

LIVED EXPERIENCE IN THE INITIAL PERIOD OF  
ADAPTATION: A LONGITUDINAL MULTI-CASE STUDY  
OF THE EXPERIENCE OF RECENT IMMIGRANT  
STUDENTS AT A CANADIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL

by

EARL ALFRED MANSFIELD

B.F.A., The University of Victoria, 1972

M.A., The University of British Columbia, 1984

M.Ed., The University of Oregon, 1993

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
(Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction)

We accept this thesis as conforming  
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October, 1995

© Earl Alfred Mansfield, 1995

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 Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada

Date 1995-10-13

## ABSTRACT

While educators have recognized that students from other countries often face traumatic experiences in their initial period of adaptation to the receiving country's schools and society, little attention has been devoted to understanding the nature or educational significance of these experiences. Traditionally, educators have equated adaptation difficulties with host language deficits, while other, possibly more consequential dimensions of the adaptation experience have gone unrecognized, and have not been represented in educational policy and funding decisions. Accordingly, this study is directed toward providing a more comprehensive understanding of the adaptation experiences of adolescent students who have recently arrived in Canada from other countries, and addresses a critical need for understanding these experiences from the perspectives of the students themselves.

Inquiry is advanced within a descriptive, exploratory, and explanatory study which predominantly utilizes a phenomenological, qualitative methodology. The study's principal methodology builds upon Edmund Husserl's philosophical foundation by incorporating the existential perspectives of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the life-world social dimensions of Alfred Schutz, and the historical-contextual and interpretive elements of Max van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology. Fieldwork occurred over a six month period in a suburban Canadian secondary school. Study findings and recommendations derive from analysis of interviews, observations, and self-reports of three male and three female grade 10 students who arrived in Canada not more than 20 months prior to the outset of the study.

Initial adaptation experiences of study participants point to three principal findings. The study's finding that despite adaptation challenges, students from abroad often achieve at or above receiving society norms within a short period after arrival, suggests that educators should consider how successful academic patterns of newcomers might be adopted by receiving society members. Participant experience indicates that host language acquisition is but one dimension of a multidimensional adaptation experience, and that it is seldom the student's most critical adaptation concern, even in terms of host communication skills. Participants experienced establishing

friendships as their most critical and difficult adaptation concern, and looked to friendship to provide uncertainty reduction, access to and inclusion in the receiving society.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
Acknowledgement	ix
Dedication	x
Chapter I    Rationale	1
Introduction	1
1.01    Background	1
1.02    Demographic Changes	2
1.03    Current Responses	3
1.04    The Need for Research	5
1.05    Purpose and Audience	7
Study Question	9
1.06    Statement of the Question	9
1.07    Premises or Assumptions Underlying the Question	9
1.08    Subsidiary Questions Derived from the Study	10
Question	10
1.09    Research Methodology	10
1.10    Interview Questions	10
Personal Biography and Assumptions	11
1.11    Personal Biography	12
1.12    Personal Assumptions	13
1.13    Terminology	14
Summary	15
Chapter II    Review of the Literature	17
Introduction	17
Nature of Adaptation	17
Premigration	17
2.01    Premigration Contexts	17
2.02    Migration Contexts	18
2.03    Voluntary and Involuntary Groups	19
Post Migration	20
2.04    Adaptation Processes	20
2.05    Ethnic Retention or Assimilation	20
2.06    Adaptation as Response or as Self-determination	21
2.07    'Successful' Adaptation	21
2.08    Stage Conceptions of Adaptation	22
2.09    Immigrants and Sojourners	22
Experience of Adaptation	23
2.10    Pressure to Conform to the Receiving Society	23
2.11    Replacement and Additive Views of Adaptation	23
2.12    Selective Adaptation	24
2.13    Cultural Insight/Cultural Marginality	24
Psychological Emphases	24
Mental Health	24
2.14    Stress/Anxiety	24
2.15    Uncertainty Reduction Theory	25
2.16    Adaptation and Mental Illness	26
2.17    Culture Shock	27

2.18 The U-curve Hypothesis	28
Identity	28
2.19 Field Dependency and Locus of Control	28
2.20 Expectations	29
2.21 Personality Characteristics	30
2.22 Age and Maturation	30
2.23 Gender	31
2.24 Identity and Self	32
2.25 Self as a Product of Social Interaction	32
Social Emphases	33
Communication	33
2.26 Communication Competence/High and Low Context Cultures	33
2.27 Communication Competencies	34
2.28 Facial Recognition	35
2.29 Significance of Host Language Acquisition	35
Socialization	36
2.30 Social Skills	36
2.31 Friendship	36
2.32 Socio-economic Class	38
2.33 Inter- and Intra-group Social Relations	38
Anthropological Emphases	39
Community, Family, and Culture	39
2.34 Ethnic Communities	39
2.35 Adaptation and Family	39
2.36 Cultural Difference	40
2.37 Individualist and Collectivist Cultures	40
2.38 Marriage	41
Educational Emphases	42
Immigrant Education: Parents and Students	42
2.39 Valuing Education	42
2.40 Scholastic Achievement of Immigrant Students	42
2.41 Immigrant Student and Parent Educational Problems	43
Receiving Country Schools and the Immigrant	44
2.42 Meeting Immigrant Students' Needs	44
2.43 School Priorities	44
2.44 Multicultural Reality of Schools	45
Summary of Research	45
Chapter III Theoretical Framework and Methodology	49
Introduction	49
Methodological Rationale	49
3.01 Pilot Study	49
3.02 Choice of Methodology	50
Hermeneutic Phenomenology	52
3.03 Edmund Husserl's Phenomenological Foundation	52
3.04 Existential Phenomenology	54
3.05 Social Phenomenology	55
3.06 Hermeneutic Influence	56
Hermeneutic Phenomenological Methodology	57
3.07 Consciousness	57
3.08 Epoche	57

3.09	Practical Application of the Methodology	61
3.10	Context: Habitus and Horizon	61
3.11	Analysis of Interview Information	64
3.12	Essences	64
Theoretical	Issues Concerning Phenomenology	65
3.13	Universal or Individual Essences	65
3.14	Experience: Preverbal or Verbal?	65
3.15	Can Experience be Communicated?	66
3.16	Can Experience be Communicated Accurately?	67
3.17	Is it Possible to Render the Experience of Another?	68
3.18	Colonizing the Other	69
Additional	Inquiry Methods	70
3.19	Ethnographic Methods	71
3.20	Self-report Narratives	72
Validity	Issues	73
Internal	Validity	73
3.21	Prolonged Engagement	73
3.22	Respondent Distortions	74
3.23	Peer Debriefing	75
3.24	Negative and Alternate Case Analysis	75
3.25	Free Imaginative Variation	75
3.26	Construct Validity	76
3.27	Triangulation	77
3.28	Face Validity	78
External	Validity	78
3.29	Generalizability	78
3.30	Transferability	78
3.31	Reliability, Dependability, or Replicability	79
Other	Validity Issues	79
3.32	Objectivity	79
3.33	Reflexivity	80
3.34	Reactivity	81
3.35	Catalytic Validity	81
3.36	Pragmatic Validity	82
Study	Focus	82
3.37	Geographic Location	83
3.38	Initial Access	84
3.39	Research Participants	84
3.40	Sampling Process	86
3.41	Results of the Sampling Process	87
Relationships	With Participants	88
3.42	Developing and Maintaining Role	88
3.43	Revealedness	89
3.44	Protecting Sources	89
3.45	Informed Consent	90
3.46	Negotiating Participants' Rights	90
3.47	Reciprocity	90
Interviewing, Observing, and Narratives		91
3.48	Foreshadowed Themes for Guiding Preliminary Descriptions and Questions	91
3.49	Interviewing	93
3.50	Observations and Self-report Narratives	95
Presentation and Analysis		95
3.51	Presentation and Analysis: Theory	95
3.52	Presentation and Analysis: Application	96

Chapter IV	Individual Adaptation Experiences	98
	Introduction	98
	4.01 Richmond Community	98
	4.02 The School Setting	100
	Individual Experiences	103
	4.03 Aqtara Hassan	103
	4.04 Jason Gomez	122
	4.05 Jared Wing	144
	4.06 Rashid Khan	165
	4.07 Paula Lin	186
	4.08 Vana Lee	205
Chapter V	Cumulative Analysis	229
	Introduction	229
	Pre and Post Migration	229
	5.01 Successful Adaptation	229
	5.02 Premigration	230
	5.03 Migration	231
	5.04 Ethnic Retention or Assimilation	231
	5.05 Adaptation as Response or as Self-determination	232
	5.06 Immigrants and Sojourners	233
	Experiences of Adaptation	234
	5.07 Pressures to Conform/Inclusion With the Receiving Society	234
	5.08 Replacement and Additive Views of Adaptation	235
	5.09 Selective Adaptation	236
	5.10 Cultural Insight/Cultural Marginality	236
	Psychological Emphases	237
	5.11 Stress and Anxiety	237
	5.12 Uncertainty Reduction	239
	5.13 Culture Shock	240
	5.14 U-curve Hypothesis	240
	5.15 Field Dependency and Locus of Control	241
	5.16 Expectations	242
	5.17 Personality Characteristics	243
	5.18 Gender	243
	5.19 Identity and Self	244
	Communication and Socialization	245
	5.20 Significance of Host Language Acquisition	245
	5.21 Communication Competence	246
	5.22 Facial Recognition	247
	5.23 Friendship	247
	5.24 Inter- and Intra-group Social Relations	251
	Anthropological Emphases	253
	5.25 Ethnic Communities	253
	5.26 Adaptation and Family	254
	5.27 Marriage/Boy-girl Relations	254
	Educational Emphases	255
	5.28 Valuing Education	255
	5.29 Scholastic Achievement	257
	5.30 Student and Parent Educational Concerns	258
	Participant Experience Which has Received Little Corresponding Emphasis in Adaptation Literature	259
	5.31 Athletic Activities	259
	5.32 Religious Experience	261
	5.33 Childhood	261

Discussion of Key Aspects of Participant Experience in Relation to Current Educational Practice	263
5.34 Host Language Acquisition	263
5.35 Academic Success	264
5.36 Friendship and Inclusion	265
A Return to the Major Question of the Study	269
A Personal Reflection	272
Bibliography	275
Appendix I	308

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The realization of this dissertation has been made possible with the guidance, assistance, and inspiration of numerous friends and colleagues. I wish to acknowledge Dr. F. Graeme Chalmers for his assistance in developing my writing skills, Dr. M. D. (Mark) Gall for encouraging my interest in ethnicity and education, and Dr. C. A. (Chet) Bowers for introducing me to cultural and ethnic issues. Dr. Walter Werner's encouragements in the area of qualitative research, and Dr. John Willinsky's philosophical critiques and the use of his personal library were of immense value.

I wish to thank the members of my dissertation committee for their commitment to this project: Dr. Rita Irwin for initial proof readings and methodological insights, Dr. Carl Leggo for his vision and sense of human value, and in particular, dissertation chairperson, Dr. J. W. (Jack) Kehoe, for his encouragement and efficient guidance through the dissertation process.

I am indebted to Christine Mansfield, Debbie Campbell, Dierdre Johnston, Jesse Mansfield, and Elisabeth Bear for assistance with word processing, and to Trudy O'Neal for library research at the University of Victoria. Appreciation is extended to the six research participants and their families whose participation and enthusiasm made the research both possible and enjoyable.

I am grateful to my parents, Alice and Ray Mansfield, for believing in me and providing me with a foundation for achievement. A special thank you is reserved for my wife Christine and sons Jesse and Joshua, who postponed their dreams so that I might realize one of mine.

Dissertation research funding was provided in part through a University of British Columbia Graduate Fellowship (UGF), and SSHRC grant, Canada and the *Pacific: A Study in four phases* (John Willinsky, U.B.C.).

**DEDICATION**

One *thing* have I desired of the Lord,  
that will I seek after;  
that I may dwell in the house of the Lord  
all the days of my life,  
to behold the beauty of the Lord,  
and to enquire in his temple.  
Psalm 27, verse 4

## CHAPTER I

### RATIONALE

#### *Introduction*

##### *1.01 Background*

In the past decade schools in many parts of Canada have experienced a substantial and increasing influx of immigrant and refugee students, such that in some urban centers they constitute a majority of the school population. Upon arrival these students experience a period of adaptation which has been estimated to extend from three to five years and perhaps longer. Educators in Canada and other Western nations have traditionally equated the immigrant student's often traumatic period of adaptation with language deficits. Consequently, educational funding has been provided almost exclusively in the area of compensatory language programs, while other, possibly more important elements of the experience of adaptation have gone unrecognized and have been underrepresented in educational policy and funding decisions. While it has been argued that the initial period of adaptation is often the most significant factor in the immigrant student's subsequent academic achievement and establishment within society, educators have remained essentially unaware of the student's experience of this critical period.

Accordingly, this dissertation study is directed toward providing a more comprehensive understanding of the initial period of adaptation of recent immigrant students within their new educational and social environments. This inquiry is advanced within the framework of a descriptive, exploratory, and to a more limited degree, explanatory study, which predominantly utilizes a phenomenological, qualitative methodology. As the purpose of this study is to heighten consciousness of recent immigrants' experience in the adaptive period and of the factors that stand in significant relation to that experience, in order to draw attention to processes that are likely to be operable in Canadian schools and society, the study is primarily of interest to teachers, ethnic organizations, curriculum developers, and educational policy makers.

The study's findings and recommendations derive from an analysis of interviews, observations, and self-reports of three male and three female grade 10 level recent immigrant students, over a six month period in a



suburban Canadian secondary school. The study also provides an analysis of academic and policy literature concerning immigration, adaptation and education in Canada and other Western nations, and of the theoretical literature of phenomenology, and other qualitative research methodologies.

### **1.02 Demographic Changes**

Recently, urban school districts across Canada have experienced a substantial influx of students from foreign countries and from indigenous cultures within the country. This increasingly larger percentage of our student population consists of immigrants and refugees, foreign and domestic exchange students, children of temporarily stationed foreign personnel, foreign students whose education abroad is paid for by parents, and a variety of Aboriginal peoples (Inuit, Status and Non Status First Nations, and Métis) who have moved from reserves or aboriginal communities to urban areas. By far the largest of these groups in most Canadian cities is that of immigrants.

While substantial numbers of immigrants have come to Canada in irregular waves throughout its history, the current immigration situation is considerably different from that of the past. Unlike previous periods of immigration, where policy favored immigrants from racial and religious backgrounds that were not markedly different from those of English and French Canadian residents (McLean, 1990; Murphy & France, 1989; Thomas, 1992), and at a time when the fertility rate of native born Canadians was relatively high, an increasing majority of current immigrants and refugees now come from third world countries (Document, Statistics Canada, 1986) and are described in government documents (Fleras & Elliott, 1992) and occasionally self-described (Equality Now!, 1984) as "visible minorities" in relation to the existing ethno-racial character of the majority society. These "visible minorities" arrive at a time when the fertility rate of native born Canadians is at its lowest historical level (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1988), with that of Quebec lowest in the Western world.

The importance to educators of these recent demographic shifts is threefold. The first is that as Canada's rate of natural increase since 1972 has not been sufficient to maintain population levels (Beaujot, 1992), and has been steadily declining for over a decade (Kurian, 1991), the current influx

of immigrants can not be construed as a temporary phenomenon, another of the immigrant waves of the past, but rather, should realistically be viewed as a permanent aspect of Canadian demographics for the foreseeable future (Passaris, 1989). Secondly, these demographic changes suggest that the immigrant population in our schools will increase rapidly (Beardsley & Faichney, 1992; CSTA, 1989), and even now in some Canadian Schools the immigrant population exceeds that of native born students. Consequently it is no longer possible to consider immigrant students as a peripheral element of the general school population, but rather they should now be seen as representing a substantial proportion of the present student population, and in the future, perhaps a majority. As Canadian economist Kunin (1994) comments, "the problem of taking in large numbers of immigrants into our school system is one that is going to continue and is not going to disappear" (p. 8). Finally, the more recent "visible minority" immigrant students may experience a different and possibly more consequential period of adaptation than did previous immigrants, who were in many ways more closely aligned with the host society (Gill, 1993; Nann & To, 1982).

### **1.03 Current Responses**

Although educators have recognized that new immigrants often face a traumatic experience in their initial period of adaptation (CSTA, 1989; Trueba, 1989), little attention has been directed toward understanding the nature of this experience or what teachers and schools can do about it. Samuda and Crawford's (1980) survey of 245 Ontario schools, for example, found that the two most serious problems facing immigrant students were problems arising from the experience of cultural discontinuities, and problems stemming from the schools' unpreparedness for these types of students. As Christensen, (1990) comments, "the special educational needs of immigrant and minority school children are generally unrecognized and poorly met" (p. 113).

While some teachers are aware of the "cultural shock" and learning anomalies initially experienced by many immigrant students, they also feel that their prior training has not equipped them for responding adequately to the needs of these students (Faichney & Beardsley, 1992). This situation is unlikely to be remedied in the near future as few, if any, Canadian university

teacher education programs require courses in race relations or cultural competencies (Beynon, Kisher, & Toohey, 1990). And, though a majority of new immigrants are from visible minority groups, very few visible minority university students choose to enter university teacher education programs (Beynon, Kisher, et al., 1990; Beynon, Toohey, & Kisher, 1992; Cetron & Gayle, 1990). Thus, while Churchill (1987) indicates that a major goal of educational policies in Western democracies has been that of "sensitizing educational staff to minority cultural characteristics and needs" (p. 80), there has in fact been little progress made toward achieving this goal in Canada.

Education policy in Canada and other Western nations has traditionally equated difficulties experienced by immigrant students in the period of adaptation and the attendant drop out rate of some immigrant groups, with lack of facility in the language of the receiving country (Churchill, 1987). For example, Mappa (1987) notes that the view commonly expressed in Western education policies is that "frequent school failure of immigrant children is the result of linguistic deficiencies" (p. 244). Correspondingly, educational policy has tended to provide extra funding for immigrant students almost exclusively in the area of programs that address second language deficits, or less often, heritage language programs (CSTA, 1989). A study by Ashworth (1975), however, found that problems of "cultural adjustment" were cited by immigrant families twice as often as those concerned with language and four times as often as those concerned with academic progress, as the most serious problems facing their children in the schools. The implication is that an overemphasis on language deficits may have functioned to obscure the significance of other, equally or more important dimensions of the adaptive experience, in the subsequent achievement and adjustment of immigrant students.

Some authors (Ashworth, 1975; Bordeau-Guindon, 1988) have recognized that experiences of the immigrant student in the initial period of adaptation have the most critical bearing on the student's future academic success and establishment in society. This is the period when the student's attitudes toward Canadian schools and society are formed (Ashworth, 1975) and when the

attitudes of teaching staff toward immigrant students have their greatest effect on the student (CSTA, 1989). If the experiences of the immigrant student are so critical to their future success, how is it that we know so little about the nature of this experience (Gibson, 1988)?

To summarize, then, it should be recognized that;

- (a) Recent immigrants can no longer be considered a minor or peripheral factor in educational formulations in that they have rapidly become and will remain a significant component of urban student populations in Canada and other receiving nations.
- (b) The geographical origins, religion, language and ethnicity of a majority of recent immigrants and refugees have been identified by government and immigrants themselves as being significantly different from that of immigrants who have traditionally come to Canada in the past.
- (c) New immigrants undergo an often difficult period of adaptation which educators and policy makers understand indirectly, primarily in terms of effects.
- (d) Educational policy has traditionally equated adaptation difficulties and immigrant drop out rates with second language deficits, which may have served to obscure other, perhaps equally important adaptation dimensions.
- (e) Although some authors have recognized that immigrant students' experiences in the period of adaptation constitute the most critical factor in their subsequent academic achievement and establishment in society, little research has been directed toward acquiring an adequate understanding of this experience.

#### **1.04 The Need for Research**

At least since the beginning of John Dewey's influence on education in the early 1900s, educators in North America have professed an overriding concern with 'educational experiences' and the 'child's experience' in the classroom. Experience remained an essential focus throughout the behaviourism era as may be seen in Ralph W. Tyler's contention that "essentially, learning takes place through the experiences which the learner has, that is, through the reactions he makes to the environment in which he is placed" (1966, p.

41). The continuing influence of Dewey and Tyler can be found in van Manen's (1989) view that understanding the student's experience provides a way in which to approach the student that accords with the student's view of the world, and provides a teacher-student relationship more likely to be attuned to what is pedagogically in the student's best interest. However, van Manen (1990) also observes,

Yet in the field of curriculum we confidently talk about "selecting, planning or organizing learning experiences." This confidence begs a question - the question whether we know what it is like when a child "has an experience" or when the child "comes to understand something." (p. 45)

The response by many educators to van Manen's question has been that very little is known of the students' actual experience of the classroom and of learning (Early, Mohan, & Roper, 1989). This should not be surprising in that, as Aoki (1992) reflects, educational research has traditionally been primarily concerned with the outcomes of education, "thereby wilfully ignoring the lived world of teachers and students" (p. 18).

If Seamon's (1988) assessment that education will continue to have minimal practical application without an accurate understanding of the student's experience of learning is correct, as I believe it is, there is clearly an urgent need for research into student experience. Although it is evident that there has been a paucity of research on student experience in the past, it is also clear that such research may be foundational to all educational enquiry. As such, the position advanced in this study accords with Clandinin and Connelly's (1994) view that "in its most general sense, when one asks what it means to study education, the answer is to study experience" (p. 414).

If research into student experience in general has been sparse, research into the experience of recent immigrant students has been virtually nonexistent. Gibson (1988), for example, whose recent study of adaptation experience represents a rare exception, decries the "dearth of material on the experiences of immigrant youth" (p. ix), maintaining that although the schools are filling once more with immigrants, "yet we know comparatively little of their experiences in school" (p. 1). Similarly, Schneider and Lee (1990) comment that "the in-school experiences of East Asian students, beyond their

test score performance, remain uncharted" (p. 339).

Compounding this problem is the fact that it is the experience of immigrant rather than majority students which is much less accessible to today's teachers, most of whom have not undergone the experience of immigration themselves. Educators have asked, how do immigrant students integrate into society, and what special attention do they require in the school system (Samuel & Verma, 1992)? Others maintain that research is needed to identify the strategies commonly used by immigrants to cope with new "social and academic environments" (G.V.Coelho, 1982, p. 106), and how best to organize educational environments and curricula for these "culturally different" students (August & Garcia, 1988). Giroux (1992) has stated:

I am suggesting that the debate over the politics of cultural difference and the curriculum might be reconstructed to engage the broader issue of how the learning that goes on in public and higher education is truly attentive to the problems and histories that construct the actual experiences students face in their everyday lives. (pp. 16-17)

Perhaps now more than ever before, research is needed to provide insight into the experience and perspectives of immigrant students such that the 'debate over the politics of cultural difference and the curriculum' might become more truly representative of, and beneficial to, those most likely to be affected by it.

#### **1.05 Purpose and Audience**

Four purposes and attendant audiences may be identified with this study. The first purpose is that of enabling teachers to better understand the experience of an increasing proportion of their students, the knowledge of which might provide better direction for their pedagogic relationship with students and thereby lead to improvements in instruction. Eisner (1979) states that "tacit beliefs about the nature of human intelligence, about the factors that motivate children, and about the conditions that foster learning influence the teacher's actions in the classroom" (p. 156). Accordingly, an important purpose for this study will be to provide teachers with insight into the initial experience of their immigrant students, which may act to inform their motivating beliefs and understandings concerning the nature of these students, and thus affect instruction. It is important to undertake research to "extend a teacher's understanding" because as Bissex (1988) reflects, "once

we see differently, we act differently" (p. xi). In van Manen's (1989) view, an understanding of the student's experience provides the teacher with an approach to the student more in tune with the student's life-world and learning needs, and one that is more conducive to productive learning. Thus he considers that the experience of the student ought to direct the pedagogic relationship (van Manen, 1986). By giving teachers an insight into the experiences of their immigrant students, this study will provide a means for teachers to reassess their beliefs and more adequately address the needs of students from abroad.

The second purpose of this study is to provide educational policy makers with insights into factors in the adaptive experience of immigrant students, which may have positive or negative implications for these students' future academic achievement or establishment within society. This purpose is suggested in Mappa's (1987) call for multicultural policy making to begin with the experience of the student if educators are to develop initiatives "based on an honest analysis that would identify the real needs of young people of foreign origin" (p. 257). Similarly, Bradley and Bradley (1987), when speaking of immigrants, maintain that "effective interventions for improving the academic achievement of various cultural groups may be derived if more is known about the situational factors that positively or negatively affect classroom motivation of these cultural groups" (p. 445). Insights into the experiences of immigrant students, then, may provide policy makers with a more adequate foundation upon which to base policy initiatives.

A third purpose is to provide ethnic organizations and advocacy groups with a clearer articulation of the experience, needs, and concerns of recent immigrants in the educational setting, such that they are assisted in engaging in political advocacy on behalf of these students. This purpose reflects R.K. Brown's (1992) contention that "a deeper understanding of the lifeworld of the student through phenomenological research precipitates a greater likelihood of one actually articulating questions and dissent concerning ideas and programs that violate the good of the student" (p. 58).

Finally, an important purpose for this study is to extend our present knowledge in the fields of immigration/multiculturalism and education, by

providing a base-line *description* of immigrant experience upon which future research could build; by *exploring* themes, relationships, and problems in order to identify important questions for future research; and by seeking *explanations* for factors which stand in significant relation to the student's experience. Regarding the first point, Peshkin (1993) acknowledges the "foundational character of good description for all research" and contends that "clearly, the soundness of the nondescriptive and the prescriptive aspects of research rests essentially on what has been provided by the accuracy, sensitivity, and comprehensiveness of its descriptive foundation" (p. 24). In relation to the second point, Lightfoot (1983) calls for research that seeks "compelling organizational themes worthy of further disciplined study" (p. 25), while Peshkin (1993) maintains that "this class of insights - problem finding - is among the richest of all types of outcomes" (p. 26). The third point finds support in Kaplan's (1964) statement that "predictions about precise individual behavior are one facet of education, but pattern explanations are equally legitimate and useful and may be a better scientific goal approximation for many purposes" (p. 688).

### ***Study Question***

#### ***1.06 Statement of the Question***

This study is based on the following question: What is the nature and significance of lived experience in the initial period of adaptation for recent immigrant students in a Canadian secondary school?

#### ***1.07 Premises or Assumptions Underlying the Question***

Churchill (1987) has shown that ethnic minorities in the schools have traditionally been viewed by Western governments as a social problem that "must have an institutional response" (p. 57). The major question of this study assumes that 'problems' concerning the education of recent immigrants do not necessarily lie with students or with teaching staff, or that potential 'solutions' need necessarily be political. The major question assumes that recently arrived immigrant students from any nation will undergo an experience of adaptation which may vary in character, intensity, and duration. The major question is also premised on a view that children have become decentered in much recent educational policy and curriculum discourse. What is needed is a



recentering of the child, and in particular, the child's experience, as central to our pedagogical contemplation of how and what to teach children, and where and when we might build educative relationships with them.

#### **1.08 *Subsidiary Questions Derived from the Study Question***

- (a) What are the salient "themes, patterns, categories" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 78) in the students' experiences of the initial period of adaptation?
- (b) How does the experience of immigrant students change during the initial period of adaptation?
- (c) What place, if any, does ethnicity, socio-economic background, gender or prejudice have in the sample group's adaptive experience?
- (d) What relationship, if any, do the sample group's experiences in the adaptive period have to achievement levels?
- (e) To what do the sample group of immigrant students attribute their experiences within the initial period of adaptation?
- (f) How do existing educational practices affect the adaptation experience of the sample group of immigrant students?

#### **1.09 *Research Methodology***

Results of a quantitative, survey based pilot study indicated that a qualitative, longitudinal, multi-case study would provide better access to the adaptation experiences of participants with limited English language capabilities than had been possible with the pilot study. The present study predominantly utilizes a hermeneutic phenomenological methodology inspired by the work of Edmund Husserl, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Alfred Schutz, and Max van Manen, which it is argued is most appropriate for understanding complex processes of human experience. The study also incorporates inquiry techniques derived from ethnographic and narrative analysis methodologies and an ethnographic presentation style.

#### **1.10 *Interview Questions***

Qualitative research in general, and phenomenological inquiry in particular, require that the researcher not import preconceptions into the phenomenon or ask preformulated substantive questions (questions which are built upon a presumption of the nature of the object of inquiry) of study

participants. Rather, the researcher develops tentative concepts and substantive questions over time only as they derive from the phenomenon, or as they are expressed or implied by study participants themselves. Initial interview questions, then, are not substantive, but are designed to elicit autonomous or unprescribed reflection and information from study participants.

The most important requirement of initial 'eliciting' questions is that they evoke reflection and dialogue on all facets of the study participants' life worlds. With this comprehensiveness in mind, initial eliciting questions utilized in this study were developed from each of van Manen's (1990) "fundamental existential themes which probably pervade the life worlds of all human beings regardless of their historical, cultural or social situatedness" (p. 101). These are spaciality, corporeality, temporality, and relationality or communality, to which I have added spirituality.

It is important to emphasize at the outset, however, that all projected inquiry categories are tentative, and exist simply to provide initial directional access to an uncharted territory, the more accurate mapping of which must unfold as the researcher becomes more intimately familiar with the terrain of the phenomenon. This view reflects Marshall and Rossman's (1989) contention that qualitative social science research should retain "the flexibility needed to allow the precise focus of the research to evolve during the research process itself" (p. 44). Perhaps an even more important recognition is that the major research question (and particularly the premises underlying it) must remain open to change over the course of the research, such that it may evolve or be refined in relation with emergent characteristics of the phenomenon. The essential quality of the question, as Gadamer (1975) admonishes, must be that of opening up possibilities and keeping them open (p. 266).

#### ***Personal Biography and Assumptions***

Dudley (1992) recommends that "it is important for a study to begin with a personal reflection to identify presuppositions" (p. 318). This is considered important because researchers' backgrounds not only guide them to the phenomena they investigate, but may also determine what they will and will not direct their attention to when investigating and interpreting the

phenomena. It may be seen to be particularly significant in the case of qualitative social research where the researcher is often considered to be the primary research instrument (Dobbert, 1982). A personal biography is included because, as Hitchcock and Hughes (1989) observe, "the presence of the researcher will have some kind of influence on the finds or data" (p. 88). Additionally, some of the following personal biography (but not personal assumptions) was communicated to research participants involved in the present study, in order to achieve a more equitable sharing or reciprocal relationship (reciprocity). "It is the sharing of information about self, as much as possible," suggests Silvera (1993), "that breaks the dominant/ dominated dynamic" (pp. 217-218).

### **1.11 Personal Biography**

I was born in Vancouver, Canada, in 1950, and grew up in Nanaimo, British Columbia, the oldest of five boys in a lower middle class family. After several years as a letter carrier and construction worker, my father was involved in a near fatal car accident resulting in extensive brain surgery. After a period of convalescence and a protracted, costly, and ultimately unsuccessful legal case related to the accident, he took a position as a maintenance worker at a local pulp mill, a position he held until retirement. My mother was born in a sod hut on the Canadian prairies a few weeks after her parents emigrated to Canada and began clearing land for a homestead. After my father's accident she became legally blind due to complications from surgery after a home sewing accident. During the time in which my parents were convalescing I was cared for by grandparents who were immigrants from England and Norway. Their influence undoubtedly helped develop my initial interest in my own ethnic background and in the perspectives and needs of immigrants in general.

Lather (1991) posits that "ways of knowing are culture-bound and perspectival" (p. 2), while Haig-Brown (1991), speaking of the researcher states, "her culture shapes the way she views the world and leads to abandonment of claims to absolute objectivity" (p. 18). It may be seen to be especially important to disclose the ethnic or cultural background of the researcher when ethnicity and culture constitute key aspects of the phenomena

to be investigated, as is the case in this study. My ethnic background is principally English, Norwegian, Danish and German, though the strongest connections have been with my English and Norwegian families. My wife is Metis, an aboriginal person of English/Scottish and Cree descent. Our four children who range in age from 10 to 24 years enjoy a multiplicity of ethnic influences.

Throughout my years as a student in public schools I pursued a decision made in grade three to become an art teacher. After completing a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree and Teaching Diploma at the University of Victoria, I taught public school visual arts and social studies courses for 19 years. During that time I completed a Master of Arts degree in art education and curriculum at the University of British Columbia. Subsequently my academic interests shifted, and I recently completed a Master of Education degree in multiculturalism and teacher supervision at the University of Oregon. During my last eight years of school teaching I specialized in instructing international exchange and immigrant students at the senior secondary level. I have been continuously involved in schooling, either as a student or teacher for the past 40 years. Ultimately, however, the strongest influence in my life has been spiritual. Christian values and perspectives permeate all aspects of my life, my academic work, and my relations with others, including research participants.

#### **1.12 Personal Assumptions**

House (1991) has remarked that "humans themselves are complex causal agents with varied interests in changing the world, and this intentionality guides their investigations" (p. 6). Along with the stated purposes which guide a study, it should be recognized that researchers often hold assumptions which may affect the direction and findings of their studies. The following viewpoints are indicative of personal assumptions that I was able to identify at the outset of the dissertation study.

Although I am supportive of multicultural policies that encourage maintenance of cultural heritage, developing inter-cultural understandings, and anti-racist education, it is my perception that Canada's immigration/economic policies have resulted in a multiculturalism that is

neither "multi" nor "cultural". More than two thirds of Canada's current immigrants come from only three national localities: Hong Kong/Taiwan, the Indian subcontinent, and The Philippines; while immigrants from Africa, South America, and much of Southeast Asia are underrepresented (Montigny & Jones, 1990). And while official policy speaks glowingly of *cultural* diversity, Canadian immigration continues to be driven by *economic* considerations. As Yee (1993), for example, has observed, the recent investment category for immigrants could also be viewed as a far more exorbitant version of the restrictive Chinese head tax of the early 1900s. I am concerned that "multicultural education may have served as a vector for the majority culture under the guise of safeguarding minority cultures" (Verne, 1987), and that multicultural policy may function in Western nations as a form of control over ethnic and minority groups (Mullard, 1987). It has also been my observation over years of teaching that although many immigrant students do well academically after their initial years in our schools, they have not been well served by our educational system. The wealth of human potential represented by immigrant students, both to be developed and to be shared with majority culture students, remains essentially unrealized. Despite these concerns, and perhaps because of them, I continue in my efforts to support multicultural initiatives and ethnic diversity in our schools and society.

### 1.13 Terminology

Several terms have come to have commonly accepted meanings within adaptation literature. 'Sojourner' refers to a person who leaves one country with the intention of residing temporarily in another. The term 'emigration' refers to the process of leaving one country for another. 'Immigrant' refers to a person who has left one country and now resides and intends to stay permanently in another. 'Migrant' is a general term which can refer to sojourners, immigrants, or both. The term 'co-national' refers to migrants in the receiving country who share the same nationality of origin.

'Sending country,' a term used in adaptation literature to refer to the country from which the migrant came, and 'host country,' which is used to refer to the country the migrant has moved to, are terms which I have found over the course of the present study, do not accurately represent the

phenomena which they are typically used in reference to. 'Sending country' suggests that a migrant has been sent, and while this is occasionally the case when, for example, students are sent abroad to study, the vast majority of migrants depart without being sent. Accordingly the term 'sending country' has been included in the present study only when present in quoted material. The term 'country of departure' which does not imply circumstances of departure, has been used in the present study in preference to 'sending country.' 'Home country,' a term often used in adaptation literature in place of 'sending country' is most appropriately used in reference to the country where the migrant received primary socialization or enculturation. The terms 'host country' and 'host society' imply that the migrant is hosted in some way, as in the case of an international exchange student, or could suggest to some a host-parasite relationship, where the migrant is viewed as taking the material wealth of the new country and sending it out of the country in the form of remittances. While some migrants are, in fact, hosted in the new country, the great majority are not. Accordingly the terms 'host country' and 'host society' have been included in the present study only when present in quoted material or in relation to migrants who are actually hosted. The terms 'receiving country' and 'receiving society' which do not specify the conditions of the migrant's stay, are used instead. Unfortunately, I have not as yet found a more appropriate term to replace 'host language,' which means the prevailing language of the receiving country, and have continued to use the term in the present study.

### **Summary**

Recent demographic shifts have resulted in increasing numbers of immigrant students in Canada's urban areas, who differ in many respects from those who arrived in our schools in the past. These students' often difficult experiences of adaptation are recognized, but little understood by educators, a problem compounded by a scarcity of research on the adaptation experiences of immigrant students. Education policy, which has traditionally associated adaptation difficulties with second language deficits, may have functioned to obscure other important dimensions of the adaptation experience. A qualitative, longitudinal, multi-case study is proposed, which will provide a

better understanding of the adaptation experience of recent immigrant students. This understanding is directed toward improving instruction, informing advocacy groups and educational policy, and providing a descriptive and explanatory foundation for further research. A personal biography and assumptions have been included to help identify perspectives and presuppositions associated with the researcher, the principle research instrument in a qualitative study.

In the following chapter a review of literature concerning immigrant adaptation and education is presented, with special attention directed to the nature and extent of previous studies.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### *Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a 'substantive,' 'methodological,' and 'theoretical' review (Le Compte & Preissle, 1993) of developments and issues in the academic and policy literature of immigrant adaptation and education. Particular attention is given to historical and current research trends in order to help locate, and emphasize the need for the present study's research focus.

Although there is a substantial volume of research literature concerning immigrant and sojourner (temporary migrant) adaptation, most researchers concede that the processes of adaptation are still only partially understood (Cui & Awa, 1992; Hannigan, 1990; Samuel & Verma, 1992; Taft, 1988). And, while research findings concerning adaptation have been numerous, they have also been characterized as highly fragmented (Morawska, 1990), lacking coherence (Cui & Awa, 1992), or complex and disjointed (Kim, 1988). The present review provides a distillation of the literature into several general dimensions of adaptation, to better illustrate their interrelatedness and the multifaceted nature of adaptation and education. This is done in accordance with Kim's (1989) view that "the adaptation process, as such, is multidimensional and interactive, and, by implication, cannot be fully understood when one focuses on only one of the adaptation dimensions without understanding the other interrelated dimensions as well" (p. 103). General dimensions presented are the nature of adaptation, and psychological, social, anthropological, and educational dimensions. The chapter concludes with a summary of research trends in adaptation and education.

#### **Nature of Adaptation**

##### ***Premigration***

##### **2.01 *Premigration Contexts***

There is general agreement in adaptation literature that prior knowledge of the host country, prior experience of other cultures, or preparation for the new environment are important contributory factors in successful adaptation. Those migrants who have acquired informational familiarity with



the host society (Imahori & Lanigan, 1989; Kim, 1988; Ward & Searle, 1991), or who have achieved at least basic host language competencies prior to migration (Gao & Gudykunst, 1990; Lonner, 1986; Oberg, 1960), are considered to have an enhanced adaptation potential. Previous travel outside of one's home country (Furnham, 1984; Gao & Gudykunst, 1990; Lonner, 1986), internal migration within the home country (Babaoglu, 1982; Rohrlich & Martin, 1991), or prior exposure to cultures which are similar (Scott & Scott, 1989) or dissimilar (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) to the migrant's culture have also been found to improve chances of successful migration. Klineberg and Hull's (1979) extensive study of adaptation in 11 countries ( $n = 2,536$ ), for example, found that previous travel was associated with better coping skills, more contact and fewer difficulties with 'host nationals.' Additionally, researchers such as Klineberg (1981) and Kim (1988) have found that preparedness for change in anticipation of entering the new society is often predictive of positive adaptation outcomes.

## **2.02 Migration Contexts**

Observers in receiving nations tend to agree that the most common type of immigrant (as opposed to sojourner) migration is chain migration (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; McPhee, 1993; Morawska, 1990). According to Tilly (1990), "chain migration involves sets of related individuals or households who move from one place to another through a set of social arrangements in which people at the destination provide aid, information, and encouragement to new comers" (p. 88). Presence of relatives or friends in receiving countries has been found to influence the decision to migrate (Pohjola, 1991; Winchile & Carment, 1989) or not migrate (Tilly, 1990), and the choice of destination (Morawska, 1990). It is evident that chain migration is regenerative in that as Garcia and Jutila (1988) comment, "once the social process of migration has begun, it tends to acquire a self-feeding character" (p. 65).

It has been recognized recently that contrary to the popular image of 'huddled masses,' most immigrants do not come from the poorest economic strata of countries of departure (Morawska, 1990), but rather from the lower to middle economic classes (Burns, 1990; Moodie, 1993). The very poor do not have the means to migrate. It is apparent that "relative, not absolute

deprivation" provides the impetus for much contemporary immigration (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, p. 275), in that while potential immigrants may be able to meet *basic needs* in the home country, they believe themselves more likely to attain their *aspirations* in a receiving country. It has also been observed that the earliest wave of migration from a specific area usually represents the highest economic (Krau, 1991) or educational strata (Stewart, 1993) of the ethnic group, while subsequent chain migration often brings those of lower economic or educational attainments.

### **2.03 Voluntary and Involuntary Groups**

Over the past decade a debate has arisen over the differing conditions under which specific ethnic groups have been incorporated into receiving nations. It has been recognized that while certain groups have come voluntarily, and have had no prior colonial experience of the receiving nation, other groups have been forcibly incorporated through slavery, conquest or annexation, or have come from nations that were formerly colonial possessions of the receiving nation. These latter groups have been referred to as "subordinate", "castelike", or "involuntary" minorities by Ogbu (1985), "indigenous or involuntary minorities" by Gibson (1988), "dominated groups" by Cummins (1986), "colonized minorities" by Hirsch (1987), and "pariah groups" by De Vos (1990).

The labor market explanation advanced by Ogbu (1991) is that involuntary minorities do not achieve well academically in some receiving countries because of their devalued status in the receiving society, and because their own assessment of their potential for occupational attainment within the society leads them to the conclusion that no amount of education will be sufficient to surmount the discriminatory barriers placed before them. Consequently it is thought that the adaptation patterns of involuntary immigrant groups will differ essentially from those of voluntary groups, particularly in the area of education (De Vos & Suárez-Orozco, 1990).

In contrast to this position is that developed by authors such as Macias (1993) who maintain that the academic success of immigrants from Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, for example, is directly attributable to educational foundations established under previous or current colonial rule. It should be

noted however, that this view does not directly contradict that of Ogbu in that, with the exception of immigrants from the Philippines and perhaps Vietnam, Southeast Asian migrants to the United States come from countries not colonized by the United States.

The perspective taken in this study recognizes the salience of Ogbu's position, particularly for the United States context in which it was developed and for the United Kingdom where most immigrants come from former colonies (Rich, 1990), as well as for Canadian aboriginal peoples and perhaps Afro-Canadians who trace their heritage to a United States slave society (Moodley, 1984). However, it is also recognized that unlike the United States and United Kingdom, Canada has not historically held a position of dominance over immigrant source nations, and thus does not have large populations of involuntary minorities in the sense that Ogbu uses.

#### *Post Migration*

##### **2.04 Adaptation Processes**

It is generally agreed that the adaptation process permeates all aspects of the immigrant's life (Blalock, 1982; Hammer, 1989; Kim, 1989). As Allmen (1990) observes, "there are few areas in immigrants' lives which are not changed by immigration" (p. 203). Similarly, there is considerable agreement that while some adaptation experiences are common to all immigrants (B.S.M. Nann, 1986; Kim, 1988), many aspects of the adaptation process are unique or differ in degree for each individual (Berry, 1992; Kim, 1988; R.C. Nann, 1982). Regarding the latter point, there is consistent agreement that the rate and duration of adaptation processes tends to vary between and within ethnic groups (Alberta Department of Education, 1982; Mclean, 1990; Trueba, Jacobs, & Kirton, 1990).

##### **2.05 Ethnic Retention or Assimilation**

A difference of opinion persists as to whether the adaptation process represents an ethnicity retention - assimilation continuum (Kim, 1988; Trueba et al., 1990; van Oudenhoven & Willemsen, 1989), or if ethnic identification should be recognized as a permanent though gradually changing aspect of the adaptation process (Divoky, 1988; Gibson, 1988). Much of the literature and research on adaptation has emanated from the United States, where assimilation

of immigrants has in the past and continues to be the prevailing perspective of United States society (Fleras & Elliott, 1992; Peshkin, 1991). The present study, however, is set in the context of a Canadian environment where assimilation is not generally assumed to be inevitable or even a desirable outcome of immigration (E.N. Herberg, 1989). The position taken in this study has been not to assume either perspective in advance, but rather to discover the nature of each study participant's adaptation experience as it becomes evident through interaction or observation.

#### **2.06 *Adaptation as Response or as Self-determination***

There is also a continuing polarity in the literature between those who view adaptation primarily in terms of response to the new environment (Berry, 1992; George, 1985; Kim, 1988; Shade, 1989a) and those who view adaptation primarily in terms of self-determination and choice (Hoffman, 1988, 1990; Marsella, De Vos, & Hsu, 1985; Raveau, 1987). The first view has been linked to psychological and anthropological notions of adaptation built on the concept of adaptation of species or biological stimulus and response (Pitman, Eiskovits, & Dobbert, 1989). The second view derives from research which indicates that individual motivation greatly affects the outcomes of adaptation processes (de Certeau, 1987; Hoffman, 1988; Sharma, 1991). Again, the position taken in this study has been not to assume either position prior to or during research activities in the field.

#### **2.07 *'Successful' Adaptation***

Given disagreement regarding the nature of immigrant adaptation, it is not surprising there is little consensus concerning which outcomes might be regarded as indicators of successful adaptation. These range from a sense of efficacy (Kim, 1988), satisfaction or happiness within the host society (Berry, Kim, & Boski, 1988) and ability to establish and maintain relationships with host society members (Abe & Wiseman, 1987), to acculturation without assimilation (Gibson, 1988) and learning to live simultaneously in two worlds (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Though there are a multiplicity of 'successful' outcomes, none would appear to be contradictory. Additionally, there is some consensus among those who consider adaptation primarily in terms of response to view adaptation as ranging from maladapted

to well adapted (Berry, 1992, Kim, 1988).

### **2.08 Stage Conceptions of Adaptation**

Several stage conceptions of adaptation have been advanced since the late 1930s. The two stage formulations of Driedger (1977), Breton (1978), and Kallen (1982) differentiate between a period of ethnic group adhesion through enclosure (enclave) and the subsequent post immigration phase. Kim's (1988) two stage conception differs in that it divides adaptation into an initial period of reaction to stressful changes followed by a period in which developing coping skills permit incremental progress toward successful adaptation outcomes. Berry's (1987) two stage conception divides adaptation processes into an ethnic group adhesion stage and a subsequent stage which allows for four possible outcomes: integration (coping without assimilation), assimilation, separation (seeks no integration), or marginalization (group rejects 'host society'). The three stage conception originally proposed by Hansen (1938) and favored by Isajiw (1975) views adaptation in terms of generational responses. The first or immigration stage involves the transplantation of the original ethnic culture to the receiving country. In the second stage, the second generation tends to reject or dissociate itself from its cultural heritage, while the third stage involves a rediscovery of ethnic heritage by a new generation. All of the foregoing stage conceptions assume an ethnic group rather than individual adaptation perspective.

### **2.09 Immigrants and Sojourners**

There is a clear distinction made in adaptation literature between immigrants and sojourners. Furnham (1988) has described a sojourner as a person from another country who intends to stay only a short time, usually from six months to five years. The purpose of the stay is often for temporary educational or labor activities, but in any case there is a "maintenance of an ideal of return" (Hoffman, 1990, p. 289). The adaptation of sojourners appears to differ from that of immigrants in that sojourners more often live in isolation from the host society (Furnham & Bochner, 1986) and retain higher levels of contact with their home countries (Greenfield, 1985). A prominent characteristic primarily connected with sojourners, though also associated with immigrants to a lesser degree, is that of remittances (Morawska, 1990;

Russell, 1992). Remittances are gifts or obligations sent back to the home country in the form of cash or material goods (Rubenstein, 1983). Perhaps the most important distinguishing feature has been recognized by Gudykunst and Kim (1984) and by Kim (1988) who have found that migrants' motivations to adapt are directly connected to their perceptions of the temporariness or permanence of their stay in the receiving country.

### ***Experience of Adaptation***

#### ***2.10 Pressure to Conform to the Receiving Society***

It is generally recognized in adaptation literature that the immigrant's experience of adaptation often includes pressures to conform to or assimilate with the receiving society (Barber, 1988; Kim, 1988; Murphy & France, 1989; Nieto, 1992). However, Kim (1988) has observed that while pressures to conform may be intense, receiving societies often differ in the degree to which they will allow immigrants to conform to or deviate from their norms.

#### ***2.11 Replacement and Additive Views of Adaptation***

A major divide in adaptation literature concerns whether adaptation requires the loss or rejection of the natal culture as elements of the new culture are incorporated, that is, a 'replacement' view, (Eva & Suen, 1990; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Ngo, 1993), or if the experience of adaption is essentially additive without requiring loss ( E. N. Herberg, 1989; Hoffman, 1988; Manaster, Chan, & Safady, 1992). In many respects this division parallels that of the 'ethnicity retention - assimilation continuum' versus 'permanent ethnicity' perspectives, and the 'response only' versus 'self-determination' perspectives, with most authors favoring one set of perspectives or the other. Best expressing the 'replacement' position is Kim's (1988) adage "'No learning without unlearning,' and 'No acculturation without deculturation'" (p. 124), and D. C. Herberg's (1989) view that there is a "death" of the old culture even as "rebirth" in terms of a new culture occurs. Perhaps best characterizing the 'additive without loss' position is Jean Paul Sartre's (1968) expression, "to understand is to change, to go beyond oneself" (p. 13). One is not seen as losing the original self but as adding to that self. As Boelhower (1983) expresses it, "it is a doubling, not an erasing process" (p. 114). In adaptation literature this position is often

signalled by researchers who speak of "acculturation without assimilation" (Gibson, 1988; Rosenthal, 1980), where assimilation is given to mean loss of natal culture.

### **2.12 Selective Adaptation**

Clearly associated with the latter position is the concept of selective adaption, what Adler (1975) originally termed "ethnorelativism" and what Hoffman (1990) describes as "eclectic adaptation." In this view it is thought that at some point in a successful adaptation process the immigrant will become able to choose which aspects of the new culture are desirable for incorporation and which are to be avoided or rejected (Hoffman, 1990; Shamai, 1992; Trueba et al., 1990). Studies of Bengali Sikh immigrants in California (Gibson, 1988), Hmong refugees in the United States (Trueba et al., 1990), and of Iranian immigrants in the United States (Hoffman, 1988), have consistently shown that both immigrant parents and their school age children pursue an ideal of selective adaptation.

### **2.13 Cultural Insight/Cultural Marginality**

It is also thought that some immigrants achieve a level of adaptation which allows them to assume a perspective from which new insights into their natal culture are possible (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978; Richie, 1981). These immigrants are then enabled to see and critically assess the claims and assumptions of both their natal and new cultures (Profriedt, 1989-1990). Alternately, there are numerous authors who warn that acquiring part of the host culture while neglecting or not having fully acquired the natal culture can result in what Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) originally described as "marginality". Marginality is a distressing sense of not actually belonging in either culture (Furnham & Bochner, 1986) or of not knowing where one belongs (Bagnell, 1993).

## **Psychological Emphases**

### **Mental Health**

### **2.14 Stress/Anxiety**

Perhaps the largest volume of literature in the adaptation field has been devoted to the connection between sojourner, immigrant, or refugee adaptation and stress or anxiety; or what Berry (1976) and Taft (1988) have

called "acculturative stress." While numerous researchers have recognized that psychological stress can often be a feature of the adaptation experience (Berry, 1992; Hoffman, 1990; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990), there is an equally numerous faction which conclude that stress and anxiety are unavoidable, integral components of the adaptation experience (Blue & Blue, 1984; Samuel & Verma, 1992; Searle & Ward, 1992; Uehara & Hicks, 1989). As Kim (1988) expresses the latter position, "stress, indeed, is considered to be inherent in intercultural encounters" (p. 267).

### **2.15 Uncertainty Reduction Theory**

One of several prominent concepts associated with the psychological stress of adaptation is 'uncertainty reduction theory.' Although the origin of the theory is generally attributed to Berger and Calabrese (1975), evidence points to the earlier work of Selye (1956) in the area of psychosomatic stress as foundational. Selye suggested that a 'general adaptation syndrome' was a characteristic reaction of all organisms to stressors in their environments. The syndrome involves initial alarm reaction and shock, activation of defence mechanisms, and subsequent resistance resulting in adaption to the stressor or in exhaustion. Herman & Schield (1961) built upon this view by suggesting that the psychological result of entering any new situation is a lack of security. Ignorance of the possible outcomes of being in the new situation cause anxiety. Berger and Calabrese's (1975) contribution was to hypothesize that when people first meet they are motivated to reduce uncertainty and increase their ability to predict or comprehend how the other will behave in interaction. Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) extended Berger and Calabrese's concept to explain anxiety and uncertainty in cross-cultural encounters.

In its current stage of evolution, uncertainty reduction theory posits that adaptation necessitates encounters with strangers, inevitably causing uncertainty which results in stress (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988). Uncertainty and stress result because the means to contextualize or predict the behavior of others, which is learned through primary socialization in the natal culture, is no longer applicable in the new culture (Disman, 1990; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988). Uncertainty must be reduced in order to alleviate stress and permit positive adaptation to occur (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992; Witte, 1992), and



this is best achieved by developing an ability to predict or attribute the behavior of strangers, that is, to develop 'attributional confidence' (Disman, 1990; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988). There has also been speculation recently that uncertainty reduction processes may vary across cultures (Berger, 1987; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988).

#### **2.16 Adaptation and Mental Illness**

Since Odegard's (1932) pioneering study of Norwegian immigrants in United States, adaptive stress and anxiety have been connected with high rates of psychiatric illness. In spite of Furnham and Bochner's (1986) suggestion that anywhere studies have been conducted "it appears that frequently, but not always, migrants experience more mental illness than host nationals" (p. 110), evidence connecting higher rates of psychiatric illness with migrant adaptation has been far from consistent. Although Aviram and Levav's (1975) study of immigrants in Israel reaffirmed Odegard's findings, and Berry, Kim, and Boski (1988) have found that lowered mental health status is often characteristic of immigrant adaptation, other researchers (Krupinski & Staller, 1965; Murphy, 1978) have found that while incidence of mental illness has been higher for some immigrant groups compared with the receiving society, it has been lower for others. Similarly, though numerous studies have found higher rates of mental illness for refugees (R. C. Nann, 1982; Nicassio & Pate, 1984; Weinberg, 1961; Westermeyer, Neider, & Vang, 1984), R. C. Nann (1982) points out that refugees themselves have attributed the higher rates to the rigors of migration rather than to the stresses of adaptation. Furnham and Bochner (1986) have also noted that most migrant mental health research "relies on mental hospital admission statistics, which are notably weak" (p. 51). Finally, Kantor (1969) and Murphy (1978) maintain that the results of previous studies, when controlled for age and gender, show little evidence of higher levels of mental illness for migrants.

In contrast with those who see stress and anxiety as inevitable byproducts of adaptation are several researchers who have found that some immigrant groups experience no apparent stress during adaptation (Hoffman, 1990; Zautra & Reich, 1983). In fact, Dyal (1980) suggests that for some, emigration may have the effect of reducing stress, especially when compared

with what was experienced previously in the homeland. It is also noted that the general trend to view adaptation stress as solely negative has been questioned by Gudykunst and Kim (1984) and by Kim (1988) who have suggested that stress, though an integral part of adaptation, is also a necessary element of subsequent successful adaptation. As Kim (1988) remarks, "without experiencing stress, no adaptation is believed to occur" (p. 73).

### **2.17 Culture Shock**

A second important theory associated with adaptation stress is the concept of 'culture shock' originally developed by Kalvero Oberg in 1954. Although Kim (1988) observes that culture shock theory was developed in terms of sojourner adaptation, numerous authors have also recognized culture shock as an aspect of immigrant and refugee adaptation (H. D. Brown, 1987; Dodd, 1991; Fleras & Elliott, 1992; Furnham & Bochner, 1986). In her study of immigrants in the United Kingdom, for example, Tomlinson (1980) ranked culture shock amongst the most critical factors in the adaptation of children in the school system. According to Oberg (1960) culture shock can involve psychological strain; a sense of loss or deprivation; rejection; role, value, or identity confusion; anxiety; and feelings of impotence. To this Adler (1975) has added disorientation and hostility. It is thought that a combination of several of these adaptation stresses can produce a state of shock so traumatizing as to temporarily incapacitate the migrant both psychologically and physically (Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

Scott and Scott (1987) note that culture shock theory has long held that migrants from urban backgrounds will have a less traumatic experience of adaptation to urban environs in receiving countries than will rural migrants. However, studies by Kleiner and Parker (1970) in the United States, Cochrane and Stopes-Roe (1980) in the United Kingdom, and by Scott and Scott (1989) in Australia have found the opposite to be the case; that is, that urban immigrants who have migrated from urban settings to urban settings have showed more neurotic symptoms than those from rural settings who have settled in urban settings.

Furnham (1988) comments that "very few writers have stressed the positive or beneficial side of culture shock" (p. 47), most commentators

having associated culture shock exclusively with negative adaptation outcomes. There are several exceptions, however, including Adler (1975), Kim (1988), and Furnham and Bochner (1986) who maintain that culture shock can be an important contributor to cultural learning and self-development.

### **2.18 The U-curve Hypothesis**

A third important theory associated with adaptation stress is the 'U-curve hypothesis' originally developed by Lysgaard (1955) from his study of 200 Norwegian Fulbright scholars in the United States. The U-curve hypothesis suggests that after an initial period of euphoria related to the newness of the experience, migrants plunge into depression when loneliness, loss or stress begin to take effect, subsequently recovering to higher levels of satisfaction after beginning to successfully utilize coping strategies. Support for the U-curve hypothesis has been inconsistent. Although Richardson's (1974) study of British immigrants in Australia suggested a U-curve tendency, studies by Easton and Lasry (1978) in Canada, Bardo and Bardo (1980) in Australia, Nicassio and Pate (1984) in the United States, and by Scott and Scott (1989) in Australia indicate instead, a steady, if slow, positive escalation in sense of well-being. It has also been noted that earlier studies (G. V. Coelho, 1958; Jacobsen, 1963; Lysgaard, 1955) have focused exclusively on post secondary student sojourners and have been cross-sectional rather than longitudinal (Scott & Scott, 1989). Similar concerns have led several authors (Altbach, 1989; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990) to question whether the U-curve hypothesis is valid in terms of immigrant adaptation. Similarly, the commonly held view that the migrant's multiple losses (homeland, support network, social status) inevitably result in feelings of grief and bereavement (e.g., D. C. Herberg, 1989; Munoz, 1980; Zwingman & Gunn, 1983), which is often associated with the bottom or depression stage of the U-curve, has been questioned by Furnham and Bochner (1986) who suggest that for some migrants, gains far outweigh the effect of losses.

### ***Identity***

### **2.19 Field Dependency and Locus of Control**

An important psychological construct related to adaptation is that of field dependency and locus of control. Because of primary socialization and

enculturation, individuals and ethnic groups are thought to differ cognitively and perceptually in differentiating between what belongs to the self and what is external to the self. Those with high levels of differentiation are thought to have greater self-determination of functioning, or 'field independence', while those in relatively undifferentiated states are thought to rely on external nurturance and support, and to be 'field dependent' or 'field sensitive' (Darder, 1991; Witkin, 1976; Witkin, Dyk, Faterson, Goodenough, & Karip, 1962). Field independent people are generally thought to adapt more easily than field dependent people because they can more readily make sense of new environments (Berry, 1976; Moghaddam, Ditto, & Taylor, 1990), experience less stress in contacts with strangers (Witkin & Berry, 1975), are less reliant on social networks (D. C. Herberg, 1989), and are more autonomous (Shweder & Bourne, 1984).

Closely related is the concept of locus of control. People with an external locus of control are considered to ascribe their life circumstances to fate, chance, or powerful others, and to locate responsibility for events outside of themselves. Those with an internal locus of control are considered to adapt better when migrating because they perceive life circumstances as primarily contingent on their own behavior, and locate responsibility for what transpires within themselves (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Rotter, 1966; Yum, 1987). Because various East Asian groups, considered to be field dependent and to exhibit an external locus of control, have generally adapted well in North America (Gibson, 1988; G. E. Johnson, 1992), it is possible that these psychological constructs may present a somewhat Eurocentric, overly pessimistic view of field dependency and external locus of control.

## **2.20 Expectations**

Rogers and Ward (1993) state that "expectations have long been regarded as a crucial factor in determining adjustment during cross-cultural transitions" (p. 185). A body of research has developed concerning migrants' prior expectations of the host country, and has resulted in 'expectancy value theory', which Furnham and Bochner (1986) explain "suggests that the accuracy of a migrant's expectations of life in the new country are directly related to his/her adjustment" (p. 176). In this view, unmet positive expectations are

regarded as resulting in psychological stress and maladjustment, while low expectations which are exceeded are generally thought to contribute to good adjustment (Furnham, 1988; Rogers & Ward, 1993; Searle & Ward, 1990; Weissman & Furnham, 1987). Scott and Scott's (1989) research has pointed to the tendency of intending migrants to develop a positive image of the host country, disregarding "unattractive features" even if they have been made aware of them. Perhaps these selective expectations result from the fact that, as Furnham and Bochner (1986) have observed, "apart from refugees, few people would voluntarily migrate if their expectations were too low" (p. 175).

### **2.21 Personality Characteristics**

While there is general agreement in adaptation literature that some personality traits are more conducive to facilitating migrant adaptation than others, there is little consensus as to which of a host of characteristics identified are most beneficial. Nonetheless, there is some agreement that resilience or stoicism (Furnham, 1988; Kim, 1988; Lonner, 1986); empathy toward the host society (Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Kim, 1988; Ruben, 1976); self-confidence or self-esteem (Chen, 1990; Samuel & Verma, 1992; Ward & Searle, 1991); flexibility (Hannigan, 1990; Torbiorn, 1982) or superior coping abilities (De Vos, 1990; R. C. Nann, 1982; Shade, 1989a) contribute to successful adaptation. Very little discussion is evident regarding which personality characteristics may not be conducive to migrant adaptation. Searle and Ward (1990) add that there is currently "a movement away from the simplistic view that certain personality traits are universally adaptive during cross-cultural transitions" (p. 458).

### **2.22 Age and Maturation**

Gudykunst and Kim (1984) state that "in studies of immigrants, age is considered to be a crucial element in subsequent adaptation in the host society. The older strangers are, the greater the difficulty they experience in adapting to the new cultural system" (p. 218). Studies by Cochrane and Stopes-Roe (1977) in the United Kingdom, Scott and Scott (1989) in Australia, and L. L. Chang (1980) and Gibson (1988) in the United States have consistently shown that children adapt more easily and quickly than adults and that young children adapt more readily than adolescents. Canadian researchers

in particular have ranked age upon arrival as one of the most critical determinants of subsequent adaptation (Michalowski, 1987; Montgomery, 1991; Samuel & Verma, 1992). The relationship of age to adaptation is complicated in the case of children and adolescents by the problem of distinguishing between the normal maturational changes and difficulties experienced by all developing children, and those that may be attributed primarily to the adaptation experience itself (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Some authors have also suggested that normal maturational problems of identity and conflict with parents may be exacerbated by the adaptation process (Aronowitz, 1984; Disman, 1990).

### **2.23 Gender**

Studies of migrants by Weissman and Klerman (1977) in various industrial nations, Berry and Kostovcik (1983) in Canada, Simoes and Binder (1980) in Switzerland, Saltoun (1984) in the United States, and Scott and Scott (1989) in Australia have consistently pointed to the salience of gender as a differential factor in adaptation. Most authors and researchers, whether male or female, indicate that females experience a more difficult process of adaptation than males. Research suggests that females experience more adaptive stress (Berry, 1990; Scott & Scott, 1989) and are more vulnerable to illness due to loss of home country social networks than male migrants (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Other research has pointed to lower self-esteem of female migrants (Pak, Dion, & Dion, 1991; Scott & Scott, 1989) while several authors, primarily female, have suggested a 'double jeopardy hypothesis' - that migrants are doubly disadvantaged in sexist and racist receiving societies, if they happen to be female and visible minority (Grant, 1984; Homma-True, 1990; Pak et al., 1991; Yee, 1987). Several authors indicate that female migrants are generally less competent than males in the language of the receiving country after the same length of residence (Baldassini & Flaherty, 1982; Furnham, 1984), although Rohrich and Martin's (1991) study of American student sojourners in Europe found that "women reported significantly more difficulties in all areas except language" (p. 175).

Several explanations for the gender differential in adaptation have been advanced. Some researchers have pointed out that females from cultures where

females are ascribed a low level of personal autonomy coupled with a high level of role rigidity, often question or become dissatisfied with their previous roles when adapting to a more egalitarian host society (Disman, 1990; D. C. Herberg, 1989; Scott & Scott, 1989). Kim (1988) suggests that lower levels of education provided for females by some sending countries may be responsible for lower levels of self-confidence and host language competency. Taylor and Altman (1987) and Aries and Johnson (1983) have found that female migrants generally use self-disclosure more than males in order to reduce uncertainty in social interaction. This suggests that the higher levels of stress experienced by female migrants may be due to greater vulnerability during social interaction. It may also be the case that female migrants who do not share their spouse's motivation to migrate may be less motivated to adapt, and that those who remain isolated in the home caring for children may find themselves in situations not conducive to adaptation.

#### **2.24 Identity and Self**

It is commonly thought that identity changes with migration (Elliott & Fleras, 1992; Eva & Suen, 1990; Hecht, Ribeau, & Sedano, 1990; Kim, 1988) and that adaptation changes may result in an unstable self-concept (De Vos & Suárez-Orozco, 1990; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Stockfelt-Hoatson, 1982) or in an identity crisis (Aronowitz, 1984; H. D. Brown, 1987; Verdonk, 1982). Considerable attention has been directed toward the 'dual self.' A common explanation for the dual self is that when a new self forms in response to the new environment, it is incompatible and competes with the former self (Boelhower, 1983; Lim, 1993; Wu, 1991). Another explanation is that the migrant's image of self is often in competition with the image imposed on the migrant by the receiving society (Brody, 1970; Yee, 1993). There are also some who suggest that a doubling process can occur, wherein a new self is added, without conflict, to the premigration self (Dolphin, 1994; Olsen, 1988).

#### **2.25 Self as a Product of Social Interaction**

Bawm's (1971) comment that " we come to be who we are through conversation with others" (p. 41) is a view shared by a majority of authors in the adaptation field (H. D. Brown, 1987; Harré, 1987; F. Johnson, 1985; Turner

& Billings, 1984). That the self is a product of social interaction, and that one sees oneself in the reactions of others to oneself, has been a key concept in the American tradition of scholarship on the self (McCall, 1987), dating at least from Cooley's (1902) 'reflected' or 'looking glass' self. Although this view is pervasive in the literature, there is cause to question whether the 'social interaction' vision of self is overly simplistic and perhaps ethnocentric as well. Some authors (Baumeister, 1986; Marcus & Wurf, 1987; Triandis, 1990; Wu, 1991) have suggested that the self is not entirely constituted through communicative interaction, but that we have multiple selves, including private (self-formed), collective (self in relation to group membership), and public (socially reflected) selves. Additionally, Pratt's (1991) recognition that "the ways in which people come to know themselves and define their identity vary across cultures" (p. 286), suggests that the 'social interaction' view of self may represent only one of an ethnic diversity of views of self (Chang & Holt, 1991; Hoffman, 1990; Sampson, 1985; Schweder & Bourne, 1984).

### **Social Emphases**

#### **Communication**

#### **2.26 Communication Competence/High and Low Context Cultures**

In adaptation literature it is generally recognized that communication patterns and interpretive schemes differ between cultures (Argyle, 1982; E. T. Hall, 1959; Hernandez, 1989; Leff, 1977), and that understanding and utilizing host society communication norms and processes (communicative competence) is essential for successful adaptation (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988; Kim, 1988; Sillars & Weisberg, 1987; Uehara & Hicks, 1989). The concept of low and high context cultures, which parallels the internal/external locus of control and field independent/field dependent concepts, is usually used to explain how ethnic groups differ in their communicative processes. Low context groups (i.e., United States, Northern Europeans) are considered to rely primarily on explicit messages to reduce uncertainty, and to privilege individuated meanings; whereas high context groups (i.e., Chinese and Indian) depend primarily on non-verbal contextual cues and collective and interdependent meanings (E. T. Hall, 1977; Lee & Boster, 1991; Sanders, Wiseman, & Matz,



1991; Ting-Toomey, 1991; Yum, 1987). Cross cultural communication is considered problematic because the contextual cues of the natal culture are inapplicable to the receiving culture (Disman, 1990), because individuals conform to communicative patterns and norms of their own culture without being conscious of them (Berscheid, 1987; Furnham & Bochner, 1986) and because they tend to be unaware of the negotiated and relational nature of communicative interaction (Bowers & Flinders, 1990). Those migrants without receiving society communicative competence have been found to suffer negative adaptive consequences such as being misunderstood (Bowers & Flinders, 1990), unintentional miscommunication (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984), or developing a mistrust of host society members (Eva & Suen, 1990). Conversely, in Kim's (1988) words, "the greater their host communication competence...the better adapted they are likely to be in the host environment" (p. 103).

Host communication competence is considered to enable the migrant to understand host society social roles (Kim, 1988), explain host member behavior (Matejko & Williams, 1993; Sanders et al., 1991), read the contextual ground of communications (Berscheid, 1987; Chen, 1990; Kim, 1988), initiate and maintain relationships with host society members (Hammer et al., 1978; Kim, 1988), express personal experience in a manner receivable by host members (Kim, 1988; Miller, Boster, Roloff, & Seibold, 1987), and ultimately, to 'code switch' (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Trueba et al., 1990), that is, to be able to utilize either natal or host culture communicative processes as the situation requires.

## **2.27 Communication Competencies**

H. D. Brown (1987) states that "the expression of culture is so bound up in non-verbal communication that the barriers to culture learning are more non-verbal than verbal" (p. 209). Though sometimes connected with the speech act, the communication competencies most often identified in adaptation literature are non-verbal and include turn taking and yielding (H. D. Brown, 1987; Kim, 1988), voice pitch (Bowers & Flinders, 1990), proxemics (Bowers & Flinders, 1990; H. D. Brown, 1987), body posture, and gaze (Eva & Suen, 1990; Taylor & Altman, 1987).

## **2.28 Facial Recognition**

Recently, facial recognition and facial communicative expression have become communicative competency concerns. Several studies (Bothwell, Brigham, & Malpass, 1989; Ng & Lindsay, 1994; Shapiro & Penrod, 1986) have pointed to the inability of people of one ethno-racial group to differentiate between or recognize again the faces of people from another ethno-racial group ('they all look alike' problem). This presents a communicative competency dilemma because it has been recognized that understanding facial communicative expression is critical for reading the intent or context of the speaker's verbal message (Bowers & Flinders, 1990; Tannen, 1986; Wolfgang & Wolofsky, 1991).

## **2.29 Significance of Host Language Acquisition**

Stewart (1983) states that "knowledge of English has been shown by nearly every study to be the most important factor leading to successful adaptation to life in the United States" (p. 175). A number of authors, primarily advocates of the communication competency position, agree with Stewart that host language proficiency is the most critical factor in migrant adaptation (Chen, 1990; Fradd & Weismantel, 1989; Kim, 1988). Some holding this view express concern that immigrants who converse primarily with members of their own language group after arrival, will not develop host language proficiency (Biggs, 1987; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Kim, 1988). However, a growing contingent of authors argue that while host language acquisition is an important requirement for successful adaptation, it has been consistently ranked as less critical than other adaptation factors by migrants themselves (Hanscombe, 1989; Schütze, 1989; Uehara & Hicks, 1989; Woodhall, 1989). Although it is difficult to define 'functional literacy' (McLeod, 1994), Canadian statistics reveal that while 18% of children of immigrants are considered functionally illiterate, more than 22% of the children of non-immigrant parents are considered so, lending credence to the view that host language acquisition may not be the most critical factor in adaptation (Montigny & Jones, 1990).

Some authors have questioned why North American educational institutions have viewed host language acquisition as the be-all and end-all of student

adaptation (Hanscombe, 1989; Yu, 1991); others have suggested that there may be a political motivation that sees host language acquisition as the sine qua non of economic adaptation (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Minceberg, Cahn, Isaacson, & Lyons, 1989; Richmond, 1982), perhaps the most politically sensitive of adaptation outcomes. There also appear to be a growing number of authors who question whether academic success or failure of language minorities is, as has been generally accepted, directly related to host language proficiency (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Ogbu, 1993). In Trueba's (1988) words,

The neglect of cultural issues affecting our understanding of other important organizational aspects of the instructional process as well as the significance of home and community learning environments, are an example of misplaced and almost exclusive emphasis on language issues. (p. 202)

### **Socialization**

#### **2.30 Social Skills**

Closely related to communication competencies is literature concerned with social skills. It is also thought that social skills differ between cultures (Disman, 1990; Segawa, 1994; Sillars & Weisberg, 1987), and that a "social skills deficit" (Furnham, 1988) or a lack of "social literacy" (Faichney & Beardsley, 1992) is detrimental to immigrant adaptation (Dail, 1988; Ruben, 1976; Scott & Scott, 1989). The social skills thought to be most needed by migrants to North America concern self-disclosure and proxemics (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Trower, Bryant, & Argyle, 1978) and defining, interpreting or negotiating social situations (Anisef, 1986; Disman, 1990; Lonner, 1986).

#### **2.31 Friendship**

A number of theorists have suggested that close friendships with host society members may be the best way for migrants to learn social skills (Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Pruitt, 1978; Searle & Ward, 1990). Furnham and Bochner (1986), for example, posit that host culture social skills are best learned through "close, perhaps even intimate links with members of the host society" (p. 15). Friendship, in turn, is viewed by some authors (Befu, 1980; Diggs & Murphy, 1991; Roloff, 1987) as requiring proficiency in another social skill, that of reciprocity - the mutual exchange of disclosures, benefits, and

obligations.

In numerous studies (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Kobayashi, 1981; Rohrllich & Martin, 1991; Uehara & Hicks, 1989) student migrants have ranked making friends with receiving country peers as their most critical adaptation concern. Correspondingly, there is a clear indication in adaptation literature that friendships with receiving members facilitate the adaptation process (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988; Kim, 1988; Taft, 1988). However, despite the desire and need for cross-cultural friendships, there is consistent evidence that school age migrants initially become friends with co-nationals or other immigrants to the virtual exclusion of receiving society members (Y. Chang, 1991; Dorais, 1991; Smith & Tomlinson, 1989). Olsen (1988), for example, states that "while they may long for American friends, immigrants tend to cluster with other immigrants" (p. 217).

One explanation for this tendency is that with few exceptions (e.g. Gudykunst, 1985), most studies have indicated that the higher the perceived similarity between people, the higher the attraction to one another (Byrne, 1971; Lee & Boster, 1991; Ting-Toomey, 1981). In Kehoe's (1984) words, there is a "tendency of people to prefer their own kind" (p. 23). A second explanation is that despite attempts to make cross-cultural friends (EarthLinks, 1992; B. S. M. Nann, 1982), because of widely differing cultural perspectives (Matejko & Williams, 1993; Simard, 1981) or dissimilar conversational repertoires (Y. Chang, 1991; Wu, 1991), most migrants encounter great difficulty in establishing cross-cultural friendships. A third explanation is that recently arrived migrants most need the social and emotional support of co-nationals who already have some experience of adaptation, to help them negotiate the stress and confusion of adaptation (Berry, Kim, Minder, & Mok, 1987; E. Coelho, 1988; Searle & Ward, 1990; Sykes & Eden, 1987). However, while some authors view a co-national support network as critical for successful adaptation (Adelman, 1980; Berry, 1990; Fontaine, 1986), others contend that it functions to reduce social interaction with host society members, thereby slowing adaptation (OECD/CERI Secretariate, 1989; Olsen, 1988; Pohjola, 1991). Whether with co-nationals or host members, the migrant's need for some type of friendship is emphasized by an extensive

literature which recognizes loneliness and social isolation as among the most common and painful of adaptation experiences (Ashworth, 1982; Dei, 1992; Finsterbusch, 1992; Lin, Masuda, & Tazuma, 1982).

### **2.32 Socio-economic Class**

Although considerably smaller in number than those who view adaptation primarily in terms of ethnicity, there is a group of authors who view socio-economic class as an equally, or perhaps more important determinant of adaptation (Johnstone, 1990a; Morawska, 1990; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Rex, 1986). Whether favoring an 'ethnic' or 'class' perspective, there is general agreement among authors that the higher the socio-economic class of the migrant, the easier and more successful the adaptation is likely to be (Halpern, 1989; Ling, 1989; OECD, 1987; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990), and the higher the subsequent level of academic achievement (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Jones, 1987; Smith & Tomlinson, 1989; Swann, 1993). Notable exceptions to this view have been expressed by Gibson (1987; 1993) and by the Economic Council of Canada (1992) who state, "education-conscious parents can have a major positive effect on the achievement of their children, irrespective of their socio-economic status" (p. 11).

### **2.33 Inter- and Intra-group Social Relations**

Adaptation is often viewed as a two-way street, requiring changes to the migrant and the receiving society alike (Ebuchi, 1989; B. S. M. Nann, 1982). As Furnham and Bochner (1986) remark, "all contact has two way reciprocal consequences" (p. 11). The willingness of the receiving society to change or be receptive to the newcomers is regarded as an important factor in adaptation (E. Coelho, 1988; Kim, 1988; Subba, 1990). One of the most devastating host society responses to newcomers is prejudice or racism, which has usually been found to negatively affect adaptation (Abbott, 1990; E. Coelho, 1988; Moghaddam et al., 1990). There is some evidence that immigrants often view prejudice as a necessary 'cost' of adaptation (Gibson, 1988; Jaffer, 1993; Ogbu, 1991). Other authors have pointed to evidence of racism or prejudice by some immigrant groups toward the majority group or toward other minority groups (Gill, 1993; Honeyford, 1986; Stewart, 1993). Similarly, endogamous hiring practices (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990), and exploitation of group members

by their own ethnic group (Gibson, 1988; Sharma, 1991; Tilly, 1989) have caused some groups to be viewed unfavorably by receiving societies.

Though not apparent to the same extent as in many receiving nations, Canadian authors have recognized the prevalence of racism by majority culture Canadians toward immigrants, especially those who are visible minorities (Breton, Isajiw, Kalback, & Reitz, 1990; Mehat, 1990). It has also been recognized that Hong Kong Chinese have experienced particularly high levels of prejudice in British Columbia, due to an immigration policy which has encouraged a rapid influx of wealthy entrepreneurs, generally perceived to have negatively affected the real estate market (G. E. Johnson, 1992; Wong & Netting, 1992).

### **Anthropological Emphases**

#### ***Community, Family, and Culture***

##### **2.34 Ethnic Communities**

At least since Margaret Mead's (1970) assertion that dependency on the knowledge and beliefs of the natal culture - which are designed to reify that culture - functions to limit one's ability to adapt, there has been a faction within the adaptation field who maintain that the immigrant's participation within enclosed or inwardly directed ethnic communities limits the adaptation process (De Vos, 1990; Dunning, 1989; Kim, 1988; Vallee & Shulman, 1969). Conversely, a second group of authors considers that the ethnic community or enclave benefits adaptation by helping buffer the trauma and stress of adaptation (Morawska, 1990; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Thomas, 1992). Recently, a number of authors have recognized that in Canada at least, ethnic communities are generally no longer inwardly focused, but function instead to actively assist immigrants to integrate with the larger society (D. C. Herberg, 1989; E. N. Herberg, 1989; Matejko & Williams, 1993).

##### **2.35 Adaptation and Family**

Immigrant parents' attitudes toward (Aronowitz, 1992; Trueba, 1983) and experience of adaptation (Ashworth, 1982; Krimer, 1986), and their expectations of their children (Bellamy, 1993; Divoky, 1988), have been found to be major factors in the adaptation and academic performance of immigrant children. Successful adaptation of immigrant children has often been

connected to a proactive stance of parents toward the adaptation of their children (Cui & Awa, 1992; Gibson, 1988; Hoffman, 1988). Family problems have been identified in three areas. Numerous authors (Barman, Hébert, & McCaskill, 1987; Gay, 1991; Krau, 1991) have pointed out that the values of the immigrant student's home and school environments often differ substantially, resulting in divided, and usually incompatible worlds. Intergenerational conflict, thought to be a byproduct of family adaptations, has often been recognized as problematic (E. Coelho, 1988; Eva & Suen, 1990; Lemoine, 1989), and has been attributed by some authors (Disman, 1990; Verdonk, 1982) to differential rates of adaptation within the family. Studies by Rosenthal (1984) and Taft (1985), however, suggest that intergenerational conflict may be no greater in immigrant families than in receiving culture families, but rather, that it differs in nature. Recently, attention has been directed toward the adverse effect on immigrant children of over-employed parents (Scott & Scott, 1989) and of what are unpopularly known (in Canada) as 'astronauts' or 'spacemen' - parents who continue to work in the home country after migration, constantly flying back and forth between countries (Eva & Suen, 1990; Li, 1992).

### **2.36 Cultural Difference**

At least since David (1970) there has been considerable support for the view that the greater the difference between the natal culture and the receiving culture, the more difficulty migrants will experience in adaptation (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Searle & Ward, 1990; Torbiorn, 1982; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). This view has recently been extended to include education, in that some authors suggest "cultural incompatibility is one creditable explanation for school failure" (Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1993; p. 63). However, studies by Sue and Sue (1971) and Gibson (1988) have shown that immigrant students, whose cultures differ markedly from that of the host society, have achieved at levels exceeding the norm for host society students.

### **2.37 Individualist and Collectivist Cultures**

Hofstede's (1980) distinction between individualist and collectivist cultures has become a guiding concept in adaptation literature. As Ting-Toomey (1991) explains,

While members of individualist cultures (such as the United States) emphasize the acceptance of individual rights, individual wants, and individual goals, members of collectivist cultures (such as Japan) treasure the importance of mutual obligations, mutual needs, and interdependent goals. (p. 31)

As most receiving countries are individualist, while a majority of immigrants in the past two decades have come from collectivist cultures, cultural difference explanations which utilize the individualist/collectivist distinction have become prominent (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Guillaume, 1987). Concern has been expressed (Diggs & Murphy, 1991; Furnham & Bochner, 1986) that immigrants from collectivist cultures who relied on mutually supporting social networks in the country of departure, and who find no replacement network in the receiving country, will experience difficult adaptations. The problem is compounded by the fact that most Western social work agencies function on an individualist or immediate family basis (Hein, 1993).

#### **2.38 Marriage**

The individualist/collectivist distinction has also been used to explain major ethno-cultural differences concerning marriage (Gibson, 1988; D. C. Herberg, 1989), with individualist cultures favoring romantic love and personal choice, and collectivist cultures favoring extended family obligations, endogamous, and for some groups, arranged marriages. Although Thomas (1992) notes that ethnic endogamy rates have generally declined in Canada since 1931, E. N. Herberg (1989) identifies ethnic endogamy as the strongest indicator of ethnic cohesion in Canada since 1951, and notes that even as late as 1981, Chinese, Jewish, French, Italian, and British ethnic groups reported over 75 percent endogamous marriages. It is interesting to note here, that British and French ethnic groups are generally considered to be individualist. Since the early 1900s when Bogardus (1925) developed the descriptor, 'would admit to close kinship through marriage' as the highest indicator of social proximity for his '*Social Distance Scale*,' intermarriage between ethnic or racial groups has been viewed as a key indicator of adaptation or assimilation (Ghuman, 1991; Greenfield, 1985; Shah, 1991).



## **Educational Emphases**

### ***Immigrant Education: Parents and Students***

#### **2.39 Valuing Education**

Current adaptation literature points to the high value placed on education by many of the more recent immigrant groups (Economic Council of Canada, 1992; Gibson, 1988) with numerous authors attributing the trend to the high cultural value given to education and discipline by Asian (Hoffman, 1990; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986) or Southeast Asian (Dail, 1988; Eva & Suen, 1990; Schneider & Lee, 1990) ethnic groups. As Asian migration to B.C. is currently three times that from the rest of the world combined (Kunin, 1994), this trend is clearly important to the present study which is located geographically in Richmond, B.C. Education of their children is often viewed by the newer immigrant groups as a means to improve social and economic standing (Glazer, 1987; Moodley, 1992; Stewart, 1993; Suárez-Orozco, 1993), with some immigrants indicating that a better education for their children was a prime motive for migration (Early et al., 1989; Stewart, 1993). Authors have also pointed to the prevalence of personal sacrifice by immigrant parents in order that their children might have better educational opportunities in the receiving country (B.S.M. Nann, 1982; Kagawa, 1990).

#### **2.40 Scholastic Achievement of Immigrant Students**

By far the greatest attention directed toward immigrant scholastic achievement has been, and continues to be concerned with drop out, failure, and low achievement levels of certain immigrant groups (Council of Chief State School Officers, 1990; Stewart, 1993). However, since Sandiford and Kerr's (1926) study which found that the academic performance of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to British Columbia was higher than that of native born students (which they concluded represented a threat to Canada), there has been overwhelming evidence that children of voluntary immigrants consistently attain higher academic levels than children of non-immigrant or involuntary minority families. Studies by Taft and Cahill (1981) of immigrants in Australia, Foner (1983) of Jamaican immigrants in the United States, Cummins (1984) of immigrants in Canada, Ballard and Vellins (1985) of South Asian immigrants in the United Kingdom, Valverde (1987) of Hispanic immigrants in

the United States, and by Gibson (1988) of Bengali Sikh immigrants in the United States have all come to similar conclusions: despite handicaps related to migration, after a few years immigrant students achieve at or above the norm for the receiving society. A major study by the United States Social Security Administration in 1988 (cited in Divoky, 1988) came to the following conclusion: "immigrants and refugees to the U.S.A. outperform native-born American students regardless of language handicaps" (p. 220). This conclusion is borne out in a study by Beynon, Toohey, et al. (1992) which reports that in comparison with other students, visible minority students (children of the more recent immigrant groups) are equally, or over represented in Canadian and United States university programs. The academic success of these students, in turn, has been commonly attributed to high levels of academic attainment in the country of departure prior to migration (Kurian, 1991; Macias, 1993; Sue & Okazaki, 1990), apparently contradicting the reason given by many immigrants for migrating.

#### **2.41 Immigrant Student and Parent Educational Problems**

Adaptation literature has generally presented as problematic several aspects of education which concern immigrant students and parents. Authors have noted the tendency of many immigrant students, particularly those from Asian ethnic groups, to rely upon rote memory learning techniques (Ballard, 1989; Eva & Suen, 1990), which some maintain are not conducive to critical analysis of knowledge (Grichting, 1989) or suitable for conducting 'independent' research (Woodhall, 1989).

Several authors (Tosi, 1984; Yu, 1991) have pointed to the difficulties experienced by immigrant students in Canada who, while learning English as their second language, must at the same time learn French (often in a very compressed period of time) in order to be eligible for university admission upon graduating from high school. Others (Beynon, Toohey, et al., 1992; Eva & Suen, 1990) view as problematic the narrow career choices of many immigrant students - often confined to business, engineering, or sciences - which they attribute to parental pressure.

Many have noted that East and South Asian immigrant parents do not value sports and extra-curricular school activities, viewing them as extraneous to

academic achievement (Divoky, 1988; Eva & Suen, 1990), while at the same time requiring their children to devote more time at home to academics than is the norm for majority culture students (Gibson, 1988; Schneider & Lee, 1990). Although it is generally accepted in North America that parental involvement with the school is desirable (De Vos & Suárez-Orozco, 1991; Kehoe, 1984), it is recognized that parents from many ethnic groups view school and home as separate realms (Gay, 1989; B. S. M. Nann, 1982) and parental contact with teachers as unwarranted interference (Eva & Suen, 1990; Gibson, 1988).

### ***Receiving Country Schools and the Immigrant***

#### ***2.42 Meeting Immigrant Students' Needs***

According to many observers, schools in receiving countries have not adequately met the needs of immigrants (Churchill, 1987; Coombs, 1986), and school organization has not often reflected or acknowledged the cultural diversity of its constituents (Fisher & Echols, 1989; Olsen, 1988). The most commonly cited reason for this situation in both Canada (Beardsley, 1992; CSTA, 1989; Samuel & Verma, 1992) and in the United States (Darder, 1991; Vago, 1988) has been underfunding. Others have pointed to inadequate or nonexistent multicultural components of teacher education programs (Banks, 1989; BCTF, 1991; McGregor & Ungerleider, 1994), and the fact that immigrant minorities are often under or not represented in terms of teaching staff from immigrant ethnic groups (Beardsley, 1992; Chan, Krawczyk, & Kaplan, 1990; Gay, 1989; Wright, 1992).

#### ***2.43 School Priorities***

Maruyama and Deno's (1992) contention that schools are more concerned with practical rather than theoretical problems is indicative of a more basic reason for the inadequacy of receiving country schools with respect to immigrant students. Authors have observed that the school's primary concerns are systems oriented, and directed toward social control and program delivery (Bowers & Flinders, 1990; Dail, 1988; Fleras & Elliott, 1992), rather than toward theoretical concerns such as divergent ethnic perspectives. Werner (1992), for example, contends that "orderliness and the achievement of 'basics'" is placed before the "multiple points of view and competing values" (p. 83) representative of an ethnically diverse school population. Teachers,

too, are viewed as perpetuating "business-as-usual...even when constraints on their doing otherwise are weak" (Grant, Sleeter, & Anderson, 1986, p. 63). In the words of Trueba et al., (1990), "indeed, teachers feel a great deal of pressure not to abandon traditional curriculum structure, even in the face of failure with minority students" (p. 134).

#### **2.44 Multicultural Reality of Schools**

Since the term was introduced at the First Conference of Canadian Slavs at Banff in 1965 as an alternative to 'biculturalism' as proposed in Lester Pearson's Bilingual and Bicultural Commission (Achison, 1988), 'multiculturalism' has been the popular symbol of tolerance, equality of education, and celebration of ethnic diversity in Canadian schools. But despite the popular rhetoric of multiculturalism among educators, evidence suggests that actual changes made to curriculum, instruction, and educational delivery in response to the multicultural reality of Canadian Schools have been minimal (Beardsley, 1992; Fleras & Elliott, 1992; Tator & Henry, 1991). In Allmen's (1990) view, "we have accepted cultural diversity but we have not dealt with its implementation" (p. 218). The situation is not much different in the United States where numerous authors have observed that school instruction does not accord with the multiethnic experience of the student body (Darder, 1991; Jordan, 1985; Tharp, 1989; Trueba, 1988). Multiculturalism, then, as it applies to immigrant education in receiving countries, has had more to do with wishful thinking than with actual practice.

#### **Summary of Research**

Most research in the field of migrant adaptation has tended to view the adaptation process as problematic either for the immigrant or for the receiving society, and to stress negative instead of positive adaptation outcomes (Furnham, 1988). Yelaya and O'Neill (1990), for example, observe that "researchers and educators have tended to focus on the problems experienced by the minority of immigrants and refugees, rather than exploring the adaptive skills employed by the majority who successfully adapt without the need for special services" (p. 19). Hoffman (1990), however, whose own research stresses both positive and negative aspects of adaptation, points to a new direction which is favored in the present study: "Rather than view the

process of cross-cultural adaptation as replete with negatives, we ought to consider how it has the potential to lead to greater understanding both interpersonal and intercultural" (p. 296). Both negative and positive elements of adaptation, and those which do not conform to a negative/positive continuum, then, are recognized in the present study as potential elements of the adaptation experience.

Most previous adaptation research has focused on the adaptation of adults rather than adolescents or children (Krau, 1991). While studies by Gillborn (1990) and Mac an Ghaill (1988) have dealt with school age children, their foci have been minority rather than immigrant students per se. The present study's sample of six adolescent immigrants, then, may be seen to differ from most previous studies.

Both research and scholarly publications in the immigrant adaptation field have traditionally viewed the adaptation process primarily in terms of ethnic groups rather than individuals (Kim, 1988; Subba, 1990). Nonetheless, as Scott and Scott (1989) have observed, "whenever measured carefully, 'adaptation of a collectivity' turns out to hide individual differences in the adaptation of its members" (p. 18). This view reflects a recent trend toward approaching adaptation as both a group-level and an individual-level phenomenon (Berry, 1992; De Vos, 1990; Freire & Macedo, 1987). While this view may have gained general acceptance, it is also apparent that the overwhelming majority of research continues the traditional emphasis on group-level adaptation. Surprisingly, even those who have been most vocal in recognizing the legitimacy of individual-level adaptation studies (Gibson, 1988; Kim, 1988; Scott & Scott, 1989), have continued to focus their research on ethnic groups rather than individuals. Perhaps, as Gibson (1988) has speculated, research grant funding may be more readily available for research into group processes. The present, more individually focused dissertation study, then, may be seen as an exception to the general trend and as helping to redress a current imbalance in immigrant adaptation research.

Previous studies by Ogbu (1983), Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986), and by Gibson (1988) of school achievement in relation to adaptation, which have focused on ethnic groups that have achieved well, are exceptions to a general

research trend which numerous commentators have remarked has focused almost exclusively on groups with high drop out rates and low achievement levels (Gibson, 1988; Hoffman, 1988). As the sampling strategy utilized in the present study represents an attempt to enlist a single school's entire grade 10 cohort of recent immigrant students as study participants, without regard to their achievement levels, the present study clearly differs from past trends.

Gillborn (1990) states, "much social science research has concentrated upon the experience of male pupils only. For the most part, this pattern has been reproduced in qualitative studies of pupil experiences and adaptations" (p. 66). The present study's sample of three female and three male students counters this trend.

Authors have characterized research in the field of adaptation as primarily positivist (McCarthy, 1990), utilizing an etic approach (De Vos, 1990), and emulating the natural sciences (Berry, 1990). As such, adaptation research has relied heavily on attitudinal scales and on admissions, test, or survey data. The present study offers a phenomenological, primarily emic, human science approach to researching the experience of adaptation. Furnham and Bochner (1986) state, "the view that cross-cultural interaction is stressful and requires a clinical approach was established by the pioneers in the area and this pseudo-medical model has persisted to the present day" (p. 12). The present study does not maintain the traditional clinical perspective.

Finally, Disman (1990) recognizes that "most of the research tends to address *immigrant migration from the perspective of the host society*" (p. 49), while at the same time many have expressed concern that research into the experience of adaptation - from the perspective of those that experience it - has been lacking (Christensen, 1987; Dei, 1992; Early et al., 1989; Gibson, 1988). The present study's phenomenological methodology, with its focus on understanding experience from the perspective of those who are experiencing adaptation, was chosen specifically to help address this unfortunate gap in adaptation research literature.

Roman and Apple (1990) state that "tacit theoretical and political

assumptions underlie all research methods regarding the role of research to affirm or challenge and transform the inequity of the society researchers and research subjects inhabit" (p. 64). The chapter following provides an explication of the study's conceptual framework and methodology as well as the premises and presuppositions which attend them.

## CHAPTER III

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the study's theoretical framework and explain's the several methodologies utilized, with major emphasis given to the study's primary methodology, hermeneutic phenomenology. The chapter begins by presenting a case for the exclusive use of qualitative methodologies in connection with the study's goal of understanding lived experience. A look at the philosophical foundations and methodology of hermeneutic phenomenology is followed by a discussion of theoretical issues connected with phenomenology. Several validity issues are considered before turning to the study's foci concerning location, participants, and sampling processes. After a discussion of the development of relationships with participants and of the interviewing processes, the chapter concludes with an explanation of the data presentation and analysis format used in Chapter IV and Chapter V.

#### *Methodological Rationale*

##### *3.01 Pilot Study*

Janesick (1994) suggests that a pilot study can provide a means to more adequately formulate the research question for a proposed study. It is also useful for helping to determine the most appropriate methodology. With the assistance of immigrant and exchange students at the secondary school where I formerly taught, a 16 page, 40 question quantitative survey was developed, which, it was hoped, would provide insights into the initial experiences of these students in our schools and society. The survey was administered, in some cases with the assistance of ESL teachers, to 38 respondents over a two year period. Although particular care was taken to make the survey language clear and simple as possible for students with limited English language proficiencies, understanding the survey questions proved to be problematic for a majority of respondents. (Some answers bore no relationship to the questions asked.) This result of the survey suggested that it would be more beneficial to utilize a different research approach, one which would permit extended face-to-face contact with participants, such that the researcher and participants could develop an understanding of one another's contexts and



meanings. Additionally, in debriefing after the survey was completed, it became apparent that many of the respondents were better able to express themselves orally than in written form. Another benefit of the debriefing was the identification by respondents of several factors important to their initial experiences which had not been included within the scope of the survey's questions. Some of these factors, such as the importance of establishing friendships with majority culture peers, have been incorporated in the present study to provide foreshadowed themes for interview questions.

### **3.02 Choice of Methodology**

Patton (1990) has recognized that there are

...two fundamentally different and competing inquiry paradigms: (1) logical positivism, which uses quantitative and experimental methods to test hypothetical-deductive generalizations, versus (2) phenomenological inquiry, using qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings. (p. 37)

Although adaptation research has predominantly utilized positivist quantitative methods (Berry, 1990; McCarthy, 1990), it is argued here that these methods are inappropriate for the study of human experience, and lack the explanatory capacity to disclose the contextual, constructed, and meaningful qualities of human experience.

Positivist thought does not make an essential distinction between the physical-biological world and the human-social world (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989), rather considering humans to be subject to the same cause and effect relationships as 'other' physical or biological objects. From a phenomenological perspective, however, positivist science has misconstrued human consciousness and experience as a object among other objects (Stewart & Mikunas, 1990), not recognizing the unique character of human 'being-in-the-world' (Heidegger, 1962). With a view of the human experience as unique, phenomenologically oriented researchers consider the human social world not solely in terms of "cause and effect," but more commonly as "meanings and actions" (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989), terms almost exclusively linked with human consciousness. Thus in this view, "human behavior, unlike that of physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes attached by human actors to their activities" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 106). But when human consciousness is considered just a thing among other

things, human meaningfulness is inconsequential to knowledge of the world and thus remains outside the purview of positivist science. Consequently, quantitative natural science based methodologies have been unable to account for "the meaningfulness of human experience" (von Eckartsberg, 1986, p. 2).

The positivist position also stresses the notion of one objective reality, external to various human experiences of that reality, a conception that does not accord with humans as reality constituting agents, or recognize realities as humanly or socially constructed phenomena. As Fowler (1984) remarks, "traditional science focuses on some reality *outside* of the individual and his/her experience" (p. 12). The positivist position views the world as "external to individuals, existing independently of actors' construction of it" (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989, p. 17). A focus on 'objective' reality outside of individuals results in a methodology which, when applied to human contexts such as adaptation or education, attempts to hold constant or eliminate human value (Ben-Peretz, 1990) or human context factors (Le Compte & Preissle, 1993), relying instead "on more remote, inferential materials" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, P. 5). Thus Fliesser (1991) concludes, "the rational/scientific school for the most part failed to advance the study of schooling because it focused exclusively on identifying objective facts about a complex, subjectively experienced social world" (p. 209).

The positivist notion of human consciousness as just another object among objects has lent itself to the presumption that there is no fundamental distinction between the 'natural' and the 'human or social' sciences, and that inquiry methods suitable for investigating natural objects and biological functions are equally appropriate for the study of human interaction and experience. This view has been questioned by researchers such as Goetz and Le Compte (1984) who speak of a "misapplication of the natural science model to social science research" (p. 57), and by Giorgi (1985a) who observes that "the methods of the natural sciences were invented primarily to deal with phenomena of nature and not experienced phenomena" (p. 1). The position taken in this study, then, accords with that of von Eckartsberg (1986) who states, "the model of the natural sciences, appropriate as it is for such fields as physics or chemistry, is nevertheless of limited usefulness when it comes to the study

of the meaningful character of lived experience" (p. 2).

As the present study is concerned with complex processes of human experience, which imply the necessity of understanding human values, contexts, and constructions of reality, phenomenological, qualitatively oriented methodologies have been used exclusively. These include hermeneutic phenomenological, ethnographic, and narrative methodologies.

### ***Hermeneutic Phenomenology***

#### **3.03 Edmund Husserl's Phenomenological Foundation**

Although according to Lyotard (1991/1954), Hegel gave the term phenomenology its present meaning in 1807 with the publication of "Die Phanomenologie des Geistes," Edmund Husserl is generally recognized as "the acknowledged founder of modern phenomenology" (Leiter, 1980, p. 39), and remains its central figure today (Spiegelberg, 1982). Continuously developing a philosophy of phenomenology from the time he first used the term in 1900 (Spiegelberg, 1982), Husserl, a German Jew, acquired a following of mostly continental European students and philosophers. Even before his death in 1938 in enforced obscurity in Nazi Germany, and the smuggling of his papers out of the country by Catholic nuns to Louvain in Belgium, these scholars, who included Sartre, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Schutz and others, had begun to expand upon Husserl's phenomenological foundations.

The etymology of phenomenology is 'pheinomai' (to appear) and 'togos' (reason): through reason (or intention) the object appears to us. Central to Husserl's conception of phenomenology is human intentionality, a concept adopted from Franz Brentano, one of Husserl's early mentors (Bell, 1990). In this view consciousness is always consciousness *of something*. As Aanstoos (1985) explains,

Phenomenological methods recognize and seek to describe the intrinsically intensive relation of the person to some subject matter. Indeed, that is the meaning of its most important discovery: intentionality - that consciousness is consciousness of something. (p. 90)

Intentionality describes an aspect of emotional or intellectual experience where we stand intentionally in relation to objects or events. For Husserl, "an object is an object for consciousness only in as much as consciousness has been motivated to constitute it as such" (Caputo, 1987, pp. 43-44). All

cognitive experiences, then, are "'object constituting' events" (Pivcevic, 1970, p. 19).

Giorgi (1985a) observes that "phenomenology is precisely the discipline that tries to discover and account for the presence of meanings in the stream of consciousness" (p. 6). Husserl maintained that unless people could order, stabilize, and find regularities in the continuous flow of sense data that are always present to them, the world could not be 'constituted' and all would be chaotic (Caputo, 1987). As Stewart and Mikunas (1990) explain "basic to phenomenology is the contention that the world has no meaning apart from consciousness" (p. 43). Husserl considered the mind to be essentially passive to much of the sense data ('hyletic' data) in the flow, but that it also has a 'noetic' capacity which makes sense of, or bestows meaning upon some hyletic data. Bell (1990) explains that

The function of the noetic aspect of consciousness is to create unity in diversity, identity in difference, form in what is intrinsically formless, and, ultimately, to deliver stable, coherent, and intelligible experience on the basis of sensory data that are themselves nonintentional and without meaning. (p. 172)

Intentionality, our "doubting, denying, supposing, imagining, suspecting, and assuming" (Bell, 1990, p. 116), which characterize the noetic, is differentiated by Husserl into four basic intentional structures which are outlined by Barber (1988):

We apprehend the experience of this stream through four intentional structures that Husserl had explained: retention, reproduction, protention, and projection. Retention (primary remembrance), the after consciousness of the primal impression, is distinguished from reproduction (secondary remembrance), which, as reflective activity, introduces distinctions into experiences, differentiating them from one another and bringing concrete experiences into relief, thereby establishing meaning. Protentions consist of presentative orientations toward the future and differ from projection, the future-directed counterpart of reproduction, which represents, reflects in anticipation, and projects discrete events that will or might take place. (p. 35)

'Reproduction', the aspect of the noetic that involves synthesis, is considered "the most important function performed by the non-hyletic moments in an intentional act" (Bell, 1990, p. 176). Synthesis often culminates in the mind's conversion of phenomena into 'examples,' or what Husserl called 'noema' (Pivcevic, 1970). Noema are foundational to the protentional and projectional aspects of the noetic. The noema examples are always 'until further notice,' that is, changeable if perceived to be incorrect in light of

new understanding, and are the slowly changing background referent upon which new objects of experience are foregrounded. In Husserl's view, noema function as 'typifications' that individuals routinely rely upon to make sense of the world.

The intentionality of human consciousness toward the world experienced is considered by Husserl to be foundational to all subsequent acts of consciousness, including higher suppositional acts such as judging, inferring, or valuing (Bell, 1990). Thus in this view "lived experience is the primary locus for generation of meaning" (Burch, 1991, p. 38). Husserl's unidirectional concept of a subjective intentionality projected into the world as constituting the world is known as 'transcendental' phenomenology. While recognizing Husserl's contribution as foundational, the methodology of the present study departs somewhat from the transcendental perspective, drawing upon elements of the existential and social pragmatic formulations of Husserl's successors, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Alfred Schutz.

### **3.04 Existential Phenomenology**

Most clearly differentiating Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological perspective from that of Husserl is his reconceptualization of the subject/object dualism. Husserl's unidirectional constitution of object by subject is replaced by a semiotic or reciprocally constitutive interrelationship of subject and object. Consciousness is not seen as a self-sufficient absolute but as existing only through a relationship with what is outside of self. Subject and object exist only in terms of one another and cannot, in this view, exist apart from one another. Thus Merleau-Ponty moves dramatically away from 'consciousness of' to 'consciousness in dialectic relation with.' This existential treatment of subject and object, in which subject is constituted in relation to object (and vice versa) implies that self is constituted also, in part, through a relationship with others (Lanigan, 1992).

In terms of the present study, the most important implication of Merleau-Ponty's reconception of subject/object is a parallel treatment of perspective and context. In this view, "the relation between perspective and context is reciprocal or dialectically circular. We have no perspective which

is not constrained by a context; we have no context which is not defined by past and projected perspectives" (Gallagher, 1992a, p. 4). And, if contexts are not viewed as independent absolutes, but rather as constituted in relationship with variable perspectives, the constitution of meaning, and hence, truth, is to be seen as situational and temporal, not universal and eternal as with Husserl. In Merleau-Ponty's view, there are multiple truths, not just one "monadic truth" (Finn, 1992).

### 3.05 *Social Phenomenology*

According to Hitchcock and Hughes (1989), "Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) is usually regarded as being the key figure in unravelling the social implications of phenomenology" (p. 100). Where Husserl presented intentionality solely in terms of the primordial self's 'consciousness of,' Schutz located the primary motive or reason for the individual's 'consciousness of' in the social-familial world.

Schutz (1970) built upon Husserl's ideal that meaning is given after the actual moment of experience, maintaining that "only from the point of view of the retrospective glance do there exist discrete experiences" (p. 63). In this view our retrospective glance at the stream of consciousness both selects elements from the stream and endows them with meaning (Barber, 1988). Meaning making in Schutz's formulation derives from a residual 'stock of knowledge,' constituted through an accumulation of past experiences and relevances acquired through social interrelation, and "ordered by a process which Schutz, following Husserl, calls typification" (Webb, 1976, p. 62). Typifications, the result of our retention of elements of prior experience as exemplars (or typical), predetermine to a large extent what we can subsequently experience or notice, with present experience acquiring direction and meaning only through typified experience from the past (Schutz, 1970).

Schutz maintained that our experiential typifications become habitual possessions, and that habit, following Dewey, is constitutive of preference. John Dewey (1966) maintained that, "any habit marks an *inclination* - an active preference and choice for the conditions involved in its exercise" (p. 204). Thus in Schutz's view "a set of typifications itself carries with it certain proclivities to notice, certain interests, if you will" (Barber, 1988, p. 37).

These 'interests' are what Schutz preferred to call 'relevances.'

For Schutz, the relevances that emerge from the medium of typifications have an intentionality that is essentially pragmatic, in that "the working self traces out that segment of the world which is pragmatically relevant and these relevances determine the form and content of our stream of thought" (Schutz, 1970, p. 69). Because human involvement in the world is primarily social, Schutz considers that our primary source of pragmatic relevance is our social world. According to Schutz, our systems of relevance are socially conditioned in that:

Only a very small part of my knowledge of the world originates within my personal experience. The greater part is handed down to me by my friends, my parents, my teachers and the teachers of my teachers. I am not only taught how to define the environment...but also how typical constructs have to be formed in accordance with the system of relevances accepted from the anonymous unified point of view of the group. (p. 96)

For some, this position has appeared contradictory. Hekman (1986), for example, argues "he cannot have it both ways - social (intersubjective) meaning construction and individual intentionality" (p. 30). But Schutz does seem to 'have it both ways' in that his 'subjective self' retains a Husserlian ability to constitute the world, even as the world provides, in terms of typifications received from others and the common language, much of the direction for that intentionality. As Stone (1979) puts it, "while aspects of it derive from one's culture and society, yet the dynamics of each person's consciousness are original with them" (pp. 5-6). In this view, while individuals constitute the world, their intentionality or relevances are informed by the common stock of typifications which adhere to the social or cultural group of which they were or are a part (Webb, 1976). The phenomenological position developed in this study, then, while founded upon Husserl's subjective intentionality, also recognizes intentionality as existentially and socially informed, and in so doing highlights the perception-context correlation and socially informed typifications as key aspects of human experience and meaning-making.

### **3.06 Hermeneutic Influence**

Spiegelberg (1982) states that "even Husserl's phenomenology implied hermeneutic interpretations" (p. 599), concurring with Ricoeur's (1981) remark

that "there exists between phenomenology and hermeneutics a mutual belonging" (p. 104). Husserl's phenomenological perspective was largely ahistorical (Spiegelberg, 1982), focusing on the present life-world with little regard to the nature of past experiences which inform the subjects' immediate relationship to the life world. If phenomenological methodology is to acquire an explanatory capacity which can account for the subject's present understandings and interpretations, the incorporation of hermeneutic interpretation, which sees understanding as historically conditioned (Gadamer, 1989), and focuses on how "the past operates in the present" (Gallagher, 1992b, p. 90), is implied. Patton (1990) states, "hermeneutics asks, 'what are the conditions under which a human act took place or a product was produced that makes it possible to interpret its meanings?'" (p. 84). The present study, then, incorporates a hermeneutic phenomenological methodology, and relies upon an unfolding of historical backgrounds upon which subsequent experiences are configured and interpreted (Ormiston & Schrift, 1990b) by study participants.

### ***Hermeneutic Phenomenological Methodology***

#### ***3.07 Consciousness***

Stone (1979) states that "the aim of phenomenological research is the exploration of the fundamental consciousness of the person or people being studied so that their perceptions can be identified and interpreted" (p. 2). However, although humans consciously act upon the world, their actions and the motives (Schutz, 1970), rules (Wiggins & Schwartz, 1988) and guiding patterns (Bowers & Flinders, 1990) that direct them are most often taken for granted (Goffman, 1959), and remain at a tacit, unreflected level of consciousness. The problem to which a phenomenological method is addressed, then, is to bring pre-reflective experience to "our reflective awareness" (van Manen, 1990, p. 18). The method employed by phenomenologists to bring experience to our reflective awareness and to discover its essential (or irreducible) meaning is by means of an epoche which consists of phenomenological 'reduction' and 'bracketing.'

#### ***3.08 Epoche***

The phenomenological epoche operates to access the prereflective,



presuppositional intentionality of human experience. It is designed to (a), bring the research participant's prereflective experience to reflective awareness and (b), to reconstitute the experience in its presuppositional integrity, such that the irreducible essence (the necessary and sufficient constituents) of the experience reveals itself. In order to bring the essence of experience to awareness the researcher and participant reflect together to uncover successively deeper layers of the experience to reveal its essential constituents (phenomenological reduction). In order that the experience may be revealed in its integrity, presuppositional elements imported into the experience post hoc by both the researcher and research participant must be temporarily factored out (phenomenological bracketing). As Bogdan and Taylor (1975) explain, "while in the situation, the researcher suspends his or her own beliefs and presuppositions, as well as those of his or her subjects" (p. 9).

Husserl's phenomenological reduction is not reductivist in the sense of statistical reduction where generalizable representativeness is desired (reduction 'to stand for'), but rather it is a reduction to what constitutes the irreducible essence of the experience investigated. As Pivcevic (1970) explains, "generally speaking the method of phenomenological reduction is a means of detecting what is constitutive and essential in our relationship with the world" (p. 65). The reduction is accomplished through a dialogic, reflective interview process that seeks to go 'back to the things themselves,' that is, to the intentionality which constituted what was experienced as a meaningful experience (or phenomenon).

Phenomenological bracketing functions to set suppositions and theory 'out of play' (Lyotard, 1991/1954) while one inquires into the essence of experience. Phenomenological inquiry is not inferential in that there are no hypotheses to be tested (Aanstoos, 1985); there are no *a priori* assumptions outside of the immediate field of inquiry (Pivcevic, 1970). "There is an attempt to investigate the immediate data given to the mind and not a theoretical construction or interpretation of these data" (Brody & Oppenheim, 1966, p. 296).

Husserl's bracketing derives from his background as a mathematician, and

the bracketing process should be viewed in the sense of an algebraic equation. It is not intended that we get rid of or make subsidiary what is bracketed in the equation, but to temporarily set it apart, such that it will not in any way determine the initial (or presuppositional) stage of the equation, which must be calculated before inclusion of the bracketed portion in order for the equation to be completed correctly. As Stewart and Mikunas (1990) explain, "by bracketing the equation, the mathematical does not eliminate it, but merely places it out of question for the present, while the larger context of the equation is investigated" (p. 26). In the *epoche*, which is derived from the Greek and means 'abstention of belief' (Stewart & Mikunas, 1990), we bracket out our judgemental standing in relation to the world, such that it is temporarily neutralized in order that we may invest ourselves in the research participant's experience of constituting meaning. With worldly perspectives bracketed, 'reflective consciousness' can be brought to bear on the intentional structures embedded in the experience studied (Caputo, 1987), such that the essence of the experience may emerge. Only then is the essence connected with what was originally bracketed out.

Spiegelberg (1982) states that "the most controversial aspect of phenomenological method has come to be Husserl's reduction" (p. 678). The issue is that of whether it is possible, or even desirable, for researchers to consciously 'bracket out' their preconceptions prior to entering the field to begin inquiry. Husserl (1970), as we have seen, considered bracketing necessary to obtain an unobscured (presuppositionless) view of the phenomenon. While not going so far as Nietzsche (1968) who maintained that one finds in things nothing but what one has imported into them, theorists such as Bubner (1983) stress the hermeneutic view that understanding is impossible without presuppositions, and is dependent on what we already know. Gadamer (1975), for example, expresses this position in his contention that "our historical and socially conditioned presuppositions are indispensable for our coming to knowledge of" (p. 245), as does Burch (1991) in his view that "my perspective with all of its prejudices is the very condition of my understanding, its locus and medium" (p. 42).

Phenomenologists have also followed this course, in that, as Benson and

Hughes (1983) observe, "far from wanting to bracket away the life world, as Husserl wished to do, Schutz regards this as the natural locus of understanding" (p. 51). The point made is that much of the direction for our recognizing and understanding experienced phenomena is dependent on culturally and historically conditioned presuppositions (Gadamer, 1989), and that without these presuppositions the researcher, no less than other people, has little basis for making sense of the world. Presuppositionlessness, then, is not attainable, in that it is impossible to stand outside the world of which one is a part (Heidegger, 1962).

The position taken in this study accords with that of Heidegger and Gadamer, in that the impossibility of completely *bracketing out* presuppositions is recognized. But at the same time, it is also recognized that suppositions left at the unreflected level may seriously impair the vision of the researcher, thus there remains a need to *identify and reflect upon* presuppositions. Van Manen (1990) proposes that "it is better to make explicit our understandings, beliefs, biases, assumptions, predispositions, and theories" in an effort to hold this knowledge to the test of the phenomenon as it were, "thereby exposing its shallow or concealing character" (p. 47). However, the best rationale for exposing our presuppositions may not be to push them out of our vision or to hold them up for comparison with the truth of the phenomenon, but rather to clearly recognize and make explicit their unavoidable coloring of our vision. This perspective recognizes a looking through, rather than a setting out of play or holding up for comparison. It is a recognition that "as we apprehend any thing else not properly ours...we do so not by looking behind the intervening glosses which connect us to it but through them" (Bredella, 1993, p. 799). It is a recognition that "we must necessarily look through our own pre-judgments - our pre-judices - at what happens" (Barrit, Beekman, Bleeker, & Mulderij, 1985, p. 29), and that "any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994. p. 12). Making explicit presuppositions that unavoidably color our understanding as we gaze at the phenomenon through them, also has the advantage of permitting the research audience to more adequately assess the significance or relevance of

presuppositions in terms of the observations and conclusions presented in the study.

### **3.09 Practical Application of the Methodology**

Van Manen (1990) provides a practical application of a hermeneutic phenomenological reduction process, a dialogic, reflective interview technique which has been adopted in the present study. Van Manen explains that "phenomenology describes how one orients to lived experience, hermeneutics describes how one interprets the 'texts' of life" (p. 4). Data collection, interpretation, and writing are virtually inseparable aspects of van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenological technique, and are based upon an extended, cumulative series of dialogic interviews which begin phenomenologically, then progressively become more hermeneutically oriented. With such a technique "we start with the emic position, the view and knowledge of the native, and work our way to the etic, interpretive position" (Spindler & Spindler, 1992, p. 70). Initial interviews are directed toward establishing a "collaborative relationship" and "gathering experiences." In the second stage of interviews, the researcher engages the participants in reflections on experiences in relation to objects or events in the participants' worlds which may have been identified in previous interviews. Each of these interview stages requires the researcher to transcribe dialogue in written form, gradually revealing and rebuilding the experiences of participants, such that in the third stage of interviews, the researcher may bring elements of the developing written text back to the participant to engage in a joint "reflection on the text (transcripts) of previous interviews" (van Manen, 1990, p. 99). In this more hermeneutically oriented stage, researcher and participant together probe deeper into the nature of the experiences previously identified. A new set of transcripts is drafted and analyzed by the researcher for emergent experiential "themes." In the fourth stage of the interview process, "once transcript themes have been identified by the researcher then these themes become objects of reflection in follow-up hermeneutic conversations in which both the researcher and interviewee collaborate" (p. 99).

### **3.10 Context: *Habitus* and *Horizon***

Bateson (1978) has suggested that "without context there is no meaning"

(p. 13). One of the most important means of rebuilding study participants' experiences within the interview sequence is revealing the contexts within which meanings of experiences have been constituted. As Barrit et al. (1985) explain, "the study of experience is also a study of social context and context is always a historical context" (p. 65). This hermeneutic focus recognizes that the cumulative effect of prior experiences (our *habitus*) informs our constitution of the meaning of present experience (Gadamer, 1975). It also recognizes that past experience establishes our perceptual horizon toward which we are able to project the possibility of future experience and meanings, that is, the scope of our future hopes and ambitions (Heidegger, 1962). These hopes and ambitions in turn can affect our interpretation of present experience. The concepts of *habitus* and horizon are beautifully expressed in the poetry of Alfred, Lord Tennyson:

I am a part of all that I have met;  
 Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'  
 Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades  
 For ever and for ever when I move.

Schutz (1962) considers that "all interpretation of this world is based on a stock of previous experiences of it, our own or those handed down to us by parents or teachers," and that "these experiences in the form of 'knowledge at hand' function as a scheme of reference" (p. 7). Schutz's 'knowledge at hand' derives from Husserl's (1972) concept of '*habitus*.' Knowledge at hand and *habitus* both refer to habitual dispositions, the cumulative products of past experience which inform our constitution of meaning within present experience. Perhaps the best current interpretation of *habitus*, and the one utilized in this study, is provided by French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu maintains that each individual upon entering the world is immediately exposed, and receptive out of necessity, to a conditioning spatial, sensual, linguistic and cognitive environment, initially that of the family, and subsequently of social group and teachers (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979). This initial conditioning, which may be thought of in terms of a primary socialization, is the genesis of the individual's '*habitus*,' that is, a residual stock of dispositions or "deeply interiorized master patterns of

thought and action" (Bourdieu, 1967, p. 347). Bourdieu considers that the habitus is continuously modified and cumulatively formed over one's life span through the recursive operation of subsequent experience. However, it is the initial experience and dispositions, the residual foundation of the habitus, that continues to have the most profound effect in mediating future experience (Bourdieu, 1990).

For Bourdieu, inquiry into experience is primarily concerned with identifying the elements which structure the individual's habitus. As Lanigan (1992) explains,

Here, according to Bourdieu, the methodological problem of analysis is the theoretical problem of hexis [L. habitus], ie. the problematic of habit in which the choice made (consciousness) demands that its own context (experience) be taken as thematic. This way of formulating the issue of analysis is strictly phenomenological. (p. 14)

Thus, if an individual's habitus is an essential determinant of the meanings they attach to experience, understanding experience, in this view, requires a genealogical tracing of the elements which have contributed to structuring the individual's habitus.

This genealogical tracing - which is consistent with Husserl's (1973) and Merleau-Ponty's (1962) interpretations of habitus as a history of our constituting meaning, and as a phenomenology of origins or genealogy of meanings - is an important component of the interview process utilized in the present study. It may be seen to be particularly important in terms of adaptation experience in that adaptation literature repeatedly points to the salience of previous socialization or experiences in the homeland as influencing perceptions of new experience in the receiving country (Brody, 1970; Cui & Awa, 1992; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Disman, 1990).

Because we not only see present experience in terms of past experience, and within the context of the present situation, but also in relation to our projected possibilities or hopes for the future (Stewart & Mikunas, 1990), our future orientation also influences what and how we experience at any given moment (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). Thus the interview sequence used in the present study, though primarily directed toward retrospective reflection, also seeks an understanding of study participants' horizons.

### 3.11 Analysis of Interview Information

According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975),

The phenomenologist views human behavior - what people say and do - as a product of how people interpret their world. The task for the phenomenologist...is to capture this process of interpretation. (p. 13)

In order to grasp the meanings of a person's behavior, the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that person's point of view. (p. 14)

The dialogic interview process facilitates a reconstruction of both the contextual conditions of study participants' experiences and of their constitution (interpretation) of the meaning of their experiences, from their own point of view. In the phenomenological interview sequence, interview transcripts are analyzed by establishing with study participants the genesis of participants' metaphors (Snively, 1986), typifications (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989), values and assumptions (Stone, 1979), perceptions and interpretations (Patton, 1990), and behaviors (van Manen, 1990). Phrases that appear to be central (Barrit et al., 1984) or essential (van Manen, 1984) to the participants' experience are located to help clarify experiential themes or structures, that is, the 'necessary and sufficient' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962), 'essential recurring' (Denzin, 1989), or 'invariant' (Giorgi, 1985b) components which together constitute the irreducible 'essence' of the experience.

### 3.12 Essences

Van Manen (1984) has described an 'essence' as that which makes the experience meaningful to the self. But, as Stewart and Mikunas (1990) recognize,

The experienced world consists of many levels, structures, and relationships which can be described effectively by the phenomenological method. But the experience of a thing (*sache*) demands that these levels and relationships be unified. (p. 44)

'Essence,' then, presupposes a synthesis of essential themes which constitute a unified essence of experience. Thus, the phenomenological analysis concludes with a description of essential themes and an explication of how they have been synthesized by the study participant to constitute the essence of the experience. This is done in such a way as "to bring the phenomenon itself to self-showing" (Aanstoos, 1985, p. 91).

### ***Theoretical Issues Concerning Phenomenology***

The purpose of this review is to situate the study in relation to several issues and debates in the literature that are relevant to the phenomenological approach.

#### **3.13 *Universal or Individual Essences***

One of the important presuppositions of Husserl's phenomenology was that essences of human experience were viewed as universal, ahistorical, and acultural. As Benson and Hughes (1983) remark, "Husserl held that whatever is genuinely true must be so universally and eternally" (p. 49). Merleau-Ponty (1973), however, argued that if contexts are not independent absolutes but rather are constituted in relation with variable human perspectives, then the constitution of meaning, and hence, truth, is to be seen as situational and temporal, not universal and eternal as with Husserl. Similarly, Schutz (1962) rejected Husserl's universal essences, arguing that because individuals have, to a certain degree, unique histories of acquired relevances and experiences, essences can be individual. The position taken in this study is consistent with that of Merleau-Ponty and Schutz. It recognizes that ways of constituting reality differ between people (Giroux, 1981), and that ethnicity can have a fundamental and differentiating influence on our interpretations of experience (Stanfield, 1994).

#### **3.14 *Experience: Preverbal or Verbal?***

The second issue concerns the nature of experience. Is it pretheoretical and preverbal, unmediated by language and concepts as Husserl and Schutz suggest; or is all experience an effect of the language and concepts that inform (and form) us, as Gadamer and Derrida claim? Merleau-Ponty's (1962) contention that "to return to things in themselves is a return to that world which precedes all knowledge of which knowledge always speaks" (p. ix), and van Manen's (1990) explanation that "phenomenological research is the explication of phenomenon as they present themselves to consciousness" (p. 11) are illustrative of the first position. What is clear here, explain Pinar and Reynolds (1992), "is the phenomenological view that we live prior to language in a perceptual substratum" (pp. 9-10).

In direct contrast to this position is Gadamer's (1975) view that "being



that can be understood is language" (p. xxii), and Derrida's (1976) assertion that "we think only in signs" (p. 50). As Pols (1992) characterizes this view, "all knowledge, they would say, is a function of the theories we hold and the languages we use" (p. 5). The position taken in this study recognizes that experience and meaning can occur preverbally, and thus does not accept the view that they occur *only* through the social process of language (Goodson & Mangan, 1991). At the same time, however, it is recognized that much of our experience and understanding is second order, distanced from direct experience and occurring in and through language. Both preverbal and verbal elements, then, must be incorporated into any consideration or reconstruction of lived experience.

### **3.15 *Can Experience be Communicated?***

A problematic assumption of qualitative research is that "researchers can capture lived experience" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 11). People differ in their abilities to communicate their experience (Pelto & Pelto, 1978), and it would seem, additionally, that there are aspects of experience that none of us are able to communicate. For example, some researchers have found that people are often unable to report on their social motivations even when they wish to (Furnham & Bochner, 1986), and that because much of our cultural heritage is implicit, people seldom can articulate their cultural assumptions (Jacob & Jordan, 1993). Indeed, automaticity research is strongly suggestive that humans lack linguistic access to many aspects of their social and psychological experience (Gamradt, 1989). It is apparent that "the lived world can never be fully articulated" (Scudder & Mikunas, 1985, p. 10) and that we live far more than we can speak of (van Eckartsberg, 1986).

With regard to the problem of communicating experience, it is recognized in the present study that a portion of human experience is not communicable or is at best, imperfectly communicable (Stone, 1979). Nonetheless, experience cannot be dismissed as an object of inquiry simply because it is not available in its entirety. There are few phenomena that can ever be studied in their entirety, regardless of research method or sample size. As human experience is indispensable for understanding human problems, it is incumbent upon researchers to utilize those aspects of experience which are communicable,

such that we might achieve a better approximation of understanding than has been made available to us by research methods which disregard experience. In De Vos's (1990) words, "we cannot forgo in despair endeavors to approximate some communication of the experiences of others, even though the approximations we can make are less subject to control than are structural analyses that bypass any concern for human consciousness" (p. 18).

### **3.16 Can Experience be Communicated Accurately?**

A problem related to 'capturing experience' is whether experience can be communicated accurately. The problem stems from the fact that all verbal reference to experience is retrospective (Schefflen, 1974; Schutz, 1967). As Hycner (1985) comments, "one of the first criticisms that is often raised is that interviewing a participant about a phenomenon elicits a retrospective viewpoint" (p. 295). The problem concerns the extent to which retrospective accounts can be accepted as accurate representations (Cole, 1991). Recall, it will be noted, is prone to problems of forgetting (Burch, 1989; Wagner, 1983), and as such, may result in omission (Cole, 1991; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) or even unintentional confabulation (Hycner, 1985). The result, according to Lyotard (1991/1954), is that "experience reflected on afterwards may be a new experience - the link between the one and the other bearing no guarantee of fidelity" (p. 78).

While the problems inherent in retrospective viewpoint are recognized in the present study, it is suggested that the nature of the study's methodology and sample population serve to ameliorate problems of recall. With phenomenological reduction, both researcher and participant reflect upon the participant's experience, helping "to overcome the forgetfulness of the natural or naive standpoint" (Sundara, 1991, p. 102). Because the reduction is a narrowing process which occurs over time, the participant has a better opportunity to integrate experience through reflection, and to formulate a more adequate verbal expression for it (Hycner, 1985). Additionally, a number of researchers have observed that experience not usually available to consciousness can be brought to consciousness when it contrasts markedly with new experience or norms (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Jacob & Jordan, 1993; Wolcott, 1987). As the sample population of the present study consists of people whose

natal cultures contrast markedly with that of the culture in which they now live, this contrastive effect may be seen to be operative in the reflections of study participants.

### 3.17 *Is it Possible to Render the Experience of Another?*

A third debate related to 'capturing experience' concerns the problem of whether the researcher's rendering of the experience of another can ever be accurate. The problem according to Burch (1991) is that

First, my rendering of another's experience, however trusting and faithful I presume to be to what she says and does, is always inevitably my rendering, that is, a story constructed within the stream of my experience and personal history, and hence meaningful to me in a way always different from the meaning of the experience to the participant. (p. 42)

The researcher does not, of course, have direct access to the participant's mind (Chang & Holt, 1991; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) and this necessitates a rendering of experience which is an interpretation of the participant's interpretation of experience. Some have considered that the result of such rendering is, at best, a 'collaboration' between researcher and participant (Yans-McLaughlin, 1990) rather than an actual representation of the participant's experience. Compounding this problem is the fact that the researcher is often describing from an individualist perspective those who function within a communal perspective (De Certeau, 1987). There are also practical problems of rendering experience such as language itself, which "tends to abstract from the experience we are trying to describe" (van Manen, 1989, p. 240), and transcribing from dialogue, which tends toward decontextualization (Kvale, 1988).

Several aspects of the present study address this important concern. First, the study utilizes a non-directive, open ended interview process (Whyte, 1982) within which study participants are explicitly encouraged to introduce their own concepts, terms, and norms, and to express their own relevances (indigenous themes). These, in turn, provide the researcher with participant generated questions and descriptions, and permit a researcher interpretation of experience more closely aligned with the participant's. Secondly, the phenomenological method, as has been stated previously, seeks to bring experience to self-showing. This may be accomplished by letting participant experience show itself through extensive verbatim transcriptions.

Because phenomenological research is conducted personally by the researcher, and, in the case of the present study, transcription was also done personally, decontextualization problems have been countered somewhat by recording context elements both during interview dialogues and during transcription.

### **3.18 Colonizing the Other**

Willinsky (1994) raises serious questions about the extent to which our educational concern with culture remains enmeshed in colonial and racist interests, deeply invested in the construction of difference. At the heart of Willinsky's concern is that our use of the term "culture" has, and continues to be, closely aligned with a self-serving, subordinating construction of "otherness." This is not to suggest that cultural difference doesn't exist in actuality or as an organizing principle, but that much of the difference has been produced and applied by majority cultures to minority cultures. A power and numerical differential between majority and minorities acts to ensure that minorities (including immigrants) have little autonomy in the construction of their "otherness," no effective means to negotiate or to defend themselves from how they have been defined. It is, according to Said (1990) a form of representation which "has been repressive because it doesn't permit room for interventions on the part of those represented" (p. 95). It is also evident that the majority culture's construction of "otherness" is often to some extent incorporated by the "others" in their constructions of selves (Yee, 1993).

Parker (1992) states that "from the recognition of difference there flow, inevitably, notions of superiority and inferiority" (p. 296). His views are shared by Sarup (1991) who asks whether a society based on "difference without hierarchy" (p. 130) is conceivable. While the position developed in the present study accepts that the essential problem of intercultural understanding is to be able to understand others as both different and equal (Todorov, 1984), it does not accept the notion that the researcher's representation of the other is always reductive (Said, 1978) or inevitably leads to a colonizing hierarchy. Rather it is maintained that cross-cultural research can be conducted such that it emphasizes "appreciation of diversity as a strength, not a weakness" (Kehoe, 1984, p. 50).

"What would it take," asks Willinsky (1994), "to break this colonizing hold on the study of the other" (p. 617)? "How can we live in difference, respecting alterity" (Chambers, 1994, p. 128), and "how do we construct a discourse which displaces the effects of the colonizing gaze" (Hutcheon, 1990, p. 176)? Certainly qualitative research has been guilty of reproducing a colonizing discourse of alterity (Fine, 1994). There has been a tendency, particularly in ethnographic research, to speak on behalf of the other, depriving the other of voice and self-identity. As bell hooks (1990) expresses this trend, there is "no need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice...I am still the colonizer" (p. 151). The problem appears to be that when researchers define 'others' in terms of difference, most often their reference points are themselves or their own cultures. They reconstruct the 'other' in relation to (and differentiating from) their own image. When the 'other' is permitted no voice, the 'other' is 'other' only in relation to those who are not 'other.'

The research antidote proposed here, which offers resistance to colonialist hegemony, is to provide research participants a platform wherein they might speak, render, and define themselves - not solely in terms of alterity or similarity in relation to the researcher or majority culture - but in their own terms. The present study's emphasis on participant constructs and participants' articulations of their own experiences in their own terms, then, functions in such a way that *"new articulations of identity may be constructed"* (McLaren, 1991, p. 148). In Giroux's (1992) view, "this means giving students the opportunity to speak, to locate themselves in history, and to become subjects in the construction of their identities and the wider society" (p. 26).

#### ***Additional Inquiry Methods***

Van Manen (1990) explains that "reflection on lived experience is always recollective; it is reflection on experience that has already passed or lived through" (p. 10). Precisely because phenomenology is retrospective, it does not address several important aspects of immigrant adaptation. Retrospective methods do not provide access to immediate influences or contexts of physical

setting, or to the immediate social interactions or behaviors of study participants. Clearly the experience of adaptation is also ongoing and occurs to some degree in relation to specific school and community settings. For this reason, and to enhance validity through methodological triangulation, the study incorporates some methods associated with ethnographic and narrative inquiry.

### **3.19 *Ethnographic Methods***

From the outset it should be recognized that this study, while augmented with ethnographic methods, should not be regarded as an "ethnography." While ethnographies investigate culture as it derives from its situational context (Wolcott, 1992), much of the "culture" of the recently arrived immigrant student does not derive from the present setting, but has been imported into it, and thus initially has little relational reference to the new school or community environment. However, as the study seeks to understand experience over the initial period of adaptation, it must take into account that new social and educational environments will, over time, come to be major factors in the adaptation experience. It is in relation to this interest, then, that the study utilizes certain ethnographic methods.

Of primary interest to the study are ethnographic observation methods directed toward understanding contexts of immediate setting and immediate social or cultural interactions, as they may be seen to address aspects of the adaptation phenomenon that phenomenological methods do not. Phenomenology is not directed toward immediate physical or social interaction, elements which may be seen to be important for understanding the experience of recent immigrant students in relation to their new physical and social environments. Immediate contextual setting ought to be taken into account in that certain understandings of study participants are impossible to comprehend outside of it (Magoon, 1977). Underlying ethnography's concern for context in terms of settings and social interactions is the notion of role. In much ethnographic writing, humans are viewed as actors, constructing and being constructed by their relational and interactive roles with others (Anderson, 1989; Wax, 1980). However, once the actor is removed from the stage (context) the role is no longer engaged and therefore, not immediately present to the actor or to

the observer-researcher. As S. Wilson (1977) explains,

Human behavior is complexly influenced by the context in which it occurs. Any research plan which takes actors out of the naturalistic setting may negate those forces and hence obscure its own understanding. (p. 253)

This study, then, conforms to the ethnographic practice of conducting inquiry as much as possible within the naturalistic setting, in this case, within the school and homes of study participants. The study also utilizes participant and non-participant ethnographic observation techniques "to acquire firsthand, sensory accounts of phenomena *as they occur* in real world settings" (Goetz & Le Compte, 1984, pp. 3-4, emphasis added). Ethnographic observations are also used to discover participant concerns, understandings and reactions which may be explored in more depth in subsequent interviews (Wolcott, 1985).

### **3.20 Self-report Narratives**

One of the key aspects of immigrant adaptation is change (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). According to R.C. Nann (1982), "the length of time required for successful resettlement means that research in this area must be designed so as to measure change over time" (p. 9). Self-report narratives are incorporated into the study primarily as a means to understand the process of how the immigrant student's experience changes over the initial period of adaptation. One of the major benefits of self-report narratives is that they help to 'fix' aspects of experience at about the time when they occur or are recollected, which may otherwise be lost to the participant's subsequent recollections (Grumet, 1992). An additional benefit of narrative writing is that it functions to help participants make sense of their experience (Butler & Mansfield, in press; van Manen, 1989b).

According to Kinhead (1993), "our best access to teachers' and students' understandings of the meaning of classroom experience may be through life history narratives, rather than through structured classroom observations and interviews" (p. 169). Even prior to the 1920s, qualitative researchers relied upon narrative documents (Yans-McLaughlin, 1990), and the use of journals (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994; Coppola, 1983) or diaries (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989; Tesch, 1984) is advocated by numerous researchers today. However, both Grumet (1992) and Ziegler and Michelson (1981) caution that self-report

narratives may not provide accurate descriptions of participants' behavior or actual experience. Van Manen (1990) warns also that self-reporting may be problematic for young people because of linguistic demands and the potential for attributions (p. 66). Clearly the linguistic demands of self-report narratives must be taken into account in a study in which participants have limited English language written competencies. Notwithstanding these potential problems, and with reference to "journal, diary, or log writing," van Manen considers that "it is likely such sources may contain accounts of human experiences that are of phenomenological value" (p. 73).

In the present study participants were asked to keep a personal journal of reflections on their adaptation experience during the six month period of their contact with the researcher. In terms of method, participant self-report narratives have been submitted to a hermeneutic analysis in much the same manner as the process described previously for analysis of phenomenological interviews. Additionally, selected portions of participant journals have been used during phenomenological interviews as a question-generating device (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989; Zimmerman & Wieder, 1977), and as "hermeneutic prompts" (van Manen, 1990) which function to trigger reflection on hidden or taken for granted aspects of participants' experiences.

### ***Validity Issues***

Several important validity issues relevant to the qualitative methodologies utilized in this study are discussed at this time. The discussion is divided into 'internal,' 'external,' and 'other' validity issues.

### ***Internal Validity***

#### ***3.21 Prolonged Engagement***

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest several means to help establish internal validity, the truth value or plausibility of the claims or understandings expressed by the researcher. The first is that of "prolonged engagement." There are several reasons why the researcher's prolonged engagement in the field or with study participants is seen to contribute to the validity of qualitative research. Prolonged engagement is considered necessary for adequately understanding the research participant's environment, language, and



social interactions, and to recognize possible changes occurring over time. It is also necessary to ensure "a match between researcher categories and participant realities" (Le Compte & Preissle, 1993, p. 342). Prolonged time in the field is needed to bring the researcher's preconceptions to the surface, to test and modify tentative hypotheses, and to evaluate the researcher's effect on participants. Without prolonged engagement it would be almost impossible to build and maintain a relationship of trust necessary for eliciting meaningful data. An additional aspect of prolonged engagement is what Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe as "persistent observation." Persistent observation is deemed necessary to adequately identify "elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued" (p. 304), and to sort out irrelevancies. Persistent observation also refers to the researcher establishing over time whether occurrences or phenomena are unique or whether they occur repeatedly (Spindler & Spindler, 1992). Inherent in the concept of prolonged or persistent engagement is the view that "experience always threatens what we know" (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 62). In the present study, the period of engagement with research participants occurred over a period of six consecutive months, from March until the end of August, 1994.

### **3.22 Respondent Distortions**

Prolonged engagement also has the value of providing the researcher with sufficient time to identify possible "distortions introduced by respondents" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 302), which may pose serious threats to validity. Wilson (1977) lists several common respondent distortions:

For instance, the role of being a research subject in social science research often includes the following instances of behaviour: a suspiciousness of the intent of the research, a sense of the behaviour that is either appropriate or expected, a special interpersonal relationship with the experimenter, and a desire to be evaluated positively. All these forces can shape behaviour in a way that is extraneous to the focus of the research. (p. 248)

To these may be added "a high potential for false positive responses in a direct questioning situation" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 63), participants "saying normatively appropriate things" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 302), and even the possibility of deceptions and fronts (Douglas, 1976). Due to the limited English language proficiency of study participants, the most likely

respondent distortion to be encountered in the present study is "misconstruction of investigators' questions - and hence of the answers given to them" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 302), a problem found in the pilot study mentioned previously.

### **3.23 Peer Debriefing**

"Peer debriefing" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) holds substantial promise for validation in terms of the present study. Peer debriefing involves explaining the current status of the inquiry to knowledgeable peers who can help to illuminate the researcher's unrecognized preconceptions, or to recognize some important element in the data that the researcher has overlooked through being too 'close' to the data or phenomena. In the case of the present study it has been useful to debrief with non-teaching peers of both genders, who were new immigrants themselves during their teen years. Their reflective insights have also provided foreshadowed themes with which to return to the phenomena.

### **3.24 Negative and Alternate Case Analysis**

Some form of 'negative case analysis' (Becker, 1961; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Marshall & Rossman, 1989) is applied in different ways by both ethnographic and phenomenological researchers as a means to establish internal validity. In ethnographic studies, researchers develop working hypotheses or assumptions, then go back through their data to check for negative evidence. As negative evidence is found, working hypotheses must either be reformulated to account for negative instances or alternative hypotheses must be generated. A related aspect is 'alternate case analysis' where the researcher seeks out "rival or competing themes" (Patton, 1990, p. 462) or "alternative hypotheses" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 230). As Marshall and Rossman (1989) explain, "alternative explanations always exist; the researcher must search for, identify, and describe them, and then demonstrate how the explanation offered is the most plausible of all" (p. 119).

### **3.25 Free Imaginative Variation**

For the phenomenologist, alternative case analysis involves "free imaginative variation" (Husserl, 1973), a different way of searching for incongruent cases, by creatively removing themes from experience formulations in an effort to assess whether the theme is necessarily an aspect of the

invariant structure of an experience, or if it is in fact an unnecessary (hence, incongruent) aspect (von Eckartsberg, 1986). As van Manen (1990) explains:

In determining the universal or essential quality of a theme our concern is to discover aspects or qualities that make a phenomenon what it is and without which the phenomenon could not be what it is. To this end the phenomenologist uses the method of free imaginative variation in order to verify whether a theme belongs to a phenomenon essentially (rather than incidentally). In the process of apprehending essential themes or essential relationships one asks the question: Is this phenomenon still the same if we imaginatively change or delete this theme from the phenomenon? Does the phenomenon without this theme lose its fundamental meaning? (p. 107)

Whereas positivist methods require verification of an hypothesis imported into the phenomenon to determine truth value, negative and alternative case analyses and free imaginative variation all point to what Popper (1968) describes as a post-positivist method of determining truth: establishing the impossibility of falsifying hypotheses which are derived from the phenomenon. The present study makes use of both negative and alternative case analysis in its initial, more ethnographically oriented observation processes, and free imaginative variation in subsequent, more phenomenologically oriented inquiry processes.

### **3.26 Construct Validity**

The various forms of case analyses can be seen to be of critical importance in establishing what Cherryholmes (1988) describes as construct validity, an aspect of internal validity. Construct validity is concerned with the truth value of constructs (findings, patterns, themes, or theoretical constructs) that the researcher presents as the results of an inquiry process, in relation to the means by which the researcher has measured, assessed, or established them. As Goetz and Le Compte (1984) explain, "establishing validity requires...assessing whether constructs devised by researchers represent or measure categories of human experience that occur" (p. 210). As the constructs which result from much qualitative research derive from a cumulative building process of testing and revising working hypotheses (or tentative constructs) which eventually contribute to grand constructs, negative and alternative case analyses and explicit evidence of these processes (often referred to as a decision or audit trail), are essential for

establishing the plausibility of a study's constructs. In Lather's (1986) view, "a *systematized reflexivity*, which gives some indication how a *priori* theory has been changed by the logic of the data, becomes essential in establishing construct validity" (p. 67).

With specific reference to phenomenological research, Cherryholmes (1988) explains that "subjects expose first-order constructs by which they organize and make sense of their daily lives. From first-order constructs researchers develop second-order scientific and explanatory constructs which account for first-order constructs" (p. 108). This informs the view that "the phenomenological approach to construct validity assumes that subjects participating in social practices know and understand first-hand what is going on" (p. 111). Clearly this view is problematic with reference to the present study, as it may be seen that the recent immigrant participants might not know "what is going on" and may not at first be able to "make sense of their daily lives." This suggests that negative case, and especially alternative case analyses are critically important elements for establishing construct validity within the present study.

### **3.27 Triangulation**

Internal validity is often established by way of 'triangulation' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Triangulation requires the use of multiple sources, methods, investigators, or theories (Denzin, 1978), to minimize the effect of potential limitations of any one research factor (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), to permit a comparative analysis for consistency (Patton, 1990), and for confirmation or disconfirmation of findings (Lather, 1986). Because the present study emphasizes phenomenological methods where highly interpersonal collaborative processes mitigate against multiple investigators, and because it, like most qualitative studies, is not theory driven, multiple investigators or theories are not appropriate for triangulation in this case. However, the present study makes use of multiple sources (interviews, observations, and written journals) and multiple methods (phenomenology, ethnography, narrative analysis), which have been incorporated into a triangulation process. This has been done because, in Ziegler and Michelson's (1981) words, "differing methods can be combined to increase validity and

yield richer information from the same respondents and situations" (p. 322).

### **3.28 Face Validity**

Another aspect of internal validity is what is variously described as "face validity" (Lather, 1986), "member checking" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Reason & Rowan, 1981), "respondent validation" (Bloor, 1978), or what Schutz (1962) originally referred to as a "postulate of adequacy." Reason and Rowan (1981) characterize such checks as a recycling of analysis back through a sample of study participants to verify adequacy and accuracy. "Good research," they suggest, "goes back to the subject with the tentative results, and refines them in the light of the subjects' reactions" (p. 248). In the present study, the collaborative nature of the phenomenological interview sequence lends itself particularly well to "member checking" with all participants, over the entire period of researcher - participant engagement.

## **External Validity**

### **3.29 Generalizability**

External validity is concerned with the degree to which a study's findings are applicable or generalizable to other contexts. This type of validity is generally considered to be problematic in qualitative studies (Donmoyer, 1990; Schofield, 1990). From the perspective of ethnography, "the only generalization is : there is no generalization" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 110). Similarly, van Manen (1990) admonishes, "the only generalization allowed by phenomenology is: never generalize" (p. 22)! Yet without some implications for other contexts, the numerous qualitative case studies and ethnographies could claim validity only with respect to the specific participants and settings with which the studies were originally concerned.

### **3.30 Transferability**

Generalizability is, in fact, an aspect of qualitative studies (Polkinghorne, 1991; Spindler & Spindler, 1987). However, it is most often referred to as 'transferability' by qualitative researchers (Donmoyer, 1990; Le Compte & Preissle, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to signal a fundamental shift in the responsibility for making generalizations. Qualitative researchers locate the onus for establishing generalizability not with the researcher, but with those who would make use of the results of the research.

"The consumer of the research, not the author, does the generalizing," explains Wehlage (1981), and "it is up to the consumer to decide what aspects of the case apply to new contexts" (p. 216). Thus Lincoln & Guba (1985) maintain that "the naturalist cannot specify the external validity of an inquiry; he or she can provide only the thick description necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility" (p. 316). In the present study, then, the primary responsibility with respect to transferability is to provide sufficient description and context for readers; that is, to provide what Lincoln & Guba call a "data base that makes transferability judgements possible on the part of potential appliers" (p. 316).

### **3.31 Reliability, Dependability, or Replicability**

Reliability is a validity concern related to establishing the dependability of research findings. A typical measure of reliability is whether a replication of the study will yield similar results. If similar results can be achieved, the original study may be considered to be dependable (Ford, 1975). According to Krathwohl (1985), "the heart of external validity is replicability" (p. 123). Because qualitative studies are often concerned with the unique and are associated with small sample sizes, establishing reliability through replication is extremely difficult. Similarly, a problem arises from the fact that replicability is determined not only in relation to similar contexts and processes, but also in relation to similar research instruments. This is essentially not possible in qualitative studies as, for example, in ethnography the researcher is commonly acknowledged to be the primary research instrument (Dobbert, 1982; Wilson, 1977), and in phenomenology the researcher together with the participant(s) are looked upon as primary research instruments (van Manen, 1990). As each individual is unique and thus represents a potentially unique research instrument, issues of reliability remain problematic in qualitative studies, including the present study.

### **Other Validity Issues**

#### **3.32 Objectivity**

Quantitative researchers have traditionally subscribed to the view that

objective research is synonymous with value free or value neutral inquiry (Salomon, 1991). Qualitative researchers have generally rejected this vision of objectivity as not possible to achieve, in that they maintain no inquirer, thus no inquiry, can be value free (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The real objectivity issues for qualitative researchers are those of faithfulness to or affinity with the phenomenon (Giorgi, Fischer, & von Eckartsberg, 1971), or as van Manen (1990) explains, whether "the researcher remains *true to the object*" (p. 20). This involves "trying to be as comprehensive as possible in responding to the whole phenomenon" (Hycner, 1985, p. 297), and "recognizing the difference between observed and inferred behavior" (Wolcott, 1988, p. 19) when assessing the phenomenon. In order to remain true to the phenomenon, qualitative researchers must recognize the subjective elements they inevitably bring to the phenomenon in the process of their inquiries. The concern is that "subjectivity transforms any objectivity it seeks to describe" (Grumet, 1992, p. 37). The task of qualitative researchers, then, including the researcher in the present study, is to bring to consciousness their own preconceptions and perceptions, in order that these might not obscure an accurate and comprehensive understanding of the perspectives and contexts of those they are studying (S. Wilson, 1977).

### **3.33 Reflexivity**

An important aspect of 'objectivity' in qualitative research is that of reflexivity, which Anderson (1989) maintains "is at the centre of any discussion of ethnographic method" (p. 254). Reflexivity has been described by Delamont (1992) as a "social scientific variety of self-consciousness" (p. 8). Reflexivity requires that researchers be constantly aware of the biases, presuppositions, and perspectives they bring to the phenomenon *and* how these may be influencing the inquiry process. Thus reflexivity implies that researchers first become sensitive to, or know themselves, and to retain this sensitivity throughout the inquiry process. Illustrative of this concern is Grumet's (1992) comment that, "thus, for the phenomenologist, knowledge of the world requires knowledge of self-as-knower-of-the-world" (p. 30).

In terms of the present study, perhaps the most important reflexivity concern is that of identifying my own taken for granted perspectives

concerning school settings and immigrant students which have arisen over the many years I have spent working in schools. What is required is to make the familiar strange (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983), to see what has become too familiar to me, to see from the perspective of others for whom the same phenomena appear quite alien. A reflexive sensitivity to my own androcentric and Eurocentric perspectives is also important, and may have been achieved to some degree by means of peer debriefings with female and non-European colleagues over the period of the study.

### **3.34 Reactivity**

Reflexive self-consciousness also requires that if the qualitative researcher is the primary research instrument, there must be a continuous awareness of the researcher's possible effect on the phenomena being studied, as well as a sensitivity to effects that the phenomena may have upon the researcher. This concern is known as reactivity. A reflexive self-consciousness strives to recognize the effect of self on settings or participants. For example, the researcher's presence may contribute to Foucault's (1978) "panopticism" effect; that is, the effect produced in participants we intensely view (and interview) over time, that changes their concept of themselves and how they should behave in relation to us. Our research gaze can change or amplify the experience of participants (Barritt et al., 1985) or even limit the experience (Sartre, 1956). Additionally, authors such as Haig-Brown (1991) and Patton (1990) suggest that power differentials between researcher and study participants may have the effect of coercing respondents into revelations they might not have expressed in natural conversation. Reflexive self-consciousness also requires that researchers be attentive to their own 'reactions,' that is, the changes that occur within themselves because of study participants or settings (Le Compte & Preissle, 1993; Patton, 1990). In the present study a conscious effort has been made to achieve Seidman's (1991) goal of minimizing the effect "the interviewer and the interviewing situation have on how the participants reconstruct their experience" (p. 16).

### **3.35 Catalytic Validity**

Catalytic validity, a concept suggested by Reason and Rowan (1981) and



popularized by Lather (1986) is concerned with validity of the research for research participants. Lather (1986) maintains that for a study to have catalytic validity it must "empower the researched" (p. 73) or enable them to "grow through thoughtful assessment of their experiences" (p. 70). This form of validity raises serious questions about the right or presumption of a researcher to unilaterally decide to empower someone else (Alcoff, 1991-1992; Anderson, 1989). On the other hand, it has been suggested that researchers have a *responsibility* to empower when they have been part of a majority that has oppressed or disempowered the minority being studied (Haig-Brown, 1991). In the present study, catalytic validity is concerned less with empowerment than with providing participants a means for personal growth in a new environment. The 'catalytic' intent of this study accords with Grumet's (1992) view that "if we must calibrate education, then we might say that we are educated to the extent that we are conscious of our experience and to the degree that we are freed by this knowledge to act in the world" (p. 33).

### **3.36 Pragmatic Validity**

According to Patton (1990) "pragmatic validation means that the perspective presented is judged by its relevance to and use by those to whom it is presented" (p. 485). Usefulness of the study's findings, then, are judged in terms of the research consumer's application to concrete situations (Kvale, 1987). The need for pragmatic validity is recognized in the present study, and study analysis and recommendations are presented in such a manner as to facilitate utilization in concrete situations by the research audiences identified previously in the study.

### **Study Focus**

Primary attention in this study is directed toward the adaptation of people who move from one culture and take up an indeterminate residence in another, a phenomenon described by Gudykunst and Kim (1984) as "perhaps the most profound situation of cultural adaptation" (p. 207). While acknowledging the importance of Furnham's (1988) call for study of experiential differences in the new country "including the native population's reactions" (p. 58), due to time and financial limitations the present study "limits its focus to the adaptation of individuals without specifically dealing with possible changes

that occur in the host environment" (Kim, 1988, p. 37). The specific focus of the study concerns the adaptation experience of school age teenagers who are recent immigrants to Canada. The study's focus suggests a criterion for determining the study's location (settings) and sample (participants) and is explained in the sections which follow.

### **3.37 Geographic Location**

The study is located geographically in the Greater Vancouver area of British Columbia where more than 75 percent of new immigrants to the province take up residence each year (Fleras & Elliott, 1992). Because individual school catchment areas in the City of Vancouver often consist primarily of a single large ethnic enclave neighbourhood and a single socio-economic group, which mitigates against ethnic and socio-economic diversity in the schools, a decision was made to locate the study in Richmond, B.C., a large Vancouver suburb. Richmond is characterized by a more ethnically and socio-economically dispersed (non enclave) population, more representative of the demographic patterns of Greater Vancouver communities with the exception of Vancouver itself, and as such its schools have more diversified student populations.

A school was selected as a research site (a) because a large portion of the school aged immigrant's time is spent at the school or engaged in school activities, (b) because the school best facilitates initial and continuing contact with the sample population and permits development of researcher - participant relationships which are likely to lead to permission to conduct research in the more personal (and less accessible) setting of the participant's home, and (c) because an important aspect of the study is to provide teachers with a better understanding of the adaptation experiences of their immigrant students. A public school rather than a private school site was chosen (a) because some ethnic and socio-economic groups are under or not represented in private schools, (b) because public schools often provide a more comprehensive range of course offerings and exhibit a greater diversity in student achievement levels, and (c) because public school students are more likely to live in the immediate neighbourhood of the public school.

After a four month period of interviews and observations at the school and the closing of the school for the summer, researcher - participant

relationships were developed sufficiently to permit interviews in participant's homes over the two summer months. A limited number of interviews were also made possible at my own home because I lived with my family in the community in the immediate vicinity of the school during the fieldwork portion of the study. While the school was the primary research site, no prior assumptions were made as to the significance of education compared with any other factors which might mediate immigrant adaptation experience (Warren, 1987). Rather, the study's focus concerns "the social and personal meaning of daily life in which school attendance is but one part" (De Vos & Suárez-Orozco, 1991, p. 6).

### **3.38 Initial Access**

A letter was sent to several Greater Vancouver school district offices during the 1993-1994 school year requesting permission to approach school principals about the possibility of conducting the proposed study in one of their schools. One school district refused permission on the grounds that research requiring interviews of new immigrants was thought to be "too intrusive." After receiving permission from Richmond School District in early 1994, several high school principals were approached, one of which welcomed the proposed study as "something that's really needed here right now," while expressing concern that not enough was known about the needs of a rapidly increasing immigrant population in his junior high school. The principal advised discussing the research program with the school's three ESL teachers and three counsellors. The ESL teachers did not wish to become involved in soliciting study participants, but felt that the proposed study might be beneficial to both the students involved (to improve verbal skills) and to the school as a whole. All three counsellors were very positive and graciously offered a portion of the school's counselling centre as an interview site which would meet privacy and personal security requirements.

### **3.39 Research Participants**

In phenomenological research, research subjects are considered to be "co-researchers" (Omizo & Omizo, 1990) and are referred to as "participants" rather than subjects or respondents to reflect this collegial relationship. Age upon arrival in the receiving country has been identified by adaptation

researchers (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984) as a critical differentiation factor in subsequent adaptation. The present study's focus concerns teenage immigrants. This age category was selected because by this age enculturation in the natal culture has been extensive. This immigrant group is described by Kim (1988) as "teenagers whose first-culture socialization has been substantial, although not quite completed" (p. 36). The criterion for the sample was further limited to immigrant students who had been resident in Canada no longer than two years at the outset of the study, as memory of adaptive experiences should be fresh to increase the probability of accurate recall, and to reduce the possibility of attributions being substituted for actual experiences.

Dobbert (1982) suggests that qualitative researchers should select a population sample which might represent the greatest range in variation between participants, providing what Marshall and Rossman (1989) describe as "informational adequacy" (p. 75). Sample diversity in terms of ethnic origin, natal language, socio-economic status, academic ability, and especially gender may be seen to be important for differentiating what is unique and what is more general in each participant's adaptive experience. With regard to gender for example, Jagger (1983) maintains that females' distinctive social experiences generate interpretations and integrations of reality that are different from those of males. However, in terms of previous research, Clifford (1986) recognizes that "a great many portrayals of 'cultural' truths now appear to reflect male domains of experience" (p. 18). Additionally, Hein (1993), in suggesting that gender may be reinvented in the receiving country rather than reflect the definition prevalent in the natal society, further emphasizes the importance of gender in adaptation experience, and the need for gender balance in the sampling process.

Notwithstanding the desirability of achieving a diverse participant sampling, I decided not to include ethnic origin, natal language, socio-economic status, academic ability, or gender in the criteria for sample selection in order that the sample might more accurately reflect the actual diversity present in the school's immigrant population. The sole criteria for sample selection, then, were those of age and length of residence in Canada at the outset of the study.

### 3.40 *Sampling Process*

The sampling process used in this study is described by Patton (1990) as "criterion sampling" (p. 176), where the researcher strives to enlist all potential research participants that fit the study's criteria. "All cases in the data system," according to Patton, "that exhibit certain predetermined criterion characteristics are routinely identified for in-depth qualitative analysis" (p. 177). The "data system" in the case of the present study was restricted to the school site's grade 10 class (approximately 300 students), thus the sampling process may also be described as a "cohort" sample (Furnham, 1987) in that the complete cohort of grade ten students which met the study's criteria (10 students) were invited to become study participants.

Potential study participants were initially identified by the school's ESL and counselling staff. Seidman (1991) recommends that "whenever possible, it is important to establish access to participants through their peers rather than through people 'above' or 'below' them in their hierarchy" (p. 36). With this in mind, I approached two of the students in person and after describing the study, asked if they might request the others (whom they knew through their ESL classes) to come and see me to discuss the possibility of participation in the study. I described to each student in person the nature of the study, and discussed its potential benefits, risks, and commitments. Each student received a written description of the study to take home and discuss with parents, and was given a week to decide whether to participate. School staff were not involved in the decision process.

Of the 10 students that were identified as meeting the study's criteria, six agreed to participate. One female student from Hong Kong requested not to participate because of heavy time commitments for piano lessons. A Taiwanese boy explained that his parents would not permit him to take time from his studies for interviewing. An Afghani girl who had just arrived at the school two months previously came to what was obviously a difficult decision - that her experience of leaving Afghanistan was too traumatic for her to express it to someone she did not know. A recent immigrant from Israel was not initially identified because he arrived one week after the sampling process was completed. He did not wish to join the study after it was under way.

With regard to interviews, Hycner (1985) observes that "doing this kind of phenomenological research for the most part requires that only a limited number of people be interviewed given the vast amount of data that emerges from even one interview" (p. 295). Phenomenological researchers such as van Manen (1990) and von Eckartsberg (1986) recommend a study sample of between one and six participants, with Morse (1994) favoring six as the ideal number. The study's sample size of six, then, tends to be on the large size for phenomenological studies, but permits the possibility of sample diversity, and provides a hedge against what Le Compte and Preissle (1993) call "sample mortality" and Maryama and Deno (1992) describe as "sample attrition." Maryama and Deno maintain that inevitably sample size changes over the course of qualitative studies and that attrition is likely to be high. In the present study attrition was extremely low in that all six participants were retained over the duration of the study, although one participant refused to participate in a final interview because he had "other things to do."

#### **3.41 Results of the Sampling Process**

Three female and three male grade 10 students agreed to participate in the study. They ranged in age from 15 to 17 years, with the average age being 15 years, 10 months. They had been resident in Canada between seven and 20 months, with an average residency of approximately 13 months at the time of their agreeing to join the study. The participants were from Iran (after a three year sojourn in Sweden), the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Somalia, while two came from Taiwan. Their natal languages were Farsi, Tagalog, Cantonese, Somali, Taiwanese, and Mandarin respectively. Participants represented the full range of ESL English language proficiency categories. Two participants came from families of limited means, two from what might be described as middle class families, and two from families of substantial economic means.

Five of the six participants were oldest children. Family size ranged from two to 10 children. Five of the six participants identified themselves as immigrants, while the student from Somalia related migration circumstances which approximated those of a refugee. Of the 10 students who were originally asked to join the study, six were listed on the school's honour role (exceptional achievement) at the end of the third term. Of the six

students who became participants, four were on the school's honour role for at least one term. Two of the participants achieved academically at an average level over the period of the study, while the student from Somalia did not receive letter grades in subject areas due to her limited English language proficiency.

### ***Relationships With Participants***

#### **3.42 Developing and Maintaining Role**

Wilson (1977) advises that qualitative researchers should be sensitive to the way they enter a setting and carefully establish roles which facilitate information collection. As the participants in the present study had limited English language proficiencies, and in several cases were new to the school at the outset of the study, it was especially important to develop a role that would "elicit cooperation, trust, openness, and acceptance" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 65). If participants are to share deeply personal meanings with the researcher, earning participant trust is a key aspect of role (Bruyn, 1966). Central to developing a trust relationship is the researcher's "empathetic regard" for participants, and the communication of that regard to them (Lightfoot, 1983, p. 370). One way in which empathetic regard was expressed in the present study was by "conveying the idea that the participants' information is acceptable and valuable" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 82).

Marshall and Rossman (1989) also recommend that considerations of role, for example, must address the intrusiveness of the researcher into the setting" (p. 120). With this in mind, the study's interview and observation processes were designed not to interfere with participants' 'in class' instruction time, and were conducted in site locations which would not expose participants to onlookers. Intrusiveness may also be interpreted in terms of the researcher's role in relation to those that have authority over participants, such as the participants' teachers. Wilson (1977) warns that becoming identified with certain groups may cause participants to "consciously withhold information from someone with the wrong identification" or "consciously color what they said and did" (p. 255). Thus, in the present study, while it was necessary to develop an association with school

counsellors and participants' ESL teachers, particular care was taken not to become too closely identified with school staff, as they exercised considerable authority over the participants.

### **3.43 Revealedness**

Revealedness concerns the extent to which the researcher may reveal the processes and purposes of the study to participants without distorting study outcomes. As the purpose of this study is to understand the experience of immigrant students with the intention of improving teaching and conditions for immigrants, and as the study is not designed experimentally, that is, to see which predetermined experiences are most prevalent or important, there has been no reason to withhold information about any aspect of the study from participants. In fact, Marshall and Rossman (1989) recommend that it is often desirable to "acquaint participants with the activities the role involves, with sorts of information that will fall within the purview of the study, with the possible uses of the information, and with the manner in which participants could aid the research" (p. 65).

### **3.44 Protecting Sources**

Assessing potential negative consequences of the research or of its publication for the parties involved is, according to Lofland and Lofland (1984), the most critical ethical question for the researcher. Clearly, assuring participants, parents, school staff, and the school itself of confidentiality (Le Compte & Preissle, 1993) is important in this regard. It is also important, however, to consider what possible "side effects" the research process might have for participants, and to ascertain as much as possible whether participants are putting themselves at risk in being part of the study (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 75). Van Manen (1990) considers that researchers have a special responsibility when they "meet the other person in his or her weakness, vulnerability, or innocence" (p. 6), which suggests that researchers should be particularly attentive to the difference in power between themselves and participants, and perhaps even more importantly, to the participants' perceptions of the difference. In the present study, the question, "does the participant's perception of the researcher's power have the effect of coercing responses that might not ordinarily be volunteered?"



was kept in mind at all times. Because participants are from a variety of ethnic groups rather than the majority group, it has been recognized in the present study that to proceed ethically in terms of one's own culture is no guarantee of proceeding ethically in terms of another culture (Tobin & Davidson, 1990). Thus it was necessary to establish with participants and their parents what was ethically relevant and acceptable to them in relation to their involvement in the study.

#### **3.45 Informed Consent**

Following the example of Spradley (1979, p. 93), school administration, counsellors, ESL teachers, and student participants were *personally* informed of the nature and reasons for the study, and the purposes for which it might be put to use, prior to initiating requests for their consent to the research. Explanatory consent forms conforming to University of British Columbia ethics standards were given to the school principal, and the participants and their parents.

#### **3.46 Negotiating Participants' Rights**

Cole (1991) states that "a discussion of the potential impact of the inquiry and the researcher's ethical responsibilities in this regard should be part of the initial negotiations" (p. 193). Participants were informed of basic participant rights at the outset of the study, which included the right to withdraw from any part (or all) of the study at any time, to retract statements made at any time, and to receive transcript copies if desired. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), "every research act implies moral and ethical decisions that are contextual" (p. 21). Additional rights were negotiated on an individual basis as they developed within individual contexts over the course of the study, in response to each participant's concerns. One right which was negotiated, though seldom exercised, was the right not to respond to any question.

#### **3.47 Reciprocity**

Wilson (1977) states, "in every ethnographic study we have conducted in high schools, students have expressed their concern about the researcher's identity" (p. 255). It cannot be expected that participants will volunteer important personal information to the researcher without some sense of *who*

they are providing it to. Thus a certain degree of reciprocity is required of researchers in terms of letting participants know something of themselves (Young & Tardif, 1992). "When one is self-disclosed to," suggests Roloff (1987), "there is a tendency to self-disclose back" (p. 14). This form of reciprocity has played a major role in the development of personal relationships in the present study.

Reciprocity also implies a researcher's responsibility to give something of value back to the participant, helping to offset what is usually a highly unbalanced giving-taking relationship. In this regard, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) suggest that the researcher may have to "demonstrate that he or she is not an exploitive interloper, but has something to give" (p. 81). In the present study it has been possible to give back something of value to study participants in terms of assisting with English language skills and tutoring after interviews, without unduly influencing the outcomes of the study. Self-report journals and discussion of them with participants have also assisted in developing writing skills. Possibly a more significant return, though perhaps not of immediate personal relevance to participants, is that of providing a voice to those (in this case, immigrant students) who have traditionally been marginalized because they have not been heard (Haig-Brown, 1991). The present study may be seen to have a reciprocal value in that it "brings into the forefront the lived experience of the voiceless" (Silver, 1993, p. 214). Seidman (1991) recommends that no remuneration be given to study participants as it may function to distort participant responses. A token gift of appreciation at the conclusion of the study is suggested instead. In this study a gift was sent to each participant at the conclusion of the fieldwork portion of the study.

#### ***Interviewing, Observing, and Narratives***

##### ***3.48 Foreshadowed Themes for Guiding Preliminary Descriptions and Questions***

According to Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman (1987), "neither the specific focus of inquiry nor the exact and final form of method and analysis can be specified in advance for most qualitative studies" (p. 91). Rather than be locked into a grand theory construct from the outset of inquiry which requires all subsequent understandings to be relational to that construct,

qualitative researchers attempt to retain flexibility so as to remain responsive to directions that may emerge from the phenomenon itself. However, there is also a recognition that nothing truly 'emerges' entirely of its own accord and that even something as apparently neutral as descriptive data is theory laden. As S. Wilson (1977) reflects, "no one of course, enters a situation a true *tabla rasa*. Language itself is a limiting factor which provides one set of conceptual tools and screens out others" (p. 251). Similarly Peshkin (1993) maintains that "when we select for the purpose of describing, we select on some basis," and that "pure, straight description is a chimera" (p. 24). These views are echoed by phenomenological scholars. Grumet (1992), for example, explains that we see "with theory-laden vision" (p. 29), while van Manen (1990) recognizes that "all description is ultimately interpretation" (p. 25). Thus while qualitative researchers realize that approaching phenomena for the purpose of description or inquiry is theory laden, they also wish to prevent theory from limiting their vision and restricting their responsiveness to phenomena. Their response to this tension is to make explicit any biases, presuppositions, or theories that may guide them in their initial investigation of the phenomena, and to treat presuppositions as 'tentative,' or open to modification.

These initial 'tentative theories' are often referred to as "foreshadowed categories" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983), or as "guiding hypotheses" (Geer, 1969; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). While Marshall and Rossman regard guiding hypotheses as "merely tools used to generate questions and to search for patterns" (p. 44), Geer (1969) speaks of their utility for ascertaining which situations, subjects, and questions are most likely to be relevant to the overall research question.

Perhaps the most phenomenologically adequate foreshadowed categories or guiding hypotheses are those generated by the participants themselves. Le Compte and Preissle (1993) consider that "using the participants' own constructs to frame a study is an emic, phenomenological, or subjective approach" (p. 45). These constructs are referred to by Patton (1990) as "indigenous categories" (p. 306), that is, categories, concepts and relevancies expressed by research participants, which may be utilized to

provide direction (foreshadowed categories) for initial description and interview questions. Of particular benefit to the present study is the potential for reducing androcentric (Harding & Hintikka, 1983) or ethnocentric biases (Ellsworth, 1989) by adopting participants' constructs rather than the researcher's or those that derive from theoretical literature.

Several foreshadowed themes have been brought to the present study to provide initial direction for description and interview questions. Van Manen's (1990) "fundamental existential themes" (p. 101), which are spatiality, corporeality, temporality, and relationality or communality, to which I have added spirituality, are general themes incorporated to ensure comprehensiveness in terms of addressing participants' experiences. In addition, an indigenous category derived from suggestions of students who responded to the pilot study, that of friendship, was also brought to the study initially. Most subsequent (and far more numerous) foreshadowed themes have been "indigenous categories," derived over the course of the study from expressions or actions of participants themselves.

### **3.49 Interviewing**

If the researcher's interest is understanding other people's experience and the meaning they make of their experience, then personal interviewing becomes an essential element of their inquiry strategy (Seidman, 1991; von Eckhartsberg, 1986). The interview method utilized in the present study is described by Seidman (1991) as "phenomenologically based interviewing" (p. 9) which combines 'life-history' interviewing with 'in-depth' (non stimulus-response) interviewing. The interview process follows a cumulative stage pattern: The first stage utilizes descriptive or 'eliciting' questions which elicit 'indigenous categories' and assist the participant in establishing context. The second stage involves structural questions which facilitate reconstruction of details of experience in relation to context. The third stage requires substantive and contrast questions which encourage participants to reflect on the meaning their experience has for them (Burgess, 1984; Seidman, 1991).

Critical to the success of all stages are the 'eliciting' questions (Le Compte & Preissle, 1993) of the beginning stage which elicit participants'

constructs (indigenous categories) by bringing out the participants' sense of the world rather than responses to the researcher's sense of the world (Seidman, 1991). Initial interview stages may be described as "open-ended but with some stated structure and purpose" (Haig-Brown, 1991, p. 32), incorporating "open-ended questions" and "open-ended responses" (Kvale, 1988, p. 25). Subsequent stages become progressively more focused as indigenous categories become more apparent.

The interview process incorporates a "phenomenological concept of dialogical relationship" (Hunnisett, 1986, p. 256), where researcher and participant are viewed as equals (Seidman, 1991) and participants are involved as "active associates, not passive subjects" (Cole, 1991, p. 192). While equality may not be possible to attain in actuality, the attempt to achieve a dialogical relationship is aimed at building trust, rapport, and empathy (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989) and stimulating recollection and reflection, or what Tesch (1984) refers to as "dialogic introspection" (p. 5).

Phenomenological interviewing has also been described as recursive, in that it "often produces a recursive pattern of data gathering, interpretation, validation, modification and further data generation" (Phillips & Osborne, 1989, p. 238). Each interview is transcribed, analyzed, then brought back to the participant (Cole, 1991; Kvale, 1988), for correction, modification, or extension, and in later interview stages, primarily for verification (Patton, 1990; Tesch, 1984). This process, which I have called 'generative sequential interviewing' helps to establish accurate and fair representations via a continuous process of member checking.

Over the six month interview period an average of 18 one hour interviews were conducted with each of the six participants. They were conducted once weekly when school was in session to ensure continuity and to provide time for reflection between interviews. Interviews occurred at noon or after school and were personally transcribed immediately afterward, often at the school site, in an attempt to retain as much of the non-verbal context and understandings associated with the spoken conversations as possible (Seidman, 1991).

### **3.50 Observations and Self-report Narratives**

Approximately 22 hours of participant, and several more hours of non-participant observations were conducted over the six month study period. Observation settings were equally distributed between classrooms and socialization locations such as the school mall. Observations were not equally distributed between participants due to variations in their school and after school time use patterns which in some cases facilitated, and in others, mitigated against observations. Analysis of observations helped to inform the ongoing interview process, often serving to clarify indigenous relevancies.

Student participants kept a personal journal throughout the six month period, to reflect on their adaptation experiences as they occurred or as they recalled them. While some participants with more advanced English language skills produced inciteful journal entries on a regular basis, those less skilled in written English contributed very little. Several students also wrote letters to me after the interviewing period describing adaptation experiences. Self-report narratives were discussed with participants prior to each interview and often provided a starting point for reflection in subsequent dialogue.

## ***Presentation and Analysis***

### **3.51 Presentation and Analysis: Theory**

Qualitative research presentations tend to leave a trail of decisions, realizations, and changes made (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) which allow readers to follow the evolutionary development of questions and understandings and to develop a sense of what the researcher deemed relevant to the inquiry. Both ethnographic (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984) and phenomenological presentations (van Manen, 1990) introduce interpretive elements throughout the presentation, but usually reserve the greater portion of interpretive discussion for a cumulative or summary analysis near the end of the document. A portion of the cumulative analysis is often devoted to relating research results to the literature of the field. Both research traditions tend to present a reconceptualization of the original research question in the cumulative analysis stage. Both traditions eschew presentation of results of the inquiry process as conclusive "findings" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; van Manen,

1990) preferring an open-ended, inconclusive summary. As Haig-Brown (1991) expresses it, the research project is "never complete, just finished" (p. 3).

There are several differences between ethnographic and phenomenological presentations. A good ethnography reads like a story with a purpose (Wolcott, 1990), or as a "descriptive interpretation" (R.K. Brown, 1992, p. 92), often utilizing transcript narratives to illustrate and corroborate understandings, and may culminate in the generation of theory or the identification of new research questions (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Phenomenological presentations tend to pose searching questions aimed at drawing readers into the researcher's quest (van Manen, 1990), and make use of anecdotes and transcript narratives to reveal the interrelatedness of consciousness and the objects of consciousness (Hammond, Howarth, & Keat, 1991). The present study incorporates elements of both presentation styles permitting a broader descriptive pattern than would be possible if a strictly phenomenological style was adhered to exclusively. The broad descriptive pattern used in the presentation of individual participant experiences in Chapter IV helps facilitate the comparative and cumulative analysis with which the study concludes in Chapter V.

Qualitative researchers generally do not accept the view that data may be presented without interpretation, as vehicles for understandings which are self-evident (Eco, 1984; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; van Manen, 1990). Illustrative of this view is Langeveld's (1983) contention that,

As we know, nothing is so silent as that which is self-evident. Thus it becomes our task to render audible, readable, articulate, that which is silent. (p. 5)

Hence, while presentation of the essence of experience may be contrived such that it shows itself, the various levels and interrelationships of meaning (Stewart & Mikunas, 1990) and the essential invariants (Aanstoos, 1984) of the essence of experience require analysis. The ultimate aim of a phenomenological analysis, then, is to reveal the essences of lived experience "in such a fashion that we are now able to grasp the nature and significance of this experience in a hitherto unseen way" (van Manen, 1990, p. 9).

### **3.52 Presentation and Analysis: Application**

In the present study data presentation and analysis occur simultaneously

in two separate chapters (Chapters IV and V). Chapter IV consists of profiles and analyses of the separate adaptation experiences of each of the six research participants. Meanings from one participant's experiences are not imposed on or compared with those of other participants (Seidman, 1991). Chapter V is devoted to comparing or aggregating across the six participants for the purpose of analyzing similarities and differences in their separate adaptation experiences (Barrit et al., 1984; Tesch, 1984). As Patton (1990) observes, "the initial focus is on full understanding of individual cases before those unique cases are combined or aggregated" (p. 45). In both chapters analysis is often linked to theoretical literature of adaptation and education fields.

Wagner (1983) maintains that "for anyone concerned with phenomenological psychology, the adoption of the I-form for observational accounts is absolutely necessary (p. 45). In the present study a first person format is used exclusively in chapters IV and V. Where dialogues are incorporated into the text they are presented verbatim. While Patton (1990) advises that "the grammar in natural conversations is atrocious" (p. 380), it should be recognized that youthful participants with limited English language skills often produce an even less accessible grammar, especially when it is encountered in written (transcribed) form. Thus it has been necessary in some cases to include translations, indicated by [square brackets], to provide readers with a more accurate sense of the participant's meaning. This has also been done when participants have selected an incorrect word to express the meaning desired. Insertions in the verbatims for the purpose clarifying context are indicated using (single brackets). A series of three dots (...) is used to indicate breaks in the conversation of approximately one second in duration, with six dots indicating two seconds, and so forth. Italics is used to indicate a raised voice or special emphasis, and, following Hitchcock and Hughes (1989), uppercase letters are used to signal words which are SHOUTED or expressed as an EMPHATIC OUTBURST. To ensure confidentiality, the names of student participants, their parents, siblings, and friends, the school and the school's staff have been substituted with pseudonyms in the verbatims.



## CHAPTER IV

### INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION EXPERIENCES

#### *Introduction*

The chapter begins with a description of the community and school environments within which initial adaptation experiences of the study's participants took place. Description of study settings is followed with narrative presentations of adaptation experiences of each of the six research participants. Analysis is included within the narrative with periodic references to immigrant adaptation and education literature. Each narrative begins with a descriptive introduction and life historical background to provide context. Each narrative concludes with an interrelation of experiential themes which constitute the irreducible essence(s) of each participant's experiences of adaptation.

#### *4.01 Richmond Community*

Richmond, a community of just under 200,000 is British Columbia's fourth largest city after Vancouver, Surrey, and Burnaby. These communities are part of the Greater Vancouver area and have attracted the majority of new immigrants arriving in the province in recent years. Richmond is located on several islands that form the delta of the Fraser River. Consequently, unlike most British Columbia cities, the land is almost flat and very fertile. Rapidly expanding commercial developments and middle to upper middle class residential areas compete for space with Vancouver's international airport and numerous fruit and vegetable farms.

Prior to World War II large numbers of Japanese immigrants were involved in Richmond's fishing and boat building industries. Most were forcibly removed to camps in the Canadian interior during the war, but some managed to return to Richmond later. During the 1960s Punjabi immigrants began settling in the farming areas north of the community and have remained and prospered in the area. In the past decade the largest numbers of immigrants have been Cantonese speaking Chinese, although since 1994, Mandarin speaking Chinese from Taiwan have come in the largest numbers.

De Certeau (1987) observes that "people display the most violent allergies to foreign 'ways' of reinvesting our space" (p. 181). During the

study period a common perception in Richmond, especially among Chinese residents, was that the recent large influx of often wealthy, entrepreneur class immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan had disproportionately increased real estate prices in Richmond, in comparison with other Greater Vancouver communities where the Chinese had chosen not to reside. One Chinese realtor approached me to inquire about selling the home we were renting in Richmond. When I told her that I could not afford to buy a home in the area she said, "It's the Hong Kong money," which was responsible for the high prices. Another Chinese realtor worried in a local newspaper that when Hong Kong was repatriated to China there would be a real estate slump in Richmond, and our Chinese Canadian neighbors across the street told me that they were considering selling their home prior to the 1997 repatriation in anticipation of a market decline.

Real estate related issues predominated in Richmond City Council meetings and in the local press during the March 1994 to August 1994 study period. Many wealthy Chinese buyers wanted extremely large homes built on relatively small Richmond lots. These homes which dwarfed and shaded smaller homes around them became known as "mega" or "monster homes" by long term residents. Dolphin (1994) writes,

Today developers are tearing down the modest 30-year-old split levels and replacing them with lot-dominating, 250-plus-square-metre dwellings. Called 'monster houses' by longtime residents of the lower mainland, these houses are crammed in with about three metres between and no sign of that most revered of British Columbia life-forms, the tree. (p. 54)

A group of long term residents began lobbying city council for a tree preservation bylaw that would help retain greenery and limit the size of the new homes. According to Li (1992), between 1981 and 1990, Chinese enterprises in Richmond increased by 260 percent. Hong Kong and Taiwanese investors funded construction of several large shopping centre and hotel projects in the community during 1994. When opened, the malls predominantly housed Chinese retail outlets to cater to the local Chinese immigrant market. Because their clientele was often exclusively Chinese, many local businesses had store front signs and newspaper advertisements printed in Chinese characters only, resulting in sharp criticism from residents who were not Chinese.

Because many immigrants arriving in Richmond have school age children,

there was a rapid increase in the area's school population, leading to severe overcrowding, particularly in the secondary schools. Along with overcrowding came a massive increase in the number of students requiring ESL instruction. While neighboring Vancouver School District saw a 148 percent increase in ESL enrolments in the 1987/88 to 1993/94 period, Richmond School District reported a 2,581 percent increase over the same period, the largest increase by far of any school district in British Columbia (Naylor, 1994). British Columbia Ministry of Education (1994) figures indicate that between the 1991/1992 and 1992/1993 school years alone, Richmond School District experienced a 114 percent increase in the number of ESL students.

While the present study was under way, Richmond was undergoing rapid change as a community. Several large karaoke bars which cater to Chinese speakers were opened during the study period. Richmond's library board was heavily criticized for having too few books that were written in Chinese. The resulting lobby campaign by the Chinese community group SUCCESS more than doubled Chinese language titles at the library (Sullivan, 1994). The most talked about crimes in the community also involved Chinese immigrants. A number of high school age Chinese immigrant children, most often ESL students with limited English, and particularly those whose parents had left them on their own for long periods, had become victims of extortion attempts by other Chinese immigrant students (Howell, 1994). In many cases the perpetrators were caught by the police, and one local headline read, "Young Extortionist gets Four Months" (J. Johnson, 1994, p. 1). In the Federal Election which occurred prior to the study period, Richmond voters elected Raymond Chan as their Member of Parliament.

#### **4.02 The School Setting**

Premier Junior Secondary School is located in the midst of one of the fastest growing middle class residential areas in Richmond. In the Spring of 1994 the school was undergoing reconstruction to double the student capacity and hopefully alleviate severe overcrowding. The school's 900 students continued to study in the older portions of the building and in 15 portable classrooms that had been located in front of the school for several years. One of the portables housed the school's three counsellors who graciously

offered me a semi-private spot in the reception area where I could conduct study interviews. The location turned out to be fortuitous in that most of the school's staff or student issues eventually came to light in the counselling portable, and after interacting with the counsellors on a daily basis, I was often included in the ensuing discussions.

The three counsellors were a multicultural group with multicultural interests. The grade 10 counsellor, Katie Nasser, an Icelandic-Canadian married to an Egyptian immigrant, was an active participant in Chinese dragon boat racing and took a week off from school in May to compete in Hong Kong and Macao. Grade nine counsellor Bob Bouvier was a middle aged part time teacher of French Canadian descent. Claire O'Leary, the school's white haired senior counsellor was of Scottish-Irish descent. She had never married and was a year short of retirement. Despite difficulties with government officials concerning her age and marital status, Claire had at great expense adopted a five year old Peruvian girl in the previous year, and hoped to borrow enough money to adopt a Peruvian boy in the coming year. Claire had not told her colleagues fearing that like the government officials, "they wouldn't understand."

During the 1960s, the largest numbers of students at the school from any one ethnic group were Canadian-born Japanese. By the late 1980s the largest single group was that of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. At the time of the study the largest number of new registrations at the school consisted of Mandarin speaking immigrants primarily from Taiwan. Visible minority students made up approximately 45 percent of the student population in 1994, while 17 percent of the student population were ESL students. According to Ashworth (1988) ESL programs like that at Premier School are "self-contained programs" with entry level students remaining in one classroom with one ESL teacher for a full school day. After acquiring some English language proficiency the ESL student progresses to "half-day reception classes" and begins to participate in electives such as Cooking and Art with non-ESL students. In the final stage of Richmond's five stage system, ESL students are incorporated into most regular classes and consult periodically with ESL staff only when necessary.

Numerous issues discussed at school staff meetings or in the counselling

portable were connected with the school's immigrant population. Claire O'Leary approached me one day after interviews to discuss the psychological damage that some of her Chinese immigrant students had experienced when their parents had left them for long periods while continuing to work in Hong Kong or Taiwan. These parents, referred to locally as "astronauts" or "spacemen" because of their frequent flights, could seldom be reached by counsellors in order to discuss their children's problems. On another occasion Claire stepped out of her office and told me that the teacher she had just been talking to was about to lose his position at the school, because very few immigrants had registered for the industrial education courses that he taught. Later that week Katie Nasser informed me the Woodwork 9 and 10 courses had been cancelled because they were undersubscribed. She worried that the non-immigrant students who had registered for the courses would resent the immigrants as having prevented them from taking the courses they required. The school's immigrant parents generally wanted their children to take only academic courses, and the need to catch up in English and other courses they had not taken prior to emigration did not usually permit immigrant students who had completed their ESL instruction to consider elective courses. One morning I observed two friends in the entrance to the counselling portable discussing course selection for their upcoming school year. One girl was a Chinese immigrant, the other girl a Jamaican immigrant.

**Chinese girl:** "I can't take sewing. It's not good enough for me."

**Jamaican girl:** "Who says?"

**Chinese girl:** "That's what my parents say for me. (With a look of concern) What'll I take?"

Cheating amongst Chinese students was also a big issue. One day a teacher from a neighboring school dropped by the counselling portable, and after learning about my study, offered a comment on "Oriental kids."

**Teacher:** "Well, they're constantly cheating from one another, the Oriental kids...always copying from one another, even during tests! They don't seem to cheat at the expense of the other, it's more... it's more like cooperative cheating - each one helping the other."

Early in August 1994, the Ministry of Education released government exam scholarship results. In a local newspaper Fennell (1994) reported,

The results are in, and Richmond tops the list. Local students earned a record number of scholarships in the 1993-1994 school year, a recent ministry study shows. Although the number of grade 12 students has risen by 30 per cent from 1989 to 1994, the number of scholarship

winners have (sic) increased by more than 300 per cent. The results, announced last week, show that Richmond students won 161 individual scholarships - the most by any district in the province. Four students - Frank Lau, Hiu Yan, Amy Yang, and Shalani Alisharan - received scholarships for \$2,000 each, placing them among the top 20 in B.C. (p. 1)

District trustees and administration were quick to praise students and credit the district's innovative programs and instruction, but in a letter to the editor which followed the Ministry scholarship report, Sage (1994) observed, "it is interesting to note that the huge increase in scholarships earned by Richmond students parallels the huge increase in the immigrant population" (p. 11).

The six study participants whose individual adaptation experiences are presented in the following narratives were part of this "huge increase" in the immigrant population, and within a short time after their arrival in Canada they too began to contribute to Richmond's academic success story.

#### ***Individual Experiences***

##### **4.03 Aqtara Hassan**

The numerous participant verbatims which have been included in the narrative that follows may tend to leave an impression that Aqtara Hassan had a better command of English than was the case. Aqtara was not able to communicate in complete sentence form until several months into the interview process, and on many occasions during the initial stages of interviewing, a lack of verbal English proficiency prevented the communication of experiences, despite our intensive (though enjoyable) efforts to understand each other. These stumbling, often time consuming attempts at communication are not included in the narrative, and their absence tends to make the narrative seem more fluent than was actually the case at the time of interviewing. In the final months of interviewing, Aqtara began to formulate complete sentences, expressing herself remarkably well despite difficulties with syntax and choice of appropriate words to express desired meanings.

When I first met Aqtara Hassan, she had been in Canada seven months, and had been settled in Richmond with her father, step-mother, half-brother, and half-sister for the previous four months. She celebrated her sixteenth birthday two months after we had begun interviewing. Compared with most other female students at Premier Junior Secondary School, Aqtara was quite tall.

She had deep brown, almost black skin and usually wore her black, medium length hair in soft waves. Very white teeth and whites of the eyes set against a background of dark skin and hair, combined with frequent smiles, gave Aqtara a very striking appearance, which was often commented upon with admiration by teaching staff and students at the school. Aqtara was very slim and carried herself in an erect, almost stately manner. Although shy and apprehensive toward adults, and having only minimal English verbal skills when we first met, Aqtara would establish eye contact with others, and would often respond to those who spoke to her with a smile and a word or two.

Aqtara was born in Mogadishu, the capital and largest city of Somalia. She was the first child of a young Suni Moslem couple who divorced when she was four years old. Her mother married again soon after and had three sons over the next 10 years. Although Aqtara resided with her father at this time, she lived near and maintained a close relationship with her mother and half-brothers. Looking at pictures of her mother that Aqtara brought to our interviews, I saw a pretty woman fashionably dressed in the long, colored robes of Somalia, and in other photos, in the drab grey Moslem garb that reveals only a small portion of the face. The photos always included numerous other members of the extended family. Despite the accelerating violence and disruption of essential services in Mogadishu at this time, Aqtara considered that she was "happy in Mogadishu."

Aqtara's father, Mohammed, operated a seafood exporting business, purchasing fresh lobsters from Somali fishermen and airshipping them live to Italy. He also imported jewelry from Italy, sometimes giving an item of jewelry to Aqtara upon return from a business trip to Rome. Civil disorder and regional violence led to the demise of the lobster fishery and Mohammed turned to exporting Somali movies. This appears not to have met with the same success as his seafood export business, and may have led to his registering at the university in Mogadishu to pursue coursework unrelated to his previous occupations. There he met a Somali education student some 12 years younger than himself and they subsequently married when Aqtara was 10 years old.

Aqtara's new stepmother, Fatima, gave birth to a boy and later a girl, and taught some mathematics at a local school before rapidly deteriorating

conditions in Mogadishu led to a decision to emigrate. Fatima had a sister living in Toronto who was willing to sponsor her and the children, including Aqtara, but immigration restrictions prevented the sponsorship of Mohammed. Because immigration restrictions also prevented direct passage from Somalia to Canada, it became necessary to spend a preliminary three month sojourn with relatives in Nairobi, Kenya. Aqtara left most of her possessions behind in Mogadishu, putting all that she could physically carry in one bag for the trip to Nairobi. The situation in Nairobi was only marginally better than in Mogadishu.

**AH:** "In Nairobi police! (Graphically shows me hands crossed and shackled) You have every time in Nairobi have to show visa...18 years old and have to do it. [Everyone 18 years and older must show a visa on demand] People take things!" [People steal]

Despite a tense situation which clearly frightened her, even in Nairobi Aqtara maintained that she was "happy."

The family flew without the father from Nairobi via Frankfurt to Ottawa, eventually arriving in Toronto and resided with relatives until Fatima could arrange sponsorship for Mohammed. This time of unsettled living conditions and separation from her father, a period of three to four months, is remembered by Aqtara as "not happy." While in Toronto, Aqtara heard that her mother in Mogadishu had given birth to a girl. Mohammed's arrival in Toronto after several months resulted in the family's departure for British Columbia, where they knew a family friend from Somalia, but did not have any relatives.

When I asked Aqtara if she could remember an instance when she felt really happy in Canada, her comment was, "Yeh. Is Stanley Park. Because the next day [that day] I went to Canada." [We were finally settled in Canada] Mohammed found accommodation in a low rent co-operative town house complex in Richmond, and registered at a local community college for computer training. Fatima, who had taught school in her home country, found part time work as a secretary at the same college, and also cared for her two young children at home. In the final month of interviewing Fatima gave birth to her third child.

The migration pattern of Aqtara's family is clearly of the 'chain migration' type, and illustrative of Pohjola's (1991) contention that the presence of relatives in the receiving country often influences the decision



to migrate. The family's choice of destinations in the receiving country (Toronto because of sponsoring relatives, Greater Vancouver because of a friend) is consistent with Morawska's (1990) finding that the presence of family or friends in the receiving country often influences choice of destination.

Aqtara came from a large extended family in Mogadishu which had begun to disperse worldwide beginning in the early 1980s due to declining employment opportunities and increasing civil unrest within the country. I asked Aqtara, "Why does everybody leave Somalia?" She replied sadly, "Because Somalia in this problem, and people in prison." Prior to emigration Aqtara corresponded regularly with cousins in United Arab Emirates, an aunt in Italy, and uncles in England and California. An uncle in Saudi Arabia sent her articles of clothing periodically, and the family had stayed with relatives in Kenya. Family friends had moved to Vancouver, B.C., and Seattle, Washington. Along with "teacher(s) from Egypt" in some of her classes, and her father's periodic trips to Italy, these relatives and friends abroad represented considerable exposure to other cultures, something Stephan and Stephan (1985) have found increases the migrant's chances of successful adaptation. However, while Aqtara left what was still a large extended family network and a collectivist society in Mogadishu, she moved to an individualist society in Richmond where there was no familial network and only one family of friends, a situation considered by Diggs and Murphy (1991) to be predictive of a difficult adaptation.

Aqtara remained intensely connected to her homeland throughout the six month interview period, although this was not apparent to others at the school. Extreme concern for the welfare of her mother and other family members who remained in the violence of Mogadishu was expressed to me by Aqtara on a number of occasions, but apparently not to her counsellor or teachers. On one occasion when I spoke to Aqtara's father over the phone and inquired about Aqtara's mother, his brief comment was "She is alive," implying that it was the best to be hoped for given current circumstances. When I asked Aqtara how her mother was, she answered with a worried expression, "Alive." Aqtara often wrote to her mother, family, and friends in Mogadishu

and despite her father and step-mother's limited income, phoned her mother periodically. In Aqtara's words, "50 dollars phone...father says O.K." While fearful of the danger, Aqtara wished to return to Mogadishu to visit "...but so much money!"

Claire O'Leary, Aqtara's counsellor was impressed with Aqtara's fashionable look.

CO: "She's really something. She always looks so attractive. The other day I saw her wearing just something simple: a blue top and just some white slacks, but they looked so good on her. Just the way she carries herself, the way she walks. I think she should be going into fashion!"

Neither Claire nor I recognized the significance of the simple blue and white colors which Aqtara wore periodically instead of her usual brilliantly colored attire, until Aqtara explained to me with pride: "I blue white today...Somali color." At a later date we discussed a drawing she had made in her journal of the Somali flag, which consisted of a white five-pointed star in the middle of a sky blue background. It became apparent from her presentation of the drawing that she had made it for the purpose of explaining the significance of the flag to me during one of our interviews. She traced each point of the star with her finger tips on the paper and indicated to me with pleasure and pride that each point represented a colonial or indigenous group.

AH: "English, Italia, France, I think Somali people...and...and I not remember five. Somali people...and...and.....star is freedom."

By her crestfallen expression it was evident she was disappointed that she could not remember the fifth point.

I spoke with Aqtara's father on several occasions over the phone and at his home. Although very proud of Somalia and willing to discuss all aspects of his former country - "Call any time you have question about Somalia" - it was clear that he saw his future, and Aqtara's, as being in Canada. He was very pleased that "Everything safe here." He added, "There is no prejudice here - none!" Speaking for the family he said, "We have good opportunity here." Later, in an interview, Aqtara told me about her father's outlook.

AH: "Father like here. He like a the education. My father he say Aqtara and Yusef (younger brother) go university in Canada."

Although displaying pleasure at her father's educational aspirations for her, and sharing his view that Canada was a place where she was "not afraid" and didn't experience prejudice, Aqtara did not share her father's vision of a

permanent future in Canada. "I like...live in Canada...because my country in problem." While her father viewed Canada as a new home, Aqtara saw it as a safe and pleasant refuge until conditions in her own country permitted a return. When Aqtara considered her future she spoke of being a doctor in Somalia, and that she would "help my people." While her father viewed Canada as a new beginning Aqtara considered it a temporary necessity, a place for learning until it was possible to return to her Somali world.

Although there was no Somali enclave community in Greater Vancouver, Aqtara participated in Somali culture in numerous ways. Much of the clothing she wore to school she had made herself prior to leaving Somalia. She often drew my attention to her clothing, explaining with pride, "I make," or "Aqtara make." The long dresses, skirts, and baggy pants that she had sewn exceptionally well from brilliantly colored materials, contrasted sharply with the subdued hues of the clothing worn by most other students. She often wanted me to look at items of jewelry she was wearing, which consisted of dark stones, and black, copper, or glass beads. "Somali earrings" she would say with proudly, lifting them up so that I could see them better. Then she pointed to her pierced ears saying, "My sister's at three months" (her half-sister's ears had been pierced at three months old). She was indicating that this was different than the custom here. Aqtara spoke happily of "Somali dance. Friend in Vancouver." She would go periodically to her Somali friend's home in Vancouver and dance with her. They would also sing Somali songs in Somali language. "Singing....Somali music. Want tape?" Although unable to complete a tape of herself and her friend singing, Aqtara did bring me a tape of Somali songs which my wife and I enjoyed listening to at home.

Aqtara shared other aspects of her culture with us as well. During one interview she said, "You like Somali food!" I wasn't sure if this was a question or if I was being told that I would like Somali food. She described in some detail the kinds of foods preferred in Somalia and how I might prepare them for myself. She could tell after a few minutes that her short one or two word statements and rough sketches were not sufficient for me to understand at the level she wished me to, and indicated to me with gestures and words, "Tomorrow. Bring food." The next day she arrived with a heavy bag of Somali

food and instructions for what was to be eaten when and how.

EM: "Thank you, Aqtara. Did you make this?"  
 AH: "Me and me best mom." [me and my step-mother]  
 EM: "Are you a good cook?"  
 AH: "I think."  
 EM: "What is Aqtara's best food?"  
 AH: "Japati...no pork, cow yes, fish yes."

At a later date Aqtara phoned me to talk about photos, then to my surprise (because Aqtara had been so shy with adults at school) invited herself over to cook Somali food for us. "I cook. You like japati. Cook japati for you." She seemed very confident in our kitchen as if it were her own, and happily prepared food along with my wife whom she had only just met. The whole family enjoyed Aqtara's cooking lesson, food, and company.

Aqtara and her family were devout Moslems, and Aqtara's experience of Canada was closely connected to her religious beliefs. Even her flight to Canada was remembered in relation to her religion:

AH: "On plane....watch TV."  
 EM: "Did you understand the movies?"  
 AH: "Near me man speak Somali language and pretty good English." When she found that he could communicate with the flight attendants she got him to ask "about the eating, pork or hamburger?" Pork was being served as they were flying with a German airline. "The man ask [tell] the hostess...'no beer!..yes orange; japatis and chicken!' I orange juice and vegetal."

Periodically I was given religious information or instructions. "Is Moslem holiday this month...Moslem mass on tenth." I was cautioned to eat sambuus only "after Ramadan."

Although willing to share many aspects of her Moslem faith with me, there were some things Aqtara did not feel free to express. Because interviews often occurred during the school lunch break, research participants would bring their lunch along and eat as we talked. But Aqtara did not. She was usually 15 minutes late to each noon interview, and during the first months I assumed that she felt more comfortable being late or had a different appreciation of time use. But I discovered later that she was often early to her classes, sometimes waiting in the hall for the teacher to open the door, and that she was always prompt for interviews or meetings that did not occur at lunch. One of Aqtara's religious explanations subsequently alerted me to the difficulty she was experiencing: "Boy and girl no [not together in] mosque - boy in one room, girl in one room." While she had apologized each time for

being late to noon interviews she would or could not explain that it was not acceptable for her to eat in the presence of a man outside of family (private) gatherings. Religious and public functions generally required separation of genders after certain age.

Many of Aqtara's observations of the culture around her in Richmond were viewed from a religious perspective.

**EM:** "How is it different here in Canada?"

**AH:** "Different in restaurant and shopping in Safeway, pork and ham, and beer...drinking anytime!" (this last was expressed with a look of disgust)

**EM:** In a subsequent interview I asked..."Is being a woman in Canada different from in Somalia?"

**AH:** (Somali) "women are like (graphically indicates two women holding hands) - not here! Or just go 'Hi!'" (waves vigorously) [Women in Somalia are freer to express themselves openly and with intimacy than they are here] "Canadian women wear (graphically traces out halter top and shorts with hands on her body)...not can wear Somalia!"

Similarly, Aqtara's observation of boy - girl relations at the school was viewed from a religious perspective:

**AH:** "And boys Moslem and girls Moslem just marry Moslem in my religion."

To Aqtara, cross-religious dating was the most remarkable aspect of the relationships she observed in Canada.

An important element of Aqtara's adaptation experience was a focus on self and others that she thought of as being like her, within what she considered to be the receiving society. Aqtara often drew my attention to her clothing which was usually quite different from the school norm. On several occasions she suggested "You picture me," although I did not have a camera present. I brought a camera to one interview and Aqtara posed for several shots, trying to display her clothing to best advantage. Each day or two over the next two weeks Aqtara would stop by and ask, "Is the picture not ready?"

On another occasion while we were discussing photos of my family and friends, Aqtara became quite excited on seeing a black Ethiopian family friend. "He like me! Look like Somali person!" She was more interested in this photo than in any other and spent some time asking about my friend's family. She also suggested that this friend come to a dinner which my family was going to host for research participants. When the friend could not come, Aqtara was very disappointed.

One day while observing Aqtara in her Art class, I noticed that her hair

was in dreadlocks. Later I had an opportunity to inquire:

**EM:** "Your hair is in braids?"

**AH:** (pleased that I noticed) "Yeh, my best mother (did it for me). And my sister Fatima like that [hers is like that too]....this is Somali hair style, yeh, and all black girls I think - on the TV, black American girl."

When not at school Aqtara spent the majority of her time at home.

Throughout our interview period she remained highly connected to her Richmond family. She felt that she learned a lot from her father and step-mother: "Me bess mom teach (me) beauty, sewing. Father teach me English." Much of Aqtara's time was spent at home doing homework, after which she assisted or took over from her step-mother in the areas of housework, cooking, and childcare. She enjoyed cooking Somali foods with her "best mom," and she would often go to a movie with her father on weekend evenings. When not involved in work at home Aqtara liked to ride her bicycle, but she did so by herself. The only person Aqtara visited on a regular basis outside of the home was her Somali friend in Vancouver.

Over the six month interview period I observed a gradual change in Aqtara's social skills and relationships. Although having made a number of acquaintances that she knew by name and would briefly speak to in passing, Aqtara led a relatively solitary existence at school despite participating in activities which involved others. At noon hour she would often go to the library to read (in English) or use the computers by herself. Some noon hours she would participate in a large group aerobics session in the gym, although she knew no one in the group. Sometimes she would play basketball in the gym at noon, but here also she knew none of the other players. And she loved to dance. Despite knowing very few people beyond a passing acquaintance level, she had gone to a school dance. When I asked her about it, her primary recollection, beside enjoying the dance, was religious.

**AH:** "Dancing with boys O.K. 10 years old, O.K. 17 years old - not O.K. 18 years old. Somalia, boys dance with girls. But not 18 years old."

During her first eight months in Canada Aqtara did not, or was not able to establish social relationships with receiving society members beyond an acquaintance level, something that Abe and Wiseman (1983) have found to be indicative of unsuccessful adaptation. However, Aqtara did not avoid social activities and actively involved herself with others. She was clearly

interested in establishing friendships with others.

**EM:** "Who was your first friend here?"

**AH:** "Luela...is white girl, same as you. Lana....she is Canadian too - not ESL."

**EM:** "How did you meet them?"

**AH:** "Luela...meet in gym..light brown hair, very pretty. Lana...is Christian. Big girl, brown long hair, pretty. Meet at computer lab in library."

**EM:** "Did you make other friends later?"

**AH:** "Amanda - Canadian, white. Meet Amanda cooking class. Brown hair, white girl, beautiful! Cindy, she's Chinese....from ESL."

While observing Aqtara in her cooking class she approached me and motioning to another girl said, "She's a white Canadian, she's my friend." This was probably Amanda. I asked Aqtara if she had made any friends outside of school.

**AH:** "Only one Somali me at mosque. Girl 18 not friend...too much do at mosque." [There is only one other Somali girl like me at the mosque. We have too many responsibilities at the mosque to get to know one another.]

All of the relationships Aqtara had established at school or in the wider community up until the final months of interviewing were casual acquaintances. She had never gone to friends' homes, worked on homework or gone shopping with any of them. One day after interviewing I met one of Aqtara's acquaintances, one that Aqtara had not mentioned. As Aqtara got up and left our interview table, she had to walk past a despondent looking grade eight Caucasian boy who was sitting in a chair waiting for a counsellor. His hair was cut short to the point of baldness and he was wearing a heavy earring after the fashion of the school's 'tough' clique known as 'skinheads.' The boy stared fixedly at his knees with a gloomy expression, not noticing as Aqtara approached. Seeing that he did not notice, she smiled broadly and reached her hand to within an inch of the boy's face, waving it erratically. He started suddenly to attention, then seeing who it was, smiled broadly and said "hi." Aqtara did not pause but continued on her way with a smile. As the boy remained for some time waiting for a counsellor, I decided to walk over and talk with him.

**EM:** "Do you know Aqtara?"

**Boy:** "Yeh, she lives next door to me. Sometimes she calls me 'goof!' She's nice. Cause me and my friends, sometimes, we ride our bikes, and we just miss her by like two centimetres. Then she says, 'You goofs!'"

**EM:** "But you don't mean to bother her?"

**Boy:** "No. She's nice."

Aqtara seemed particularly proud that she had "white" or "Canadian"

friends, something most ESL students did not have as they tended to make friends primarily among their ESL classmates. In our first months of interviewing Aqtara thought of Canadians as those who were not ESL students and as white, though there were numerous non-white students in the school who had been born in Canada, and several white ESL students (immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Middle East). When she described her friends as "pretty" or "beautiful" they were invariably "white" and had "brown hair."

It was during our final months of interviews that Aqtara established a deeper friendship and began to think of Canadians as multi-colored. Aqtara was the only Somali and Arabic speaker in the school, but she was one of at least a dozen black students. One day in late June she was pleased to tell me she had made a new acquaintance.

AH: "Susanna - locker next. (hall locker neighbour) She is black Canadian. (says with pride)...maybe from Jamaica? She speak a English grammar...very nice [She speaks English very well and is nice].

One week later Aqtara came to our interview radiant with enthusiasm - she couldn't wait to talk.

AH: "Susanna - locker friend? Is Moslem! Go mosque me [She goes to the same mosque as I do]....with two sisters."

EM: "That's wonderful."

AH: "She from Nigeria. (not Jamaica as she had previously surmised) ....Nigerian Canadian. She English well...because in Canada eight years ....yup!"

Aqtara and Susanna had not recognized one another previously at the mosque because their Moslem garb prevented them from seeing each other's faces with the exception of their eyes. Susanna had recognized Aqtara's name as Moslem (one of the prophet Mohammed's wives' names). Her own name was Moslem but had gone unrecognized by Aqtara because it had been modified (Anglicized) when her family had come to Canada.

AH: "Go Susannah's house next week. After school closes! (She was ecstatic) She long me." [She is taller than me]

Although Aqtara had often described her other friends to me, this was the first time she had actually compared herself to a friend. It was also the first time I had heard her include a non-white in her notion of being Canadian, and the first time she would be going to a friend's home.

Aqtara enjoyed the multicultural environment she found in Richmond. When I asked her what was the best thing for her about Canada she focused on



the multicultural aspect:

**AH:** "I happy students come from different countries." At a subsequent interview she said, "I like my friends in school, Canadian people, and Nigerian, all come from different...(ethnic backgrounds).

But when I asked "What is the saddest thing for Aqtara in Canada?" She replied, "I sad many people from Chinese they always speak Chinese language and (laughs helplessly)...but I can't understand them." Aqtara was referring to the large contingent of Chinese speakers at the school who often socialized and communicated primarily with other Chinese speakers, to the exclusion of non-Chinese students. She described an upsetting incident which happened during a noon hour aerobics session:

**AH:** "The exercise teacher she come, she is black, she eyes to me, she talks to me [singles me out to notice and talk to]. I know Chinese students talking about me they (think) I am her sister....I hear my name, I know what they are saying!" [Although I cannot understand their language I know what they are saying.]

After observing Aqtara in her Foods class, her Foods teacher came over to speak to me. She told me that Aqtara also took a sewing class from her and that Aqtara interacted well with her English speaking sewing partners. But in the Foods class Aqtara's three work station partners were Chinese speakers who communicated exclusively in Cantonese, leaving Aqtara out. This had been quite obvious in the class I had just observed, though Aqtara had made several attempts to engage her partners in conversation. The foods teacher confided, "Aqtara has told me that she feels left out by the constant Cantonese conversation." Isolation, as Dei (1992) and Finsterbusch (1992) have pointed out, is clearly one of the most painful of immigrant adaptation experiences.

Several of Aqtara's personal characteristics had considerable bearing on her adaptation experience. Aqtara had a motherly way of reaching out to others and showing care. One day I observed Aqtara sitting at a large table in her art class with several other immigrant students including a mentally handicapped boy with his teaching aide. At one point the boy showed a special interest in Aqtara's art project which she then happily displayed more favorably for him. Suddenly he blurted out something incoherent and lunged toward her project. The others at the table started backwards, and the teaching aide hurried to restrain the boy. But Aqtara was not frightened and leaned forward with a smile, touching the boy's hand in a gentle, motherly

way. She quietly said a few soft words which seemed to convey considerable meaning. The handicapped boy's expression changed, he relaxed and sat back, and returned to his own work. The teaching aide sat down again with a look of relief on her face.

The first time I visited Aqtara's home she greeted me at the door with a smile and brought me in to meet her father and step-mother. The step-mother shyly shook my hand, then half bowing, excused herself to be seen no more during my visit. While Aqtara's father and I talked about Somalia and Canada, Aqtara busily prepared food and special coffees for us, though she did not eat with us. While we talked, Aqtara's half-brother and half-sister were gleefully chasing each other about, at times interrupting our conversation, but the father said nothing. It was Aqtara who disciplined the children, told them when to go to bed, and cared for their needs. Perhaps Aqtara had previous experience in the role of care-giver when she had lived alone with her father in her younger years. Aqtara missed our last interview during summer vacation because "Me best mom in hospital. New baby." Aqtara cared for the household on her own for at least a week while her step-mother was in the hospital and recovering at home.

Aqtara's gentle, soft-spoken manner and her slow, stately walk belied the fact that she was a physically active person, and one who enjoyed working with her hands. I asked Aqtara about favorite school subjects.

EM: "What was your favorite subject in Somalia?"  
 AH: "Math, Physics, Biology, Chemistry, and Religion - Islam."  
 EM: "What are your favorite subjects here in Canada?"  
 AH: "ESL, Math, P.E."  
 EM: "Do you like Math?"  
 AH: "Yeh! I like."

Aqtara's responses suggested that she enjoyed learning, particularly in the maths/sciences, and her response concerning subjects in Canada reflected the limited number of course offerings available to lower level ESL students. P.E. (Physical Education) was, however, something of a pleasant discovery for Aqtara who had experienced nothing like it in Mogadishu where her physical outlets had been primarily restricted to Somali dancing. Of her physical activities in Canada, Aqtara said "Like tennis, runner [running], swimming, diving, basketball, volleyball." She also danced, cycled, and was involved in aerobics. Most of these activities were new to her and gave her much

pleasure. Aqtara also enjoyed handwork of all kinds. She continued to sew and enjoyed cooking Somali foods at home. In her Foods class work unit she was the one most likely to be handling the mixer or other equipment. Aqtara also exhibited something of a work ethic. Her few negative comments about others were in reference to their work habits.

**AH:** (motioning to me to look at her new cooking partner) "She's lazy!"  
 (Some time later in the same class) "This Morris Chinese boy he is ESL, every class he sleeps!" (she sounded quite put off)  
**EM:** "Why?"  
**AH:** "Up in Mr Hartley's class, and in math class, every time he sleeps - I don't know!" (in a frustrated tone)

Aqtara's natal language was Somali. At age eight she began to learn some Arabic at school, and upon entering secondary school at age 13 she was required to take a number of her subject courses in Arabic, because several of her teachers were Egyptian. At this age she was introduced to some English language training, but it was minimal as she left Mogadishu prior to her fifteenth birthday. When Aqtara entered Premier Secondary School in Richmond she was assigned to ESL level one, the lowest level of the five level system used by the school district. This level was designed for students who do not understand English, and students in this level take all their school work within the ESL classroom. After several months, Aqtara advanced to level two where students are considered to have acquired basic comprehension, to be able to string several words together coherently, and to be capable of participating in courses such as Art or Foods. Aqtara remained in ESL level two throughout our interview period.

Over the six month interview period Aqtara's English language skills improved noticeably. She started to add verbs to her word clusters and her choice of nouns began to more accurately reflect the meaning she desired. Her father spoke English fairly well and frequently assisted Aqtara with her grammar. Prior to each interview Aqtara would usually read the previous week's interview transcripts aloud to me. Throughout the interview period her word recognition, comprehension, and pronunciation indicated a much higher level of proficiency in reading than in spoken English. Toward the end of the school year Aqtara approached me while I observed her Art class and told me she wanted to title her egg based art project "eggcellent." I was impressed by her creative play on words. Aqtara had no access to Arabic literature

other than her Islamic religious books, and read Somali only when she received letters from Mogadishu. Because she continued to use Somali at home and with her Somali friend in Vancouver, she said, "No problem with Somali," indicating that she had little fear of loss or decline in Somali language skills.

The most remarkable aspect of Aqtara's communication competencies was not linguistic, but rather, an ability to communicate without words. While observing Aqtara at her work table in Art class, a mentally handicapped boy across the table suddenly lunged for a new Vietnamese immigrant at the end of the table, and made violent gestures toward her. The other students at the table shrank back from the boy and became silent. Aqtara, however, understood that the boy wanted the Vietnamese girl's pencil. She took a brightly colored African motif pencil out of her case and smiling, held it out to the boy, withholding it momentarily as he reached for it until, searching his eyes she was sure he understood that he must return it. No words were spoken.

Another incident involved the same Vietnamese girl, who I learned was unable to speak English and who I had on several occasions observed passing a tattered Vietnamese - English dictionary to Aqtara in class. One afternoon, just as I concluded an interview with Aqtara, I was approached by counsellor Claire O'Leary who wanted to discuss a problem she was having with a new Vietnamese immigrant and her parents, none of whom could speak English. She needed to call the parents in for an interview facilitated by an interpreter, and had tried repeatedly but unsuccessfully to get a message through to them. Aqtara overheard our conversation, and though she had very limited spoken English skills and no understanding of Vietnamese, told Claire, "Not worry. I do it. Me understand her." [I will get her to understand] The next day the Vietnamese girl and her parents arrived at the meeting on time, with Claire shaking her head in amazement. When I asked Aqtara about this ability to communicate, she said "I can't understand language, but I can understand."

Over the six month interview period several changes related to Aqtara's adaptation became apparent. When we first interviewed, Aqtara was very apprehensive around adults at the school. It would seem that this had not been the case in her homeland in that she explained to me "Every man is father in Somalia." Gradually, Aqtara began to show signs of being less apprehensive

around adults, not moving away when they came near, initiating greetings, and even offering to assist adults occasionally.

Aqtara and her family experienced a decline in relative standard of living after migration, although their experience of that decline may have been softened by the fact that their actual standard of living was as high or higher than what they had experienced in Mogadishu. Aqtara's photos and commentary about her family's life in Mogadishu indicated an upper middle-class socio-economic status. However, in Richmond the family was having difficulty making ends meet in a subsidized housing complex. Current financial difficulties were compounded by expensive phone calls to Mogadishu, trips to Toronto to see relatives, and by the remittances her father felt obligated to send to his unmarried younger sister in Mogadishu.

While Aqtara's father was highly supportive of Aqtara's adaptation to the new society, and was proactive in his efforts to secure an excellent academic future for her in the new country, in our discussion at his home it became apparent that he had given little consideration to these aspects prior to emigration. And, although Aqtara's father confided to me that "The last two years have been very upside down (for Aqtara)," it was also clear that Aqtara's experience of stress prior to arrival in Canada was far greater than that experienced after. Life in Mogadishu and Nairobi had been highly traumatic, but once in Canada her experience was markedly different:

**EM:** "Did you ever feel afraid in Canada?"

**AH:** "No, not afraid."

**EM:** "Did you ever worry?"

**AH:** "No. Generous in country, people and country. No problem in the country. Happy inside...happy."

Lysgaard's (1955) U-curve is clearly not indicated in Aqtara's experience of very little anxiety or stress in the new country.

Throughout the six month interview period Aqtara's view of her future remained positive. She considered that she would become a doctor and return to Somalia. She envisioned "children...maybe five...three boys and two girls." In the last month of interviews, after meeting her Nigerian-Canadian friend, Aqtara expressed confidence in her developing ability to speak English. "I think I speak well after three years."

When Aqtara missed the last interview of the school year due to illness,

I had time to stand at the counselling suite window and observe the many students outside. I witnessed a near silent signing frenzy, as yearbooks had just been distributed in the period before lunch. I watched students from all ethnic backgrounds crowding around to sign one another's books. But at the same time I noticed several smaller, more exclusive groups, made up entirely of Chinese students.

Over the six month period of phenomenological interviews, ethnographic observations and journal entries, several interrelated themes emerged, which together are indicative of the essence of the initial period of Aqtara's adaptation experience. When conditions became intolerable in Mogadishu, Aqtara's father and step-mother looked to Canada as a place where they could make a new life. However, despite adverse circumstances, Aqtara was happy with her life in Mogadishu, her connection to extended family, and her Moslem environment. Had she been in a position to make a choice, she would not have left Mogadishu. Consequently, after settling in Canada, while her father envisioned a permanent future for the family in the new country, Aqtara looked toward an eventual return to Somalia. Aqtara's perspective can best be described as that of a sojourner, rather than that of an immigrant. This is suggested by several indicators including a view of the stay as temporary (Furnham, 1988), a high level of contact with the home country (Greenfield, 1985), and "maintenance of an ideal of return" (Hoffman, 1990, p.289).

Aqtara's sojourn perspective was not maintained without a growing tension, however. Though drawn to her extended family and Moslem environment in Mogadishu, she was also part of a growing family in Richmond and an increasingly satisfying Moslem experience there. While violence continued to escalate in Mogadishu, Aqtara found in Richmond an environment without fear or anxiety, and a new and satisfying outlet in sports and leisure. Caught between the pull of two worlds, one of which was expanding for her, Aqtara's ideal of return would likely become more difficult to maintain over time.

Aqtara exuded confidence in her natal culture and was never reticent to share it with others. She did not experience a demeaning of her culture or fear a loss or diminishing of culture. In this respect her adaptation experience was more indicative of Divoky's (1988) and Gibson's (1988) ethnic

retention process than of the ethnicity retention - assimilation continuum suggested by Trueba et al. (1990). Aqtara was also confident of who she was, her experience of self not suggestive of De Vos and Suárez-Orozco's (1990) unstable self-concept, H.D.Brown's (1987) identity crisis, or of any of the dual selves phenomena.

Rather, Aqtara's focus on self was an attempt to see or envision herself within the receiving society, to find a place where she and others like her might fit within the new society. The nature of her quest might be expressed in terms of this question: Is it foreseeable that I, *as I am*, may find a place for myself in this new society? Her extreme interest in photos of herself at the school suggest a placing or picturing of herself within the new society. Her interest in other blacks as they fit into society and in mimicking the style of blacks she assumed were part of the society also point to a desire to envision herself within. Aqtara's was not a case of marginality in Bagnell's (1993) sense, of not knowing where one belongs, because she had a strong sense of belonging to her natal culture. It was instead, a search for an *additional* belonging, and as such suggests Hoffman's (1990) and Raveau's (1987) adaptation as self-determination rather than the adaptation as response pattern described by Kim (1988) and Berry (1992).

Aqtara's quest for place in society is not unusual in that for many children, adolescence is a time when self becomes a primary focus as they attempt to locate a place for themselves within society. But for Aqtara the quest for place was set in relation to her relative uniqueness within the new society, her being one of a very few Somalis, blacks, and especially Moslems in the receiving society. And, while she was confident in her Somali cultural difference, and had begun to see other blacks as Canadians with a place in society, Aqtara's greatest difficulty was to locate a place for her Moslem self within the society. Rather than Oberg's (1960) culture shock, Aqtara experienced what might best be described as a 'religious shock.' Religious faith, clearly the most consequential factor in Aqtara's adaptation experience, has with few exceptions (e.g., Gibson, 1988) been given very little attention in adaptation literature, suggesting an important omission in adaptation research.

Making friends was highly important to Aqtara, and tends to confirm studies by Uehara and Hicks (1989) and Rohrlich and Martin (1991) which have found that student sojourners rank making friends amongst their highest priorities. Aqtara's initial efforts at making friends with 'whites' and 'Canadians' rather than other ESL students was more than a universal need for companionship, but also an attempt to place herself by association into the receiving society. However, it was not until she met Susannah, a black Moslem originally from Africa like herself, that her attempts at establishing friendships progressed beyond the acquaintance level. While she considered white girls with beautiful "light brown hair" as ideal Canadians, it was an ideal that she, as a culturally and religiously different black could never attain, or compare herself to. But in Susannah she found a more realizable ideal, a girl who like the other acquaintances could speak English well and was clearly part of the larger Canadian society, but who was also African, black, and most importantly to Aqtara, Moslem like herself. In her similarity to Susannah, Aqtara could project how she herself might in time fit into the new society. I once asked Aqtara, "do you ever ask, 'who is Aqtara?'" Her reply was, "Yes....am I different?" (from what I used to be) Until Susannah, there had been no one to compare herself with, no one similar against which to measure her progress. Then, for the first time could she compare herself in terms of life style and looks, and project her future English language capability in comparison to Susannah's abilities.

Aqtara was highly attracted to those she perceived as different from herself, apparently contradicting Lee and Boster's (1991) finding with respect to cultural difference and relationship formation which indicates that the higher the perceived similarity, the higher the attraction. In the subsequent friendship with Susannah we do not necessarily see perceived similarity resulting in higher levels of attraction, but rather, similarity functioning to facilitate relationship development and to provide it with practical benefits needed to sustain it.

Aqtara's experience of friendship with Susannah is suggestive of Berry, Kim, Minde et. al (1987) and Searle and Ward's (1990) explanation for the predominance of same culture as opposed to cross-cultural friendships among



recent immigrants. Aqtara's experience illustrates the practical need which migrants have to establish relationships with those similar to themselves who have already some experience of adaptation, in order that they might acquire culturally appropriate assistance in negotiating the hurdles of adaptation. Aqtara's friendship with Susannah also sheds some new light on Gudykunst and Hammer's (1988) uncertainty reduction theory. Uncertainty in Aqtara's case was reduced through friendship with someone who had already negotiated adaptation. The need for predicting or attributing the behavior of strangers, identified by Witte (1993), is significantly reduced when the other is no longer a stranger, and when the other, as friend, can function to mediate subsequent interactions with other strangers.

As Aqtara's perception of Canadians began to broaden from brown haired whites (something she could never be) to include others such as a black Moslem formerly from Nigeria, she began to embrace multiculturalism as her own avenue of validation for a place within Canadian society. For Aqtara, a multicultural environment was the best feature of Canadian society, and it served to permit her to visualize a legitimate place for herself within the society. When Aqtara experienced the exclusionary tendencies of Chinese students however, multiculturalism was delegitimized, and the inclusive position that she envisioned within the larger society was directly threatened. As a consequence, Aqtara considered her painful experience of exclusion as the worst aspect of the new society. Isolation, as Finsterbusch (1992) and Dei (1992) have pointed out, is among the most distressing of adaptation experiences, but in Aqtara's experience of isolation we may see an important reason for the distress; that is, its direct threat to hopes for a place within the larger society.

#### **4.04 Jason Gomez**

Jason was a happy, bubbly speaker whose enthusiasm for a topic often produced rapid speech. Participant dialogue verbatims included in the following narrative are indicative of this speech pattern when words such as 'my' and 'they' are spoken as 'me' and 'dey,' and word combinations such as 'did not' or 'going to' are expressed as 'dinna' or 'gonna.' In his hurry to express himself Jason occasionally omitted some verbs from his sentences. In

keeping with the popular vernacular of the school, Jason made extensive use of the word 'like' as a connector, and of sentences that end in a rising, interrogative note..?

Jason arrived in Canada unaccompanied nine months prior to our first meeting. Jason celebrated his sixteenth birthday in June, four months after we began interviewing. The first thing that I noticed about Jason was his ready smile and engaging, affable nature. Jason greeted those he didn't know with a shy smile and a pleasant hello, but with his school friends and family he could be animated and exuberant, speaking excitedly at a rapid pace. Jason was from the Philippines, but his dark brown eyes were set in what he called "slanted lids" leading some people to mistake him for Chinese. Jason had dark brown skin and short, neatly kept black hair. He generally wore casual, rather colorful clothing, though not the jeans and sweatshirts which were common at the school. He was considered by his teachers and classmates to be a pleasant and handsome boy.

Jason's mother was part of an impoverished migrant farm labouring family that had moved from La Union province to seek employment in Manila, the capital and largest city of the Philippines. As a young teen in Manila she met and married a man who had migrated to Manila from Mindinao in the South. Jason was born shortly after, but immediately following his first birthday, when his mother was pregnant with her second son, Jason's father died, leaving the young family in critical circumstances. Because his mother was unable to care for him, Jason was taken in by his mother's parents who lived on the outskirts of Manila. When Jason's younger brother was born he was taken in by a maternal great aunt because the grand parents were unable to care for a second child. Jason's grand parents usually rose at 4:00 A.M. to contract themselves out to local farmers for planting and harvesting rice, tobacco, and other crops. When Jason was old enough he helped a little, and continued to work part time after he began school. Of this period Jason said, "I work in the morning and study harder."

At age 11, a family reunion in Manila was to change Jason's prospects for the future. An older sister of Jason's mother had been in Canada since 1966 and had married a Filipino who emigrated to Canada in 1973. They had a

15 year old daughter and wanted a son, but were unable to have more children. At the time of the reunion they attempted to persuade other relatives to permit them to adopt their six month old boy, but the parents were not amenable. Attention then shifted to Jason. "I think they wanted to adopt me because they wanted a son, and to help my relatives, and because they knew the situation of my mom." The aunt and uncle from Canada discussed the possibility of adoption with Jason, his grandparents, and his mother.

JG: "My grandmother said - 'don't mind if you're adopted, think that that's your own good and that's for the future.' My grandparents liked me to be adopted. I'm just worried about my natural mother, how that she [if she] would like me adopted. She didn't know if she would like me adopted. She said, 'Whether I (speaking of herself) like it or not, to be adopted, it's my [your] decision.' I think she felt sad in that case."

After his aunt and uncle returned to Canada Jason was pleased to receive a letter from them written in Tagalog and English requesting to know his decision.

JG: "I replied to them that I like to be adopted." In response to Jason's affirmative letter they wrote again: "Then they replied that 'think carefully whether [about] your decision,' and they say that 'Canada is not like a bed of roses'...like full of happiness. 'Here Canada is not easy, you have to work harder'...and she said that, 'if we will adopt you, we will treat you like a real son, and give you all the things you need for a better future.'" In his final analysis, Jason gave two primary reasons for agreeing to the adoption/migration: "I think I decided to be adopted, because it's for my own future. So that I can get a higher education, and my adopted parents said that you can get a better education and go to university and help my natural mother and brother."

Due to family negotiations, official processes and paper work, four years were to transpire before Jason left Manila for Richmond, British Columbia. Jason's aunt and uncle were summoned from Canada to appear at adoption court in Manila, and Jason was questioned privately by social workers and court officials as to whether he wished to emigrate of his own free will.

When Jason was 13 another event took place which worsened his grandparents' already precarious financial situation.

JG: "And my grandfather (when I) was grade eight...second year high school, like heart attack, so he was paralysed.....so I'm the one who take the blood pressure..."

Jason's grandfather could no longer work and his grandmother could work part time only when Jason was home from school to care for his grandfather. The family now relied on remittances from Jason's aunts who had migrated to Saudi Arabia, Australia, and Canada.

**JG:** "So their one who support dem is dere daughter...dey have, dey have no son. Dey have four daughters...and me moms and me tree aunts."

The two year period prior to Jason's departure for Canada was a housebound time of study and caring for his grandparents.

**JG:** "I had nothing to go outside the house [I had no reason to go outside] ...so it's like I'm alone in the house...My grandmother's (not) going to allows me (to go to) my friend's (unless) it's part of study like homework, or whatever it's part of school, she can allow me but (if) it's nothing to do about school she can [can't] allow me...she said I'm gonna a wasting my time (laughs). I always stay in the house!"

**EM:** "Always stay in the house?"

**JG:** "Yeh...I think my grandmother always do the best to protect me...because I think like the city, there is lots of guns there, and they had like some there dead bodies like kill [he had seen dead bodies on the streets]...my grandmother's against in that case."

Family and friends gathered for a send-off party on the night prior to departure for Canada. The next morning on the way to the airport a relative's car broke down causing them to be late.

**JG:** "So it's making delay so we had not time to cry...I say I'm going to be late...but this is OK because then we had nothing [no time] to cry."

Jason was frightened at the airport because he had never travelled or been on a plane previously. Later, he worried in Hong Kong when he had to transfer to another plane. He became increasingly concerned that the dried fruit and fish his family had packed in his luggage for Canadian relatives was illegal, and would be sniffed out by dogs in Canada. He couldn't sleep and watched five consecutive full length in flight movies. Upon landing, his reception by Canadian Customs and Immigration surprised him.

**JG:** "Then (she) said, 'Are you married?' 'No, I'm only I think 15 or 14 years old.' 'Oh, I'm just joking,' she said, 'Welcome to Canada, Welcome to Canada.'" (he laughs)

Jason's migration, though somewhat unusual, indirectly conforms to Tilly's (1990) chain migration type, where the presence of relatives in the receiving country is instrumental in both the decision to migrate and the location of the new residence. However, unlike many immigrants who come from the lower middle classes (Moodie, 1993), Jason was from the poorest Philippine economic strata. Jason's premigration interaction with family members who had emigrated previously suggests that he was exposed to first hand information about foreign cultures, something Scott and Scott (1989) have found improves chances of successful migration.

**EM:** "Did she write to you, the auntie in Saudi Arabia?"

**JG:** "Yeh...always she write to me and (so did the) auntie in Australia."

This exposure was compounded by Jason's personal curiosity about foreign places, in that he would often "borrow some books like...Russia and Greece because I love to read different countries in the world during my free time." Informational familiarity with the receiving society, thought to enhance adaptation by researchers such as Kim (1988) and Ward and Searle (1991) was also a part of Jason's premigration experience, in that he corresponded regularly with his future adoptive parents in Canada. The educational motivation for Jason's migration tends to confirm Stewart's (1993) finding that for many Asian immigrants, education is a primary motive for migration.

When Jason first arrived in Canada he was immediately impressed by the massive trees and cold weather. Other changes stood out in his experience because they contrasted with his previous standard of living. Despite the fact that his adoptive mother prepared Philippine food as often as possible, Jason found it difficult to adjust to an eating pattern which did not include rice at every meal. It was also the first time in his life that he had not gone barefoot. To "wear socks and long sleeves" was quite a pleasing novelty to him.

Jason was gladly welcomed into a middle class, three bedroom family home by his adoptive parents (aunt and uncle) and by his 19 year old adoptive sister (cousin). During the day the whole family was engaged outside of the home. His adoptive mother worked as an acute care nurse and his adoptive father as a dental technician. Jason's cousin was an education student at the local community college and hoped to transfer to a university in the coming year. Jason was immediately included in the family's extensive Philippine social circle.

Six months after Jason's arrival, Jason's thirty year old aunt who had been working as a medical technician in Saudi Arabia, and who Jason described as the person who most influenced him, emigrated to Canada and came to live temporarily with the family. Her arrival in the small home necessitated a change in sleeping arrangements.

**JG:** "Because we are only three bedroom, the house, so that's why me mother buy a double deck [bunk bed] and other one's in lowers me auntie." [the person in the lower bunk is my aunt]

**EM:** "She sleeps below you?"

**JG:** "Yeh...but you know if you gonna say, you gonna say that to some people ...they have some influence, they gonna say bad things, right? They say

it isn't right, but the Filipino, no! (laughs) Of course it's me auntie! That's my relatives you know." [here people say it isn't right, but it is for Filipinos]

EM: "She doesn't mind that you share the same room?"

JG: "No! Because in Philippines they doesn't mind it - not like share, you know here, they have something to say, something bad like this." [In the Philippines it's alright to share a room with a female relative, and they do not speak negatively about it as they do here]

Jason's adoptive parents purposely brought him to Canada several months prior to the start of the school year to permit him to gradually become accustomed to his new environment "...because they like me to come here like as early so I can like adapt myself..." They actively encouraged Jason to adapt culturally and linguistically, suggesting a proactive stance toward adaptation by parents that researchers such as Hoffman (1988) and Gibson (1988) have connected with successful adaptation. The adoptive parents also promoted the same work ethic and self-improvement values that Jason's grandparents had instilled in Manila.

JG: "...my (adoptive) mom, she said, 'Don't watch TV, TV can't give you anything...jus read like some grammar, English, so you can improve your vocabulary and some [come] up'...My parents say no TV during the week, only weekends...and they limit the telephone. I think that's good really...don't waste so much time."

As it had been at his grandparents', Jason's time was additionally occupied with helping in the home. "I have to go home and ...I put on the rice and do cooking...and do dishes." Jason not only supported these values but upheld them more rigorously of his own accord than did his adoptive family.

JG: "My parents think I'm weird because I always stay home after school and study, always study...yeh (smiling)."

Not all of the influences in his new environment were positive, but even in relation to these, Jason's actions indicate a high level of personal discretion.

JG: (Speaking of his new Philippine friend, SueAnne...She says...) " 'I had to do the homework, yeh I know,' [she acknowledges that she should be doing homework but is not] and she always goes to the malls...she invite me, 'Why don't you go to the mall or why don't you go to Vancouver with my friends...and just...go with them [hang out]..? for the party..?' And I said, 'No thanks, I'm busy' - that all' (laughing). She hang around with some people who influence her. I don't want the influence. Now she has problems."

Jason was brought up and for a short time served in the Catholic church in Manila. He retained strong Christian values after coming to Canada, looking upon his personal capabilities as 'gifts' of God: "And you have to think that only God that give you a mind..? like give you a talent in this

world..?" His religious values corresponded with those of his adoptive parents who were also Catholics, and he took an active personal interest in the weekly sermons. In his journal he wrote, regarding the priest, "...he speak slowly but in terms of his explanation about the gospel of god was really good." When his aunt from Saudi Arabia, who he described as "a born again" (an evangelical Catholic), became part of the household, her Christian example had a strong effect on Jason. He once again began to read his Bible daily, as she did, commenting, "I think it's good."

Ilokano, Jason's natal language, was the language of his mother's and grandparents' province, but growing up in Manila required learning the majority Tagalog language. After entering school Jason's command of Ilokano began to decline and, while his adoptive mother in Canada could speak Ilokano, Jason told me with an expression of regret that he could now only "speak some Ilokano." Jason had taken English language courses in the Manila school system and was assigned to ESL level three upon arrival in Richmond. When we met half way through his first school year in Canada, Jason had already advanced to level four of the five level ESL system. Clearly, Jason had acquired basic host language proficiency before migration, something that Gao and Gudykunst (1990) consider enhances adaptation potential.

Jason's adoptive parents encouraged him to learn English rapidly. His stepmother even attended English lessons with him: "...den me moms use to go with me to summer school for ESL..?" At home his adoptive parents were careful to balance English acquisition with retention of Tagalog.

- JG:** "Oh like we speak Tagalog and English...but most of them are English. Because you know my sister..? She can't speak Tagalog...yeh, so that's her problem. So, sometimes we speak Tagalog but, if she's there, we have to speak English so she can understand."
- EM:** "So when your adoptive parents speak to you they usually speak..."
- JG:** "Sometimes they speak Tagalog to me...so I can [won't] forget me language, Tagalog. Dey say dat (laughs)!"
- EM:** "So they do that on purpose so that you won't forget Tagalog?"
- JG:** "Yeh, yeh, this happy to me."
- EM:** At the next interview I asked, "When you said you read books, did you read books in Tagalog?"
- JG:** "No, I read book in English because my mom... At first I dreads read book...but now I actually like it."

Jason actively sought to improve his English language skills of his own accord. In his journal he wrote regarding the keeping of a journal, "Maybe it will help me with my English." He also commented during a subsequent

interview,

**JG:** "You know Richmond library I realized it [reserved a book] - like how to improve your English, you know, like that..? For me like, TV is a good practice to me, like specially, like what you call the talk show? Like the opera [Oprah Winfrey] something like that. Because I read it in a book, like *Introduction to English Skills*, by watching a talk show you can see if your grammar and what you call it, your reading comprehension is working." At the end of the school year Jason told me, "Yeh, I'm taking summer school just for ESL, because I'm not going to be bored and stuck in the house."

Although Jason conversed primarily with members of his own ethnic group after arriving in Canada, something that researchers such as Biggs (1987) and Kim (1988) consider detrimental to host language acquisition and adaptation, his adoptive parents' and his own proactive stance toward his acquisition of English may be seen as largely having offset any potentially detrimental effects of exclusive in-group interaction.

Jason was an excellent student in the Philippines, winning the gold medal for top student in his first year. He maintained high achievement levels throughout grade school, and upon leaving grade six for high school, was to be honored with two more awards, but received only one: "...and grade six I also got one medal...and I think (it was) best academic subject." The second award that was to have been given to Jason was given instead to a boy who had not achieved as well as others but who came from a wealthier, influential family. Jason commented on his loss of the second award to the wealthy boy with disapproval, "it is the favoritisms." Of his last three school years in Manila Jason said,

**JG:** "I was staying in Philippines - all teachers, dey like me. I can getta high marks...they're gonna like put me in a high section." [high track]

His teachers did not want him to emigrate - "So I think my teacher like me to stay there" - and tried to talk him out of going. In his last school year in Manila his grades were impressive:

**JG:** "English, 86%; Philippino, 90%; Math, 85%; Sciences, my favorite! 88%; but my most favorite is Social Studies, 90%; Home Economics, 87%; P.E., 90%; Values Education, 91%."

In Canada Jason found education more difficult.

**JG:** "And when I first came I said 'Who is Shakespeare?' and something like that, and me mom said 'Just read it it's a famous author in Canada,' so I'm interested even though there is hard understanding." And in his journal he wrote, "You know Mr. Mansfield, my math (here in Canada) was so hard and I haven't study in Philippines [it's something I hadn't yet taken in the Philippines], it means like they are more advance here."



But while he found school difficult here, he also felt that he was getting a better education compared with what he had received in the Philippines.

**JG:** "I think that from here it's hard to get the success."

**EM:** "Hard?"

**JG:** "Yeh, cause you're competing and especially because I'm an immigrant...I'm just only adapting myself from [to] here..? It's more competitive, yeh than the Philippines. But you know, from here I learn much more than in the Philippines." In another interview he said of his education in the Philippines, "And I did lots, lots of writing - but I didn't learn. But now it seems like I'll learn much more here in Canada."

Jason applied himself, often taking self-improvement books and research materials out of the public library while his friends visited the malls, and asking teachers and others (including me) for assistance. And Jason began to achieve success. Late in his first school year in Canada he wrote in his journal,

**JG:** "You know what? When we are in middle of lesson with our teacher Mr. Bouvier. We talked about Bohr's model of atom then we talked about the atomic number and mass, some of the questions of Mr. Bouvier I was able to answer, so he asked if I took chemistry last year and my reply 'No I didn't, this is my first time!' Then he said your so smart. I said thank you. I said in my mind Pilipino are good enough, our country is poor and not well known but Pilipino are industrus, intellegent and diligent. What can you say about that Mr. Mansfield!"

At the end of the third of four school reporting periods, Jason achieved the following grades: "English, C+ to B; Math, C to C+; Science, B to A; Social Studies, C+ to B; French, A; P.E., C+ to B." By the conclusion of the school year Jason received one of the school's top academic awards in recognition of his dramatic improvement in grades over the four school terms.

There had been strong motivations to study while Jason was growing up in Manila. His natural mother advised him not to follow her example: "and my mother said 'OK you want to go grade eight like me?'" But at the same time her other suggestions to him would probably have set him on the same path she had taken, had he followed her advice.

**JG:** (Repeating his mother's words) "So like 'don't study harder or you can go hang out your friends [don't study so hard that you can't go and hang out with your friends]...don't totally focus your mind on study.'"

**EM:** "Does your mother say that..?"

**JG:** (She says...) "'You have to sometimes like give your happiness or your like in parties sometimes that don't focus on your study!'"

But Jason did not take this last advice to heart. Laughing, he said that "...she's like easy go [easy going]...she can't get the high marks." He

believed his mother had been too easy going to get decent grades and that was why she had spent her own school time socializing.

Unlike his mother, his grandparents did not compromise the advice that they gave.

**EM:** "What did she (grandmother) tell you to do in your life?"

**JG:** "They (grandparents) always tell me that I have to study harder, and we're not so rich so we have to study harder and do all the best you can in school..? And don't belong to the bad guys...and you know in our life we're not so rich so we got to study more harder and do the best as you can."

The grandparents viewed education as a means to overcome poverty, thus sharing a view commonly expressed by newer immigrant groups that education is a means to improve economic standing (Moodley, 1992; Stewart, 1993). But the grandmother also had a more personal motive for encouraging Jason to study...

**EM:** "Your grandma, what did she want for you?"

**JG:** "I think she likes me to have like a good education, to finish ah, like university or college, have like a good family, and have like a good wife and a good children, because I think, in my own opinion I think that she didn't like me to compare in herself. [She didn't want me to repeat her life] And you know it is so funny because ah I think when my grandmother just 13 years old or 15..? her parents like her to marry other guy..? [arranged marriage] She didn't like it because he too old..? She ran away to Manila. That's where she met my grandfather (he laughs). They married."

His grandmother had been pressured to marry young because of the family's poverty. She felt "...dat der [her] parents is not good," to do this because they had not seen to her education, and thus had consigned her to the same life of itinerant farm labour that they had lived. The message Jason got from his grandmother was 'don't marry young, don't be forced to be a farm labourer like me - get educated while you can.'

There was also his beloved "auntie," his mother's youngest sister, who was only 15 years old and living with her parents when Jason was received into the family as a baby. Before she left for work in Saudi Arabia and before Jason was school age, she made him her personal education project.

**JG:** "I think the one who really give me really encouragement to study harder is me auntie in Saudi Arabia...dats me favorite auntie..."

**EM:** "Why?"

**JG:** "Because, uh, when I am, I think like six years old, (she) learn me how to write, 'You can do all the best that you can,' she said that to me...Yes, she take me to push like a [she pushed me] takes, takes study harder, read all de books, and like I thing when I'm five years old..? some of my playmates say, 'Oh my God, you already know how to write, eh?' Like when I'm, like grade ah...grade kindergarten, and dey say that ah, 'You're, you're very good...you writing and so that you are reading a book..?'"

Jason also had personal motivations for achieving academically.

**JG:** "I did'na have a girlfrien only a crush. I had admirer or something...oh...something it is, is good, have an admirer, dats, ah why I get like a high mark, because you know I think dat like have a classroom, [in the classroom], I have admirers..? So...what dey do, [their effect] so I think I have to study harder still, I have to get her attention...right..? (laughs) Admiration. Something like that."

A more important personal incentive was to rise above his family's poverty.

**JG:** "...but the top success for me is to finish my studies...and have a good job and a good family...and have a good, ah, standard of living."

After arriving in Canada Jason experienced some familiar influences and some new incentives to achieve academically. Most of the advice from his family concerned his potential involvement with girls, and derived from the family's association of the impoverished circumstances of his grandmother and mother with the youthful age at which they got married.

**JG:** (Speaking of his adoptive parents...) "...dey say dat you can get a girlfriend or whatever, but you have to think, you have your priority to study..." His grandmother wrote to him, "Yeh, 'you have to study first, you have to have a good job first before you, you marry." And his auntie, now 30 years old and unmarried..."And me auntie said, from Saudi Arabia, (if) you have to have a girl friend...you can have it...you can have a girlfriend but you have to think that, your priority is study."

Jason had two strong personal incentives to achieve while in Canada, one of which was his impression that Canada offered a wonderful educational opportunity in comparison with the possibilities available in the Philippines.

**JG:** "Because you know, some Filipinos they dream that someday they could get to go to another country, go to some school, and they actually finish their school." Later, he wrote to his best friend, "You know Marcello, I thoughts in Canada is good...but it's like the same Philippines...but you can get a higher education."

**EM:** "You tell him that?"

**JG:** "Yeh...you can get a more opportunity den in our country."

The new opportunity was, for Jason, an important incentive in itself.

**JG:** "I don't know...when I was in the Philippines I want to be like a marine biologist...and have like, a normal life, but when I came here, it's like really different, like I want to achieve much, much more..?" On another occasion he said, "yeh, I's getting to become energetic." [ambitious]

An even more important personal incentive for achievement was Jason's belief that if he succeeded academically, he might be able to assist his grandparents, mother, and especially his brother, to come to Canada and better their circumstances.

**JG:** "My adoptive parents say 'If you are finished your study and if you have lots of money [if you are making good money], you can take [sponsor] your moms, your brother, and your grandparents if you want."

**EM:** "And bring them here?"

- JG:** "Yes to immigrate. Yeh...because me brother...my priority is my brother. I advise him!" (he laughs)
- EM:** "You advise?"
- JG:** "Yeh, don't hang like a bad guys; remember, study harder if you want to come here...? You have to study harder you have to show your good marks."

Upon arriving in Canada Jason was actively included in his adoptive family's social activities. He quickly established friendly relations with the family's friends and his numerous cousins, all of whom were Philippine. He did have concerns, however, that he might not know anyone at his new school.

- JG:** "The first day I didn't have any friends...when then, my homeroom, I meet a Filipina...and she did speak Tagalog so I speak Tagalog...I'm so happy I'm not alone in this school."
- EM:** "The friend was a girl?"
- JG:** "Yeh, it's a girl...she's a Filipina too...and she came to Canada in July last year...she's my first of my new friends. I meet her new body [before anybody]...because she's my good classmate in ESL."

He soon discovered that a majority of the students in his homeroom were Philippine.

- EM:** "Did they do that on purpose...put all the Filipinos in the same division?"
- JG:** "No like it jus happened...because of alphabetically cause our names are."

Speaking of his school friends Jason said, "mostly they are Filipino," and the few who were not, such as Rashid Khan, an Iranian boy who was also a study participant, were new immigrants who shared his ESL classes. This is perhaps not surprising in that for the first year or more after arriving, immigrant students usually spend a majority of their school day in an ESL classroom, which tends to preclude socialization with receiving society students.

Jason's adoptive parents encouraged him to get to know other people in addition to Filipinos. The family participated in a neighbourhood block party as well as introduced Jason to their next door neighbours.

- JG:** "Yeh...the first times I arrived here...? My moms introduce me to our neighbour...they're Canadian...bud the mother is Indian [Indo Canadian} but she was born here...and the other one, her husband, from I believe Scot - a - land, Scotland. And their got one son named Gill, he's a grade five...he's also my friend."

However, these contacts resulted in acquaintances rather than actual friendships.

Though all of his friends were Philippine or new immigrants, Jason looked forward excitedly to making friends with "white" Canadians.

- JG:** "So I thought I like to (have) friends, have a white ones friends...something like that." During another interview he said, "I feel like so excited to have [if I could have] a white friends."
- EM:** "So you were looking forward to having white friends?"
- JG:** "Yeh, because I'm so attracted to white ones, you know dere hair is different, right?...and all Philippine are brown and...and, there is hardly a white one."

Jason wished that he could write to his friends in Manila and tell them that he had a white friend. He knew they would be impressed.

In trying to establish friendships with members of the receiving society, Jason became increasingly aware that friendship in Canada was different from that which he had experienced growing up.

- JG:** "I can't find the friendship like I had in the Philippines. They're [friends here are] also like my friends, but not truly like my friend..? Like the one I have best friend in the Philippines...something, I'd like to find that one. That's the one hardship to find, a really good friends."

After almost a year in Canada, Jason came to the conclusion that he needed the kind of friendship he remembered in the Philippines even more than he desired friendship with 'whites.' In his journal he wrote...

- JG:** "Then that night I wrote a letter to my friends especially my bestfriend Marcello. I said that I really missed him, and it's hard to find a good and thoughtful friend like him. Is you cannot believed that when I'm writing that letter to my friend, I cried, I don't know why. Probably I really miss him. He's the one who alway in beside me to listen in all my problems. Then he always played jokes to me. What I really miss is when we have a monthly test, he will come in my house then we reviewing and helping in each other, is it nice. Probably his the best friend I have, I hope that I can find a friend like him. It doesn't matter if he/she is Pilipino, Canadian, caucasians or whatever, as for he/she is good to me."

In June Jason decided to register for his next school year at a senior high outside of the neighbourhood catchment area in order to force himself to make new friends and not rely upon his Philippine connections. At that time Jason said, "But now I just want to talk to the white, just the white people." What he meant was that he now wanted to interact with people other than Philipinos. He had come to the same conclusion that researchers such as Kim (1988) have come to, that receiving society communication competence facilitates adaptation.

- JG:** "I think from now on, like I think to be a Canadian."
- EM:** "How are you doing this?"
- JG:** "I like to like communicate, interact...yeh communicate and interact with some Canadian people. So, I'm the one, I'm gonna talk...I know that in Philippines I'm shy but now, I have to talk...if I'm not gonna talk, this will not happen [nothing will happen for me]."

Jason's perceptions of relationships with girls were strongly influenced

by the female members of his family: "me mother and me grandmother say don't get married early...waste of times." His thirty year old auntie also gave him advice...

EM: "Does your auntie advise you?"

JG: "Yeh...and I said, 'You know auntie, it seems to be the teenagers are different than the Philippines...' (she said...) 'Sure, I know it.'"

EM: "Does she advise you about girls?"

JG: "Yeh...and she say all of the girls here, 'But you know, some of the girls are not really virgin, they like to be weird [wild] that's why. And you know', here's some - 'you have to like, you have to protect yourself.'" [With these girls you must protect yourself from sexually transmitted diseases.]

Jason seemed to take the advice to heart.

JG: "I think that, that I'm not prepared to have like a girlfriend." In a subsequent interview he commented, "Right now I dinna think about girlfriends...your [my] priority is study."

Looking toward the future, Jason felt that his adoptive parents would prefer a Philippine daughter in law.

JG: "I think they're gonna be like...'I like Filipina dis daughter.'"

EM: "But you? Does it matter?"

JG: "Doesn't matter...as far as [as long as] she's good." He then speculated with a grin, "I think I would marry a white one - who knows."

However, when Jason considered the boy-girl relationships of caucasian students at the school, he was troubled by what he saw.

JG: "I don't know - but I have a question here - what is some people, especially the white one, if they're like a girl and boy...they're like used to go wherever like at lunch time they like you to see that they're girlfriend and boyfriend...they're so malicious sometimes. [they like to show off that they are exclusively attached, they inflict it on you] In Philippines there is nothing like girl and boy, having a lunch, you're only two [a Philippine couple will not exclude others]...they didn't care if you're girlfriend or boyfriend...you still got a friend [girls and boys are not possessions, you can join in]...but here it is like, like they have a 'relationship'...you see, this is a bit different."

Jason was also offended by some boy - girl practices that he observed at the school:

JG: (Commenting with disgust...) "The short (shows me with hands tracing on his body a short skirt and revealing top)...I don't like their attitude, specially, especially they have a relationship...yeh, I don't like to see the people kissing in the hallway...I don't like it, because in like Philippines we didn't do like that. (laughs) I guess it's part of my culture. They're too public."

In his first year in Canada Jason became friends with at least as many girls as boys, but he did not develop any romantic attachments.

Jason viewed the multiethnic milieu of school and community in terms of Chinese and whites (the two most populous groups) and Filipinos (his own group), apparently disregarding all other groups. A memory of his first day

in Canada stood out:

**JG:** "Yeh...den, when we are already at I think Williams (Road), there is a bunch of white men. Oh me God! So different! Me surround is different. All white I say...and all Chinese, and you know, I can't see Filipino (he laughs)."

He later found the Chinese to be exclusionary and difficult to get to know.

**JG:** (Regarding the Chinese...) "Some difficulty because dey always speaks their language. Some of them though are good."

Jason held "whites" in high esteem, apparently having done so even when he was in the Philippines. He associated being Philippine with his perception of the Philippines as a poor and backward country. Because of this he felt inferior, especially in comparison with the "whites." This impression was initially reinforced at school.

**EM:** "But what do you take to school for your lunch?"

**JG:** "Just bread and stuff."

**EM:** "Sandwiches?"

**JG:** "Yeh (he laughs)."

**EM:** "But never rice?"

**JG:** "No. Sometimes I took rice but the white people in school...they laugh at it."

Occasionally his sense of inferiority of origin was eased somewhat. In his journal he wrote,

**JG:** "I said it is a pleasure to all Pilipino that Miss Universe '94' was held in Manila Philippines. I said that I hope most of my friends especially the white one watched it - so they see the beauty and enchantment of Philippines."

He wanted respect for his country, but he also wanted to earn the respect of those who in his view represented Canadian society.

**JG:** "But now I am here in Canada so I have to do whatever the culture of Canadian. So they will app - pishate [appreciate] me."

Jason believed there was "discriminating" in the school, which he attributed to teachers rather than students. He maintained that older teachers tended to favor their non-immigrant students and not encourage immigrant students, especially in getting over their shyness. He felt that these teachers had no understanding of what it was like to be an immigrant. He also believed that his Chinese ESL teacher favored some ESL students over others.

**JG:** "(I have seen in school...)...especially some racisms."

**EM:** "Can you describe that?"

**JG:** "Like when we first went in school like, there's my ESL teacher, she's so favorable as people..? [favors people] Likes all the Chinese ones...yeh is more favorable the Chinese people...and they don't

encourage some people."

Most of Jason's concerns regarding discrimination in the larger society had to do with job discrimination, which he had not experienced personally. Rather, these concerns had been passed on to him by family members. His auntie, who had worked for years as a medical technician in Saudi Arabia and was now required to take a one year qualifier course at a community college before she could do the same work in Canada, believed that she was a victim of color discrimination. Jason expressed her views as his own:

**JG:** "The discriminating...a lot of people here because especially in, ah, finding a job, I think that they like, the white one or the Canadian. They're given more opportunity than like the immigrant, especially being like Filipino, we have different color or whatever that's what I think."

When I asked Jason if he had personally experienced job discrimination, he speculated, "Yeh, probably when I find a job [if I try to find a job] at McDonalds." When I pointed out that there were at least as many non-whites as whites working at the local McDonalds he was unconvinced, expressing the view that the non-whites had to work harder than the whites in order to achieve the same positions. This view may have originated with his adoptive mother:

**JG:** "So me moms, she advised me that ah, we have discrimination here, so you have to study harder and that's the only thing we have...so if you know you can have a talent or a good in a subject, like somebody will hire you a job right? Yeh, I feel like the only things like a Philippine work [the only way a Filipino can get work] is if like they have a brain [if they are highly educated]."

Jason's subsequent personal experience of employment opportunity differed substantially from his original fears. After taking a weekend course in job finding Jason went to apply for a relatively high paying part time position, one that his auntie had told him he had not a hope of getting. Jason was hired immediately and was told by the employer to encourage his auntie to apply for full time employment. He was ecstatic. Jason also found, upon reflection, that he had not personally experienced discrimination outside of the school.

**JG:** "But most of the (time), when I am with some friends, they are good for me, all the white ones, they are good to me. So I haven't been experiencing discrimination outside (of school)." In a subsequent interview he said, "...and you know, most people here, that are Canadians, they are so sweet, I noticed that thing. It's great." In an essay for his English teacher he wrote, "Canada is the perfect place to live..."

In moving to Canada, Jason experienced several significant changes.



Although he had participated in sports during Physical Education class in Manila ("I was good in sport"), his family's financial situation had not permitted involvement in sports outside of school. Coming to Canada had made recreational sports accessible for the first time. Jason became an avid volleyball and tennis player, but his favorite sport here, and one that he had longed to do in Manila, was ice skating. In his journal he wrote about the largest shopping mall in the Philippines:

**JG:** "You know what Mr. Mansfield! That (is) the only mall that has an ice ring, so you can go iceskating during weekends or ordinary day but it too expensive to go there."

Now he could enjoy that which he could only dream of before.

The development of self-reliance was another change since coming to Canada, and was spoken of with pride by Jason. Even as Jason was landing in Vancouver he was telling himself he must become stronger.

**JG:** "I'm so excited, I'm gonna be with my adoptive parents so that, I have to change...we are in Vancouver...and I said that I am [must become] different now. I said, I gonna be...I said to my (self)...I'm a sensitive person, so I have to be some more some, you know, adjustment, because it's different here, so I gonna be more strong, something like that and, I think I (will) be more confidence in myself."

To become stronger he felt that he must leave childhood behind.

**JG:** "I felt that we can be [must be] more stronger, I have to be more adult than child, have to be more developed."

Jason recognized from the outset that adaptation, which he saw primarily in terms of becoming stronger and more self-reliant, would be difficult.

**JG:** "...here's so hard here so, even me it's hard to adapt myself here..? but I'm trying harder, I'm trying all the best that I can."

Additionally, his adoptive parents told him that "adjustment" would be hard but that when he met and dealt with problems he would become stronger. Jason also had in view the example of his cousin who had emigrated previously to California and had experienced frustrations due to unmet expectations of an easy life there.

Jason felt that over his first year in Canada he had achieved his goal of becoming stronger, more self-reliant.

**JG:** "After I leave Philippines I can be strongly, I can defend myself, I can stand up...I think you should learn to stand on your own feel (feet), right?"

Jason was happy to report that his achievement had been noticed.

**JG:** "And she's (adoptive mother) very surprised (at) me, she knows I'm

different now, and she says something to me like I can stand out on me own, me own life. And I said to myself, 'Ah, you know aunt, I don't want to depend on me moms and me parents...'"

But most of all, Jason hoped that his grandmother would notice.

JG: "Probably my grandmother is going to be surprised...when I visit her. (She will say...) 'Oh, this is different...this is not a joke! This is a different Jason!'"

Jason's efforts to adapt in a way that would result in self-reliance suggests Hoffman's (1988) view of adaptation as self-determination and choice, rather than the environmental response perspective favored by Berry (1992).

Jason felt the changes he experienced in coming to Canada were all "good changes, none bad." He maintained that although he had changed he had retained his Philippine culture.

JG: "But I don't want to miss that the Filipino culture, it's also remain in me. Yeh...yeh but I'm just fitting myself to the Canadian culture here, but even if I don't go (back) to the Philippines I will stay also the Philippine culture."

Jason was proactive in his intention to retain his culture. "I will learn about the history of Philippines, so that I won't forget it." Jason's experience in this regard suggests Divoky's (1988) contention that ethnic identification is a permanent though gradually changing aspect of the adaptation process, rather than an ethnicity retention - assimilation continuum as suggested by Kim (1988) and others.

The third significant change occurring during Jason's first year in Canada was a gradual shift from intending to return to the Philippines after a five year sojourn, to speaking with certainty of staying permanently in Canada. When he first arrived he missed his mother and grandmother terribly.

JG: "Like everyday I'm sad every night...I'm finishing writing to my grandmother and I'm just saying how it's like in Canada adapting I'm crying." In his journal he wrote, "I remember again my natural mother and I cry a little because I really also miss her." As he arrived on the plane he asked, "...how long gonna meet me grandmother or my other lives in the Philippines? So, don't worry gramma I said to my mind, I'm gonna back to just five years, or (no) more than that. I'm not going to be forever - I'm going be back in like a five years."

A few months after arriving, Jason was still convinced that he would return: "I say, oh me God, I want to go Philippines...yeh!" Later, Jason talked of completing his education in Canada before returning to the Philippines for employment.

JG: "...and I'm gonna go to Philippines and work there...I'm gonna work there and then after that...or whatever, me retirement."

However, Jason's sojourner perspective began to soften as he contrasted his situation in Canada with the deteriorating conditions in the Philippines, that he heard about through his almost daily correspondence with friends and relatives there.

**JG:** "Philippines are getting worse...I believe that most people, if they're rich, they're getting rich and, if they're poor, they're getting poorer."

In contrast he began to recognize that Canada, "...in terms of jobs and environment, it's more safe, it's a better place to live. I think to live here is pretty good." Jason also found that being in Canada he could assist his family in the Philippines in ways he could not have done if he returned there. He joined his adoptive parents in sending remittances.

**EM:** "How about you? Do you send any?"

**JG:** "Ah...when I was a part time gardener, for my neighbour, and because I know what's the situation in Philippines and so pitying me grandmother and I know their situation there cause I think they need lots of money. And all my salaries from my gardener I gave it (laughs)."

**EM:** "The whole works?"

**JG:** "Yeh, I gave it. I think it was around a hundred dollars for sure. I gave it to her (laughs happily)."

Jason also came to the conclusion that his own dream of becoming "a successful marine biologist" was more realizable in Canada. Near the end of his first year in Canada, Jason's sojourner perspective had all but disappeared. In his journal he wrote,

**JG:** "Although I miss my native country, I'm happy and satisfied in my life here in Canada. Eventhough it is quite boring here, I'm happy in my family, school and the environment. Actually, I just want to stay in Canada."

Over a six month period of phenomenological interviews and ethnographic observations, and journal, school assignment, and personal correspondence entries, several closely related experiential themes became evident, which together are indicative of the essence of Jason Gomez's initial period of adaptation in Canada.

Jason's grandparents had a difficult life of poverty as itinerant farm laborers, but they had striven to provide a better future through education for their daughters. They succeeded with three of their four daughters who became medical technicians or nurses, enabling them to emigrate, make better lives for themselves, and even send small remittances home. However, they did not succeed with one of their daughters, Jason's mother. She seemingly

repeated her mother's pattern of an early marriage without education which consigned her to a life of poverty. When Jason was taken in by his grandparents as a baby, he became their second chance to achieve the success they had hoped his "easy going" mother might have achieved. They would do everything possible to ensure that he did not repeat his mother's and grandmother's errors. Jason became his grandparents' educational project much as his mother and aunts had been previously.

There were at least two important differences between Jason's and his aunts' experiences of growing up as an educational project. Whereas his aunts had been given encouragement to hope for a better life through education, Jason had immediate tangible evidence, not only of the rewards which accrued to his aunts via education and emigration, but also of the ongoing poverty of his grandparents and mother who had not received education. Secondly, Jason became the educational project of his youngest aunt who still lived at home. Unlike the grandparents who were uneducated and could only encourage their children, Jason's aunt was by then relatively well educated, and could provide tangible educational assistance. It became obvious to Jason from the evidence around him and through correspondence with his aunts in other lands that a better standard of living was attainable, that it was attainable through emigration, and that emigration required education.

Because Jason had been sponsored through adoption, education was no longer an important instrumental need after arrival in Canada. He had also initially experienced difficulties with school work in Canada. But never once did Jason question the value of becoming educated that had been and continued to be impressed on him by his family. That he achieved remarkably well academically after only one year in Canada can be traced to the original self-improvement through education goal of his grandparents. Jason's educational success suggests support for the Economic Council of Canada's (1992) and Gibson's (1993) position that immigrants' parents who make education a priority can positively affect the educational attainment of their children despite low socio-economic status.

Due to the lengthy adoption process, Jason had four years in which to prepare himself for his impending migration. He actively sought to improve

his English, obtained information about other cultures, and requested information about the new society from his relatives in Canada. Even as he landed in Vancouver he was preparing himself to make difficult psychological changes. Jason's success in Canada may be due in large measure to his preparedness for change in anticipation of entering the new society, something Klineberg (1981) and Kim (1988) have found is often predictive of positive adaptation outcomes.

When Jason first arrived in Canada his perspective was that of a sojourner. He missed grandparents, mother and brother, but did not feel a sense of loss because he viewed his absence from the Philippines as temporary. His life in Manila, however, had been one of consecutive losses. He had lost his father before he knew him, and his mother and brother were seldom present after he was taken in by his grandparents. He had lost much of his natal language in the Manila schools and lost out on rewards because of the low socio-economic status of his family. Eventually his beloved auntie left for Saudi Arabia and his grandfather suffered a debilitating heart attack, resulting in a further loss of economic well-being. After arriving in Canada, however, Jason experienced a rapid sequence of gains. Along with his new and loving family he gained a much improved standard of living. He was able to participate in the sports he had previously only dreamed of. And, most importantly, Jason gained the strength of self-reliance through the encouragement of others and personally dealing with the difficulties of adaptation. His beloved auntie returned to him in Richmond, and he was able to visualize the future possibility of sponsoring his grandparents, mother and brother as immigrants. By the end of his first year in Canada the gains of migration had far outweighed the losses, and Jason became committed to permanent residence.

Jason's experience of adaptation, though positive for the most part, did not altogether avoid shock.

JG: "Yeh, but this when I came to Canada I also felt some stress because I'm here now, have a high standard of living, a different lifestyle, and I think also I can study here more better than Philippines and have a good opportunity...that's what I tink to myself, and that's why when I came here I experienced a little cultural shock."

It is evident from Jason's comments that he did not experience culture shock

in relation to losses, bereavement, negative factors in the new environment or cultural differences, but rather in relation to the new and beneficial opportunities that had suddenly opened up before him. Shock was not experienced in terms of perceived negative aspects of the new environment as traditionally has been assumed (Oberg, 1960) but rather in relation to perceived positive aspects of the new environment. That the shock or pressures of new opportunities helped motivate Jason toward success lends credence to Furnham and Bochner's (1986) and Kim's (1988) contention that culture shock can be an important positive aspect of adaptation.

As studies by Uehara and Hicks (1989) and Rohrlich and Martin (1991) have found for a majority of the student sojourners they surveyed, Jason's primary concern after arrival was to establish friendships. He longed to make friends with "whites" who he saw as representing the new culture. This aspect of Jason's experience does not accord with studies by Ting-Toomey (1981) and Lee and Boster (1991) which found that in terms of cross-cultural interactions, the higher the perceived similarity between people the higher the attraction to one another. It was only after Jason found that the means to establish friendship and the nature of friendship in the new society were different from what he was familiar with in the Philippines, that he began to establish friendships with other Philippine immigrants. He chose them not because he preferred them, but because of the ease with which he could establish the friendships he needed.

Although Jason's need for friendship was paramount, he did not permit the influence of friends such as SueAnne to compromise his educational goal. When friends or potential friends attempted to get him to "hang out" at the mall or in Vancouver, Jason inevitably chose education over friendship. On the other hand, the exclusionary romantic practices of "white" students and the exclusionary linguistic and social practices of the Chinese students were experienced by Jason as a threat to his opportunity to make friends with members of the numerically dominant groups in the new society.

Over time, Jason came to the conclusion that he must communicate with members of the receiving society if he was to adapt beyond the level he had achieved to that point. Jason's conclusion corresponds with the findings of

studies by Uehara and Hicks (1989) and Sillars and Weisberg (1987) which suggest that acquisition of receiving society communication competencies is essential for successful adaptation. Jason arrived at this position, however, only after he had built up self-reliance and confidence, something he owed, at least in part, to his initial interaction with Philippine relatives and friends in Canada. This suggests that friendship with co-nationals in the receiving country may function as an initial form of uncertainty reduction, and that subsequent friendships with majority culture members may serve a similar purpose at a more advanced state of adaptation.

When I last saw Jason he was playing volleyball excitedly and happily with other young people including "whites." Still in the process of the double adaptation of adoption and migration, Jason was, nonetheless, actively and confidently pursuing an adaptation of his choice.

#### **4.05 *Jared Wing***

Several characteristic tendencies are evident in the dialogue, journal, and letter verbatims included in the narrative which follows. Jared tended to reflect while conversing, resulting in numerous pauses. He often corrected himself as he spoke or wrote, venturing a number of tentative starts prior to selecting a more suitable word or way of expressing himself. Jared also adopted several aspects of the popular teen jargon of the school: extensive use of the word 'like' as a qualifier or connector; and sentence endings which rise in tone interrogatively, investing the sentence with the question, 'do you understand what I'm saying..?'

Although Jared Wing is Taiwanese of Chinese descent, he was often not immediately recognizable as Chinese to others, both in Premier School and in the community, leading to an uncertain ethnic identity which Jared enjoyed and at times encouraged. Some surmised that he was Hawaiian, others that he was Philippine or Thai. Compared with other Chinese students at the school, Jared was tall and athletically built. His hair was kept short and neat and his clothing had a stylishly casual, outdoor look, leaving the impression of a well groomed, well dressed young man. Jared carried himself with an air of poise and dignity, and offered a ready smile and greeting to others. He conversed in an introspective, reflective manner, was soft spoken, polite and

considerate. Over the six month interview period, several adults commented to me on Jared's good looks and polite manner.

I first spoke to Jared Wing 18 months after he had arrived in Canada from Taiwan with his parents and younger brother. Originally home to the Formosan people, Taiwan was a Dutch Colony between 1624 and 1662, after which it was controlled by various Chinese groups until ceded to Japan in 1895, following the First Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese introduced economic reforms, a Japanese education system and language instruction. Throughout the colonial period people from mainland China, especially Fujian Province, migrated periodically to Taiwan seeking better economic opportunities, and eventually developed the 'Taiwanese' language. After the World War in 1945, Taiwan was ceded back to China. Instability due in large measure to the contest for control of China between Mao Tse-tung's Communists and Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuomintang led to a Taiwanese uprising in 1947 which was put down by the Kuomintang. Forced by the Communists to retreat to Taiwan in 1949, the Mandarin speaking Kuomintang set up a rival Republic of China in Tai-Pei, introduced educational and language changes, and have continued to dominate Taiwan's affairs until the present day. Jared's ancestors were among those who had come to Taiwan from Fujian province a generation before the arrival of the Kuomintang.

Both of Jared's parents were college educated and periodically assisted Jared with his school work. Jared was identified as a bright student in his earliest grades: "I was in advanced program in elementary school." But his strongest memory of elementary school was his experience of an assault on his language (Taiwanese) and his culture (Han).

**JW:** "(They) told us to learn their language, and forget our culture." He was forbidden to use his own language in school.

**EM:** "What was your culture like?"

**JW:** "Japanese more efficient. They did much more for Taiwan than the Kuomintang." Jared saw the Kuomintang regime as self-serving, not beneficial to Taiwan. "There is a lot of conflict between the Chinese that came before the war and those that came after the war."

When Jared entered junior high school, some of his teachers made him aware of the political situation, and he began to recultivate his Taiwanese language skills, though he had lost much of his natal language during his elementary years.



While in Taiwan Jared received some English instruction in school, which he considered rather poor: "Textbook English! It's not like everyday English." But his parents also provided him with a series of English tutors who helped develop his confidence in his English skills.

**JW:** "You know, my first English teacher. I think he helped me a lot. First of all...he taught me the language well, so...I think I have (laughing, because he knows it sounds like he's bragging) better pronunciation than some other people..." [than other immigrants]

Jared's proficiency in English upon arrival in Richmond resulted in a high initial ESL placement (level four), and is indicative of a pre-migration host language grounding which researchers such as Gao and Gudykunst (1990) have pointed to as an important contributory factor in successful adaptation. Jared's English tutors also provided what Ward and Searle (1991) describe as informational familiarity with the receiving society, something which they have found enhances adaptation potential.

**JW:** "...Cause I had, I know some Caucasian people in Taiwan. So I don't find it so hard to deal with that. I'm thinking about my first English teacher. Yeh, I think he helped me a lot to adapt to this culture." At a subsequent interview, Jared added, "I'm used to kind of other, kind of races."

**EM:** "Why is that?"

**JW:** "Cause my English - I had some English teachers, like English tutors..? They're all Canadian, so...I don't feel like a awkward among, among Caucasian people. I, I don't feel like they'll, they'll be any trouble like to make friends here, to fit into the school."

The Wing family's migration is suggestive of Morawska's (1990) chain migration, where presence of relatives influences both the decision to migrate and the choice of location. While in Taiwan, Jared read about the Canadian school system and corresponded with a school age cousin who had emigrated to Los Angeles. Dissatisfied with the United States, the cousin migrated to Canada, joining Jared's aunt and uncle in the Richmond area. Jared's and his family's opinions of Canada were influenced by visits with these relatives.

**JW:** "Because my parents have been here quite a few times before - my aunt moved here five years before. They feel Canada is a pretty nice place." In a prior interview Jared had said, "...cause I visit Canada like, a, couple of years ago...and after I went back (to Taiwan) I feel it would be a pretty good option..."

Similarly, the cousin's experience in the United States left a strong impression on the family:

**EM:** "Why Canada?"

**JW:** "I personally feel that the U.S. is too violent, not stable, the environment [racial environment] is not stable."

**EM:** "Why did your parents come to Canada instead of the United States?"

**JW:** "It's hard to get visa, in the United States. And if you're, if we go to U.S. you're just kind of second class citizen but is [which is] not a thing we wanted. Just Canada. The only choice is to come here or not to come here."

When Jared's parents originally brought up the idea of moving to Canada Jared was not greatly affected.

**EM:** "Can you remember when you first heard about it?"

**JW:** "When I first heard about it I was in grade six...at that time I didn't care much about it....I think I didn't (think of) that as a big deal or something and...I...I really didn't pay much attention to that, just it's another, like another change in life..? This moving to Canada or something."

Jared's departure from Taiwan happened to coincide with the migrations of two of his closest friends, thus perhaps reducing the sense of bereavement which D.C. Herberg (1989) has found often attends migration losses such as loss of friends.

**JW:** "It was eight of us, and three of us - one was going to Toronto, one is going to Texas, like I'm going to Vancouver. The one who went to Toronto was my best friend...so we phone each other for weekend." [on weekends]

Jared had been, he felt, part of the decision to come to Canada.

**EM:** "(Earlier) you said 'we chose to come to Canada,' you said we. You were part of the decision?"

**JW:** "Yeh. All of (us), yeh. So that's why I should be responsible for, for this....to capitalize on it."

However, while still in Taiwan he had not concerned himself greatly with what he might or might not encounter in Canada:

**JW:** "Ah, mostly I think that I didn't have too many expectations when I was coming here...I cannot recall any expectations."

Over the years in Taiwan, Jared's father developed a small wholesale trading business, importing popcorn from Indiana and fruits from Thailand, and exporting electric fans to South Africa, a business which he continued to operate from Taiwan after the move to Canada. Although the whole family had landed immigrant status, Jared's father was what is described locally as an 'astronaut,' spending two to three months at a time in Taiwan with his business, then flying to Canada to visit for a week or two with his family before returning again to the business. Jared's mother stayed in their new "4,000 square foot," \$600,000 home ("with a mortgage," commented Jared ruefully), and cared for her two sons. She was usually alone most of the time in the home as she knew very few people in the community.

One of the main reasons for the Wing family's move to Canada, and consistent with the findings of studies by Early et al. (1989) and Stewart (1993), was their perception of better long term educational prospects for their sons.

**EM:** "Why did your family decide to come to Canada?"

**JW:** "Two reasons - one is political reasons, the other is education...is because of the education, my (need) for education..?" According to Jared, his parents "certainly hope that I, will do better here."

Jared was critical of the Taiwanese system, believing that the schools put too much emphasis on memorization and study, "cause all we do is study, and...they didn't teach us about thinking..? They just teach us to memorize..?" His aunt, a professor at a Japanese university, had told him that Taiwanese universities "were a joke - cheating all the time." However, Jared was also critical of the Canadian system stating, "...but I found that teachers are, teachers are not as efficient...as the teachers in Taiwan."

Jared achieved high grades in Taiwan and had no trouble matching them in Canada.

**JW:** In Taiwan..."English, 92-93%; Chinese, 90%; Music, 82% - I was terrible in Music! Art, 85-86%; Math, 93-95%; Science, 90%; History, 87%; Geography, 87%; P.E., Class Leader." In Canada..."English, A; Math, A; Science, A; Social Studies, B+ to A; P.E., A; Computer Studies, A; Keyboarding, A; Business Ed., A."

To say that Jared was a remarkable student would be an understatement. In one Science class that I observed, the teacher was asking review questions of the class in general. Several students were responding, but not Jared. When the teacher resorted to selecting students to respond, he did not select Jared. Then, a difficult question was posed, and there was a long silent gap as the teacher waited for a response. At least a minute passed before Jared provided a quiet, complex, correct answer. Later, a difficult question on isotopes was posed. Jared tried, at first unsuccessfully, then correcting himself, provided an accurate answer. Jared responded only to the most difficult questions, or questions other students could not answer. At one point he even corrected the teacher's penta, hepta, octa sequencing. By the lesson's end, Jared had answered more of the questions than all other class members combined.

Canadian education was one of the few things that Jared had investigated prior to his move to Canada, and was perhaps the only thing he had looked

forward to in the move.

EM: "Were there things that you really looked forward to in Canada?"

JW: "I think, I really looking forward for the new like um, the school here...? Like in a new way..? Like how people study, like they do projects...and, cause we really never get to do those things in junior high school in Taiwan, so, I think it might be, like a, really awesome, really awesome opportunity to study."

When I asked him about his desire to learn, his response suggested Hoffman's (1990) finding that Southeast Asian groups often place a high cultural value on education.

JW: "I think we're taught to be, to have to do good in school...that's we taught to be..."

EM: "From your parents, or..?"

JW: "From the context...like ah, parents, TV, school...did you get the point?" [it's hard not to get the point]

In Canada, however, he found that a singular emphasis on academics was not given the same value.

JW: "But I think being in Canada, doing good in school is not everything, right?"

EM: "How is it different?"

JW: "I think for them, [Canadians] like being successful athletically..? is kind of important, and socially..? But academically it's not, it's not that important."

EM: "But how do you see it for you?"

JW: "It's...all of them are important."

Jared's reference to his desire to excel in every aspect of education in Canada gives some indication of the tremendous pressure that Jared experienced in connection with education in the new society. For Jared and his parents, Jared's education in Canada was looked upon as an investment. The investment meant stress for Jared:

EM: "Stress, pressure...have you felt a great deal of stress or pressure since you came to Canada?"

JW: ".....Hmmm....I think I feel, I feel that the stress is always there, it's not any particular time. Always there."

EM: "Can you say why it's there?"

JW: "Because my parents, not necessarily my parents - we chose to come to Canada, and if we cannot get much from it then it will...like in my (opinion), it won't really be worth it..? In a subsequent interview, Jared stated, "So it's got to be tough, like a, to, to live here. But I don't want them to waste their money because um I, I didn't do good in school here or, like ah, got into troubles or something like that."

Jared felt that as an immigrant he had to work extra hard in school.

JW: "For immigrants, I think it's fairly important to work hard because you're behind others when you come here, right? If you want to get ahead you have to work much more harder."

And Jared did work extra hard. He chose to take a Summer Session course prior to his grade 10 year, and after grade 10, registered for an English 11 Summer

Session course so that he would be able to take a higher than usual number of grade 11 courses in his grade 11 year.

Jared also felt pressure to produce high grades.

**JW:** "And for Canadian students, some Canadian Students, 'B' is a pretty good mark, but my parents want an 'A'...because that what, what is good for them, so they're seeing me from the, they're looking at me from the Taiwanese scale..."

Immediately after receiving a report card, Jared was required to bring it home and fax it to his father in Taiwan. So important was Jared's education to his parents that when his mother read of overcrowding at the senior secondary school Jared would be required to attend during the next school year, the parents discussed selling their new home in Richmond and moving to White Rock or West Vancouver where the Schools were less crowded. Jared also felt pressure concerning his educational future.

**EM:** "Have you ever experienced great anxiety since you came to Canada?"

**JW:** "Yeh!"

**EM:** "What was it in relation to?"

**JW:** "Like to my future...like..."

**EM:** "Can you explain that a little more?"

**JW:** "Yeh...Something like...ah, where, where should I go for study after secondary school? What kind of thing should I study, and what kind of job should I do? What kind of field should I choose ...to go into? Cause I'm not really sure about it, what kind of things, where I want to go...what kind of courses..."

This concern was compounded by his parents' desire that he enter only the finest university.

**JW:** "First of all, my father didn't want me to go to U.B.C. cause he felt, he felt that it's not a very good school...and he wanted me to go to a university like McGill, Waterloo, those famous [highly respected] universities...and then, he tell me that you better go to some university like Stanford or...those universities down in the States, cause cause he felt that those universities are still better than the universities in the East...and he told me that, he told me not to worry about the money..."

Despite the intense stress which sometimes caused him to question - "I sometimes wonder, I sometimes wonder the what, why I'm doing this...'why why are you studying so hard to survive?'" - Jared retained the view throughout our six month interview period that "it's good, it's a really good investment."

The only time Jared ever questioned the wisdom of the 'Canadian investment' was when he personally experienced racist expletives directed at his family: "Is Canada the country? Is it a wrong choice for us?" In his journal Jared related that on one of the rare occasions the whole family was

together they had gone crab fishing at White Rock. While there a group of Caucasian youths ("...probably the skateboard type...I think that they're just, they're just not educated.") shouted racist remarks at the large numbers of Chinese fishing at the water's edge.

**JW:** "So I turned around and yelled at him 'Fuck you.' I was going to say some racist remarks such as 'You Stupid White Honkey.' The next time I meet this kind of guy, I will beat them up for sure regardless of their size."

Reflecting on the incident later, Jared wrote that if it had happened at school he would have fought the boys, despite the repercussions.

**JW:** "We are the minority here and I would not mind if I get a suspension because I fight back. I can afford a suspension but I can not afford losing my dignity."

Although it was an isolated incident, it was experienced as the worst thing that had happened to him in Canada and as something that caused him to question his future in Canada, tending to confirm Abbott's (1990) and Moghaddam et al.'s (1990) finding that racism most often negatively affects adaptation.

Jared's strong sense of justice, however, would not permit him to see racism as connected solely with Caucasians. In his journal he related another incident where several Cantonese girls were sitting on tables in violation of school lunchroom rules. A Caucasian supervisor came in and told the girls to get off the table. One of the girls began smashing a garbage can and yelling "RACISM!" in Cantonese. When the supervisor did not react, she yelled "RACISM!" in English, to which the supervisor responded indignantly, "It is not racist!" Jared believed that the girl was citing racism to excuse her own wrong. He commented, "If that's a Caucasian girl...if the same thing happened to a white girl it doesn't have to be racist at all." [it wouldn't have been considered racist.]

Jared believed that he had experienced very little prejudice because he did not group exclusively with Chinese students as most other Chinese students appeared to him to do.

**JW:** "And I don't stick with those Chinese people. I think I'm more open than other people [other Chinese]. Then people [all other students] treat me sort of equally in school."

**EM:** "So in school, then, racism or prejudice hasn't been a problem for you?"

**JW:** "...Not as far as I've seen."

Jared felt that he had a better school experience than most ESL students

because he did not turn the other cheek as he maintained they often did, and because he took the initiative to stand up for himself. "I'm not as puny!" Jared did not view prejudice as a necessary cost of adaptation, consciously resisting a trend among new immigrants that he and researchers such as Ogbu (1991) and Jaffer (1993) have observed.

While seeing other ESL students as weak, Jared was not insensitive to their circumstances, which aroused a political sense of justice in him.

**JW:** "I believe there is no representative for ESL students." Regarding school staff, he said "If they don't say anything about ESL issues, it won't bother their career or issues... (Someone in the past) tried to get more budget for ESL students, but she didn't get along with the administration, and she was transferred. She was a Chinese lady." In a subsequent journal entry Jared recorded, "I once told Mrs. Ms. Robins, a sub assistant ESL teacher, 'we are the orphans [orphans] in this school.' I was never [wasn't] wrong."

In Jared's opinion, if one doesn't speak out against the wrong, one becomes a part of the wrong.

**JW:** "And sometimes I feel ESL students are not treated corre, um, right, but sometimes I think I'm, what's the word, too afraid to speak up..? And then you're not - I think that you're like exactly like exactly what is wrong. And I don't think that is right. But I think that you're diminishing yourself, your full personality and then you will not become who you are, you'll be the same as the rest of the people, the people who don't speak up."

Jared's political awakening in Taiwan developed further in Canada.

**JW:** "When I was back in Taiwan I feel like I not as discouraging as right now. I believe [believed] there is still some hope in politics...in Taiwan. But after I came to here...it's different to look at a car from inside the car as outside...I saw Taiwan differently, more discouragingly from Canada. Because I read more and saw more unbiased pictures of Taiwan here so I can have a more healthy picture of Taiwan."

Although he was P.E. class leader, and a class president in Taiwan, Jared expressed doubts about his leadership abilities. He felt that in the past and even more so in Canada, he tried to include and please everyone in decisions at the expense of getting things accomplished efficiently.

**JW:** "I'm more confident when I'm doing something by myself. Because I can do it well myself...I'm not social about it."

Over the six month interview period Jared gave numerous indications of a high level of independence, self-sufficiency, and self-motivation, characteristics which researchers such as Berry (1976) and Yum (1987) have found influence the adaptation process positively. Additionally, Jared gave no indication of a need for reliance on others, apparently contradicting field dependency and locus of control conceptions of East Asian groups as being

field dependent and functioning with an external locus of control. Jared was self-corrective, often asking me to comment on the way he had expressed himself in conversation or to check his journal entries for grammar or spelling. "If you, like (see) a big spelling mistakes..?" He was also self-improving, registering of his own accord (and against his mother's wishes) in a pre school day chemistry class so that he could fit a woodworking class into his school day. Jared was self-directed. I asked which school his family would want him to attend:

**JW:** "I don't know...I'd have to check the schools first."

**EM:** "You said, I would."

**JW:** "My parents would have to check too, but it depends on individuals mostly...White Rock would be better." In a recent letter that Jared sent to me he commented, "I figured out that the older you are or the higher you go, the more independent you have to be." And when I asked Jared if he was involved in a religion, he laughed and gave me a characteristically independent answer: "No...I'm, I'm my own religion."

Jared seldom spoke of his multi-ethnic environment, rather tending to view his school and community solely in terms of Caucasians and Chinese. He was unprepared for the large numbers of Chinese he encountered in Canada.

**JW:** "But I, I was pretty surprised that there's so many Chinese people here, when we first came here...it's like so weird, like so many Chinese people..." (we both laugh)

**EM:** "You weren't expecting that?"

**JW:** "They tell me there is a lot, OK, I think there might be like 10, 10 or like not, not as many as there are here, like half of them...sometimes half of the class is Chinese. (laughs) It's pretty scary."

However, Jared experienced considerable dissatisfaction with the Chinese he found in Canada. In his journal, Jared recorded...

**JW:** "Throughout the school year I have been seeing the Hong Kongese cheating all the time. They will type in the info needed into their computer dictionary and call it out [retrieve it] in the test. They will exchange answers between classes to get a better mark. I really dislike these people. They are the people with-out even a little respect of themselves."

Jared disliked what he saw as the Chinese tendency to restrict interaction to their own group rather than to actively associate with others and to adapt with the larger society.

**EM:** "How important is the Chinese community for you?"

**JW:** "I try not to go to these shopping [the Chinese malls] as much as I can...cause I just don't feel right. I don't like the way that they have, they think, the way that they talk, the way that they do things..."

**EM:** "What bothers you about it?"

**JW:** "Like, it's it's, it's almost like I don't like to stick with those Chinese people in school [compares associating with the Chinese community to participation in Chinese student cliques at school]...it's almost the same thing. Cause I don't feel it's right to stay, stick



with your own group instead of, like umm, join, joining others...mingle with those Caucasian society...they are always, they are like closed."

Jared felt unhappy that he could not like the Chinese in Canada, considering it regrettable that he found many of them to be offensive.

**JW:** "They are like showy, stylish..? And sometimes they just look at their friends and sometimes they look arrogant..? Conceit..? So, sometimes I dislike Chinese people..? And I find, I don't believe that's good."

Jared believed that the Chinese immigrants' behaviors were not consistent with traditional Chinese values. Although he told me "I try to like them," he also admitted that "I kind of dutifully know those people." During the initial months of interviewing I speculated that Jared's antipathy toward Chinese immigrants in Canada was related to his early experience in Taiwan where the Kuomintang Chinese regime attempted to eradicate his culture and language. However, months after the interview process, Jared wrote to me and confided, "I never really like any Chinese people in Canada except Paula." Paula, was also from Taiwan, but unlike Jared, was part of the more recent, Mandarin speaking Kuomintang group. Clearly Jared's disgust with the Chinese in Canada had to do with what he perceived to be their lack of interest in interacting with the wider society and their vulgar behaviors than it did with his experiences in Taiwan.

More than anything, Jared viewed the Chinese in Canada as impediments to his own adaptation process, even impacting his acquisition of English language proficiencies. At the end of the school year Jared expressed a preference for his family's relocation to "White Rock," some 25 kilometres south of the area of Richmond preferred by Chinese families.

**EM:** "Why is that?"

**JW:** "Because there is less Chinese."

**EM:** "What do you mean?"

**JW:** "Makes me speak English...learn English better... But that's not racist...it's not racist...you got to have a choice."

In this, Jared's views correspond with those of communication competency advocates such as Kim (1988) and Biggs (1987) who contend that conversing primarily with members of one's own language group after arrival in the new society is detrimental to acquisition of receiving society linguistic competencies.

With reference to his first months in Canada, Jared told me, "I'm, I'm quite lonely...miserably..?" Given his perception of the Chinese in Canada it

is understandable that Jared did not attempt to cultivate friendships with them, but he also found that friendship with receiving society members (in his eyes, caucasians) was very difficult to attain: "and a truly Canadian friend is not easy to find." Jared, like the student migrants in studies by Uehara and Hicks (1989) and Rohrlich and Martin (1991) considered making friends with receiving society peers his most important adaptation concern. In his journal he wrote,

**JW:** "The other thing is friendship. That will be the most important thing for me in my entire life. But it is very hard to find a true friend. Someone you can trust, can share your confidence and willing to help you. For me friends (good friends) are the most important thing."

Although Jared considered that adaptation in general had not been difficult for him, he believed that it was incomplete without Caucasian friends.

**JW:** "I think everything, everything's OK. It's not that hard...I think it's pretty easy for me, because cause I don't have any problems or troubles with living in Canada, and, and, the only problem is, is that, I cannot adapt like, completely - say, like, I don't have any, I don't have too many Caucasian friends, and if I do [if I have Caucasian friends in the future] I would like to be able to go out and eat with them or do something other people do here."

For Jared, friendship in Canada was different from friendship in Taiwan, and he felt that this might be why he had difficulty making friends with Caucasian Canadians.

**JW:** "...and one thing I, I sort of realize is that...uh...when, the way people treat friends is different here than Taiwan."

**EM:** "What do you mean, Jared?"

**JW:** "Often when people are talking with each other in Canada, I found out that, they, they just - when I'm talking to them; like say you're talking to me, and I just go 'oh yeh..? uh-huh...,uh-huh, uh-huh...'"

**EM:** "You mean Canadians do that?"

**JW:** "Yeh...and...in Taiwan I think - maybe it might be a language problem (in a doubtful tone), but in Taiwan I feel there's more discussion..? Maybe...interaction...action? I feel we were closer in Taiwan...here we just know each other and each other's name. I think it's more acquaintance than friendship...friendship here is not as pure as in Taiwan."

Jared did not see language itself as the major problem in cross-cultural friendship interactions, but rather, spoke of non-verbal factors.

**JW:** "Sometimes they don't maybe just like, they sort of listen to you but they don't pay attention to you...and, I think you cannot get that from their facial expression [you cannot read what they understand of your words from their facial expression], but you can feel it sometimes. I feel language is a factor but in your heart is a major factor, because if you try, if you will try to communicate, or to interact with somebody else, language can, language can help but it won't, it won't factor...yeh, it's not the difference thing. [it's not the major factor, it's not what makes the difference] Cause you can pick up language a lot...after awhile. There's something more."

**EM:** "What is it?"

JW: "It's the heart....this is how I feel, and I don't, and this is the way how (I) think I try to feel from the other people's point."

Jared's observations concerning his difficulty understanding facial expressions is suggestive of research findings by Wolfgang and Wolofsky (1991) which indicate that such difficulties are common in cross-cultural encounters and can lead to a misreading of the intent or context of the speaker's verbal message. His difficulties in "feeling from the other people's point" suggest Disman's (1990) position that contextual cues from the natal culture are not readily applicable to understanding communicative interaction in the receiving society. Jared's need for non-verbal contextual cues and interdependent meanings is consistent with the characteristics E.T.Hall (1977) describes for high context cultures such as the Chinese.

During an interview in early May Jared asked me about "boys - girl relationships" in Canada. "How is does it work in Canada?" Jared told me that he had not had a girlfriend in Taiwan, then reflected on what he could see were the differences between Taiwanese and Canadian boy - girl relations.

JW: (In Taiwan...) "...there's not much interaction between the boys and girls and and sometimes - I feel it's not healthy because you won't, you won't be able to really, ah, really know what's going on like, what kind of thing should you do, should you say when you are with another - with a girl..? And....it's not healthy because, ah, there is no interaction and ...we'll feel really weird and strange when we are with a girl here. And I feel that the relationship here [Canada] is much healthier. Because, uh, they're learning how to, uh, treat a girl, how to treat your lady friend you...it's like, different..."

Jared viewed with disapproval the newly arrived Chinese immigrant students' indiscriminate rush to establish romantic relations with each other in Canada, which he saw as a reaction to their new found freedom from the restrictions of Taiwan.

JW: "For instance the new student [Chinese immigrant] came, and he would tell another one which girl he would pick..? The next day very next day..? (expressing disbelief) Then they will help him, cheer him up [set him up], something like that, and I feel that's really ridiculous (we both laugh), and I don't really like that. Cause it's not, it's not, it's really ridiculous you'll fall in love with someone the second day you see them [the second day you're in Canada] something like that. It's just, everything's so strick in Taiwan...and after they come here, they just, they want to taste the freedom of having a girlfriend or something...I, I don't like that."

Jared's interest in boy-girl relations was a prelude to what was to be one of his deepest experiences after arriving in Canada. His feelings for a Caucasian girl that he and a Chinese Philippine girl sat with in Science class

deepened to the point that he asked her out. "I asked a Caucasian girl out today." She did not answer him immediately:

**JW:** "The girl told me through the other girl that she is going to answer me on Tuesday. But I doubt the possibility of any success."

Jared's doubts were confirmed, when the girl told him through the other girl that she was not ready to become attached at this time. Jared was heartbroken, but apart from myself, he expressed his feelings to no one. A week later Jared brought to me for proofreading an essay he was writing for English, entitled "What is so great about love?" The hurt he had experienced came through as he tried to explain and rationalize love [see Appendix I]. At the end of the school year I asked Jared,

**EM:** "Since you came to Canada have you ever felt a sense of joy, real happiness..?"

**JW:** "For how long?"

**EM:** "Even for a day, a week, or always..."

**JW:** "When I asked Maria out. The deepest thing I've experienced in Canada was the day with that girl..?"

Jared's parents disapproved of girlfriends, saying "It's too early," maintaining that a girlfriend would interfere with Jared's studies.

**JW:** "I found it tough to do things in the Canadian way. Or, at least, my parents cannot accept some Canadian ideas like having a girlfriend in grade 10."

This was one of the few instances when Jared's values appeared to contrast with those of his parents. I asked him...

**EM:** "What do you think your parents would think of her?"

**JW:** "If I brought her home? If they were not biased about like (in a doubtful voice) - 'don't have a girlfriend or something'- the, they will think she is the greatest...because she is very patient..? and...she is ...I think she got kind of a Asian character...something special..?"

Some time after the girlfriend incident, I read in Jared's journal, "Things like getting a girlfriend or miss treat someone are things I am trying not to do." Perhaps he was trying to abide by his parents' values, or trying to keep from being hurt again. However, in a letter received some months after the interview period, Jared wrote,

**JW:** "Now I am really trapped in marks. Before I do anything, I must evaluate its potential effects on my marks. For example, I want to ask this girl out, but I'm worrying about its affects might have on my marks...I really want to know what it's like to be with someone. I guess it's just one of those decisions which you never know what's good or bad, early or late until you decide."

In coming to Canada, Jared experienced several changes in life which he felt were highly significant. Jared found that after the intense focus on

study and the highly regulated life in Taiwan, Canada was experienced as a release, an unfolding of new possibilities, and an opening up of self. It was here in Canada that he had been able to volunteer at a local nature park and at a fitness centre, to actually consider the possibility of a part time job, and to entertain the possibility of having a girl friend.

**JW:** "After I came here I have more time to...get into more areas, other than studying...say our piano, sports..."

**EM:** "Do you play the piano?" (Surprised that he would have time to)

**JW:** (a pleased smile) "Yeh, I play the piano, yeh. And I realized that there ah, it's better than Taiwan..? In some ways... Cause you get to, cause you can get more out of your life, than if you're only studying. It's like a freedom. I think I'm not so shy too."

After coming to Canada, baseball became a major interest for Jared, a release from the pressures of study, and an opportunity for interaction with people other than Chinese. He discovered that he was very good at it, and was accepted on an intercity league team, but his parents' concerns regarding his education weighed heavily on him.

**JW:** "Cause, cause if my goal is to be a baseball player then if I, if I really become a baseball player, then my parents might not be as safe, satisfied as if I work hard at the science department or something like that...because my parents' attitude is not as...as...I think they are biased! So they cannot be differentiate about my goal." [they cannot differentiate between their wishes and my goals]

The change experienced as most significant by Jared in coming to Canada was one that surprised me in some of our final interviews, because he had given no indication of it previously. It appears that Jared had been reflecting on his childhood for some time, but had only come to a realization concerning it near the end of our time together.

**EM:** "Did coming to Canada affect your childhood? How you grew up? (my question was related to maturation)

**JW:** "I think I found my childhood."

**EM:** "What's that?" (completely surprised)

**JW:** "I think I found my childhood here, cause I got to play more sports here..." Some months after the interview period, Jared wrote in a letter, "As I've told you earlier, I've found my childhood in Canada but and yet it went by so quick and soundless, a long sigh in the night just not seems to be enough to mend the lost."

Jared felt that he had been denied a childhood in Taiwan, and even his best efforts to retrieve it here in Canada, amongst academic responsibilities and his parents' wishes, were not enough. There was still a feeling that he had missed something precious, a longing for the child he never was, a realization that the time for childhood was slipping away before he could know childhood for himself.

During his time in Canada Jared experienced several other changes. In our initial interviews, which occurred shortly after his experience with racist youths, Jared expressed what might be described as a sojourner (temporary) perspective.

**JW:** "I'm not sure I'll stay in Canada. I'm not sure I will be for sure...because, because the thing I see, the people I've met, I mean some of them aren't nice people, right? Some of them are pretty discouraging..? I think it's not a...I'm not sure that I'll stay here for sure. A possibility." However, Jared did not see a return to Taiwan as desirable.

**EM:** "Might you go back to Taiwan?"

**JW:** "Might not...because this is a better place than Taiwan, right? So if you want me to go back to a worse place, it might be hard."

A return to Taiwan was also not practical because if he returned Jared would be required to take military training, something he considered "useless." Although Jared's parents were committed to a permanent stay in Canada, in the initial months Jared was not. He was of the opinion that he would stay only for education, after which he would migrate according to the dictates of his profession. "It's really depends on my job, and my career, my profession." However, after a school field trip to Japan in March where he saw tiny, expensive homes, and after becoming more connected through his volunteer work and baseball, Jared became much more committed to a future in Canada.

**JW:** "I would like to stay in."

**EM:** "For the future?"

**JW:** "For the future."

Jared also found that he was changing within himself and that it was difficult to keep up with the changes.

**JW:** "I think my, I'm changing every day, right? I don't understand myself because I cannot catch up with, I'm, I'm changing every day and I cannot catch up with that..." In a subsequent interview when I asked Jared to explain, he said, "Cause, I think we're making a little discovery every day, right..? And I don't think about those things, like, not consciously...or...and I'll change a bit in my personality, but I think that the main personality is still there, but just trim a little branch or something like that. I think it's always the same person..? But, I just reveal more now, of myself, than I did in Taiwan."

Rather than Lim's (1993) incompatible 'dual selves' or Olsen's (1988) non-conflicting 'doubling' of self, we see in Jared's experience of changing self, a revealing of more of his original self.

While Jared was confident of self, he was concerned about natal culture or, that aspect of self which he described as his "roots."

**JW:** "You know, as long as I didn't lose my roots, then I think it's OK." Later, in his journal, Jared added, "It's not that easy to draw that

fine line between roots and adaptation. I mean it's not easy to maintain your roots while you are trying to adapt to a new society. After a while, the ideas of your roots may be distorted by time, new environment and even your own judgements and very soon the root that you're after becomes not exactly the right or original one. Then you start to doubt the 'root.' It's really confusing."

Jared's concern seemed at first to suggest the replacement view of adaptation expressed by Ngo (1993) and Gudykunst and Kim (1984), where adaptation requires a loss of natal culture as elements of the new culture are incorporated. But in actuality, Jared's concern was not with loss, but rather, a concern that as he changed, his roots would not remain unchanged either. There was, however, no fear of absolute loss of roots in the Canadian setting.

**EM:** "But will you lose some of your Chinese roots as you become more Canadian?"

**JW:** "No, because Canadian is everything." ['Canadian' is inclusive of everyone's roots]

From six months of phenomenological interviews and ethnographic observation, and numerous written communications that I received from Jared, several interrelated themes became evident and provide an understanding of the essence of Jared's experience of his initial period of adaptation. The first theme, that of adaptation as self-determination, is indicated by Jared's highly self-motivated, proactive approach to adaptation. The self-confidence to actively pursue adaptation which Jared displayed is attributable in part to his pre-migration grounding in spoken English, and to informational familiarity with the receiving society provided by English tutors from Canada and United States, and by relatives and friends abroad. It may also be attributable to the relatively high socio-economic status of Jared's family, which researchers such as Portes and Rumbaut (1990) suggest is connected with successful adaptations, and which Smith and Tomlinson (1989) have associated with high academic achievement in the receiving country. Jared's strong motivation to actively pursue adaptation derived from two sources. The first was his displeasure with the denigration of his language and culture and the restrictive educational system he experienced in Taiwan. The second was his perception that rapid adaptation was a key to making his and his parents' migration investment a success.

Jared was required out of necessity to be with large numbers of Chinese

in the school and, because of his parents, to have some involvement in the Chinese community. His antipathy toward the Chinese students and community derived from his perception that their insular and excluding attitudes were not conducive to adaptation, and that any association with them would act to impede his own adaptation. In this respect, Jared's views parallel the position of researchers such as Kim (1988) and De Vos (1990) who posit that participation in inwardly directed ethnic communities limits the adaptation process.

Loneliness, identified by B. S. M. Nann (1982) and Dei (1992) as among the most common and painful of adaptation experiences, remained an aspect of Jared's experience throughout our period of contact. Jared had not made an effort to learn Cantonese, as do many Mandarin speaking immigrant students who wish to make friends with the predominantly Cantonese speaking Chinese student and ethnic community, but chose instead to disassociate himself from the Chinese and to seek friendship with Caucasians. His preference in this regard does not support findings by Ting-Toomey (1981) and Lee and Boster (1991) which suggest that the higher the perceived similarity between people, the higher the attraction. Jared remained lonely because he had rejected the Chinese and at the same time found that cross-cultural friendship was not only difficult to achieve, as Dorais (1991) and Y. Chang (1991) have indicated, but that friendship in Canada did not seem to be the same as friendship in Taiwan. Despite a lack of success in establishing friendships, Jared described friendship as "the most important thing for me in my whole life," lending support to Uehara and Hicks' (1989) and Rohrlich and Martin's (1991) studies which indicate that student migrants consistently rank making friends as their most critical adaptation concern.

Loneliness was not the only or perhaps even the most important factor in Jared's desire for friendship, but rather, his singular choice of Caucasians for friendship and romantic relationships, is indicative of a perception of friendship with Caucasians as facilitating and hastening his adaptation process. In Jared's view, Canadians valued sports and social skills as much as academic competence, and while he had no difficulty with academics or sports, he recognized his lack of culturally appropriate social skills. When



Jared stated that he considered his adaptation incomplete if it did not include friendship with Caucasians, he was emphasizing the one 'Canadian' component he had not attained - social competencies. In his quest for social competencies to facilitate adaptation, Jared's experience suggests an excellent example of Furnham and Bochner's (1986) argument that social skills are best learned through "close, perhaps even intimate links with members of the host society" (p.15). Jared's hoped for friendships with Caucasians also suggest an extension of Gudykunst and Hammer's (1988) uncertainty reduction theory, in that friendship with socially competent members of the receiving society may be seen from Jared's experience to function as a means to reduce social uncertainties.

In his journal, Jared wrote...

**JW:** "I think my situation can be better..? But I don't know how...I say, I feel I need more interaction with people. I don't see there's a system or there's, like, tradition, custom like, we can follow, and, like, gradually adapt...no pattern..."

Despite uncertainties regarding the adaptation process, Jared was able to select those elements of Canadian culture he wished to adopt (volunteering, social skills) and those which he would reject (complacency toward injustice, indifference toward others), a form of selective adaptation described by Adler (1975) as "ethnorelativism" and by Hoffman (1990) as "eclectic adaptation." Jared had also achieved a level of adaptation that Furnham and Bochner (1986) consider provides a vantage point from which new insights into the natal culture are possible ("...I can have a more healthy picture of Taiwan."). Rather than presenting a picture of adaptation as primarily a response to the new environment, as proposed by researchers such as Shade (1989b) and Berry (1992), Jared's experience is clearly more suggestive of Hoffman's (1990) and Raveau's (1987) consideration of adaptation primarily in terms of self-determination and choice.

A second theme concerns Jared's experience of the new society as a release, an opening up of possibilities and of self. Compared with life in Taiwan, Jared found that he had much more free time in Canada, which permitted him to avail himself of a multiplicity of new opportunities. Volunteering at community centres, playing the piano just for relaxation, or excelling in league baseball were new and gratifying experiences, both because they were a

release from previous restrictions, and because they revealed and developed new aspects of self. Rather than feelings of grief and bereavement that D.C. Herberg (1989) and Zwingman and Gunn (1983) maintain are often associated with adaptation, Jared's gratifying experiences in the new environment suggest Furnham and Bochner's (1986) contention that for some immigrants gains far outweigh the effects of losses.

If the release from the past and revealing of self were Jared's most positive experiences of adaptation, they did not come without a cost. Virtually every new release, every new activity in which Jared discovered more of himself contradicted his parents' values of a narrow focus on academics, postponing romantic attachments, and not drawing attention to one's self through political involvements. The contrast between Jared's new awakenings and his parents' values, however, never did degenerate into the open conflict that Aaronowitz (1984) has found often attends such incongruities, primarily because Jared attempted the difficult feat of upholding his parents' values even as he pursued new and often conflicting initiatives. But there were some new experiences that Jared could not compromise, even for his parents' sakes. He could not compromise his dignity by not resisting when the majority took advantage of his family or other immigrants, and above all, he could not afford to lose his last chance at a childhood. He had to know the childhood exhilaration of playing ball and the satisfaction of making a woodwork project, even if these activities did not further his academic future or please his parents.

The third and overriding theme in Jared's initial experience of adaptation was that of 'the investment,' something which was viewed positively by Jared but experienced in terms of intense pressure. The primary purpose of the Wing family's migration was the education of their sons, something the whole family, including Jared, looked upon as a desirable investment. While the parents' contribution to the investment was an economic and relocation sacrifice, the major responsibility for making the investment "pay off" fell upon the two sons, especially Jared as the oldest. Jared was also highly aware that he and his brother, rather than his parents, were the primary beneficiaries of the investment. As such Jared not only felt the weight of

responsibility to make the investment pay by achieving well, but also felt responsible for the sacrifice his father had made in moving to a place where he could not both work and reside, and that his mother had made in coming to a place where she would be isolated. I asked Jared about his father being an 'astronaut.'

EM: "How do you find that, Jared?"

JW: "Cause I know it's going to happen, when I'm coming here [I knew what to expect], so...I think I'm used to that, I think...I have to take like more responsibilities...so it's not easy, because (when) there is something like you cannot do something, you have to like, help the family..."

EM: "How is it for your mother?"

JW: "The same...cause my mom, phoned, phoned him like every day."

Though he knew it was impossible, Jared would have preferred a smaller, more liveable investment. "And, if I wanted to [if I could] choose between my father, and money, I would prefer him to live here, and he, could spend less on me...I'd prefer him to be with me." Jared also felt responsible for his parents' future peace of mind, in that if he didn't make the investment pay, "if I really become a baseball player, then my parents might not, be as safe, satisfied..."

Perhaps the greatest pressure for Jared in relation to the investment was the necessity of carefully weighing every new and fulfilling interest against its potential effect on the outcome of the investment. In a letter sent to me almost a year after we first met, Jared wrote,

"Now I am really trapped in marks. Before I do anything, I must evaluate its potential effects on my marks." And from the same letter..."I wanted to go camping with scouts, I wanted to play baseball, I wanted to spend lots of time in woodworking shop. I would have done so much when I [if I] did not have so much responsibilities."

The enormous pressure of trying to fit everything into his life ("I want it all") while at the same time working hard to realize the family investment became increasingly discouraging for Jared. No matter how appealing or significant other experiences were to Jared, they must always of necessity take second (if any) place to the investment. And increasingly Jared found that though he was succeeding in realizing the investment, the investment was not paying dividends of satisfaction: "Nothing seems to be going right for me even though I'm getting straight 'A's in school."

The pressure that Jared experienced was not the aculturative or psychological stress that has been traditionally associated with adaptation by

researchers such as Berry (1976) or Kim (1988). Jared's experience of pressure, however, was a direct consequence of the family's migration perspective, and as such suggests a type of adaptation stress which has seldom been recognized in immigrant adaptation studies.

#### 4.06 *Rashid Khan*

Rashid's participation in the study was marked by a series of missed and rescheduled interviews. He seldom arrived on time for interviews, and after arriving seemed impatient to be on his way. I later discovered that Rashid's impatience was not only an aspect of our interviews, as I observed the same impatient restlessness in his interactions with acquaintances, sports coaches, and teachers. During interviews, Rashid would continuously glance about and reposition himself on his chair. He liked to hold and toy with the tape recorder microphone in his hands as we talked. Rashid usually spoke in a serious tone, seldom smiling or laughing. His dialogue verbatims contain a number of pauses, often marked by the expression "eh," and, following the popular teen jargon of the school, sentences which rise in tone interrogatively. Rashid frequently used the word 'maybe' when his intended meaning was 'probably.'

Rashid Khan was one of a small number of Iranian immigrants at Premier Junior Secondary School, and the only one who was not Moslem. He was slightly shorter than most other grade 10 male students, and was slim, wiry, and athletic. Rashid had brown eyes and olive skin, and during the interview period, kept his black hair very short. He wore the blue jeans, T-shirts, and running shoes favored by many of the school's less affluent students, and travelled whenever possible by bicycle.

Rashid arrived in Vancouver with his parents, older brother, and younger sister, six months prior to our first meeting. He had been born and brought up in Tehran, the capital and largest city of Iran, where his family lived in an upper class neighbourhood.

RK: "Yeh, when we were so small..? Because we lived in a better area than other people, so...like the kids didn't swear...they didn't, we never swore...like we said what - 'dumb!' 'stupid!' 'idiot!' like that..? That was the worst we could say..? But when...we went to nother place to visit someone, then we learned from those people...they swore so much."

Rashid remembered occasional holidays when the family travelled by car to

different parts of Iran.

**RK:** "Not a lot of travel...in summers we went somewhere, in winters we went somewhere...but not like lot. When I was so small, we went to what you call it...it's the...Persian Ocean? Yeh I think it's called. Yeh, we went there and I think it's salt water...nice...and I saw sharks there."

Prior to leaving Iran, Rashid had not visited other countries or travelled by plane. The family did not have relatives or friends who lived outside of the country.

The late 1980s saw a catastrophic war with neighbouring Iraq and intensification of fundamentalist Moslem control over all aspects of Iranian life under the aged religious leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. At that time Rashid's father managed a chain of large department stores, but because he was not a Moslem his position with the company had become tenuous. He could not get a promotion. Rashid reflected in support of his father, "He could be higher [promoted] if he lied (about his religion) - people had respect for him." In addition to career uncertainties, the Khans were concerned about the political climate.

**RK:** "Our family didn't like the government, because in those countries you don't get to say what you want about the government, because otherwise they kill you."

The parents came to a decision to leave Iran.

Rashid was 11 years old when the family left for Sweden. His father was well read and had decided that Canada would be the best location for the family, but he had been unsuccessful in obtaining a Canadian immigration visa.

**RK:** "They didn't choose Sweden, it just came (or) something. They chose Canada first, but my dad say it's [Sweden] OK. They said maybe Sweden, Canada, Soviet (Union)."

An immigration visa for Sweden, the country of second choice, had also been difficult to obtain while in Iran.

**RK:** "But we went to Turkey first...we landed there first."

**EM:** "How long were you in Turkey?"

**RK:** "For a month. Fifteen days."

**EM:** "Why did you go there?"

**RK:** "Because we couldn't get our visa...so we went to Turkey and it was easier...so we got it after 10 days, we got it."

Upon landing in Stockholm, the family moved to a small city in the south central area of Sweden. After settling in the community, Rashid's father "went to college in Sweden" to be a "head chef cook." Although he'd had no experience of cooking in Iran, Rashid's father opened a Continental European

style restaurant in the city. Rashid's mother, who had kept house in Iran, also went to work in the restaurant. According to Rashid, the restaurant quickly became a success: "After a year, many customers."

The Khans did not become Swedish citizens because they felt that it might hinder their chance of receiving the still hoped for Canadian immigration visa. After five years in Sweden the Khans succeeded in obtaining the Canadian visa and decided to leave Sweden. This time, however, the children were consulted, with the parents saying, "you have to have respect for the smaller (children's) opinion." Rashid decided in favor of the move, stating "I would like to see new places." Rashid felt that there were several reasons for the family's unanimous decision in favor of a second migration.

**RK:** "80 percent because it's too racist...other percent was that we should get a better education, maybe...and...because it's better for business here (Canada)."

The family business had been the focal point of vandalism which the Khans interpreted as racism.

**RK:** "He sold the restaurant because of racism...because it's racist they wrote on the windows."

Neither of the Khan family's migrations conform to the chain migration type, in that relatives or friends were not present in either of the receiving countries to influence the decision to migrate or choice of destination.

The family landed in Toronto and spent a month looking around before deciding to move on to the Vancouver area.

**EM:** "Why did your parents decide on Vancouver?"

**RK:** "Ah...because they said there is more jobs and is better for business."

The family did not have the financial means they once had, and upon arriving in the Vancouver area found accommodation in a run down, family apartment complex behind a local shopping centre in Richmond. The apartment's costs were a continual aggravation to Rashid.

**RK:** "First we came there..? It's not...it's so expensive to live there...it's not that nice even. There is nicer place for much cheaper. Like you have to pay laundry for one twenty-five, for drying one twenty-five. But I know town houses, much nicer than this..? It's (the other townhouse) only, eh, 900 (dollars per month), we pay little bit more than 900, eh...around 12,000 [\$1,200.00] like that...but, and Danny? He lives in like a townhouse apartment...and they have like dryer, and dishdryer dishwasher, laundry dryer and like that...that's why I don't like this place."

From my own knowledge of local prices for rental homes and apartments I

recognized the accuracy of Rashid's assessment that the family was paying too much for what they were getting. I too had looked at the same complex when searching for accommodation a year earlier. Our family had decided against living in the complex because of the cost and because the complex showed signs of neglect and vandalism.

Excessive damage at the complex had prompted the apartment manager to institute several measures to control teen vandalism.

**RK:** "The manager...? The manager is not nice...you know, that's why I don't like it...because you're youine [you're even] not allowed to be outside before 11 in the morning, in holidays. You have to...you can't go out and play passing ball, you have to be there after 11. And, five o'clock...? the basketball courts is closed, so we can't play. And, and, you can't be outside after seven."

**EM:** "Really?" (surprised)

**RK:** "Yeh...it's a curfew."

I asked Rashid about meeting people, because I had remembered seeing numerous teens at the apartment complex when I was there previously.

**RK:** "Like the place we live at...? There is there is not people we can go around with. You know the parents are like small kids [act immature] and the kids are like smaller kids [even more immature]. They are like not good people - I don't like them, because...they are like childish, you know, even ah the ones in our age are so childish...and so I don't have any friends around my house."

Because the family had moved into Richmond during the summer break, and because Rashid did not think highly of the teens in his apartment complex, he spent much of his time outdoors in the neighbourhood.

**RK:** "Summertime. Yeh...first few days, I found...it was good, it was OK...I thought it was a nice place. I still think it is. Nice place...I just went around to just find the roads and...stuff like that."

**EM:** "Did you see anything that you liked?"

**RK:** "Yeh. The fishing! In Steveston. Second day, we come here, me and my brother, we went to the store to like find out different places (to fish) then we went fishing because my brother is a good fisher...yeh, yeh he is really good. So we went to the water and we saw sa-moms, big ones, jumping...and then we said 'Oh, they('ll) never bite,' so then we bought fishing rods and we tried all the time and they never bite on our baits, so...so, then...but another guy [teen] came, and he had like a big hook and a big weight...to put it on his line...? And he just, just like tried to snag them and pull the rod! So but that's illegal...eh? (But) We don't know. And I laughed at him and I said he's trying to catch like that - it's maybe one out of thousand that he can catch. Then he caught so many of them, like seven of them...? I saw this guy had like seven of them, and I was like sharked, sh-shocked, my just, my brother told me 'I start this too!'"

Although Rashid became aware that fishing for salmon by snagging was illegal, he continued to fish in this manner with several new teen acquaintances until misfortune struck.

**RK:** "Then I tried, then I got one, it was so big I didn't catch it...it broke my rod..and then I don't have any rod because my rod was a little bit old, so I don't have anything to fish with."

Rashid's fishing came to an end because his elderly second hand rod had broken, and he did not have the money to replace it. The fishing spot was located in a public park at the end of a three kilometre walk from Rashid's apartment complex.

**RK:** "You know the dyke...I like that because I, me and my brother, after we found the fishing place, we always walked there because it was summer. So...we went there every day every day in two months, so we got tired of it [tired of walking]. Then we said, 'Next time we go there we have to we'll buy bikes...we'll have, until that, we won't go there until we ride bikes!' And then we didn't buy some...we...we got stuck or something [stuck for cash]. So we walked then still."

The family had been well to do before leaving Iran and in Sweden there had still been enough money to send remittances to relatives in Iran.

**RK:** "In Sweden, my dad had a restaurant, so he had enough money...so he sent to my relatives, some of them which didn't have a good economy..? Sent them money...but in Canada, we just come here, so, not *just* came here, we have been here a year now...just year [10 months]...and so, eh, our economy [financial circumstances] is not that good to help other people, other relatives."

The family's financial circumstances became severe in Canada due to the father's low paying jobs. Because his English language skills were rudimentary, he could find work only in fast food restaurants.

**Rk:** "He is trying [hoping] to start a restaurant. He's also working...found a job after one month, first worked in Bob's Submarine, now at Lee's Chicken. I think he will start a fast food restaurant." At a subsequent interview Rashid spoke with pride of his father's ability to find work quickly. When his father quit his first job..."and after a week, or less, I think, he found another job...yeh a better one. Yeh just started as a line cook...and now he is like head cook."

Rashid also took jobs whenever he could find them. He missed one interview because he "got a one day job delivering flyers," another interview due to "helping set up for the carnival, fair," and another when he found temporary work at a yard clean-up. Rashid's mother spoke no English upon arrival in Canada, and did not attempt to find employment. She registered at a local community centre for ESL classes. Rashid expressed little concern for her plight.

**EM:** "Do you help her (with English) sometimes?"

**Rk:** "Yeh, sometimes (doubtfully). I did before but she, she know, herself, she can do it sometime [she can do it on her own eventually]. She's housewife right now but she'll gonna be working with my dad (when he opens a restaurant)."

In his early years and for some time after his arrival in Canada, Rashid



had great respect for other family members, and was strongly influenced by them.

**RK:** "From age...from when I was born, when I could walk and talk, from that age to maybe 10 years old, the people who influenced me were my parents - the good part my parents, and my grandparents, my relatives - like that...my brother. And, the bad part, the people who influenced me in the bad part was maybe some of my friends...other people, other people around."

**EM:** "You mentioned your grandma and grandpa..."

**RK:** (Cutting in enthusiastically) "They...they were generous..? Generous, yeh...and they like every, all the people...not like, not like going 'Oh, I like him,' like that, but they had respect for all the people." [they didn't pick favorites]

Rashid's parents worked to instill courtesy and honesty.

**RK:** "They told me, like told me that you have to be polite...you know those stuff. Honest, you have to be honest. Be honest, to your friends and like that. Like, eh, you have to, you have to be good, honest man - before all, everything!"

Rashid seldom spoke of his mother, and when he did it was with disinterest.

His primary recollections of his mother's influence were in relation to schooling.

**RK:** "Yeh she say you have to study good. Bout school she say you have to study good when [then] you get the best jobs and stuff."

Rashid looked up to his older brother and greatly admired his abilities.

**EM:** "What about your brother?"

**RK:** "Yup. (enthusiastically) He...he influenced me maybe in, in being like...good at other things, not like, not like study and, not like those stuff. Maybe like, getting friends..? Maybe like, being good to talk with someone..? He...he didn't want like friends like...he didn't say, he didn't go like lots say in Canada is it wasn't like that even in Sweden...he didn't go with those guys who smoke drugs and stuff..? Well, he didn't go with those guys, who always...who you know like, lots say maybe like 'geeks?' Like those guys..? He didn't go with those, he didn't go with the other, he goes, he went with those guys like sport guys..? Those guys who like sports maybe, those guys who are normal, good, like that."

At a subsequent interview Rashid showed me photographs of his brother and himself in Sweden. A majority of the photos showed the older brother with large groups of both male and female friends. There were a few photos of Rashid with his soccer team and of Rashid with his Swedish "best friend." There were also photos of his brother with a pretty blonde girlfriend. Rashid remarked at how all the girls like his brother and how beautiful the Swedish girlfriend was. He told me that his brother corresponded regularly with the girlfriend and added with awe at his brother's magnetism, "she wants to come to Canada just for a visit." Rashid's brother made friends easily and people

were attracted to him. These were qualities Rashid admired and would also have liked to have had.

Rashid's greatest admiration was reserved for his father.

**RK:** "But my dad (as opposed to his mother), talks (to) all of us, the whole family, how we are to be and nicely...no he's not like a dictator like say, 'You have to do this, this, this,' he just say, like like the best thing he say, like 'I read many books and stuff...this is what they wrote in most books and this is the best of (the books) you can choose and stuff.'" [this is the best of advice that I have found in books]

Rashid gave an example of how his father passed on values to his family from what he had read.

**RK:** "But he also gives reason, like, he reads lots of newspaper..? like the Persian newspaper..? Then he say, 'Oh, look at this guy...he's, he went to U.S.A. like 19 - 1962, and look, he, he still says, speaks Farsi perfectly, he knows English perfect and he goes to university and he say I'm so proud of...I'm so proud because I'm Persian and I say that in public.' He say that's good, he say you have to learn." [The Persian in the newspaper article valued education]

At times Rashid's father's values were passed on in the form of advice.

**EM:** "Does your family control your time, how much time for homework..?"

**RK:** "No, but my dad say...no, they don't control it like that, but they...eh, my dad say 'Try to make a timetable for yourself for every day, that's a good thing,' he said. And he say, like, like uh make, he doesn't say 'do it!' He say try to make like in the day study two hours, and then, no he say like when you come from school you can just change your clothes and wash your face and like fresh up and eat something; and then you can like study like two hours or something. M-m-m, then just, you can go outside for two hours and then come back and take the [a] rest. Then you can eat dinner and after then you can watch TV and then you go to sleep. He just gives me like an idea..."

**EM:** "Have you made one (timetable) up?"

**RK:** "No...yeh sometimes, sometimes I do it."

**EM:** "Have you stuck to it?"

**RK:** "M-m-m, I did it once. I did it a couple of times, then I quit after that, after a few days. (Suddenly upset...) Because everything cannot be same every day! Like do same thing here! Like suddenly friends say, 'Let's go find a job' - no - 'Let's go to the mountains.' OK of course there's only one chance to go to the mountains for awhile...you can't go there every whenever you want, so...then I go...it takes more than five hours to come [there and back]. It takes like five hours right..? Then what happens to the study? You know..?"

Although Rashid had great respect for his father's advice and tried to put it into practice, he found that the advice was difficult to apply within the circumstances of his new social environment.

Rashid had not spoken with his grandparents since leaving Iran, though his parents continued to correspond with people in the home country.

**RK:** "Yeh, my parents, they send letters and stuff...but we forgot lot of the language, the writings [written language]. Never, any of them have gone back."

None of the family had returned to Iran for a visit, and no one from Iran had

visited them. The father alone read Persian newspapers, and the parents listened to the once weekly Persian radio broadcast and watched when Persian programs were aired periodically on the multicultural TV channel. Rashid spoke Farsi at home, but elsewhere his world was English. Although the family had come to know of several Farsi speakers in the community they did not see them socially. "It's not like go to their house, they come to our house...it can't always be that way." Rashid's comment was a suggestion that in time one must leave the old world behind. Rashid had met several Farsi speakers at school, but had not maintained contact with them because he had been offended either by their attitudes toward school, or by their Moslem faith (the Khan family seemed to be agnostics).

Rashid's natal language was Farsi, often referred to as Persian, which is the predominant language of Iran. While in school in Tehran he was pressured to take a second language.

**RK:** "They wanted us to take Arabic...but it's not a good language. So we didn't learn it. Because the Arabs took over our country 500 years ago."

The Arab conquest of Persia actually occurred circa 650 AD. Rashid's rationale for not taking Arabic reflected his unhappiness with Iran's Arab minority who in the past had imposed their religion (Islam) and language upon the Persian people. On arriving in Sweden, Rashid found little difficulty learning a new language.

**RK:** "Because I was a kid, I could talk to people. After four months, five months, I could talk to people."

Rashid considered that he was essentially fluent in Swedish after one year. English language courses were an aspect of course requirements while Rashid was in the Swedish school system.

After arriving in Canada, Rashid kept up his Swedish through a long term correspondence with his best friend in Sweden. Though he continued to speak Farsi at home, he had lost much of his ability to form the intricate characters used in Persian written communication. At the end of his first summer in Canada, Rashid registered for school in Richmond and was placed in ESL level two. By the time we began interviewing half way through the school year he had progressed to level three. Rashid was advanced to level four for the coming school year, indicating a comparatively rapid acquisition of

English language skills. Proud of his success in English, Rashid attributed it to his prior experience with Swedish.

**RK:** "And in, like, studying and stuff..? Because like, I had to learn a new language, nothing gave me that much better but [nothing prepared me better than], their Swedish language..? Helped me lots, because it's it's ah kind of close to English, not, not like writing and stuff but just talking and thinking (in the language) like that. Otherwise, English is not hard language. Swedish is much harder language than English, but still, I learn [I found that] it (Swedish) could, it helped me a lot."

Language had not been a problem in Rashid's experience of adaptation in Canada.

Rashid had always been encouraged to do well in school by his family. His earliest recollections were of his grandparents' influence.

**RK:** "They said... 'if you wanna do experiment..? Like if you don't study, if you want to do an experiment if you don't study what you can be..? [if you're thinking of experimenting by fooling around instead of studying] You don't need to do that - just see after other relatives or other friends; look they didn't study, they don't get good jobs - like that...uh, then you don't need to do that experiment, because it's already do for you. You can see, you can copy that. If you see they don't get any jobs, you can get - then you have to study hard, you know?'"

Rashid appreciated the fact that his parents influenced him to do well academically.

**RK:** "The good part..? Like, eh, my parents influenced me by - they told me to study."

Rashid was particularly influenced by some of the information his father had read and passed on to him.

**RK:** "Yeh, they took a rate [survey] the Iranian people and the U. [university] people from America [U.S.A.]. And it was, in all of them..? Almost Iran won in everything. Because they said, 33% were in Iranian all of the world...and 13% were American [33% of Iranians graduate from universities vs. 13% of Americans]...like they said 7% is not educated in Iran..? In Iranian people..? And 13% is not educated here [U.S.A.]".

Rashid had adopted several of his father's educational values.

**RK:** (His father said...) "'You have to be, you have to study hard to get good, you have to do, you can't get some, anything free...without doing something for it, you have to do something to get anything. Otherwise in future you can't be anything, like - you have, you have, and if you want to be something you have to be the highest. If you want to be a teacher, let you be a professor.'"

Another of the values that he had acquired from his father was that people cannot succeed without first building a strong foundation.

**RK:** "Oh, my dad said this: ah, he said, 'From elementary that's the lowest you can be, if you, try to be good there, then you can be very strong. It's like,' he said, he said 'it's like a, it's like a wall...if you are

strong from down..? Then you're strong up too. It won't fall. If you weak from down and you are strong up here (gestures to his upper torso) it will break down.' You know..?"

The Khans could certainly claim some success in influencing their children to do well academically. Rashid's younger sister had done exceptionally well since coming to Canada.

**RK:** (With great pride) "She's 12...she's good, she's like got all 'A's, like I jumped up one grade but she jumped up two grades!" [ two ESL levels ]

The popular older brother was also doing reasonably well in his first year in Canada.

**RK:** "He is grade 11. He jumped one."

**EM:** "Are his grades good, Rashid?"

**RK:** "Not best, not low, but medium...A, two C+s, a C."

Rashid's grades were not at the same level as his brother's. He described his grades as "not so good," indicating a comparison with his sister's and brother's grades that clearly embarrassed him. Although his other grades were at or above passing level he had not been able to achieve a passing grade in Math. His teacher however, had been pleased with his attitude, and Rashid explained with pride that he had received a top grade in effort, even though he was given an incomplete for the course. During our interviews I had noticed that Rashid had difficulties with numbers, in that he often related numerical estimates to me that did not accurately represent what he wished to express. On several occasions he had come after school unannounced to receive help from me in algebra. One day in June I asked him about completing his Math 10 course.

**EM:** "What about summer school, Rashid? Did you think about taking the math in summer school?"

**RK:** "Yeh I thought - first I thought about doing it, but then I said, 'I want to learn whole course from beginning,' because summer school just goes fast through everything. I said, 'Why not learn everything in the year?'"

His father's advice about the need for strong foundations had influenced Rashid's decision to retake Math 10 during his grade 11 school year rather than at summer school, so that he might learn the course "from beginning." Rashid's father's 'foundation' values also shaped Rashid's somewhat negative perception of Canadian schooling.

**EM:** "How do you feel about your education in Canada?"

**RK:** "The education is...I think...(reflecting) I have to think...it's like...maybe I think they go too fast, the subject, the other [from one topic to the next]. Like lets say in Science, you're reading about

earth science, right? But then they from earth science they jump to something else so fast, to chemicals. That's - I don't like that. Not because I don't like that, I think it's too hard to learn...to learn anything."

**EM:** "You'd like to see a gradual change (transition)?"

**RK:** "Yeh, slowly..."

By grade 10 in Canadian schools a prior understanding of foundations is often assumed in subject area curricula, which can result in a survey style approach to topics related to the foundation principles. Rashid's desire for instruction which cumulatively builds upon 'foundations' was not being met in the new school environment. He was also finding frustration in attempting to meet his father's aspiration "to be the highest."

Upon arriving in Canada, Rashid's primary concern was that of making friends.

**EM:** "When you first saw Canada, what did you think? How did you feel?"

**RK:** "Was...felt like I have to learn another language, go to another school, find new friends...and try to get...get as much friends as I could."

Rashid felt that he had not experienced much stress since coming to Canada except perhaps in relation to making friends.

**EM:** "Stress?"

**RK:** "Not much."

**EM:** "Can you tell me about that time?"

**RK:** "Maybe it was because...going to school...? Yeh, not because I'm, I don't like school, because, because I don't, maybe I don't know any people."

When I asked Rashid why making friends upon arrival was so important, he said...

**RK:** "Because...(if) you can have some friends at school, you just get information like of different things. And I didn't know how the classes were, how the edu, education how to how the system works."

Although he did not establish friendships with co-nationals, his need for friends who already had some experience of "how the system works" corresponds with the rationale advanced by Sykes and Eden (1987) and Searle and Ward (1990), who maintain that recently arrived immigrants seek friendship because they need assistance from those who already have some experience of adaptation.

After coming to Canada Rashid corresponded with his "best friend" in Sweden.

**RK:** "He gets straight 'A's - he's a straight 'A' student. And, he is the best in Sweden running. He just beat his own record in the 800 metres."

Although he had made one good friend in Sweden he felt that friendship in

Sweden was different, more possessive than friendship in Iran.

**RK:** "When I lived in Iran..? It was like different than Sweden."

**EM:** "What's different about it?"

**RK:** "Like in Asia, if you are a friend with someone...then you are a friend, like friend forever, like nice. They are always nice to you. They will help you in whatever you want, but here, not so much here, but in Sweden, if you are friends with someone, and then you have to be like friend with him only, they don't want you to go with another. And sometimes, if you, if you have been with that guy like playing around the day before, then if you talk to him (the next day) he may not answer you, you know..? Because he's not going around with you today. It wasn't like that in Iran."

While Rashid believed that friendship in Canada was better than what he experienced in Sweden, he felt that it did not come of its own accord to newcomers, but that it must be actively pursued.

**RK:** "Here, here you get like friends harder than you get in Iran. Like if you go to Iran then they, they are like friendly. Everybody like will treat you good and stuff. But here you have to *find* them."

A few days after arriving in Canada, Rashid made acquaintance with two Afghani refugees who also spoke Farsi. He enjoyed speaking Farsi with them but decided after a time not to see them again because "They are bad guys...they almost, like, kicked them out of school because they were skipping out so much." His first friend at school was his locker neighbour, a tall and athletic Chilean immigrant boy. He also became friends with Jason Gomez, a Philippine immigrant in his ESL class who had excellent grades and enjoyed playing tennis. Later in the year he met his "best friend in Canada," a Jewish immigrant recently arrived from Israel. Of him he said,

**RK:** "Is smart...he's very big, strong but not athletic. He's not like one of them smarts, like you know geeks. (he slid a finger up the bridge of his nose as if to readjust imaginary glasses which continually slip down) He's like my best friend."

In every case, in both Sweden and Canada, Rashid had made friends with those who were academic achievers and who were usually athletic as well. All of Rashid's friends up until the end of his first school year in Canada were new immigrants, which suggests support for Olsen's (1988) finding that "immigrants tend to cluster with other immigrants" (p. 217).

Rashid seemed to have difficulties with social skills in the new environment. Near the beginning of our interviews I asked him if there had been anything new that he had needed to learn after coming to Canada.

**RK:** "The English language...yeh, I think so...and being nice to people"

**EM:** "You had to learn that?"

**RK:** "Yeh."

From the beginning of our acquaintance I had found that Rashid could not be relied upon to do what he said he would do. He agreed to meetings and even asked for meetings that he subsequently would not turn up for, or would come to more than half an hour late. I discovered that in my case Rashid missed or was late to meetings because something more important to him had come up. Numerous interviews were missed because he had come across a one day after school or weekend job. He was late on occasions because he had become involved in a sports conversation on the way, or had decided to play ball with some acquaintances. Rashid never telephoned or asked a friend to tell me that he would be late for, or miss our meeting. When I asked him about the times he missed he became evasive, then would tell me about what "just came up." Although Rashid was exceptionally polite whenever we spent time together, he never once apologized for being late or missing appointments that he had agreed to and in some cases had requested.

At first I considered that perhaps Rashid's actions might be due to the fact that I was a stranger. However, as he often came unannounced to seek help with algebra, I started to look for other explanations. I began to notice that Rashid treated friends and acquaintances in the same manner as he had treated me. With his friend Jason, for example, Rashid would often agree to one thing, then would do another if something else turned up. On one occasion I observed Rashid in a classroom setting where each student had to take a turn making a presentation in front of the class. The small group at Rashid's table had worked out a covert mutual support system for the presentation, such that when one of the group had finished presenting and asked the class if there were any questions, the other group members at the table would ask previously agreed upon questions. This allowed the presenter to provide a preformulated answer and to look good in front of the class and teacher. The system worked well for the first presenter from the group and for Rashid, who presented later, but after his presentation he no longer participated. When a subsequent presenter from his group asked the class for questions, Rashid had to be elbowed by one of the group before he became alerted to the need to pose his question. His half-hearted question came too late, and the crest-fallen presenter was forced to answer a more difficult



question from the teacher. Rashid appeared not to listen to the remaining presentations and did not ask further questions, despite the continued classroom participation of his desk group. Rashid's social interactions with others suggest a lack of reciprocity and what Disman (1990) and Anisef (1986) have described as difficulties in negotiating social situations.

Rashid's family believed that they had experienced racism in Sweden. When I asked Rashid about racism and prejudice in Canada, however, he did not mention the majority culture but rather, people of Chinese or East Indian descent. On the first day that I met Rashid, he and his friend Jason Gomez had just come from their ESL class. Both were disgruntled and related to me that the ESL teacher, a Chinese Canadian woman, had been asking complex questions to test students' understandings of the meanings of her sentences. Several students had responded, but she had rejected their answers stating that they had misunderstood her question. According to the boys, however, she readily accepted the answers of the Chinese students. Some months later Rashid again brought up what he felt was racist preferential treatment in the same class.

**RK:** (With disgusted look) "Usually I don't sit with someone in ESL class."  
**EM:** "Even you and Jason?" (his Philippine friend in the same class)  
**RK:** "No, we don't sit - the teacher won't let us. Our teacher is racist because she doesn't let me sit with someone else. Even if I (could) sit with Jason I don't, I can't speak his language or he can't speak my language [there is no reason to separate us as we cannot communicate in each other's natal language in any case]...but she lets all the Chinese sit with each other..... But don't tell her I told you what she is like."

At his first job in Canada, Rashid's father had been ill treated by his Chinese employers who had expected him to work overtime without pay. Rashid's experience in the ESL class, coupled with his feeling that his father had been wronged contributed to his growing dislike of the Chinese. After school was out Rashid and his best friend encountered some Chinese teens at the tennis courts and challenged them to a game.

**RK:** "I'm not racist, again...because I am immigrant too, but I don't want to lose against Chinese people. But my friend...he is from Israel...he didn't get it (tennis ball) over...so we lose to Chinese."

Rashid maintained that although people should not "throw away (their) own culture," he believed that they must also accommodate the new culture if they were to gain the all important friends.

- RK: "But, sometimes like, like I'm not racist but, but see this uh, ah Indian?"
- EM: "Like, East Indian..?"
- RK: "Yeh, East Indian people, they like wear towels around their head and stuff..? That's their culture, right? People don't go to [for] that, and they (East Indians) don't get as much friends, but in my culture (points to his head) you don't wear anything on your head, right? And I get more friends by that way, by respecting their (Canadian) culture, but this East Indian likes, they wear towels on their head, and then, the Canadians won't go around with them, because if they do take off like their towels maybe, I bet they would get more friends. I'm not racist, but, this is the true I think...but don't throw away your culture, or whatever..."

From Rashid's perspective, 'Canadians' were Caucasian Canadians, and East Indians were, like himself, desirous of making friends with caucasian Canadians.

Along with perceptions of prejudice and making friends, Rashid's primary impressions of the new Society included consideration of the treatment of women.

- RK: "Iran...ah, treats women like animals, like they don't not - worse than animals! They won't even let them walk - yeh they will let them walk now, but...uh...they have to wear everything on their head (gestures with hands to his face indicating the extensive head covering of Moslem women) but even men will have to have beards so nobody will see their face...they are like animals you know...and that was compared to Sweden. And Sweden, is one of the most good treated, they treat women the most in the world, no it was fourth in the world..? (trying to remember something his father had read) I forgot. So they treat women good."
- EM: "What about here in Canada?"
- RK: "And Iran to Canada, compared to Canada? I was there, I said they were like animals, again, and Canada compared to Iran is, Canada is much better, a lot better. (Then, seeing a negative side) People, there were people (Iranians) who told us they treat like women good in Canada if you separate from your husband you just go and say I want a div, I want a divorce...then you get so much money, they treat them good they get so much money! But that's not the right way, that's bad, and my parents say you have to be ashamed of saying this like, you want to get money because of divorce...how could you lie to your kids and say [instead of saying] we are just doing this for money. Like it's not good."
- EM: "So you don't think divorce is good here?"
- RK: "No, it's not like good. Many people just do it for the money, to get money. That's what I mean, they treat women good."

In Rashid's view, women were treated like animals in Iran but treated too good in Canada.

I asked Rashid what he thought about girls. He had not yet had a girlfriend but told me enthusiastically about his ideal girl.

- RK: "Pretty, not fat! Should be a good person. Simple. Yeh, smart...athletic..? (reflecting on "athletic") Well, she should not be fat. No Moslem!"

He then showed me numerous photos of girls who had been friends of his older brother in Sweden. He pointed out, "This is the fat one, this is the good

looking one..." To my surprise "the fat one" was not particularly large, and certainly not overweight. Canadian girls held little interest for Rashid.

**RK:** "I don't like the girls here, so... Much Sweden's nicer [Swedish girls are much nicer]."

**EM:** "Why is that?"

**RK:** "Because the girls is like, nicer looking, maybe, and, yeh, you know (suddenly enthused), you never heard of the Swedish blondes? (laughing) They are like, much nicer looking, and maybe more friendly."

To emphasize his point, Rashid held out a photo of his brother's pretty blonde Swedish girlfriend.

For Rashid, however, sports were far greater enticements than girls. In Sweden he had become a promising soccer player.

**RK:** "Not in Iran, because I was so small, but, after like, when I was in Sweden...I started to think like, I want going to be in the future..? I was real good in playing soccer...I was real good! I wanted to be a soccer player."

Rashid adulated his Swedish soccer coach who had encouraged and praised him.

**RK:** "My soccer team, my soccer team coach..? Yeh, he was a nice guy."

**EM:** "Was he Swedish?"

**RK:** "Yeh...he played against one of the best guys in Swedish team...yeh. And, and they took pictures like from camera, and he like, he just took him down so easy..? And he informed me by, he was like - he wasn't well educated but he was...he was like, good thinking. He said, he told my dad, 'You have a good son, like, he, he does everything to be good.'"

When the family prepared to leave for Canada the coach continued to encourage Rashid.

**RK:** "In Sweden you know my, even my soccer coach, he told me, 'You can be good, even Sweden, so, continue in Canada.'"

Upon arrival in Canada, however, Rashid's involvement in organized sports, outside of school sports, came to an end.

**RK:** "And then, I was real good at soccer, I wanted to be a soccer player...but when we went to Canada, so, we didn't know so much, so I, I didn't do much."

The disruption of resettlement, starting school, and the family's limited English language skills initially prevented them from finding out how to become involved in a soccer league. After starting school and doing very well in the school's short soccer season, Rashid found out about joining a league soccer team. At first he was elated, but then he found he could not afford to join.

**EM:** "In the time you have been in Canada, have you ever felt elation, a great happiness?"

**RK:** "H-m-m...yeh. Maybe once. Not exactly that but almost like that. I wanted, to join the soccer team..? And I like it so I said good...I wanted to join the soccer team."

EM: "And you did join it..?"

RK: "No. Like I never could join them. I could like join them, if I, if I would work for it [if I got a job to pay for it]."

Rashid also excelled in other sports. One day while waiting for Rashid who was by now quite late for an interview, I happened to catch sight of him talking to the school's track and field coach. I assumed that Rashid was talking about the upcoming Greater Vancouver track meet where he was to represent the school in javelin throw. I walked over to remind Rashid of our meeting. As I approached, a tall, powerfully built Tongan immigrant who was also on the track team arrived, and seeing Rashid, complimented him by saying that if Rashid entered the javelin event he would win. Rashid responded in a self-deprecating manner. "Yeh...maybe," but he was obviously pleased. The Tongan boy then said, "Most guys just use power, but... you've got the technique - you're good!" Rashid did not reply.

The next day the track coach came into the counselling suite area in an agitated state. When I asked what was wrong, she replied that the Greater Vancouver meet had been cancelled, and citing the official memo with sarcasm said, "due to lack of participation in the Vancouver schools!" She told me that there had been less and less participation for some years, and now it had come to this. She said that the Chinese and East Indian students who make up a large segment of the Vancouver school population, did not often get involved in school sports, resulting in the present lack of participants which led to the cancellation. When Rashid arrived for his interview I asked him how he felt about the cancellation.

RK: "Not that...it didn't hurt much, it doesn't matter so much, but I think I could have come first this time."

Rashid also enjoyed weight lifting, karate, and Olympic style wrestling. He told me that "I'm gonna start wrestling...the wrestling season hasn't start here so..." While he had been too young to be on the school's wrestling team in Sweden, he spoke proudly of having beaten one of the team's players in an exhibition match.

RK: "I used to beat those guys...and I told my dad, 'Oh look at these guys, they are on the wrestling team and they are so good and I still beat them. Beat them!' And he said, 'Take it easy, take it easy, they are still your friends.' It was a guy who was 17 years old. He was strong, everybody say 'OK, this guy is so strong!' I used to beat him (pleased expression)...then, but, if when people said, 'OK, did you beat that guy?' I said 'No, he's too strong for me.' I didn't want him down [to

put him down] because I feel sorry for him." (smiles)

Rashid was demonstrating how he had put his father's advice into practice.

Near the end of his first year in Canada, Rashid told his father that he wished to become involved in wrestling. His father encouraged him and passed on a story about a great Iranian wrestler.

**RK:** "My dad told me too, he said, he said, 'You're good for being this'...you know, I'm not so tall...but he said, 'for being this big...like that, you're OK, you're over normal strong.' And then he said, 'You can be perfect for wrestling, and look my Iranian people..?' Iran had a world champion wrestler...not, not now it was for twenty, thirty years ago, he's name was Tahtian I don't know if you've heard of him. He was, he was like a good man - he cried after if, after he, after he got someone down..? (shows me a wrestling pin) He cried because he said...then they ask him, 'Why do you cry?' Everybody thought because he got so happy because he beat him [his opponent] but he said 'No, I just cry because, uh, I, I, uh, I got, got one of God's, God's'...what do you call it? You know..?"

**EM:** "Gift...or..."

**RK:** "No, no. God makes all the people, right? (I nod affirmative) What do you call that?"

**EM:** "Creation...like..?"

**RK:** "'I, I, got down one of God's creation, that's because [why] I cry...I wish he will forgive me' - like that. He was like good, very good thinking man...so maybe my dad said, 'Look at that good man! You, you can be like that.' So I want, I want to be a wrestler."

In coming to Canada, Rashid had experienced a succession of disappointments concerning his favorite sports. He no longer had the practical role modelling and encouragement of his Swedish coach, and his father's encouragement, though consistent and inspirational, was more theory and values oriented than practical. His father could not provide the funding or the transportation to facilitate Rashid's involvement in the league sports he wished to pursue. The school's sport program, the only other available option, was handicapped by short seasons and lack of participation by other students in the sports that appealed to Rashid. His father's encouragements were not enough. Rashid had given up any thought of playing league soccer, and had accepted the termination of his javelin initiative with a shrug of resignation. And, by the beginning of his grade 11 school year, Rashid had still not pursued his expressed intention of joining a wrestling team.

Rashid believed that he had not changed essentially since coming to Canada. Although expressing no desire to return to Iran even for a visit, and admitting to having not maintained any personal contact with relatives or friends in Iran, Rashid felt that he had lost none of his Iranian culture. While concerned with respecting Canadian culture, he had never spoken of

adopting it for himself. "Not me, no me I don't change, my culture...keep your own, keep your own." In this, Rashid's perception suggests an ethnic retention rather than an assimilation concept of adaptation.

Rashid also believed that he had not changed as a person.

**RK:** "I'm myself I think. I'm the old one. I'm myself...I always want to win, always want to win."

Yet, he recognized that since coming to Canada he had lost some respect for his parents.

**EM:** "Have you changed since you came to Canada? Have you changed inside yourself."

**RK:** "Yeh...u-m-m...yeh, my mom said I changed, because she say because you always have fight with your parents, not like 'fight.' I never swear at my parents, never swore at them. Even I never said 'stupid' at any of them. Because, like my culture, you have the biggest respect for the parents, the teachers, and older people."

**EM:** "But here?"

**RK:** "No, I never swore at them here either. But when I get mad..? Like I just get mad! Like you know, I don't have as much respect. I don't swear at them but I don't have as much respect. You know like my mom say, like my mom maybe screams at me, and I say, and then I scream at her back and I say, 'No! I don't want to do this!'"

**EM:** "Why do you think that is? Can you think of a reason?"

**RK:** "I don't know, maybe I get older and I get like, I want more...I don't want someone to be as much responsible for me as they were before."

Rashid felt that the change in himself was not really a change so much as maturation and a need for independence. He didn't agree with his mother's assertion that he really had changed due to the influence of new acquaintances. But by the time summer vacation had come, Rashid had turned away from some of his original, high achiever friends, and was "hanging out" with some of the local Caucasian teens that he had previously described as "not good people." Late in the summer I talked to Rashid's one time friend Jason, who related that he had phoned Rashid numerous times but none of his calls had been returned. Some time after this, Jason encountered Rashid while out walking. According to Jason, Rashid was with a large gang of mostly white teens, "all Caucasian, maybe one not." Rashid did not respond to or acknowledge Jason's greeting. When I last saw Rashid late in the summer, he was sporting a new hair style, an almost shaved head with a little tuft of hair over his forehead, a popular style with the mostly Caucasian teen gangs that roamed the local neighbourhood at night.

Over a six month period of interviews and observations, several experiential themes became evident and are indicative of the essence of

Rashid's experience of his initial period of adaptation in Canada. Rashid's immediate experience upon arriving in Canada, and the greatest difference from his experience in former countries, was that of poverty, and it remained a constant throughout his first year as an immigrant. Rashid's concern for the cost of the family's apartment, and his inability to replace a second hand fishing rod or purchase a used bicycle indicate severe economic circumstances, particularly when considered in relation to the middle to upper middle class neighbourhoods which surrounded his apartment complex. A lack of money prevented him from continuing in the league sports he had enjoyed and excelled at prior to arrival, and caused him to be constantly on the lookout for odd jobs.

His father had been the dominant influence in Rashid's life and continued to be in Canada. He advised Rashid not to settle for second best - be a professor rather than a teacher. Rashid followed his father's values and aspired to be the best - "In life I always want to win, why should I lose...in jobs or anything I want to win" - but he had never been quite able to achieve 'the best' in practice. He was not winning at school and was embarrassed by his academic performance. His poor academic performance appears to be unrelated to migration in that his brother and sister who migrated with him had experienced few problems academically, and Rashid had had little trouble with English. Despite his academic difficulties, Rashid continued to appreciate and adhere to his parents' educational values throughout his initial period of adaptation. Rashid and his family valued education primarily as a means to acquire improved economic standing, which suggests support for Suárez-Orozco's (1993) and Stewart's (1993) conclusions that many of the newer (Asian) immigrant groups view education as a means to improve social or economic standing.

Sports was the single greatest attraction for Rashid both prior to and after migration to Canada. It was an area in which he excelled, but even here he had not reached his father's aspirations of being 'best.' "I played soccer in Sweden. I was good...I wasn't the best." In Canada his father's transmission of traditional values and encouragement had not been enough to counter the deterrents to Rashid's continued involvement in league sports.

Rather than values, Rashid's immediate need had been for the kind of practical leadership his Swedish soccer coach had once provided, and for the financial wherewithal to participate in league sports. School sports, which held a respected and important position in the Swedish education system, were peripheral by comparison in Canada, and provided much less motivation for Rashid to excel.

Making friends had been Rashid's principal concern after coming to Canada. There were few Iranians at the school and, as he disliked Moslems, Rashid had little interest in getting to know them. His first friends were other immigrants who had been in Canada long enough to help him through his initial adaptation difficulties. They also had aspirations which corresponded with his parents' educational and achievement values, and were *successful* in academics and sports, the two areas which were most important to Rashid. But while the friends may have been worthy of emulation, Rashid was never able to match their achievements.

Rashid was a follower rather than a leader. He was attracted to and strongly influenced by others, especially those he perceived as 'winners.' He admired his brother who was a "good fisher," made friends and attracted girls easily, and got on well with people - all skills which Rashid did not excel in. But while his brother and immigrant friends may have been worthy of emulation, Rashid was also prone to influence by those who were less worthy of emulation. Rashid spoke of having been negatively influenced by friends and acquaintances in Iran, and when he first arrived in Canada, he was quickly influenced by new acquaintances to fish illegally.

Sometime late in his first school year in Canada Rashid began to drift away from the immigrant friends he first made. With initial difficulties of adaptation behind him, Rashid's instrumental need for the immigrant friends no longer existed. He began to "hang out" with the same Caucasian youths that he originally recognized as "not good people." He needed to feel included in the new social environment in which he found himself and in which he would have to function. The new acquaintances were the same youths he had worked with at odd jobs, and who, like him, had to put bikes together out of "traded" parts. While his initial immigrant friends corresponded with the ideological values



of his parents, the new acquaintances more closely matched the practical realities of his life.

In this we may see the central element of Rashid's initial period of adaptation in Canada, an inability to apply his parents' traditional values within new, economically impoverished and socially incompatible surroundings. Rashid began to lose respect for his parents because he felt that they did not know what was right for him, in his present circumstances. He never did lose respect for his parents' values, but somehow he could not seem to fit those values into his actual world.

#### 4.07 Paula Lin

It took several months of weekly interviews before Paula felt comfortable enough to talk at length about subjects that were important to her. She was a quiet, soft spoken person who preferred to observe rather than talk to other people. Paula was also a reflective person who often prefaced the initial sentence of an oral communication with a momentary "m-m-m-...." before proceeding.

Paula Lin was a little taller than most grade 10 female students at Premier Junior Secondary School, and noticeably taller than her Chinese immigrant school friends. Like her mother, she had rounded features, a broad face and a wide smile. Her black hair was kept long, tidy, and off the face. She tended toward blue jean, farmer style overalls and heavy cotton worker shirts. During six months of interviews and observations at school, in her home, or at my home, I did not see Paula wear dressier clothing, jewelry, or style her hair differently than she usually kept it.

Paula came to Canada from Taiwan with her parents, younger brother, and younger sister 16 months prior to our first interview. Paula turned 16 shortly before interviewing began. Paula's great grandparents had come to Taiwan from China before 1920 in the retinue of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Kuomintang Party and brother in law of his successor, Chiang Kai-shek. Sun Yat Sen had actively worked to bring about the fall of the Manchu dynasty and with it, the last Chinese emperor. He is regarded as a national hero in China today. Paula's recent ancestors, then, were among the first of the new wave of Mandarin speaking Kuomintang settlers who, after 1949, would replace

the previous wave of Taiwanese speaking Chinese settlers as the dominant group.

Paula's father studied commerce at Chung-Kong University and while there became fluent in English. After marriage and a move to Kaohsiung, the largest city in southern Taiwan, he worked as a stockbroker while Paula's mother worked in an insurance office. Although successful, the Lins felt that more money could be made in real estate, and both left their jobs to become real estate agents. In the five years prior to migration they moved constantly within the urban area, buying, selling, and renting out homes. Travel within or outside of the natal country is something that Furnham and Bochner (1986) and Stephan and Stephan (1985) have found improves chances of successful migration, and though this type of travel was not an aspect of Paula's experience in Taiwan, she felt that her family's many local moves had prepared her for adaptation in Canada.

**EM:** "It sounds like you have adapted pretty well."

**PL:** "Yeh, because I think that is because when I was back in Taiwan I moved a lot...not different cities - different places. So I had to change schools a lot, move around a lot."

At the time of migration the Lin family was "doing good" financially and owned several homes outright, which they rented out.

In the years prior to the Lin family's migration, a cousin of the father, and close friends of the mother had emigrated to different parts of the United States. The friends became disturbed by the ethnic discord they observed in the United States, and relocated to the Vancouver area several years before the Lins left Taiwan. These friends were instrumental in persuading the Lins to migrate and to locate in Canada rather than the United States.

**PL:** "And the friends of my mom invited them to visit here (Canada). (After the parents visited...) They think Canada really better than Taiwan...because they think Taiwan's government is not so good. And the relationship between Taiwan and China is not...the relationship between Taiwan and China does not give them security...it's not good."

**EM:** "And your parents chose Canada instead of United States?"

**PL:** "From their friends' experience...they talked to my parents about what it was like in United States. They hear is safety...and peaceful, than in United States."

The Lin family's migration, then, is indicative of chain migration, where friends or relatives in the receiving country influence both the decision to migrate (Pohjola, 1991) and the choice of destination (Morawska, 1990).

Paula's parents returned from the visit to tell her that they were pleased with what they'd seen in Canada. "They said people who are driving here (in Canada) are polite...environment better." These were not, however, the parents' principal motives for migration to Canada. Because of Taiwan's political instability and its precarious relationship with China, Paula's parents saw Canada as offering economic security. According to Paula a second important motive was "school, the education." She said that the parents liked the Canadian school system because, "you have only to study harder in grade 11 and 12 to get into university...not so much pressure." They felt that there was a much better opportunity for their children to gain entrance to a university in Canada compared with Taiwan. The Lin's educational motive for migration, then, corresponds with motives cited by immigrant respondents in studies by Stewart (1993) and Early et al. (1989) who indicated that a better educational opportunity for their children was a primary motive for migration.

Paula had not visited Canada with her parents, but when told that the family would be moving to Canada, she said, "Great!"

**PL:** "When my parents told me that we were going to move to Canada, at first, I felt extremely excited and happy about that because I've ever dreamed about living in another country and that dream was about to come true."

Paula did not have to be persuaded to emigrate, and when it came time to go she experienced more elation than bereavement.

**EM:** How did you feel about saying goodbye to Taiwan, your family, your friends?"

**PL:** "Actually at that time there's more excitements than sadness (she laughs)...yeh, because I think, oh, this is my first time to Canada and Taiwan I have lived there for 14, 15 years..? And I say, oh, I will have chance to go back to see them again, so I don't feel so much sadness."

After school closed for summer vacation Paula's classmates threw a goodbye party for her. It was a happy, humorous occasion, "and they say, 'You have to remember me and you have to write to me...or I'll kill you!' Something like that." Several relatives came with the family on the 300 kilometre drive from Kaohsiung to the international airport at Tai-pei. For the relatives there was an emotional parting, although Paula was not affected to the same extent.

**PL:** "My grandparents, and my aunties...yeh, our aunties, they'll cry..? Yeh, because I didn't cry...because I know if I cry in front of them...they will cry much more (laughs). But I don't want that happen and then I...after I got on the airplane, I just (let) my tears fall down..? Not very much."

Paula's first impressions of Canada were of the natural and physical environs of the Richmond area.

**PL:** "Cold! (laughs) I just feel, it's cold! And it is in July! Like in summer, when I just arrive here, I still have to wear jacket in outside even there is sun over there [even though it's sunny]. Canada's clean...big homes...not so crowded...and traffic is good!"

Paula's parents decided to locate in Richmond because "these are too many Chinese in Vancouver." The concern was not that their children would be less likely to learn English in a predominantly Chinese environment, but that Chinese migration and thus, Chinese real estate investment money was no longer flowing into Vancouver. They felt that Chinese immigrants would continue to come to Richmond, thus inflating the real estate market to their advantage as real estate agents.

The Lin family was welcomed by their Taiwanese friends in Richmond and spent several happy weeks in the friends' home before renting a house.

**EM:** "Did somebody meet you at the airport?"

**PL:** "Just me mom's friends...they take our things and stuff and take us to their house. And then we moved to there. [to a rented home] They stayed in the rented home a short time, then bought it, rented it out, and purchased a second home.

**EM:** "Why did she buy the second one?"

**PL:** "Because it, it's choice land. We rented it out and then we bought the house we now live...then we move again."

**EM:** "So your family was able to buy several homes?"

**PL:** "Yeh, because my mother think house, the price of house won't drop...it will only increase...because more and more people get born, not more and more people die, right?"

Within their first year and a half in Canada the Lin family had purchased three homes and was contemplating the purchase of a fourth. The family continued the pattern of constant relocations that they had established in Kaohsiung. A fairly high socio-economic status, such as that of the Lin family, has been found in analyses by the OECD (1987) and Portes and Rumbaut (1990) to permit an easier and more successful adaptation, and in studies by Smith and Tomlinson (1989) to be associated with higher academic achievement.

Paula's first months in Canada were spent happily in the Mandarin speaking company of the family's Taiwanese friends.

**PL:** "I feel excited...because it's summer vacation that times [at that time]...um, July, and then my mother's friends were, we're just living in their home with them, and they took us to see Victoria...the garden..."

**EM:** "Buchart's Gardens?"

**PL:** "Yeh, Buchart Garden...and (Queen) Elizabeth Park and Stanley Park...places like that. And I think, this is a beautiful place, and the traffic is much better...and I like here, and then...then school

opens!"

The new school was a shock for Paula. In her journal she wrote...

- PL:** "On the first day of school, I had the feeling of setback because I didn't know what the teachers were saying, I didn't know what to do for homework and what to bring to school the next day. It was totally different from what I thought at the very beginning because at the very beginning, I overlooked the problem of different languages." In our subsequent interview I asked her about this.
- EM:** "You said that you overlooked the problem of different languages. How did that happen, do you think?"
- PL:** "Because I wondered [imagined]...it would be good or great to live here...to see different things, and to see different cultures...that kind of things. I didn't think of the troubles of communication...so... But after I got here, I just feel...I...know...punch in the stomachs or something!"
- EM:** "Did you ask someone to help you?"
- PL:** "No. Because I was too afraid to ask."

Paula's natal language was Mandarin, and she had learned a bit of Taiwanese when visiting friends at their homes in Kaohsiung. She had taken English in junior high school where she achieved an 'A' average. Paula was confident in her language abilities, and when the Richmond school district's immigrant reception centre determined that she had good written English skills, but poor oral abilities, she believed that they had assessed her inaccurately. She was assigned to a low ESL level for the upcoming school year. "So I was at level two at that time." Even this did not shake her confidence. It was only after she got into the classroom and found that people spoke too fast for her to understand, that she became frightened and insecure: "I feel that I'm useless or something. Not as easy as I think." When I asked Paula what she had found most difficult about adapting, she replied, "English was."

It was only after Paula got over the shock of her unmet expectation of communicating easily in the new society, and of feeling linguistically incompetent, that she began to recognize that she had, in fact, a basic knowledge of English which she could build upon. Paula lacked self-confidence to implement her English language skills in actual situations and only became aware of this limitation several weeks after school started, when the Lin family and their Taiwanese friends went shopping in the United States.

- PL:** "Ah we went to the duty free shop, and my father and them are waiting outside and we want to buy something. And me mother told me to talk to the accountant [cashier]...or...something, and I said no!..because I can't, I don't know how to say. But, but my mother's friend's he, her son, he has come [been] here for more than one year, then he talked to her. And I realized that what he said I understand...I just don't, I

just didn't figure out how to say it [I just hadn't thought of how to formulate it.]."

Paula's father was a capable speaker of English, but Paula's mother had only rudimentary English language skills, and the two youngest children had not taken English in school prior to departure from Taiwan. Consequently almost all conversation in the home was in Mandarin. Chinese newspapers, television, and radio were the family's main sources of outside information, and Paula's written correspondence was without exception with Mandarin speaking Taiwanese friends, who often sent her the latest Mandarin music tapes. Paula's school and family friends in Richmond were almost exclusively Mandarin speaking and her social activities centred around the Cantonese and Mandarin language Karaoke bars frequented by Chinese teens. With the exception of her school, in Paula's words, "All my friends, all the people I talk to are Chinese - all Mandarin speakers."

According to authors such as Biggs (1987) and researchers such as Kim (1988), immigrants like Paula, who converse primarily with members of their own language group after arrival, will not develop host language proficiency. However, while Paula continued to converse almost exclusively with other speakers of Mandarin, her English language skills began to improve rapidly. One of her teachers helped her get through the difficult initial period.

**PL:** "Well, one of the teachers, that [when] she was teaching in the school last year...yeh, and I like her very much because she's nice, and when I just came here I can't speak English very good, and even I can't listen very well, I think they all speak too fast. But the teacher, she can speak Mandarin. I can ask her questions."

Paula began to try out her English with her younger brother and sister who were taking English in ESL classes at the elementary school. Her love of novels and music also helped.

**PL:** "I like reading books - like novels."

**EM:** "Do you read the novels in English?"

**PL:** "Some in Mandarin too...listen to music...to English and Chinese both."

Additionally, she began to try out her English when talking on the telephone with her Chinese immigrant friends. Within a year of arrival Paula had advanced quickly from level two to level four of the five level ESL scale. Nearing the end of her grade 10 school year and second year in Canada, Paula began on her own to actively prepare herself for the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), a qualifying exam for students seeking entrance to

Canadian universities.

**EM:** "Does your ESL teacher help you to prepare for the TOEFL?"

**PL:** "No...I'm doing it myself."

Even as a beginning student in Taiwan, Paula had experienced difficulties with some school subjects.

**PL:** "...and one [once] they say [said] I ask a very stupid question. They say I ask them that one [once] you're past then [when] people grow older one year, then, how bout if 100 years passed? Then how many years old are the people? And they said my father couldn't sleep on that night (laughs) because they think how can I be so stupid (laughing)?"

Paula's learning difficulties in the maths and sciences persisted into her junior high years, despite the assistance of a series of expensive tutors. In her last year in Taiwan her grades were indicative of a continuing problem.

**PL:** "A average in English; A average in Mandarin; Sciences C- average; Math C- average - I had a tutor in Math and Science - History, Geography, B average; Music - singing: A average. I started in Taiwan in piano...practising a lot. P.E., C+ to B average."

If Paula continued to achieve at this level, she would not be placed in the academic (university) track that she and her parents desired, upon entering senior high school. The probability of Paula not gaining entrance to a university in Taiwan was one of the contributory factors in the parents' educational motivation for migration.

Paula had not enjoyed school in Taiwan and initially detested her new school environment in Canada. Her parents were concerned and offered her both negative and positive incentives to achieve in school.

**PL:** "They would said, 'If you don't like school...go...just go to a gas station and pump gas: (with a look of disgust) Look at a low quality job,' they said." On another occasion Paula said, "Oh...when I say I hate school, and I don't want to go to school...they would say that I was...kind of fortunate...I can come to Canada...good environment. Good environment, it's what they mean I get better things than my friends in Taiwan, or other relatives in Taiwan...because we have the change [chance] to move to Canada, and so they want me to study harder. They want me to...m-m-m...I don't know how to say the words...when you given something, to be take care of it (she gestures with her hands grasping something and pulling it toward her heart)." [When you're given an opportunity you must take hold of it.] Well, they say learning is the foundation of success...it's the basic thing that we have to do."

It was not difficult for Paula to see that she was fortunate compared to other relatives in Taiwan. Her 16 year old cousin had come to stay with them to avoid military service in Taiwan. Paula told me "he doesn't have the immigration paper" and he had overstayed his visitor's visa. Because he was not a legal immigrant, he had not been able to enrol in Paula's school, but

had to commute daily to a distant private school, which left him no time for himself. He was very unhappy. She also considered herself fortunate compared with other Chinese students in her classes.

**PL:** "And I know my father would help me. Because, some of my friends, their fathers don't speak English...and they have to do everything by themselves."

In time, however, Paula's most important incentive to succeed academically was the fact that after initial difficulties, she found school in Canada to be much easier and more pleasurable than in Taiwan.

**PL:** (In Taiwan...) "School starts at 7:00 A.M. Because in Taiwan, our school end at 5:30 or 6:00 P.M., sometimes classes at 7:00 P.M. to get better marks in Math or English. Saturday afternoon and Sunday off. Even in summer vacation go to school for half day!"

**EM:** On another occasion I asked..."You never had any regrets about coming to Canada?"

**PL:** "No. I never think that. M-m-m...no, because I don't want to go to a school in Taiwan. It was too...cruel. I don't know if I should say, actually use the word, but I don't know...I just, I just don't like it. [school in Taiwan] (Here in Canada...) I don't have so, I won't have so much tests, and I know if I, even if I do bad in school or something, my father won't say anything because he knows the difficulties..so...yeh."

Not only was there less pressure, but Paula found success in her two most difficult subjects, providing further incentive.

**PL:** "The math class, I have studied for it before in Taiwan, so it's easy. Actually I think I now good at Math because Math in Taiwan are really hard, like it taughts a lot more than in Canada...maybe that's why I'm good at math (here)."

Midway through her second school year in Canada, Paula's grades were at least comparable to those she had achieved in Taiwan, and were improving continually.

**PL:** "This year I have been a little bit lazy...no good marks, but I'm try to work a little bit harder for next term. C+ to B; in English 10; Maths and Sciences A - here a lot easier! C+ to B in Social Studies 10; P.E., B; Business Ed...C+ to B."

Paula's parents were surprised at her grades and became concerned that school in Canada was too easy.

**PL:** "(In her parents' view...) the school's - too easy. They think I have to study a lot besides...after school." Paula disagreed with her parents...

**EM:** "How do you feel about your education here?"

**PL:** "I think...they (parents) worry too much. Because, um, first, all the people here are...are...you know, study the same thing and uh, but I think the education has been taught so, for such a long time, right? There is...there must be *some* good thing about it...that we don't know about - so we don't have to worry so much."

Though Paula and her parents disagreed about the quality of education she was receiving in Canada, Paula and her parents were pleased about her grades, and



looked forward to her attending university.

**PL:** "Of course they expect me to go to university, but I can't do that if they want to [but I don't have to do it even if they want me to]." When I asked what *she* wished to do Paula replied, "Yeh...of course I want to go to university...yeh, because, I think study the basic things that we have to do right?...but if you study hard and you can go to university...and it's a kind of security you have."

Paula's growing sense of self-confidence in having conquered her fear of communicating in English was followed closely by a growing assurance in her ability to take control of her own learning. In her journal she wrote...

**PL:** "Sometimes, I think studying here needs a lot of self-control. If you can't control yourself you will be influenced badly."

**EM:** Later, I asked her..."That's different from Taiwan?"

**PL:** "Yeh, Taiwan, the teacher just give you worksheets...or they will say, 'Do textbook page one' - that's easier!"

She attributed the growing self-confidence, in part, to the more democratic Canadian teaching style which validated student input.

**PL:** "Sometimes the teacher here, are nice are nicer. Because they'll listen to you what you are talking about. And sometimes they will think about your ideas. And, they will, maybe they will accept it, but no teachers in Taiwan, over there, they won't do to. Yeh, they just think what they think is right, and probably what I say is wrong...so, sometimes I get mad about that."

Despite great strides in self-confidence, Paula still had not conquered her fears regarding her English language competencies. Nearing the end of grade 10, her greatest fear was the TOEFL university qualifying exam. In her fear she had familiarized herself with the minimum TOEFL qualifying mark for many Canadian universities.

**EM:** "Which school has the highest TOEFL?"

**PL:** "M-m-m...McGill, I guess."

**EM:** "What about U.B.C., is the TOEFL not so hard?"

**PL:** "Six hundred...and thirty."

**EM:** "What about Simon Fraser?"

**PL:** "Five hundred and eighty to six (hundred)."

**EM:** I asked Paula if she thought that she could achieve those marks. "Do you think you can?"

**PL:** "(laughs doubtfully) I - I'm not too sure."

**EM:** "Do you believe in yourself to do it?"

**PL:** "No. I do not."

Upon arrival in Canada the Lin family, like most other Chinese immigrants, chose Western names for themselves. Paula explained that because Western languages are not tonal, a Westerner's rendering of a Chinese name often produces an incorrect meaning or is unrecognizable to the person named. Usually the new name is chosen on the basis of similar meaning or similar sound. Paula had initially chosen 'Penny' for her Western name because it had

a pleasing sound that was similar to her Chinese name. Her father, however, was appalled, refusing to let her call herself by the name, "because he said that name a bad omen, because it mean 'worth only one cent.'" Paula had to choose another name.

Paula found that after coming to Canada there was increased friction between her parents. In her journal she wrote,

- PL:** "I don't [didn't] understand why after we came to Canada, my parents quarrel with each other more often. I started to observe them and listen to what they said. Then I discovered that the reason they quarrel is always because of the pressure of living in Canada makes them become tense. For my mom, she doesn't have achievements or work because she can't speak English very well, therefore, she doest doesn't have a job."
- EM:** In a subsequent interview I asked about her mother. "What do you think the pressures are for your mom?"
- PL:** "M-m-m...she can only stay home... she can just stay home. And if she has something to do or...just, I don't know, and has to take my father with her and she doesn't like the feeling of rely on my father...too dependent on him, but she can't help it..."
- EM:** "Do you help her?"
- PL:** "Yeh...because sometimes she will speak English - try to speak English at home, and, I will tell what she said wrong about the grammar or something...or the pronunciation..."
- EM:** "Does she drive?"
- PL:** "She's trying."

While Paula had always been close to her father, the shared tribulations of adaptation had helped to bring mother and daughter closer together for the first time. "I found that I could talk to her about things lately."

As in Taiwan, Paula was initially very dependent upon her father.

- PL:** "Especially after school opened in 1992 I strongly felt that I really needed him to be with me a lot."

As new immigrants, Paula and a friend had been invited to a school board meeting to share their experiences as ESL students. At the meeting they heard about Taiwanese and Hong Kong 'astronaut' parents who left their children home alone in Canada for weeks at a time, while continuing to work overseas. Although she had been familiar with 'astronauts,' the knowledge she gained about the plight of astronauts' children had a strong impact on her. That evening she wrote in her journal...

- PL:** "After I came here, I was really glad that my father stayed with us and I still am. Because for me, he is just like a kind of support and continuing help me. I felt security because his English is good and I can always ask him questions when I have too."

Paula's father had always made a lot of money, but when he came to Canada he had to take a low paying job with a Taiwanese computer firm while he

studied for the real estate exam.

- EM: "Could you describe the pressure on your parents that you wrote about?"  
 PL: "Because, you have to spend a lot of money here, more money than in Taiwan...ah even we spend, maybe about the same amount of money in Taiwan and Canada [our costs are similar in Taiwan and Canada], but making money there is easier."  
 EM: "Why is that?"  
 PL: "Like, my father is a real estate agent, in Taiwan he was a real estate agent too, but, um, being a real estate agent there doesn't need the, you know, the licence? He doesn't have to study, doesn't have spend too many times studying of [for] the (test)...but here we do. So I think we, that's, kind of a waste...about a whole year time, so we also spent a lot of money."

Making money was Paula's father's principal focus both in Taiwan and in Canada. It had also been true of his own father (Paula's grandfather and favorite relative) as may be seen in a story Paula related to me. Paula's grandparents and uncle (father of the cousin who was staying with them) were coming for a visit, but their plane had been delayed in Tai-pei by over five hours with "wing troubles." Grandma and the uncle were becoming very nervous about flying on the plane.

- PL: "And my grandfather say, 'I don't care, I will go there, and you, you and, ah Winston' - my uncle - 'can stay and I will go. And then if something really happen you will get rich because of the insurance' (Paula laughed at her grandpa's financial sagacity)."

Paula's grandfather, and especially her father had impressed upon Paula in various ways their view that making money should be one's primary consideration.

- PL: "M-m-m...I got something specific I want to do...m-m-m, like for example, psychologist, I want to be a psychologist...in the future. Well, umm, it's not so...um...my father said it's not really a good job to have...it's a nice interest to have...not for jobs."  
 EM: "Why does he say that do you think?"  
 PL: "Ummm...have you seen a movie, *The Silence of Lamb?*..yeh, he mention that ...like, like, he said almost all the psychologists would become weird (laughing). So he doesn't want me to become weird, or something...and he wants me to do something about accounting because he says I'm good at knowing how to do with money."

In time Paula recognized that her family's and her own appreciation of the value of making money was not shared by many Canadians, and she developed a negative view of Canadian economic values.

- EM: "Did you find anything here in Canada difficult to get used to?"  
 PL: "H-m-m...I think, the way people are thinking. I mean, Chinese people always think about future...and like Chinese people like to make money because it's, like, for their peace of mind...and, we, we have friends (Canadian acquaintances) that came to our house... And they say their (Chinese) neighbour are almost working 20 hours a day and they can't believe it, and...say those people are so poor because they have work so hard, and make so much money [those people are not so poor that they have to make so much money]. But I think it's necessary - say for your

future. If something happen you have (to be) prepared, you (have to) have enough money, and I don't think usually Canadians do that. Maybe they will work hard for a certain period and try to save money and until they get enough money (then) they will spend it all."

Paula experienced numerous aspects of Canadian culture as offensive, particularly those which concerned consideration or respect.

**PL:** "Sometimes like walking down the street, and some teenagers come by...go past and they would yell at me or something...like...whoaaa! I don't know why they do that."

**EM:** "Were they yelling at you because you're Chinese?"

**PL:** "No. No they're (Canadian teens) not crazy or something - got mental problem! (we both laugh) So I think they're pretty dumb. They like to, they like people to pay attention to them. They think people like it. And people don't do that in Taiwan." Later, she told me that she didn't like "Canadian people who are noxious, naughty, who yell at you."

Paula disliked how some Canadian students treated their teachers.

**PL:** "I notice some students say bad words about the teachers."

**EM:** "Like, behind their backs?"

**PL:** "Or in front of, they said it loud."

**EM:** "What does the teacher do?"

**PL:** "Kick her out, she kick them out."

One of the few aspects of the new culture that Paula did speak of positively was gender relations. She felt that women were treated better and had more equal employment opportunities in Canada compared with Taiwan.

Although Paula was not pleased with much that she observed in the new culture, she took a cultural relativist position in her view that since everyone in Canada was from a different background, no one could say the differences were wrong, even if they were distasteful.

**PL:** "I just think that both the Chinese, the immigrants and people who lives here [both immigrants and Canadians] they have to accept those differences...because they all come from a different background, different culture, and even their parents would told them different things [brought up differently]. And, we can't say that the difference is wrong, or something, ah we just have to accept it."

She also felt that as immigrants, she and her family did not have the right to comment about the existing culture.

**PL:** "...because since we have (just) come here...we don't have (the right) to say things about it. (If we did...) It will get conflict."

In all the time we dialogued, Paula spoke of her multi-cultural school and community environment exclusively in terms of Caucasians and Chinese. When she first arrived in Canada she had felt very strange in a largely 'white' environment.

**PL:** "Strange...because Taiwan the people are so many and they're all black haired...and yellow skinned..? But here are all white people, and, different colors of hair...yeh."

At first she had also thought of whites as being very special, then realized later that they were no better than other people. In her journal she wrote...

**PL:** "At first, I thought maybe white people are all very friendly. And they may care about each other a lot. But now I know that there are always exceptions. Some are really kind people, but others aren't."

One of Paula's biggest worries before coming to Canada was whether she might experience racism in the new society.

**PL:** "...and if they have racisms..? And I think I am still Chinese [I will always be Chinese] and maybe I would, I would, I can never fit into their group."

But in spite of her pre-migration worries, and her later discovery that whites were no better than others, Paula and her family did not experience prejudice or racism in Canada.

**EM:** "Have you experienced prejudice here at school, or perhaps even down town?"

**PL:** "No, nobody yell (racist remarks) to me."

**EM:** "Or to your parents?"

**PL:** "No. Nothing - I'm glad too."

Paula recalled that she had been apprehensive about going to new schools in Taiwan because she was afraid she would not be able to make friends. Prior to leaving for Canada she felt the same apprehension.

**PL:** "I was just wondering about...whether I'm going to have new friends and what will they be like."

Upon arrival in Canada Paula's first priority was, as it was for student migrants in studies by Uehara and Hicks (1989) and Rohrllich and Martin (1991), to establish friendships.

**EM:** "What was the most important thing in your experience in Canada?"

**PL:** "I think after I came to Canada, I tried to make friends."

Paula gave several reasons why making friends was critical to her.

**EM:** "Did you make friends quickly?"

**PL:** "No - because I couldn't communicate."

**EM:** "Did you want to make friends?"

**PL:** "I think so - a feeling of security." In a subsequent interview she said, "I feel better when I get some friends, because they um, when I need them I will ask them questions and together they will help me...and because they came already than me, right?"

Paula felt a need for friends who already had some experience of adaptation and thus could assist her through adaptation difficulties. In order to assist, however, they would initially have to be friends who were Mandarin speaking like her.

**PL:** "At that time I just tried to have, tried to find some people who speak

Mandarin, yeh...and then I found them."

Paula's rationale for needing the friendship of co-nationals corresponds with the findings of studies by Berry, Kim, Minde et al. (1987) and Searle and Ward (1990) which found that many recently arrived immigrants need the social and emotional support of co-nationals who have already had some experience of adaptation, to help them negotiate the difficulties of adaptation. Paula also reflected that whereas she had most often turned to her parents for assistance when encountering difficulties in Taiwan, she was more likely in Canada to turn for assistance to her friends instead. Her friends, she felt, were familiar with the new environment, while her parents had no more experience of it than she had.

In trying to get Paula to make friends with receiving society peers, Paula's mother expressed a concern which parallels the view advanced by Biggs (1987) and Kim (1988), that conversing solely with members of one's own language group is not conducive to developing host language competencies.

**EM:** "Did your parents give you any advice or direction about adapting?"

**PL:** "H-m-m...my mom did."

**EM:** "What kind of advice?"

**PL:** "She says, like, she wants me to make more friends with Caucasians than the Chinese people. She say that will make my English better to her, but, I don't think she understands the situation I'm in at school."

Paula tried to explain the difficulties of making friends with Caucasians to her mother.

**PL:** "I think, you know like, Caucasians, they have their own group of friends and...they have been such a long while [they have been with the same friends for a long time]. They think it's fine, it's perfect [they are satisfied with their current friends]. And maybe they don't want somebody else new to come and and to come into the group. And my mother said, 'You don't, if you never try how do you know?' I said, 'I try!' And she say, 'Well, we can give them some presents.'"

Paula and her mother purchased gifts for Paula to take to school and bestow upon some caucasian acquaintances.

**PL:** "But she found out, that you know, the teenagers, they will think, well if you give to me I will accept it, but they don't think, well they have to give you something back. Because Chinese people will think that if you give this them, then I will have to give something back. We found that maybe Canadian don't think that way."

The Lin family's unsuccessful attempt to gain friendship with Caucasians through giving gifts suggests support for the position of Befu (1980) and Diggs and Murphy (1991) who contend that cross-cultural friendship requires proficiencies in the social skill of reciprocity.

Paula's subsequent attempts to befriend Caucasians also ended in frustration, apparently foundering on obstacles which some have described as widely differing cultural perspectives (Matejko & Williams, 1993), or dissimilar conversational repertoires (Y. Chang, 1991; Wu, 1991).

**PL:** "I tried to make friends with Caucasians. But it's hard. After awhile I gave up. We don't have the same thoughts, the same feeling. And, we don't have the same things to talk about."

Paula also encountered difficulties in understanding intent from facial expressions, a problem in cross-cultural communication that has been pointed to in studies by Bothwell et al. (1989) and Ng and Lindsay (1994).

**PL:** "I try to talk to them and ask them questions - but the impression of their face doesn't make me feel good. I think they just don't like me to talk to them."

**EM:** "How could you tell?"

**PL:** "Maybe from your face...those people who they don't like the Chinese, their expression is like try to avoid...there's, they pretend they can't see you."

Paula disapproved of Caucasian boy - girl relationships that she had observed at school and in the community, believing that Canadians entered relationships too young, were too public, and too possessive.

**PL:** "Well, they started very early (in a negative tone)."

**EM:** "Early?"

**PL:** "H-m-m, (and) they would kiss at a public space, place...and I don't think Chinese people would do that...they think it's very private."

**EM:** "If your boyfriend gave you a kiss in public - "

**PL:** (Cuts in) "*Embarrassed!*..yeh. It's *embarrassed!* I wouldn't like that.....(continues to comment on Caucasians...) seems like this is my boyfriend or this is my girlfriend...like it is theirs (frowning disapproval)."

After a few months in Canada, however, Paula began to appreciate certain aspects of the more liberal Canadian perspective on boy - girl relationships. In her journal she wrote,

"Last time we talked about differences between living in Taiwan and Canada. I thought about that later few days later after we met. Then I think the biggest differences for me is that we (girls) have a chance to be friends with boys. In the junior high schools in Taiwan, boys and girls are separated...it's very unfair for us. We lost the chance of understanding people besides girls. We also lost the chance of become friends with boys." (brackets in original)

Paula's love of music drew her to the Chinese language karaoke bars in Richmond where she socialized with her new girl friends and with boys that she met there.

**EM:** "What about here (Canada) for you? Do boys sometimes phone you?"

**PL:** "Yeh."

**EM:** "Mostly for homework?"

- PL: "No, sometimes just talking."  
 EM: "Do your parents mind that?"  
 PL: "No. They don't. They know that some of my best friends are boys."  
 EM: "Do the boys ask you out?"  
 PL: "Yeh...dancing. I go to karaoke with friends - sometimes guy friends...sometimes we'll book a small room, my friends and I. We can stay there for seven hours, and we can eat, so I doesn't think it's expensive."

Although Paula felt that her parents didn't mind her talking to boys on the phone, they clearly did not approve of her going out with boys on a regular basis.

- PL: "Then my mother would talk to me...they will say, 'It's too early for you to have a boyfriend...and the most important thing for you - is study!...not...having a boyfriend!'"

Throughout the six month interview period, Paula maintained a sojourner perspective, one which envisioned a return to Taiwan after university, then a return in old age to the security of Canada. In her journal she wrote...

- PL: "Well, I think I can go to university, after that, I may go back to Taiwan to make money because making money is easier than in Canada. While I'm working there, I'll also have some money for travelling during vacations. After I get old, I'll come back to Canada with all the money I saved or earned in my life and live here happily without pressure for the rest of my life."

Paula's hope of return was not related to any dislike of Canada or Canadian culture, but apparently was solely motivated by the prospect of making money.

- PL: "Though I really want to go back to Taiwan, I can't give up all the things I've got here. I'd rather live here than in Taiwan."

Paula looked forward either to making money as an English tutor in Taiwan or to "start my own business." I asked her what she liked about the idea of a business in Taiwan. She replied, "Make some money. Feeling of security."

Although Paula's sojourner perspective had not changed since arrival, Paula had changed in other ways. She felt that since coming to Canada she had grown up very quickly.

- PL: "Childhood? I think (laughs) I don't have a childhood here - I left my childhood in Taiwan...but I just grow up or something...and I found out lots of things during the last two years...right?"

Paula had grown particularly in self-reliance and independence since arrival in Canada. She had become less reliant upon and more independent of the authority figures in her life - her teachers and especially her parents.

- EM: "In what way have you changed?"  
 PL: "I...it's like, I have my own thoughts..? And, like I watched when I just came I would think what my parents said, or what the teacher said, is always right. Now I don't think so." In her journal she wrote,



"When I was younger, I was very dependent on other people, such as my relatives, friends or parents. I always wanted them to do things for me or when I do things that I am not familiar with, I want them to be with me. But now I realize and understand that in the world there is no one you can really rely on. You must learn to be independent."

Paula enjoyed the new independence in that it permitted her to try new things - "I want, I want to gamble new things." - but it also caused her to question her parents for the first time.

**PL:** "After I grow up, I've found that all the things my parents say are now older [traditional], are not always right. Sometimes I think they don't understand me...and they cannot know what's the best for me!"

Paula's new independence brought her into conflict with her parents particularly over the issue of friends. Her parents viewed Paula's new friends as a threat to Paula's educational prospects.

**PL:** "Sometimes...sometimes, we just like...I want to go to karaoke, right..? She doesn't like me to go there with those friends. Yeh, she say, 'They don't study, they're like they're bad kids.' But I think, you cannot...because you can't say they're bad because they don't study. I think about, they always think that only study is good for us. But I don't think so...and, and my friends and I didn't do anything wrong...just sing there or something!"

**EM:** "But maybe they (parents) just want a good future for you and think that these friends will influence you."

**PL:** "But, I would control myself but they don't believe me. They didn't trust me that I can control myself. It's that I been really get mad about."

It was not that Paula questioned her parents' values. In fact, Paula continued to place a high value on education. Rather, Paula's parents questioned her discretion in maintaining the educational values they all held in common.

Paula believed that while she had changed for the better in Canada, she had not lost her Chinese self in the process. She also felt that she could select which aspects of the new culture she would retain.

**PL:** "Maybe I would like to say I will become Canadian but I will try to keep my Chinese, my Chinese culture. I've keep the old, I've added to it. I've kept the old and keep the new. But maybe them, them bad things I've thrown away."

Paula's perspective on her changes does not lend support to the replacement view of adaptation advocated by Eva and Suen (1990) or Gudykunst and Kim (1984), which posits that adaptation requires the loss of natal culture as elements of the new culture are incorporated. Rather, Paula's perspective is indicative of the view of adaptation as essentially additive without requiring loss, as proposed by Manaster et al. (1992) and Hoffman (1988). Paula's

ability to "throw away" certain aspects of the new culture is suggestive of Hoffman's (1990) selective adaptation - an ability to choose which aspects of the new environment are desirable for incorporation and which are to be avoided or rejected.

In six months of interviews, observations, journal entries and written correspondence, several interrelated experiential themes became evident, which are indicative of the essence of Paula Lin's experience of her initial period of adaptation in Canada. Paula's overriding concern both prior to and after migration was with security. She had looked to her father for security when having difficulties with her school work in Taiwan. Later, when experiencing the shock of communication difficulties in Canada - what she considered her most difficult adaptation experience - she turned to him again. In her father Paula "felt security because his English is good." For Paula the most important aspect of adaptation had been making friends, and one of the primary reasons she gave for needing friends was "a feeling of security." Similarly, when Paula reflected on her goal of going to university she remarked, "it's kind of security you have." Finally, Paula considered that making money was important for "peace of mind" and that having her own business in Taiwan would provide a "feeling of security."

When I began interviewing with Paula 16 months after she arrived in Canada, there were few signs of insecurity. Paula's newfound self-reliance and independence were far more apparent. However, throughout the six month interview period Paula often invoked security as an ultimate rationale for many of the things she was pursuing or hoped to pursue in the future. Perhaps the reason for Paula's desire for security may be traced to her pre-migration years in Kaohsiung in that although Paula believed the family's constant moving to new homes (and schools) had helped prepare her for adaptation in Canada, the many moves may also have made her insecure. Constant readjustment to new schools, the resulting temporary nature of her friendships, and the constant need to make new friends would not have been conducive to instilling feelings of security.

Perhaps developing prior to migration, but certainly intensifying after, was Paula's preeminent motivation of making money. It had been and continued

to be her family's dominant purpose, relegating all other goals including higher education to a subsidiary status. Paula's intention of making money rapidly in Taiwan, then removing to the relative security of Canada in later life may be seen as a reenactment of her parents' economic strategy. The belief that she could make money more easily in Taiwan is the principal reason Paula came to view her migration to Canada as temporary.

Because Paula maintained an ideal of returning to Taiwan, her pre-departure and subsequent adaptation perspective was that of a sojourner rather than an immigrant. In saying goodbye to friends, family, and country Paula had experienced little sense of loss because she had already decided that her migration would be temporary. Though Paula had attempted to establish friendships with Canadians, after several setbacks she eventually gave up. Given Paula's temporary perspective she did not feel it was absolutely critical to make Canadian friends. Consequently, new friendships established during her first year and a half in Canada were exclusively with Chinese immigrant students. Similarly, from a sojourner perspective Paula felt no compelling need to participate in or appreciate Canadian culture. Her social and cultural activities continued to revolve around the activities of the Chinese ethnic community throughout her stay in Canada. In many respects, Paula maintained a Taiwanese cultural and linguistic 'permanent' world within her more challenging, but 'temporary' Canadian world.

In overcoming the initial shock of linguistic deficiencies and the trials of adaptation, Paula developed a strong sense of self-reliance and independence. She found great satisfaction in her new independence, considering it to be her most valuable adaptation outcome. The new independence did not result, however, in an embracing of the Canadian environment in relation to which the independence had developed. If anything, it strengthened Paula's sojourner perspective, providing more confidence to pursue a return to Taiwan and the establishment of economically profitable activities.

Paula's developing independence also led to conflict with her parents ostensibly over Paula's choice of friends. The actual concern for the parents, however, was that Paula's new friends were a threat to the family's

educational values. Yet despite long term difficulties with schoolwork, and though not pursuing education as arduously as her parents would have liked, Paula continued to strive for her family's educational goal throughout her initial adaptation period. After all, education represented security and increased potential for making money in Taiwan: "I will like to get into the university...cause maybe I could make it [get] a better job...in Taiwan."

When I last saw Paula, she had joined our family as guests at a Taiwanese tea hosted by Jared Wing's family. While there Paula told me excitedly that she could hardly wait to go shopping at what would be upon completion, the largest mall in Richmond. "And the one that's being built, I'm looking forward to that because it's from Taiwan...it's from Taiwan, Taiwanese company."

#### 4.08 Vana Lee

Whenever I happened to see Vana in the school hallways or out riding her bicycle in the community, I saw a serious looking face seemingly lost in thought, aware only of what was directly ahead. However, if she caught a glimpse of me or of one of her friends or acquaintances, her face would break into a happy smile and she would stop and talk enthusiastically in the appropriate language. During interviews, Vana gradually warmed to topics becoming more bubbly and passionate as she spoke, emphasizing numerous words and interjecting 'oohs,' 'ahhs,' 'huhs,' sighs and laughter throughout. Occasionally, when she felt she had been too expressive, she would finish her sentence with an embarrassed "oh gosh!" Vana also had a tendency to end some sentences with "or something," by which she meant 'something of that nature.'

Vana was a petite Chinese girl with a small round face. She was so small that upon first seeing her I mistook her for an elementary school student. She was smaller than most of her exclusively Chinese female friends and rode to school on a bicycle that could have belonged to a child. During the time of our interviews she kept her black hair in a short, blunt, stylish cut, and wore small silver-rimmed oval glasses. Although Vana's attire typically consisted of "mostly just jeans and T-shirt or something," she did her best to wear them with as much flair as they would permit.

Vana Lee was born in "West Side, Hong Kong" and lived there until 14

years old, when she emigrated to Canada with her parents and younger sister. She had been in Canada 20 months and had just turned 16 prior to our first interview. Vana's father was an ethnic Chinese Malaysian, while Vana's mother had been born in Hong Kong, but had left there when she was young. Both parents had travelled extensively.

One evening during the interview period, my family hosted a dinner for study participants. Vana arrived with her mother and younger sister, and while a group of us were sitting outside after dinner my 10 year old son asked Mrs. Lee where she had come from.

**Mrs. Lee:** (Laughing at the question and turning to address the response to all of us...) "First we immigrated from Mainland China to Indonesia. But the climate in Indonesia to Chinese people was not good. (the Chinese minority had been persecuted)

**EM:** "Yes...I understand that it became difficult under Sukarno and Suharto."

**Mrs Lee:** "Then we immigrated to Hong Kong. But there is so much uncertainty about 1997. So, (shrugging her shoulders in resignation) that's why we immigrated here (laughing)."

**My son:** (Fascinated by the family's continuous travel...) "Where will you immigrate next?"

**Mrs Lee:** (Laughing at his persistence...) "Next, we immigrate to heaven!"

Her response indicated that the family had nowhere left to go.

Mrs. Lee had originally sold curtains, fabric, and wall paper in Hong Kong, before working as an executive secretary "full time, six days a week," a position that she had enjoyed immensely. Vana's father had been one of the managers at a large Hong Kong gift and toy company. The Lee family's life in Hong Kong centred around a high rise apartment building where they lived in a "700 square foot apartment on the thirteenth floor," and where grandparents and other relatives had apartments on the floors above. The whole extended family often shared meals and social occasions at one another's apartments.

While living in Hong Kong, the Lee family had become friends with a Caucasian lady who was visiting from France. They began to correspond, and as neither party could speak the other's natal language, all correspondence was in English. The French lady became a regular visitor over the years. After entering junior high school in Hong Kong, one of Vana's friends emigrated to the United States, and the two girls began a long term correspondence "because I have a friend in U.S.A....and also immigrant to U.S.A." One of Vana's aunts worked for an airline, and the family was occasionally able to afford to travel outside of Hong Kong. Vana remembered one family trip to Rome over the

Chinese New Year holiday during her grade seven school year.

VL: "Wow...it was so beautiful. I just liked the horses...which the policemen was riding...because it was so big, so tall."

The family was also able to travel periodically "to Macao for a few days." Prior experience of another culture, as provided by the family friend from France, and previous travel outside of the home country have been found by researchers such as Furnham and Bochner (1986) to enhance adaptation potential. Vana also had relatives who had emigrated from Hong Kong to Canada some years previously, and the family corresponded regularly. This circumstance suggests that Vana had been able to acquire some prior informational familiarity with the receiving society, something that researchers such as Gao and Gudykunst (1990) have found improves chances of successful migration.

A short time before her fourteenth birthday, Vana's relatives in Canada came back to Hong Kong for a holiday bringing with them a glowing report of their life in Richmond.

VL: "My aunt came back for holidays. My cousins always talk about how fun it is in school and how free was the schools...and everything is good."

What appealed to her most was the "freer" school system.

VL: "Yeh...I don't know anything about Canada. No just, school and houses or something...because from my cousins, and aunties and something."

EM: "So you didn't know what to expect?"

VL: "Yup. Just a hope...for me I think. Yeh, for change in life..? Another life..? Maybe. Yeh, for better change. (With feeling...) I hate the pressure (of school in Hong Kong) - I want a free Canada!"

When her parents asked what she thought about moving to another country, her dislike of school in Hong Kong and the new possibility of something better elsewhere were major factors in Vana's positive response.

For Vana's parents migration was not such an easy choice. They had moved several times before and were tired of moving. There were, however, several aspects of life in Hong Kong that concerned Vana's parents: political uncertainty and more importantly, their daughters' educational prospects.

VL: "My dad say 'Is partly because of 1997, but partly because of a better education for you.' Because of 1997, because China is going to take away Hong Kong, because China is going to take away Hong Kong from English...so we have to immigrate. But the main thing is about our future. Mainly it's for me and my sister."

The Lee's primary rationale for migration, then, suggests support for studies by Stewart (1993) and Early et al. (1989), which have found that better

educational prospects for their children is an important migration motive for many recent immigrants. Vana's parents also had to weigh the benefits of education against what they considered to be poorer employment opportunities and a higher cost of living in Canada.

VL: "We don't know anything about it, right...? We don't know anything about Canada just the schools, is so free, that we feels that only the school is better than Hong Kong, but anything [everything else], jobs, ah malls is not that good when is compared to Hong Kong...the money...make less money (in Canada)."

Personal sacrifice by the Lee parents in order that their children might have better educational opportunities suggests a common immigration theme that has been reported by Canadian immigrant authors such as Beverly Nann (1982) and Joy Kagawa (1990).

After the relatives returned to Canada, Vana's parents made the decision to emigrate, choosing Canada over Australia because the relatives' descriptions of Richmond made it sound very much "like Hong Kong...that's what my cousins said." Choice of location was primarily due to the influence of relatives who had emigrated previously.

EM: "Why did they decide on Canada?"

VL: "Because my aunt is here before we immigrate here."

The Lee's migration, then, is an example of chain migration, where relatives may be seen to influence both the decision to migrate (Pohjola, 1991) and the choice of destination (Morawska, 1990).

There was considerable activity as the Lees prepared to leave, with extended family on the upper floors of the highrise coming down to assist with the move.

VL: "They help us...just keep running around, up and down, up and down...Oh God!"

There was an emotional leave-taking at the airport for the relatives, but for Vana there was little sense of loss or closure.

VL: "At first I didn't have much ah feeling about leaving or something. I don't think - maybe I was too stupid!...or too young when I was...before I immigrated to Canada. So um, I didn't think leaving Hong Kong is a big change or a big um..yeh...not leaving forever or something. So I just - is miserable for my grandma, grandpa, and my aunts, uncles...but for friends - yeh, friends also. (But for me...) Not that much feelings."

It was only after leaving Hong Kong that Vana and her sister began to feel sad, but it was not their own loss that they felt. Their sadness grew as they

began to realize the sense of loss that their grandparents had experienced.

VL: "My grandmother was already missed two grandchildren already. So we are the other two. Me, I and - my sister and I was you know, lived nearest to my grandmother and we understand her feeling is so so miserable...but, my feeling and my sister's feeling is so sad."

EM: "Did you comfort your sister, help her feel better?"

VL: "Yeh, I help her, but I cannot help myself...you know, to stop crying or something...Oh God! (embarrassed laugh)"

The Lees said goodbye to relatives at the airport in Hong Kong and were met by relatives at the airport in Richmond.

VL: "We get out of the airport and out of the parking place and finds our cousins, rest of them. They waiting for us."

The Lees stayed temporarily with the relatives until purchasing a modest family home nearby. Vana's first day in Canada left her with a lasting positive impression that grew over time.

VL: "And we drove...looking at trees...and you know, just introduce Canada to us."

Vana was ecstatic about the trees and plants she saw, something that she had experienced very little of in Hong Kong. On one occasion when Vana and I were looking at photographs that we had brought to show each other, she stopped excitedly at a photo of a forested area on Vancouver Island.

VL: "Ohhh...a dream! Oh gosh!...yeh, that's a dream for Hong Kong people! Because Hong Kong is a whole bunch of, is no forest no trees...so (I hadn't seen) no tree for a long time."

When Vana visited our home some months later, she was fascinated with the small herb garden that we maintained behind our kitchen. She wanted to know what every plant was and took samples home for her mother. She was overjoyed at the thought of growing her own garden. Later, when visiting our home with her family she excitedly pointed out each of the various herbs in the garden to her mother. When I asked Vana about her happiest feelings in Canada she immediately compared the natural environment of Canada with that of Hong Kong.

VL: "Ah, when I was just over here, or walk out of room, walk out of school, walk out my home, walk out the door...just feel very enjoy! You don't have this kind of grass or sunshine in Hong Kong...I don't want to you know, stay in a building and enjoy the air conditioner."

Living in a detached single family home at ground level, enjoying a natural environment of trees and sunlight, and studying at a school which was as pleasantly different from schools in Hong Kong as her cousins had enthused, were new and positive experiences for Vana. But there were many aspects of her day to day life in Richmond that she experienced as differing little, if



at all, from life in Hong Kong. Vana continued to speak Cantonese at home and with most of her friends at school, and to shop primarily in Richmond's Chinese malls.

VL: "I go to the mall, I go always to the mall quite a bit yeh, with them, with the Chinese community [with Chinese friends]. Some of them...because, whatever is happening in Aberdeen Centre or Parker Place, you know, any Chinese mall, we should know...from the newspaper, watch Chinese public newspaper every day."

Virtually all services required or social events in which the family participated occurred within Richmond's extensive Cantonese speaking Chinese community.

EM: "The Chinese TV station, Cathay Pacific..?"

VL: "Yeh, we watch every day. Yup."

EM: "Do you buy your food in the Chinese community?"

VL: "Yeh, yeh always. Sometimes we bought some Chinese food over there - which is, you cannot buy in Safeway, right? Or another mall."

EM: "When you get your hair cut..?"

VL: "Ha - ha! When I was young (laughs) my mother do it. Yeh, but not any more. Yeh, always Chinese do it...the Western is - sometimes it's different! They don't know (how to deal with our type of hair). I don't know how to tell them how to cut my hair."

Family medical care was provided by a Cantonese doctor and when the family went out for dinner it was invariably to a Chinese restaurant. Vana's most pleasing discovery about food in Canada was that she was now able to consume at home, more of the food that she had enjoyed most in Hong Kong.

VL: "And you know, the happiest was, happiest things was, I can taste Jap, Japanese food! Because in Hong Kong is so expensive. Yeh, sushi, I love it!"

During her first two years in Canada Vana was strongly influenced by her parents and supported the values which they passed on to her.

VL: "I think, think the person who influence me the mos...was my father. He also said that yeh, more things right, more things wrong...don't, don't...yeh [don't do this, don't do that].

She felt the advice he had given her which was most appropriate to her experience in the new society concerned how to be polite, and the hazards of choosing friends.

VL: (He said...) "'Treat people politely'...uh...'Be careful because if, if you will become bad'...yeh [if you don't wish to become bad], 'You have to choose friends very careful..? Carefully..?'"

She also conformed to her mother's views on wearing makeup. While she recognized that "lots of Canadians wear make up (all the time)," she felt that for her it was best not to wear too much makeup or wear it too often.

VL: "Yeh, not really that much. A little bit is OK. You know girls love

pretty, love beautiful, right..?" [girls can get carried away with their love of pretty things]

Vana also sympathized with her parents' strong education values though she found schooling difficult, even in Canada.

EM: "Have you ever experienced stress since coming to Canada?"

VL: "H-m-m...pressure? Um, yeh...ah yup. Some kind of homework, parents. Yeh, most of them [most of the time] is parents. Because they always keep saying that you must work hard, you know, work, you must get...yeh...yeh some job."

Nonetheless, she felt that the parental pressure was beneficial in helping her to improve herself.

VL: "Yeh, prove [improve] some of my, you know, bad habits, yeh, in doing homework. Lazy to do it..? Or do it too slow..?"

Upon arrival in Canada, each member of the Lee family selected a Western name. Vana was happy to select one which sounded different from her Chinese name, because she had never liked her Chinese name's ancestral origin. Vana's father began working long hours for low pay as a waiter in his sister's Korean restaurant. His sister had visited Korea once, and liking the food, had decided to open a Korean restaurant in the Vancouver area. Vana's mother could find only part time work as a receptionist at a real estate office, a job that she disliked. Vana and her sister recognized the job related stresses that their parents were experiencing, and worried about the family's financial situation.

VL: "Yeh, I'm worrying about that. We, I and my sister and I always worry about how much money they get, they get from the job, from the restaurant, because I've worked in a restaurant a few times, just summer or, um, Christmas, just like part time jobs. And you don't get much from that, right? I make...I get four dollars, I get four dollars an hour...my aunt's restaurant...not so much money you can make."

Vana's aunt had paid her a very low wage (under the legal minimum wage) and though Vana did not know what her father was paid, she worried that he too was being paid very poorly.

Vana was also expected to do a considerable amount of the housework her parents did not have time to do.

VL: "Yeh, all kind of things. For example, wash the dishes...clean the house, if, if I don't have homeworks, just wash clothes, not really ironing. When I finish that housework, my father expect me to cut the grass, do the grass work or something, but I hate that."

The household responsibilities functioned as a negative incentive for Vana to get her homework done.

VL: "Yeh, the homework first...but I hate to do to wash dishes...of course!"

But Vana also recognized that the chores were necessary because of her parents' heavy work load.

EM: "If you had homework after supper, would they expect you to do homework or housework?"

VL: "Do the homework first! It's always the first part, yeh my mother she said that...ah how you say that...always the homework first, and when you have free time, I can do the housework."

EM: "How do you feel about that system?"

VL: (Sighs) "I have two point of view - because - if, I think when I go up grade...? Up...ah, higher grades, I have more and more homework. But they, but also my parents work outside (of the home)...is very, yeh, uncomfortable and, and so hard and hard pressure or something. Cause it's hard for them too and I know it's hard for me, and it's hard for them."

EM: "Do you think your dad and mom work pretty hard?"

VL: "Yeh, they have a hard time outside - I know, I can, can understand that...at their jobs...when they come back they feel unhappy...? Sometimes...yeh, tired and unhappy. I can understand that...I should but, I can't help them, that much. (With feeling...) I cannot do all the things by myself and just let them come back and...ah...sit there and do nothing. Read newspapers or something (laughing)."

EM: "But they don't do that do they?"

VL: (laughing) "No. But they, hopes so! (laughing harder) They hope to! Oh my gosh! (embarrassed at what she said)"

Vana's natal language was Cantonese, the predominant Chinese language of the Hong Kong - Canton area. In grade four Vana began to take Mandarin and English as part of her school program. After coming to Canada Vana attributed her success with English to the English lessons in Hong Kong. "It's helps me a lot in, get in easier to get into the English." According to Lonner (1986) and Gao and Gudykunst (1990), immigrants such as Vana who have acquired basic host language competencies before migration have an enhanced adaptation potential. Vana also had the advantage of assistance with her English from her parents who had learned the language at work and through night school courses in Hong Kong. Vana was thankful she did not have to translate for her parents as some of her immigrant friends in Canada were required to do. The language used in the Lee's Richmond home, however, remained exclusively Cantonese primarily because the parents wanted Vana's younger sister to gain a more complete understanding of the language.

VL: "And my sister is so young and, my mother and father just try to teach her and...idioms? Chinese idioms, (or) something."

Upon arrival at school in Richmond, Vana was placed in a lower ESL level, due to her lack of confidence with spoken English. Mid way through her second school year in Canada Vana had advanced to ESL level four and was

to be placed in the highest of the five levels for her coming grade 11 year. Despite the fact that most of her conversation with family, friends, and community was in Cantonese, Vana's acquisition of English as indicated by her progress through ESL levels, was accomplished rapidly. This finding appears to contradict the position advanced by researchers such as Biggs (1987) and Kim (1988) who maintain that immigrants who converse primarily with members of their own language group after migration will not develop host language proficiency.

Vana was strongly motivated to learn English. On several occasions she had spoken to me with concern of serious misunderstandings in the school between Chinese immigrant students and Canadian (non-teaching) supervisors. In one case she related that a Chinese boy who was playing in the hallway had been told by the supervisor, "Come over here!" He did not understand the command, but wishing to be polite, smiled at the supervisor and walked away.

VL: "And supervisor said, 'COME HERE! When I told you to come here, don't walk away from me!'"

The boy was given a suspension for disobedience. This and similar incidents had upset and frightened many of the school's ESL students, including Vana. But Vana, following her mother's viewpoint felt that as newcomers, the responsibility to avoid misunderstandings was the ESL student's not the supervisor's.

VL: "Yeh. We, you know, we have to be polite first! We have to learn English, good English first, so that we can fight for [defend] ourself. My mother said that! When I told her the cases she said that yeh, 'That's you guys' fault because you didn't learn good English so that you can fight for yourself.'"

In Vana's view, misunderstandings which were the result of a poor command of English would lead to an appearance of rudeness on the part of Chinese Canadians.

VL: "Yeh, Chinese rude, Chinese mean because misunderstanding. It always happen, usually happen!"

Vana felt that because of the potential for misunderstanding, one of the most important things that she needed to learn after coming to Canada was a better command of conversational English.

When Vana first arrived, her greatest difficulty with language was a fear of conversing with Canadians in English.

- VL:** "I was really afraid to talk. Especially asks for something..? Yeh, maybe ask for help, ask for how how what is the price of the product..? Or go buy the food or something, afraid of everything."
- EM:** "And how did that feel to you?"
- VL:** "It's strange, you know! They do, the Canadians will smile to you, they they have good surveys [service] but I don't even know how to talk. I don't even know how to ask. So that's...(why) I'm so afraid and (it's) so strange for me."

It was not that she didn't know enough English to frame her questions, but rather that she had never had to ask such questions in Hong Kong, thus she felt all the more awkward about asking in another language and another society.

- VL:** (In Canada...) "Just like you have to talk. Because in Hong Kong I don't. Now I have to talk!"

In Hong Kong her parents had done the asking for her, but they recognized that in Canada people were expected to ask their own questions. Vana's parents encouraged her to try out her English.

- VL:** "My mom and dad ask me to do it. Say that 'You must do this...you know you are in Canada...especially you must talk. You must speak more English. You must have a more conversation.'"

Although frightened, Vana followed their advice and by speaking with salespeople and school staff, she was able to overcome her fears. She found that when she spoke to Canadians she did "pretty good...and it change (for the better) in the future." Vana felt that she had become much bolder and self-reliant through conquering her fears of speaking to Canadians.

Despite a growing confidence in using English and after two years in Canada, Vana still found two areas of communication to be very difficult. Vana observed that Canadian students were more flexible, more able to express themselves in alternate ways than she was.

- VL:** "Yeh...the teacher always says to the ESL students, you have to put in your own words for the, yeh, not copy from the books word for words. Most of the ESL students...it's hard for them to - they think that the information in the books is best! Right? Right? The sentence is good! You cannot change from the books, right? But Canadian can get the information, and Canadian people can, children, [even young children] can get the information and change it into the other way. And for us, or for the ESL student, it's hard to do that."

The other area of communication that Vana still experienced difficulties with was understanding the relationship of Caucasian speakers' facial expressions to their verbal communications. Vana told me that when a Canadian was speaking she couldn't tell "from face...if they trust us, me or not." Vana's difficulty with reading facial expressions suggests support for Bowers and

Flinders' (1990) and Wolfgang and Wolofsky's (1991) contentions that understanding facial communicative expression is critical for reading the intent or context of the speaker's verbal message.

Vana also thought it would be difficult to learn French, in her case, a fourth language, when "we haven't get rid of the English yet." Not only did she feel it would be best to become competent in English before attempting another new language, but that French would never be useful to her: "It must be more useful!" She considered that Japanese or Mandarin were more appropriate languages given the realities of business in Western Canada. Half way through her second school year in Canada, the University of British Columbia revised its admission requirements, basing admission solely on the results of high school courses for which there were government exams. Although Japanese and Mandarin were offered as courses in a number of area schools, these subjects did not have a government exam component, and thus would no longer qualify for university admission. Vana's mother joined a group of Chinese parents to lobby the Provincial Government through the Chinese organization SUCCESS, to develop government exams for Japanese and Mandarin. When it came time to register for her grade 11 courses, the issue had still not been resolved, but Vana gambled and decided to register for Mandarin.

**EM:** "What are you going to do next year?"

**VL:** "I will take Mandarin."

**EM:** "So you hope the rules will be changed by then?"

**VL:** "Yeh, I will hope."

Some months after we finished interviewing, the Provincial Government announced government exams for Japanese and Mandarin. Vana's gamble, and her mother's lobbying, had paid off.

Vana had been an average achiever at school in Hong Kong, though she had always had some difficulty with Math.

**VL:** (In Hong Kong...) "English, C+; Mandarin, B; Cantonese, Chinese, B; Math, D; Science, C+; History, C; Geography, C+; P.E., B; Music, Singing, B; Art, C."

Due to limited economic circumstances during their youth, neither of Vana's parents had completed their education. They wanted much more for their daughters, and despite Vana's moderate academic performance, had registered her in a high track program in Hong Kong. Vana's father also encouraged and

helped his daughter to achieve well, but despite his and her best efforts, she continued to achieve at a modest level.

**VL:** "Yeh...his experience is...he had a lot of experience in dealing with people (managerial skills), (he) know that I must take more education because he didn't have that much education you know that, know that your future when you have to find jobs is hard, so, just force me to, to (work) harder! I was lazy and I hate it of course." Later, she added..."Yeh, you must work hard, because in Hong Kong the pressure is really hard, he explain to me that it is very hard - I, I know that! But I do my best - already, and I still not get that, not get the good marks, not get very high marks, but he still help me to do the homeworks."

**EM:** "He did?"

**VL:** "Yeh, so uh, whenever test, I study for, I study for it a long time, after dinner to ah twelve o'clock, one o'clock two o'clock, something...he still help me to ask me the question."

After arriving in Canada, Vana's father was not able to assist her as often as he had done in the past because of his work commitments. Vana found, however, that compared with Hong Kong, school in Canada involved "little pressure, no, not that much." Inside of two years her grades had climbed to approximately the same or marginally better than what she had achieved in Hong Kong.

**VL:** (In Canada...) "English, C; Math, C-; Science, C+; Social Studies, C-... I've tried for tutor for English, for Social Studies...but it doesn't work. It's what I feel...what I think! [I must do it on my own] P.E., B; Art, A; Business Ed., B."

A notable improvement over Hong Kong was her grade in Art.

**VL:** "I love art...is here! But not in Hong Kong, because teachers said that you must draw the picture which is set already, the title is set already, the idea is set already. But I hate it in Hong Kong...not draw or make what you love...just draw about the title."

Vana's motivation to be successful in school was apparent from her personal choice to take summer school. One day I observed Vana and two of her Chinese friends ask Mrs. Nasser, the grade 10 counsellor, about taking English 11 for credit during summer school. Mrs. Nasser told the girls that if they were still ESL students they could not take English for credit at summer school. She recommended that they take Math or Physics instead. The three girls turned and left with disappointed looks on their faces. Vana, however, was undeterred, and some time later told me that she had registered for summer school.

**VL:** "But yesterday I go to the registration for the summer school...ah and wow! It's that's long you know, the waiting, waiting so long."

**EM:** "Here in Richmond?"

**VL:** "Yeh, because all the Chinese go over there, all the grade 11, grade 12, grade 11 and grade 10. Most Chinese. Not many Canadian...and um, they

just waiting for the registration, you know! Waiting two hour! For the registration. You know it started at seven o'clock to nine o'clock. Some people arrived at four o'clock." Vana told me that she registered for Math 11.

EM: "Was that your first choice?"

VL: "Yup. Because I think I got - is easy [I think it's easier in summer school] and got a credit and when we come to grade 11 we don't have to take math and we can take another language or another subject."

Vana's motivation to achieve derived in part from her more pleasant experience of schooling in Canada, but also from her concern that her parents were staying in Canada at poor paying jobs solely for the sake of their daughters' education. "In Hong Kong they will [would] make much more money than here."

Of the many aspects of Vana's adaptation experience the most important to her was that of making friends.

EM: "What do you think was the most important thing for you in your experience of coming to Canada...the most critical or meaningful thing?"

VL: "In Canada?"

EM: "Yeh."

VL: "M-m-m...friends. Yeh, friendship the most important. Changing yourself to make different friends."

EM: On another occasion I asked Vana, "Is there anything that you found really hard in the adaptation process?"

VL: "Yeh, maybe getting friends..."

EM: "Anything else you found difficult?"

VL: "No, I will do my best. Sometimes I will be sad because, I cannot make any friends."

EM: At another time I asked Vana, "What changes have you experienced coming from Hong Kong to here?"

VL: "Friends - especially. The big changes is friends."

For Vana, a lack of friends in Canada was experienced as a painful loneliness, a feeling of isolation that Finsterbusch (1992) and Dei (1992) have suggested is among the most common of adaptation experiences.

EM: "After coming to Canada, have you ever felt very afraid? Frightened of anything?"

VL: "Fraid of lonely."

EM: "Of loneliness?"

VL: "Uh-huh, of loneliness."

EM: "When was that?"

VL: "Until now! You know it's hard to make friends you can talk to and you can trust..?"

EM: "You were lonely in Canada sometimes..?"

VL: "Yeh, mainly, all the times, hard to make friends or, uh, and...(with feeling) it's bad, the feeling's so bad!"

All of the friends that Vana had made since coming to Canada had been Chinese immigrants and with the exception of one, all were Cantonese speakers.

EM: But there were people from other countries in the ESL class...you didn't make friends with them?"

VL: "(Shakes head negatively) Because is so happy to meet the Chinese at school, or something...yeh."

Vana's exclusive association after migration with co-nationals suggests



support for Smith and Tomlinson's (1989) and Y.Chang's (1991) observations that school age immigrants initially make friends with co-nationals or other immigrants to the virtual exclusion of receiving society members. In actuality most of Vana's new 'friends' were acquaintances. "Not close...but just (do) our homework, or 'how are you?' or something." She even included her "best friend" in Canada in this category.

VL: "Actually is Sophia, but not really that close...yeh compare, is compare with the rest of them is more close."

Vana found that it was very difficult to make friends after she came to Canada. In her journal she wrote,

VL: "To me, friends are really important, why? It is because I would really love to work with other people. But after I immigrant to Canada, the idea of friends was totally different. Before I came to Canada, I have a whole bunch of friends, which I went shopping with them and always play with them. Whenever we have tests or exams, we study together and asked each other questions. We are very happy being together. My life had changed after I came to Canada. I tried to find the friendship which is the same as I had in Hong Kong, but after a week, I had made some friends, of course, and [but] I could not find the feeling that I had with the 'old' friends."

After reading this I asked Vana why she felt it was so difficult to make friends here.

VL: "My friends in Hong Kong, we just laugh and have fun there, we do lots of homework there, we're always together, helping each other. But here, it's different. I can't get a close friends. I can't trust my friends (in Canada), maybe even my best friend...maybe, maybe someday she'll make friends with other people...? and leave me or something. So I cannot trust her, or him, or something...so I think that I cannot find a friend, a friend that I totally trust...yeh, that's the feeling."

In a subsequent interview, Vana told me...

VL: "Yeh, you know Hong Kong's my friends in Hong Kong is so...lovely...? Is simple...um, more uh (sighs) maybe maybe is, we are still little so we talk anything we want, right? [we talked openly in our youthful innocence] You know little child they, they talk or sing or say anything they want. (Here in Canada...) "I don't know...it's too difficult to make a real friend...just socialize. It's hard to make friends you can trust and talk to. You cannot talk anything you want, (forcefully) you cannot talk any feelings anythings that you, you want. [you cannot be open] Because I am a person that, you know, find a best friend and tell anything I want, anything I my feeling, anything I experience or something. But you know, you cannot find a best friend here."

Vana also told me that what she talked about and what Canadians talked about were quite different.

VL: "The first is that you can't communicate with the (Canadian) people. You don't know the brand names, you don't know the um hockeys something, right? (Exasperated groan...) Well the Canucks is playing, that is hard, hard!"

At the time the Vancouver Canucks were in a Stanley Cup play off battle which many Canadian students were following closely. But for most new immigrants the only awareness (or interest) in the game was in observing how distracted the Canadian students had become. Vana's experience of not having the same things to talk about points to the problem of dissimilar conversational repertoires which Y.Chang (1991) and Wu (1991) have found to be a factor in the absence of friendships between immigrants and receiving society members. Vana found that it was difficult for her, as a newcomer, to break into friendships that had been established years before during childhood. She discovered Canadian friendships were not open to newcomers, but rather were exclusionary and possessive. She also found that in Canada people did not seem to be interested in making friends with her. She would have to initiate any friendship overtures.

- VL:** "You cannot stay, stay alone and didn't speak anything and expect the friends to come to you and talk to me, right..? Yeh, I had to you know, be more open, be more speakable, talkative, and talk to the people...even Casians [Caucasians] or something...you have to do that if you want friends...the friends won't come if you just sit there and do nothing, right? Yeh, because I have to, they won't come to me."
- EM:** "Is that different from Hong Kong?"
- VL:** "Hong Kong? I don't have to! The friends will come to me!"

When I asked Vana about boyfriends, she was initially shocked. "Gosh!" she blurted out incredulously. But it soon became apparent that the topic was one she enjoyed. Vana told me that in the unlikely event she ever did bring a boyfriend home, her parents' reaction would be, "It's too amazing! Too amazing!" Vana's parents considered that she was too young at 16 to have a romantic relationship with a boy, but if the association was for homework purposes, it would be permissible.

- VL:** "I think if he's for homework, for education, for yeh, for homework, that's acceptable. (Her parents would say...) 'Do you really love him or just about homework?'"

Vana disagreed that she was too young to have a boyfriend.

- VL:** "But my thinking...I don't think I'm too young to have a boyfriend, because not everybody but lots of my friends have boyfriends already, and yeh - teenagers [you know what teenagers are like] - (laughs indulgently) and just thing about boyfriends - oooh - love! (laughing) but my parents say, 'Oh, you're too young, you must concentrate on homeworks, on education, on the future...and...ah...when you grow up...you must...you can have a boyfriend when you grow up...but not now.'"

In most other respects concerning boy - girl relations, Vana's values

paralleled those of her parents.

VL: "Canadian girls, the girls ah which ah speak English..? They don't, they maybe they will talk to the boy first and not really waiting for the boys to talk to them...that's different from the, um Chinese because...you know, boy should call first..?" Later, in her journal she wrote, "In Chinese tradition or (style), my mother said that it must be boys talk to girls first instead of girls talk to boys first, if not, the girls would seem so 'cheap' that they make boys to talk to them" (brackets in original)

Although Vana felt that boys should contact girls first, she made an exception on one occasion. She had been invited by some girl friends to the Chinese karaoke. It would have been her first visit to the karaoke and she desperately wanted to go.

VL: "I, I haven't been there. I, I want, I want to, I want to go!" (with feeling)

EM: "So you won't go unless your friends go?"

VL: "No, no, no, huh! (laughing at the implausibility of my suggestion) How, come how could I just sing to my self, and just...go with me?!"

At the last minute the friends phoned to say that they couldn't find a ride for her. It was only then, in frustration, that she decided to call the Chinese boys who shared her table in Art class.

VL: "I asked them, the boy who is in art with me. Yeh, they don't want to go! (Disappointed look) I just, you know, sing at home. I have to sing with these laser discs!"

I later observed Vana in her art class playfully teasing and joking with the two boys who shared her desk. One day Vana decided to dress up a little and wore high heels to school. She enjoyed the effect it had on her art partners and several other boys at school. In her journal she wrote,

VL: "I was so happy today, why? It was because I play jokes with the boys, I wore a high - hills to match my new janes jeans and when I got to the locker at the morning, the boy who's locker was next to me said 'Wow' you are so tall today!' I know he is was making fun of me, but I still say thank you!"

Vana also shared her mother's traditional views concerning the privacy of relationships.

VL: "Sometimes, I saw the Canadian girls just like ah ah play with the boys (demonstrates petting), very physically! I mean - huh! - kiss, hug! Yeh, it's too open...that not what I expect, what I think, what I know about relationships. We Chinese are very embarrassed about that!"

Vana questioned whether the Canadians' public demonstration of physical affection actually indicated romantic feelings. She found their openness most offensive and told me that this was one area in which she did not wish to become like Canadians. "Not become Canadian for relationships, too open."

Before landing at the airport in Richmond, Vana had seen very few people who were not Chinese.

VL: "The airport's so big, and lots of um shops and people that I don't know [people of other ethno-racial groups], and even saw the white Canadian, the Canadians or something...amazing! Interesting, yeh."

After arrival, Vana came to view her surrounding society in Richmond exclusively in terms of Chinese and Caucasians, the numerically largest groups. As the first months passed in Richmond she began to sense the issues which had led to strained relations between some elements of the receiving society and the more recent Chinese immigrants.

VL: "Ah - what do you think about the immigrants came, who came to Canada? Is it a big trouble for Canada or...or a problem? What do you think?"

I told Vana that I thought immigration was good for Canada.

VL: "Yeh, but (embarrassed laugh) you know some of the English speaking people just...not not hate, but just - not like the Chinese people." She then referred to several other local issues. "This is - no [so] suddenly like whole bunch of Chinese just just [the sudden large influx of Chinese into the area]. Lots of things this Chinese have done this cause so many problems. [her reference in this case was to the sign controversy where Richmond residents who were not Chinese had protested against the use of Chinese only signs on Chinese Canadian businesses] Later the same week Vana made a reference to the 'mega home' issue in her journal. "For me, I thought that Chinese immigrants was a big trouble for Canada. For sure, we could brought better economic [investment money] and more population to Canada. Still, we brought many noisy noise, pollution, and used up lots of land for building houses and buildings."

Vana's sensitivity to these issues led her to a general apprehension of the Caucasian majority, but she had personally experienced very little if any discrimination or exploitation from Caucasians. Perhaps the closest she had come to exploitation was when she had been paid below minimum wage at the restaurant owned by her aunt, and when some of her friends were threatened with extortion.

EM: "Have you experienced that (extortion) here?"

VL: "No...but my friends have."

EM: "When they experienced it, who was the person that was trying to get the money from them?"

VL: "It's Chinese! They were Chinese."

EM: "And were your friends Chinese?"

VL: "Yeh."

EM: "Did they agree to pay the money?"

VL: "They say, 'Why should I? Yeh! Why should I? We don't have to...like that's not our rights to pay you money...I don't need protection, right?' In Hong Kong we have lots of this...yeh, lots of that happens, but here, just a few [just a little]."

Vana's experience of exploitation in the receiving country, though limited, is suggestive of exploitation of immigrants by their own ethnic groups, a problem

highlighted by authors such as Gibson (1988), Tilly (1990), and Sharma (1991).

Early in the grade 10 school year, Vana felt that perhaps she and another Chinese immigrant had been discriminated against by a Caucasian girl in the Foods class who had been methodically kicking the girls' chairs.

**VL:** "(Maybe) a little bit. Because she didn't do that kind of thing to the other Canadian girls, right? Just to us...just to new student and especially Chinese, maybe!"

Though Vana suspected an ethnic or racial motive in the belligerent girl's actions, she was not certain, and felt that perhaps the girl would have been belligerent toward any new student. Later in the year Vana happened to be placed in the same cooking unit as the girl who had kicked her chair.

**VL:** "But um, afterwards, during the end of the year...and...you know we have chance to work together, because we cook together, maybe we sometimes we change groups, so sometimes we work together, and, (with happy smile) and, we're friend now...yeh, and to the end of the year." [to the end of the school year]

I asked Vana if she had experienced any other incidents of prejudice.

**EM:** "Do you recall any other prejudice because you were Chinese?"

**VL:** "M-m-m-m...no, not really."

**EM:** "What about outside of school, like when you're walking on the street, or shopping somewhere?"

**VL:** "H-m-m-... (shakes head negatively)."

In fact, Vana was impressed by how friendly and unthreatening Caucasian Canadians were, but recognized that she felt little need to associate with them.

**VL:** "I think before we came to Canada...maybe parents would tell us that, um, you know the Canadian were um very happy..? Were very smile, you know always have a smile on his face..? And um when we came - um, when we came, just like go out on the streets and go to the mall, they always smile!"

**EM:** "They did?"

**VL:** (laughing) "Yeh, they did! Ah, is better than, it's better than Hong Kong, because people in Hong Kong not always smile. But is different (here)...it's kind of strange. You know, Occasion [Caucasian] is very friendly, the people is very friendly, just ah, just like if you started to talk to them, they will talk to you. Yeh there's no um pressure on, no nothing could fell us apart or something..? But is, but um, sometimes we just don't want to speak with them or, just like we have Chinese friend, we, we don't have to make any more Caucasian friends...yeh."

During the six month interview period Vana critiqued and sometimes compared her natal and new cultures. She observed with disapproval that Canadians wasted time and were much less efficient than the Chinese in Hong Kong. Vana observed that divorce in Canada permitted women more freedom, but that it was also very public and sensationalized.

VL: "I don't, I don't like the old [traditional Chinese] thinking of the people think of women which get a divorce is bad, right? But here is too, too open, yeh too much in the open. Yeh, I'm also in the middle. I won't get that old feeling [I won't support the traditional Chinese view] but not that open [but I don't like the unrestrained Canadian way either]. I think what I feel is right is the best."

Vana also compared the way Canadians and Chinese looked at parent - child communication.

VL: "I think, sometimes the (Chinese) children will think that the parents will shout at them...so they wouldn't talk to the parents...they wouldn't speak to the parents, so that the parents wouldn't know what happened to the child. But I...I think the Canadian family is good. I mean, is is better than the Chinese! Sometimes better than the Chinese, because they (know) what even the little things happen to the children they talk to their mom, their dad, they speak to them."

Vana's observations of her new environment suggest selective adaptation where, according to Hoffman (1990) the immigrant is able to choose which aspects of the new culture are desirable for incorporation and which are not. Vana's observations are also suggestive of what Profriedt (1989-1990) describes as cultural insight, the ability of some immigrants to see and critically assess the claims and assumptions of both their natal and new cultures.

Vana recognized that she had changed in the two years since coming to Canada. She felt that migration had forced her to change suddenly, prematurely ending her childhood.

VL: "In Hong Kong you are a baby, right? When you through the airplane to the Canada, just like that! 16 girl! 16 teenagers! Just likes, likes change! Yeh - suddenly, change! (forcefully) You have to, right?" Later she added, "And when I come here, as I say, I must do everything by myself, so, suddenly I changed to adolescent, changed to an adult thinking person, so that I lost part of it...I've lost some of the childhood."

Vana felt that the changes which take place as one passes from childhood to adolescence were suddenly accelerated as a consequence of migration. She also wondered if she had stayed in Hong Kong, would she have remained a child longer? Would she have changed in a different way, or would she have eventually become what she was now in Canada? I asked Vana how the change had affected her.

VL: "Yeh it's just like when, when I come to Canada - I change like! You have no choice - I have to change! (emphatically)...to fit the society, to fit the school. Yeh, the way I think, the way I making friends, the way I - even the way I ask question!"

Vana felt that being forced to deal with the trials of adaptation on her own had made her more self-reliant and stronger.

VL: "It makes me strange - I have to talk. And, and, no one will help you, and I must help myself. And, I must help myself alone. I cannot get any help from my friends (as she had been able to in Hong Kong). So I do anything for myself. With myself. Alone! And I stand for myself!"

As she came to understand the new society there were changes Vana wished to make. She wanted to be able to think in the flexible manner that Canadians appeared to think.

VL: "It's different! They, they very open. Open thinking. They're not the orderly Chinese thinking..? It's different! I don't know, it's, it's different because...my thinking is part of uh Chinese originally thinking [traditional Chinese thought] and part of Hong Kong thinking. But sometimes I think, *why, why* I cannot (think) just like the Canadian..? An just have the open thinking - uh huh!"

Vana gave an example of "open thinking" as the freedom to make mistakes in order to learn. Although Vana recognized that after nearly two years in Canada she was still unable to duplicate the thought processes of Canadians, she felt that she had made considerable progress toward understanding how Canadians perceived things.

EM: "Have you changed since coming to Canada?"

VL: "A big change."

EM: "Tell me about the change."

VL: "Yeh...lots of changes. For um the point of view for thinks, just like, um, um, um, yeh, just lots of changes."

EM: "Thinks?"

VL: "Yeh, think. Yeh, just changes in the - you have to think what the other people thinks. I can stand on [understand] the other people's point of view...and things [think] what they think. It's getting better and better."

There were also changes that Vana wished she might be able to try out.

VL: "You know teenagers, they just want to be bad...or be..."

EM: "Not you?"

VL: (laughs) "That's me! Maybe! I want to be! You know, my point of view of that was um...can I have a time, a period of time that I can be bad?"

EM: "I want to know what you mean by 'bad.'"

VL: "Ah, I think it is because of the temptation...yeh...Chinese or something..? Because every week or something...every week I go to Chinese mall or something...and I see, I can see lots of people they're so *fashionable* and...m-m-m...so, how you say, so *fashionable*...looks so good than I am I think I want, I want to be them...um, free, *freedom* or yeh. Yeh I want to try them, to want to be them."

EM: "When you say 'bad' what do you think?"

VL: "Uh...maybe smoke!...m-m-m, skip schools...m-m-m...fall in love with a bad guy (laughs)...that sort of things."

EM: "Just to...try it out..?"

VL: "Yeh - just to try it out, not whole of my life. I have my future, I have my goals...so...(shrugs her shoulders) being a teenager."

When I asked Vana if the many changes she had experienced since coming to Canada had meant losing some of her Chinese self, she disagreed. "No, I want to be myself. It's added on to - it's plus." Vana's perspective

indicates what Manaster et al. (1992) and Hoffman (1988) have called an additive view of adaptation, where adaptation is experienced as adding to the natal self without requiring loss of the natal culture. Although Vana respected her parents' values, she felt that ever since she had been young they had never discussed "personal things," and that now she was changing rapidly in Canada, she found that they did not understand her.

**VL:** "Maybe they will understand, but they won't talk to me...about that? (personal things) I thought that...if...no, how you say...I want parents that, yeh hope my parents could understand me in the way of being sisters or brothers or something? Just talk to me - but, they cannot do that. I think it's from, if you have to start it..? From when I was young or something..? [it's something that must be started when you're young] But they didn't do it! Sometimes like...what do you think about the car, what do you think about the news or something, but not the person, not the personal things. When I came to Canada my point of view have totally changed...it's become more grown up and it's changed. I don't think they understand me. I don't think this is a good thing. So is kind of a bad feeling."

One of Vana's migration perspectives did not change during her first two years in Canada. When she left Hong Kong, Vana felt that it would be only a temporary absence.

**EM:** "Do you see your future as always being here in Canada?"  
**VL:** "M-m-m...not really. Thing [I think] my future will be in Hong Kong. Maybe I'll go back to Hong Kong. But we have to see what happens after 1997. But not really stay here."  
**EM:** "If things turn out well in Hong Kong, would you go back?"  
**VL:** "Yeh, we must!"  
**EM:** "After your education is finished or before - "  
**VL:** (Cutting in...) "After...yeh."

Being able to return to Hong Kong was one of the few things that worried Vana after coming to Canada.

**EM:** "Have you ever had any worry since you came to Canada?"  
**VL:** "After I have time, after homework...so I would think about, you know, worry about the future..?"  
**EM:** "What kinds of things in the future?"  
**VL:** "Um, go back to Hong Kong, it make me worry because maybe you know Hong Kong is not...um good after 1997, right? Because everybody don't know that...what's what going to happen after China is take over Hong Kong."

While Vana missed many things about Hong Kong, such as her friends and grandmother, her sojourner perspective was derived primarily from economic concerns.

**VL:** "I, I have to you know look forward to the future, cannot stay in Canada because it's hard to find jobs, and, yeh...it did to my mother, and parents also...they found it is so difficult to find jobs."

During a six month period of phenomenological interviews, ethnographic observations, correspondence, and journal entries, several interconnected



experiential themes became evident, and help provide an insight into the essence of Vana's experience of her initial period of adaptation in Canada. Vana's primary motive for migration was the hope of finding a less structured ("I want a free Canada") and less pressured ("I hate the pressure") school system than what she had experienced in Hong Kong. Education was the primary migration motivation for both Vana and her parents, but Vana's and her parents' motives differed somewhat. While Vana viewed education in Canada as a welcome respite from the pressures of Hong Kong her parents saw it as offering better chances for future academic success given Vana's modest academic performance to that point. Neither Vana nor her parents were to be disappointed in their hopes for better educational prospects in their initial years in Canada.

Vana's parents' secondary motivation for migration - concern about the repatriation of Hong Kong to China - was originally of little consequence to Vana as the repatriation seemed to have no immediate relevance to her. However, after witnessing first hand the economic difficulties her parents had to go through in Canada, Vana became more convinced of her need to return to Hong Kong in the future, and the significance of the repatriation began to loom large for her. Vana's sojourner perspective, evident even before she migrated when she spoke of returning to Hong Kong in a short time, and when she felt little in the way of loss or closure when departing Hong Kong, was maintained and intensified during her first two years in Canada. Vana viewed her stay in Canada primarily as an educational sojourn. She believed her parents saw it that way too, but while she was becoming more committed they were becoming less committed to the ideal of return. As they became more established in Canada and witnessed the academic success of their daughters, Vana's parents spoke less and less of the repatriation of Hong Kong.

Because she saw her stay as temporary, Vana felt little need to function outside of the encompassing Chinese environment that was available to her in Richmond, to participate in Canadian culture, or to associate with or make friends with Canadians. However, because it was necessary for her to succeed academically and to avoid misunderstandings that she felt reflected negatively on the Chinese, Vana worked hard to improve her English, which she was able to

do despite communicating and associating primarily with other Chinese.

For Vana the new society presented opportunities to experiment temporarily with freedom from the constraints of life in Hong Kong. She delighted in the difference between Hong Kong's highly constructed physical and natural environments and the more open and growing environs of Richmond. She enjoyed schooling that was less pressured and didactic and found a new world of creative freedom in her Canadian Art class. Vana wanted to experiment with being "bad," to have a "period of time" where she could break free of the constraints of her highly controlled Chinese life to understand life from a different perspective. She enjoyed, at least at school, a newfound freedom to associate with boys and hoped to be able to incorporate the "open" thinking of Canadians with her own more "orderly Chinese thinking." Though influenced by Canadian values, Vana essentially retained the traditional Chinese values of her parents and while she felt that her parents didn't understand how she had changed, she still believed that they had her best interests in mind and knew what was best for her.

To Vana, the greatest gain in migration had been to become more self-reliant and confident through being forced to deal with adaptation tribulations such as initiating conversations and asking questions on her own in English. Though feeling that migration had forced her to change she viewed the changes as positive and as adding to her premigration self without incurring loss. Vana considered that the sudden maturity necessitated by adaptation had resulted in the loss of part of her childhood. She was not sure which part of childhood she had lost, and this uncertainty, this not knowing what she might have lost or might have been, was troubling to her. Migration had also resulted in the loss of friendship but in this case Vana was eventually able to identify what she had lost. What Vana missed was the assisting and trusting aspects of friendship, the doing together for common ends rather than each friend working separately to achieve individual ends. However, after two years of actively seeking this kind of friendship in Canada, Vana found "you know, you cannot find a best friend here." Six months after our last interview together, Vana wrote a letter to me telling me about her new senior secondary school and recent Christmas activities.

**VL:** "Hi! I am very happy. My first semester of school year was pretty good, because I have made some new friends and the school system was very new to me! I have make a bunch of friends which is near my locker and we had Christmas party together which we were really having fun!"

## CHAPTER V

### CUMULATIVE ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

The cumulative analysis involves aggregating and comparing individual participant experiences of the previous chapter and linking them to the theoretical literature of immigrant adaptation and education fields where such linkages exist. With some exceptions, Chapter Five follows the general topic order set in the Chapter Two literature review, while aggregate findings without corresponding emphases in the theoretical literature are analyzed near the end of the chapter. The cumulative analysis incorporates recommendations for future research and implications of participant experiences for educational practice. The chapter includes a discussion of key aspects of participant experience in relation to current educational practice and a reassessment of the study's major question, and concludes with a brief personal reflection.

#### *Pre and Post Migration*

##### 5.01 'Successful' Adaptation

It is difficult to establish conclusively the success or lack of success of migrants' adaptations solely on the basis of their initial period of adaptation, given that adaptation changes are likely to continue for many years after arrival (Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission, 1986; R.C. Nann, 1982). Nonetheless, even during the initial period of adaptation addressed in the present study, it was evident that participant experiences were generally indicative of positive adaptation outcomes. One could consider all six study participants well adapted by Kim's (1988) measure of a sense of efficacy, by Gibson's (1988) measure of acculturation without assimilation, and by Berry, Kim, and Boski's (1988) measure of satisfaction or happiness within the receiving society. Conversely, if Abe and Wiseman's (1983) measure of being able to establish and maintain relationships with receiving society members - beyond the acquaintance level - is applied, none of the study participants could be viewed as having adapted successfully. However, given that most theoretical measures when applied to the present study point to successful adaptation, that some of the participants had begun by the later

stages of the interview period to establish tentative relationships with receiving society members, and that all participants considered that they were adapting well, I have concluded that the initial adaptation experiences of all study participants indicate successful adaptation outcomes. There are a number of factors which can be identified as contributing to the generally successful direction of participants' adaptations in the present study, including favorable premigration circumstances.

### **5.02 Premigration**

Adaptation literature points to several premigration circumstances which are thought to affect potential for successful adaptation. The study's findings are mixed with respect to these circumstances, but generally indicate favorable premigration circumstances. Exposure to other cultures (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Stephan & Stephan, 1985), and prior acquisition of basic host language competencies (Gao & Gudykunst, 1990; Lonner, 1986) which are thought to enhance adaptation potential, were found to be aspects of the premigration experience of all six study participants. Previous travel, associated by Klineberg and Hull (1979) with better coping skills, was an aspect of premigration experience for four of the six participants, but none of the participants had travelled extensively. Given the youthful age of participants prior to departure it is understandable that they would not have had the same opportunity for travel that adult migrants might have had. Klineberg's (1981) and Kim's (1988) preparedness for change predictor of success was evident only in the premigration experience of Jason Gomez. Because Jason's adoption procedure began four years prior to his migration, he had ample time to prepare for migration changes. Unlike Jason, the other participants had little forewarning of their parents' intentions to migrate. One premigration circumstance which was an aspect of the experience of five of the six participants, has not typically been emphasized in theoretical literature. With the exception of Rashid Khan, migrations of participants coincided concurrently with the migratory dispersal of extended family members and/or friends. This circumstance may help explain why feelings of loss or bereavement at having left family and friends behind in the country of departure, which have been associated with migrations by researchers such as

Munoz (1980) and Scott & Scott (1989), were not major factors in the adaptation experiences of participants in the present study.

### **5.03 Migration**

The study's finding that five of the six participants were part of chain migrations lends support to Furnham & Bochner's (1986) conclusion that chain migration is currently the most common migration type. The study affirms Morawska's (1990) observation that "like their predecessors at the turn of the century, most of today's immigrants are headed to residential locations where their kin, friends, and compatriots are already settled" (p. 194). Similarly, Morawska's contention that immigrants do not generally come from the lowest classes of the country of departure is borne out in the present study, in that with the exception of Jason Gomez, all participants came from the lower to upper middle socio-economic classes of their respective home countries. This suggests that the prevailing notion of immigrants as "huddled masses" (Morawska, 1990, p. 193), or as tax burdens to receiving society members, may be inappropriate today. The distinction between voluntary and involuntary migrants was not an issue in the present study as none of the participants could be considered 'involuntary migrants' in the sense that Ogbu (1991) uses. All participants came to Canada voluntarily, though not without reservations, and, with the exception of Aqtara Hassan, the opinions of all participants had been solicited by parents prior to departure.

### **5.04 Ethnic Retention or Assimilation**

Adaptation literature is divided as to whether the adaptation process presents an ethnicity retention - assimilation continuum (Kim, 1988; Trueba et al., 1990) or whether ethnic identification is a permanent though gradually changing aspect of the adaptation process (Divoky, 1988; Gibson, 1988). While it is not appropriate to draw conclusions from the initial period of adaptation regarding processes which are generally considered to take place over a longer period of time, all participants experienced a strong sense of wanting to retain their ethnic identities, and none of the participants expressed a desire to assimilate. In their initial period of adaptation all study participants pursued what is best described by Rosenthal (1980) and Gibson (1988) as acculturation without assimilation. Experience of

participants in the present study suggests support for Berry, Kim, and Boski's (1988) assertion that "clearly assimilation is not taking place in Canada as some researchers have assumed in other societies" (p. 73). The strong preference for ethnic retention and resistance to assimilation suggest that adolescents who are recent immigrants may resist educational programs and/or instruction that promote assimilationist outcomes. While Canadian society may be less assimilationist than other societies, Hébert's (1992) observation that ESL practices in Canada outside of Quebec and FSL practices within Quebec have been and continue to be assimilationist, suggests that even in Canada school age immigrants will find it necessary to resist assimilation.

#### **5.05 Adaptation as Response or as Self-determination**

There has also been a division in adaptation literature between those who view adaptation primarily in terms of response to the new environment (Berry, 1992; Shade, 1989b) and those who view adaptation primarily in terms of self-determination and personal choice (Hoffman, 1988, 1990; Raveau, 1987). Is adaptation environmentally or self determined, or both? The experiences of study participants suggest support for the self-determination position, with four of six participants claiming and exhibiting self-determination perspectives and behaviors. While Rashid Khan claimed self-determination exclusively, it was evident that at least some of his attitudes and actions derived primarily from response to his social environment. It was not possible to establish response or self-determination patterns for Aqtara Hassan. Participant experience concerning adaptation as response or self-determination indicates support for Wachtal's (1972) contention that motivation to adapt is a more important determinant of adaptation outcomes than is the environment within which adaptation takes place. An important implication for educational practice is that rather than being solely concerned with how to acquaint immigrants with the nature of the new environment to which it is assumed they must respond, educators should devote at least as much attention to ascertaining the motivations and purposes of newcomers, and to understanding what newcomers hope to achieve or contribute within our schools and society. To assume that immigrant students are more than responding, coping beings - that they are also proactive, intentional

individuals - will provide a more balanced and pedagogically humane vision of those we hope to educate, and of how we may best contribute to their education.

#### **5.06 *Immigrants and Sojourners***

A surprising finding of the study concerns the distinction between immigrants and sojourners. Criteria for selection of study participants specified that study participants should be immigrants. However, while all of the participants' parents were immigrants, it became apparent almost immediately that five of the six participants viewed their stay in the receiving country as a temporary sojourn. Two participants, Jason Gomez and Jared Wing gradually abandoned their sojourner perspectives over the course of the study period, while one participant, Rashid Khan, shared his family's immigrant perspective from the outset of his Canadian residence. All five participants who initially expressed sojourner perspectives viewed their stay primarily in terms of an educational sojourn. After acquiring university education in Canada their intentions were either to seek employment in the home country or to migrate wherever employment opportunities existed. Experience of study participants indicates the possibility that a high percentage of school age migrants may begin their period of adaptation in the receiving country as sojourners before eventually adopting an immigrant perspective, or retain sojourner perspectives throughout their adaptation period. It also suggests that the distinction between immigrant and sojourner may be more accurately conceived of as a continuum between two extremities, rather than as representing distinct and mutually exclusive perspectives.

The study's findings concerning sojourners are important for several reasons. First, it should be recognized that participant experiences in the present study may be more representative of the adaptation processes of student sojourners rather than of immigrant students. Secondly, the study's findings concerning sojourners tentatively suggest that educators may have incorrectly assumed that children of immigrants share their parents' perspectives, and that all children arriving from other countries share essentially similar (immigrant) perspectives and experiences. Finally, if the adaptation of sojourners differs from that of immigrants as claimed by Furnham



and Bochner (1986), it may be necessary to ascertain which students arriving from foreign countries are sojourners and which are immigrants, and to determine through research, the educational needs and perspectives of each group.

### ***Experiences of Adaptation***

#### ***5.07 Pressures to Conform/Inclusion with the Receiving Society***

Murphy and France (1989) state that "the pressure on immigrants is to conform" (p. 250). While authors such as Barber (1989), Kim (1988), and Nieto (1992) have recognized that the immigrant's experience of adaptation often includes pressures to conform to the receiving society, experience of participants in the present study did not indicate pressures from the receiving society to conform to the receiving society. Rather, study participants generally interpreted the response of the receiving society to their presence as one of disinterest or indifference, something that has been encountered by other students who have come to Canada from abroad. This response is expressed well by a foreign student in Eastern Canada who states, "some people showed a superficial interest, but mostly I was ignored" (cited in EarthLinks, 1992, p. 5).

Instead of feeling pressure to conform, all participants of their own choice desired an affiliation (though not conformity) with the receiving society, suggesting support for Trueba et al.'s (1990) contention that "mainstream affiliation is the dream of most immigrants" (p. 14). It is important to emphasize, however, that study participants did not view affiliation in terms of assimilation. All participants desired and in one way or another worked for inclusion within the receiving society, but while they were willing to make functional accommodations or changes that would facilitate inclusion, they were not willing to be included at the cost of their natal values or selves. Aqtara Hassan's experience of wondering if she could discover a place for herself, as she was, in the new society is illustrative of this desire. Experience of study participants, then, points directly to Barber's (1989) "dilemma of the stranger," which is, "how to belong without assimilating" (p. 226).

What is perhaps surprising is that all participants expressed a strong

desire for inclusion even though five participants had also expressed sojourner (temporary) perspectives. Although Gudykunst and Kim (1984) contend that the "motivation to adapt is dependent largely on the degree of permanence of the new residence" (p. 206), experience of participants in the present study indicates that student sojourners may pursue adaptation (via inclusion) no less ardently than immigrant students. That none of the participants felt they had achieved inclusion and that one, Paula Lin, had given up hope of inclusion, does not detract from the fact that desire for inclusion was one of the most deeply felt adaptation experiences of all participants. Desire for inclusion is a key finding of the study in that it underlies and helps to explain several other important adaptation experiences.

Rather than experiencing pressure from the receiving society to conform to the receiving society, three participants experienced pressure from co-nationals to conform to their respective ethnic communities or social groups in Canada. Significantly, these were the only participants for whom distinctive ethnic enclaves existed in the Greater Vancouver area. This finding suggests that in some instances ethnic enclave communities may exert more pressure to conform than does the larger receiving society. There is also an indication that inclusion is initially more readily and easily available within ethnic communities than within the larger Canadian society, although the price in terms of conformity may be, as it was for Jared Wing, too much to pay.

#### **5.08 Replacement and Additive Views of Adaptation**

Adaptation literature is divided concerning whether adaptation requires loss or rejection of the natal culture as elements of the new culture are incorporated, that is, the 'replacement' view favored by Eva and Suen (1990) and by Kim (1988), or if adaptation is essentially 'additive' without requiring loss (Hoffman, 1988; Manaster et al.). Experience of participants in the present study indicates tentative support for the 'additive without loss' position, with all participants experiencing incorporation of new cultural elements as adding to, without necessitating loss of natal elements. Participant Vana Lee's words, "it's added to - it's plus" contrast sharply with Kim's (1988) 'replacement' perspective, "'no acculturation without

deculturation,' " (p. 124) but resonate with Boelhower's (1983) 'additive' view, "it is a doubling, not an erasing process" (p. 114). This finding may help explain why all participants generally looked upon their initial period of adaptation in terms of growth and personal gain, and expressed the view that adaptation was a positive experience.

#### **5.09 Selective Adaptation**

Selective adaptation, the ability of some migrants to select which elements of the new culture are desirable for incorporation and which are to be avoided or rejected, was clearly evident in the experience and behaviors of all participants. Participant Vana Lee's assertion that she would "not become Canadian for relationships, too open," and Jared Wing's stated preference for Canadian as opposed to Taiwanese relationship development between genders, is characteristic of the selective adaptation of participants in the present study. Unlike previous studies by Gibson (1988), Trueba et al. (1990) and Hoffman (1988) which found that both immigrant parents and school age children pursued an ideal of selective adaptation, the present study found little evidence of parental influence. Rather, participants' preference for selective adaptation appeared to originate exclusively with participants.

#### **5.10 Cultural Insight/Cultural Marginality**

Cultural insight, what Furnham and Bochner (1986) have described as an ability of migrants who have achieved a high level of adaptation to attain a perspective from which new insights into their natal cultures are possible, was an aspect of the adaptation experiences of three of the participants. Only after initial adaptation experiences in Canada was it possible for Jared Wing to look back at Taiwan and see it from two perspectives, as one might look at a car more advantageously from both the inside and the outside. After a year in Canada Jason Gomez was able to write back to his best friend with new insights into the nature of friendship in the Philippines, by contrasting it with friendship in Canada. Vana Lee developed an insight into Chinese parenting practices and her own upbringing through coming to understand Canadian parenting values. The bicultural experience of these participants suggests a rich reservoir of insights not normally available to monocultural students in the receiving society, and may help to explain why researchers

such as Gibson (1988) and Valverde (1987) have found that despite adaptation hurdles, immigrant students often achieve at higher levels than their receiving society peers. Educators would do well to draw upon the bi-cultural insights of immigrant students as an instructional resource for all students, and as a way to validate the experience of immigrant students by providing them a means to contribute something of value to the receiving society.

Participant experience provided no evidence of what Park (1928) and Stonequist (1937) originally described as "marginality." While participants would have liked to have been (but were not) included in the receiving society, they were absolutely certain of belonging with respect to their natal cultures. Thus "marginality," the distressing sense of not belonging in either culture, was not an aspect of the participants' initial experiences of adaptation.

### ***Psychological Emphases***

#### **5.11 Stress and Anxiety**

When one considers the immense volume of adaptation literature that has been devoted to the connection between stress or anxiety and adaptation, it is surprising that only one study participant experienced high levels of stress as a direct consequence of adaptation. The stress that Jared Wing experienced derived from pressures to achieve a return on the educational investment that he and his parents had made, while at the same time availing himself of new and fulfilling opportunities in Canada. As Krau (1991) remarks, "sometimes children learn to adapt to dual demands, one at home and another outside, but the price in emotional strain is very high" (p. 326). While adaptation research has typically viewed the migrants's experience of stress and anxiety as related to migration losses or perceived negative aspects of the receiving society (Scott & Scott, 1989), Jared Wing's stress was experienced in relation to perceived positive aspects of migration and the receiving society. Jared's experience suggests support for Sylwester's (1990) contention that perceived positive life changes can be as stress inducing as perceived negative changes. While Paula Lin initially suffered because she did not have the confidence to communicate in English, she did not experience her difficulties as stressful, but described them in terms of a temporary "shock" or "setback."

The general lack of anxiety or stress experienced by a majority of study participants may be attributable to the sojourner (temporary) perspectives of five of the participants. If, as Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) have observed, "the more permanent the relocation, the greater the anxiety" (p. 125), then it is likely that when relocation is viewed as temporary, there will be less anxiety. It should be noted, however, that Rashid Khan, who maintained an immigrant perspective from the time of arrival, also experienced little stress or anxiety. Participants' general lack of stress may also be accounted for by Berry's (1990) recognition that "those who pursue integration are minimally stressed" (p. 17). All participants in the present study actively pursued integration, if integration is defined as positive adaptation and inclusion without assimilation. Gibson (1988) observes that "psychological satisfaction with their new surroundings" (p. 66) is characteristic of those who experienced greater hardships in their country of departure than in the receiving country. A third explanation for minimal stress after arrival is that four of the six participants experienced Canada as a release from stressful school experiences in their home countries, and that one, Aqtara Hassan, experienced Canada as a haven from the stressful violence of Mogadishu. Experience of participants in the present study, then, suggests support for Dyal's (1980) assertion that emigration can be stress reducing.

The study's finding that adolescent migrants experienced minimal stress at the same time that their parents experienced higher levels of stress (most often in relation to isolation or employment difficulties) suggests the possibility that younger migrants may be less prone to stress, that they may encounter adaptation circumstances which are less stressful than those encountered by adults, or that they may arrive at less stress inducing interpretations of similar circumstances. This last possibility corresponds with Gazzaniga's (1988) recognition that situations which are interpreted as stressors by some can be motivational for others, and with attitudinal and cognitive psychological perspectives which propose "that it is not the acculturative changes themselves that are important, but how one sees them and what one makes of them" (Berry, 1990, p. 19). The implication for educational practice is that it may be possible to help migrant students who are

experiencing negative stress to adopt less stress inducing interpretations of what they perceive as stressors.

That a majority of participants in the present study experienced minimal or no adaptation stress is not supportive of the position developed by authors such as Samuel and Verma (1992) and Searle and Ward (1990) who consider stress and anxiety to be integral components of the adaptation experience. Rather it suggests support for R.C. Nann's (1982) contention that in much adaptation research "social change itself comes to be assumed as automatically 'bad' for one's health and well-being" (p. 3).

#### **5.12 *Uncertainty Reduction***

A need or desire for reducing uncertainty was evident in initial adaptation experiences of all six participants, indicating support for Gudykunst and Hammer's (1988) uncertainty reduction theory. Participants' experiences are suggestive of Gudykunst and Hammer's contention that it is possible for strangers to have high levels of uncertainty without at the same time experiencing high levels of anxiety. Uncertainty reduction was desired by participants not to reduce stress but rather to increase the possibility for knowledge of and inclusion with the receiving society, which is supportive of Gudykunst and Hammer's position that cultural knowledge is necessary for uncertainty reduction. For all participants the means to reduce uncertainty and increase attributional confidence was primarily that of attempting to establish friendships either with co-nationals who already had some experience of the receiving society, or with receiving society members. Participants' choice of friendship as a vehicle for uncertainty reduction is clearly validated in a study by Berger (1987) which found that uncertainty levels were "twice as high in acquaintance as in friend relationships" (p. 49).

Participants' rationales for seeking friendships indicate that establishment of friendship with co-nationals who arrived in the receiving country prior to them may function as an initial means of uncertainty reduction, something that has been suggested by Kim (1988) and Kaikai (1989), and that subsequent friendship with receiving society members may serve a similar function in later stages of adaptation. Because participant experience indicated friendship as the preferred means to reduce uncertainty

and facilitate adaptation, and because participants had difficulty achieving friendships, an important implication may be that educational institutions should help facilitate friendship development between foreign students and co-nationals and between foreign students and receiving society peers.

### **5.13 Culture Shock**

Three participants experienced shock after arrival in Canada. The period for which shock was described by participants was of limited duration (from two to three months) and occurred almost immediately after arrival. Jason Gomez described his experience of encountering new educational opportunities and a new economic status as a shock, and Paula Lin experienced her unmet expectation of being able to communicate easily in English as a "punch in stomachs." Aqtara Hassan experienced shock in relation to the sudden transition from an exclusively Moslem environment to one that was not Moslem and which did not generally appreciate Moslem values.

Jason Gomez's shock may be described as socio-economic rather than cultural, but the shock experienced by Aqtara and Paula must be considered cultural shock in the sense that Oberg (1960) and Adler (1975) use. H.D. Brown (1987) observes that "persons undergoing culture shock view their new world out of resentment, and alternate between being angry at others for not understanding and being filled with self-pity" (p. 128). However, neither Paula nor Aqtara expressed resentment or self-pity, or the hostility spoken of by Adler (1975), and neither experienced shock of such severity that it incapacitated them in any way. In fact, for Paula at least, initial shock motivated her to take proactive measures toward conquering her fear of communicating in English, thus lending support to Furnham's (1988) contention that for some migrants, culture shock can be positive or beneficial. While Jason's shock was more socio-economic in origin, it too resulted in positive outcomes, in that it provided him with an additional motivation to succeed academically. Not all acculturative shock, then, should be looked upon by educators as detrimental to student achievement and well-being.

### **5.14 U-curve Hypothesis**

Experience of study participants does not suggest support for Lysgaard's (1955) U-curve hypothesis. After a brief period of shock three participants

experienced a gradual positive escalation in sense of well-being, while the other three experienced an immediate escalation. With the possible exception of Paula Lin, none of the participants experienced the initial elation, subsequent despondency, then gradual recovery pattern associated with the U-curve, and Paula's shock was of such limited duration and intensity that the U-curve does not adequately characterize her experience either. The experience of participants in the present study, then, serves to confirm the findings of studies by Easton and Lasry (1978), Bardo and Bardo (1980), Nicassio and Pate (1984), and by Scott and Scott (1989), which indicate a gradual escalation rather than a U-curve pattern of change in psychological well-being. One reason why a U-curve pattern of adaptation was not experienced by participants in the present study was that while they missed relatives and friends who remained in the home country, deep feelings of loss or bereavement - often associated with the bottom or depression stage of the U-curve - were not important aspects of the participants' migrations or initial periods of adaptation. This is perhaps due to the fact that five of the six participants held sojourner rather than immigrant perspectives, and viewed their departure from family, friends, and country not in terms of loss, but as a temporary absence. Conditions in Canada and particularly in the Canadian school system, were generally experienced more favorably by participants than conditions they recalled in their home countries, indicating support for Furnham and Bochner's (1986) position that a U-curve is unlikely to exist for migrants when gains outweigh the effect of migration losses.

#### **5.15 Field Dependency and Locus of Control**

It is generally agreed in the adaptation field that migrants from cultures which are primarily field dependent (Moghaddam et. al., 1990; Shwedder & Bourne, 1984) and which favor an external locus of control (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Yum, 1987) will experience more difficulties with adaptation than will migrants who are from cultures which are primarily field independent and exhibit an internal locus of control. Five of the present study's participants received their primary socialization in cultures that are considered to be field dependent and to favor an external locus of control. Without a control group of migrants from a culture favoring field independence



and internal locus of control, it is impossible to establish comparative levels of adaptation difficulty. However, all participants expressed the view that they had experienced few difficulties with adaptation. Additionally, all five 'field dependent - external locus' participants, upon recognizing that they must essentially deal with adaptation difficulties on their own, rapidly achieved high levels of self-reliance and self-confidence through taking personal responsibility to surmount the difficulties they encountered. Jason Gomez's recognition that now he could "stand on my own feet [feet]," and Vana Lee's comment, "I stand for myself!" are characteristic of these newly won capabilities, and suggest characteristics usually associated with field independence. In fact, three of the five 'field dependent - external locus' participants considered that the greatest gain they had experienced as a result of adaptation was that of becoming stronger through self-reliance. Experience of these participants suggests that for adolescent migrants at least, field dependency and external locus of control may not represent as serious a barrier to adaptation as has been previously assumed.

In terms of educational implications, the forced necessity of developing self-reliance required by the adaptation experience, may actually result in higher levels of self-reliance amongst migrant than receiving society students. And, while migrants who are field dependent and have an external locus of control are likely to function well within interdependent group learning processes, their additional acquisition of self-reliant, independent learning skills through adaptation may serve to uniquely equip them for academic success in our schools.

#### **5.16 Expectations**

Accuracy of the migrant's prior expectations concerning life in the receiving country is generally thought to affect subsequent adaptation (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Other than general expectations of a different environment and school system, five of the six participants had very few prior expectations concerning life in Canada. Jared Wing's comment, "ah mostly I didn't have too many expectations when I was coming here," is characteristic of the experience of this group. Paula Lin, the one participant who expressed a number of prior expectations, experienced an initial shock when her

expectation of being able to communicate easily in English was not confirmed. Furnham (1988) states "it has been shown that high (even unrealistic) expectations that cannot or do not get fulfilled are related to poor adjustment and that low expectations which are exceeded are related to good adjustment" (p. 55). Perhaps participants' general lack of expectations - to be subsequently confirmed or disconfirmed - is one reason why they experienced very little stress or anxiety after arrival in Canada.

#### **5.17 *Personality Characteristics***

Study findings concerning personality characteristics of participants are mixed. All participants expressed empathy for the receiving society, a characteristic considered by authors such as Kim (1988) and Hawes and Kealey (1981) to contribute to successful adaptation. However, self-confidence and self-esteem which are also thought to benefit adaptation (Samuel & Verma, 1992) were not evident when participants first arrived in Canada, but rather, became evident only after participants experienced success in overcoming adaptation difficulties. Other identifiable personality characteristics were apparently unique to individual participants which suggests that a much larger sample population may be required in order to establish the salience of specific personality variables for determining positive or negative adaptation outcomes.

#### **5.18 *Gender***

Adaptation literature consistently indicates that adaptation is more difficult for females than for males (Berry, 1990; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Scott & Scott, 1989). Although participants in the present study did not generally experience adaptation as difficult, the three female participants experienced greater difficulties than the three male participants. Greater adaptation difficulties were experienced by female participants primarily in relation to language. Several authors have suggested that female migrants are generally less competent than males in the language of the receiving country after a similar length of stay (Baldassini & Flaherty, 1982; Furnham, 1984). While female participants in the present study experienced more difficulties than male participants concerning language, their competency in English, as evident in the numerous verbatims presented in the previous chapter, was

comparable to that of male participants who had been in Canada for a similar period of time. Rather, the language difficulties experienced by female participants concerned self-consciousness or fear in initiating conversations with English speakers, a tendency that was not evident in the experiences of male participants. The divergent experience of male and female participants in the present study, then, suggests that host language confidence rather than host language competence may be the critical factor in female migrants' experiences of greater adaptation difficulties. It is likely that the problem could be addressed by educators by incorporating an assertiveness component within ESL programs to assist female migrants' development of confidence in initiating conversations in English.

#### **5.19 Identity and Self**

It is commonly thought that adaptation changes may result in an unstable self-concept (De Vos & Suárez-Orozco, 1990) or an identity crisis (H.D. Brown, 1987), and that identity changes with migration (Eva & Suen, 1990; Hecht et al., 1990). It is also thought that some migrants may experience a double or 'dual self' (Olsen, 1988; Wu, 1991). Participants' experience of self in the present study did not indicate unstable self-concepts or identity crises. While several study participants felt that they were changing in terms of becoming more than what they had previously been, they did not experience these changes as subtracting from or fundamentally altering their original (premigration) selves. The dual self phenomenon was evident in the experience of five of the six participants. Because of communication difficulties it was not possible to determine whether a dual self existed for Aqtara Hassan. Participants expressing a dual self experience spoke in positive terms of a doubling or adding on to the original self, or in Jared Wing's case, of revealing more of the original self, all of which suggests support for Olsen's (1988) concept of dual self where a new self is added, without conflict, to the premigration self. There was a feeling among participants that, in becoming double, they had achieved something of great value. Participants did not experience dual self in terms of Wu's (1991) and Lim's (1993) incompatible or competing selves, or consider their premigration self to be in competition with a self image imposed by the receiving society, as proposed by Yee (1993).

In general, study participants experienced changes in self as a positive extension of, or addition to their premigration selves, which may help to explain why despite adaptation difficulties, all participants generally experienced their initial period of adaptation as fulfilling.

#### *Communication and Socialization*

##### **5.20 Significance of Host Language Acquisition**

There has been a tendency in immigrant adaptation and education literature to view host language proficiency as *the* most critical factor in migrant adaptation (Chen, 1990; Kim, 1988; Stewart, 1993). While participants in the present study experienced host language acquisition as an important aspect of their initial period of adaptation, it was clearly not their most critical adaptation concern even in terms of communication, and was not generally experienced as a difficulty. There are several explanations for this. All participants had learned at least some English in school prior to arrival in Canada. All participants had some experience of learning a second language prior to learning English. And with the exception of Rashid Khan, all participants could turn for assistance with English to at least one parent who was more fluent in English than they were. While the three female participants experienced self-consciousness or fear in connection with initiating conversations in English, none of the participants expressed a view that learning English was difficult. In fact, both Rashid Khan and Jared Wing considered that in comparison with other languages they had learned, English was relatively easy. It is in relation to the prior English language capabilities of many of the more recent immigrant groups that G.E. Johnson (1992) suggests, "in the contemporary period there has therefore emerged a different pattern of adaptation which contrasts sharply with that of an earlier period" (p. 152).

Concern has been expressed by some authors that immigrants who converse primarily with members of their own language group after arrival in the receiving country will not develop host language proficiency (Biggs, 1987; Kim, 1988), with Biggs maintaining, "the problem can become so severe that a student's English language skills actually can decline if all out-of-class time is spent speaking the home country language" (p. 76). The experience of

the present study's participants may serve to alleviate this concern, in that while five of the six participants communicated primarily with co-nationals outside of the school after arrival, it was evident from their progress through ESL levels that they were successfully acquiring English language proficiency. Interestingly, several participants and their parents shared Bigg's (1987) and Kim's (1988) negative view of conversing primarily with one's own language group after arrival, despite recognizing the accomplishments in English that participants had achieved, with Jared Wing and his family going so far as to contemplate moving to another community where less communication with co-nationals would be likely to occur. The experience of study participants concerning English language proficiency suggests that their strong personal motivations to learn English were more important factors in acquiring English language proficiency than whether they communicated primarily with co-nationals or with receiving society members.

#### **5.21 Communication Competence**

For participants Jason Gomez, Jared Wing, and Vana Lee, a more important concern than host language proficiency was what has been described by Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) and by Ting-Toomey (1991) as host communication competence. After approximately one year in Canada these participants came to a realization that the communicative patterns and values they had grown up with were not necessarily transferrable to the new culture. Despite their confidence in English language skills, they recognized that they had difficulty interpreting what Lee and Boster (1991) describe as non-verbal contextual cues. Vana Lee worked hard to understand how Canadians "thinks," that is, how they perceived things. Both Jared Wing and Jason Gomez expressed a hope that they might acquire communicative skills through interaction and friendship with receiving society members. Experience of study participants concerning communication competency indicates that once basic English language skills are achieved, cultural understanding becomes at least as important as further host language acquisition if the migrant is to communicate and interact effectively within the receiving society. According to Stockfelt-Hoatson (1982), cultural understanding is necessary before newly acquired linguistic capabilities may be effectively applied. An implication for

educational practice may be that higher level ESL course work should provide as much instruction in understanding communication in relation to culture as in developing further English language skills.

### **5.22 Facial Recognition**

Facial recognition, the ability to understand the context or intent of a speaker's verbal message from a speaker's facial expression (Tannen, 1986; Wolfgang & Wolofsky, 1991) was experienced as problematic by participants Jared Wing, Paula Lin, and Vana Lee. These participants found that they often could not 'read' the intent of verbal messages from the faces of Caucasian speakers. Experience of these study participants suggests that the scope of cross-racial 'facial recognition' studies such as those by Shapiro and Penrod (1986) and Ng and Lindsay (1994) be expanded to address the problem of facial communicative expression in multi-racial settings.

Participants' experience concerning host language acquisition and host communicative competencies suggests that for migrants who have acquired basic proficiency in the host language prior to migration, acquisition of culture-specific, non-verbal host communication competencies may be just as important for effective interaction in the new society as further development of host language capabilities. In H.D. Brown's (1987) view, "the expression of culture is so bound up in non-verbal communication that the barriers to culture learning are more non-verbal than verbal" (p. 209).

### **5.23 Friendship**

Friendship was identified incidentally as an important adaptation factor in the pilot study, and the present study served to confirm the critical importance to young migrants of establishing friendships after arrival in Canada. Establishing friendships was ranked as the most important adaptation concern by five of the six participants, and the sixth, Aqtara Hassan, ranked friendship second only to her religious concerns. Participants' experience concerning friendship was multidimensional. Despite generally experiencing few adaptation difficulties, loneliness and isolation were painful experiences for five of the participants. For three participants the experience of loneliness did not last beyond their first few months in Canada, but for Vana Lee and Jared Wing, loneliness was experienced throughout their first two

years in Canada. Participants' experiences of loneliness suggest confirmation of B.S.M. Nann's (1982) and Dei's (1992) assertions that loneliness and social isolation are among the most common and painful of adaptation experiences.

There was a strong tendency for all study participants to establish initial acquaintances or friendships with co-nationals or other migrants. Although Jared Wing was opposed to establishing such friendships in that he felt they would hinder his adaptation, the several friends I observed him spending time with were, in fact, co-nationals or other migrants. While Aqtara Hassan attempted to establish contacts with Caucasians, she did not achieve more than a passing acquaintance level with them. Her first real friend was an immigrant from Nigeria who was a Moslem like her. Experience of study participants affirms findings of studies by Dorais (1991) and Smith and Tomlinson (1989) which found that school age migrants initially become friends with co-nationals or other immigrants to the virtual exclusion of receiving society members.

Several explanations for this phenomenon have been advanced in adaptation literature, including attraction to those who are perceived to be similar (Lee & Boster, 1991; Ting-Toomey, 1991), widely differing cultural perspectives (Matejko & Williams, 1993), dissimilar conversational repertoires (Wu, 1991), or a need for social and emotional support from those who already have some experience of adaptation (Berry, Kim, Minder, et al., 1987; Searle & Ward, 1990). According to Furnham and Bochner (1986), "virtually every one of the major theories in social psychology implies that people will prefer the company of others who are similar to themselves over those who are different" (p. 251). Experience of the present study's participants suggests no support for the explanation that people are attracted to those they perceive as similar. While participants did establish friendships with co-nationals or other migrants rather than receiving society members, they generally would have preferred to have made friends with those they described as "Caucasians" or "Canadians." Several participants cited dissimilar cultural perspectives and dissimilar conversational repertoires as presenting barriers to establishing desired friendships with receiving society peers. The experience of all participants, however, indicated a critical need for associating with

others who already had some experience of adaptation and of the receiving society, to help in negotiating adaptation hurdles and becoming familiar with the receiving society. When establishing friendships with receiving society peers proved difficult, participants turned to other immigrants who had arrived in Canada prior to their own arrival. Participant Paula Lin's explanation, "because they come already than me, right?" is characteristic. Because of language barriers, initial relationships with other immigrants were with co-nationals when co-nationals were present. As Morawska (1990) has observed, co-nationals "have served in the past and serve in the present, to ease the risk and traumas of the immigrants' transplantation and of their initial encounters with a different world" (p. 217).

Although it is generally agreed in the adaptation field that "there is a fairly strong tendency for children to choose friends within their own group" (Smith & Tomlinson, 1989, p. 101), experience of participants in the present study indicates that the establishment of initial relations with co-nationals and other immigrants does not necessarily occur out of choice, but rather because relationships with receiving society peers are not immediately available, while relationships with other speakers of their natal languages are easiest to negotiate. Participant experience suggests that an inability to establish friendships with receiving society peers, a need for assistance in negotiating adaptation and understanding the receiving society, and ease of negotiating relationships with those who share the same language - rather than choice - are the principal reasons why school age migrants generally associate with co-nationals or other immigrants rather than receiving society peers.

Experience of study participants concerning the establishment of friendships in the receiving society suggests important implications for educators who have expressed concern about the social division of schools along ethnic or racial lines. If schools helped facilitate the development of cross-ethnic friendships between newcomers, and between newcomers and receiving society peers, the need for and persistence of ethnic enclaves within the schools would be reduced substantially. That newcomers seek peer association as the principal means to negotiate adaptation hurdles and to understand the receiving society, and, as shown previously in this chapter, to



achieve inclusion in the receiving society, suggests another important implication for educators. For adolescents, the adaptation experience as it is mediated by others, may be mediated to a much greater degree by adolescent peers rather than by adults such as school teachers and counsellors. Consequently, it may be possible to increase the effectiveness of ESL or immigrant adjustment programs by incorporating the input of former students who have experience of adaptation in order to provide more relevant insights and encouragements to newcomers.

All participants experienced a strong desire to establish friendships with receiving society members, suggesting support for studies by Furnham and Bochner (1986) and Rohrlich and Martin (1991) which indicate that student migrants consistently rank making friends with receiving society peers as among their most important adaptation concerns. However, despite their desire to establish friendships with receiving society members, none of the participants had succeeded in doing so by the end of the study period. All participants experienced extreme difficulty in their attempts to establish friendships with Canadians, with one participant, Paula Lin, stating "I tried to make friends with Caucasians. But it's hard. After awhile I gave up." Several participants expressed the view that they must actively pursue friendships in Canada, whereas in their home countries friendship had seemed to come to them without effort. Others found that by the time they arrived in Canada, Canadian students had already established long-term relationships with each other and felt no need of a larger circle of friends. Participants experienced a sense of exclusion whereas what they desired through Canadian friendships was inclusion in Canadian society.

Although it was not possible to determine Aqtara Hassan's perceptions, the other five participants expressed the view that friendship in Canada differed in comparison with friendship in their home countries, and that they could not find the depth or character of friendship that they had experienced prior to migration. One explanation for these experiences of difference is that five of the participants were from what Lee and Boster (1991) describe as 'high context' cultures where collective and interdependent meanings prevail, whereas the Canadian culture that they arrived in is usually considered 'low

context,' with primacy given to individuated meanings. Four participants expressed the view that they missed the assisting aspects of friendship, the fulfilment of doing together for common ends rather than what they saw in Canada as individuals who care about one another, but pursue fulfilment separately. As a consequence, once in Canada participants found that making friends and the very notion of friendship itself were 'foreign' to what they knew of making friends or of the nature of friendship in their home countries. Guillaume's (1987) observation that "these holistic cultures...are transplanted into a society that is governed by the principles of individualism" (p. 193) appropriately characterizes the experience of participants in the present study. While individualism may be fulfilling for many Canadians, those coming from high context cultures can find the Canadian outlook seemingly exclusionary or isolating. For example, Dei (1992), a scholar who emigrated to Canada comments that "as a student coming from a much more 'communal' society, I found the Canadian experience very isolating" (p. 8).

The contrast between what Eva and Suen (1990, p. 11) call the "independent, separate" Canadian outlook and the "dependent/interdependent" outlook of holistic cultures may also help to explain why several participants spoke of not being able to find trust in relationships in Canada. For those from holistic cultures with an interdependent outlook, independence and separateness are characteristics which are unlikely to be associated with trust in relationships. Thus according to B.S.M. Nann (1982), those from holistic cultures often find "Canadian relationships to be shallow and non-committed" (p. 87). What is difficult to explain is why participants experienced friendship in Canada as differing substantially from that experienced in their home countries, both in connection with their attempts to establish friendships with "Caucasians" and "Canadians," and in terms of establishing friendships with co-nationals and other migrants. As participant Jared Wing wrote, "it leads me into a situation which I found hard to make true friends now even among the Taiwanese."

#### **5.24 Inter- and Intra-group Social Relations**

It is generally recognized in adaptation literature that among the most

devastating of receiving society responses to newcomers is racism or prejudice, which has usually been found to negatively affect adaptation (Abbott, 1990; Moghaddam et al., 1990). While three of the participants had experienced an initial fear of racism that had been passed on to them by relatives, with the exception of a single racist incident experienced by Jared Wing while crab fishing with his family, participants experienced little or no prejudice, racism, or exploitation from receiving society members. Prejudice and racism had been an important premigration concern of a majority of participants' families. Families of three participants chose to locate in Canada rather than the United States and one participant's family selected Canada over any other nation primarily because of a common perception that they would be treated more equitably and experience less racism in Canada. This premigration perception, often informed by the experiences of relatives and friends already in Canada and the United States, has been recognized by Goza (1994) who has noted a perception in some countries of departure that Canada is more ethnically and racially tolerant than the United States. Participants and their parents experienced little racism or prejudice while their relatives who had emigrated to the United States often experienced a negative ethnic and racial climate, which suggests the accuracy of Bancroft's (1992) contention that the Canadian ethnic and racial reality and that of the United States "are markedly different" (p. 183).

Although Mehat (1990) maintains that "minorities are constantly confronted with issues of racism in their everyday life experiences in British Columbia, study participants and their parents were generally pleased with their treatment by the receiving society, with several expressing surprise at the lack of prejudice or racism that they had experienced. Aqtara Hassan's father Mohammed's comment, "Everything safe here. There is no prejudice - none!," is typical of the experience of participants and parents in relation to the receiving society. All participants seemed to be very aware of Canada's multicultural perspective and looked to it to validate their inclusion within Canadian society.

Three participants who were not of Chinese descent experienced what they interpreted to be negative treatment by the Chinese, the numerically largest

minority group in the school and community. These participants spoke of favoritism by the Chinese toward their own members, and of feeling intentionally excluded or shut out by the Chinese. Jared Wing, a participant of Chinese descent also experienced and reacted against what he considered were exclusionary practices of the Chinese students and ethnic community. Both Jared and Aqtara Hassan experienced Chinese exclusionary practices as a threat to their inclusion in Canadian society. Incidences of exploitation experienced by study participants such as the abusive treatment of a participant's father at the workplace, underpayment for waitressing work, and attempted extortion for 'protection,' were not connected with the receiving society, but rather, with other immigrants. This finding suggests the accuracy of Tilly's (1990) observation that "members of immigrant groups often exploited one another as they would not have dared to exploit the native born" (p. 92). It also corresponds with Sharma's (1991) recognition that exploitation of Indo-Canadians often occurs at the hands of other Indo-Canadians. It is interesting to observe that all participants viewed Richmond's multiethnic environment in terms of Caucasians, Chinese, and their own ethnic group if they were not Chinese, to the virtual exclusion of all other groups.

### ***Anthropological Emphases***

#### **5.25 Ethnic Communities**

A geographically distinctive ethnic enclave existed only for the three participants who were of Chinese descent, while other participants and their parents knew of, but did not associate with co-nationals because of their geographical dispersion throughout the Greater Vancouver Region. Authors such as Dunning (1989) and De Vos (1990) have maintained that immigrants' participation within enclosed or inwardly directed ethnic communities can limit their adaptation. These concerns were shared by participant Jared Wing, who considered that any participation in the Chinese community would restrict his adaptation to the larger society. Participants Paula Lin and Vana Lee spent much of their free time within the Chinese community, which did not seem to retard the development of their English language skills. It was not possible, however, to determine whether Paula and Vana's participation within

the Chinese community in any way detracted from or enhanced their adaptation in relation to the larger society.

#### **5.26 *Adaptation and Family***

Successful adaptation has been connected to a proactive stance of parents toward the adaptation of their children (Cui & Awa, 1992; Gibson, 1988; Hoffman, 1988). Parents of four of the study's participants actively encouraged and assisted their children to adapt to Canadian society. While Vana Lee and Rashid Khan's parents did not take an active role in support of adaptation neither did they discourage their children's adaptation initiatives. Although home and school values were sometimes incompatible the incompatibility was not experienced negatively by participants, as Krau (1991) and Gay (1991) have found in other settings. The school's emphasis on sports, social activities, and nonacademic electives was generally viewed by parents as detracting from what they saw as the school's primary purpose - academics. However, because participants shared parental values concerning the primacy of academics, they did not experience discrepancies between home and school values as problematic.

Intergenerational conflict, thought to be a byproduct of family adaptations by Eva and Suen (1990) and Lemoine (1989), was minimal for participants during their initial period of adaptation. Parents of other migrant adolescents may take comfort in that all six participants in the present study retained and attempted to live by parental values throughout their initial period of adaptation. Friction arose only when parents believed that the family's educational values were not being pursued vigorously enough or were being threatened by the influence of new acquaintances. However, despite association with acquaintances who were less achievement oriented, and participation in distractions such as sports and social activities, all participants retained core family values - whether academic, moral, or relational - as desirable ideals. Even Rashid Khan, who lost respect for his parents, retained core family values and attempted, though at times unsuccessfully, to live by them.

#### **5.27 *Marriage/Boy-girl Relations***

Adaptation theorists have traditionally viewed intermarriage as a key

indicator of successful adaptation (Ghuman, 1991; Shah, 1991) and ethnic endogamy as an indicator of ethnic resilience or cohesiveness (Deschamps & Doise, 1978; E.N. Herberg, 1989). Ethnic endogamy was not an issue for study participants. While some thought that their parents would prefer that they marry someone from their own ethnic group, participants themselves expressed a willingness to contemplate romantic or marital relationships with people from other ethno-racial groups. As a Moslem, Aqtara Hassan's only concern was that her prospective spouse be a Moslem (religious endogamy), while Rashid Khan, who grew up in a Moslem environment but was not Moslem, was adamant that his future wife could be anything so long as she wasn't Moslem (or 'fat'). Participants' perceptions of boy-girl relations in the surrounding society were both negative and positive. Aqtara Hassan and Jason Gomez were offended by the revealing clothing that some Canadian girls wore, and Paula Lin, Vana Lee, and Jason all reacted negatively to what they perceived as overly public displays of physical affection. On the other hand, all three participants of Chinese descent enjoyed the experience of interacting with young people of the opposite gender, something that had been denied them in Taiwan and Hong Kong. With the exception of Rashid Khan, participants experienced strong pressures from their parents to not become involved in romantic relationships while they were young.

### ***Educational Emphases***

#### **5.28 Valuing Education**

All six participants and their parents placed a high value on education suggesting confirmation of Gibson's (1988) and Hoffman's (1990) observations that the more recent immigrants from Asia or Southeast Asia place a high cultural value on education. Better educational opportunities for their children (though not necessarily a better education) was a primary migration motivation for parents of four study participants, and became an important consideration for Aqtara Hassan's father after arrival. While parents of several participants were unconvinced of the quality of Canadian education, most viewed the Canadian educational system as less stressful than that of the home country and more likely to provide opportunities for access to quality universities. Education has also been found to be a primary motive for

migration in previous studies by Stewart (1993) and Early et al. (1989) and may explain, in part, why recent immigrants have achieved so well in North American schools. While Stewart (1993) and Moodley (1992) have recognized that the newer immigrant groups often view education as an instrumental means to improve social or economic standing, only two study participants, Jason Gomez and Vana Lee, indicated that improvement in economic standing was an important motive for their academic achievement. It is perhaps significant that these two participants represented the lowest premigration economic status of the six participants.

Gibson (1988) asks, "Why do immigrant youths often work harder and remain in school longer than non-immigrants, both majority and minority" (p. 167)? An important reason is suggested by the experience of participants and their parents in the present study. In all cases participants' parents made their children's education their primary focus after migration, serving to imbue their children with a sense of the importance and value that the family placed on academic achievement. In a majority of cases parents had made an openly stated commitment to the realization of their children's academic success and demonstrated this commitment frequently. The immigrant parent's dedication to the child's future, rather than their own future, has been documented by former immigrants (Bagnell, 1993; Kagawa, 1990; Knickerbocker, 1993; Shastri, 1993) and by researchers (Early et al., 1989) and may be seen to act as a powerful support and motivation for the child's academic achievement. Parents encouraged participants in the present study to be future oriented, to not seek immediate gratifications, whether in terms of entertainment, socialization, or romance, at the expense of future academic goals.

For all participants, strong cultural and family education values were matched with personal motivations for academic achievement. These motivations may also have originated with parents, as Jason Gomez's motive of sponsoring his Philippine family as immigrants to Canada would suggest. Nonetheless, each participant expressed motivations for academic success that they believed to be their own. Five of the participants had at least one parent who had some post-secondary education prior to migration, and all six participants

expressed an intention of seeking college or university entrance. Five participants found schooling in Canada to be more enjoyable than what they had experienced in their home countries, and this in itself provided an incentive to succeed. Four participants were critical of the education they had received in their home countries, and were particularly critical of instructional techniques which called for rote learning. The same four spoke with enthusiasm of being able to question teachers, conduct independent research, and use critical thinking skills in their Canadian school, which suggests that the concerns expressed by Ballard (1989) and Eva and Suen (1990), that many Asian immigrants will continue to rely upon rote memory techniques, may be overstated.

#### **5.29 *Scholastic Achievement***

Of the ten students who originally met study criteria (grade 10 level immigrants who had been in Canada less than two years), six had placed on the school's academic honour role at least once during the school year, and of the six students who eventually agreed to participate in the study, four had been on the honour role at least once. Jared Wing received one of the school's top academic awards, and achieved the highest math score in the school district for grade 10 students at the Canadian National Math Competition. Jason Gomez also received a top academic award. None of these students had been resident in Canada for more than 20 months at the outset of the study. This remarkable academic achievement suggests confirmation of studies by Cummins (1984) in Canada, and by Valverde (1987), Gibson (1988), and Ballard and Vellins (1985) in other receiving countries, which have concluded that despite adaptation hurdles and limited English language proficiency, after a few years many immigrant students achieve at or above the norm for receiving society students on cross-grade exams in most subject areas. If, as Glazer (1987) recognizes, "there is surprising evidence that immigrants in general do well, better than the 'native majority' after a few years" (p. 212), as the present study also indicates, there is an obvious implication for educational practice. It is time for educators to recognize that the successful educational strategies of migrant students and their families offer potential alternatives to our traditional, but perhaps less effective educational processes. As Profriedt



(1989-1990) remarks, "a look at the actual progress of outsiders and immigrants...provides us with a rich set of concrete attitudes and strategies for learning that, together, comprise an alternative educational ideal in the modern world" (p. 88).

### **5.30 Student and Parent Educational Concerns**

Adaptation literature has generally presented as problematic several aspects of education in the receiving country which concern both students and parents. Experience of participants in the present study suggests, however, that these aspects may not be interpreted as problematic by migrant students or their parents. Eva and Suen (1990) and Beynon, Toohey, et al. (1992) have attributed narrow career choices of many immigrant students - often confined to business, engineering, or sciences - to parental pressures. Of the five participants in the present study who expressed career goals, two indicated business and three spoke of science related careers, thus confirming the pattern of narrow career choices. All five believed they had come to independent career decisions, even though several participants were acutely aware of parental preferences which sometimes differed from theirs. Whether career orientations actually originated with parents or with participants themselves, participants did not experience their choices as resulting from parental pressure.

Authors such as Schneider and Lee (1990) and Gibson (1988) have noted that parents of East and Southeast Asian immigrants often require their children to devote more time at home to academics than is the norm for receiving society students. With the exception of Rashid Khan's parents who only 'recommended' that he spend more time studying, parents of study participants expected their children to devote between two to three hours per evening to academics whether or not they had assigned homework. Nonetheless, participants (excepting Rashid) did not experience the extra hours of study at home as a hardship, some even suggesting that their after school study burden in Canada was lighter than what they had experienced in the home country. After school homework was completed, three participants were expected to do a considerable amount of household chores - work they often did not care for. However, they accepted such chores as a necessary consequence of their

family's migration circumstances.

De Vos and Suárez-Orozco (1991) and Kehoe (1984) have recognized the general acceptance in North America of the desirability of parental involvement in the schools. Although several participants in the present study believed their parents would go to the school to intervene on their behalf if they encountered difficulties, no participant's parents had actually been to a parent-teacher interview or to any other meeting at the school. What this suggests is that the parents of participants would be likely to make personal contact with the school only as a last resort. While such behavior on the part of immigrant parents may be viewed as indifference by the receiving society, it must be balanced with a recognition of the considerable assistance and direction with school work that study participants received at home from parents. Schneider and Lee's (1990) assertion that "East Asian parents' interest in their children's education is reflected in how they structure the learning environment, not in the...number of visits made to the school" (p. 372), accurately reflects the attitude of participants' parents in the present study. The efforts of Vana Lee's mother in cooperation with the Chinese group SUCCESS to lobby the Provincial government for government exams in Mandarin and Japanese, is one example of how parents supported participant's educational endeavours outside of the school. In Gibson's (1988) study of Sikh immigrants in California the "noninterventionist strategy" (p. 177) of immigrant parents concerning the schools was found to be as effective as the interventionist strategies of receiving society parents. The generally high academic achievement levels of migrant students both in Gibson's and the present study - accomplished despite the non-interventionist strategies of their parents - suggests support for Gibson's conclusion that "no single model of parent and family participation in the educational process can fit all groups" (p. 178).

***Participant Experience Which has Received Little Corresponding***

***Emphasis in Adaptation Literature***

**5.31 Athletic Activities**

Authors such as Eva and Suen (1990), Divoky (1988), and Gibson (1988) have recognized that East and South Asian immigrant parents often do not value

sports and extra curricular activities, viewing such activities as extraneous to academic achievement. Their assessment accurately describes the attitudes of a majority of the parents of participants in the present study. However, while attitudes of parents have been confirmed, previous studies have given little attention to the experience of school age migrants concerning sports and athletic activities. For four of the participants in the present study, athletic activities were an important aspect of their initial experience of adaptation. Aqtara Hassan experienced athletic activities as wonderful and fulfilling discoveries after having grown up in a religious environment where athletic activities for females were largely restricted. The sports that Jason Gomez had not been able to participate in due to impoverished circumstances in the Philippines were now available in Canada to be enjoyed at any time and at an affordable price. Freed from some of the time constraints of his highly structured life in Taiwan, Jared Wing discovered baseball in Canada, and with it, a dimension of himself that had not been evident prior to migration. For Rashid Khan migration to Canada meant a decline in standard of living and inaccessibility of the sports that he had previously excelled in. Experience of participants in the present study, then, would suggest that previous research with regard to athletic activity may not have adequately addressed what appears to be a significant aspect of the adaptation experience of young migrants.

Kehoe (1984) has asked, "Do extra curricular activities reflect the multicultural makeup of the school (p. 12)?" In the case of Richmond's Premier Secondary School, with the exception of a concession to noon hour table tennis for Chinese students, it was apparent in discussions with coaching staff and students that no attempt had been made to determine the athletic needs or interests of immigrant students, or to incorporate physical activities of minority ethnic groups into the school's athletic program. Rather than always expecting newcomers to conform to our traditional athletic pursuits, which have often been adopted from other nations in any case, it may be time to have receiving society students discover in addition to the sports traditionally enjoyed in Canada, some of the wonderful athletic activities that are enjoyed in other parts of the world. A more reciprocal approach to

athletic activities might go a long way toward encouraging the inclusion of newcomers within the receiving society, and the appreciation by receiving society students of what newcomers have to offer. As Ebuchi (1989) remarks, "we need to sensitize the home country students to a greater extent to the interesting possibilities of interacting with foreign students, rather than asking only foreign students to adjust to the host society" (p. 237).

### **5.32 Religious Experience**

Scott and Scott (1989) maintain that religious affiliation has very little to do with adaptation. With the exception of Gibson's (1988) work, adaptation research has not often considered how religious values of migrants affect adaptation in the receiving country. In the present study religious values of three participants had important consequences for the direction of their adaptation in Canada. For Aqtara Hassan, religious values were the single most important factor in her interpretation of the new environment and in her relations with others in the new society. Jason Gomez's Catholic Christian values were critical to his notions of self-esteem and purpose as he dealt with influences and possibilities in the new society. In Rashid Khan's experience, an abhorrence of the Moslem faith determined to some degree which people he would associate with in the new environment, and foreclosed the possibility of interaction with most co-nationals. Experience of participants in the present study, coupled with Raveau's (1987) observation that religion has the most lasting effect on adaptation, then, suggest that previous adaptation research may have underestimated the importance of religious values as determinants of adaptation experience and outcomes.

### **5.33 Childhood**

During the course of interviewing and coming to know the study's six student participants I was deeply affected by their experiences of 'losing' or 'missing' childhood. Having lost a portion of my own childhood when serious accidents befell my parents, I was nonetheless unprepared for the depth of feeling and sense of loss that four of the participants felt concerning childhood. While Aqtara Hassan did not express her experience concerning childhood, it was evident that with migration she too had suddenly become an adult, and had left childhood behind with the things she couldn't physically

carry out of Somalia. Rashid Khan did not experience a loss of childhood. In many respects he was still a child in the new environment.

Perhaps childhood is something that in normal circumstances is let go of gradually and gently, to some degree when we are ready, and in our own time. But for three participants migration was experienced as a sudden and forceful ending of childhood, and an immediate confrontation of the life decisions and responsibilities of adults. In all cases the new maturity required to surmount adaptation hurdles was experienced as strengthening and empowering, but there was also a price to be paid. Jason Gomez's comment that "I have to be more adult than child," Paula Lin's recognition that "I left my childhood in Taiwan," and Vana Lee's sad reflection, "I've lost some of the childhood," speak of profound losses that cannot be entirely compensated with the newfound confidence of an adult world. Jared Wing's experience of finding a childhood in Canada appeared at first to differ from the experiences of other participants. He had found childhood when the others had lost it. But it was only after migrating to Canada that Jared made discoveries about himself which permitted him to recognize that he had missed out on childhood in Taiwan. In Canada he succeeded in retrieving some of the childhood he had not experienced in Taiwan, but it really was too late: "My childhood in Canada...went by so quick and soundless, a long sigh in the night just not seems to be enough to mend the lost." Even as he touched what he had lost it was slipping through his fingers before he could take hold of it.

While loss of childhood was deeply felt by a majority of participants, it is difficult to assess its significance in relation to their experience of adaptation as a whole. Sudden maturity induced by migration may account, in part, for self-reliance and self-confidence and may have contributed to the academic success of participants, but it is likely that the significance of a loss of childhood will not become evident until much later in an immigrant or sojourner's life. As R.C. Nann (1982) cautions, "while children are generally more quick to adapt to change, they are also the ones who are more likely to encounter an identity crisis later in life" (p. 5).

*Discussion of Key Aspects of Participant Experience in  
Relation to Current Educational Practice*

**5.34 Host Language Acquisition**

Sheridan (1986) has estimated that for immigrants arriving in Canada without some prior knowledge of either official language, acquiring functional host language skills constitutes about 75 percent of their adaptation problems. While this estimate may be appropriate for some migrants it has been recognized that newer immigrant groups that have arrived in Canada over the past decade and a half often have some prior host language experience. Over a decade ago, D.J. Wilson (1984) observed that "these new immigrants generally speak English or French" (p. 67), and that unlike "traditional" immigrants, they are less concerned with language issues. According to Wilson, "Their chief concern is with adjustment" (p. 67). Certainly this observation is applicable to all six participants in the present study, and appears to apply to many other migrants that I spoke with at Premier Junior Secondary School. While some participants in the present study were concerned about achieving high grades on university entrance TOEFL exams that they would be required to write in the future, no study participant experienced learning English as an adaptation problem. Other aspects of their initial period of adaptation were of greater concern and consequence to study participants. Their experience concerning host language acquisition is characterized well by Yvonne Chang (1991) who was 15 years old when she arrived in Canada from Taiwan: "Language wasn't such a problem, but culture was" (p. 18).

Currently, accommodation of the adaptation needs of foreign students in Canadian schools is almost exclusively confined to provision of English as a second language (Hanscombe, 1989; Naylor, 1994; Yu, 1991;). Experience of participants in the present study indicates, however, that host language acquisition is only one dimension of the multidimensional experience of adaptation. In our schools, other important adaptation dimensions are seldom considered on the same level as English language acquisition. As Yu (1991) observes, "that race, culture, language and ethnicity form the context of educational practice for these students is seldom a real consideration, and we are all poorer for it" (p. 37). An important implication of the present

study, then, is that Canadian schools should begin to address other adaptation needs which may be as important as host language acquisition for the successful academic and social adaptation of students from other countries.

Such a need has recently been recognized by Hanscombe:

In the mid-1960s, when North York first addressed the challenge of educating immigrant students, the assumption was that the source of difficulty for these students lay in their lack of familiarity with English...Experience in North York and research in the field of minority-student education around the world...have raised some questions about the wisdom of putting so much faith in a single solution to a very complex problem. Though the development of proficiency in English is undoubtedly a prerequisite in a school system which uses English as its primary language of instruction, other factors...must be taken into account. (1989, p. 23)

If educators in Canada and other receiving nations continue to approach the educational adaptation of immigrant students solely from the perspective of host language proficiency, there is an imminent danger that while migrant graduates may become functionally literate, they will essentially remain socially and culturally illiterate. New language capabilities will be of little consequence if migrant graduates cannot achieve access to and inclusion in the socially and culturally interactive world within which the new language might be expected to function. In Trueba's (1989) words, "examining language in isolation from cultural factors leads to serious misunderstandings of the minority person's process of resocialization and consequently of integration, knowledge acquisition, and successful participation in the various institutions of the host society" (p. 13).

### **5.35 Academic Success**

Macias (1990) maintains that "any account of immigrant students, and the institutions and actors who influence them, eventually requires analysis of the role international migration has on their educational development" (p. 313). When considered in relation to their short period of residence in Canada and their incomplete command of English, the academic achievements of participants in the present study are truly remarkable. That children of recent immigrant parents were over-represented on the school's academic honour roll in comparison with receiving society students, is also suggestive of high levels of academic achievement. It is surprising, then, that far more attention in adaptation literature and studies has been devoted to low rather than high academic achievement levels of immigrant students (Council of Chief

State School Officers, 1990; Stewart, 1993; Suárez-Orozco, 1993). As Gibson (1988) observes, "far less attention has been given to the school - adaptation patterns of those minority groups or subgroups that meet with a comparatively high degree of academic success once initial language barriers are transcended" (p. 32). If academic performance of children of recent immigrants in the present Canadian study, and in studies by Gibson (1988) in the United States and by Bullivant (1988) in Australia are any indication, it may be necessary to shift research attention to a consideration of why receiving society students, who have the advantage of familiarity with the school system and language of instruction, often achieve at lower levels than many newcomers.

At a time when there is widespread concern over the drop out rate (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 1992) and the poor motivation and academic performance of receiving country students in general (Bullivant, 1988; Economic Council of Canada, 1992), it may be time to consider how successful academic patterns of immigrant families and their children could be adopted by receiving society members. According to E. Coelho (1988), "there may be much to learn from those children who succeed: what are the coping strategies and family strengths which help them to survive and succeed" (p. 66)? Instead of viewing students from other countries only as expensive educational liabilities in need of what services we can afford to provide them, it may be time to look to the experience of these students as providing potential solutions to some of our domestic educational deficiencies. Gibson (1988) states, "we appear to have lost our commitment to educational excellence. It is this commitment that many immigrants bring to our society and schools" (p. 199). But unless educators can see newcomers as representing more than language or knowledge deficiencies, and both *recognize* and *utilize* the rich academic resource that newcomers bring to our schools, it is not likely that receiving society students will be persuaded to adopt the newcomer's strategies for, or commitment to, educational excellence.

### **5.36 Friendship and Inclusion**

Establishing friendships after arrival in Canada was the single most important adaptation concern for five of the study's participants and second



in importance only to religious concerns for the sixth. Friendship was not a need that abated or was satisfied in the first few months of residency but continued to concern participants throughout their initial period of adaptation. The need for friendship is the study's most important finding. While we may have come to recognize with Berger and Luckmann (1966) that knowledge and reality are socially constructed, with Howard Gardner that definitions of intelligence are culturally derived (H.D. Brown, 1987) and with Harré (1987) that the self is a social construction, we may not have realized that friendship too, is a social or cultural construction. Friendship may be universal, but experience of participants in the present study suggests that the cultivation, meaning, and function of friendship can differ between cultures.

While participants generally experienced few adaptation difficulties, they encountered extreme difficulties in their efforts to establish friendships with receiving society peers. These difficulties and the participants' recognition that they could not find the type or depth of friendship they had experienced in their home countries, suggests that friendship is defined differently in every society. That no participant in their one to two year residency in Canada had been able despite considerable effort to establish a friendship with a receiving society member, indicates that social skills required for establishing friendships in a new society may be among the most difficult to acquire.

For study participants, friendship with receiving society members was viewed as a means to access and become included in the receiving society. Canada's multicultural policy *theoretically* validated a place for participants in the new society, but it could not provide what was *actually* required to achieve that place. As Coombs (1986) has recognized, "it is not enough that the right to be culturally different is valued" (p. 11). Although multiculturalism is an important and indispensable precondition for inclusion, it does not in itself provide access to the new society. No one from the new society came to participants with overtures of friendship, nor indicated how the newcomer might be included. It was the newcomer who had to initiate friendships and find a way of adapting so as to be included in the new

society. It was a lonely pursuit, described in Vana Lee's words as "For myself. With myself. Alone!" There was little in their premigration experience that participants could turn to for guidance in adapting. They found very little in the new world that would help them either. As Jared Wing observed, "I don't see there's a system or there's, like, tradition, custom like, we can follow, and, like, gradually adapt...no pattern."

Multiculturalism has been celebrated as the quintessential Canadian value (Fleras & Elliott, 1992) and has often been invoked to demonstrate a commitment to equity and tolerance (British Columbia, Multiculturalism, 1990). But mere tolerance is seldom an acceptable welcome for any visitor, let alone a new member of the family. Canadian society, and especially the schools, have yet to recognize and value the contributions of newcomers, and until this occurs it is unlikely that Canadians will embrace the newcomer with a multicultural perspective that steps beyond tolerance toward welcoming and inclusion.

Observers such as Kobayashi (1981) have concluded that making friends is one of the most important conditions for adaptation, while Gudykunst and Hammer (1988) have found that "research on adjustment, however, suggests that developing intimate relationships (that is, friendships) with host nationals facilitates the adjustment of strangers" (p. 123). Experience of participants in the present study also suggests that establishment of friendships between newcomers and receiving society peers is a key to inclusion of newcomers in the receiving society. As contact between adolescent newcomers and receiving society peers predominantly occurs within the schools, the schools are in the best position to accommodate the need for inclusion. Currently there is some recognition that schools have a role to play in the inclusion of immigrant students. Biggs (1987), for example, maintains that "it is an appropriate responsibility of the institution and its members to assure that opportunities are made available for a variety of socialization activities and that new students are not left to become solely dependent upon their country colleagues for information and assistance" (p. 76). In a recent British Columbia Teachers' Federation study of ESL provision in 16 British Columbia School districts (Naylor, 1993a), ESL teachers "stressed the importance of meeting

the social needs of ESL/ESD students, in order to ensure their inclusion into the community of the school" (p. 2). Similarly, parents of ESL students surveyed as part of the same study (Naylor, 1993b) expressed the view that "unless very specific attention was paid to the inclusion of all students in all school and extra-curricular activities, segregation could occur, however inadvertently" (p. 1).

How to achieve inclusion is a concern. Participants in the present study desired inclusion, but not at the cost of assimilation. ESL staff and parent respondents in the previously cited British Columbia Teachers' Federation study proposed several inclusion strategies including peer counselling, and 'buddy' pairings with co-nationals and then with receiving society peers. Such proposals, however, continue to place the newcomer in the role of recipient only, and do not emphasize the beneficial contributions the newcomer can make to the receiving society. Inclusion seldom occurs as the result of one way action. It is far more likely to come about through a reciprocally beneficial, two way interaction. If inclusion in the schools is to occur, newcomers need to be permitted to contribute as well as to receive something of value.

One way in which schools might facilitate a reciprocally beneficial interaction between newcomers and receiving society peers is by promoting an extracurricular club, perhaps meeting during noon hours, which would permit and encourage both groups of students to assist and benefit each other. Newcomers could provide language, cultural, crafts, sports/athletic, or foods information to receiving society peers, and advice to those who might wish to become exchange students. Receiving society peers could, in turn, assist the newcomer in understanding the local community, the new culture, employment opportunities, and popular Canadian traditions such as hockey. Reciprocal academic benefits might also be possible. While newcomers could receive assistance with English and proofreading, receiving society students might appreciate assistance with math or sciences homework. The cost of such a club, measured in terms of staffing time and monetary outlay would be minimal, but the potential benefit to newcomer and receiving society student alike, could be immeasurable.

Initial adaptation experiences of the six participants in the present study, when aggregated and compared, appear to suggest several important implications for educational change. However, potential users of this research are cautioned to recognize the limitations of the present study. Generalizations cannot be made to other students or educational settings based solely on the experience of six participants from a single age group, who attended a particular school, and came from a specific neighbourhood in what is perhaps a unique community. Transferability to similar contexts and settings may be possible, but even in the case of transferability the present study's findings should be considered along with the results of other studies before conclusions are drawn. All study implications should be considered tentative except where they confirm the implications of previous studies, or until such time as they may be confirmed in subsequent studies.

#### ***A Return to the Major Question of the Study***

It is traditional to conclude a qualitative study with a reassessment of the study's major question in light of understandings which have come to light over the course of the study (Hammersly & Atkinson, 1983). The present study was based on the question, 'What is the nature and significance of lived experience in the initial period of adaptation for recent immigrant students at a Canadian secondary school?' During the period of fieldwork, analysis, and presentation two aspects of the study's major question became problematic as characteristics and experience of study participants were revealed over time.

Not long after research interviews and observations commenced, it became apparent that the term 'immigrant' reflected an incorrect assumption on my part that children of immigrant parents would also be immigrants. Study criteria had specified immigrants, and participants had agreed to participate in the study on the basis of their understanding that they were immigrants. Certainly their legal status in Canada was that of 'landed immigrants.' However, it was soon evident that five of the six participants did not wish to remain in Canada permanently as immigrants, but rather to stay for temporary educational sojourns before return to home countries or departure to another country. As the adaptation experience of immigrants is thought to differ

substantially from that of sojourners (Furnham & Bochner, 1986), the study's major question should be reformulated to specify either immigrant or sojourner student migrants.

That five of six participants came into the present study with sojourner perspectives suggests the possibility that a high proportion, even a majority, of children of recent immigrants may initially approach adaptation to Canadian schools and society with sojourner perspectives. This unforeseen outcome suggests a need for considering several new questions for future research studies. These include, what proportion of school age migrants arriving from abroad are sojourners? What proportion of those who arrive as sojourners eventually abandon their sojourner perspectives? And finally, how does the adaptation of adolescent sojourners differ, if at all, from that of adolescent immigrants?

A second aspect of the study's major question which became problematic in relation to participants' experience of their initial period of residency in Canada, was the term 'adaptation.' In adaptation literature the term 'adaptation' has often been linked with biological concepts of adaptation of species (Pitman et al., 1988) and with response to or reaction against environmental conditions (Berry, 1990). There was little, however, in the experience of participants in the present study which would suggest patterns of response. Rather, participant experience predominantly indicated proactive intentionality, self-determination, and personal choice. The term 'adaptation' has also been used to describe "the internal transformation of an individual challenged by a new cultural environment in the direction of increasing fitness and compatibility in that environment" (Kim, 1988, p. 9), which suggests both response and assimilation. Assimilation was not desired by any participant in the present study and there was little evidence of assimilation in participants' experience or behaviors.

Authors and researchers in the adaptation field have used several alternatives to the term 'adaptation,' but these too often fall short of providing more than a one dimensional characterization of the migrant's experience. The term 'adjustment,' for example, used by Berry (1992) to describe a reduction of conflict between individual and environment "by

bringing one into harmony with the environment" (p. 71) is primarily response oriented. 'Acculturation,' often used in preference to the term 'adaptation,' and defined in *The Random House Dictionary* (Stein, 1978) as "adoption of the traits or patterns of another group" (p. 7), is strongly suggestive of assimilation, something that was not typical of participant experience in the present study. Gibson's (1988) 'acculturation without assimilation,' an attempt to remove assimilative overtones from 'acculturation' remains a somewhat self-contradictory term.

Kim (1989) has recognized that "the adaptation process, as such, is multidimensional and interactive, and by implication, cannot be fully understood when one focuses on only one of the adaptation dimensions without understanding the other interrelated dimensions as well" (p. 103). While recognizing that response and assimilation can be dimensions of the migrant's developing interrelationship with the receiving society and environment, it is evident from the experience of participants in the present study that response and assimilation are only two possible dimensions of what is clearly a multidimensional process. To use the term 'adaptation' then, which primarily connotes response and assimilation dimensions, to characterize a multidimensional process, invests the study question not only with descriptive inadequacy, but also with a potential for restricting the researcher's purview of the phenomena to be studied. What this indicates is that the major question which guided the present study requires restatement, with the substitution of a more comprehensive term for that of 'adaptation.'

Currently there appears to be no commonly accepted term which might characterize the process of the migrant's developing interrelationship with the receiving society and environment. Ideally, this term would be comprehensive enough to suggest the multidimensional nature of the process it refers to. Perhaps the closest we have come to such a term has been suggested by Canadian educator, Tony Johnstone (1990b), who described the immigrant's initial experience in Canada as a "transition from 'segregation' to 'integration'" (p. 157). Furnham and Bochner (1986) explain that "'integration' refers to the accommodation that comes about when different groups maintain their respective core identities, while at the same time

merging into a superordinate group in other, equally important respects" (p. 28). Thus, without limiting the experience to response, assimilation, or self-determination, 'integration' suggests an interactive process through which the migrant enters a relationship with a new world, becoming part of that world in some ways, and remaining outside of and different from that world in other ways. As such, the term 'integration' provides an encompassing reflection of the initial experiences in Canada of the six young participants in the present study.

### ***A Personal Reflection***

When I first approached study participants I was highly conscious of the potential effect that my presence might have on their lives. Would I be an unwelcome intrusion in the lives of young people who were both reconstructing their worlds within a new environment and negotiating adulthood in a new society? Would I be perceived as an added burden to students already fully engaged in the demanding processes of learning new communicative, school, and cultural systems? I questioned my presumption that I might approach others and as a complete stranger, request that they reveal their personal experience, hopes, and uncertainties to me. What could I possibly give in return that would be of value to them?

Despite my concerns, I found soon after interviewing began that I was not perceived as an intrusion or burden, but that participants were as interested in me as I was in them. They desired to know and be included in my world, and when my family and I included participants and their families in our world we were overwhelmed with their responses. We were invited into their homes, their lives and their confidences. The kindnesses and gifts we extended to them were returned to us threefold, and we still receive gifts and letters of appreciation even now, a year after leaving Richmond.

What is disheartening to me is that these wonderful families who have lived in Canada for several years now, still have virtually no contact with their Canadian neighbours beyond a casual acquaintance level. Though they have desired to be included in the new society they have not found that welcoming and inclusion have been forthcoming. While these families are willing to enrich the lives of others, as we certainly found, there appear to

be very few Canadians who include their immigrant neighbours in their social worlds, and they and their immigrant neighbours are poorer for it.

In almost 20 years of teaching I can not remember a group of students who made as strong an effort to succeed as the participant group. I was highly impressed by their sense of purpose and diligence, aptly expressed in Jason Gomez's words as "trying all the bests as I can." If these remarkable students remain in our country to become Canadian citizens, as I hope they will, they will make important contributions to the nation. Whether they stay permanently or leave after an educational sojourn, however, will depend to a great extent on whether they feel included and valued by Canadian society.

During our final interview, Jared Wing expressed his desire to contribute to the community and also his mother's concern that he not get involved in political issues. He spoke to me of a hope that his father might be able to find some form of work in Canada which would allow him to stay with his family rather than in Taiwan as was the case at the time. A few days later our family were guests of the Wing family at a Taiwanese tea. Mr. Wing was home for a rare visit and we discussed how he might develop a business in Canada that would permit him to stay with his family. As he was in the food importing business (popcorn and fruit), and as Taiwan has traditionally imported Canadian apples, I suggested that he might consider exporting Canadian apple cider to Taiwan. The Wing family had never heard of or tasted apple cider before, but the idea appealed to Mr. Wing and he told me he would look into the product the very next day. We had a wonderful tea and family time together with the Wings, and we were sorry that we would have to leave the Richmond community a few days later.

One morning six months after moving from Richmond I received a phone call from Mrs. Wing who was obviously very distraught. She told me that Jared and another member of his school's student council had taken action to expose retail stores which were knowingly selling cigarettes to children. The story had been picked up by TV stations and Jared was to be interviewed on the national news. Almost in tears, Mrs. Wing asked if she should let Jared do it, and if "people will hurt him, if there will be trouble for our family?" I recognized that Jared had taken a step toward leadership and toward



contributing to the community. I knew how difficult it must have been for him to do something contrary to his mother's wishes. I was elated for Jared, but my heart went out to Mrs. Wing.

I told Mrs. Wing that many in the community would admire Jared for having taken a stand and that her family was unlikely to be subjected to abuse or disrespect because of Jared's actions. She became calmer and began to speak of supporting Jared's decision. Then, closing on a happier note, she suddenly remembered something else she wanted to tell me. "You know, I wanted to tell you, my husband he sell the first container of dry beer [apple cider] in Taiwan!"

Too often we have seen immigrants only as availing themselves of what our country has to offer, without ever appreciating what immigrants have to offer in return. It is well past time that we, as a nation, begin to recognize and value the enrichment and contributions that immigrants so often willingly bring to our country at great personal cost. Perhaps when we begin to see their contributions as valuable we will at last welcome and include our new neighbors into our lives.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aanstoos, C.M. (1984, March). *Foundations of phenomenological psychology*. Paper presented at the 30th annual meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA.
- Aanstoos, C.M. (1985). The structure of thinking in chess. In A. Giorgi (Ed.), *Phenomenology and psychological research* (pp.86-117). Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press.
- Abbott, M. (Ed.). (1990). *Refugee resettlement and well-being*. Auckland, NZ: Mental Health Foundation.
- Abe, H., & Wiseman, R.L. (1983). A cross-cultural confirmation of the dimensions of intercultural effectiveness. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 7, 53-67.
- Achison, J. (1988). Immigration in two federations: Canada and Australia. *International Migration*, XXVI (1), 5-32.
- Adelman, M.B. (1980). Cross-cultural adjustment: A theoretical perspective on social support. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 12, 183-204.
- Adler, P.S. (1975). The transitional experience: An alternative view of cultural shock. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 15, 13-23.
- Alberta Department of Education, Language Services Branch. (1982). *English as a second language/dialect (ESL/D): Guidelines and suggestions for the administration and organization of programs* (Interim ed.). Edmonton, AB: Author.
- Alcoff, L. (1991-1992). The problem of speaking for others. *Cultural Critique*, Winter 1991-1992, 5-31.
- Allmen, E. (1990). "Counselling and Settlement:" The current and future role of mainstream settlement services. In S.A. Yelaya (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Settlement and Integration of New Immigrants to Canada Conference, February 17-19, 1988* (pp.199-219). Waterloo, ON: Faculty of Social Work & Centre for Social Welfare Studies Wilfrid Laurier University.
- Altbach, P.G. (1989). Foreign student adjustment: Issues and perspectives. In K. Ebuchi (Ed.), *Foreign students and internationalization of higher education: Proceedings of OECD/JAPAN Seminar on higher education and the flow of foreign students* (pp.173-182). Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University.
- Anderson, G.L. (1989). Critical ethnography in education: Origins, current status, and new directions. *Review of Educational Research*, 59, 249-270.
- Anisef, P. (1986). *Models and methodologies appropriate to the study of outcomes of schooling in Ontario's multicultural society*. Toronto, ON: Queens Printer for Ontario.
- Aoki, T.T. (1992). Layered voices of teaching. In F.W. Pinar & W.M. Reynolds (Eds.), *Understanding curriculum as phenomenological and deconstructed text* (pp. 17-27). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Argyle, M. (1982). Intercultural communication. In S. Bochner, (Ed.), *Cultures in contact: Studies in cross-cultural interaction* (pp. 61-79). Oxford, UK: Pergamon.

- Aries, E. & Johnson, F. (1983). Close friendship in adulthood: Conversational content between same sex friends. *Sex roles*, 9, 1183-1196.
- Aronowitz, M. (1984). The social and emotional adjustment of immigrant children: A review of the literature. *International Migration Review*, XVIII, 237-257.
- Aronowitz, M. (1992). Adjustment of immigrant children as a function of parental attitudes to change. *International Migration Review*, XXVI, 89-110.
- Ashworth, M. (1975). *Immigrant children and Canadian schools*. Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart.
- Ashworth, M. (1982). The cultural adjustment of immigrant children in English Canada. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.77-83). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.
- Ashworth, M. (1988). *Blessed with bilingual brains: Education of immigrant children with English as a second language*. Vancouver, BC: Pacific Educational Press.
- August, D., & Garcia, E.E. (1988). *Language minority education in the United States: Research, policy and practice*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- Aviram, U., & Levav I. (1975). Psychiatric epidemiology in Israel: An analysis of community studies. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 52, 295-311.
- Babaoglu, A.N. (1982). Some social and psychiatric aspects of uprooting among Turkish immigrant workers in West Germany. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.111-118). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.
- Bagnell, K. (1993). But where is the heart. In P. Fanning & M. Goh (Eds.), *Home and homeland* (pp.130-133). N.P.: Addison-Wesley.
- Baldassini, J.G., & Flaherty, V.F. (1982). Acculturation process of Columbian immigrants into the American culture in Bergen County, New Jersey. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 6, 127-135.
- Ballard, B. (1989). Social and cultural adjustment by foreign students: The Australian experience. In K. Ebuchi (Ed.), *Foreign students and internationalization of higher education: Proceedings of OECD/JAPAN Seminar on Higher Education and the Flow of Foreign Students* (pp.160-172). Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University.
- Ballard, R., & Vellins, S. (1985). South Asian entrants to British Universities: A comparative note. *New Community*, 12, 260-265.
- Bancroft, G.W. (1992). [Review of *Race-ethnicity and society*]. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XXIV, 183-184.
- Banks, J.A. (1989, December). A curriculum for empowerment, action and change. Paper presented at the Education in Plural Societies: A Review of International Research in Intergroup Relations conference, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC.
- Barber, M.D. (1988). *Social typifications and the elusive other: The place of sociology of knowledge in Alfred Schutz's phenomenology*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press.

- Barber, M.D. (1989). Edmund Perry, the distribution of knowledge, and the looking glass of race. *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 7, 218-231.
- Bardo, J.W., & Bardo, D.J. (1980). Sociodemographic correlates of adjustment for American migrants in Australia. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 112, 255-260.
- Barman, J., Hébert, Y., & McCaskill, D. (Eds.). (1987). *Indian education in Canada. Volume II: The challenge*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Barritt, L., Beekman, T., Bleeker, H., & Mulderij, K. (1985). *Researching education practice*. Grand Forks, ND: North Dakota University, Center for Teaching and Learning.
- Bateson, G. (1978). The pattern which connects. *CoEvolution Quarterly*, Summer 1978, 5-15.
- Baumeister, R.F. (1986). *Public self and private self*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Bawm, G. (1971). *Man becoming*. New York, NY: Herder and Herder.
- Beardsley, R. (1992, November). *Preparing new teachers for teaching in a multicultural society: British Columbia*. Paper presented at the seventy-second NCSS Annual Meeting, Detroit, MI.
- Beaujot, R. (1992). The socio-democratic impact of immigration. In S. Globerman (Ed.), *The immigration dilemma* (pp.43-77). Vancouver, BC: The Fraser Institute.
- Becker, H. (1961). *Boys in white*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Befu, H. (1980). Structural and motivational approaches to social exchange. In K. Gergen, M. Greenberg, & R. Willis (Eds.), *Social exchange: Advances in theory and research* (pp.197-214). New York, NY: Plenum.
- Bell, D. (1990). *Husserl*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Bellamy, L.A. (1993). Life trajectories, action, and negotiating the transition from high school. In P. Anisef & P. Axelrod (Eds.), *Transitions: Schooling and employment in Canada* (pp.137-167). Toronto, ON: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Ben-Peretz, M. (1990). *The teacher-curriculum encounter: Freeing teachers from the tyranny of texts*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Benson, D., & Hughes, A. (1983). *The perspective of ethnomethodology*. London, UK: Longman.
- Berger, C.R. (1987). Communicating under uncertainty. In M.E. Roloff & G.R. Miller (Eds.), *Interpersonal processes: New directions in communication research* (pp.39-62). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Berger, C.R., & Calabrese, R. (1975). Some explorations in initial interactions and beyond: Toward a developmental theory of interpersonal communication. *Human Communication Research*, 1, 99-112.
- Berger, P.L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Berry, J.W. (1976). *Human ecology and cognitive style: Comparative studies in cultural and psychological adaptation*. New York, NY: Sage Publications.

- Berry, J.W. (1987). Finding identity: Separation, integration, assimilation or marginality? In L. Driedger (Ed.), *Ethnic Canada* (pp.138-157). Toronto, ON: Copp Clark Pitman.
- Berry, J.W. (1990). The role of psychology in ethnic studies. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XXII (1), 8-21.
- Berry, J.W. (1992). Acculturation and adaptation in a new society. *International Migration*, 30, 69-85.
- Berry, J.W., Kim, U., & Boski, P. (1988). Psychological acculturation of immigrants. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Cross-cultural adaptation: Current theory and research* (pp.62-89). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J.W., Kim, U., Minde, T., & Mok, D. (1987). Comparative studies of acculturative stress. *International Migration Review*, 21, 490-511.
- Berry, J.W., & Kostovcuk, N. (1983). *Psychological adaptation of Malaysian students in Canada*. Paper presented at the Third Asian Regional Conference of the International Association for Cross-cultural Psychology.
- Berscheid, E. (1987). Emotion and interpersonal communication. In M.E. Roloff & G.R. Miller (Eds.), *Interpersonal processes: New directions in communication research* (pp.77-88). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Beynon, J., Kishor, N., & Toohey, K. (1990, November). *Factors affecting the participation of visible minorities in teacher education programs in British Columbia*. Paper presented at the Canadian Council for Multiculturalism and Intercultural Education, Ottawa, ON.
- Beynon, J., Toohey, K., & Kishor, N. (1992). Do visible minorities in British Columbia want teaching as a career? *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 24, 145-166.
- Biggs, D.A. (1987). *The relevance of international education: A cognitive developmental perspective*. Paper prepared for the Annual Conference of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, Long Beach, CA.
- Bissex, G. (1988). Foreword. In A. Fishman, *Amish literacy: What and how it means* (pp.ix-xi). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Blalock, H.M. Jr. (1982). *Race and ethnic relations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bloor, M. (1978). On the analysis of observational: A discussion of the worth and uses of inductive techniques and respondent validation. *Sociology*, 12, 545-552.
- Blue, A.W., & Blue, M.A. (1984). The trail of stress. In R.J. Samuda, J.W. Berry, & M. Laferrière (Eds.), *Multiculturalism in Canada: Social and educational perspectives* (pp. 301-308). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Boelhower, W. (1983). A brave new world of immigrant autobiography. In M. Chenetier & R. Krols (Eds.), *Impressions of a gilded age: The American fin de siecle* (pp.114-126). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Universiteit van Amsterdam.
- Bogardus, E. (1925). Measuring social distance. *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9, 299-308.
- Bogdan, R., & Taylor, S.J. (1975). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A phenomenological approach to the social sciences*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

- Bothwell, R.K., Brigham, J.C., & Malpass, R.S. (1989). Cross-racial identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 15, 19-25.
- Bourdeau-Guindon, L. (1988). Le systeme scolaire quebecois et le multiculturalisme. *Education Canada*, 28(3), 32.
- Bourdieu, P. (1967). Systems of education and systems of thought. *International Social Science Journal*, 19, 332-358.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). The logic of practice (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. (First published in French in 1980, as *Les sens pratique* by Editions de minuit).
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1979). *The inheritors: French students and their relation to culture* (R. Nice, Trans.). London, UK: Sage.
- Bowers, C.A., & Flinders, D.J. (1990). *Responsive teaching: An ecological approach to classroom patterns of language, culture, and thought*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Bradley, L.A., & Bradley, G.W. (1987). The academic achievement of Black students in desegregated schools: A critical review. *Review of Educational Research*, 47, 399-449.
- Bredella, L. (1993). Towards a pedagogy of intercultural understanding. *Amerika studien America Studies (Amst)*, 37, 559-594.
- Breton, R. (1978). The structure of ethnic relationships between ethnic collectivities. In L. Driedger (Ed.), *The Canadian ethnic mosaic: A quest for identity* (pp.55-73). Toronto, ON: McLelland and Stewart.
- Breton, R., Isajiw, W.W., Kalbach, M.E., & Reitz, J.G. (1990). *Ethnic identity and equality*. Toronto, ON: Toronto University Press.
- British Columbia Ministry of Education. (1992). *Year 2000: A Framework for learning*. Victoria, BC: Queens Printer.
- British Columbia Ministry of Education. (1994). *1993/94 district level summary of key information: Public schools only: Enrolment in English as a second language*. Victoria, BC: British Columbia Ministry of Education, Information Services Branch.
- British Columbia, Multiculturalism. (1990). *Multicultural policy of the Province of British Columbia*. Victoria, BC: Ministry of Provincial Secretary.
- British Columbia Teacher's Federation (BCTF). (1991). *Teacher education: A position paper*. Vancouver, BC: BCTF.
- Brody, E.B. (1970). Migration and adaptation: The nature of the problem. In E.B. Brody (Ed.), *Behavior in new environments: Adaptation of migrant populations* (pp.13-21). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Brody, N., & Oppenheim, P. (1966). Tensions in psychology between the methods of behaviorism and phenomenology. *Psychological Review*, 73, 295-305.
- Brown, H.D. (1987). *Principles of language learning and teaching* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Brown, R.K. (1992). Max van Manen and pedagogical human science research. In F.W. Pinar & W.M. Reynolds (Eds.), *Understanding curriculum as phenomenological and deconstructed text* (pp.44-63). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

- Bruyn, S. (1966). *The human perspective in sociology: The methodology of participant observation*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bubner, R. (1983). *Ethnologie und hermeneutic*. In G. Baer & C. Centlivres (Eds.), *Ethnologie im dialog*. Fribourg, Germany: Universitaires Fribourg.
- Bullivant, B.M. (1988). The ethnic success ethic: Ubiquitous phenomenon in English-speaking societies? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1(1), 63-84.
- Burch, R. (1991). Phenomenology and human science reconsidered. *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 9, 27-69.
- Burgess, R.G (1984). *In the field: An introduction to field research*. London, UK: George Allen & Unwin.
- Burns, P. (1990). *Two essays on immigration*. (The 21st Century Series, An American Issues Forum). Denver, CO: University of Denver.
- Butler, S.J., & Mansfield, E.A. (in press). Lifewriting in a secondary school: The evaluation of a curriculum project. *English Quarterly*.
- Byrne, D. (1971). *The attraction paradigm*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission, Settlement Branch. (1986). *Migration News*, 2, 14-25.
- Caputo, J.D. (1987). *Radical hermeneutics: Repetition, deconstruction, and the hermeneutic project*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Cetron, M., & Gayle, M.E. (1990). *Educational renaissance: Our schools into the twenty-first century*. Bethesda, MD: St. Martin's Press.
- Chambers, I. (1994). *Migrancy, culture, identity*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Chan, J., Krawczyk, A., & Kaplan, O., in consultation with Mehat, I. (1990). *Response to the Year 2000: A multicultural education perspective*. Victoria, BC: British Columbia Ministry of Education, Heritage Languages and Multicultural Programs.
- Chang, H., & Holt, G.R. (1991). The concept of *yuan* and Chinese interpersonal relationships. In S. Ting-Toomey & F. Korzenny (Eds.), *Cross-cultural interpersonal communication* (pp.28-57). Newburg Park, CA: Sage.
- Chang, L.L. (1980). Acculturation and emotional adjustment of Chinese women immigrants. *Dissertation Abstracts*, 41 (4a.), 1809.
- Chang, Y. (1991). A new world. In *Take action* (pp.18-19). Ottawa, ON: Communications Branch, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.
- Chen, G. (1990, April). *Intercultural communication competence: Some perspectives of research*. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Eastern Communication Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Cherryholmes, C.H. (1988). *Power and criticism: Poststructural investigations in education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Christensen, C.P. (1987). Perceived problems and help-seeking preferences of Chinese immigrants in Montreal. *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, 21, 189-199.

- Christensen, C.P. (1990).** Toward a framework for social work education in a multicultural and multiracial Canada. In S.A. Yelaya (Ed.), *Proceedings of The Settlement and Integration of New Immigrants to Canada Conference, February 17-19, 1988* (pp.103-124). Waterloo, ON: Faculty of Social Work & Centre for Social Welfare Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University.
- Churchill, S. (1987).** Policy development for education in multicultural societies: Trends and processes in OECD countries. In *Multicultural education* (pp. 64-100). Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Clandinin, D.J., & Connelly, F.M. (1994).** Personal experience methods. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.413-427). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Clifford, J. (1986).** On ethnographic allegory. In J. Clifford & G.E. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography* (pp.98-121). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Cochrane, R., & Stopes-Roe, M. (1977).** Psychological and social adjustment of Asian immigrants to Britain: A community survey. *Social Psychiatry*, 12, 195-206.
- Cochrane, R., & Stopes-Roe, M. (1980).** The mental health of immigrants. *New Community*, 8, 123-128.
- Coelho, E. (1988).** *Caribbean students in Canadian schools: Book 1*. Toronto, ON: Carib-Can.
- Coelho, G.V. (1958).** *Changing images of America: A study of Indian parents' perceptions*. Bombay, India: Asia Publishing House.
- Coelho, G.V. (1982).** The foreign student's sojourn as a high risk situation: The "culture-shock" phenomenon re-examined. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.101-107). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.
- Cole, A.L. (1991).** Interviewing for life history: A process of ongoing negotiation. In I.F. Goodson & J.M. Mangan (Eds.), *Qualitative educational research studies: Methodologies in transition* (RUCCUS Occasional Papers, Vol.1) (pp.185-208). London, ON: University of Western Ontario.
- Coppola, D.M. (1983, April).** *Phenomenological research with children: Guidelines to follow and implications for the practitioner*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA.
- Cooley, C.H. (1902).** *Human nature and the social order*. New York, NY: Scribners.
- Coombs, J.R. (1986).** Multicultural education and social justice. *International yearbook of adult education* (pp.1-13). Koln: Bohlau Verlag.
- Connelly, M., & Clandinin, J. (1988).** *Teachers as curriculum planners: Narratives of experience*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Council of Chief State School Officers. (1990).** *School success for limited English proficient students: The challenge and State response*. Washington, DC: Author.



- CSTA (Canadian School Trustees Association).** (1989). *Scholastic adaptation and cost effectiveness of programs for immigrant/refugee children in Canadian schools*. Toronto, ON: CSTA.
- Cui, G., & Awa, N.E.** (1992). Measuring intercultural effectiveness: An integrational approach. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 16, 311-328.
- Cummins, J.** (1984). *Bilingualism and special education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J.** (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56(1). 18-36.
- Dail, P.W.** (1988). Immigration and migration in America: Social impact and social response. *International Migration*, XXVI, 441-452.
- Darder, A.** (1991). *Culture and power in the classroom: A critical foundation for bicultural education*. New York, NY: Bergin & Garvey.
- David, H.P.** (1970). Involuntary international migration: Adaptation of refugees. In E.B. Brody (Ed.), *Behavior in new environments: Adaptation of migrant populations* (pp. 73-95). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- de Certeau, M.** (1987). The management of ethnic resources: Schooling for diversity. In *Multicultural education* (pp. 164-188). Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Dei, G.J.S.** (1992). The social reality of international post-secondary students in Canada. CBIE Research Paper No.3. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Bureau for International Education.
- Delamont, S.** (1992). *Fieldwork in educational settings: Methods, pitfalls & perspectives*. Bristol, PA: The Falmer Press.
- Delgado-Gaitan, C., & Trueba, H.** (1991). *Crossing cultural borders: Education for immigrant families in America*. London, UK: The Falmer Press.
- Denzin, N.K.** (1978). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Denzin, N.K.** (1989). *Interpretive interactionism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S.** (1994). Introduction. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.1-17). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Derrida, J.** (1976). *Of grammatology* (G.C. Spivak, Trans.). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Deschamps, J.C., & Doise, W.** (1978). Crossed category memberships in intergroup relations. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups* (pp.141-158). London, UK: Academic Press.
- De Vos, G.A.** (1990). Self in society: A multilevel, psychological analysis. In G.A. De Vos & M.M. Suárez-Orozco (Eds.), *Status inequality: The self in culture* (Cross-cultural research and methodology series, Vol.15) (pp.17-74). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- De Vos, G.A., & Suárez-Orozco, M.M.** (1990). Caste, race, and genders: A psychological approach to awe, purity, and pollution. In G.A. De Vos & M. Suárez-Orozco (Eds.), *Status inequality: The self in culture* (Cross-cultural research and methodology series, Vol.15) (pp. 164-203). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

- De Vos, G.A., & Suárez-Orozco, M.M. (1991). Preface: An ethnography of empowerment. In C. Delgado-Gaitan & H. Trueba (Eds.), *Crossing cultural borders: Education for immigrant families in America* (pp.1-9). London, UK: The Falmer Press.
- Dewey, J. (1966). *Democracy and education*. New York, NY: MacMillan.
- Diggs, N., & Murphy, B. (1991). Japanese adjustment to American communities: The case of the Japanese in the Dayton area. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 103-116.
- Disman, M. (1990). The process of adaptation of immigrants to Canadian culture and communities. In Y. Shankar (Ed.), *Proceedings of The Settlement and Integration of New Immigrants to Canada Conference, February 17-19, 1988* (pp.45-63). Waterloo, ON: Faculty of Social Work & Centre for Social Welfare Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University.
- Divoky, D. (1988). The model minority goes to school. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 70, 219-222.
- Dobbert, M.L. (1982). *Ethnographic research: Theory and application for modern schools and societies*. New York, NY: Praeger.
- Document (Statistics Canada). (1986). *Census of Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada.
- Dolphin, R. (1994). Richmond: A Hong Kong state of mind. *Readers Digest*, 145 (870), 51-55.
- Donmoyer, R. (1990). Generalizability and the single-case study. In E.W. Eisner & A. Peshkin (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate* (pp. 175-200). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Dorais, L. (1991). Refugee adaptation and community structure: The Indochinese in Quebec City, Canada. *International Migration Review*, XXV, 551-573.
- Douglas, J.D. (1976). *Investigative social research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Driedger, L. (1977). Toward a perspective on Canadian pluralism: Ethnic identity in Winnipeg. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 2(1), 77-95.
- Dudley, N.Q. (1992). Participatory principles in human inquiry: Ethics and methods in a study of the paradigm shift experience. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 5, 325-344.
- Dunning, B.B. (1989). Vietnamese in America: The adaptation of the 1975-1979 arrivals. In D.W. Haines (Ed.), *Refugees as immigrants: Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese in America* (pp. 55-85). Totowa, NJ: Roman & Littlefield.
- Dyal, J.A. (1980). *The psychosocial mediation of acculturative stress*. Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference of the International Association of Cross-cultural Psychology, Bhubaneswar, India.
- Early, M., Mohan, B.A., & Roper, H.R. (1989). *The Vancouver School Board Language and Content Project*. In J.H. Estling (Ed.), *Multicultural education and policy: ESL in the 1990s* (pp.107-122). Toronto, ON: OISE Press.
- EarthLinks (1992). *Strangers & prodigals: Educational and cross-cultural exchanges between Canada and developing countries: An EarthLinks discussion paper*. Spring 1992, EarthLinks.

- Easton, W.W., & Lasry, J.C. (1978). Mental health and occupational mobility in a group of immigrants. *Social Science and Medicine*, 12, 53-58.
- Ebuchi, K. (1989). Networking and research agenda for the future: A summary of discussion in the closing session. In K. Ebuchi (Ed.), *Foreign students and internationalization of higher education: Proceedings of OECD/JAPAN Seminar on Higher Education and the Flow of Foreign Students* (pp.233-241). Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University.
- Eco, U. (1984). *Semiotics and the philosophy of language*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Economic Council of Canada. (1992). *A lot to learn*. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Eisner, E.W. (1979). *The educational imagination: On the design and evaluation of school programs*. New York, NY: MacMillan.
- Elliott, J.L., & Fleras, A. (1992). *Unequal relations: An introduction to race and ethnic dynamics in Canada*. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada.
- Ellsworth, E. (1989). Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59, 297-324.
- Employment and Immigration Canada (1988). *Future immigration levels: 1988 consultation issues*. Ottawa, ON: Employment and Immigration Canada.
- Equality Now! (1984). *The report of the Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (Task Force)*. Ottawa, ON: Queens Printer.
- Eva, J., & Suen, P. (1990). *Chinese parents & teenagers in Canada - Transitions and cultural conflicts*. Burnaby, BC: Burnaby Multicultural Society and Canadian Mental Health Association.
- Faichney, G., & Beardsley, R.J. (1992, November). *Preparing new teachers for teaching in democratic multicultural societies: Cases from Australia and Canada*. Paper presented at the Seventy-second NCSS Annual Meeting, Detroit, MI.
- Fennel, D. (1994, August 10). Local students tops in B.C. *Richmond Review*, p.1.
- Fine, M. (1994). Working the hyphens: Reinventing self and other in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.70-82). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Finn, G. (1992). The politics of contingency. In T.W. Busch & S. Gallagher (Eds.), *Merleau-Ponty, hermeneutics, and postmodernism* (pp.171-187). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Finsterbusch, K. (Ed.). (1992). *Sociology 92/93* (21st annual ed.). Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group.
- Fisher, D., & Echols, R. (1989). *Evaluation report on the Vancouver School Board's race relations policies*. Vancouver, BC: Vancouver School District #36.
- Fleras, A., & Elliott, J.L. (1992). *Multiculturalism in Canada*. Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada.

- Fliesser, C. (1991). Between two worlds: Discovering the importance of reflection to action. In I.F. Goodson & J.M. Mangan (Eds.), *Qualitative educational research studies: Methodologies in transition* (RUCCUS Occasional Papers, Vol.1) (pp.209-230). London, ON: University of Western Ontario.
- Foner, N. (1983). Jamaican migrants: A comparative analysis of the New York and London experience. *Occasional Paper no.36*. New York, NY: Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies.
- Fontaine, G. (1986). Roles of social support systems in overseas relocation: Implications for intercultural training. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 10, 361-368.
- Ford, J. (1975). *Paradigms and fairy tales*. London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Foucault, M. (1978). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Fowler, G.D. (1984, November). *Philosophical assumptions and contemporary research perspectives: A course supplement*. Paper presented at the 70th annual meeting of the Speech Communication Association, Chicago, IL.
- Fradd, S.H., & Weismantel, M.J. (Eds.). (1989). *Meeting the needs of culturally and linguistically different students: A handbook for educators*. Boston, MA: College Hill Press.
- Freire, P., & Macedo, R. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the word and the world*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Furnham, A. (1984). Tourism and culture shock. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11 (1), 41-57.
- Furnham, A. (1988). The adjustment of sojourners. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Cross-cultural adaptation: Current approaches* (International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Vol. XI) (pp.42-59). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Furnham, A., & Bochner, S. (1986). *Culture shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments*. London, UK: Methuen.
- Gadamer, H. (1975). *Truth and method*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Gadamer, H. (1989). *Truth and method* (2nd rev. ed.) (J. Weinsheimer and D.G. Marshall revised Trans.). New York, NY: Crossroad Press.
- Gallagher, S. (1992a). Introduction: The hermeneutics of ambiguity. In T.W. Busch & S. Gallagher (Eds.), *Merleau-Ponty, hermeneutics, and postmodernism* (pp.3-12). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Gallagher, S. (1992b). *Hermeneutics and education*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Gamradt, J.A. (1989). Developmental, neurological, and information - processing research: Applications to culture acquisition. In M.A. Pitman, R.A. Eisikovits, & M.L. Dobbert (Eds.), *Culture acquisition: A holistic approach to human learning* (pp.22-35). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Gao, G., & Gudykunst, W.B. (1990). Uncertainty, anxiety, and adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 14, 301-317.
- Garcia, P.R., & Jutila, S.T. (1988). Socio-economic stratification generated by international migration loops. *International Migration*, XXVI(1), 57-69.

- Gay, G. (1989). Ethnic minorities and educational equality. In J.A. Banks & C.A.M. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (pp.167-188). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Gay, G. (1991). Culturally diverse students and social studies. In J.P. Shaver (Ed.), *Handbook of research on social studies teaching and learning* (pp.144-156). New York, NY: MacMillan.
- Gazzaniga, M.S. (1988). *Mind matters: How mind and brain interact to create our conscious lives*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Geer, B. (1969). First days in the field. In G. McCall & J.L. Simmons (Eds.), *Issues in participant observation* (pp.144-162). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- George, L. (1985). Coping with the challenges of time. In E.M. Gee & G.M. Gutman (Eds.), *Canadian gerontological collection* (pp.84-109). Winnipeg, MN: Canadian Association on Gerontology.
- Ghuman, P.A.S. (1991). Best or worst of two worlds? A study of Asian adolescents. *Educational Research*, 33, 121-132.
- Gibson, M.A. (1987). The school performance of immigrant minorities: A comparative view. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18, 262-275.
- Gibson, M.A. (1988). *Accommodation without assimilation: Sikh immigrants in an American high school*. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Gibson, M.A. (1993). The school performance of immigrant minorities: A comparative view. In E. Jacob & C. Jordan (Eds.), *Minority education: Anthropological perspectives* (pp.113-128). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Gill, G. (1993, August 8). African newcomers face tough times. *The Richmond Review*, p.11.
- Gillborn, D. (1990). *'Race', ethnicity and education*. London, UK: Unwin Hyman.
- Giorgi, A. (1985a). Introduction. In A. Giorgi (Ed.), *Phenomenology and psychological research* (pp.1-7). Pittsburg, PA: Duquesne University Press.
- Giorgi, A. (Ed.). (1985b). *Phenomenology and psychological research*. Pittsburg, PA: Duquesne University Press.
- Giorgi, A., Fischer, W.F., & von Eckartsberg, R. (1971). *Duquesne studies in phenomenological psychology* (Vol.1). Pittsburg, PA: Duquesne University Press.
- Giroux, H. (1981). *Ideology, culture, and the process of schooling*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Giroux, H.A. (1992). *Post-Colonial ruptures and democratic possibilities: Multiculturalism as anti-racist pedagogy*. *Cultural Critique*, 21, 5-39.
- Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York, NY: Aldine Publishing.
- Glazer, N. (1987). Cultural differences and equality of educational achievement. In CERI, *Multicultural education* (pp.196-216). Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Goetz, J.P., & Le Compte, M.D. (1984). *Ethnography and qualitative design*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday.
- Goodson, I.F., & Mangan, J.M. (1991). An alternative paradigm for educational research. In I.F. Goodson & J.M. Mangan (Eds.), *Qualitative educational research studies: Methodologies in transition* (RUCCUS Occasional Papers, Vol.1) (pp.9-48). London, ON: University of Western Ontario.
- Goza, R. (1994). Brazilian immigration to North America. *International Migration Review*, 28, 136-152.
- Grant, C.A., Sleeter, C.E., & Anderson, J.E. (1986). The literature on multicultural education: Review and analysis. *Educational Studies*, 12 (1), 47-71.
- Grant, L. (1984). 'Black Females' "place" in designated classrooms,' *Sociology of Education*, 57, 98-111.
- Greenfield, S.M. (1985). Barbadians in the Amazon and Cape Verdeans in New England: Contrasts in adaptations and relations with homelands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 8, 209-232.
- Grichting, W.L. (1989). Educational philosophy in a cross-cultural context. *Urban Education*, 24, 177-198.
- Grumet, M.R. (1992). Existential and phenomenological foundations of autobiographical methods. In R.W. Pinar & W.M. Reynolds (Eds.), *Understanding curriculum as phenomenological and deconstructed text* (pp.28-43). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.105-117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gudykunst, W.B. (1985). The influence of cultural similarity, type of relationship, and self-monitoring on uncertainty reduction processes. *Communication Monographs*, 52, 203-217.
- Gudykunst, W.B., & Hammer, M.R. (1988). Strangers and hosts: An uncertainty reduction based theory of intercultural adaptation. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Cross-cultural adaptation: Current Approaches* (pp. 106-139). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Gudykunst, W.B., & Kim, Y.Y. (1984). *Communicating with strangers: An approach to intercultural communication*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Gudykunst, W.B., & Kim, Y.Y. (1992). *Communicating with strangers: An approach to intercultural communication* (2nd Ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Gudykunst, W.B., & Ting-Toomey, S. (1988). *Culture and interpersonal communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Guillaume, M. (1987). Commentary by Marc Guillaume. In Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI), *Multicultural education* (pp.190-194). Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Haig-Brown, C. (1991). *Taking control: Power and contradiction in First Nations adult education*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC.
- Hall, E.T. (1959). *The silent language*. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett.
- Hall, E.T. (1977). *Beyond culture*. Garden City, NY: Anchor.

- Hall, S. (1987). Minimal selves. In L. Appignanesi (Ed.), *Identity: The real me. Post-modernism and the question of identity*. London, UK: ICA.
- Hammer, M.R. (1989). Intercultural communication competence. In M.K. Asante & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication* (pp.247-260). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Hammer, M.R., Gudykunst, W.B., & Wiseman, R.L. (1978). Dimensions of intercultural effectiveness: An exploratory study. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 2, 282-393.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). *What's wrong with ethnography?* London, UK: Routledge.
- Hammond, M., Howarth, J., & Keat, R. (1991). *Understanding phenomenology*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Hannigan, T.P. (1990). Traits, attitudes, and skills that are related to intercultural effectiveness and their implications for cross-cultural training: A review of the literature. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 14, 89-111.
- Handscombe, J. (1989). Mainstreaming: Who needs it? In J.H. Esling (Ed.), *Multicultural education and policy: ESL in the 1990s* (pp.18-35). Toronto, ON: OISE Press.
- Hansen, M. (1938). *The problem of the third generation immigrant*. Rock Island, IL: Augustana Historical Society.
- Harding, S., & Hintikka, M.B. (1983). *Discovering reality: Feminist perspectives on epistemology, metaphysics, methodology, and philosophy of science*. Boston, MA: D. Reidel.
- Harré, R. (1987). The social construction of selves. In K. Yardley & T. Honess (Eds.), *Self and identity: Psychosocial perspectives* (pp. 41-52). London, UK: John Wiley.
- Hawes, F., & Kealey, D.J. (1981). An empirical study of Canadian technical assistance: Adaptation and effectiveness on overseas assignments. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 5, 239-258.
- Hébert, Y.M. (1992). Multicultural education and the minority language child. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 24(3), 58-74.
- Hecht, M.L., Ribeau, S., & Sedano, M.V. (1990). A Mexican American perspective on interethnic communication. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 14, 31-55.
- Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and time*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- Hein, J. (1993). *States and international migrants: The incorporation of Indochinese refugees in the United States and France*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Hekman, S.J. (1986). *Hermeneutics and the sociology of knowledge*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Herberg, D.C. (1989). An adaptation framework of ethnic communities. In E.N. Herberg, *Ethnic groups in Canada: Adaptations and transitions* (pp.257-272). Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada.
- Herberg, E.N. (1989). *Ethnic groups in Canada: Adaptations and transitions*. Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada.

- Herman, S., & Schield, E. (1961). The stranger group in a cross-cultural situation. *Sociometry*, 24, 165-176.
- Hernandez, H. (1989). *Multicultural education: A teacher's guide to content and process*. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.
- Hirsch, E.D. Jr. (1987). *Cultural literacy: What every American needs to know*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Hitchcock, G., & Hughes, D. (1989). *Research and the teacher: A qualitative introduction to school-based research*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Hoffman, D.M. (1988). Cross-cultural adaptation and learning: Iranians and Americans at school. In H.T. Trueba & C. Delgado-Gaitan (Eds.), *School and society: Learning content through culture* (pp.163-180). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Hoffman, D.M. (1990). Beyond conflict: Culture, self, and intercultural learning among Iranians in the U.S. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 14, 275-299.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Homma-True, R. (1990). Psychotherapeutic issues with Asian American women. *Sex Roles*, 22, 477-486.
- Honeyford, R. (1986). Anti-racist rhetoric. In F. Palmer (Ed.), *Anti-racism - An assault on education and value* (pp.43-56). London, UK: The Sherwood Press.
- hooks, b. (1990). *Talking back: Thinking feminist, thinking black*. Boston, MA: Southend.
- House, E.R. (1991). Realism in research. *Educational Researcher*, 20(6), 2-9.
- Howell, M. (1994, February 13). Police make fourth arrest in student extortion. *Richmond News*, p.1.
- Hunnisett, R.J. (1986). Developing phenomenological method for researching lesbian existence. *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, 20, 255-268.
- Husserl, E. (1970). *The idea of phenomenology*. The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Husserl, E. (1973). *Cartesian meditations* (D. Cairnes, Trans.). The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Hutcheon, L. (1990). Circling the downspout of empire. In I. Adam & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *Past the last post: Theorizing post-colonialism and post-modernism* (pp.167-189). Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press.
- Hycner, R.H. (1985). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. *Human Studies*, 8, 279-303.
- Imahori, T.T., & Lanigan, M.L. (1989). Relational model of intercultural communication competence. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 13, 269-286.
- 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, ON: Peter Martin Associates.



- Jacob, E., & Jordan, C. (1993). Understanding educational anthropology: Concepts and methods. In E. Jacob & C. Jordan (Eds.), *Minority education: Anthropological perspectives* (pp.15-24). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Jacobsen, E.H. (1963). Sojourn research: A definition of the field. *Journal of Social Issues*, 19(3), 123-129.
- Jaffer, S. (1993). Keep fighting. In P. Fanning & M. Goh (Eds.), *Home and homeland* (pp.176-181). N.P.: Addison-Wesley.
- Jagger, A. (1983). *Feminist politics and human nature*. Totowa, NJ: Roman and Allenheld.
- Janesick, V.J. (1994). The dance of qualitative design: Metaphor, methodolatry, and meaning. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.209-219). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Johnson, F. (1985). The Western concept of self. In A.J. Marsella, G. De Vos, & F.L.K. Hsu (Eds.), *Culture and self: Asian and Western perspectives* (pp. 91-138). London, UK: Tavistock.
- Johnson, G.E. (1992). Ethnic and racial communities in Canada and problems of adaptation: Chinese Canadians in the contemporary period. *Ethnic groups*, 9, 151-174.
- Johnson, J. (1994, July 8). Young extortionist gets four months. *Richmond Review*, p.1.
- Johnstone, T. (1990a). The intent, scope and rationale of ethnic services. In T. Johnstone, *The life and thoughts of Tony Johnstone* (pp.143-152). Tantalos, NS: Four East Publications.
- Johnstone, T. (1990b). Improving minority education. In T. Johnstone, *The life and thoughts of Tony Johnstone* (pp.157-170). Tantalos, NS: Four East Publications.
- Jones, F.E. (1987). Age at immigration and education: Further exploration. *International Migration Review*, 21, 70-85.
- Jordan, C. (1985). Translating culture: From ethnographic information to educational program. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 16, 105-123.
- Kagawa, J. (1990). *Obasan*. In L. Hutcheon & M. Richmond (Eds.), *Other solitudes: Canadian multicultural fiction* (pp.87-101). Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Kaikai, S.M. (1989). Accommodating diversity. *College Teaching*, 37(4), 123-125.
- Kallen, E. (1982). Multiculturalism: Ideology, policy and reality. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 27(1), 56.
- Kantor, M. (1969). Internal migration and mental illness. In S. Plog & K. Edgerton (Eds.), *Changing perspectives in mental illness* (pp. 247-271). New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Kaplan, A. (1964). *The conduct of inquiry*. Scranton, PA: Chandler.
- Kazepides, T. (1994). "Assembling reminders for a particular purpose": The nature and dimensions of educational theory. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 19, 448-463.
- Kehoe, J.W. (1984). *Achieving cultural diversity in Canadian schools*. Cornwall, ON: Vesta Publications.

- Kim, Y.Y. (1988). *Communication and cross-cultural adaptation: An integrative theory*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Kim, Y.Y. (1989). Personal, social, and economic adaptation: 1975-1979 arrivals in Illinois. In D.W. Haines (Ed.), *Refugees as immigrants: Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese in America* (pp.86-104). Totowa, NJ: Roman & Littlefield.
- Kim, Y.Y., & Gudykunst, W.B. (Eds.). (1988). *Cross-cultural adaptation: Current approaches* (International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Vol. XI). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kinhead, J. (1993). Personal accounts. In D.F. Lancy, *Qualitative research in education: An introduction to the major traditions* (pp.169-207). New York, NY: Longman.
- Kleiner, R.J., & Parker, S. (1970). Social-psychological aspects of migration and mental disorder in a Negro population. In E.B. Brody (Ed.), *Behavior in new environments: Adaptation of migrant populations* (pp.353-374). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Klineberg, O. (1981). The role of international university exchanges. In S. Bochner (Ed.), *The mediating person : Bridges between cultures* (133-185). Boston, MA: Schenkman.
- Klineberg, O., & Hull, W. (1979). *At a foreign university: An international study of adaptation and coping*. New York, NY: Praeger.
- Knickerbocker, N. (1993). No regrets. In P. Fanning & M. Goh (Eds.), *Home and homeland* (pp.211-217). N.P.: Addison-Wesley Canada.
- Kobayashi, T. (1981). *Overseas children's education, returning children's education*. Tokyo, Japan: Tokyo Yuhikaku.
- Krathwohl, D.R. (1985). *Social and behavioral science research: A new framework for conceptualizing, implementing, and evaluating research studies*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Krau, E. (1991). *The contradictory immigrant problem: A sociopsychological analysis*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Krupinski, J., & Staller, A. (1965). Incidence of mental disorders in Victoria, Australia, according to country of birth. *Medical Journal of Australia*, 2, 265-269.
- Krimer, E. (1986). *The psychological impact of immigration: An experience of change, loss, and gain*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Toronto, Toronto, ON.
- Kurian, G. (1991). South Asians in Canada. *International Migration*, XXIX, 421-433.
- Kunin, R. (1994, December). *Keynote address*. Paper presented at the Literacy: David Thompson Staff-Development Days, Vancouver, BC.
- Kvale, S. (1987). Validity in the qualitative research interview. *Methods: A Journal for Human Science*, 1(2), 37-72.
- Kvale, S. (1988). The 1000-page question. *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 6(2), 90-106.
- Langeveld, M. (1983). Reflections on phenomenology and pedagogy. *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 1(1), 5-7.

- Lanigan, R.L. (1992). *The human science of communicology: A phenomenology of discourse in Foucault and Merleau-Ponty*. Pittsburg, PA: Duquesne University Press.
- Lather, P. (1986). Issues of validity in openly ideological research: Between a rock and a soft place. *Interchange*, 17(4), 63-84.
- Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the post modern*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Le Compte, M.D., & Preissle, J., with Tesch, R. (1993). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research* (2nd ed.). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Lee, H.O. & Boster, F.J. (1991). Social information for uncertainty reduction during initial interactions. In S. Ting-Toomey & F. Korzenny (Eds.), *Cross-cultural interpersonal communication* (pp.189-212). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Leff, J. (1977). The cross-cultural study of emotions. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 1, 317-350.
- Leiter, K. (1980). *A primer on ethnomethodology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lemoine, M. (1989). Effects of migration on family structure in the receiving country. *International Migration*, XXVII, 271-279.
- Li, P.S. (1992). Ethnic enterprise in transition: Chinese business in Richmond, B.C., 1980-1990. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 24, 120-138.
- Lightfoot, S.L. (1983). *The good high school: Portraits of character and culture*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Lim, U. (1993). Mirror image. In P. Fanning & M. Goh (Eds.), *Home and homeland* (pp.185-194). N.P.: Addison-Wesley.
- Lin, K., Masuda, M., & Tazuma, L. (1982). Problems of Vietnamese Refugees in United States. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.11-24). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.
- Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Ling, D. (1989). Foreword. In L. Nguyen-Hong-Nhiem & J.M. Halpern (Eds.), *The Far East comes near: Autobiographical accounts of Southeast Asian students in America* (pp.xi-xii). Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press.
- Loche, L.F., Spirduso, W.W., & Silverman, S.J. (1987). *Proposals that work: A guide for planning dissertations and grant proposals* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (1984). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Lonner, W.J. (1986). Foreword. In A. Furnham & S. Bochner, *Culture shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments* (pp.xv-xx). London, UK: Methuen.
- Lyotard, J. (1991). *Phenomenology* (B. Beakley, Trans.). Albany, NY: SUNY Press. (Originally published as *La phenomenologie*, 1954).

- Lysgaard, S. (1955).** Adjustment in a foreign society: Norwegian Fulbright grantees visiting the United States. *International Social Science Bulletin*, 7, 45-51.
- Mac an Ghaill, M. (1988).** *Young, gifted and black: Student-teacher relations in the schooling of black youth.* Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.
- Macias, J. (1990).** Scholastic antecedents of immigrant students: Schooling in a Mexican immigrant-sending community. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 21, 291-318.
- Macias, J. (1993).** Forgotten history: Educational and social antecedents of high achievement among Asian immigrants in the United States. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 23, 409-432.
- Magoon, A.J. (1977).** Constructivist approaches in educational research. *Review of Educational Research*, 47, 651-693.
- Manaster, G.J., Chan, F.C., & Safady, R. (1992).** Mexican-American migrant students' academic success: Sociological and psychological acculturation. *Adolescence*, 27, 123-136.
- Mappa, S. (1987).** Education for immigrants' children in the OECD member countries. In *Multicultural education* (pp.243-262). Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation.
- Markus, H., & Wurf, E. (1987).** The dynamic self-concept: A social-psychological perspective. In M.R. Rosenzweig & L.W. Porter (Eds.), *Annual Review of Psychology*, 38, 299-337.
- Marsella, A.J., De Vos, G., & Hsu, F.L.K. (Eds.). (1985).** *Culture and self: Asian and Western perspectives.* London, UK: Tavistock.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G.B. (1989).** *Designing qualitative research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Maruyama, G., & Deno, S. (1992).** *Research in educational settings.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Matejko, A.J., & Williams, S.D. (1993).** Building trust in interpretive relations. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 25(2), 1-14.
- McCall, G.J. (1987).** The self-concept and interpersonal communication. In M.E. Roloff & G.R. Miller (Eds.), *Interpersonal processes: New directions in communication research* (pp.63-76). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- McCarthy, C. (1990).** *Race and curriculum: Social inequality and the theories and politics of difference in contemporary research on schooling.* London, UK: The Falmer Press.
- McGregor, J., & Ungerleider, C. (1993).** Multicultural and racism awareness programs for teachers: A meta-analysis of the research. In K.A. McLeod (Ed.), *Multicultural education: The state of the art national study report #1* (pp.59-63). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Faculty of Education.
- McLean, The Honourable W. (1990).** Keynote address. In S.A. Yelaya (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Settlement and Integration of New Immigrants to Canada Conference February 17-19, 1988* (pp.1-5). Waterloo, ON: Faculty of Social Work & Centre for Social Welfare Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University.

- McLeod, A. (1994, December).** *The importance of literacy in our school.* Paper presented at the Literacy: David Thompson Staff Development Days, Vancouver, BC.
- McPhee, R. (1993).** Let all our people come. In P. Fanning & M. Goh (Eds.), *Home and homeland* (pp.157-160). N.P.: Addison-Wesley.
- Mead, M. (1970).** *Culture and commitment.* Garden City, NJ: Doubleday.
- Mehat, I. (1990).** *A background discussion paper on multiculturalism prepared for the graduation team.* Multiculturalism/Heritage Languages, British Columbia.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962).** *Phenomenology of perception* (C. Smith, Trans.). London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul. (Originally published as *Phenomenologie de la perception*, Paris, France, Gallimard, 1945).
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1973).** *The prose of the world* (C. Lefort, Ed., J. O'Neill, Trans.). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press. (Originally published as *La prose du monde*, C. Lefort (Ed.), Paris, France, Gallimard, 1969).
- Michalowski, M. (1987).** *Trifactorial analysis of immigrant adaptation.* Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, Demography Division.
- Miller, G.R., Boster, F.J., Roloff, M.E., & Seibold, D.R. (1987).** MBRS rekindled: Some thoughts on compliance gaining in interpersonal settings. In M.E. Roloff & G.R. Miller (Eds.), *Interpersonal processes: New directions in communication research* (pp.89-116). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Minceberg, E.M., Cahn, N., Isaacson, M.R., & Lyons, J.J. (1989).** Federal civil rights enforcement and elementary and secondary education since 1981. In R.C. Govan & W.L. Taylor (Eds.), *One nation indivisible: The civil rights challenge for the 1990s* (Report of the Citizen's Commission on Civil Rights) (pp.87-167). Washington, DC: L & B Ltd.
- Moghaddam, F.M., Ditto, B., & Taylor, D.M. (1990).** Attitudes and attributions related to psychological symptomatology in Indian immigrant women. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, 21, 335-350.
- Montgomery, R. (1991).** Predicting Vietnamese refugee adjustment to Western Canada. *International Migration*, XXIX, 89-117.
- Montigny, G., & Jones, S. (1990).** *Revealing facts: Statistics Canada.* Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada.
- Moodie, S. (1993).** The fever of immigration. In P. Fanning & M. Goh (Eds.), *Home and homeland* (pp.4-7). N.P.: Addison-Wesley.
- Moodley, K.A. (1984).** The predicament of racial affirmative action: A critical review of *Equality Now*. *Queens Quarterly*, 91, 795-806.
- Moodley, K.A. (1992).** Ethnicity, power, politics and minority education. In K.A. Moodley (Ed.), *Beyond multiculturalism* (pp.79-93). Calgary, AB: Detselig.
- Morawska, E. (1990).** The sociology and historiography of immigration. In V. Yans-McLaughlin (Ed.), *Immigration reconsidered: History, sociology, and politics* (pp.187-238). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Morse, J.M. (1994).** Designing funded qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.220-235). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Mullard, C. (1987). The social dynamic of migrant groups: From progressive to transformative policy in education. In *Multicultural education* (pp.224-237). Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Munoz, L. (1980). Exile as bereavement: Socio-psychological manifestations of Chilean exiles in Great Britain. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 53, 227-232.
- Murphy, H.B.M. (1978). European cultural offshoots in the New World: Differences in their mental hospitalization patterns: British, French, and Italian influences. *Social Psychiatry*, 13, 1-9.
- Murphy, P.J., & France, M.H. (1989). Multicultural parenting: Collaborative school management in action. In S.V. Morris (Ed.), *Multicultural and intercultural education: Building Canada* (pp.249-255). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises.
- Nann, B.S.M. (1982). Settlement programs for immigrant women and families. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.85-93). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.
- Nann, B.S.M. (1986). *The adaptation of immigrant families: Special needs and program responses vis-a-vis visible minorities*. Major Paper submitted for Master of Social Work Degree, U. of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.
- Nann, R.C. (1982). Uprooting and surviving - An overview. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.1-10). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D.Reidel.
- Nann, R.C., & To, L. (1982). Experiences of Chinese immigrants in Canada: (A) Building an indigenous support system. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.155-163). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.
- Naylor, C. (1993a). *The BCTF ESL/ESD research project: ESL/ESD teachers' focus group responses* (Report Section XI, 93-ESL-05). Vancouver, BC: B.C. Teachers' Federation, BCTF Research Department.
- Naylor, C. (1993b). *The BCTF ESL/ESD research project: The views of parents of ESL students concerning the B.C. education system* (Report Section XI, 93-ESL-06). Vancouver, BC: B.C. Teachers' Federation, BCTF Research Department.
- Naylor, C. (1994). *The BCTF ESL/ESD research project: The provision of ESL/ESD in 16 B.C. school districts* (Report Section XI, 94-ESL-01). Vancouver, BC: B.C. Teachers' Federation, BCTF Research Department.
- Ng, W., & Lindsay, R.C.L. (1994). Cross-race facial recognition: Failure of the contact hypothesis. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 25, 217-232.
- Ngo, M. (1993). Strangers. In P. Fanning & M. Goh (Eds.), *Home and homeland* (pp.218-220). N.P.: Addison-Wesley.
- Nicassio, P.M., & Pate, J.K. (1984). An analysis of problems of resettlement of the Indochinese refugees in the United States. *Social Psychiatry*, 19, 135-141.
- Nieto, S. (1992). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

- Nietzsche, F. (1968). *The will to power* (W. Kaufmann, Ed., R.J. Hollingdale & W. Kaufmann, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage Books/Random House.
- Oberg, K. (1960). Culture shock: Adjustment to new cultural environments. *Practical Anthropology*, 7, 177-182.
- Odeggaard, O. (1932). Emigration and personality. *Acta Psychologica et Neurologica*, Suppl. 4.
- OECD/CERI Secretariat (1989). Institutional policies and measures for foreign students in selected OECD countries. Summary of country reports. In K. Ebuchi (Ed.), *Foreign students and internationalization of higher education: Proceedings of OECD/JAPAN Seminar on Higher Education and the Flow of Foreign Students* (pp.183-208). Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1983). Minority status and schooling. *Comparative Education Review*, 27(2), 168-190.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1985). Research currents: Cultural-ecological influences on minority school learning. *Language Arts*, 62, 860-869.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1991). Immigrant and involuntary minorities in comparative perspective. In M.A. Gibson & J.U. Ogbu (Eds.), *Minority status and schooling: A comparative study of immigrant and involuntary minorities* (pp.3-26). New York, NY: Garland Publishing.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1993). Frameworks - variability in minority school performance: A problem in search of an explanation. In E. Jacob & C. Jordan (Eds.), *Minority education: Anthropological perspectives* (pp.83-111). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Ogbu, J.U., & Matute-Bianchi, M.E. (1986). Understanding socio-cultural factors: Knowledge, identity, and school adjustment. In *Beyond language: Social and cultural factors in schooling language minority students* (pp.73-142). Sacramento, CA: Bilingual Education Office, California State Department of Education.
- Olsen, L. (1988). Crossing the schoolhouse border: Immigrant children in California. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 70, 211-214.
- Omizo, M.M., & Omizo, S.A. (1990). Children and stress: Using a phenomenological approach. *Elementary School Guidance and Counselling*, 25(1), 30-36.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (1987). *Immigrants' children at schools*. Paris, France: OECD.
- Ormiston, G.L., & Schrifft, A.D. (1990a). Editors' introduction. In G.L. Ormiston & A.D. Schrifft (Eds.), *The hermeneutic tradition: From Ast to Ricoeur* (pp.1-35). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Ormiston, G.L., & Schrifft, A.D. (1990b). Editors' introduction. In G.L. Ormiston & A.D. Schrifft (Eds.), *Transforming the hermeneutic context* (pp.1-42). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Pak, A.W., Dion, K.L., & Dion, K.K. (1991). Social-psychological correlates of experienced discrimination: Test of the double jeopardy hypothesis. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 243-254.
- Park, R.E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology*, 33, 881-893.

- Parker, K. (1992). The revelation of Caliban: "The black presence" in the classroom. In D. Gill, B. Mayor, & M. Blair (Eds.), *Racism and education: Structures and strategies* (pp.284-302). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Passaris, C. (1989). Canadian multiculturalism: The wealth of a nation. In S.V. Morris (Ed.), *Multicultural and intercultural education: Building Canada* (pp.2-11). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises.
- Patton, M.Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pelto, P.J., & Pelto, G.H. (1978). *Anthropological research: The structure of inquiry*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Peshkin, A. (1991). *The color of strangers the color of friends: The play of ethnicity in school and community*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Peshkin, A. (1993). The goodness of qualitative research. *Educational Research*, 22(2), 24-30.
- Phillips, L.J., & Osborne, J.W. (1989). Cancer patients' experiences of forgiveness therapy. *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, 23, 236-251.
- Pinar, R.W., & Reynolds, W.M. (Eds.). (1992). *Understanding curriculum as phenomenological and deconstructed text*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Pitman, M.A., Eisikovits, R.A., & Dobbert, M.L. (1989). Introduction: Learning culture. In M.A. Pitman, R.A. Eisikovits, & M.L. Dobbert (Eds.), *Culture acquisition: A holistic approach to human learning* (pp.1-8). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Pivcevic, E. (1970). *Husserl and phenomenology*. London, UK: Hutchison University Library.
- Pohjola, A. (1991). Social networks - Help or hindrance to the migrant? *International Migration*, XXIX, 435-444.
- Polkinghorne, D.E. (1991, April). *Generalization and qualitative research: Issues of external validity*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.
- Pols, E. (1992). *Radical realism: Direct knowing in science and philosophy*. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Popper, K. (1968). *Conjectures and refutations*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R.G. (1990). *Immigrant America: A portrait*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Pratt, D.D. (1991). Conceptions of self within China and the United States: Contrasting foundations for adult education. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 285-310.
- Proefriedt, W.A. (1989-1990). The immigrant or "outsider" experience as metaphor for becoming an educated person in a modern world: Mary Antin, Richard Wright and Eva Hoffman. *MELUS*, 16(2), 77-89.
- Pruitt, F.J. (1978). The adaptation of African students to American society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 2, 90-118.



- Raveau, F.H.M. (1987). Ethnicity, migrations and minorities. In *Multicultural education* (pp.102-119). Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Reason, P., & Rowan, J. (Eds.). (1981). *Human inquiry: A sourcebook of new paradigm research*. New York, NY: John Wiley.
- Rex, J. (1986). The role of class analysis in the study of race relations - A Weberian perspective. In J. Rex & D. Mason (Eds.), *Theories of race and ethnic relations* (pp.64-83). London, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Rich, P.B. (1990). *Race and empire in British politics* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Richardson, A. (1974). *British immigrants and Australia: A psychological inquiry*. Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press.
- Richie, J.E. (1981). Tama tu, tama ora: Meditating styles in Maori culture. In S. Bochner (Ed.), *The mediating person: Bridges between cultures* (pp. 221-245). Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Richmond, A. (1986). Ethnogenational variation in educational achievement. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XVIII(3), 75-89.
- Ricoeur, P. (1981). *Hermeneutics and the human sciences: Essays on language, action and interpretation* (J.B. Thompson, Ed. and Trans.). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Rogers, J., & Ward, C. (1993). Expectation - experience discrepancies and psychological adjustment during cross-cultural reentry. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 17, 185-196.
- Rohrlich, B.F., & Martin, J.N. (1991). Host country and reentry adjustment of student sojourners. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 163-182.
- Roloff, M.E. (1987). Communication and reciprocity within intimate relationships. In M.E. Roloff & G.R. Miller (Eds.), *Interpersonal processes: New directions in communication research* (pp.11-38). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Roman, L.G., & Apple, M.W. (1990). Is naturalism a move away from positivism? Materialist and feminist approaches to subjectivity in ethnographic research. In E. Eisner & A. Peshkin (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate* (pp.38-73). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Rosenthal, E. (1980). Acculturation without assimilation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 66, 275-288.
- Rotter, J.B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal vs. external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, 80, 609.
- Ruben, B.D. (1976). Assessing communication competence for intercultural adaptation. *Group and Organizational Studies*, 1, 334-354.
- Rubenstein, H. (1983). Remittances and rural underdevelopment in the English - speaking Caribbean. *Human Organization*, 42, 295-306.
- Russell, S.S. (1992). Migrant remittances and development. *International Migration*, 30, 267-288.
- Sage, C.C. (1994, August 21). Local education system not reason for success [Letter to the editor]. *Richmond News*, p.11.

- Said, E.W. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Pantheon.
- Said, E.W. (1990). In the shadow of the West: Edward Said. In R. Ferguson, W. Olander, M. Tucker, & K. Fiss (Eds.), *Discourses: Conversations in postmodern art and culture* (Interviewers P. Mariani & J. Crary) (pp.93-104). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Salomon, G. (1991). Transcending the qualitative - quantitative debate: The analytic and systemic approaches to educational research. *Educational Researcher*, 20(6), 10-18.
- Saltoun, M.D. (1984). Math and reading test anxiety among three populations: Mexicans, Hispanic immigrants, and Anglo-Saxon children. *Dissertation Abstracts*, 45 (2-B), 729.
- Sampson, E.E. (1985). The decentralization of identity: Toward a revised concept of person and social order. *American Psychologist*, 40, 1203-1211.
- Samuda, R.J., & Crawford, D.H. (1980). *Testing, assessment counselling and placement of ethnic minority students: Current methods in Ontario*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Ministry of Education.
- Samuel, T.J., & Verma, R.B.P. (1992). Immigrant children in Canada: A demographic analysis. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 24(3), 51-57.
- Sanders, J.A., Wiseman, R.L., & Matz, S.I. (1991). Uncertainty reduction in acquaintance relationships in Ghana and the United States. In S. Ting-Toomey & F. Korzeny (Eds.), *Cross-cultural interpersonal communication* (pp.79-98). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Sandiford, P., & Kerr, R. (1926). Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese children. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 17, 366-367.
- Sartre, J. (1956). *Being and nothingness*. New York, NY: Philosophical Library.
- Sartre, J. (1968). *Search for a method*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Sarup, M. (1991). *Education and the ideologies of racism*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK: Trentham Books.
- Schneider, B., & Lee, Y. (1990). A model for academic success: The school and home environment of East Asian students. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 21, 358-377.
- Schofield, J.W. (1990). Increasing generalizability of qualitative research. In E.W. Eisner & A. Peshkin (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate* (pp.201-232). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Schutz, A. (1962). *Collected papers, Vol.1: The problem of social reality* (M. Natanson, Ed.). The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Schutz, A. (1967). *The phenomenology of the social world* (G. Walsh & F. Lenhert, Trans.). Chicago, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Schutz, A. (1970). *On phenomenology and social relations: Selected writings* (H.R. Wagner, Ed.). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

- Schütze, H.G. (1989). Social and cultural adjustment of foreign students: Experience from Western Europe. In K. Ebuchi (Ed.), *Foreign students and internationalization of higher education: Proceedings of OECD/JAPAN Seminar on Higher Education and the Flow of Foreign Students* (pp.144-159). Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University.
- Scott, W.A., & Scott, R., with collaboration with Stumpf, J. (1989). *Adaptation of immigrants: Individual differences and determinants*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon Press.
- Scudder, J.R., & Mickunas, A. (1985). *Meaning, dialogue, and enculturation: Phenomenological philosophy of education*. Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology & University Press of America.
- Seamon, D. (1989). *Phenomenology + Pedagogy: A "repository for the romantic and the nostalgic?"* *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 7, 257-260.
- Searle, W., & Ward, C. (1990). The prediction of psychological and socio-cultural adjustment during cross-cultural transitions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 14, 449-464.
- Segawa, M. (1994). *Studying abroad: Some personal experience*. Unpublished manuscript, University of British Columbia, Faculty of Education, Vancouver, BC.
- Seidman, I.E. (1991). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Selye, A. (1956). *The stress of life*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Shade, B.J.R. (Ed.). (1989a). *Culture, style and the education process*. Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas.
- Shade, B.J.R. (1989b). *Culture: The key to adaptation*. In B.J.R. Shade (Ed.), *Culture, style and the education process* (pp.9-15). Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas.
- Shah, H. (1991). Communication and cross-cultural adaptation patterns among Asian Indians. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 311-321.
- Shamai, S. (1992). Ethnicity and educational achievement in Canada - 1941-1981. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 24(1), 43-57.
- Shapiro, P.N., & Penrod, S. (1986). Meta-analysis of facial recognition studies. *Psychological Bulletin*, 100, 139-156.
- Sharma, S.P. (1991). South Asian visa students in a Western Canadian university: A study in process of adjustment and 'marginal' cultural adaptation. In S.P. Sharma, A.M. Ervin, & D. Meintal (Eds.), *Immigrants and refugees in Canada: A national perspective on ethnicity, multiculturalism and cross-cultural adjustment* (pp.76-97). Saskatoon, SK: University of Saskatchewan, Dept. of Anthropology and Archeology.
- Shastri, M. (1993). Canadian experience. In P. Fanning & M. Goh (Eds.), *Home and homeland* (pp.166-175). N.P.: Addison-Wesley Canada.
- Sheridan, W. (1986). *Immigrant integration into Canadian society* (Prepared for the House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism). Ottawa, ON: Research Branch, Political and Social Affairs Division, Library of Parliament.

- Shweder, R.A., & Bourne, E.J. (1984). Does the concept of the person vary cross-culturally? In R.A. Shweder & R. Levine (Eds.), *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion* (pp.158-199). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sillars, A., & Weisberg, J. (1987). Conflict as a social skill. In M.E. Roloff & G.R. Miller (Eds.), *Interpersonal processes: New directions in communication research* (pp.140-171). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Silvera, M. (1993). Speaking of women's lives and imperialist economics: Two introductions from *Silenced*. In H. Bannerji (Ed.), *Returning the gaze: Essays on racism, feminism and politics* (pp.197-219). Toronto, ON: Sister Vision Press.
- Simard, L.M. (1981). Cross-cultural interaction: Potential invisible barriers. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 113, 171-192.
- Simoes, M., & Binder, J. (1980). A socio-psychiatric field study among Portuguese emigrants in Switzerland. *Social Psychiatry*, 15, 1-17.
- Smith, D.J., & Tomlinson, S. (1989). *The school effect: A study of multi-racial comprehensives*. London, UK: Policy Studies Institute.
- Snively, G.L. (1986). Sea of images: A study of the relationships amongst students' orientations, beliefs, and science instruction (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1986). *Dissertation Abstracts International* (Part 2), 48, 355A.
- Spiegelberg, H., with the collaboration of Schuhmann, K. (1982). *The phenomenological movement: A historical introduction* (3rd rev. and enlarged ed., 2nd impression). The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Spindler, G.D., & Spindler, L. (1987). Ethnography: An anthropological view. In G.D. Spindler (Ed.), *Educational and cultural process: Anthropological approaches* (2nd ed.) (pp.151-156). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press. (Originally published 1985, *Educational Horizons*, 63, 154-157).
- Spindler, G., & Spindler, L. (1992). Cultural process and ethnography: An anthropological perspective. In M.D. LeCompte, W.L. Millroy, & J. Preissle (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research in education* (pp.53-92). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Spradley, J.P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Stanfield, J.H. II (1994). Ethnic modelling in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp.175-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stein, J. (Ed. in Chief). (1978). *The Random House dictionary*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books.
- Stephan, W.G., & Stephan, C.W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41, 157-176.
- Stewart, D., & Mickunas, A. (1990). *Exploring phenomenology: A guide to the field and its literature* (2nd ed.). Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Stewart, D.W. (1993). *Immigration and education: The crisis and the opportunities*. New York, NY: Lexington Books.

- Stockfelt-Hoatson, B. (1982).** Education and socialization of migrants' children in Sweden with special reference to bilingualism and biculturalism. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.71-76). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.
- Stone, F.A. (1979).** *Philosophical phenomenology: A methodology for holistic educational research* (Multicultural Research Guides, no.4). Storrs, CN: Connecticut University.
- Stonequist, E.V. (1937).** *The marginal man*. New York, NY: John Wiley.
- Suárez-Orozco, M.M. (1993).** "Becoming somebody": Central American immigrants in U.S. inner-city schools. In E. Jacob & C. Jordan (Eds.), *Minority education: Anthropological perspectives* (pp.129-143). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Subba, T.B. (1990).** *Flight and adaptation: Tibetan refugees in the Darjeeling - Sikkim Himalaya*. Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Sue, S., & Okazaki, S. (1990).** Asian-American educational achievements: A phenomenon in search of an explanation. *American Psychologist*, 45, 913-920.
- Sue, S., & Sue, D. (1971).** Chinese-American personality and mental health. *Amerasia*, 1(2), 36-49.
- Sullivan, A. (1994, August 24).** Chinese book drive brings in more than 1,800 new titles. *Richmond News*, p.21.
- Sundara, R.R. (1991).** *Studies in phenomenology, hermeneutics and deconstruction*. New Delhi, India: Indian Council of Philosophical Research.
- Swann, Lord. (1993).** Education for All: A personal view. In A. Fyfe & P. Figueroa (Eds.), *Education for cultural diversity: The challenge for a new era* (pp.1-8). London, UK: Routledge.
- Sykes, I.J., & Eden, D. (1987).** Transitional stress, social support, and psychological strain. *Journal of Occupational Behavior*, 6, 293-298.
- Sylwester, R. (1990).** Expanding the range, dividing the task: Educating the human brain in an electronic society. *Educational Leadership*, 48(2), 71-78.
- Taft, R. (1985).** The psychological study of the adjustment and adaptation of immigrants in Australia. In N. Feather (Ed.), *Australian psychology: Review of research*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Taft, R. (1988).** The psychological adaptation of Soviet immigrants in Australia. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Cross-cultural adaptation: Current approaches* (International and Intercultural Communication Annual, Vol. XI) (pp.150-167). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Taft, R., & Cahill, D. (1981).** Educating immigrants in Australia. In J. Bhatnagar (Ed.), *Educating immigrants* (pp.16-46). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Tannen, D. (1986).** Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse. In D.R. Olsen, N. Torrence, & A. Hillyard (Eds.), *Literacy, language, and learning: The nature and consequences of reading and writing* (pp.124-147). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Tator, C., & Henry, F. (1991). *Multicultural education: Translating policy into practice*. Ottawa, ON: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.
- Taylor, D.A., & Altman, I. (1987). Communication in interpersonal relationships: Social penetration processes. In M.E. Roloff & G.R. Taylor (Eds.), *Interpersonal processes: New directions in communication research* (pp.257-277). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Taylor, S.J., & Bogdan, R. (1984). *Introduction to qualitative research: The search for meanings* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: John Wiley.
- Tennyson, A. Lord. (1969/1842). *Ulysses*. In F. W. Bateson (Ed.), *Longman's annotated English poets* (pp.563-566). London, UK: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Tesch, R. (1984, April). *Phenomenological studies: A critical analysis of their nature and procedures*. Paper presented at the 68th annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.
- Tharp, R.G. (1989). *Psychological variables and constants: Effects on teaching and learning in schools*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Tilly, C. (1990). Transplanted networks. In V. Yans-McLaughlin (Ed.), *Immigration reconsidered: History, sociology, and politics* (pp.79-85). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Ting-Toomey, S. (1981). Ethnic identity and close friendship in Chinese American college students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 5, 338-406.
- Ting-Toomey, S. (1991). Intimacy expressions in three cultures: France, Japan, and the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15(1), 29-46.
- Thomas, D. (1992). The social integration of immigrants in Canada. In S. Globerman (Ed.), *The immigration dilemma* (pp.211-260). Vancouver, BC: The Fraser Institute.
- Tobin, J., & Davidson, D. (1990). The ethics of empowering vs. textualizing children and teachers. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 3, 271-283.
- Todorov, T. (1984). *The conquest of America: The question of the other* (R. Harvard, Trans.). New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Tomlinson, S. (1980). The educational performance of ethnic minority children. *New Community*, 8, 213-234.
- Torbiorn, I. (1982). *Living abroad: Personal adjustment and personnel policy in the overseas setting*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Tosi, A. (1984). *Immigration and bilingual education*. N.P.: Pergamon Institute of English, Pergamon Press Canada.
- Triandis, H.C. (1990). Cross-cultural studies of individualism and collectivism. In J.J. Berman (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on motivation: Vol. 37, Cross-cultural perspectives*. Lincoln, NB: University Press of Nebraska.
- Trower, P., Bryant, B., & Argyle, M. (1978). *Social skills and mental health*. London, UK: Methuen.

- Trueba, H.T. (1983). Adjustment problems of Mexican and Mexican-American students: An anthropological study. *Learning Disability Quarterly*, 6, 395-415.
- Trueba, H.T. (1988). Peer socialization among minority students: A high school dropout prevention program. In H.T. Trueba & C. Delgado-Gaitan (Eds.), *School and society: Learning content through culture* (pp.201-218). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Trueba, H.T. (1989). *Raising silent voices: Educating the linguistic minorities for the 21st century*. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House, Harper and Row.
- Trueba, H.T., Jacobs, L., & Kirton, E. (1990). *Cultural conflict and adaptation: The case of the Hmong children in American society*. London, UK: The Falmer Press.
- Turner, R.H., & Billings, V. (1984). *The social contexts of self-feeling*. Paper presented at the International Interdisciplinary Conference on Self and Identity, Cardiff, UK.
- Tyler, R.W. (1966). *Basic principles of curriculum and instruction*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Uehara, A., & Hicks, J. (1989). Institutional responses to socio-cultural adjustment: Problems of foreign students in Japan. In K. Ebuchi (Ed.), *Foreign students and internationalization of higher education: Proceedings of OECD/JAPAN Seminar on Higher Education and the Flow of Foreign Students* (pp.129-143). Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University.
- Vago, S. (1988). *Law and society*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Vallee, F.G., & Shulman, N. (1969). The viability of French groupings outside of Quebec. In M. Wade (Ed.), *Regionalism in the Canadian community, 1867-1967* (p.95). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Valverde, S.A. (1987). A comparative study of Hispanic high school dropouts and graduates: Why do some leave school early and some finish? *Education and Urban Society*, 19, 320-329.
- van Manen, M. (1984). Practicing phenomenological writing. *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 2(1), 36-69.
- van Manen, M. (1986). *The tone of teaching*. Richmond Hill, ON: Scholastic-Tab.
- van Manen, M. (1989a). *A childhood reading*. Unpublished manuscript.
- van Manen, M. (1989b). By the light of anecdote. *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 7, 232-253.
- van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. London, UK: Althouse Press.
- van Oudenhoven, J.P., & Willemsen, T.M. (1989). Towards a useful social psychology for ethnic minorities. In J.P. van Oudenhoven & T.M. Willemsen (Eds.), *Ethnic minorities: Social psychological perspectives* (pp.237-251). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Verdonk, A.L.T. (1982). The children of immigrants in the Netherlands: Social position and implied risks for mental health. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettlement of migrant families and children* (pp.49-70). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.

- Vern, E. (1987). Multicultural education policies: A critical analysis. In *Multicultural education* (pp.26-63). Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Vogt, L.A., Jordan, C., & Tharp, R.G. (1993). Explaining school failure, producing school success: Two cases. In E. Jacob & C. Jordan (Eds.), *Minority education: Anthropological perspectives* (pp.53-65). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- von Eckartsberg, R. (1986). *Life-world experience: Existential-phenomenological research approaches in psychology*. Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology & University Press of America.
- von Eckartsberg, R. (1988). Schutz's promise for social psychology. In L. Embree (Ed.), *Worldly phenomenology: The continuing influence of Alfred Schutz on North American Human science* (Current Continental Research 013) (pp.25-48). Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology & University Press of America.
- Wachtel, P.I. (1972). Cognitive style and style of adaptation. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 35, 779-785.
- Wagner, H.R. (1983). *Phenomenology of consciousness and sociology of the life-world: An introductory study*. Edmonton, AB: The University of Alberta Press.
- Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. (1993). Where's the "culture" in cross-cultural transition? Comparative studies of sojourner adjustment. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 24, 221-249.
- Ward, C., & Searle, W. (1991). The impact of value discrepancies and cultural identity on psychological and sociocultural adjustment of sojourners. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 209-225.
- Warren, R.L. (1987). The school and its community context: The methodology of a field study. In G.D. Spindler (Ed.), *Education and cultural process: Anthropological approaches* (2nd ed.) (pp.120-135). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Wax, M.L. (1980). Paradoxes of "consent" to the practice of fieldwork. *Social Problems*, 27, 272-283.
- Webb, R.B. (1976). *The presence of the past: John Dewey and Alfred Schutz on the genesis and organization of experience*. Gainesville, FL: The University of Florida Press.
- Wehlage, G. (1981). The purpose of generalization in field-study research. In T. Popkewitz & R. Tabachnik (Eds.), *The study of schooling* (pp.211-226). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Weinberg, A.A. (1961). *Migration and belonging*. The Hague, Netherlands. Martinus Nijhoff.
- Weissman, D., & Furnham, A. (1987). The expectations and experiences of a sojourning temporary resident abroad: A preliminary study. *Human Relations*, 40, 313-336.
- Weissman, M.M., & Klerman, G.L. (1977). Sex differences and the epidemiology of depression. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 34, 98-111.
- Werner, W. (1992). Contradictions in global education. In D. Henley & J. Young (Eds.), *Canadian perspectives on critical pedagogy* (pp.77-93). Winnipeg, MB: Critical Pedagogy Network, University of Manitoba.



- Westermeyer, J., Neider, J., & Vang, T.F. (1984). Acculturation and mental health. A study of Hmong refugees at 1.5 and 3.5 years postmigration. *Social Science and Medicine*, 18, 87-93.
- Whyte, W.F. (1982). Interviewing in field research. In R.G. Burgess (Ed.), *Field research: A sourcebook and field manual* (pp.111-122). London, UK: Allen & Unwin. (Originally published, 1960).
- Wiggins, O.P., & Schwartz, M.A. (1988). Psychiatric diagnosis and the phenomenology of typification. In L. Embree (Ed.), *Worldly phenomenology: The continuing influence of Alfred Schutz on North American human science* (Current Research 013) (pp.203-230). Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology & University Press of America.
- Willinsky, J. (1994). After 1492-1992: A post-colonial supplement for the Canadian curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 26, 613-629.
- Wilson, D.J. (1984). Multicultural programs in Canadian education. In R.J. Samuda, J.W. Berry, & M. La Ferrière (Eds.), *Multiculturalism in Canada: Social and educational perspectives* (pp.62-77). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Wilson, S. (1977). The use of ethnographic techniques in educational research. *Review of Educational Research*, 47, 245-265.
- Winchie, D.B., & Carment, D.W. (1989). Migration and motivation: The migrant's perspective. *International migration Review*, XXIII(1), 96-104.
- Witkin, H.A. (1976). Foreword. In J.W. Berry, *Human ecology and cognitive style: Comparative studies in cultural and psychological adaptation*. New York, NY: Sage Publications.
- Witkin, H.A., & Berry, J.W. (1975). Psychological differentiation in cross-cultural perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 6, 4-87.
- Witkin, H.A., Dyk, R.B., Faterson, H.F., Goodenough, D.R., & Karp, S.A. (1962). *Psychological differentiation*. New York, NY: John Wiley.
- Witte, K. (1993). A theory of cognition and negative affect: Extending Gudykunst and Hammer's theory of uncertainty and anxiety reduction. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 17, 197-215.
- Wolcott, H.F. (1985). On ethnographic intent. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 21, 187-203.
- Wolcott, H.R. (1987). The teacher as enemy. In G.D. Spindler (Ed.), *Education and cultural process: Anthropological approaches* (2nd ed.). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Wolcott, H.F. (1988). "Problem finding" in qualitative research. In H.T. Trueba & C. Delgado-Gaitan (Eds.), *School and society: Learning content through culture* (pp.11-35). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1990). On seeking - and rejecting - validity in qualitative research. In E. Eisner & A. Peshkin (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate* (pp.121-152). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Wolcott, H.F. (1992). Posturing in qualitative inquiry. In M.D. Le Compte, W.L. Millroy, & J. Preissle (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research in education* (pp.3-52). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

- Wolfgang, A., & Wolofsky, Z. (1991). The ability of new Canadians to decode gestures generated by Canadians of Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 47-64.
- Wong, L.L., & Netting, N. (1992). Business immigration to Canada: Social impact and racism. In V. Satzewich (Ed.), *Deconstructing a nation: Immigration, multiculturalism, and racism in 90s Canada* (pp.93-121). Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Woodhall, M. (1989). Specific measures and programmes for foreign students: Some lessons from British experience. In K. Ebuchi (Ed.), *Foreign students and internationalization of higher education: Proceedings of OECD/JAPAN Seminar on Higher Education and the Flow of Foreign Students* (pp.91-115). Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University.
- Wright, C. (1992). Early education: Multicultural primary school classrooms. In D. Gill, B. Mayor, & M. Blair (Eds.), *Racism and education: Structures and strategies* (pp.5-28). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Wu, Z. (1991). The lived experience of being a foreigner. *Phenomenology + Pedagogy*, 9, 267-275.
- Yans-McLaughlin, V. (1990). Metaphors of self in history: Subjectivity, oral narrative, and immigration studies. In V. Yans-McLaughlin (Ed.), *Immigration reconsidered: History, sociology, and politics* (pp.254-290). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Yee, M. (1987). Chinese Canadian women: Our common struggle. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 19, 174-184.
- Yee, M. (1993). Finding the way home through issues of gender, race and class. In H. Bannerji (Ed.), *Returning the gaze: Essays on racism, feminism and politics* (pp.3-37). Toronto, ON: Sister Vision Press.
- Yelaja, S.A., & O'Neill, B. (1990). Introduction. In S.A. Yelaja (Ed.), *Proceedings of The Settlement and Integration of New Immigrants to Canada Conference, February 17-19, 1988* (pp.7-26). Waterloo, ON: Faculty of Social Work & Centre for Social Welfare Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University.
- Young, B., & Tardiff, C. (1992). Interviewing: Two sides of the story. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 5, 135-145.
- Yu, A. (1991). Reflections on immigrant education. *ATA Magazine*, 71(4), 35-38.
- Yum, J.O. (1987). Korean philosophy and communication. In D.L. Kincaid (Ed.), *Communication theory from Eastern and Western perspectives*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Zautra, A.J., & Reich, J.W. (1983). Life events and perceptions of life quality: Developments in a two-factor approach. *Journal of community Psychology*, 11, 121-132.
- Ziegler, S., & Michelson, W. (1981). Complementary methods of data gathering in literate, urban populations. *Human Organization*, 40, 323-329.
- Zimmerman, D.H., & Wieder, D.C. (1977). The diary-diary-interview method. *Urban Life*, 5, 479-498.
- Zwingman, C.A.A., & Gunn, A.D.G. (1983). *Uprooting and health: Psycho-social problems of students from abroad*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization, Div. of Mental Health.

## APPENDIX I

## What is so great about love?

What is so great about love? I pondered and questioned myself. Love makes the wisest person blind. Love can ruin everything you have. Love is never logical or predictable. Love is always your enemy. And once you fail in love, it is the most heart-breaking thing you will ever want to experience. So can you tell me what is so great about love?

But do you know "'tis better to have loved and lost, then never to have lost at all?" The process of experiencing human being's precious love chemistry is so exhilarating that it is really worth a try. The feeling of caring for an other and being cared for can buoy your spirit. By just looking at the special one, you will be so grateful to God's gift, love, that you will be really delightful you have the chance to come to this world to experience the magic and miracle of love.

Cressida once said in *Troilus and Cressida* "to be wise and love exceeds man's might." True, you will not be able to concentrate on anything when you are terrible in love. Every time you close your eyes and try to think, you can only see your lover's charming smiles before you. And yes, she is the only answer you will ever want.

Unfortunately, "the courses of true love never run smooth". Once you fail your love, it is be the most hear-breaking thing you ever want to experience. How promising it is at the very beginning but then everything is so hopeless and scary dark that you wish all of this was really just a nightmare. You fell helpless and want to find a place to hide, to hide your fragile emotions forever. It hurts the most when she tells you she does not want to be with you anymore or she does not feel comfortable going out with you. Everything is over. It is the END and you will close your heart up forever.

What can you do? As Lady Macbeth sadly said "what is done cannot be undone." Everyone is a hemophiliac when we are poked by the thorns of roses. The more you care the deeper you will fall, falling despondently and hopelessly into the bottomless and dark hole where you will not be able to grab anything every time you reach out your hands desperately. Then you will

have to heal your heart, your soul, and your spirit, piece by piece. The more you are hurt, the more you will cherish your next love but you will have to think a thousand times the next time you want to hand your heart over to someone for whom you feel deeply, because you will never forget the intense pain of mending another shattered heart.

What happens next? I do not know and I do not want to know. The only thing I know is try not to look at love with your eyes but with your minds.

This is why love is so great to me. It polishes my mind every time I cry. The tears clean my thoughts and the next time I hear a heart-breaking love song I would feel deeper, not only for the composer and myself, but for everyone around us who shares the common believe with us, love.

At the end, I wish love would gradually turn every sorrow and suffering hearts into truly loved and mature souls.