dozen lives in my direct family". Not only would her parents live in a state of shame, but her nieces would be forced to tolerate greater restrictions because their parents would most likely pull them out of university for fear of them succumbing to the same negative influence as A.

D also worries about the negative impact on her younger siblings. "I'm the oldest so it's extra hard for me because it sets the tone for my brothers and sisters. If I do something really wild, it's going to be really hard for them because my parents are going to clamp down on them".

With the feelings of pressure and conflict, come feelings of frustration. Each participant has experienced some frustration in dealing with the conflicting demands of the two cultures. A major part of the frustration arises from the inability to do the

things they would like to do. D felt frustration at an early age when she was not allowed to participate in extracurricular activities, and she continues to experience such feeling of frustration when her parents do not understand her need to take part in certain activities, especially activities that do not include her family.

Similarly, E's feelings of frustration have centered around the restrictions placed on her by her parents. At times, she felt as if she would never be able to do the things she longed to do. She remembers thinking, "I'm not going to be able to do any of the things that I've wanted to do, and it's going to be too late. I'll never have experienced the things that most young people are supposed to experience".

For C, the feelings of frustration arise not only from her parents inability to understand her need to spend time alone with her boyfriend, but also from their attempts to restrict her independence. She believes, "They don't understand why I would have a conflict". Her parents' traditional views on premarital sex and physical affection between couples make it difficult for C to share her feelings with them. She cannot discuss with them her concerns about the lack of privacy because "it would offend them". C explains, "The ultimate thing is that I can't tell them some of the most personal details of why they cause me that pressure because it's unacceptable to them". She goes on to say, "I wouldn't bluntly say to them, 'look, we don't have time to be alone, to be romantic, to be sexually involved', because it would offend them and hurt them more than it would benefit them". Consequently, she finds herself experiencing constant frustration at not being able to live the way she would like.

A's frustration stems, in part, from not being able to openly discuss her opinions with her mother. It is difficult for her to explain to her mother why she doesn't want to get married yet or why she disagrees with certain cultural practices because her mother does not believe children have the right to question their parents. "If I try to refute her or argue with her, she gets mad and says, who am I, as her daughter, to be sitting there arguing with her". A believes this attitude stems from the Indian cultural view that parents do not have to respect their children, but children must always respect and obey their parents, no matter what the circumstances. For A, it is extremely frustrating to have to abide by such beliefs.

Another common feeling shared by the participants is a feeling of resentment. The general sense of restrictiveness and lack of acceptance or understanding from parents often stirred up feelings of resentment in these women. Not only did they resent not having the same freedom as their peers, but they also resented having to be someone they were not. Accompanying the feelings of resentment were often strong feelings of anger - anger towards their parents and, often, towards the Indian culture.

D and E both resented their parents for placing so many restrictions on them. D remembers the feeling of resentment being especially strong during her high school years. Although she resented her lack of freedom, she found herself unable to confront her parents. It was too difficult for her. "I'd get too emotional" she recalls. So instead, she chose to withdraw and isolate herself. It seemed easier to just accept the situation rather than to try to change it.

For E, the feelings of resentment seemed to build up over time. She harboured "a lot of resentment" and she remembers "the more strict they would get, the more resentful I would be". It also made her very angry that her parents did not understand how difficult the situation was for her. "I was really angry ... I thought what am I supposed to do? I've grown up here. I don't know any different ... I think I've done everything that any Canadian family could ever expect of their child".

In C's situation, the feelings of resentment and anger are still very much a part of her experience. She resents her parents' lack of understanding of her needs, and she feels angry that they make things so difficult for her. She resents her father's constant attempts to plan out her life, and finds herself avoiding discussion with him or reacting with "sarcastic, difficult responses".

B's feelings of anger arose with the realization that her mother would do anything she had to to ensure that B married an Indian man instead of the white boyfriend she was in love with. While B was on a trip to India, her mother sent a letter to her relatives advising them that under no circumstances was B to leave India without being married to an Indian. Just prior to this, B had been considering giving in to her mother's wishes, but when she realized what her mother had planned, she felt incredible anger. "I realized that here I was willing to sell out on myself and surrender my life to my mother, and here they could so easily toss me aside like a piece of garbage that's just creating a problem". B was enraged to discover how little her mother cared about her. From those feelings of anger, B gained a strong sense of

conviction to never sell out on herself. She says she realized that she had to care about herself even if her family didn't.

Lying and Keeping Secrets

In addition to the strong negative emotions experienced by all the participants, they also share a pattern of keeping secrets from their parents. All five women have kept secrets and lied to their parents about their participation in activities that are not considered culturally appropriate. Each of them felt as if she had no choice but to lie. Lying seemed to be the only option that would allow them the freedom to take part in activities that would otherwise be denied to them, activities that most Canadians take for granted such as dating and spending time with friends.

B kept many secrets from her mother, including the fact that she was in a serious dating relationship. She explains, "There was only one way, and that was that I had to learn to lie straightfaced". Similarly, A confesses of her university years, "I probably lied more in those four years than I've ever lied to her". Because A was living away from her hometown while attending university, she found it was not too difficult to keep her two year dating relationship a secret from her parents, especially since her friends in residence assisted her in maintaining her secret. She recalls, "I'd spend nights away from home and my friends would cover up for me".

For D, even such things as attending movies had to be kept a secret during her high school years because her parents did not approve of her spending her time in

such a manner. She still cannot be honest with her parents about spending time with male friends because of their strong disapproval of male/female interactions.

E has also lied to her parents on many occasions. Although her parents knew about her relationship with her boyfriend, she was secretive about how much time she was actually spending with him. She tried to make the relationship seem less serious than it was. Like E, C also has had to create elaborate lies in order to be able to spend time alone with her boyfriend.

None of these women enjoy having to lie, but all of them feel justified in doing so, and they have found that it becomes easier to do over time. E explains, "The more you do it, the more you get comfortable with it, and it didn't bother me after a while". She adds, "I always tried to justify in my mind ... I should be allowed to do all these things because my girlfriends can do these things and their parents know about it".

A expressed similar feelings: "I didn't feel guilt. I understood why I was doing it. I would feel guilty if I knew deep down inside that there was another alternative, but I didn't see one". It was the only way, she saw that would allow her to enjoy her life without her parents being negatively affected by her actions. Basically, she felt "what they didn't know, wouldn't hurt them". D echoes this feeling; she states, "I realize if I want what I want without shattering them then I'm not going to have to tell them anyway".

Despite feeling justified in keeping secrets, the participants did, at times, have difficulty with lying. C found it difficult to lie to her mother. "It's really hard

sometimes to sit face to face [when] you know you're blatantly lying". She sees the lying as "a destructive thing" that "eats at you". E also experienced similar negative feelings. She observes "you always feel not happy about yourself feeling like you're being deceitful".

Through the lies, what each of these women was doing was denying who she really was. "You are hiding a great part of yourself" acknowledges C. They could not let their parents see their real selves because those selves did not conform to the ideals set forth by the Indian culture. Thus, because the real self was unacceptable, a new self was often created for the benefit of the parents. D observes that she and her Indo-Canadian friends find themselves acting in front of their parents. "We have to put on this show in front of them whereas behind the scenes we're not like what they think we are". She goes on to say, "If they knew who we really were, they would be totally distraught".

E describes a similar experience. She says, "For four years, my mom and dad didn't know who I was. I would be like a good girl doing whatever they wanted me to and were expecting me to do, and then I would just go and do my own thing". Being unable to share the realities of her life also meant being unable to share many of her joys and sorrows. She recalls the time when her boyfriend gave her a ring. "I was so happy, and I would have loved to tell my mom and dad, but they would just freak". Their lack of acceptance prevented her from sharing her feelings with them.

Having to hide so many aspects of themselves and their lives makes the participants feel like they are leading a double life. B describes it as a "very Jekyll

and Hyde" type of existence, while E sees herself as someone with "two faces". All of these women feel as if they lead two separate lives: one with their friends and another with their family members.

Leading a double life seems almost inevitable for these women. B explains, "I think I always knew I had to live a double life. So, one way of resolving the conflict, that cultural conflict during those early years was simply to live a double life". In D's observation, "Everyone leads double lives. When you're Indo-Canadian, you've got to unless your parents are really cool". She says, "I just live two lives. Basically, I have my own and then I have who I am with them - really different".

Keeping secrets takes its toll on these women because accompanying the secrets and lies is a tremendous amount of fear and tension. All five women have lived with the constant fear of being caught in their lies. E describes it as an everyday fear". "I always have that feeling of fear or tension in me" she explains. For A, the feelings of fear were especially intense whenever she and her boyfriend were in a public place where they might run into somebody Indian. The fear created a state of "total paranoia" for her as she worried about being recognized and reported to her parents.

At the root of the fear of discovery was a greater fear: what would happen if they got caught? Some of the participants feared disownment from their family. E's parents told her outright that she would be disowned if she lived with her boyfriend. A also knew that disownment would be a possibility if her parents learned of her relationship with a white man.

For B, the fear went even deeper. She feared for her life. The stories she had heard of women being murdered by their families for going against family wishes, created tremendous fear in her. "I was in fear" she admits. "I was in terrible fear that because I was going to marry someone white that they were going to do something to me too".

The fear that these women live with coupled with the constant feelings of conflict surrounding the appropriate way to live their life creates incredible tension in their lives. A describes her life as being "really full of tension", while E feels as if she is constantly carrying around a "really heavy burden". B also felt like she was carrying a heavy weight. "It was overwhelming" she recalls, "like carrying this huge, huge thing around all the time".

In describing her feelings of conflict, C explains, "the tension really builds up ... it really bothers me. It's always on my mind". The tension is so great for C that when she finally has time alone with her boyfriend, she often can't even enjoy it because she continues to fear that her parents will discover the intimate nature of her relationship with her boyfriend.

The tension and stress felt by the participants is not just experienced on an internal level, but also manifests itself in many external forms. D points out, "the stress is tremendous". She believes "you have to be intelligent to deal with all the stress or something's going to have to give". That something is often school success. For E, it was not only her academic success that was affected, but also many other areas of her life. She remembers, "I was so stressed that it was actually affecting my

health ... my life ... and my mood". The stress, she says, also caused strain in her relationship with her boyfriend.

Another common feeling sometimes experienced by the participants was the feeling of being alone in their struggle. E recalls "I never had anybody to relate to. I didn't know what to do or who to talk to ... there wasn't any kind of support". For B, the feelings of being alone were constant. "I've just always done it alone", she says. She recounts many instances of feeling totally alone in the world while she struggled to make the right choices. She never shared her pain with anybody, not her friends, and not her siblings. The very nature of the conflict, the internal aspect of it, makes it, in many ways, a very personal struggle. As such, it can make for a very lonely experience.

For D, the feelings of being alone were most evident when she first moved to Vancouver, and was not allowed the freedom to go out with friends. She felt very alone and isolated at that time. In E's case, the feelings of aloneness were heightened by the fact that she did not have any Indo-Canadian friends; thus, making her feel as if she was the only one experiencing such a conflict. In contrast, D has been able to gain support from her Indo-Canadian friends because they are all struggling with the same conflict. Both D and E have found that their non Indian friends, supportive as they may be, cannot fully understand the intense struggle involved in having to reconcile the demands of two opposing cultures.

In the midst of their struggles, all five women have experienced periods of depression and discouragement. These low periods are characterized by feelings of

hopelessness, powerlessness and lack of control over their lives. D remembers experiencing such feelings during high school. "I used to get depressed a lot" she acknowledges. In B's case, the feelings of pain and hopelessness and alienation were so strong that she even considered suicide at one point. C's struggle for privacy and independence is characterized by a "sense of hopelessness". At this point, she feels as if she has "no refuge", no place to go where she can just be herself.

Understanding of Parents' Viewpoint

Despite the tremendous conflict experienced by each of these women, primarily due to the traditional expectations of their parents, they all have some understanding of their parents' point of view. Each of them have experienced feelings of resentment and anger towards their parents, but they know their parents did not consciously want to make things difficult for them.

E sees her parents' restrictiveness as their way of protecting her from perceived negative influence. She realizes they only wanted what was best for her. C also understands her parents' perspective. She says, "I kind of understand why ... I don't agree with it, but I understand where they're coming from". She understands that her parents are only doing what they know how; that they are acting from their own cultural point of view.

B has great compassion for her mother's struggle. She thinks the conflict was even more difficult for her mother than it was for herself. She says, "Even though their position is very different from mine culturally, I don't see so much that I am the

generation that carries the brunt of the conflict. I really see that my mother's generation are the ones who suffer so greatly with this conflict. And the conflict is always do I go with what society wants and what my culture and religion say, or do I go with love and be there with my children".

Context for Viewing the Essential Structure

The essential structure represents the basic essence of the experience of culture conflict. It condenses the exhaustive description to reveal only the core elements of the experience. The purpose of the essential structure is to describe the experience of culture conflict as succinctly as possible.

Essential Structure

Second-generation Indo-Canadian women whose parents adhere to aspects of traditional culture, believe their experience of growing up in Canada is different from most other Canadians because they are socialized into two very different cultures. A feeling of being restricted is common in the experience of these women. They find themselves being restricted from many activities that are taken for granted by most Canadians. As a result, they often feel as if they have missed out on activities that are considered a normal part of the life of Canadians.

The restrictiveness of these women's parents often arises from their fear of the negative influence of the Canadian culture. They do not want their daughters taking

part in activities which, although considered acceptable in the Canadian culture, are not approved of in the Indian culture.

These women grow up with the message that they are essentially different from other Canadians because of their Indian heritage. Their parents often distinguish between "us" and "them", with "us" being Indians and "them" being other Canadians. These second-generation Canadians, however, consider themselves to be more Canadian than Indian. They have a stronger identification with the Canadian culture than the Indian culture. Despite their stronger identification with the Canadian culture, these women do feel comfortable with their Indian heritage and enjoy many aspects of the culture. However, there are some elements of the culture that they strongly object to.

These women were often prevented or discouraged from freely interacting with males, and they were not permitted to date. Their parents did not approve of the Canadian idea of dating. The women, themselves, do not agree with their parents' objections to dating. The topic of sexuality was not discussed in the homes of these women. Their parents did not seem to approve of how sexuality is regarded in Canadian culture.

In addition to the differences in their opinions about dating, second-generation Indo-Canadian women also differ from their parents in their ideas about marriage. They have different views on one or all of the following: how to choose a marriage partner (i.e. partner chosen by individual versus partner chosen by parent), who a suitable marriage partner would be, and when the appropriate age is to marry.

The topic of independence is also another source of disagreement between parents and daughters. The parents do not value independence in the same way that it is valued in the Canadian culture. Instead, they encouraged their daughters to put the needs of the family before their own.

The parents of these women are very concerned with what people in the Indian community think about them. The daughters were all brought up with the message that it is very important to conform to cultural expectations in order not to bring disgrace to the family name. The women understand their parents concern over community gossip because they recognize that gossip is an important form of social control in the Indian community. This realization makes it difficult for the second generation woman because she doesn't always want to conform to community expectations because she does not agree with all of them, yet she does not want to jeopardize her family honor.

The differing expectations of the Canadian and Indian cultures leaves these women feeling as if they are being torn in different directions. The feelings of conflict arise primarily because they identify more with the Canadian culture than the Indian culture, thus making it difficult to fulfill the expectations of their parents. In addition to the conflict these women experience with their parents, they also feel internal conflict because their identification with aspects of both cultures sometimes makes it difficult for them to determine which cultural message to adhere to.

Second-generation Indo-Canadian women often feel pressured to live up to the cultural expectations of their parents which are often the opposite of their own

cultural views. The pressure is sometimes increased with the concern over negatively affecting other people if their actions are perceived as culturally inappropriate.

Feelings of frustration are common for these women as they struggle to live their life as they would prefer. These women also experience anger and resentment towards their parents and the Indian community for not accepting them for who they really are, and for making it difficult for them to live like other Canadians.

Because of their parents restrictiveness and negative opinions of the Canadian culture, these women often lie to their parents about their involvement in activities that are not approved of by the Indian culture. These are usually activities that are acceptable and commonplace in the Canadian culture. The women feel justified in their lies because they do not see any other way to be able to participate in activities that they believe they should be freely allowed to take part in.

These women often feel as if they cannot be their true selves with their parents. They do not think their real self would be acceptable, so they end up hiding parts of themselves. In many ways, these women are living a double life; outside of their parents and ethnic group's view, they live a life that their parents have no idea of. With their parents and relatives, they behave one way and with members of the majority culture they behave another way.

Because of the many lies and secrets they keep from their parents, these women often live in fear of being found out. They also fear what might happen to them if they are discovered. Feelings of stress and tension are common in the experience of these women. The stress sometimes affects many other areas of their

life such as their emotional and physical health as well as academic performance and interpersonal relationships.

At times, these women feel alone in their struggle. They feel as if their feelings of conflict can not really be understood by anyone who has not experienced a similar conflict. In addition to feeling alone, these women also experience periods of discouragement and depression during which they feel as if they will never be able to live their life as they would like.

Despite all the conflict experienced by these women as a result of their parents' traditional expectations, they do understand their parents' point of view. They realize their parents are only acting from their own cultural perspective.

Summary

In this chapter, 29 themes representing the experience of culture conflict were presented. These themes were then formulated into the exhaustive description and subsequently, the essential structure. In the next chapter, these results will be discussed, and implications for counselling and further research will also be explored.

Chapter V

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the results of this study will be discussed in terms of the theoretical implications as well as the implications for counselling and further research. The limitations of the present study will also be discussed.

Theoretical Implications

The results of the present study indicate that the experience of culture conflict is a very real experience for the second-generation Indo-Canadian women who participated in this study. These results provide support for previous studies (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987; Leutgart, 1977; Mendelberg, 1986; Pallotta-Chiarolli, 1989; Sommers, 1960; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981) that suggest that individuals who are socialized into two different cultures are likely to experience various types of difficulties. The culture conflict experienced by these Indo-Canadian women plays a significant role in their lives, influencing their emotions, their behavior and many other aspects of their lives. In contrast to the low levels of conflict reported by Rosenthal (1984) and Rosenthal, Demetriou & Efklides (1989) in their studies of second-generation Italian-Australians and Greek-Australians, the conflict experienced by the Indo-Canadian women in the present study is intense and overwhelming at times. All five women experience the conflict as being an everpresent, pervasive part

of their lives. B and C describe it as a "major conflict", and D used the words "traumatic" and "painful" to describe the seriousness of the conflict.

Feeling different

The participants all reported feeling as if their life experiences were in many ways very different from most of their Canadian peers. Growing up with a second culture created difficulties for these women that many of their peers would never have to face. Although they have had a different experience as a result of their dual culture, all five women consider themselves to be essentially the same as other Canadians. Yet, they were often made to feel like they couldn't be like other Canadians. Their parents often emphasized that they were different as a result of their Indian heritage, and consequently, they were expected to behave differently. B's mother told her at a young age that she could not be like white children, and A's mother told her "Don't you get mixed up in the sense that you can also be like them [white Canadians] because your culture is different and don't you forget it".

These findings are similar to those reported by Pallotta-Chiarolli (1989). The Italian-Australian women in her study reported feeling different from other Australian women because they were expected to behave differently. Their parents reinforced the idea of "us and them" in order to maintain a degree of separateness. Similarly, the women in the present study felt that their parents were trying to keep them separate from other Canadians. All five women were often restricted from taking part in activities that most of their Canadian peers freely participated in.

Previous research on Indo-Canadians (Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ramcharan, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981) indicates that this restrictiveness is common in Indo-Canadian families. The Indian parents' preference for their own cultural practices combined with their fear of the negative influence of the Canadian culture often leads them to restrict their children's behavior in an effort to ensure their children will behave in culturally appropriate ways. For the women in this study, their parents' restrictiveness often made them feel as if they were missing out on what they considered to be normal experiences.

Identification with the Canadian Culture

The restrictiveness of Indian parents is partly due to the fear that their children will become too Canadianized and lose awareness of their cultural heritage (Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981). They worry about their children's preference for a Canadian way of life. The fears of Indian parents may have some basis in reality. All five women in the present study identify more with the Canadian culture than the Indian culture.

It is not difficult to see where their identification with the Canadian culture stems from. They are socialized into the Canadian culture from an early age. They are educated in Canadian schools, have Canadian friends, watch Canadian television, listen to Canadian radio stations and read Canadian magazines and books. Essentially, they are immersed in the Canadian culture. In contrast, their parents

socialize primarily with other Indians and maintain many traditional Indian viewpoints and practices.

Stonequist (1937) identified this difference in level of acculturation into the majority culture as being an underlying cause of the conflict between second-generation individuals and their parents. Many immigrant parents prefer to maintain their culture of origin and, as a result, they do not become involved in the majority culture to the same extent as their children. In many ways, the parents and children end up living in two different cultures. Although the children are socialized into the parental culture as well, at some point, it begins to play a secondary role. As a result, they begin to form a cultural identity that is very different from their parents.

The parents may not recognize the fact that their children have a different culture. A's mother believed that she and her daughter shared a similar culture because they are both Indian. A, on the other hand, realizes that each of them identifies with two very different cultures; and, as a result, they have different views on how to live their lives.

The conflicts that arise when the children of immigrants identify more with the majority culture than their parents' culture have been documented by previous researchers (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987; Leutgart, 1977; Mendelberg, 1986; Sommers, 1960). Even researchers who challenge the idea of culture conflict (Kelly, 1989; Rosenthal, 1984; Rosenthal, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989; Weinrich, 1986, 1989), have found that when conflict does exist for second-generation individuals, it is usually evident when they have a strong identification with the majority culture.

Mendelberg (1986) and Weinrich (1986, 1989) suggest that when children of immigrants become socialized into the majority culture, they often begin to question their earlier identifications. This preference for the values of the majority culture creates conflict between second-generation individuals and their parents. The women in the present study have all experienced conflict with their parents because of their identification with the Canadian culture.

The conflict, however, is not just experienced as an external conflict with another person. It is also experienced internally as a conflict within oneself. All five women experienced feelings of being torn between the two cultures because of their identification with aspects of each culture. Although their primary identification is with the majority culture, each of them identifies parts of herself that are reflective of her Indian heritage. This dual identification often creates difficulties in choosing which cultural values to adhere to.

Some researchers (Isajiw, 1975; Mendelberg, 1986; Sommers, 1960) have found that many second-generation individuals reject or deny their ethnic heritage in their attempts to be more like members of the majority culture. This finding was not evident in the present study. The participants in this study all expressed an appreciation of their ancestral culture. All five women have experienced difficulties as a result of their Indian heritage, and there are aspects of the culture that they do not approve of, but they do not reject the culture itself. The aspects of the culture that they seem to have most difficulty with are its' traditional views on the role of women, male/female relationships and the emphasis on parental authority.

Although the participants all presently feel comfortable with the Indian part of themselves, two of them did acknowledge having experienced some of the feelings of shame and embarrassment that were identified by other researchers (Leutgart, 1977; Mendelberg, 1986; Sommers, 1960). C remembers occasionally being embarrassed by elements of the Indian culture. She did not want her friends to think of her as being different. For B, the negative feelings appeared to be much stronger. She admits to being ashamed of being Indo-Canadian, and she acknowledges that it took her a long time to feel good about being Indo-Canadian. Now B finds she can enjoy her Indian heritage. "I can take the culture so wonderfully now because there are no more conflicts with it". All five women now appreciate their Indian identity. They still experience difficulties that stem from having a dual culture, but none of them has a desire to deny her heritage.

These women's preference for the Canadian culture has been interpreted by some as a rejection of their Indian heritage. Rather than viewing their behavior as rejection, a more appropriate way to view it may be as Isajiw (1990) suggests - these women are simply living their life according to the values of the culture into which they have been socialized, namely the Canadian culture. As E puts it, "What am I supposed to do? I have grown up here." She believes that she is just living her life according to the Canadian culture into which she was born. Like the other four participants, she does not think identifying with the Canadian culture means that she is rejecting her Indian heritage.

Value Differences

Many of the beliefs and values emphasized by the Indian culture conflict with the beliefs and values of the Canadian culture. In many ways, these two cultures are almost at opposite ends of the individualistic/collectivist continuum. Among the many value differences apparent between these two cultures, the one topic that created the most conflict for all the participants was the topic of dating and marriage. This finding supports the previous research (Buchignani, 1984; Buchignani & Indra, 1985; Ghosh, 1984; Wakil, Siddique & Wakil, 1981) that also identified the value differences around dating and marriage to be the most conflict ridden for Indo-Canadians.

The women in this study all indicated that their views on dating and marriage were very different from their parents. Their parents still adhered to the traditional Indian view that parents should be involved in choosing marriage partners for their children, while the participants preferred the Canadian way of dating and choosing one's own marriage partner.

This basic difference in viewpoint created much conflict for all five women. They all realized from an early age that it would not be acceptable for them to take part in the dating practices that are common in Canadian culture. They knew that according to Indian culture, dating is "forbidden" and "wrong" and "morally offensive". Yet, their socialization into the Canadian culture taught them that dating and falling in love are desirable activities that everyone wishes to participate in .

Thus, the messages conveyed to them by their two cultures were totally opposite to one another.

Another basic value difference that created conflict for the second-generation Indo-Canadian women in the present study was the differing perception of independence in the two cultures. Previous research with other ethnic groups (DeAnda, 1984; Leutgart, 1977; Sommers, 1960) has also identified this conflicting view of independence to be a major source of conflict for second-generation individuals.

Underlying the issue of independence is the contrasting views surrounding parent-child relationships. In traditional cultures, like the Indian culture, there is much emphasis placed on parental authority and filial piety (Hui & Triandis, 1986). Individualistic cultures, on the other hand, promote equality and mutual trust in parent-child relationships. Sommers (1960) observed that it is very difficult for second-generation individuals to accept the concepts of unconditional parental authority and everlasting filial piety when they are being socialized into a culture that emphasizes democratic values and ideals. For the participants in this study, it has been difficult for them to accept that their parents know what is best for them. Yet, they have not always been able to challenge their parents beliefs.

It must be noted that some of the themes that have been identified in this study are not necessarily relevant only to second-generation Indo-Canadian women. It is not uncommon for Canadian parents and children to have differing views on issues

such as dating, independence and parental authority. As a result we cannot conclusively state that all of the themes are reflective only of cultural differences.

Dealing with the Conflict

Although the issues of dating, independence and parental authority have all been identified in previous research as major sources of conflict for second-generation individuals, there has been minimal attention paid to what actually takes place for those involved in this conflict. The present study has been able to elaborate on previous findings. The results of this study reveal many aspects of the experience of culture conflict that have not previously been discussed in the literature.

Many negative emotions accompanied these women's attempts to cope with the conflicting demands of their two cultures. Frustration, resentment and anger were all common themes for these women as they faced constant pressure to conform to the expectations of the Indian culture. As they became increasingly socialized into the Canadian culture, they were less able to accept the views set forth by the Indian culture. Their parents beliefs and values began to appear outdated and inappropriate within the Canadian context. Yet, it was difficult for them to completely shed the traditional values that had been ingrained in them from birth.

These women felt incredible pressure to conform to their parents' expectations. The Indian culture's emphasis on obeying parents and maintaining family honor made it extremely difficult for them to go against their parents' expectations. In their

research on Indo-Canadian families in Canada, Wakil, Siddique & Wakil (1981) found that this concept of family honor ("izzet") played an important role in curtailing the actions of Indo-Canadian offspring:

This awareness or commitment, was experienced as an obligation on the part of the children, albeit much more strongly by the females who are considered the repository of the "izzet" of the family. Clearly, a racial-ethnic outmarriage by a female will be a serious blow to the family honor not just by the fact of such a marriage alone but also as indicative of the fact that the parental wishes and authority were violated. (p.937)

The participants in the present study all struggled with this issue of family honor. Their allegiance and loyalty to their family created incredible conflict for them. They understood their parents fears of being disgraced, yet they felt unable to unquestioningly abide by their parents' expectations. All of these women felt caught between what they considered appropriate and what their parents believed was appropriate.

The participants all wanted to be able to date and take part in other activities that their Canadian peers took for granted, but they knew that these behaviors were unacceptable to their parents. Behaviors such as dating and interacting freely with male friends would be considered disgraceful by their parents.

The common response of all five women to this dilemma was to lie and keep secrets from their parents. They all realized that lying was the only way they would

be able to take part in what they considered to be normal activities. All five women stressed that they did not see any choice but to lie. Although none of them liked being deceitful, they did not feel guilty about lying because it seemed to be the only alternative. A explained, "I didn't feel guilt. I understood why I was doing it ... I would feel guilt if I knew deep down inside there was another alternative, but I didn't see one."

Essentially these women were unable to show their parents their real selves - the selves that were Canadian and wanted to live like other Canadians. This theme of having to deny their true selves is a theme that has not previously been identified in the literature. It gives us some insight into the enormous pressure faced by these women as they struggled to satisfy the demands of their parents while, at the same time, trying to be true to their own needs and values. This theme also suggests that the experience of culture conflict may also affect the level of intimacy and closeness between the participants and their parents. If these women feel as if they cannot reveal their true selves to their parents there is a strong likelihood that they are unable to feel genuinely close to their parents.

All of the women in this study have found that it is difficult for others to understand the depth and intensity of their struggle. Their non Indian friends wonder why they don't just stand up to their parents. These friends don't understand the cultural ties and pressures that make it difficult for these women to openly challenge their parents' beliefs.

Although there has not previously been a focus on the second-generation individual's inability to show her true self to her family, previous studies (Lian, 1982; Mendelberg, 1986; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990; Weinrich, 1986, 1989) have focused on the relationship between dual cultural background and problems in achieving a sense of self. Lian (1982) and Spencer & Markstrom-Adams (1990) suggest that individuals who have been socialized into two different cultures may have difficulty achieving a clear sense of who they are.

The results of the present study do not support this finding. None of the women in this study indicated having difficulty in the area of identity formation. All of them seem to have a clear sense of their identity and their values. What they do have difficulty with is being able to be their true selves and live their lives according to the values they believe in.

The way that each woman coped with the conflicting demands of her two cultures was to create a double life. With her family, she behaved in ways that were considered appropriate according to the Indian culture, and with her friends and other members of the Canadian culture, she behaved according to their cultural expectations. Within the Canadian culture, each of these women feels more like her true self, whereas within the Indian culture, she feels as if she is denying who she really is. D explains that with her family, she must "put on a front" because her true self would be unacceptable. "If they knew who we really were" she says, "they would be totally distraught".

Although this theme of leading a double life is a common experience for all of the participants, it is a theme that has not been addressed in the literature. Stonequist (1937) alluded to it when he spoke of a "divided self" and a "dual personality", but these observations have not been expanded upon by other researchers.

When we examine some of the emotions experienced by these women during their experience of culture conflict, we can achieve a better understanding of the overwhelming nature of this experience. The pressure placed on them by their parents to behave in culturally appropriate ways was intense. All of them experienced it as a constant feeling of tension. B explains, "It was like carrying this huge, huge thing around all the time".

Along with the pressure and tension came fear and anxiety over what would happen to them if they didn't conform to their parents' expectations. The emphasis on maintaining family honor made them realize that if they behaved in ways that were considered disgraceful by the Indian community, they could possibly face disownment from their family. The amount of concern over possible disownment experienced by each woman seemed to vary according to how traditional her parents were. C and E's parents seem less traditional than the other parents; thus, they seem to be somewhat more open to their daughters choosing their own marriage partner or possibly marrying a non Indian, although that would not be their preference. In contrast, A & B's parents made it clear that an interracial marriage would be totally unacceptable. A believes she would be disowned if she marries a non Indian because

her parents believe it is the most disgraceful thing she could do. For B, the fears of disownment actually did come true when she married a non Indian.

Two other important themes that were revealed in this study were the themes of aloneness and depression. The theme of depression has previously been explored by Aldwin & Greenberger (1987). They discovered that there was a relationship between parents' value orientation and depression in Korean-American students. Aldwin & Greenberger revealed that depression was more prevalent in those participants whose parents adhered to traditional values. This finding would appear to be relevant to the present study. All of the women in this study identify their parents as being traditional in some ways.

The theme of aloneness has not previously been addressed in the literature on culture conflict. This theme is especially relevant from a counselling perspective since these women have all felt as if others can not understand what they are going through. This finding suggests that it is imperative for counsellors to gain an understanding of what this experience involves.

When reviewing the results of this study, it is important to keep in mind that many different factors may affect each woman's experience of culture conflict. Earlier it was illustrated how the parents level of adherence to traditional culture affected the participants fears of what would happen to them if they married a non-Indian. Other factors that may have some affect are: religious background, parents' occupation and level of education, and participants' birth order. Each of these factors and many others interrelate to shape each woman's unique experience of culture

conflict. Despite the many differences, however, many common themes have been revealed to provide us with a picture of the core elements of the experience of culture conflict.

Summary

The results of this study confirm previous studies that suggest that culture conflict may be experienced by individuals who grow up with two cultures. Another finding that was supported by this study is that culture conflict is usually intensified when second-generation individuals begin to identify more with the majority culture than the parental culture. Consistent with previous studies on Indo-Canadians, the present study identified the issue of dating and marriage as the most conflict ridden for second-generation Indo-Canadians.

This study was able to go beyond the results of previous studies by identifying additional themes in the experience of culture conflict for second-generation Indo-Canadians. Some of the important themes that were identified were: having to hide true self, leading a double life, feelings of pressure, frustration, resentment, anger, fear, depression and aloneness. These themes, along with the others previously mentioned, all provide us with a better understanding of what the experience of culture conflict is like for the second-generation Indo-Canadian women who lived it.

Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of the present study is the size of the sample. Because there were only five women involved in this study, the generalizability of the results may be limited. However, because of the indepth focus of this study, and because of the consistency of the results between the five participants, there is a likelihood that the results may be applicable to other individuals who are in a similar situation.

Another limitation of this study has to do with the methodology used. Participants were asked to recount experiences that have taken place in the past. As a result, their recollections may not be a completely accurate representation of the actual experience.

A final limitation that must be acknowledged is the possible influence of my own biases. Although every attempt was made to maintain objectivity throughout this study, there is the possibility that my own subjective assumptions may have had some influence.

Implications for Further Research

The purpose of the present study was to explore culture conflict from the perspective of individuals who have experienced it. This study confirmed the existence of culture conflict in a group of second-generation Indo-Canadian women.

It also expanded upon the existing knowledge in the area of culture conflict by providing a better picture of what the experience actually involves.

Further research possibilities in this area are vast. A replication of this study with other groups of second-generation Canadians would allow us to see if the themes that were identified with Indo-Canadians hold any relevance for other ethnic groups. A study could also be done with Indo-Canadian men to determine if gender plays a significant role in the experience of culture conflict.

Another group that could be studied is the immigrant parents of individuals who have experienced culture conflict. To gain an understanding of the parents' perspective would allow us to obtain a clearer picture of the overall experience of culture conflict. Research in this area could have important implications for counselling families who are involved in this experience.

In addition to focusing on the specific groups of people outlined above, further research could also be conducted on specific areas within the broader topic of culture conflict. Some specific topics that may warrant further research are:

- a) the relationship between culture conflict and identification with the majority culture;
- b) focus on the topic of dating and marriage;
- c) focus on how individuals are able to resolve the conflict;
- d) a comparison between second-generation individuals who have experienced culture conflict and those who have not.

As mentioned earlier, the research possibilities in this area are vast. Very little research has been conducted on the topic of culture conflict in second-generation Canadians; thus, there is still much that is not known about this experience. Any further exploration in this area can only add to our understanding of this experience.

Implications for Counselling

The present study offers insight into a problem that most counsellors have limited knowledge of, yet it is a problem that many second-generation individuals may encounter. The results of this study indicate that culture conflict can have a powerful impact on the lives of second-generation Indo-Canadians. Although this study focuses only on Indo-Canadians, the knowledge gained from this study may also have some relevance to the experience of other groups of second-generation Canadians.

It is important for counsellors to have an understanding of what is involved in this experience. The participants in this study all found that it was difficult for them to share their experience with others because they often met with a lack of understanding. Their friends often could not see beyond their own value systems to understand why these women felt bound by the Indian culture even though they did not agree with many of the values it espoused. Counsellors working with these clients must remain aware of their own values and understand how those values may influence their approach to counselling.

Probably the most important thing that a counsellor can do to help individuals who are experiencing culture conflict, is simply to allow them to tell their story. All of the participants in the present study indicated that it was therapeutic for them to be able to discuss their experience with someone who understood. They seemed to want validation that what they had or were experiencing was in fact a difficult experience.

Some clients may not be sure of which cultural values they want to identify with. They may be feeling torn between opposing values. The counsellor can help them to explore these values in greater detail in order to determine what personal meaning they hold for them.

Clients may also require help in determining possible courses of action. The role of the counsellor at this point is to help the client explore possible courses of action in terms of what consequences may result from each. For example, if an Indo-Canadian woman is trying to decide whether or not to marry a non Indian, it will be necessary to explore the potential positive and negative consequences of such a marriage. If there is a possibility that her parents will not approve of such a marriage, she will need to consider how she will handle being cut off from her family. Some questions that may need to be addressed are: Is it more important for her to be with her boyfriend or with her family? How will her potential disownment from her family affect her relationship with her future husband? If a client does choose to confront her parents, she may require help in devising a plan of action.

The counsellor's role may also involve helping the client to deal with intense emotions such as anger, guilt, resentment and depression. Clients may also need to

on the areas of their life that are being affected by the negative emotions. Some areas that may be affected are: school or work performance, interpersonal relationships and the individual's self-concept.

In working with clients that are experiencing culture conflict, group counselling may be a desirable approach. Because second-generation individuals feel that their experience is one that is not readily understood by most people it may be beneficial for them to share their experience with others who have first hand knowledge of that experience. Several of the participants in the present study indicated a desire to meet other Indo-Canadian women who were like them. Group counselling would allow these individuals to share their stories, and normalize and validate each others' experiences. A group setting would also allow individuals to learn new strategies for coping.

Family counselling may be another alternative in dealing with the problem of culture conflict. Counsellors may be able to act as mediators, and assist parents and children in understanding each others' point of view. The role of the counsellor in this case may be to help all of the individuals involved to gain a better understanding of how each of them are influenced by their own values.

Such an understanding may enable to them to see that there is not one correct point of view because culture conflict is essentially a function of differences; it is not a matter of one person being right and the other wrong. Perhaps by understanding each others' perspective, including the fears and concerns faced by each, second-generation individuals and their parents can begin to work together to find a solution.

This study also has important implications for counsellor education. As mentioned previously, counsellors need to gain an understanding of what is involved in the experience of culture conflict because of its' potential impact on many individuals. To ensure that counsellors have the necessary understanding of the dynamics of culture conflict, it is important for counsellor education programs to include this topic in their curriculum.

When viewed on a broader level, the results of this study may have implications for the general topic of value differences. Counsellors may be able to gain a better understanding of the difficulties experienced by any individuals who are confronted by values that differ from their own. For example, some parallels may be drawn between the conflict experienced by second-generation individuals and the conflict experienced by individuals who are struggling with the issue of sexual orientation. Like the individuals in this study, many homosexual individuals may find themselves facing pressure to conform to societal expectations. As a result, they may also find themselves having to deny who they really are. In both cases, the conflict experienced by these individuals is the result of conflicting expectations and value differences.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore the experience of culture conflict in second-generation Indo-Canadian women. This study goes beyond the current

research in this area by exploring the experience of culture conflict from the perspective of those who have experienced it. This study allowed these individual to tell the story of their experience and reveal what was significant and meaningful about that experience for them. Through this approach, many significant themes were identified, providing us with a better understanding of what is involved in the experience of culture conflict.

References

- Aldwin, C., & Greenberger, E. (1987). Cultural differences in the predictors of depression. American Journal of Community Psychology, 15, 789-813.
- Basu, R. (1989). American born confused "Desis". India Today, 14, (16), 98-100.
- Berry, J.W. (1986). Multiculturalism and psychology in plural societies. In L. H. Ekstrand (Ed.), Ethnic minorities and immigrants in a cross-cultural perspective (pp. 35-51). Berwyn: Swets North America Inc.
- Berry, J.W., & Annis, R.C. (1974). Acculturative stress: The role of ecology, culture and differentiation. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 5, 382-406.
- Buchignani, N. (1984). South Asians in Canada: Accommodation and adaptation. In R.N. Kanungo (Ed.), South Asians in the Canadian mosaic (pp.157-180). Montreal: Kala Bharati.
- Buchignani, N., & Indra, D. (1985). Continuous journey: A social history of South Asians in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd.
- deAnda, D. (1984). Bicultural socialization: Factors affecting the minority experience. Social Work, 29, 101-107.

- Erikson, E. (1968). Identity: Youth and crisis. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc.
- Ghosh, R. (1984). South Asian women in Canada. In R.N. Kanungo (Ed.), South Asians in the Canadian mosaic (pp.146 - 155). Montreal: Kala Bharati.
- Harrison, A.O., Wilson, M.N., Pine, C.J., Chan, S.A., & Buriel, R. (1990). Family ecologies of ethnic minority children. Child Development, 61, 347-362.
- Herberg, E.N. (1989). Ethnic groups in Canada: Adaptations and transitions. Scarborough: Nelson Canada.
- Hui, C.H., & Triandis, H.C. (1986). Individualism-Collectivism: A study of cross-cultural researchers. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 17, 225-248.
- Isajiw, W.W. (1975). The process of maintenance of ethnic identity: The Canadian context. In P.M. Migus (Ed.), Sounds Canadian (pp.129-138). Toronto: P. Martin Associates.
- Isajiw, W.W. (1990). Ethnic identity retention. In R.Breton, W.W. Isajiw, W.E. Kalbach, & J.G. Reitz (Eds.), Ethnic identity and equality: Varieties of experience in a Canadian city (pp. 34-91). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kelly, A.J. (1989). Ethnic identification, association and redefinition: Muslim Pakistanis and Greek Cypriots in Britain. In K. Liebkind

(Ed.), New Identities in Europe (pp.77-114). Great Britain: Gower Publishing Co. Ltd.

Leutgart, M.J. (1977). The ethnic student: Academic and social problems.

Adolescence, 12 (47), 321-327.

Lian, K.F. (1982). Identity in minority group relations. Ethnic and Racial

Studies, 5, 42-52.

Liebkind, K. (1989). The identity of a minority. Journal of Multilingual and

Multicultural Development, 10, 47-57.

Mendelberg, H.E. (1986). Identity conflict in Mexican-American

adolescents. Adolescence, 21(81), 215-224.

Padilla, A.M. (1980). The role of cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty in

Acculturation. In A.M. Padilla (Ed.), Acculturation: Theory, models

and some new findings (pp. 47-83). Boulder, Colorado: Westview

Press.

Pallotta-Chiarolli, M. (1989). From coercion to choice: Second-generation

women seeking a personal identity in the Italo-Australian setting.

Journal of Intercultural Studies, 10(1), 49-61.

Papajohn, J. (1979). Intergenerational value orientation and psychopathology

in Greek-American families. International Journal of Family Therapy,

1(2), 107-132.

- Ramcharan, S. (1984). South Asian immigration: Current status and adaptation modes. In R.N. Kanungo (Ed.), South Asians in the Canadian Mosaic (pp.33-47). Montreal: Kala Bharati.
- Rosenthal, D.A. (1984). Intergenerational conflict and culture: A study of immigrant and non immigrant adolescents and their parents. Genetic Monographs, 109, 53-75.
- Rosenthal, D.A., & Cichello, A. (1986). The meeting of two cultures: Ethnic identity and psychosocial adjustment of Italian-Australian adolescents. International Journal of Psychology, 21, 487-501.
- Rosenthal, D.A., Demetriou, A., & Efklides, A. (1989). A cross-national study of the influence of culture on conflict between parents and adolescents. International Journal of Behavioral Development, 12(2), 207-219.
- Ruiz, A.S. (1990). Ethnic identity: Crisis and resolution. Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development, 18, 29-40.
- Sommers, V.S. (1960). Identity conflict and acculturation problems in Oriental Americans. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 30, 637-644.
- Spencer, M.B., & Markstrom-Adams, C. (1990). Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority children in America. Child Development, 61, 290-310.

- Stonequist, E.V. (1937). The marginal man: A study in personality and culture conflict. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Wakil, S.P., Siddique, C.M., & Wakil, F.A. (1981). Between two cultures: A study in socialization of children of immigrants. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 43, 929-940.
- Waterman, A.S. (1982). Identity development from adolescence to adulthood: An extension of theory and a review of research. Developmental Psychology, 18(3), 341-358.
- Weinrich, P. (1983). Psychodynamics of personal and social identity. In A. Jacobson-Widding (Ed.), Identity: Personal and socio-cultural (pp. 159-185). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell International.
- Weinrich, P. (1986). Identity development in migrant offspring: Theory and practice. In L. Ekstrand (Ed.), Ethnic minorities in a cross-cultural perspective (pp. 230-239). Berwyn: Swets North America Inc.
- Weinrich, P. (1989) Variations in ethnic identity: Identity structure analysis. In K. Liebkind (Ed.), New identities in Europe (pp.41-76). Great Britain: Gower Publishing Co. Ltd.

APPENDIX A

Letter of Consent

Department of Counselling Psychology
University of British Columbia

Project Title: Understanding the Experience of Culture Conflict in Second-Generation Indo-Canadian Women

Researchers: Marv Westwood, Phd. (phone: 228-5259)
Sukhi Sohi, M.A. candidate (phone: 738-0046)

The purpose of this study is to understand the experience of second-generation Indo-Canadian women who have experienced conflict as a result of growing up with two different cultures. We hope to gain an understanding of the nature of the conflict and methods of conflict resolution.

Participants in this study will take part in two interviews in which they will be asked to describe and discuss their experience of conflict and means of resolution. Each interview will take 1-2 hours. The interview will be conducted in private, and will be audio-taped.

The content of the interviews will remain confidential and the participants' anonymity will be maintained in any presentation of the research results. Only members of the research team will have access to the audio-tapes. The tapes will be erased upon completion of the project.

The researchers will answer any questions the participant may have regarding the procedures used in the project to ensure the participant has full understanding of what is expected of her. Research results will be made available to participants if requested. A participant has the right to withdraw from the project at any time.

Having full knowledge of the above, I hereby consent to participate in this project. I also acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form.

_____ signature _____ date

Name: _____ phone: _____

Address: _____

APPENDIX B

Demographic Information for Each Participant

	A	B	C	D	E
Age	21	38	25	21	22
Education Level	B.A.	enrolled in University	B.A.	B.Sc.	enrolled in University
Occupation	Customs Officer	Teacher Assistant	Consultant	Student	Student
Languages Spoken	English Punjabi	English Punjabi	English	English Urdu	English
Religious Affiliation	Sikh	None	Hindu	Muslim	None
Parents' Religious Affiliation	Sikh	Sikh	Hindu	Muslim	Hindu
Father's Education	Did not complete High School	----	Bachelors Degree	Phd.	Phd.
Father's Occupation	Millworker	Millworker	Businessman	Teacher	Researcher
Mother's Education	Did not complete High School	Zero	High School	M.A.	Pre-med.
Mother's Occupation	Homemaker	Kitchen Worker	Owner/manager Floral Shop	Teacher	Cashier