

**GLOBAL BREADWINNERS IN CANADA: ROLE STRAIN,
ANTICIPATORY SOCIALIZATION, RELIGIOSITY/SPIRITUALITY AND
SOCIAL SUPPORT AS DETERMINANTS OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL
ADJUSTMENT OF SOUTHERN SUDANESE MEN**

by

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Abstract

Very little is known about the acculturation of African refugees in Canada. This study examined the experiences and determinants of the psychosocial adjustment of Sudanese men (n=185) who are resettling in the lower mainland of British Columbia.

Findings indicate that the men use two main coping resources to ease adjustment: social support and religiosity/spirituality. The former is predictive of improved social adjustment and the latter greatly ameliorates psychological adjustment.

Additionally, the role strain experienced from supporting family members in Africa financially while resettling is examined. This study shows that greater role strain does not exacerbate the adjustment difficulties of Sudanese men, but socio demographic variables such as length of residence and language proficiency do affect adjustment. Men who have resided in Canada for longer showed improved social adjustment and those who were more proficient in English had adjusted better psychologically. This study further discusses the economic insecurity of Sudanese refugees, their family composition, the importance of a cohesive ethnic community in adjusting to life in Canada and various other aspects of the experience of this group of newcomers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and background of the study

Very little is known about the experience of African refugees in Canada (Danso & Grant, 2000). The adjustment of this refugee population occurs on two levels: psychological and social. The former type of adjustment refers to the mental health and self-concept of refugees whereas the latter examines the ability to connect socially with others. Adjustment is viewed in the context of the cross-cultural transition from Africa to North-America. Although resettlement represents the cessation of those factors that necessitated the forced migration of African refugees, it also brings with it new challenges and obstacles, such as learning English, acculturating to Canadian norms, obtaining adequate housing and employment, accessing social services, and understanding complex legal systems (Danso & Grant, 2000).

The current study addresses the unique experiences of Sudanese refugees in the lower mainland of BC. In addition to the aforementioned stressors experienced by refugees, Sudanese men experience role strain from being a global breadwinner (i.e., a refugee or immigrant who provides financially for family members who live in his/her country of origin). In enacting the global breadwinner role, refugees may experience financial role strain. Financial obligations to family members in Sudan leave fewer resources for the global breadwinners' resettlement in Canada. This combination of financial obligations is hypothesized to create barriers to the successful adjustment of this refugee population.

Social support/network size is proposed to affect the relationship between the strain experienced from enacting the global breadwinner role and psychosocial adjustment. Anticipatory socialization, religiosity/spirituality and socio demographic variables, such as educational level and income are examined as additional variables that may influence

psychosocial adjustment. The dependent variable, psychosocial adjustment is here used as an umbrella term, denoting a group of phenomena operationalized as the prevalence of intercultural competence concerns along the social dimension of adjustment and acculturative distress along the psychological dimension of adjustment. Both role strain and anticipatory socialization are concepts borrowed from role transition theory and examined within the context of the acculturation of global breadwinners. The use of the dependent variable and all other variables is based on acculturation theory and research.

The current study addresses a gap in the literature, because the financial strain associated with being a global breadwinner has not been examined as an indicator of psychosocial adjustment in refugee populations. Further, the inclusion of role transition theory as a theoretical frame of reference for the adjustment of refugee claimants is unique in the literature.

Canadian refugee policy

The following section briefly reviews Canadian refugee policy and the diaspora of Southern Sudanese refugee men.

The Immigration Act of 1976 outlined the fundamental principles of non-discrimination in immigration policy, the cooperation between all levels of government in the resettlement of refugees and Canada's international humanitarian obligations under the United Nations Convention of 1951 (Knowles, 1997). The Canada Immigration Plan for 2002 estimated that between 23,000 to 30,400 refugees would be allowed to enter Canada. The province of British Columbia alone receives 1,200 convention refugees annually. In 1999, Vancouver received 2,937 applications from refugees and immigrants from Africa and the Middle East. Of the refugee applicants, 1.64 % or 399 came from

Sudan. In 1997 and 1998, these numbers were 678 and 614 respectively (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2000).

Citizenship and Immigration Canada distinguishes among three classes of refugees. *Convention refugees* include refugees who are being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, political opinion, nationality or membership in a particular social group. Individuals who fall into this category are eligible for government assistance as opposed to refugees categorized as *country of asylum class*. These persons are affected by civil war, armed conflict or massive violations of human rights and have to be sponsored privately or support themselves in Canada. Lastly, the *source country class* is comprised of refugees “who have been detained or imprisoned and are suffering serious deprivations of the right of freedom of expression, the right of dissent or the right to engage in trade union activity” (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2002). Refugees falling into this class are also eligible for government assistance.

The Canadian government provides basic services to sponsored refugees. These include meeting refugees at the port of entry, providing temporary housing and assisting with finding permanent housing, providing basic household items, financial orientations and the referral to other federal and provincial programs for refugees. Immigration loans further assist with the cost of medical examinations abroad, travel expenses and the cost of travel and immigration documents (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2002).

Individuals and organizations can sponsor refugees privately, but need to provide settlement services for one year, consisting of the provision of shelter, food and clothing. Sponsorship is often initiated by official Sponsorship Agreement Holders (SAH), groups of five or more Canadian citizens or permanent residents, and community sponsors who

are financially able to support refugees in Canada. Finally, Joint Assistance Sponsorship (JAS) is an option for individuals who would otherwise not be considered for resettlement. An application for resettlement has to include a referral from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or an undertaking for private sponsorship (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2002).

The Sudanese men under investigation primarily fall into the category of *country of asylum class*. This classification includes people “who are outside their country of citizenship or habitual residence. Refugees in this class are seriously and personally affected by civil war; armed conflict; or massive violations of human rights” (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2002).

Most Sudanese refugees fled to African countries along the Sudanese border (Egypt in particular) and have spent some time living in refugee camps. However, not all of the Southern Sudanese seeking refuge are able to cross into another country to apply for resettlement. Sudanese citizens who live in urban areas may be prohibited from leaving their places of residence by government soldiers who set up checkpoints around the periphery of cities. Hence, relatives already abroad may organize sponsorship for those constrained by government forces (J. Bartel, personal communication, March 31, 2003).

Background of Southern Sudanese refugees

According to the World Refugee Survey (U.S. Committee for Refugees, 2001) Sudan presented the third largest source of refugees in 2000. More than 460, 000 people were displaced in 2000 alone, with most of them finding refuge in camps along the Sudanese border. During seventeen years of warfare nearly 3 million Sudanese have died in the armed conflict between the North and the South, 4 million have been internally displaced

and at least 2.4 million Sudanese needed food and aid in 2000 (U.S. Committee for Refugees, 2001). Recently the Sudanese government has given in to international pressure and signed an agreement that grants Southern Sudan the right to political, cultural and economic self-determination within the next 5 years. However, the genocide occurring in Dafur seriously draws into question the government's commitment to peace and ethnic diversity in the Sudan.

Southern Sudan's quest for social, cultural, economic and political self-determination lies at the heart of the conflict currently observed in Sudan (J. Bartel, personal communication, June 13th, 2002). Prior to 1958, when the Northern Sudanese sectarian parties drafted a constitution for an Arab Islamic state and declared Arabic the official language of Sudan, Southern Sudan fought for a federal system of government and had retained English as its official language (Alier, 1992).

With the formation of an Islamic state and subsequent introduction of an Islamic penal code all political dissenters were threatened with exile, torture and political and cultural persecution. In 1989, after decades of internal conflict, a rudimentary three- year multi-party democracy was overthrown by the military regime of Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir. Within hours political leaders were arrested, the Constitution was suspended, political parties were dissolved and trade unions, the independent press and all secular associations were closed (Amnesty International, 1995). After the coup, the National Islamic Front (NIF) strategically placed thousands of their supporters in key positions thus "assuring its supremacy in the judiciary, security services, armed forces, trade unions, professional societies, and education and communications systems" (Viorst, 1995, p. 55). Moreover, the NIF assumed dominion of the economy by enabling its

supporters to control banks, foreign trade, and a large percentage of agricultural and industrial production. The entire country fell under a “program of Islamic indoctrination” (Viorst, 1995, p. 56).

Violations of human rights are experienced in most segments of Sudanese society. In particular, the South has become the political battlefield of the National Islamic Front (NIF) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). Although the SPLA continues to fight for Southern independence, SPLA soldiers also raid Southerners of their livelihoods, stealing cattle and occupying villages. Southern Sudanese civilians are put at tremendous risk when villages are being exploited, as the government forces will inflict severe punishments on those civilians believed to be assisting the SPLA. Punishments include flogging, forced amputations and death, most notably by hanging or shooting (Amnesty International, 1995). The interpretation of the Islamic penal code by the Arabic government is deemed by many as severely punitive and inhumane. However, proponents of the NIF maintain that the Muslim majority in Sudan insists on the administration and cultural significance of the Islamic penal code known as the Sharia laws (Viorst, 1995).

It is not uncommon that Sudanese government planes bomb schools, churches and hospitals in Southern Sudan (U.S. Committee for Refugees, 2001). Government helicopters were observed to shoot Southern civilians at point-blank range while collecting food provided by the UN World Food program (Reeves, personal communication, 2002). Other organizations, such as UNICEF and Operation Lifeline Sudan have reported tremendous, often life-threatening difficulties in transporting food and medical supplies to the impoverished South (Amnesty International, 1995).

Although conflict between the North and South had been raging since Sudan's independence in 1956 from Britain, the conflict intensified after large reservoirs of oil were discovered in the South in 1978. The South had always been a rich source of natural resources, yet detection of oil exacerbated the economic dimension of the armed conflict as Southerners could clearly envision economic independence from the North while the North wanted to ensure its share of the oil profits (Amnesty International, 1995).

During the fierce war in the South, millions of Southerners were displaced, especially after conflict escalated in the late 80's and early 90's. Most fled to refugee camps in Ethiopia as long as the political climate was stable in Ethiopia and many spent months and years in camps in Kenya and Uganda. Many orphaned children traveled to the camps alone, were abducted and forced to take up arms or faced starvation during their travels. An entire generation of Southern youth has grown up in refugee camps and known no peace in their homeland. Many refugees died on their journey to camps along the Sudanese border, some died in the camps, mostly due to inadequately treated infections. A select few successfully applied for resettlement in Canada and other refugee-receiving countries (Amnesty International, 1995).

According to the Immigration Overview of 1999 (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2000), Vancouver received 1,568 refugees or 6.34 % of all refugees coming to Canada in 1999. Refugees from Africa and the Middle East present the largest proportion of refugees in Canada (34.74%). It has been noted that African refugees were drawn to Canada because they had heard of its favourable living condition (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993).

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Anderson (1994) suggests that most acculturation models do not capture the complexity and idiosyncrasy of cross-cultural adaptations and points instead at the utility of a model rooted in the socio psychological adjustment literature. Within this context migration is regarded as a potentially stressful life-event that requires the achievement of congruence between the person and the environment. Acculturation is further described as an inter-active process, meaning that the host culture places demands on the individual while satisfying needs at the same time.

In the current study, acculturation is conceptualized according to Anderson (1994) who refers to the construct of cross-cultural adaptation as a “common process of environmental adaptation” (p. 293). She regards acculturation as a “cyclical and recursive process of overcoming obstacles and solving problems (p.293)”. Within this framework, acculturation entails re-socialization, a process that is facilitated or hindered by various individual and culture-level phenomena (Berry, 1998).

The current study examines individual level variables that affect the acculturation-induced adjustment difficulties of Sudanese refugees. The construct psychosocial adjustment is conceptually congruent with the outcome measure (cultural adjustment difficulties) and the terms are used interchangeably in the study. Other authors have operationalized psychosocial adjustment as cultural adjustment difficulties (Orozco, 1995) and used the Cultural Adjustment Difficulties Checklist (Sodowsky, & Lai, 1997) to examine the adjustment of Hispanic immigrants.

This chapter examines the existing literature on the psychosocial adjustment of refugees and immigrants and the variables that affect adjustment. Psychosocial

adjustment is examined in the context of acculturation and refers to the psychological and social dimensions of adjustment. The former primarily examines the incidence of depression, low self-esteem and other psychological indices of maladjustment and the latter dimension taps into difficulties with social integration and biculturalism.

Psychosocial adjustment is conceptualized as the key component of acculturation.

Psychosocial adjustment

Black (2001) indicates that the refugee experience signifies “uprootedness and exile, {and} it often implies a dependence on humanitarian intervention and a rupture of ‘normal’ social, economic and cultural relations” (p.63). Rumbaut (1997) further realizes that migration and adaptation present highly complex social processes that must be seen within the context of the immigrants’ and refugees’ specific vulnerabilities and resources, modes of exit and entry, and legal status. Rumbaut (1997) points to the salience of political capital (i.e., the legal status of the refugee or immigrant), financial and human capital (i.e., social class resources), and social capital (i.e., family and community structures that provide a sense of cohesiveness and belonging) as variables that culminate in social advantages or disadvantages during resettlement.

The experience of refugees is different from other immigrant categories in that it is characterized by forced migration, blocked options for a safe return home and the “psychological ramifications of exile and coerced homelessness” (Rumbaut, 1997, p.13). In addition, many refugees have experienced physical trauma. In one study of 53 African refugees in Montreal, 40% of respondents had experienced torture first hand (Rousseau, Mekki-Berrada, & Moreau, 2001). Consequently, refugees are at increased risk for some mental health disorders, most notably post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and

anxiety disorders. According to the refugee mental health project undertaken by Ganesan (2001), the types of mental health concerns identified by refugee servicing agencies in Vancouver were depression/suicidal behaviour (98%), anxiety (84%), posttraumatic stress (80%), alcohol and drug misuse (42%), psychosis (31%) and adjustment problems (13%).

Refugees face a unique set of stressors during resettlement. Social realities, such as poverty, homelessness, and gender and racial oppression are thought to mediate depression and maladjustment through exacerbating feelings of hopelessness and a lack of control over life's outcomes (Kaiser, Katz, & Shaw, 1998). Likewise, the incidence of depression is higher in individuals who have experienced political disruption, war and natural disasters (Kaiser et al., 1998) and thus refugee populations are prone to depressive symptoms. Although research on the mental health outcomes of African refugees is relatively rare, the prevalence of anxiety, depression and PTSD is extremely high among refugees from Senegal and Sierra Leone. The prevalence of depression of refugees residing in refugee camps in the Gambia, for instance, was 58.8% and 85.5% respectively (Fox & Tang, 2000; Tang & Fox, 2001). Paardekooper, de Jong and Hermanns (1999) interviewed 193 Sudanese refugee children and compared them to a group of Ugandan children who had not experienced trauma. Results indicated that Sudanese children reported significantly more PTSD-like complaints, behavioural problems and depressive symptoms

Other researchers have examined factors that ease or hinder adjustment. For instance, Ying and Akutsu (1997) studied the psychological adjustment of 2,232 Southeast Asian refugees in California and reported that a sense of coherence (i.e., the perception that life

is comprehensible, manageable, and meaningful) eased psychological adjustment. In particular, Ying et al. distinguish resistance deficits from resistance resources. They argue that certain factors aid resiliency while others make it more difficult to adjust. The following variables were identified as resistance deficits: being male, the experience of trauma, and cultural traditionalism. Resistance resources included a younger age at arrival, longer residence in the country of resettlement, higher education, employment, greater English proficiency, and living in an area with greater co-ethnic density. Apart from these factors, some acculturation strategies appear to ease adjustment. For instance, the acculturation strategy of integration was related to higher adjustment scores in a sample of sojourners in New Zealand (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). However, Lai (1993) found that acculturation level accounted for only 1% of the variance in his study of the adjustment of Asian International people and Asian Americans. Lastly, Orozco (1995) examined the psychosocial adjustment of Mexican-American students and reported that adjustment scores were unrelated to socioeconomic status, educational status, gender and acculturation level. However, Hispanic group membership did increase adjustment scores. To sum up, Kaiser et al. (1998) postulate that "each individual's combination of ethnic, socio-economic, political, religious, and cultural backgrounds, together with their experience and distinct personalities combine to formulate a personal worldview or schema (p. 178)". This schema, in turn, determines to a large degree how symptoms of maladjustment are manifested.

While psychological indices of maladjustment often focus on the incidence of depression and low self-esteem, the most common indicators of social adjustment are the ability to connect socially with others and the ability to adapt a bicultural attitude and/or

to become interculturally competent. Difficulties in the social sphere of adjustment include intercultural competence concerns, i.e., a preoccupation with cultural, social, career and academic competence in the country of resettlement (Lai, 1993; Sodowsky & Lai, 1997). Social competence includes "one's comfort level while interacting with a group of people, ability to be assertive, ability to have close friends, and the ability to develop friendships with White Americans, people from one's own cultural group, and people from other cultural groups." (Sodowsky & Lai, 1997, p.228). This concept is closely linked to Taylor's description of cultural competence. Taylor (1994) defines individuals who are interculturally competent as those "who can work and live effectively with others in different cultures (p.389)". Intercultural competence is described as the process of developing new meaning structures, likely as the result of the critical evaluation of previously held assumptions and meaning structures, because during resettlement immigrants and refugees attempt to integrate the meaning structures of two, often pervasively, different cultures.

Rumbaut (1997) refers to this phenomenon as contextual dissonance. Taylor proposes intercultural competence as a variable that should be taken into account when examining how people cope with such contextual dissonance. Cultural competency likely facilitates acculturation and the integration of two world-views. For this reason, training in cultural competence is suggested as part of orientation programs for international sojourners, i.e., men and women who relocate for work. Similarly, Hullett and White (2001) documented the importance of providing sojourners with a heightened social understanding of the new culture by encouraging positive stereotypes, perceptions of cultural similarity and favorable contact with the host culture upon arrival. Lastly, Zakaria (2000) proposed

several individual attributes that ease sojourner's adjustment and promote success abroad. These include intercultural competence, cognitive flexibility, adaptability, tolerance for ambiguity, non-ethnocentrism, cultural sensitivity, positive self-image and extroversion.

Structural barriers to adjustment and successful role enactment

The Southern Sudanese community in New Westminster has become larger and more cohesive over the years and presents an interesting example of adaptation and acculturation within an extended social network of real and quasi-kin. Most refugees are men and have come from Southern Sudan to escape cultural and religious persecution and to provide for families back in Sudan (or other African countries where family members reside). These men typically live with each other and are willing to take on any type of work in order to support their families back home (also see Farwell, 2001). Ideally they are hoping to return home or save enough money to sponsor relatives. However, the Sudanese refugees face several structural barriers to the successful enactment of their roles as global breadwinners and newcomers to Canada. For instance, discrimination by prospective employers has commonly been noted within the community (personal communication, 2000) and presents a structural barrier to obtaining employment and adjusting in Canada. This type of racial discrimination of employers has been noted by Henry and Ginzberg (1993) in their examination of social inequality in Canada. Some of the men find that they do not get called for job interviews when stating their real surnames on their resumes, and thus have resorted to using mock Anglo-Saxon last names (Personal communication, 2000). This has increased their probabilities of being invited for an interview. Moreover, police may target the Sudanese when a crime has been committed. One man was strip-searched without a warrant after a shooting in

New Westminster, a high crime area. Police even demanded that his two-year old daughter be strip-searched. The man was not aware of his rights and complied.

Another structural barrier of this group of refugees is poverty status. The poverty rates of immigrants in Canada are higher than those of nationals and poverty is especially pronounced for visible minorities living in larger cities (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001). Second-generation immigrants had higher poverty rates than first-generation immigrants, thus indicating that the lower economic performance of immigrants appears to be a multi-generational phenomenon. The poverty rate for immigrants in Vancouver in 1991 was 20.9% as opposed to 14.7% for nationals. Across Canada, the poverty rate for black immigrants was determined at 29.4 % (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001).

Poverty rates increase with age of the immigrant at time of entry, for instance immigrants between the ages of 20-24 exhibit a rate of 15.6% and those aged 45-49 a rate of 28.6 %. The most important predictors of poverty were human capital, such as education, age and work experience and assimilation factors, such as age at time of immigration and knowledge of the official languages (Kazemipur & Halli, 2001). Those immigrants and refugees who were the most educated, had resided in Canada the longest and had knowledge of the official languages were less likely to experience poverty.

Moreover, during an investigation of the experience of African refugees in Calgary, Danso and Grant (2000) reported that Africans had lower incomes than the Canadian-born population despite high rates of labour force participation (73%) and high levels of education. These findings clearly indicate the high incidence of underemployment within the African population in Calgary. In addition, Basavarajappa and Jones (1999) examined Canadian census data and determined that male immigrants from visible minorities who

are single and have resided in Canada for shorter periods of time are especially prone to poverty.

In accordance with these findings, the Sudanese community can be described as relatively poor. It is likely that most participants have experienced discrimination and poverty as interrelated structural barriers to fulfilling the global breadwinner role. Poverty status will be assessed in the current study. However, racism and discrimination are such pervasive phenomena for this population that their occurrence is fairly homogenous across respondents and will not be addressed as a variable in this study.

A comprehensive understanding of the experience of Sudanese refugees in the lower mainland of British Columbia must include an examination of additional variables that may facilitate or hinder adjustment and the successful enactment of the global breadwinner role. The following section discusses some of the individual level variables that have been linked empirically to acculturation and adjustment outcomes.

Educational status has been linked to improved adjustment outcomes in various immigrant and refugee populations. For instance, in an examination of the experience of Vietnamese-Americans, years of education predicted both the use of the acculturation strategy of integration and higher self-esteem (Pham & Harris, 2001). Higher education was also related to increased self-esteem in a sample of Latina women (Flaskerud & Uman, 1996) and the decreased depression scores of Korean immigrant wives (Rhee, 1993).

Place of origin often plays an important role in adjustment. Many of the respondents in the current study come from the province of Equatoria. Equatorians are predominantly Christian and often more educated than other Southern Sudanese, primarily because

tribes in this region do not rely on agropastoralism for survival and are more stationary, thus enabling children and adolescents to continue with their education in one location (J. Bartel, personal communication, 2002). Compared to other Southern Sudanese, such as the Nuer and Dinka, who raise cattle and often move in order to find pastures for their livestock, Equatorians are oriented toward city-life and higher education. Most Equatorians come from semi-urban or urban areas, a factor thought to ameliorate the adjustment to a large metropolitan city such as Vancouver and the cities surrounding Vancouver (Canada). In contrast, rural Southern Sudanese, such as the Nuer, face dramatic challenges when resettling in Western urban centers (Holtzman, 2000). Nevertheless, the more educated Equatorians likely will have “acquired a professional status on which to base their social standing” (Jacob, 1992, p.23) as opposed to refugees of rural origin and thus may experience a demotion in social status during resettlement. This trend was apparent with Ghanaian refugees in Toronto. The majority (80.7%) of refugees did not hold positions equivalent to those occupied back home and in line with their educational background. Only 4.3% of highly educated respondents held administrative positions. Most were employed as unskilled labourers (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993). With the sample of Ghanaian refugees, dissatisfaction with life was mostly a function of downward socio-economic mobility, discrimination, the long immigration process and feelings of homesickness. Men were particularly dissatisfied with downward occupational mobility (Opoku-Dapaah, 1993).

Length of residence presents another reliable indicator of adjustment. Gill and Vega (1996) reported a curvilinear relationship between acculturation conflict and length of residence in their sample of Cuban and Nicaraguan families in the United States.

Acculturation conflicts were low in the first 2 years and highest between 3-10 years of residence. In addition, Pham and Harris (2001) discovered that the longer refugees resided in the U.S., the less likely they were to use separation as an acculturation strategy and to suffer from lower self-esteem. According to Berry (1998), the integration of both cultural norms, i.e., a bicultural acculturation strategy renders the most positive adjustment outcomes.

Rhee (1993) found an inverse relationship between number of years in the United States and depressive symptoms for Korean immigrant wives. However, depression and anxiety scores increased with length of stay for young Vietnamese refugees and their parents in Finland (Liebkind, 1993). Shapiro et al. (1999) found the youngest generation of Vietnamese refugees to be the most acculturated and less likely to suffer from depression compared to their parents and grandparents. However, the youngest generation also reported the least life satisfaction and the most family conflicts. In summary, the effects of length of residence on psychosocial adjustment appear unclear in the literature.

Employment status and income are relevant variables when predicting adjustment. Opoku-Dapaah (1993) reported high employment rates for Ghanaians in Toronto (78%). Respondents were primarily employed in industrial floor activities (62.2%) and taxi driving (20.5%). Only 4.3 % of the respondents held white-collar jobs despite high levels of education among this group of refugees. Educated Ghanaians reported difficulties in finding employment congruent with their qualifications. The majority of respondents earned less than \$ 15,000 a year (40.7%) and 36.7% earned between \$15, 000 and \$19,999 annually. Only 6% received welfare benefits. Women earned less than men due

to language barriers and gender discrimination in salary levels. Similar results were expected for the target population in the current study. Income is a pertinent variable as it determines the degree of financial role strain the refugees are experiencing.

Acculturation is often measured by determining *language proficiency and use*. Language proficiency is typically a prerequisite for employment and financial stability in the country of resettlement. The current sample speaks English very well with the exception of rural Southern Sudanese who may not have had formal education (Joseph Bartel, personal communication, 2003). An Arabic version of the questionnaire was available for respondents with low English proficiency.

Anticipatory Socialization

Anticipatory socialization, i.e., the “patterned but often unplanned learning of a role in advance of assuming it” (Laosa, 1998, p.142) has not been examined in the context of acculturation. Most studies that utilize this concept were conducted before or during the 1980’s such as Kremer and Harpaz’s (1984) examination of the pre-retirement attitudes of Israeli workers and Korte and Sylvester’s (1982) study of the prevalence of anticipatory socialization in a Scottish student population. More recently, anticipatory socialization was examined in a quantitative longitudinal study of the transition of young female educators from vocational training to practice. Anticipatory socialization protected them against disappointments on the job and was related to their improved self-confidence (Dippelhofer-Stiem, 2001). In another study, U.S. teaching assistants anticipated four norms of undergraduate teaching prior to entering graduate studies. Anticipatory socialization was illuminated as the social mechanism that prepared graduate students for their roles as teachers (Braxton, Lambert, & Clark, 1995).

Anticipatory socialization has neither been used in acculturation research nor in association with role strain or psychosocial adjustment.

Within cross-cultural research the concept most closely related to anticipatory socialization appears to be experiential training or intercultural competence (Taylor, 1994). Both concepts refer to skills and/or attitudes that were acquired prior to making the cross-cultural transition, were assumed to ease the transition into a new role and were mostly facilitated through cultural orientation programs (Goldstein & Smith, 1999), adequate role models and positive contact with the host-culture upon arrival (Hullet & White, 2001).

Social Support

As a result of chain migration, the Sudanese community has grown over the years and Sudanese cultural industries have flourished. The community has established a Sudanese association, a newsletter, sports teams and various other organizations and clubs. Community gatherings are common and most members of the community know and actively support each other. For instance, a Southern Sudanese man in his thirties was hospitalized for kidney failure but had no family members to visit him. Without hesitation, several men from his tribe took turns to visit him at the hospital and encouraged community members to pray for him during his hospital stay. When the man passed on several men took over funeral arrangements and money was pooled to pay for some of the funeral expenses. Community members who had never known the deceased either offered their time or money to make sure the Sudanese community member was given an appropriate funeral ceremony (J. Bartel, personal communication, 2003). This example illuminates a strong sense of social support within the community.

A strong social support network is central to the African-American worldview and is manifested in strong ties with family, extended kin and the African-American community at large. Individual identity is relational and strongly influenced by the interplay between the individual and the community (Wiggins Frame & Braun Williams, 1996).

The significance of social support and family networks has also been examined in the context of cross-cultural transitions. For instance, African refugees in Montreal described family as an “anchor of emotion and identity” and the continuity provided by resettlement in the presence of other family members buffered against adverse mental health outcomes (Rousseau, Mekki-Berrada, & Moreau, 2001). Similarly, a survey of 1,348 Southeast Asian refugees showed that social support from the ethnic community moderated the incidence of depression by facilitating a sense of identity and belonging (Beiser, Turner, & Ganesan, 1989). Certain cultural customs, norms and practices may buffer against depression, in particular the importance of extended family networks in the provision of social support (Buriel & De Ment, 1997; Kaiser et al., 1998). Orozco (1995) found that the psychosocial adjustment of Mexican-American college students varied by Hispanic group membership. Those students involved with a Hispanic student organization had higher self-esteem and were less anxious than non-affiliated students. Likewise, with a sample of Latina immigrants, higher self-esteem was significantly associated with more social support (Flaskerud et al, 1996). Young (2001) further found that those Salvadorian refugees who were satisfied with their social support also reported higher life satisfaction scores and higher quality of life scores despite experiencing stressful life events. In a qualitative investigation of refugee youth returning to Eritrea from Sudan, Farwell (2001) noted the pertinence of psychological support from the

family and community. Farwell reported that the youth “often did not differentiate between individual and family level coping strategies [...] partly due to the centrality of family to one’s own identity in [a..] collectivistic society [such as Eritria]” (Farwell, 2001, p. 55). Furthermore, the elders in the community played an instrumental role in sharing their own experiences and ways of coping with the young refugees. In addition, peers, neighbours and other community members supported the youth economically and psychologically (Farwell, 2001). Other sources of emotional and psychological sustenance entailed seeking information, feeling solidarity with community members and other Eritreans, listening to stories of elders, continuity of education, and role models (elders, teachers, freedom fighters) (Farwell, 2001).

The importance of community in the provision of social support has also been documented by Valtonen (1994) who studied Vietnamese refugees in Finland and described the interaction between sub-groups of refugees as highly cohesive, deeply involved in times of crisis and characterized by emotional and instrumental assistance. Valtonen (1994) argues that the establishment of a well-organized ethnic community is a form of cross-cultural adaptation. It is common that refugees attempt to recreate family structures in their resettlement area, mostly through creating quasi extended family networks. Such networks serve as a source of support and a forum for maintaining and celebrating native culture although it is not uncommon that some refugees feel oppressed by the social control that can be exerted by tight-knit ethnic enclaves (Valtonen, 1994).

The Southern Sudanese present an example of chain migration, a process described by Rumbaut (1997) as leading to “remarkable ethnic concentrations in [...] cities, consisting of entire community segments from places of origin and including extended families and

friends, not just compatriots (p.7).” Gill and Vega (1996) summarize the importance of migration into a well-established ethnic community by drawing attention to the importance of existing frameworks for socialization, the emotional support, and the possibility for resource distribution among nationals. Similarly, the Sudanese in New Westminster and its surrounding communities participate actively in community events, support each other, and provide opportunities for networking. The Sudanese ethnic community also values the importance of family and extended kin (J. Bartel, personal communication, 2002). A prominent value exhibited by African refugees is familism, i.e., a deeply ingrained sense of obligation and orientation to the family that entails the responsibility of each person to protect the safety and interest of other members. Such collectivistic values are contrasted with more individualistic values in Western democracies characterized by giving priority to one’s personal goals over the goals of the in-group (Rumbaut, 1997).

African refugees show obligation not only toward immediate family, but also extended family members and community members, especially if members come from the same tribe or region. For instance, Opoku-Dapaah (1993) refers to the community cohesion of the Ghanaians in Toronto as a form of adaptive instrumentality and finds that it serves a support function as well as ensures the continuity of cultural traditions.

With respect to the target population, the Southern Sudanese men describe extended family as consisting not only of blood kin, but also of members of their tribe or region. Families are bound together through blood kin, or *mar*, and *buth*, i.e., a system of tribal membership that cannot be directly traced back to a specific blood relative. It is not

uncommon that two Sudanese will establish a *buth* bond by determining some relationship between tribal forefathers dating back hundreds of years (Holtzman, 2000). Through this system of *mar* and *buth*, the definition of the Sudanese family is much more inclusive than Canadian definitions and may play a significant factor in the adaptability of Southern Sudanese refugees in Vancouver. Being embedded within this larger social network of *mar* and *buth* contributes to the strong sense of cohesion and mutual support within the community.

Cohesive social networks and family structures that have an effect on the adjustment of immigrants and refugees are defined as social capital (Rumbaut, 1997). The function of social capital varies depending on the congruence between the behaviour and attitudes of the individual refugee and the community at large. Although the social support derived from community membership may ease the cultural transition at first and is often thought to promote psychological well-being through a sense of belonging and social identity, some authors, such as Kawachi and Berkman (2001) have pointed to the “dark side” of social capital, i.e., the inverse relationship between mental health outcomes and community embeddedness. For instance, some Sudanese refugees may feel that their behaviour is constrained by the covert (and overt) expectations placed upon them by elders and other community members. Likewise, Shisana and Celentano (1987) report an inverse relationship between network size and the perception of emotional support in a sample of Namibian refugees. The authors argue that it is conceivable that smaller networks allow for a deepening of emotional ties and also point to the possibility that larger networks may regulate a person’s behaviour through social constraints (Shisana et

al., 1987). Rumbaut (1997) sums it up by stating that ties that bind may facilitate or inhibit the adjustment process.

Religiosity/Spirituality

Religiosity has been examined in the context of acculturation. In a sample of 282 Hispanic and Asian Americans religion was significantly related to acculturation attitudes (Sodowsky, Lai, and Plake, 1991). Those belonging to Eastern religions were less acculturated than those immigrants abiding by protestant religions and Catholics were also significantly less acculturated than Protestants. Lai (1993) reported increased cultural adjustment difficulties for those Asians in the sample who observed Western religions. Somewhat different results were obtained with a sample of 1,784 Anglo, African-American and Mexican-American adults. High levels of religiosity and fatalism resulted in the highest level of depression for Anglos and highly acculturated Mexican-Americans; however, this trend was reversed for African-Americans, indicating that the buffering effects of religiosity vary by ethnicity (Neff & Hoppe, 1993).

Research on the experience of African-Americans points to the paramount importance of spirituality. The church is regarded as the nucleus of the community, a place of refuge, political activism, and shared prayer. Religious affiliation among African-Americans is high and life events are often interpreted as a combination of psychological and theological factors (Constantine, Lewis, Conner, & Sanchez, 2001). African-American spirituality is grounded in a "quest for liberation and justice" and a faith in freedom. Spirituality is manifested in every aspect of life and church affiliation is regarded as an important component of the psychological health of many African-Americans (Wiggins Frame et al., 1996). Much like the African-Americans, the Sudanese refugees utilize the

local church as a place of worship as well as a venue for social, educational and political gatherings. Support groups and lectures are held in a room adjacent to the Church in New Westminster and group prayers are common within the community. The Sudanese have experienced the atrocities of war, oppression and displacement and find spiritual refuge and hope within prayer and other church activities. In that sense, religiosity/spirituality function as coping resources in the lives of Sudanese refugees and present opportunities to meet with the community (J. Bartel, personal communication, 2003).

The relationship between spiritual maturity and indices of mental health was also examined by Reinert and Bloomingdale (1999). Respondents in the spiritually growth-oriented group scored higher on measures of self-esteem, and lower on indices of shame and trauma than the underdeveloped group. The dogmatic group scored higher on self-esteem than the underdeveloped group, but slightly lower than the spiritually mature respondents. However, the dogmatic group scored lower on anxiety, depression, and sleep disturbances than the underdeveloped group, but higher compared to the growth-oriented respondents. The authors found that one fourth of participants who said they had experienced severe trauma were categorized as spiritually growth-oriented. These findings indicate that traumatized individuals are resilient and develop effective coping strategies to overcome trauma and maintain hope.

The stress-buffering effect of spirituality on negative life events and psychological adjustment was demonstrated in a sample of 303 undergraduate students in the United States. A significant negative correlation was found between spirituality and depression. Spiritual beliefs weakened the impact of negative life events on depressive symptoms (Young, Cashwell, & Shcherbakova, 2001).

Swinton (2001) conducted a comprehensive literature review on spirituality and mental health and discovered negative correlations between spirituality and depression, anxiety, addictions, suicide, anorexia and schizophrenia. In addition, he determined that behavioural measures of religious practice were more strongly related to improved mental health outcomes than attitudinal measures. Swinton (2001) reviewed studies relating inner guidance to spiritual well-being and lower levels of depression, stress, aggressiveness and conflict avoidance and higher levels of self-esteem and hope. Some of these positive effects may be mediated by social support and internal coping resources, most notably because spirituality is often manifested within a religious community that offers a sense of belonging and social resources (Swinton, 2001).

Role strain

Pearlin and Schooler (1978) describe role strain as part of structured social experiences that can adversely affect people's emotional well-being. Role strain is defined by Goode (1960) as the "felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations (p.483)". Goode (1960) points out that individuals must balance different role obligations, which can create conflicts of allocation, in the form of money, energy, and emotions. In the current study, role strain is conceptualized as the outcome of enacting the global breadwinner role while resettling in Canada. Conflicts of allocation are primarily financial, however the role strain experienced from enacting the global breadwinner role occurs on an emotional level as well. For instance, refugees may experience anxiety and guilt when thinking about their fiscal responsibilities. Likewise, their energy level may be low due to role strain. Hecht (2001) distinguishes between role conflict and role overload. Role conflict occurs "when demands associated with one role interfere directly

with one's ability to satisfy the demands of another role (p.112)" whereas role overload "occurs when an individual has too many role demands given the time available to satisfy them (p.112)".

Hecht (2001) proposes that the combination of role demands characteristic of role conflict renders an individual prone to poor psychological adjustment. According to Goode (1960) these conflicts are more apparent in urban as opposed to primitive peasant societies. Not surprisingly, Holtzman (2000) describes the difficulty of the Nuer of Southern Sudan who resettled in urban centers in Minnesota. The Nuer come from rural areas and are used to a clear separation of gender roles necessitated by agropastoralism. Men tend to the cattle while women perform domestic chores. This clear separation of roles had to be transformed greatly when the Nuer arrived in the United States, causing initial conflict as women had to join the labour force to supplement household incomes and men were asked to perform "female" duties such as shopping and cooking (Holtzman, 2000).

Few researchers have studied the impact of additional roles during resettlement. Among them are Buriel and De Ment (1997) who refer to a similar phenomenon in their discussion of children from immigrant and refugee families who act as cultural brokers. These authors report that the role of cultural broker involves making doctor's appointments, translating documents, and negotiating business transactions for the family, activities the children and adolescents typically would not perform in their country of origin. The cultural broker in the family is seen as possessing the most authority among siblings and it was shown that this role persists long after the parents

have learned English. However, a relationship between the role of cultural broker and the adjustment of immigrant and refugee children was not examined.

Another factor associated with an individual's willingness to enact a role is the intrinsic gratification and prospective benefits that occur when enacting the role. Individuals must enact roles within norms of adequacy that are set by the community or society at large, and the successful or unsuccessful role enactment is hypothesized to affect the esteem of the individual bearing the role (Goode, 1960; Whitsett & Land, 1992). In accordance with this presupposition, research on role strain often includes outcome measures of self-esteem (Agbayani-Siewert, 1993; Marks & MacDermid, 1996; Whitsett & Land, 1992) and depression (Agbayani-Siewert, 1993; Farran & Miller, 1997; Goldberg & Greenberger, 1992; Greenberger & O'Neil, 1993; Rhee, 1993).

In one acculturation study by Agbayani-Siewert (1993), economic role strain was related to increased perceptions of stress by a sample of Filipino-American respondents. This association was hypothesized to be mediated by internal (locus of control, self-esteem) and external (social network) coping resources. Similarly, Rhee (1993) determined a strong relationship between the role strain experienced by Korean immigrant wives and depressive symptoms.

In the current study, role strain from enacting the global breadwinner role while resettling in Canada is identified as the independent variable, because it is hypothesized that role strain precedes stress and other psychosocial outcomes (Agbayani-Siewert, 1993; Steward & Robinson, 1992). In the Filipino-American sample, subjects generally reported low levels of role strain and stress and role strain appeared to predict stress less reliably than socio demographic variables, in particular socioeconomic position and

recency of arrival. However, financial role strain and stress showed a positive significant relationship, indicating that respondents felt more stressed when they struggled to pay for food, clothing, medical care and leisure activities. Despite the subject's embeddedness within a large social network, this variable did not buffer against the stress experienced by the respondents. Again, living within large ethnic enclaves may not necessarily be a condition that reduces stressors and strains in immigrant and refugee populations, because of the possible oppressive nature of community norms (Kawachi & Berkman, 2001).

Chapter 3: Theoretical foundations

Role transition theory, a set of ideas derived from symbolic interactionism, provides a useful framework for examining the role strain experienced by Sudanese men in the lower mainland of British Columbia. Role theory in this study informs the background of the global breadwinner role and the variable anticipatory socialization whereas acculturation research lays the foundation for the inclusion of additional variables that affect the acculturation and adjustment of the target group.

Symbolic Interactionism (SI), a leading American social psychological theory, examines how meaning is created through interaction. According to this theory, human beings are symbol-driven, i.e., they create and transmit culture through the use of symbols. These symbols are highly contextual, dialectical and often ambiguous and human beings naturally want to detect patterns of social life beneath these symbols, processes and interactions. SI views social life as dynamic, fluid and highly interactive; humans are connected to the social world around them and construct a sense of self

through interaction with others. Persons are capable of taking on various roles and through these roles they come to define themselves (Marshall, 1994).

Role theory can be divided into various sub theories, but an elaboration of this theoretical approach should begin with Goode's conceptualization of role strain. Role strain is defined by Goode (1960) as the "felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations" (p.483), and implies the failure or inability to comply with role expectations. A high level of role strain is related to feelings of stress, anxiety, incompetence and inadequacy and thus lowered self-esteem (Burr, Leigh, Day, & Constantine, 1979).

Role transition theory proposes that human beings are affected by the ease of transition into a role, the "degree to which there is freedom from difficulty in activating or terminating a role and the availability of resources to begin or exit from a role" (Burr et al., 1979. p. 84). The following propositions are integral in the formulation of role transition theory and will be related one by one, to the experience of the Sudanese men in the lower mainland of BC.

Proposition 1) The more anticipatory socialization about a role, the greater the ease of transition into that role. Burr et al. (1979) refer to anticipatory socialization as the process of acquiring information about the role that is to be enacted. Knowledge of the values, norms and attitudes of the social world play a significant role in the ease of transition into a role as do the presence or absence of role models.

The Sudanese men who have come to the lower mainland anticipated arriving in a safe country that would offer them the opportunity for a better, more stable life free from the terror and uncertainty of civil war. Canada is regarded as a land full of opportunities, including monetary opportunities. The Sudanese men will often comment that their

families back home have a utopian view of Canada and its employment structure. Wages are comparatively high, but the cost of living in a large metropolitan center is hardly taken into account when families back in Sudan think of their relatives in Canada.

The men expected to send a portion of their income home, but few anticipated how difficult it would be to obtain lucrative employment and affordable housing. The pressure to send money home while trying to become established in Canada becomes especially severe when a family member at home falls ill or other tragedies require immediate monetary assistance from abroad.

Proposition 2): The greater the perceived role strain that results from performing a role, the less ease in making the transition into the role.

Proposition 3): The greater the perceived role strain that results from performing a role, the greater the ease in making the transition out of the role (Burr et al., 1979).

These two propositions imply that the more role strain the Sudanese men perceive between enacting the “global breadwinner” role and becoming established in Canada, the more difficult it is to make the transition into the role and the easier it is to leave the role behind. Burr et al. (1979) further suggest that one must consider the number and social importance of the norms that are changing in a person’s role set during the transitional period. This condition refers to as the amount of normative change and leads to the consideration of the next two propositions.

Proposition 4): The greater the normative change that is perceived in a role transition, the less easy the transition into the role.

Proposition 5): The greater the normative change that is perceived in a role transition, the less easy the transition out of the role.

In the case of the Sudanese “global breadwinners” the move to Canada itself brings about a significant amount of normative change. The men are facing the challenge of settling in a foreign country characterized by institutional discrimination and pervasively different customs. Poverty will likely affect the men, unless they were able to upgrade their education within the Canadian context. In addition, families at home are expecting money to be sent back and also hope that other family members may be sponsored to live abroad. The expectations of family members back home thus extend to the hope that the men will become sufficiently established in order to sponsor additional family members to live in safety. Generally, the transition procedure into the role is difficult and characterized by resettlement and acculturative stress. It is proposed that community membership and the social support from other community members will ease the role transition as long as community expectations regarding appropriate role enactment are being met.

Proposition 6): The more a role facilitates a person’s goal attainment, the easier the transition into the role.

Proposition 7): The more a transition out of a role facilitates a person’s goal attainment, the easier the transition out of the role.

This is a difficult proposition to apply to the target group. The Sudanese men have different motivations for coming to Canada. They want to support their families at home and save enough money to sponsor additional family members, but they are also learning about a new culture that is enticing in its own way. Many of the men are hoping to marry and have children of their own while continuing to maintain close ties with the community. However, very few Sudanese women live in the community, thus interracial

dating and the concomitant exposure to Canadian values are becoming more prevalent. With increased exposure to individualistic values, the men may place less emphasis on supporting family and extended family back home and focus more on establishing and supporting a nuclear family in Canada. Although various hypotheses can be generated, the last two propositions will not be addressed in the current study. The relevance of a concept such as 'personal goal attainment' is likely low with a collectivistic culture such as the Sudanese. Moreover, respondents may find it difficult to relate to the concept as personal goals often overlap with familial or communal goals.

Hypotheses

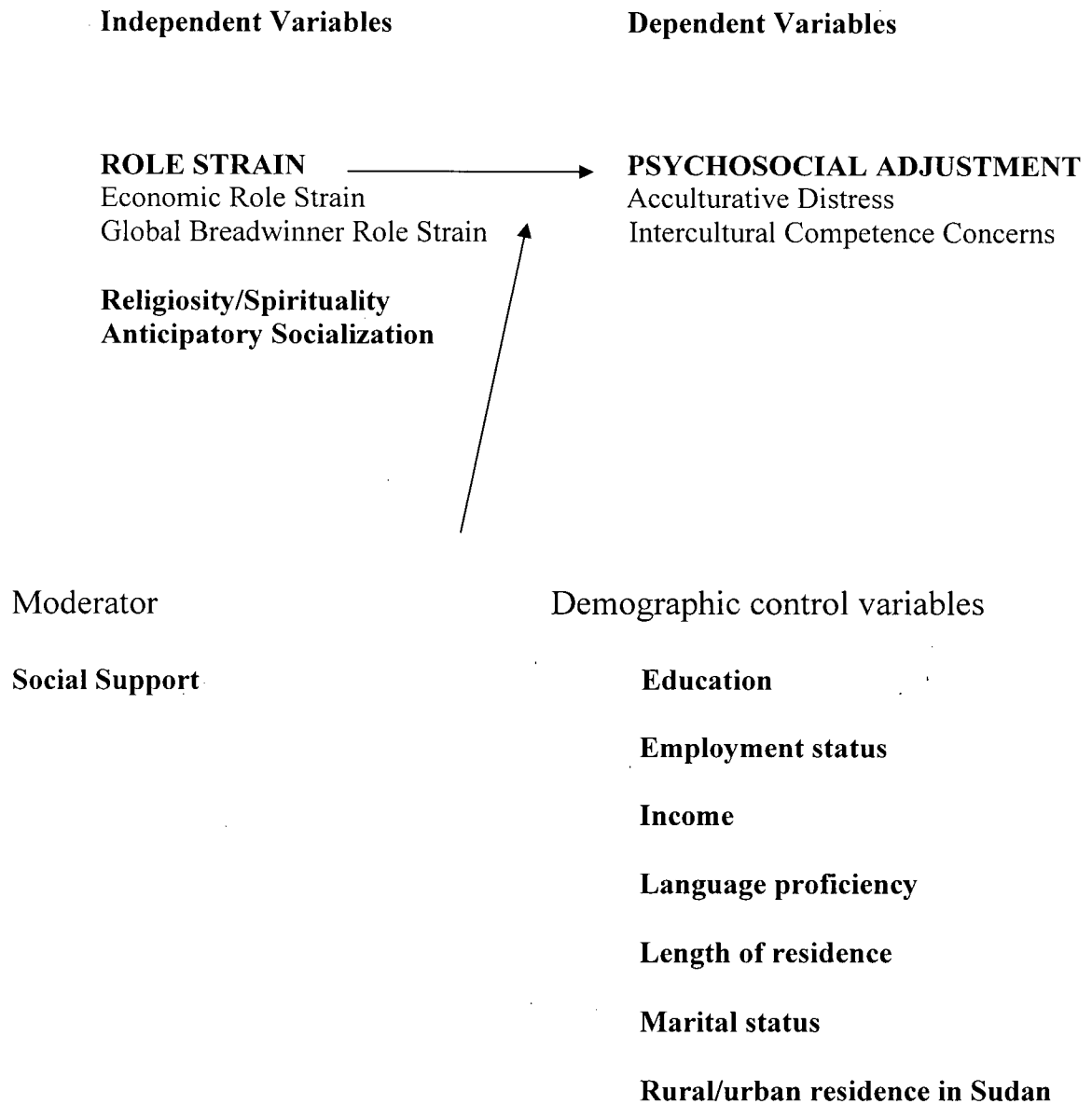
The following four hypotheses were formulated to 1) describe the experiences of Sudanese men and 2) to examine variables predictive of the psychosocial adjustment of the target population (Figure 1).

- 1) *A higher level of role strain is associated with the diminished psychosocial adjustment of Sudanese men.*
- 1a) *The effect of role strain on psychosocial adjustment will be less pronounced if levels of social support are high.*
- 2) *High levels of religiosity/spirituality are hypothesized to increase psychosocial adjustment.*
- 3) *High levels of anticipatory socialization are hypothesized to improve psychosocial adjustment.*
- 4) *It is hypothesized that refugees with the following characteristics will have fewer cultural adjustment difficulties: Refugees who have resided in Canada for longer, are younger at age of entry, more proficient in English, have achieved a higher level of*

education, come from an urban area rather than a rural area in Africa, fall into a higher income bracket and are married.

All hypotheses with exception of 1a will be tested using correlation analyses.

Hypothesis 1a is tested using regression analyses. The variables that are significantly correlated with the two dimensions of the dependent variable (Acculturative distress and intercultural competence concerns) will also be used in a final regression analysis to examine the determinants of the psychosocial adjustment of Sudanese men.

Figure 1. *Diagrammatic presentation of model*

Chapter 4: Method

Sampling frame and procedure

A snowballing/networking method was used to recruit respondents for this study. The researchers approached the Immigrant Services Society of B.C. in Vancouver and the Sudanese Association in New Westminster with information regarding the study. Moreover, several well-respected Sudanese men (current and former members of the Sudanese association) served as gatekeepers to spread information about the study. Posters with information about the study and the time and location of data collection were also posted at St. Barnabas Church in New Westminster and at the downtown office of the Immigrant Services Society. Both locations are frequented by Sudanese men. The downtown office of ISS offers settlement services to newcomers and typically caters to Sudanese men who arrived very recently. Announcements were made at two different churches by the former president of the Sudanese association the weekend before data collection.

The first phase of data collection occurred in late November/early December of 2003 at St. Barnabas Church in New Westminster. This facility was well-known to most Sudanese men as many of the respondents attend church services on Sundays at St. Barnabas. The church hall was rented for two consecutive weekends to allow potential participants to drop in and fill out the questionnaire. A bilingual research assistant was present to assist respondents with the surveys. This format of data collection was chosen because it would have allowed men to drop in before or after church, and this was where many of their community activities took place.

Despite advertising the study in the community, few men dropped in to fill out questionnaires. Out of those men who did drop in most wanted to take the questionnaire

home as opposed to filling it out at the location. As a result, we revised data collection with the approval of the UBC ethics board to include married respondents and to deliver questionnaires to the residences of potential participants. Participants were then given the option of dropping off their surveys in a sealed envelope at St. Barnabas Church or having a research assistant pick up the completed survey. This approach seemed to be a more culturally relevant method of data collection for this close-knit community because the men frequently visit each other at their homes. As a result of these changes, our research assistants were able to collect data within a familiar setting of social interaction. Married men were included because they were also providing financially for family members in Africa.

We trained two research assistants from the community to distribute and collect surveys from January to July 2004. The research assistants delivered surveys in Surrey, Aldergrove, Burnaby, Vancouver and New Westminster, thus covering a large geographic area and sampling both Sudanese men who live within the ethnic enclave in New Westminster and those who do not (and as a result may be more isolated).

Measures

Questionnaires were available in English and Arabic. The survey was translated into Arabic by a Sudanese professional and the translation reviewed for accuracy by three other Sudanese community members. Out of 185 men only five filled out the Arabic version of the survey. However, the research assistants reported that quite a few men used the Arabic version to guide them in filling out the English version of the survey.

The questionnaire included standardized measures of psychosocial adjustment economic role strain, religiosity and social support. All of these measures have been used

with ethnically diverse populations and have shown good psychometric properties. The global breadwinner role strain and anticipatory socialization measures were developed for this study (see Table 1 for the descriptive statistics of the scales).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Scale Properties of Dependent and Independent Variables

	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Hypothetical means	α
Dependent Variables					
CADC ^a (Sodowsky & Lai, 1997)	173	138.5	31.7	177	.88
CADC ^a Subscale 1: Acculturative distress	173	63.3	23.3	105	.92
CADC ^a Subscale 2: Intercultural competence concerns	173	75.3	23.9	72	.92
Independent Variables					
Global breadwinner role strain	178	33.5	5.9	21	.65
Economic role strain (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978)	181	-- ^b	5.1	14.5	.76
Spirituality Experience Index-R Spiritual support subscale (Genia, 1997)	180	73.4	10.1	39	.88
Social Support Appraisals Scale (Vaux et al., 1986)	180	70.7	8.4	46	.77
Anticipatory socialization	179	22.1	4.4	15	.49

^a Cultural Adjustment Difficulties Checklist

^b Responses were converted into z-scores

The *dependent variable psychosocial adjustment* was measured with the 59-item Cultural Adjustment Difficulties Checklist (CADC), a measure that was designed to understand the acculturation-induced stresses of Asians in the United States. It measures interpersonal problems due to contextual dissonance, alienation towards one's cultural reference group, and issues of self-efficacy in a white-dominant cultural context (Sodowski & Lai, 1997). The CADC has two subscales: Acculturative Distress and Intercultural Competence Concerns.

According to Sodowsky and Lai (1997) acculturative distress is an indicator of the quality of adjustment in the country of resettlement. It includes general stress items and cultural stress items. The general stress items evaluate the respondent's affective (i.e., anxiety, sadness, guilt, nervousness, and anger), behavioural, (i.e., suicidal ideation and attempts, drinking, procrastination, and violence), psychosomatic symptoms (i.e., backaches, stomachaches, and headaches), and academic concerns (e.g., high performance anxiety, feeling overworked etc.). The cultural stress items measure cultural conflicts with the majority culture and one's own ethnic community or family, gender role confusion and feelings of discontent and anger toward either the majority culture or one's own culture of origin. Moreover, these items assess whether respondents feel caught between two cultures.

The acculturative distress sub scale covers typical indicators of depression. Depression includes biological (e.g., fluctuations in weight and sleep patterns), psychological (e.g., feelings of worthlessness, inability to concentrate) and social (e.g., avoidance, passivity) indicators that affect an individual's ability to function (Kaiser et al., 1998). The acculturative distress scale of the CADC covers these domains of depression and can thus

be viewed as an indicator of depressive symptoms as well as acculturative distress in general. In particular, the inclusion of psychosomatic complaints is important for this target population. Researchers have confirmed the tendency of Africans to somaticize emotional distress (Tang & Fox, 2001). Moreover, Helman (1994) refers to cultural somatization as the “selection of one particular organ as the main focus of all symptoms and anxiety” (p.271). The acculturative distress scale measures the prevalence of psychosomatic concerns and is thus an appropriate tool in determining the adjustment of the target group.

Subscale 2 (Intercultural Competence Concerns) measures “one’s concern about social competence, academic and career competence, and cultural competence [i.e., the] pride in one’s culture, perception of acceptance by White Americans or people from one’s own cultural group, perception of the worthiness of one’s contribution to both cultures, and perception of one’s adjustment to both cultures” (Sadowski & Lai, 1997, p. 228). Sample items include: “Having pride in your own culture”, “Feeling accepted by White Canadians” and “Having friends among White Canadians” (note that all items from this scale are reverse coded).

Information about the psychometric properties of the scale is only available for the original scale (74 items) and the first revision (48 items). However, Dr. Sadowsky is currently distributing a 59-item scale.

Lai (1993) examined the psychometric properties of the CADC (74 items) and determined that the scale was a reliable and valid indicator of cultural adjustment concerns of Asian Americans and Asian International people. The internal consistency reliabilities of this measure were high (alphas for the full scale were .91 for both samples,

subscale alphas ranged from .85 to .90; $n = 467$). The internal consistency reliability for the shorter version (48 items) and the two subscales (Acculturative Distress and Intercultural Competence Concerns) were .92, .90 and .88 (Sodowsky & Lai, 1997). The CADC has also been administered to a sample of Filipino immigrants residing in the U.S. as a means of assessing the acculturation difficulties of respondents. The 74-item measure yielded an alpha of .94 and a mean item-total correlation of .31 (Marczynski, 1996).

As shown in Table 1, the full scale ($n=59$ items) had an alpha of .88. Each subscale had an alpha of .92. The 48 item version reached alphas of .86 for the full scale and .91 and .90 for subscales 1 and 2. Factor loadings of the 11 additional items were examined and it was determined that 2 out of 11 items loaded below .3 on one of the factors and only 1 out of the 11 items double loaded. The 59-item scale was retained because of its somewhat higher alphas.

The Subscale Acculturative Distress was somewhat negatively skewed and clearly leptokurtic, i.e., the values were clustered around the mean with fewer responses in the tail end of the distribution. The mean score for this scale was 63.3 ($SD=23.3$). Responses on subscale 2 (Intercultural Competence Concerns) were normally distributed with a mean score of 75.3 ($SD=23.9$).

According to DeVellis (1991) self-critical items that express negative assessments of one's self (as is the case with items on the CADC) may induce a dysphoric state and affect how participants respond to subsequent items. For this reason, the CADC was presented last in the questionnaire

The *independent variable global breadwinner role strain* was measured with a scale developed for this study. Derived from role transition theory, the scale was designed to reflect the role strain Sudanese men experience when providing financially for family members in Africa while resettling in Canada. Existing measures of role strain neither captured the strain associated with carrying out the global breadwinner role nor assessed the multiple obligations of refugees.

A global breadwinner is defined as a refugee or immigrant who provides financially for family members who live in his/her country of origin. Role strain is defined by Goode (1960) as the "felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations". Individuals must balance different role obligations, which can create conflicts of allocation, in the form of money, energy, and emotions. In the current study, conflicts of allocation are primarily financial however the role strain experienced from enacting the global breadwinner role occurs on an emotional level as well. For instance, refugees may experience anxiety and guilt when thinking about their financial fiscal responsibilities. Therefore respondents were presented with a role strain scale that measured conflicts of allocation, in the form of money, energy and emotions from enacting the global breadwinner role. This component was initially comprised of 26 items and was subjected to a review panel of family studies graduate students and faculty in order to enhance the construct validity of the measure (see Appendix A).

Based on this assessment, eight items were retained. One item was later deleted as its inclusion reduced the alpha of the scale. The final version of the scale contained seven items. Sample items included: "I feel guilty when I cannot send money to family members in Sudan" and, "I find it difficult to send money home to Sudan while getting

established in Canada”. Response options ranged from strongly agree (6) to strongly disagree (1).

Role strain has not been operationalized in the context of the acculturation of refugees and special precautions must be taken to ensure the meaningful analysis of this concept. Thus, a principal component factor analysis (with varimax rotation) of the items was performed and two underlying constructs were extracted. These findings support the notion that the global breadwinner scale measures two components of strain (Table 2). However, factor loadings did not clearly demarcate a financial and emotional dimension of global breadwinner role strain as only one item loaded on the second factor and another item loaded on both factors. As a result, it was decided to retain 7 items in the global breadwinner scale without a specification of subscales. The alpha for this scale was .65 ($n=165$) and all except one item loaded above .3 on Component 1. The item (B6) that loaded below .3 was theoretically congruent with the concept of global breadwinner role strain (as determined by the review panel) and its deletion did not improve the reliability of the scale. For these reasons, item B6 was retained as part of the scale. It should be noted that this measure is still under development and will likely be revised in the future. The distribution of scores for the seven item scale was positively skewed with a mean score of 33.5 ($SD=5.9$).

Table 2

Principal Component Factor Analysis of Global Breadwinner Role Strain Scale

Component	1	2	α of scale if item deleted
Item 1 (B6)	.211	.853	.65
Item 2 (B7)	.744	-.132	.59
Item 3 (B8)	.657	-.325	.61
Item 4 (B9)	.381	.346	.65
Item 5 (B10)	.675	-.159	.57
Item 6 (B11)	.551	.232	.58
Item 7 (B12)	.742	-.003	.62

Role strain was also assessed by asking respondents to indicate how many roles they occupied at the time of data collection. Choices included the role of student, friend, employee, and global breadwinner. Respondents were encouraged to add roles to the list as they saw fit. Next, participants were asked to rate how much importance they assigned each role on a three- point scale (The role is very important, important or not important). This format of questioning enabled the researcher to determine how many roles the respondents occupied and how much importance they attach to each role. Some of the individual items were used for descriptive purposes but were not included in the multivariate analyses.

A measure of *economic role strain* (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978) was also included to determine whether the strain associated with being a global breadwinner is conceptually different from economic role strain in general. A seven item version of the scale yielded an alpha of .74 with a sample of American-Filipino immigrants (Agbayani-Siewert, 1993). For the current study two additional items were added to the scale after instructions from Dr. Pearlin via e-mail and fax (the economic role strain scale was expanded since the early 90's). The economic role strain measure assessed the respondent's standard of living by questioning how difficult it is to afford an adequate living space, household necessities and medical care. For instance, respondents rated the following statements: "How often does it happen that you do not have enough money to afford the kind of food you (your family) should have? The kind of medical care you (your family) should have? The leisure activities that you want?". Response options varied. The first three items of the scale were dichotomous and the remaining four items consisted of four response options.

Not all of the items followed the same response format, so all scores were converted into z-scores before scale construction. The resulting nine item scale yielded an alpha of .76. The distribution of scores was positively skewed, indicating a high degree of economic role strain for the sample (Table 1).

The global breadwinner scale was not correlated significantly with the economic role strain measure. The absence of a statistically significant association between these two role strain measures ($r = -.040, p = .601$) provides evidence that global breadwinner role strain differs conceptually from economic role strain for the target population.

The independent variable *anticipatory socialization* was operationalized as the discrepancy between anticipation and actual experience of the global breadwinner role. According to Burr et al. (1979) anticipatory socialization can be defined as the process of learning such phenomena as norms, values, attitudes, and subtle dimensions of a role before being in a social situation where it is appropriate to actually behave in that role” (p. 84). Anticipatory socialization, i.e., the “patterned but often unplanned learning of a role in advance of assuming it” (Laosa, 1998) has been measured by Miller (1976) with a five item scale but has not been examined in the context of acculturation. However, acculturation researchers refer to anticipatory socialization when they point to the salience of skills and/or attitudes that were acquired prior to making the cross-cultural transition. These skills and attitudes are assumed to ease the transition into a new role and are mostly facilitated through cultural orientation programs (Goldstein & Smith, 1999), adequate role models and positive contact with the host-culture upon arrival (Hullet & White, 2001).

A review panel of family studies graduate students and faculty helped to reduce the initial pool of items ($n=15$) by commenting on the fit between scale items and the concept of anticipatory socialization (Appendix A). The final version of the measure consisted of six items that were most reflective of the experience of Sudanese refugees.

In order to determine anticipatory socialization and its effect on the association between role strain and psychosocial adjustment, it would be ideal to conduct a longitudinal study, assessing anticipatory socialization before entry into the role of global breadwinner in Canada and then again several months after (see Dippelhofer-Stiem, 2001, for an interesting longitudinal examination of the processes and effects of

anticipatory socialization on the status passage between vocational training and practice of young educators). However, the cross-sectional design of this study necessitated a different approach. Participants were asked to reflect on their expectations regarding the role of global breadwinner before assuming the role. Items addressed general expectations as well as the specific anticipation of the difficulty of enacting the role of global breadwinner while adjusting to life in Canada. Respondents were asked to rate items on a six-point Likert scale. Sample items include "Before I came to Canada I expected to send money regularly to my family in Sudan" and "I was unprepared for the financial strain of supporting myself in Canada and my family in Sudan". The psychometric properties of the six item scale were poor ($\alpha = .29$). A listwise deletion showed that inter item correlations could be improved by dropping 1 item from the scale. The remaining five items had an alpha of .49. A principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation extracted two components for the five item scale thus indicating that items did not measure one latent construct as expected. Due to the poor psychometric properties of the measure it was not included in any regression equations.

The *moderator variable social support* was assessed using the Social Support Appraisals (SS-A) Scale (Vaux, Phillips, Holly, Thomson, Williams, and Stewart, 1986). This scale consists of 23 items that measure the subjective appraisal of support. The scale has two subscales: Friend support (seven items) and family support (eight items). The remaining eight items measure general support and were not analyzed as a separate scale by Vaux et al. The SS-A was administered to five student and three community samples (one student sample of 76 Black undergraduate students) and yielded good internal consistencies across samples (mean alphas were .90, .80 and .84 for the student samples

and .90, .81 and .84 for the community samples). The measure has adequate concurrent, convergent, and divergent validity with other measures of perceived support and was related to theoretically similar concepts such as psychological well-being and support network resources. Sample items include: "My family hold me in high respect" and "My friends and I are really important to each other". In the current study the coefficient alpha for the full scale (23 items) was .77. The subscale friend support (seven items) had an alpha of .70 and the family support scale yielded an alpha of .51. The full scale was used because an overall measure of amount of support across domains was wanted. Moreover, the authors suggest that the full scale be used. The responses for the full scale were normally distributed with a mean score of 70.2 ($SD=8.4$).

The second measure of social support was network size. Respondents were asked to "list the persons in Canada whom you are close to in order of closeness". This approach to measuring network size was used successfully with a sample of Namibian refugees by Shisana and Celentano (1987). However, in the current study the number of supports the men indicated varied greatly (Range 0-142 support persons) and a substantial number of cases ($n=56$) had missing data. Therefore this measure was used to describe sample characteristics, but was not included in the statistical analyses.

The *independent variable spirituality/religiosity* was measured with the 23-item Spirituality Experience Index (SEI-R). The scale was standardized with a normative sample of predominately Caucasian respondents with various religious backgrounds and those not affiliated with any particular religion. Reliability coefficients for the subscales were .95 (Spiritual Support) and .79 (Spiritual Openness) ($n=286$) and .89 for the full scale (Genia, 1997).

According to Genia (1997), spiritual maturity is operationalized as Spiritual Support (SS) and Spiritual Openness (SO). Spiritual support measures the relatedness to an ultimate being through a firm conviction in one's faith, often accompanied by more extrinsic expressions of religiosity. Spiritual openness denotes the acceptance of divergent beliefs, and Genia (1997) proposes that both dimensions are necessary for spiritual growth. Thirteen items comprise the Spiritual Support (SS) subscale and measure "faith as a source of sustenance and support". Ten items measure Spiritual Openness (SO) which is a more inclusive and universalistic conception of spirituality and maturity. This subscale was associated with lower dogmatism scores, intolerance of ambiguity and fundamentalism. The SEI-R allows for the categorization of respondents into four categories of spiritual maturity: Growth-oriented (high SS, high SO scores), underdeveloped (low SS, low SO), transitional (low SS, high SO) and dogmatic (high SS, low SO).

In the current study the coefficient alpha for the full scale (23 items) was low (.49). A reliability analysis of Subscales 1 (Spiritual Support) and Subscale 2 (Spiritual Openness) showed alphas of .88 and .26 respectively, leading to the decision to retain subscale 1 for analysis. It should be noted that responses on the Spiritual Support Subscale were extremely positively skewed with a mean score of 73.4 ($SD=10.2$). As shown in Table 1 the hypothetical mean score was 39 with a hypothetical range of 0 to 78. These findings are not surprising for our target population. Sudanese men have very high rates of religious affiliation compared to the general BC population (Statistics Canada, 2003). For instance, during the 2001 census year a third of British Columbians cited that they belong to "no religion", i.e., a 39% increase since 1991 for this response option. British

Columbia was the only province in Canada that cited no religion as the most frequent response reported in the 2001 Census (Statistics Canada, 2001). Similarly, Genia's normative sample is not comparable to our sample and an examination of the properties of the spiritual support scale must be viewed in this context.

The following *control variables* were measured: Length of residence in Canada, age, language proficiency (three item scale), employment, education, place of origin in Sudan, income and marital status. The first two variables are continuous and were included as such in the analyses. Language proficiency was measured with a three item Likert-scale that asked respondents about their written and spoken English proficiency ($n=162$, $\alpha = .67$). Employment status was dummy coded into two response categories: Employed (full or part-time) and unemployed. Education was measured with the help of several categories, ranging from no formal education to the completion of a graduate degree. Similarly, income was broken down into seven income categories ranging from \$0 - \$60,000 and over. Lastly, marital status was recoded into two categories: Married (including married men and those living with a common law partner) and other (men who were never married or are widowed, separated or divorced).

In order to describe the pre-migration experiences of Sudanese men, questions about the numbers of years spent in Sudan and other countries were included in the survey. In addition, men were asked to indicate what occupations they performed prior to resettlement and in Canada. Statistics Canada's (2001) National Occupational Classification system was adapted for this study. In order to improve the clarity of the classifications, we retained categories A (Management Occupations), G (Sales and

Service Occupations), and H (Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators and Related Occupations) and added the categories of unskilled labour, student and other.

Chapter 5: Results

Sample description

In total 185 Southern Sudanese men (mean age =31.3, $SD=9.1$) participated in the study. The average length of residence in Canada was 3.6 years with most (57.8%) having lived in Canada for less than 3 years at the time of the study. The men ($N=182$) came from 23 different regions/tribes and about half (50.6%) reside in New Westminster, followed by Burnaby (25%) and Surrey (11.9%). Out of 177 respondents 118 (66.7%) are landed immigrants and 59 (33.3%) are Canadian citizens. Finally, of 131 men, 51(38.9%) indicated that they see themselves returning to Sudan within the next five years, 60 (45.8%) wanted to remain in Canada, 15 (11.5%) didn't know where they will live in five years and 5 (3.8%) cited other countries.

Life before resettlement

Respondents resided in Sudan for an average of 23.3 years before being displaced (Range=5-50 years). Out of 182 men, 58.8% came from large cities in Sudan, 25.8% from small cities and 15.4% from rural areas. Almost all (97.8%) hold Christian beliefs as would be expected from refugee claimants who fled the Islamic regime of the Northern Sudanese government. The men are, on average, well-educated with 54.9 % having received post-secondary training compared to men in New Westminster (Table 3). In Sudan many of the men were students (46.9%) or were employed in managerial or professional occupations (32.8 %) (Table 4). Most respondents did not arrive in Canada

directly from Sudan, but lived in various other African countries along the Sudanese border before coming to the lower mainland (Table 5).

Table 3

A Comparison of the Educational Attainment of Sudanese men and 20-34 year old Men in New Westminster

Education	Sudanese Men (%) N = 172	Men in New Westminster (%) ^b N=6355
No formal schooling	5.2 %	^a
Some high school	22.7 %	16.8 %
High school diploma	16.9 %	35.1 %
College certificate or diploma	28.5 %	31.0 %
University undergraduate degree	23.8 %	17.1 %
Graduate degree	2.9 %	^a

^a Information is not available

^b Based on 2001 Community Profile (Statistics Canada)

(The 20-34 age category was chosen, because the mean age for the sample is 31 years)

Table 4

Percent of Respondents Employed in Various Occupations in Sudan and in Canada

Occupation	Sudan N=177	Canada N=176
Managerial/Professional	32.8 %	1.1 %
Trades/Technical	6.2 %	6.8 %
Sales/Services	3.9 %	23.9 %
Unskilled labour	6.2 %	43.2 %
Student	46.9 %	21.6 %
Other	4.0 %	3.4 %

Note: Classification system was adapted from National Occupational Classification (Statistics Canada, 2001) at <http://www.statcan.ca/english/Subjects/Standard/soc/2001/nocs01-menu.htm>

Table 5

Life before Resettlement

Time (years)	N	M	SD	Range
Length of residence in Sudan (years)	153	23.3	8.1	5-50
Length of displacement in other countries (years)	156	4.4	3	0.5-16

Of 157 men, 130 resided in Egypt, Kenya and Uganda (36.9%, 30.6% and 15.3% respectively) before coming to the lower mainland of British Columbia.

Other countries of residence included Saudi Arabia, India and Ethiopia and a small percentage of participants lived in two or more countries (7%) and three or more countries (1.3%) before arriving in Canada. As a result many Sudanese men are multilingual and have experienced contact with different cultures.

Family Composition

The current study included 78 (42.4%) married men and a small number ($n=8$) of legally separated, widowed or divorced men (4.3%). Although 98 have never married (53.3%), this trend is more an indication of the unavailability of single Sudanese women than an unwillingness to enter into a marriage contract (Bartel, personal communication, 2003). In fact, the vast majority of single Sudanese men were not dating at the time of data collection. Of the 18 men who indicated that they were dating, only 7 were involved with a Sudanese partner. It is unclear whether the men were dating Sudanese women who already live in the lower mainland or whether they are in the process of sponsoring a partner to live in Canada. Of the 98 unmarried men, 50 live with other Sudanese men or women. Living with other Sudanese may be an expression of cultural cohesion as well as an attempt to keep rental costs low.

Language proficiency

Language proficiency and use is often regarded as an indicator of acculturation in the country of resettlement. Sudanese men can be described as fairly acculturated as 26.1% of 184 reported that they speak English sometimes, followed by 51.1% who speak English often and 22.8% who speak English all the time. The ability to speak English was evaluated positively with 57.6% indicating that their spoken English is very good, good

(36.4%) or not very good at all (6%). Moreover, of 182 men 49.5% regard their written English as very good, 38.5% as good and 12.1% as not very good at all.

Employment in Canada

The labour force participation of Sudanese men is higher than for men in BC (86.4% versus 70.7% for all BC men) (BC Stats, 2004). This discrepancy becomes more pronounced when the employment rate of Sudanese men is compared to that of the BC labour force for March 2004 (86.4% versus 65.1%) (BC Stats, 2004). Of 169 Sudanese men, the majority (74%) are employed full-time, 12.4% are employed part-time and 7.7% are unemployed (5.9% chose the category "Other"). Thus, the unemployment rate of Sudanese men falls slightly below that of the BC unemployment rate for March 2004 (7.9%) (BC Stats, 2004).

When comparing the occupations the men hold in Canada with their occupations in Sudan, a clear picture of underemployment emerges. Underemployment is defined as being employed, but not "in the desired capacity, whether in terms of compensation, hours, or level of skill and experience".

<http://www.investorwords.com/5835/underemployment.html>, 2004). Many Sudanese men (76 or 43.2%) work in unskilled labour. The occupations most commonly cited were general or industrial labourer, gas station attendant and security guard. Sudanese men, despite having educational credentials similar to that of the New Westminster population (Statistics Canada, 2001), are over represented in sales and services occupations and unskilled labour (See table 4). This trend indicates that the men have not found employment that corresponds with their level of training and education in the Sudan.

Remittances to family members in Africa

Of 184 men, 161 (87.5%) indicated that they were sending money to family members and 99.4 % reported that they find it important or very important to provide financially for family members back home. The respondents who do not send money (23 or 14.2%) are either unemployed or studying and were not able to make financial contributions to family members. Of 159 men sending money home, 44% send money every month, 44.7% send money once every three months and 11.3% send money once a year or less often. The men sent an average of \$148 ($SD=72.54$; *Range*: 50-500; $N=155$) to family members each month. Out of 160 men, 30% reported that their financial provisions help family members 'a little' and 70 % found the money helped 'quite a bit' or 'a lot'. Almost all of the men (92% of 176) indicated that they find it difficult to send money home to family members while getting established in Canada.

Global breadwinner role strain

Increased global breadwinner role strain was significantly related to the perception that it was important or very important to provide financially for family members in Africa ($r=.163$; $p=.039$). Global breadwinner role strain was further related to the amount of money the men were able to send each month. The less money they were able to remit the more they experienced global breadwinner role strain ($r=-.225$, $p=.005$). The amount of money the men were able to send home depended on their incomes (income and quantity of monetary contributions were significantly and positively correlated at $r=.288$; $p=.000$). Compared to the average earnings (i.e., all persons with earnings) of men in BC (Statistics Canada, 2001), Sudanese men earn relatively meager incomes. The BC average is \$ 38,039 whereas the majority of Sudanese men earn

between \$20,000 and 29,999 a year (37.1%) followed by 29.1% who earn between \$30,000 and 39,999, 18.9% who earn between \$10,000 and 19,999 and 13.7% who earn between \$0 and 9,999. Less than 1.2% reported incomes exceeding \$40,000 per annum. According to after-tax low-income cut offs (LICO) as set out by Statistics Canada (1992 base), the poverty line for one person living in a city of 500,000+ (e.g., Vancouver) is \$16,348. For a family of four, the LICO is \$31,424. For the city of New Westminster these figures are \$13,558 for one person and \$26,061 for a family of four. According to these data, many of the men live at or below the poverty line and can be described as the 'working poor'.

In order to investigate the financial strain experienced by Sudanese men in more detail, one set of items asked men to indicate whether they find it difficult to pay for food, shelter, transportation, bills and leisure activities while sending money to family members in Africa. A measure of perceived financial strain allows for a better understanding of the depth and type of economic hardship as opposed to looking at income alone. It also allows the researcher to determine whether and how the men compromise their own economic security when they are sending money to family members in Africa. As shown in Table 6, most men struggle to meet basic living expenses while providing financially for family members in Africa.

Table 6

Percentage of Men who Find it Difficult to Meet Selected Expenses while Sending Money to Family Members in Africa

	<i>N</i>	%
Rent	163	90
Food	160	74
Monthly bills	159	81
Education/ Job training	143	91
Entertainment/ Dating	164	81

Out of 180 men, only 11.1% reported that they could afford a home that is large enough and only 2.8% indicated that they were able to afford the kind of leisure activities they enjoy ($N=178$). In addition, 98.3% of 180 couldn't afford the kind of car they needed, 70% reported a great deal of difficulty in meeting monthly payments on bills and 74% indicated that they do not have enough money to make ends meet. These results illustrate a high degree of economic insecurity and global breadwinner role strain for the target population.

Hypothesis testing

1) A higher level of role strain is associated with the diminished psychosocial adjustment of Sudanese men.

To test this hypothesis the two role strain measures, economic and global breadwinner role strain were each correlated with the two subscales of the cultural adjustment difficulties checklist (Table 7).

Table 7

*Correlations Between Independent and Dependent Variables
(Pearson r)*

Subscale	Psychological adjustment	Social adjustment
	Acculturative distress	Intercultural competence concerns
Economic Role Strain ($N=173$)	-.209**	.451**
Global Breadwinner Role Strain ($N=170$)	-.209**	-.154*
Social Support ($N=173$)	.010	-.522***
Spiritual Support ($N=173$)	-.544***	.169*
Anticipatory Socialization ($N=171$)	-.074	-.318***

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Results indicate that a higher degree of economic role strain was significantly related to a higher degree of social adjustment difficulties ($r = .451$, $p = .000$, 2-tailed,) but fewer psychological adjustment difficulties ($r = -.209$, $p = .006$, 2-tailed). The second measure of role strain, i.e., global breadwinner role strain more specifically examined the emotional

and financial strain experienced by Sudanese men who are providing financially for family members at home while resettling in Canada. Global breadwinner role strain was inversely and significantly related to psychological ($r = -.209, p = .006$, 2-tailed) and social adjustment difficulties ($r = -.154, p = .045$, 2-tailed), thus disconfirming hypothesis 1 for global breadwinner role strain.

1a) The effect of role strain on psychosocial adjustment will be less pronounced if levels of social support are high.

In order to test for a moderator effect, the predictor and moderator main effects were entered into a regression equation, followed by an examination of the interaction of the predictor and the moderator on the dependent variable (Holmbeck, 1997). In order to create interaction terms, the scores of the social support scale and both role strain measures were centered. Then each centered role strain measure was multiplied by the centered social support scale. Finally the interaction terms were entered into a regression equation in two blocks, block 1 testing for a simple main effect and block two testing for a moderator effect of social support (Young suggests to perform separate regression analyses to maximize the power of each procedure). A main effect is present when a significant increase in accounted variance is achieved by including the independent variable. A significant increase in accounted variance by the product of two variables indicates an interaction (Young, 2001). Statistically significant interactions can then be plotted as regression lines that indicate low versus high levels of the moderator variable. With our sample neither interaction was statistically significant, thus hypothesis 1a was not supported (see Table 8).

Table 8

Regression Analyses for Moderator Effect

	Acculturative distress		Intercultural competence concerns	
	<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>p</i>
Economic Role Strain ^a	-.249	.003	.276	.000
Global Breadwinner Role Strain ^a	-.219	.006	.003	.965
Social Support ^a	.032	.721	-.394	.000
Interaction 1: Economic Role Strain x Social Support ^b	.135	.086	.014	.840
Interaction 2: Global Breadwinner Role Strain x Social Support ^b	-.141	.062	-.027	.682

^a Main Effects^b Interaction Effects

Holmbeck (1997) reports that significant moderator effects are difficult to find when a sample is too homogenous to allow for sufficient variability, i.e., high and low levels of the moderator and predictor variables may not be adequately represented in order to detect a statistically significant result.

2) High levels of religiosity/spirituality are hypothesized to increase psychosocial adjustment.

Hypothesis 2 was supported as the Subscale Spiritual Support was significantly and inversely related to psychological adjustment difficulties ($r = -.544, p = .000$, 2-tailed). Therefore, the more spiritual/religious the men were the more well-adjusted they were psychologically. It appears that spirituality/religiosity protected the men against the

incidence of acculturative distress. This relationship was reversed for spiritual support and social adjustment ($r = .169, p = .026$, 2-tailed). Higher scores on the spiritual support scale were correlated with more social adjustment difficulties (Table 6).

3) High levels of anticipatory socialization are hypothesized to improve psychosocial adjustment.

The concept of anticipatory socialization has not been studied in the context of the adjustment of immigrants and refugees who are providing financially for family members in their countries of origin while getting established in the country of resettlement. In the case of Sudanese men, anticipatory socialization was significantly related to improved social adjustment ($r = -.282, p = .000$, 2-tailed). However, these results must be interpreted with caution as the inter item reliabilities for the scale were poor.

4) Sociodemographic control variables

As shown in Table 9 men who were more proficient in English had lower scores of acculturative distress, thus indicating that language proficiency has an effect on psychological adjustment. Higher incomes, employment status (full or part-time), better language proficiency and fewer years of residence in Canada were associated with more social adjustment difficulties.

To sum up, hypothesis 4 was supported for length of residence and social adjustment and language proficiency and psychological adjustment. Income appears to play an important role in social adjustment, but the direction of the association requires further investigation.

Table 9

Correlations between Control Variables and Independent/Dependent Variables

	Acculturative Distress	Intercultural Competence Concerns
Age (N=173)	.019	.015
Education (N=160)	.016	.026
Employment Status (N=159)	-.016	.334**
Income (N=165)	-.037	.412**
Language proficiency (N=172)	-.166*	.169*
Length of residence In Canada (N=173)	.034	-.226**
Marital Status (N=172)	-.125	.069
Place of origin in the Sudan (N=170)	.085	.101
* p<.05 **p<.001, two-tailed		

Post hoc analyses

In order to understand the adjustment and acculturation of Sudanese men more completely, independent and control variables that were statistically significant in association with the dependent variables were entered into a stepwise regression (Social support was included as an independent variable in the post hoc analyses). A step-wise

method was chosen because it allows for an exploration of key variables to include in future conceptualizations of adjustment for this population. The following two models emerged.

1) Predictors of psychological adjustment (Acculturative distress):

Spiritual support contributed 41% of the variance, thus serving as a powerful predictor of the psychological adjustment of Sudanese men. The variance increased to 43% when global breadwinner role strain was added. Beta coefficients for the two predictors were negative and significant leading to the conclusion that improved psychological adjustment of Sudanese men is a function of increased spiritual support and global breadwinner role strain. The finding that increased global breadwinner role strain relates to improved psychological adjustment appears counterintuitive. However, it must be noted that less than 3% of the variance in psychological adjustment can be explained by global breadwinner role strain (Table 10). The following variables were excluded from the model: Economic role strain and language proficiency. Please see Appendix C for the descriptive statistics and correlation matrix of the variables that were entered into the regression equation.

Table 10

Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis Predicting Acculturative Distress

	β	R^2	$R^2 \Delta$	p
Spiritual Support	-. 639**	.408	N/A	.000
Global Breadwinner Role Strain	-. 133*	.425	.017	.029

p< .05*, p<.001**

2) *Predictors of social adjustment (Intercultural competence concerns).*

Social support accounted for 25% of the variance. The variance increased to 32% when economic role strain was added. Income added another 5.4 % to the variance and spiritual support 2.5 % bringing the total variance to 39%. All beta coefficients were positive with the exception of social support. These findings suggest that social support is a strong predictor of improved social adjustment. Moreover, Sudanese men who experience more economic role strain, earn higher incomes and have more spiritual support tend to show more intercultural competence concerns (Table 11).

The following variables were excluded from the model: Language proficiency, employment status, length of residence in Canada and global breadwinner role strain. Please see Appendix D for the descriptive statistics and correlational matrix of the variables that were entered into the regression equation.

Table 11

Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis Predicting Intercultural Competence Concerns

	β	R^2	$R^2 \Delta$	<i>Sig.</i>
Social support	-.497	.247	N/A	.000
Economic role strain	.302	.322	.075	.000
Income	.256	.376	.054	.000
Spiritual support	.167	.401	.025	.014
p<.05*, p<.001**				

Chapter 6: Discussion

This research project set out to understand the experiences of Southern Sudanese men who are resettling in the Lower Mainland. More specifically, determinants of the psychosocial adjustment of the men were examined with a focus on the role strain associated with sending money to family members while becoming established in Canada.

All hypotheses with the exception of 1a (moderator effect) were tested using correlation analyses. The final model was tested by regressing the acculturative distress and intercultural competence concerns scales on variables that were found to be statistically significant with each subscale.

Summary of findings

Correlation analyses revealed the following patterns: Increased economic role strain was associated with increased social adjustment difficulties. Although the relationships between both role strain measures and both subscales of the dependent variable were statistically significant, hypothesis 1 could only be supported for economic role strain and social adjustment difficulties. Social support was tested as a moderator variable between role strain and psychosocial adjustment. Although increased social support was significantly related to improved social adjustment, an interaction effect was not detected. Therefore, hypothesis 1a could not be supported.

However, hypothesis 2 could be supported as higher levels of religiosity were associated with improved psychological adjustment. This association was significant for social adjustment as well, but the direction of the association was reversed. In addition, more anticipatory socialization was significantly related to improved social adjustment, thus confirming hypothesis 3. Finally, better English language proficiency was significantly related to improved psychological adjustment and having lived in Canada for longer was significantly related to improved social adjustment. All other control variables were not related to the dependent variables as hypothesized. A final model was tested with a step-wise multiple regression analysis and revealed that acculturative distress (psychological adjustment difficulties) could best be predicted by low levels of spiritual support (religiosity) and global breadwinner role strain. Intercultural competence concerns (social adjustment difficulties) were best predicted by low levels of social support.

Acculturative distress: Variables affecting psychological adjustment

The acculturative distress scale assesses problems with psychological adjustment, the use of appropriate coping resources and also covers the domains of depression. Overall, the findings from our study make an important contribution in the area of acculturation research by showing a group of refugees who experience, on average, less acculturative distress than comparable populations (The mean of the sample for the acculturative distress measure was over 20 points below the hypothetical mean). The Sudanese men are well-adjusted, suffer little depression and are utilizing healthy coping strategies.

However, the findings that both economic and global breadwinner role strain were related to improved psychological adjustment raises some questions. Previous research on stress and role strain experienced by immigrants and refugees does not substantiate these results. On the contrary, with a sample of Filipinos residing in the U.S., overall stress increased as economic role strain increased (Agbayani-Siewert, 1993). Similarly, Akuei (2004) describes the anxiety and stress experienced by Southern Sudanese Dinka families who are sending remittances to family members in Africa while trying to meet their own needs. Akuei further reports that the Dinka come from communities "where the maintenance of kinship and ethnic belonging are at the core of their self-concept and well-being" (p. 3) thus exacerbating the sense of obligation to assist family members in need. Not surprisingly, the Dinka who were interviewed complained of sleeplessness due to worries about being irresponsible and not fulfilling commitments to family members.

Considering that previous research has established a link between economic role strain (and the obligation to send remittances) and stress, one has to wonder why the Sudanese men under investigation do not seem to suffer ill effect from the economic and global

breadwinner role strain they are experiencing. Akuei (2004) offers two possible explanations for this phenomenon; First, she describes that it is perceived as “distasteful and undignified to complain about one’s problems” (p.6) and second, remittances are regarded as important social gestures that give the sender a sense of well-being, pride and dignity. Akuei (2004) also points out how important remittances are in creating social continuity in a system that has been fragmented by war and displacement. For instance, monetary provisions from abroad may enable younger siblings to attend school, may contribute toward a dowry so that family ties can be extended, buy medications for an ill relative or help with basic living expenses. In the current study, the men did report high levels of economic and global breadwinner role strain, but this strain did not translate into psychological adjustment difficulties. On the contrary, it improved psychological adjustment, possibly by giving the men a sense of pride and dignity in how they are supporting family members in Africa.

The psychological resiliency of the men is also facilitated by their spirituality/religiosity. Close to 41% of the variance in psychological adjustment (Acculturative distress) could be explained by spirituality/religiosity. It is interesting to note that Sudanese men scored low on the subscale spiritual openness that measures a sense of connectedness to a higher being and a willingness to accept divergent spiritual beliefs. In contrast, they scored very high on average on the subscale spiritual support, which stresses extrinsic expressions of faith such as church attendance and group prayers and “provides a strong undergirding for the personality” (Genia, 1997, p.348). It is not surprising then that psychological adjustment is ameliorated by spiritual support, especially in the context of a cohesive ethnic community that shares similar cultural

norms and expressions of faith. The church is in fact the nucleus of the Sudanese community as is the case with so many African and African-American communities around the world (Constantine et al., 2001). The finding that spirituality has a positive effect on the psychological adjustment/health of Sudanese men is congruent with previous studies on the effect of spirituality/religiosity on mental health and psychological well-being (Reinert & Bloomingdale, 1999; Swinton, 2001; Wiggins Frame et. al, 1996; Young, Cashwell & Shcherbakova, 2001).

Intercultural competence concerns: Variables affecting social adjustment

A possible reason for why men who experience more economic role strain also experience difficulties with social adjustment may be that fewer financial resources translate into fewer opportunities for dating and entertainment and thus socializing. As mentioned in earlier sections, a vast majority of men indicated that they could not afford leisure activities, dating or entertainment. Socializing may also be impeded by lack of transportation, as over 90% of men did not have access to the kind of car they needed.

The social adjustment difficulties of Sudanese men can also be examined by comparing the mean (72) for subscale 2 (Intercultural Competence Concerns) with the scale's hypothetical mean (60). This discrepancy suggests that Sudanese men, on average, struggle with social adjustment.

It may be difficult for the men to integrate socially and feel culturally competent for a variety of reasons: First, these men have not been in Canada for very long ($M= 3.6$ years) and are still in the process of adapting to Canadian norms and customs. A correlational analysis shows that men who have resided in the lower mainland for longer show significantly fewer social adjustment difficulties (see Table 10). Second, Sudanese

men were socialized in a cultural setting that stressed traditional gender roles that are more clearly demarcated than in Canadian society (Holtzmann, 2000). Such discrepancies in value systems may present difficulties when socializing with White Canadians who may hold more egalitarian views of gender roles. Last, many of the men are likely experiencing some form of prejudice and discrimination and are hesitant to socialize with White Canadians. Results from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (Statistics Canada, 2003) support these claims. For instance, Blacks were more likely to report that they have experienced discrimination and unfair treatment than other ethnic groups in Canada. The Blacks who had experienced discrimination were significantly less trusting with people than other ethnic groups and those Blacks who did not experience discrimination. Also, Blacks who perceived discrimination had a stronger sense of belonging to their own ethnic group than those who did not perceive discrimination. Considering the large size of the sample ($N=42,476$) these findings present compelling evidence that perceived discrimination affects social interactions with other Canadians due to low levels of trust and that Black Canadians are more likely to turn to their own ethnic group when they perceive discrimination and unfair treatment in their communities.

The Sudanese community plays an important part indeed in the social adjustment of the men. More precisely, lower levels of social support contributed 25% of the variance in predicting social adjustment difficulties. It appears that social support is to some extent a function of economic insecurity. Many of the men live with each other to keep rental costs low and have created networks of quasi-kin at their places of residence. The men are not only embedded within a strong ethnic community but they also share day to day

activities with fellow Sudanese roommates. Bronfenbrenner (cited in White & Klein, 2002) asserts that individuals develop and adapt through exchanges with the surrounding ecosystem fits with the experience of Sudanese men who are part of both a micro and macro system of fellow Sudanese.

The men's integration within the Sudanese community and culture provides a strong system of instrumental and emotional support. However, community norms that stress loyalty to extended family networks by making financial contributions to family members in Africa can also increase the pressure felt by Sudanese men. Here we may have evidence of what Kawachi and Berkman (2001) refer to as the 'dark side of social capital'. On the one hand, the sense of belonging and familiarity that comes with chain migrating into an already existing ethnic enclave of other Sudanese men and women improves adjustment, but on the other hand it exacerbates pressures to conform to cultural norms that stress traditional gender roles, extended family structures and thus a commitment to supporting families at home. Not surprisingly, men who experienced more global breadwinner role strain also reported more social support from family and friends. These findings may indicate that providing financially for family members in Africa may be part of a system of reciprocal support.

Another outcome of relying too much on one's own ethnic/cultural group for social interaction may be a separation from the larger society. According to Berry (1998) the acculturation strategy of separation is utilized when newcomers value the identity and characteristics of their ethnic/cultural group while considering it less important to maintain a relationship with the larger society. The Sudanese men are somewhat separated from mainstream Canadian culture and can therefore be described as using the

acculturation strategy of separation. This assumption is based on a qualitative examination of the answers the men provided on a measure of social network size. Most men cited their wives and children and fellow Sudanese men and women as part of their social support system. Moreover, the researcher has frequented many Sudanese community events and is typically the only White Canadian present. However, this trend is slowly changing as some Sudanese men marry into other cultural groups and make connections with White Canadians. Berry (1998) argues that integration is a preferred strategy for newcomers who are trying to adjust to the norms and values of the country of resettlement. However, this strategy is only possible in societies that value multiculturalism and have low levels of prejudice (ethnocentrism, racism, and discrimination). As mentioned in earlier sections, some men have experienced racial profiling and other forms of prejudice in the Lower Mainland and may be hesitant to build and maintain relationships with White Canadians (Kosa, personal communication, 2004). Interestingly, more spiritual support was also significantly related to social adjustment difficulties. A possible explanation for this finding may be that the men demonstrated very strong religious values based on extrinsic faith, spiritual well being and worship attendance (mean score of spiritual support scale=72.77) but scored lower on the measure of spiritual openness (mean=33.19). The mean scores for the normative sample were 54 and 44 respectively. Therefore, as a group the Sudanese can be categorized as dogmatic (above average on spiritual support, below average for spiritual openness), i.e., they are not as open to divergent spiritual beliefs, but 'claim certitude for their own spiritual formulations' (p.53, Genia, 1997). These dogmatic beliefs may set them apart from Canadians (who, on average, show low levels of religious affiliation)

and may make it more difficult for them to interact socially with people outside of their ethnic enclave.

Hypothesis 4 proposed a set of empirically grounded control variables commonly used in acculturation research. Interestingly, most of the control variables were not significantly related to adjustment. Men with a better command of written and spoken English were adjusting better psychologically. In addition, men who had been in Canada for longer periods of time experienced fewer social adjustment difficulties. However, higher incomes were persistently associated with diminished social adjustment. This association can only be understood by examining the men's motivation behind earning higher incomes and the types of jobs the men can find. From the experience of the researcher and the findings of this study, Sudanese men are willing to work very hard to support their families (both in Canada and abroad). These claims are supported by the high labour force participation of the men and their desire to find wives and start 'traditional' families. Adequate financial resources become especially important when Sudanese men want to sponsor a fiancé from Africa. Not only do they have to prove to the Canadian government that they have enough funds to support a wife in Canada, but they are also expected to provide the wife's family with a substantial dowry. Although the bride's wealth typically consists of a certain number of live stock, Sudanese men who live abroad offer money (around \$10,000 USD) to the wife's family. The dowry to some extent solidifies the relationship between the two extended families and ensures that the wife remains with the husband (as the dowry must be returned if the wife leaves the husband).

Considering the importance of financial resources in 1) proposing to and sponsoring a fiancée (for single men) 2) providing financially for family members in Africa and Canada (for married men) and 3) building a secure and comfortable life in the Lower Mainland it is not surprising that many Sudanese men are willing to work in occupations that may be physically straining (general labour, industrial labour), and not associated with social prestige. The underemployment and economic insecurity of Sudanese men is reflective of a larger trend in the average earnings of newcomers to Canada. According to a report on recent immigrants to Canada based on 1996 census data, nearly 40% of very recent immigrants had incomes below one-half of median incomes. This trend applies to families and unattached individuals. However, the proportion of low-income immigrants drops as length of residence increases (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2001).

Implications for theory development

First, it must be taken into consideration that theories that fall within the conceptual framework of symbolic interactionism (e.g., role transition theory) have been criticized as being too rigid and culturally specific in application. In particular, the concept of roles likely varies significantly across cultures, because “explanations are always subjective and context and symbol specific” (p.84, White & Klein, 2002). Interpretations of the concepts of role transition theory are largely determined by socio cultural context.

These concerns are confirmed by taking a closer look at how the Sudanese men interpreted the concept of roles. One section of the survey asked men to indicate how important certain roles were to them. Almost all of the men were able to rate the importance of the roles of employee, friend, and global breadwinner. However, when asked to write down and rate additional roles the men might occupy, very little

information was offered. The few respondents who did fill in the blanks offered a narrative rather than one or more roles. For example, one man described how he wanted to sponsor relatives from Sudan to live in Canada. However, the vast majority of men did not elaborate on additional roles. The researchers expected married men to add the roles of husband or father, but none of the respondents did specify these roles. In fact, the concept of roles is given little consideration in Sudanese culture. By talking with some of the men about the concept, it appeared that they are less concerned with reasoning abstractly 'about the obvious' than doing what needs be done to meet obligations to family members.

Another concept of role transition theory, i.e. anticipatory socialization, was operationalized for inclusion in the current study. As hypothesized men who had been socialized for the role reported lower global breadwinner role strain. Therefore, hypothesis 3 could be confirmed.

Although this research project was not aimed at validating every proposition put forth by role transition theory, it does offer some insight into the importance of anticipatory socialization for Sudanese men who are sending money to family members while resettling in Canada. In addition, a measure of anticipatory socialization for the global breadwinner role may be useful with other samples of immigrants and refugees who regularly send money to family members at home (e.g. Filipina women).

Contributions of the study

The concept of global breadwinner role strain is unique in the literature on the adjustment of immigrants and refugees. Although other researchers have documented the stress associated with sending remittances to family members in Africa (Akuei, 2004) the

development of a scale to measure the psychological and financial strain associated with providing monetary contributions to family members in Africa while adjusting to life in the country of resettlement is new in the literature.

Our conceptualization of the role of global breadwinner goes beyond the behaviour of sending remittances to family members. It includes emotional and psychological strain apart from the financial difficulties associated with sending remittances. In a qualitative investigation of African and Latin American refugees in Montreal, Rousseau et al. (2001) describe the psychological impact of being separated from family members. The refugees were tormented daily by worries about the safety, health and financial security of their family members while feeling more or less powerless about improving the situation. Rousseau et al. (2001) further describes the guilt these refugees experience from not being able to sponsor or support family members. This sentiment is also mentioned in a study by Akuei (2004) on Sudanese families who send remittances to Africa. Many families experience pressure and negative feedback from relatives whom they are expected to support. Although some qualitative studies have addressed these stressors, none have done so in depth. Moreover, previous research has not examined the impact of enacting the global breadwinner role while adjusting to life in the country of resettlement.

In addition, the current study has implications for both refugee policy and the provision of culturally appropriate services for refugees. This study illuminated that refugees from Africa who are expected to provide financially for families at home may not have enough resources to establish themselves in Canada, let alone sponsor relatives to live in safety. For this reason, Citizenship and Immigration Canada would be well

advised to facilitate the family reunion of refugee claimants from the Sudan by reducing resettlement waiting times and financial criteria for sponsoring relatives.

Second, Sudanese men benefit from anticipatory socialization for the role of global breadwinner. Therefore, it is important to prepare refugees with the help of orientation programs that focus on a realistic overview of employment opportunities in Canada, the cost of living, structural barriers to adjustment and the possibility that it may be very difficult to enact the role of global breadwinner while resettling.

Based on the findings of this study, it is also important to educate municipal governments about the importance of resettlement into existing ethnic enclaves of Sudanese refugees and to provide Sudanese refugees with opportunities to practice their religious beliefs as a way of coping with the stressors of adjusting to the Canadian way of life. In other words, it is essential that municipal governments facilitate the community development and integration of African newcomers. Lastly, language proficiency was shown to improve psychological adjustment and is a prerequisite to studying and working in Canada. Therefore, ESL and job finding classes should be offered at the community level and subsidized by the government by providing funding to refugee servicing agencies in Vancouver.

The findings of this study also have implications for other refugee populations who face this unique set of stressors (most notably, Filipino immigrants and other refugee populations whose families are dependent on monetary assistance from abroad).

Limitations of the study

First, this study is limited by sampling bias. The snowballing method has been criticized for generating an incomplete and inaccurate sampling frame, for relying too

much on respondents from the same social network and under sampling more isolated refugees (Bloch, 1999). Random sampling is preferable to a snowballing technique and the selective recruitment of participants for two reasons: 1) It allows for better generalizability of results and 2) it increases variability of responses. With regard to the first point, the sample of 185 participants represents a large number of Sudanese men currently resettling in the lower mainland and allows for a comprehensive examination of a Sudanese community in Canada. Moreover, it is difficult to obtain large samples of refugees from close-knit communities and none of the studies on Africans in Canada that were reviewed had sample sizes in excess of 185. With regard to point 2, the sample showed variability in responses on most measures, with exception of the spiritual support scale. Here responses were quite homogenous, indicating a high degree of religiosity for all participants.

Second, it was difficult to assess the experiences and needs of recently arrived refugees from rural Sudan. Illiterate respondents and those only familiar with colloquial Arabic were excluded from the study, because respondents were required to understand and fill out a questionnaire in either English or standard Arabic. However, it should be pointed out that a bilingual research assistant (Arabic/English) who was also fluent in colloquial Arabic was available to assist participants.

Third, the anticipatory socialization measure had low inter item reliabilities and results involving this measure must therefore be interpreted with caution. Moreover, data collection spanned over seven months and there is a possibility of a history effect. Various political changes occurred in the Sudan during this time which may have

affected the pattern of financial provisions to family members and the attitudes of the men.

Fourth, the cross-sectional design of this study gives the reader a limited understanding of the adjustment of Sudanese refugee claimants. The process of acculturation can best be studied by conducting longitudinal research.

Fifth, the cross-cultural applicability of some of the concepts studied (e.g., roles, symptoms of depression) is questionable. For instance, the acculturative distress measure covered domains of depression and a range of unhealthy coping styles that may be less meaningful when applied to Sudanese men. Last, the findings from this study can only be generalized to male refugees who face a similar set of stressors.

Conclusion

This study examined the experiences and determinants of the psychosocial adjustment of Sudanese men. The picture that emerged is one of a cohesive community characterized by strong religious values and an unwavering commitment to supporting families in Africa while adjusting to the Canadian way of life. The resiliency and endurance of the men is astonishing if one considers their shared legacy of persecution, torment and displacement. However, many are hopeful that one day they (and their children) can return to a peaceful Sudan.

There is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountaintop of our desires (Nelson Mandela).

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Appendix A

Vancouver, June 2, 2003

Dear Review Panel,

I am currently developing two new scales for inclusion in my study on the psychosocial adjustment of Southern Sudanese refugee men. I am seeking advice from you regarding the content validity of my initial item pool. The constructs I am hoping to measure are role strain and anticipatory socialization. Existing measures do not adequately address the experience of Sudanese refugees who are expected to make substantial monetary provisions to families at home while trying to become established in Canada. The items are based on concepts and assumptions from role transition theory and I would like to ask you to

- 1) examine the items for clarity and conciseness
- 2) comment on the item's relevance to the latent construct
- 3) point out additional items that may measure the constructs under investigation

Thank you very much.

Yours,

Kathrin Stoll

Role Strain from enacting the global breadwinner role while resettling in Canada

Definition: A global breadwinner is a refugee or immigrant who provides financially for family members who live in his/her country of origin.

Role strain: Role strain is defined by Goode (1960) as the “felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations”. Goode (1960) points out that individuals must balance different role obligations, which can create conflicts of allocation, in the form of money, energy, and emotions. In the current study, role strain is conceptualized as the product of enacting the global breadwinner role while resettling in Canada. Conflicts of allocation are primarily financial, however the role strain experienced from enacting the global breadwinner role occurs on an emotional level as well. For instance, refugees may experience anxiety and guilt when thinking about their fiscal responsibilities.

According to Burr, Hill, Nye & Reiss (1979) role strain “is the stress generated within a person when he or she either cannot comply or has difficulty complying with the expectations of a role or set of roles” (p.57).

Pool of items for global breadwinner role strain measure

The following questions are evaluated on a 6-point Likert scale: Strongly agree, moderately agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, moderately disagree, strongly disagree

- i) I feel like the well-being of my family depends on my financial assistance
- ii) When there is an emergency at home, I am expected to assist the family financially
- iii) I find it very difficult to pay for shelter, food and clothing while sending money home
- iv) I find it very difficult to pay for college classes or other job training while sending money home
- v) I find it very difficult to spend money on entertainment and dating while sending money home
- vi) I feel guilty that I cannot send more money home
- vii) I feel overwhelmed by the obligation to assist my family at home financially
- viii) I often feel tired at the end of the day
- ix) I feel badly when I cannot send money home
- x) I feel that I cannot become established in Canada while sending money home to Sudan
- xi) There is not enough time in a day to fulfill all the demands that are placed upon me

- xii) I feel like I am neglecting my family if I cannot send money home to Sudan
- xiii) I feel like I am neglecting my own needs if I send money home to Sudan
- xiv) I believe that without my financial help my family in Sudan would not do very well
- xv) I find it difficult to balance the financial needs of my family in Sudan with my own financial needs in Canada
- xvi) I cannot meet my monthly bills while sending money home
- xvii) My self-esteem depends on the amount of money I am able to send my family in Sudan
- xviii) My financial obligation to my family worries me
- xix) Meeting financial obligation to my family makes me feel good about myself
- xx) My financial obligation to my family makes me feel hopeless about my future
- xxi) I feel that I do not live up to my family's expectations (in terms of sending sufficient funds to Sudan)
- xxii) I can easily send money home while meeting all of my own financial needs.
- xxiii) Although I cannot meet all of my financial obligations, I feel little stress trying to balance my own financial needs with those of my family in Sudan
- xxiv) I find it frustrating that I don't earn enough money to provide for my family at home while also meeting my own financial needs
- xxv) I feel anxious when I think about my family's financial needs
- xxvi) Sometimes I feel poorly about myself, because I haven't been able to send enough money home to Sudan

Anticipatory socialization for the global breadwinner role

Definition: According to Burr, Hill, Nye & Reiss (1979) anticipatory socialization "can be defined as the process of learning such phenomena as norms, values, attitudes, and subtle dimensions of a role before being in a social situation where it is appropriate to actually behave in that role" (p. 84).

Anticipatory socialization, i.e., the "patterned but often unplanned learning of a role in advance of assuming it" (Laosa, 1998) has not been examined in the context of acculturation. However, acculturation researchers refer to anticipatory socialization when they point to the salience of skills and/or attitudes that were acquired prior to making the cross-cultural transition. These skills and attitudes are assumed to ease the transition into a new role and are mostly facilitated through cultural orientation programs (Goldstein & Smith, 1999), adequate role models and positive contact with the host-culture upon arrival (Hullet & White, 2001).

The following questions are evaluated on a 6-point Likert scale: Strongly agree, moderately agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, moderately disagree, strongly disagree

- i. Before coming to Vancouver I expected to be sending money home every month
- ii. Before coming to Vancouver I expected that it would be difficult to send money home to Sudan while becoming established in Canada
- iii. Before arriving in Canada I knew or had heard of other men or women who were supporting families from abroad
- iv. Before coming to Vancouver I expected to feel stressed when faced with the financial obligation of assisting family at home
- v. Before coming to Vancouver I had no idea how strained I would feel trying to send money home while paying for my own shelter, food and clothing
- vi. I had an unrealistic view of life in Canada and my financial situation
- vii. I have very good role models who teach me how to balance my financial needs in Canada with those of my family in Sudan
- viii. I provided financially for my family while I was still living in Sudan
- ix. Before coming to Canada, I had spoken with other Sudanese refugees about the difficulties of getting established in Canada while sending money home to Sudan
- x. I felt prepared to take on some financial responsibility for my family when relocating to Canada
- xi. I was unprepared for the role of financial provider for my family at home
- xii. I did not think that it would be so difficult to send money while establishing myself in Canada
- xiii. Before arriving in Canada I knew exactly how much my family would depend on me financially
- xiv. Before arriving in Canada I knew that my family's well-being would in part depend on my monetary provisions
- xv. Before arriving in Canada I heard of other men or women who found it difficult to send money home while meeting their own financial needs in Canada

Section 1- Personal Information.

Please fill in the blank or check one category.

1) How old are you? _____(years)

2) How many years have you lived in Canada? _____(years)

3) What is your current marital status? (please check one response that best fits your situation)

___ Never married

___ Common law

___ Legally separated, widowed, divorced

___ Married

4) Are you currently dating? If so, please answer "a" and "b".

a) How many months with your current partner? _____(months)

b) What nationality is your current partner? _____

5) Where in Sudan did you live before coming to Canada? (Check one response)

___ In a rural area

___ In a small city

___ In a large city

6) Which tribe do you belong to? _____

7) This is a question about your religious/spiritual beliefs. Do you hold :

___ Christian beliefs

___ Muslim beliefs

___ Traditional beliefs

___ If other, please specify: _____

8) What is your status in Canada? (Please check one)

___ Landed immigrant (permanent resident)

___ Refugee claimant

___ Canadian citizen

9) Where do you live (e.g. New Westminster, Richmond, etc.)?

10) Please list the countries you lived in up to now and how long you have lived in each country (including Sudan):

Country of residence	Length of residence (years and months)
Sudan	

11) Five years from now, which country do you see yourself living in?

12) What is your highest level of education?

- ☐ No formal schooling
☐ Some high school
☐ High school diploma
☐ College certificate or diploma
☐ University undergraduate degree
☐ Graduate degree

13) What was your occupation in Sudan? _____

14) What is your occupation in Canada? _____

15) What is your current employment status?

- ☐ Full-time (30 hours a week or more)
☐ Part-time (less than 30 hours a week)
☐ Unemployed
☐ Other _____

16) If you are a student, do you study?

- ☐ Full-time (3 courses per semester or more)
☐ Part-time (less than 3 courses per semester)
☐ Not a student

17) How often do you speak English ?

- ☐ Almost never
☐ Sometimes
☐ Often
☐ Almost all the time

18) How good is your written English ?

- ☐ Very good
☐ Good
☐ Not very good at all

19) How good is your spoken English ?

- ☐ Very good
☐ Good
☐ Not very good at all

20) Which language(s) do you speak at your place of residence?

21) Do you live with other Sudanese men or women? ☐ Yes ☐ No**22) Please check the category that includes your personal income for last year?**

- ☐ \$ 0 - 9,999
☐ \$ 10,000 - 19,999
☐ \$ 20,000 - 29,999
☐ \$ 30,000 - 39,999
☐ \$ 40,000 - 49,999
☐ \$ 50,000 - 59,999
☐ \$ 60,000 and over

23) Are you sending money to family members in Sudan? _____yes _____no:

If yes,

a) How often do you send money to family members in Sudan?

- _____ Once a month or more often
 _____ Once every three months
 _____ Once every six months
 _____ Once a year or less often

b) How much money (on average) are you sending each month?

_____ Canadian dollars

c) How much do you think the money helps your family?

- _____ A little
 _____ Quite a bit
 _____ A lot

24) Please list the persons in Canada whom you are close to in order of closeness.
 To ensure confidentiality, please identify people by numbers. For example:

- 1 --cousin
 2---friend
 3—co-worker

	Relationship to the person (e.g. friend, coworker, brother, etc.).
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	

**YOU HAVE COMPLETED SECTION 1 OF THIS SURVEY.
PLEASE TURN THE PAGE TO BEGIN SECTION 2.**

B) Please indicate whether you Strongly Disagree (SD =1), Somewhat Disagree (SWD=2) Disagree (D=3), Agree (A=4), Somewhat Agree (SWA=5) or Strongly Agree (SA=6) with the following statements about your personal experience.

Please circle ONE response that best describes your experience:

When I send money to family members in Sudan, I find it difficult to pay for . . .

	Strongly disagree			Strongly agree		
1. Rent	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Food (groceries)	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. College/university classes or job training	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Entertainment and dating	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Monthly bills, such as phone and electricity	1	2	3	4	5	6

Please circle ONE response that best describes your experience:

	Strongly disagree			Strongly agree		
6. I find it difficult to send money home to Sudan while getting established in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. I feel like I am letting my family in Sudan down if I cannot send money to them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. I feel guilty when I cannot send money to family members in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. I cannot send as much money as I would like to send to family in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. I can easily send money to my family in Sudan and meet my own financial needs.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
11. I am pleased about my ability to send money to my family in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
12. It is stressful not to be able to send enough money to family in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
13. I put my own financial needs before those of my family in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	

C) Before you came to Canada, you may have had expectations about what life would be like in Canada. Please answer these questions based on what those expectations were.

Please circle only ONE response per statement.

Before I came to Canada,

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1. I expected to send money regularly to my family in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
2. I expected to work hard to support myself in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
3. I knew or had heard of others from abroad who sent money to their families in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4. I expected that it would be easy to provide for myself and to send money to family in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
5. I learned skills that prepared me for the financial strain of supporting myself in Canada and my family in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
6. I was unprepared for the financial strain of supporting myself in Canada and my family in Sudan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	

D) At the present time:**Yes No**

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Are you able to afford a home that is large enough for you? | 1 | 2 |
| 2. Are you able to afford furniture or household equipment that needs to be replaced? | 1 | 2 |
| 3. Are you able to afford the kind of car you need? | 1 | 2 |

How often does it happen that you do not have enough money to afford:

Never**Once in
awhile****Fairly
often****Very
often**

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 4. The kind of food you should have? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. The kind of medical care you should have? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. The kind of clothing you should have? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. The leisure activities that you want? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

8. How much difficulty do you have in meeting the monthly payments on your bills? Do you have:

A great deal of difficulty 1

Some difficulty 2

Only a little difficulty 3

No difficulty at all 4

9. In general, how do your finances usually work out at the end of the month? Do you find that you usually end up with:

Some money left over	1
Just enough money to make ends meet	2
Not enough money to make ends meet	3

- E) Below is a list of statements about your relationships with family and friends.
Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement as being true.**

Please indicate ONE response per statement.

	Strongly Disagree		Strongly Agree	
1. My friends respect me.	1	2	3	4
2. My family cares for me very much.	1	2	3	4
3. I am not important to others.	1	2	3	4
4. My family holds me in high esteem.	1	2	3	4
5. I am well liked.	1	2	3	4
6. I can rely on my friends.	1	2	3	4
7. I am really admired by my family.	1	2	3	4
8. I am respected by other people.	1	2	3	4
9. I am loved dearly by my family.	1	2	3	4
10. My friends don't care about my welfare.	1	2	3	4
11. Members of my family rely on me.	1	2	3	4

	Strongly Disagree		Strongly Agree	
12. I am held in high esteem.	1	2	3	4
13. I can't rely on my family for support.	1	2	3	4
14. People admire me.	1	2	3	4
15. I feel a strong bond with my friends.	1	2	3	4
16. My friends look out for me.	1	2	3	4
17. I feel valued by other people.	1	2	3	4
18. My family really respects me.	1	2	3	4
19. My friends and I are really important to each other.	1	2	3	4
20. I feel like I belong.	1	2	3	4
21. If I died tomorrow, very few people would miss me.	1	2	3	4
22. I don't feel close to members of my family.	1	2	3	4
23. My friends and I have done a lot for one another.	1	2	3	4

F) Please indicate whether you Strongly Disagree (SD =1), Somewhat Disagree (SWD=2) Disagree (D=3), Agree (A=4), Somewhat Agree (SWA=5), Strongly Agree (SD=6) with the following statements about your personal experience.

Please circle ONE response per statement.

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
1. I often feel strongly related to a power greater than myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
2. My faith gives my life meaning and purpose.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. My faith is a way of life	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. I often think of issues concerning my faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. My faith is an important part of my individual identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. My relationship to God is experienced as unconditional love.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. My faith helps me confront tragedy and suffering.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. I gain spiritual strength by trusting in a higher power.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. My faith is often a deeply emotional experience.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. I make a conscious effort to live in accordance with my spiritual values.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. My faith enables me to experience forgiveness when I act against my moral conscience.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Sharing my faith with others is important for my spiritual growth.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. My faith guides my whole approach to life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. I believe that there is only one true faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Ideas from faiths different from my own increase my understanding of spiritual truth.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. One should not marry someone of a different faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. I believe that the world is basically good.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Learning about different faiths is an important part of my spiritual development.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree		
19. I feel a strong spiritual bond with all of humankind.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. I never challenge the teachings of my faith.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. My spiritual beliefs change as I encounter new ideas and experiences.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Persons of different faiths share a common spiritual bond.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. I believe the world is basically evil.	1	2	3	4	5	6

The cultural adjustment difficulties checklist cannot be reproduced here. It can be purchased for USD \$50 (see below)

Sodowsky, G.R., & Lai, E.W.M. (1997). The cultural adjustment difficulties checklist.

Antioch New England Graduate School, 40 Avon Street, Keene, NH. 03431-3516.

YOU MADE IT !

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY.

Correlation Matrix of Variables Used in the Post-Hoc Analyses (Testing Predictors of Acculturative Distress)

	Acculturative distress	Economic role strain	Global breadwinner role strain	Language Proficiency	Spiritual Support
Acculturative distress	1	-.209**	-.209**	-.166**	-.544**
Economic role strain	--	1	-.040	.226**	.227**
Global breadwinner role strain	--	--	1	-.071	.079
Language proficiency	--	--	--	1	.166**
Spiritual support	--	--	--	--	1

Descriptive Statistics of Variables Used in the Post-Hoc Analyses (Testing Predictors of Acculturative Distress)

	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Acculturative distress	173	63.3	23.3
Economic role strain	181	.000	5.1
Global breadwinner role strain	178	33.5	5.9
Language proficiency	184	.000	2.3
Spiritual support	180	73.4	10.2

Descriptive Statistics of Variables Used in the Post –Hoc Analyses (Testing Predictors of Intercultural Competence Concerns)

	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Economic role strain	181	.000	5.12
Employment status	169	1.6	.7
Global breadwinner role strain	178	33.5	5.9
Income	175	2.9	1.1
Intercultural competence concerns	173	75.3	23.9
Language proficiency	184	.000	2.3
Length of residence	185	3.6	2.3
Social support	180	70.7	8.4
Spiritual support	180	73.4	10.2