

Women's Acculturation to Canada:  
Uncertainty's Role

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By

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis investigated the relationship between subjective uncertainty, threat, and psychological and behavioural acculturation from the perspective of well-educated Canadian women who emigrated from Asia. In the first study, 153 women completed a questionnaire. These women lived in Canada for an average of 17 years, and were proficient in English. In the second study, in-depth qualitative interviews with three women who scored high and three women who scored low on the cultural uncertainty scale in the first study illustrated how women describe uncertainty in their lives. Subjective uncertainty reduction theory (SURT) posits that higher uncertainty leads to stronger group identification. However, Study 1 and Study 2 contradicted SURT, in that higher certainty was related to stronger cultural and Canadian identities. Women in this research identified strongly with their cultural group and as Canadians, they reported low levels of uncertainty, and they did not feel very threatened. Women's stories from Study 2 illustrate these findings. Moreover, threat and uncertainty were not related, suggesting that they are two conceptually different constructs. In Study 1, uncertainty and threat significantly contributed to the prediction of women's strength of social identifications after controlling for background variables, providing support for social identity theory. As well, Study 1 and Study 2 found support for the bidimensional approach to acculturation, remooing of cultural identity, and the compatibility of women's cultural and Canadian identities. These findings are consistent with past research, and suggest that women had very secure cultural and Canadian identities. The six interviews demonstrated the breadth and idiosyncratic nature of women's experiences. However, several themes

revealed that social identifications served three functions for women: enhanced self-esteem, ingroup cooperation and cohesion, and social interactions. Whether these motives are derivatives of subjective uncertainty needs further investigation. Taken together, these results suggest that SURT may be more applicable as a theory of adaptation, in that the initial adjustment period may induce high uncertainty and insecure social identifications. More broadly, the findings suggest continued application of theory to real-life settings is critical to the investigation of the motivational dynamics of identity choice and maintenance.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Canadians pride themselves on being multicultural; government policies encourage Canadians to retain their diverse heritage cultures while, at the same time, strengthening their national identity. The Canadian government describes Canadian multiculturalism as fundamental to its belief that all citizens are equal. The potential of all Canadians is recognized, and all Canadians are encouraged to integrate into society and take an active part in Canada's social, cultural, economic, and political affairs (Canadian Heritage, 2003). Moreover, Canadian multiculturalism ensures that all Canadians have the choice of whether they want to identify with their specific group or not. Canadian Heritage (2002) states that Canadians' individual rights are fully protected and "they need not fear group pressures." However, research has demonstrated that not all groups of newcomers have the same experiences in Canada. Immigrants from visible minority groups face different barriers to integration than less marginalized immigrants. For example, visible minority immigrant women may experience threats to their cultural identity in the form of discrimination and prejudice (e.g., Ganguly, 1992; Lalonde, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1992; Moghaddam, Taylor & Lalonde, 1987).

Despite the challenges migrating peoples experience negotiating their identities in the host country, few researchers focus on the psychological processes involved in the immigration process and the factors that influence individual choice and negotiation of

identity (Deaux, 2000). Earlier acculturation models have focused on behavioural adaptation; that is, how newcomers integrate into the host culture (Birman, 1994). These models, for the most part, were developed within the context of refugee and immigrant communities and have focused on the skills and knowledge needed to function in a new cultural environment. Early researchers assumed that questions of identity are not as pressing for most immigrants and refugees as they are for oppressed ethnic and racial groups born in the United States (Birman, 1994). These models assume that immigrants and refugees who are recently separated from their culture of origin have a firmer sense of belonging to a culture that is more easily maintained; the most pressing issue is assumed to be survival in the host country. As a result, investigation and intervention has primarily focused on the ways in which immigrants and refugees can maximize their participation in their surrounding community.

My thesis is premised on the argument that questions of identity need to be examined to provide a more complete understanding of the experiences of migrating individuals (see also Deaux, 2000). In a multicultural country such as Canada, exploration of the identities people claim, and ways in which they negotiate and manage their identities in a complex cultural environment is important. Ethnographic research has shown that migrating individuals continually negotiate their cultural identity and other new social identifications, particularly their emergent national identity with the country to which they emigrated (e.g., Ganguly, 1992; Hedge, 1998). Thus, it is important to systematically investigate both identification and behavioural aspects of immigrant integration.

## 1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In this dissertation, I investigated women's psychological experiences of immigration. Specifically, I examined how perceptions of threat to identity and uncertainty influence women's social identifications (psychological acculturation) and women's participation in Canadian and cultural activities (behavioural acculturation). Through the examination of both psychological and behavioural aspects of acculturation, my goal was to better inform the acculturation and intergroup relations literature about women's experiences in Canada.

In studying immigrant Canadian women's psychological and behavioural acculturation, I felt that I could best address the research questions by using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. I was interested in examining the relationship between uncertainty, threat and women's strength of social identifications and extent of participation in cultural and Canadian activities; research questions best suited to quantitative methodology. Uncertainty has only been investigated recently within the intergroup relations literature. Further, researchers have primarily manipulated uncertainty in laboratory experiments and, at this time, there have been no published field studies where uncertainty has been measured. Therefore, my research is one of the first to investigate uncertainty in the field. Thus, I felt that qualitative interviews with women would provide a more complete understanding of how women experience uncertainty. The purpose of the qualitative study was to provide a context for

the quantitative findings: that is, to further elaborate and present how women describe their experiences with uncertainty and how these experiences may influence their social identifications. In exploring the meaning of uncertainty for women, I wanted to illuminate the different facets of uncertainty and perhaps further theoretical development of the construct.

## 1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES

Several researchers criticize previous investigations of cultural adaptation because they ignored gender (e.g., Miedema & Tastsoglou, 2000; Dion & Dion, 2001). Early researchers' predilection to investigate the experiences of male immigrants has led to the invisibility or stereotyping of female immigrants' experiences (Boyd, 1986). In the last two decades, research on cultural adaptation has become more representative with the inclusion of female migrant experiences and the contribution of gender to immigrants' experiences (Dion & Dion, 2001). For example, in the 1980s, researchers examined female migrant issues such as entry status, labour force participation in the host society, and the relationship between employment and family work (Simon & Bertrell, 1986). Immigration as a gendered process has emerged as a prevailing framework for the investigation of cultural adaptation. Male and female migrants' differential experiences are due to several factors: men and women enter a new country under different immigration classes, they have access to different services, and they develop different networks for support (Creese & Dowling, 2001). Women often have to overcome difficult obstacles that men do not. For example, Ralston (1988, 1996) explored the lived experiences of South Asian women living in Halifax. In-depth interviews revealed that

several of the women who worked at home looking after their families, experienced isolation and developed few networks. Those women participating in the workforce had the added burden of balancing work and family. Ralston found that women were responsible for traditional family duties as well as the retention of the ethnic identity within their families.

Women migrating to Canada who belong to a visible minority can experience additional burdens. The immigrant identity may be more stigmatizing for women who are considered visible minorities because of the colour of their skin and their accent than women who are less visible in Canadian mainstream culture. For example, reports in the 1980s described immigrant women as doubly disadvantaged based on their gender and ethnicity. One report added class as another system of domination (Roberts, 1990). Moreover, visible minority immigrant women may face more barriers to integration strategies than less visible immigrant groups, and they may experience higher levels of uncertainty about their social identities (e.g., Ganguly, 1992; Hedge, 1998; Moghaddam, Taylor & Lalonde, 1987). In terms of the literature and research on immigrants, it is only in recent years that the perspective of visible minority immigrant women has been included (e.g., Hedge, 1998; Lalonde, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1988; Moghaddam & Perreault, 1992; Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Ralston, 1988). Moreover, in Canada, the top ten source countries for immigrants in 2003 were China, India, Pakistan, Philippines, Korea, United States, Romania, Iran, United Kingdom, and Sri Lanka (Citizen and Immigration Canada, 2003). For these reasons, the present research investigated the immigration experiences of women considered to be visible minorities in Canada.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The following review of the literature is presented in five sections. The first provides an overview of social identity theory (SIT) and its focus on parameters of ingroup behaviour to explain why or how intergroup relations researchers have neglected processes of identification in the past. The second section presents empirical research applying the intergroup perspective to immigration. Research presented here primarily focuses on predictors of immigrant men and women's social mobility strategies. These strategies pertain to those that improve an immigrant individual's economic and social status (Moghaddam, 1988). The next section examines social psychological and ethnographic research on immigrant men and women's negotiation of social identifications. The fourth section presents the bidimensional approach to acculturation that views heritage and mainstream culture identities as separate from one another. Research following this approach is presented where psychological and behavioural aspects of acculturation are treated as distinct components of acculturation. The last section discusses Hogg and Abram's (1993) subjective uncertainty reduction theory (SURT), presents experimental research testing its main tenets, and proposes Gao and Gudykunst's (1990) measure of uncertainty as a means of investigating uncertainty as a predictor of the strength of women's social identifications.



## 2.1 OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Intergroup relations research has traditionally focused on the determinants of prejudice and discrimination. For example, social identity theory (SIT), first formalized by Tajfel and Turner (1979; Tajfel, 1978), specifies how social categorization and social comparison processes operate with social belief structures to produce specific forms of group behaviour.

One assumption of SIT is that people are motivated to achieve a positive “social identity.” Tajfel (1978) defined social identity “as that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his [*sic*] knowledge of his [*sic*] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 63). The theory proposes that the motivation to achieve a positive social identity leads individuals to engage in social comparisons, comparing their (in)group to other (out)groups. A favourable comparison would result in ingroup bias — favouring the ingroup over the outgroup. An unfavourable comparison would result in outgroup favouritism and, hence, result in a negative social identity, causing the individual to experience dissatisfaction. In this circumstance, the degree to which a situation is perceived as unstable or illegitimate will influence the choices people make in terms of individual versus collective action to improve their group’s unsatisfactory (low) status. Stability of the situation is assessed based on whether the intergroup situation and the status of the groups is likely to change (unstable) or not (stable). Perceived legitimacy is assessed based on whether individuals find the intergroup situation and the respective status of the groups to be fair and just (legitimate) or not (illegitimate) (Tajfel, 1978;

Turner & Brown, 1978). Individual action will be pursued when the intergroup relational hierarchy is perceived as stable and legitimate. Collective action will be most likely pursued when the status hierarchy is perceived as unstable and illegitimate.

Tajfel (1970) was originally interested in the minimal conditions under which intergroup discrimination would occur. The “minimal group” paradigm was intended to set up the experimental situation devoid of variables thought to cause discrimination against outgroup members, and then to add variables cumulatively so as to identify the exact moment at which ingroup bias occurred. Thus, in the minimal group paradigm, division of participants into groups was unconfounded by variables specified by realistic conflict theory or relative deprivation theory as determinants of intra and intergroup attitudes. That is, there was no face-to-face interaction between respondents; group membership was anonymous; there was no history of hostility; and there was no conflict of interest, or any other form of interdependence. Moreover, participants did not gain personally from the rewards that they allocated and they were able to choose from a variety of fair and discriminatory reward strategies (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). What Tajfel and colleagues found changed the direction of research into intergroup relations because even within the minimal group paradigm, participants discriminated in favour of their ingroup on the point allocation tasks.

For example, in an early experiment, Tajfel, Billig, Bundy and Flament (1971) had schoolboy participants estimate varying numbers of dots projected on a screen. The participants were then told they would be divided into two groups to investigate different kinds of judgements. The boys were led to believe that one group would consist of boys

who had guessed the highest number of dots, and the second group would consist of boys who had guessed the lowest number of dots. In reality, the boys had been assigned randomly to each of the groups. In later experiments, participants were divided into groups in an explicitly random manner (the toss of a coin). This division of participants into groups followed the parameters presented above. Under these “minimal” conditions, Tajfel and colleagues expected no intergroup discrimination. However, an unexpected finding emerged: presented with the option of using fair and discriminatory reward strategies, participants chose to discriminate in favour of their own group and against outgroup members even under these minimal conditions. Indeed, the participants followed two very specific allocation strategies: namely to maximize the difference between their group and the outgroup, and fairness. Over twenty years of research has confirmed that within the minimal group paradigm, people reliably discriminate in this way in favour of their ingroup on point allocation tasks and evaluative dimensions (see Brewer & Kramer, 1986; Brown, 1988, 1995, 2000; Diehl, 1990; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Messick & Mackie, 1989; Tajfel, 1982).

From these minimal group experiments, four concepts formed the foundation of social identity theory: (a) social categorization, (b) social identity, (c) social comparison, and (d) psychological group distinctiveness (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Social categorization enables individuals to make sense of the world, by providing a process for segmenting the world into different groups or categories. In so doing, this provides individuals with a point of focus for their own identification. An individual’s social identity is represented by the individual’s knowledge of his or her membership in groups

and the value attached to belonging to these groups. The social comparison process provides the means for assessing the value of one's group membership in terms of its social position or status. The goal of engaging in intergroup social comparisons is to perceive one's membership group as positive and distinct from relevant outgroups. That is, social comparisons provide a means for favouring the ingroup over a relevant outgroup on the basis of a valued ingroup dimension, providing the basis for discriminatory intergroup behaviour (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Given that the results of the intergroup comparison are favourable, identification with that group reflects favourably on the person's self-concept and serves to maintain or enhance self-esteem (Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Thus, according to SIT, the reason why people identified with the categorization in the minimal group studies was presumably to maintain or enhance self-esteem.

Originally, SIT considered enhancing self-esteem as the main motivational force driving ingroup bias. Specifically, researchers in this tradition focused on the motivational role of self-evaluation with the need for self-esteem operationalized as an individual motive to maintain or enhance personal self-concept (Hogg & Mullin, 1999; Grieve & Hogg, 1999). Abrams and Hogg (1988) describe this as the self-esteem hypothesis. Hogg and Mullin (1999) state that the self-esteem motive of group identification inspired the majority of social identity research in areas such as intergroup conflict, intergroup relations, and ethnolinguistic identity (e.g., Giles & Johnson, 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1982; Taylor & McKirnan, 1984; Turner & Giles, 1981). However, study of the explicit relationship between self-esteem and social identification

or self-categorization at the social cognitive level has remained elusive (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Brown, 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1990, 1993; Long & Spears, 1997; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998).

The inconsistent support for the link between self-esteem and intergroup behaviour stems in part from the level of analysis researchers employ when measuring self-esteem, as well as the exclusion of variables that may mediate the relationship between self-esteem and intergroup behaviour. In a review of the research investigating the link between self-esteem and intergroup behaviour, Long and Spears (1997) indicate that the majority of researchers have employed measures of self-esteem deriving from personal rather than social identity. Long and Spears state that measuring personal self-esteem is inappropriate for the theoretical question being addressed. According to self-categorization theory, intergroup behaviour involves individuals acting as group members (in other words, acting from a social identity). Measures of personal self-esteem address the interpersonal level and should not be generalized to account for behaviour and cognition at the intergroup level. Long and Spears (1997) argue that a more suitable focus for testing predictions derived from SIT should involve collective self-esteem, which is the self-esteem derived from an individual's membership in particular social groups.

Critics have also labeled research on group motivation as reductionistic based on its treatment of the group in accordance with the traditional social psychological perspective (e.g., Doise, 1978; 1986; Hogg, 1992; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Moscovici, 1972; Taylor & Brown, 1979; Turner & Oakes, 1986). From this view, the group is defined as a face-to-face collection of individuals, and group processes as interpersonal

processes among more than two people. Conversely, SIT defines a group as a collection of individuals who classify, define, and evaluate themselves in terms of a common social category membership. In this way, social identity is defined as a component of self-concept based upon a particular group membership. It is also distinct from personal self-concept, which is based on attributes of the self and one's close interpersonal relationships. After all, when a social category is very large (e.g., gender or ethnicity), interpersonal processes cannot explain the collective behaviour of people with a common identity who may never have met.

While there is ample evidence that individuals strive for positive self-esteem (Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; McReynolds, 1987), social identification is only one way in which individuals can maintain or elevate self-esteem. Therefore it makes sense to empirically differentiate between personal and collective self-esteem. Crocker and colleagues have advanced this area by distinguishing between personal and collective self-esteem and developing a measure of collective self-esteem (e.g., Crocker, Blaine, & Luhtanen, 1993; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994).

Crocker and colleagues differentiate the motivations of people who are high and low in self-esteem (Crocker, Blaine & Luhtanen, 1993). They predict that individuals high in collective self-esteem may enhance their perceptions of the ingroup (self-enhancement motive), but not necessarily derogate the outgroup; whereas individuals low in collective self-esteem may derogate the outgroup (self-protection motive), but not necessarily enhance the ingroup. In a review of Crocker and colleagues' work, Long and

Spears (1997) interpret Crocker et al.'s analysis as suggesting that people high and low in collective self-esteem will differ in their ratings of both ingroups and outgroups.

However, it is unclear whether ingroup bias (measured as a difference between ingroup and outgroup ratings) should be greater for people high or low in collective self-esteem.

Long and Spears suggest that personal self-esteem, collective self-esteem, threat to personal and social identity, and degree of identification may interact together in complex ways to determine what people do to address self-esteem considerations.

Recent research has started to address the complexity involved in predicting intergroup behaviour by exploring the interactive effects of additional motivational influences such as threat to social identity, strength of identification, and uncertainty reduction (e.g., Brown, 1995; Brown et al., 1992; Grant, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1996; Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Hogg, 1996; Hogg and Abrams, 1993; Lalonde, 2002). For example, Abrams and Hogg have investigated other motivators of intergroup behaviour by shifting the focus from motivation associated with social comparison and self-esteem to motivation associated with social categorization and uncertainty reduction (e.g., Hogg, 1996; Hogg & Abrams, 1993). Grant (1992, 1993a, 1996) has investigated threat to identity as a moderator of the relationship between identification and ingroup bias. In addition, Hinkle and Brown (1990) developed a group taxonomy to identify conditions under which group members are more likely to engage in intergroup comparisons. The taxonomy focuses on two possible differences between groups: (a) whether groups are individualistic or collectivistic in nature; and (b) whether groups have a comparative or non-comparative ideology. Groups individualistic in nature tend to foster interpersonal

competition, independence, and individual achievement in their group members. Groups with a collectivistic orientation, in contrast, promote cooperation and interdependence among group members, and shared achievements. Hinkle and Brown predict that groups with a collectivist orientation are more likely to manifest social identity processes and engage in intergroup comparisons. However, this may be influenced by the comparative or non-comparative ideology of the group. They treat the collectivist-individualist dimension and comparative-non-comparative dimensions as orthogonal, and predict that social identity processes are more likely to occur for groups that have a comparative ideology and a collectivist orientation.

To conclude, these recent investigations into the parameters of ingroup bias continue the tradition that began with the original minimal group studies. When these studies revealed how easily ingroup bias could be created, researchers focused (and continue to focus) on the parameters of this bias, a rudimentary form of prejudice or discrimination, rather than the origins or the nature of group identification itself (Deaux, 1992).

## 2.2 INTERGROUP PERSPECTIVE APPLIED TO IMMIGRATION

Within the context of immigration, researchers at McGill University have examined identity negotiation strategies from an intergroup perspective. This perspective posits that immigrants will identify with, or are identified by others as belonging to, the social category of immigrant. Intergroup social comparisons accentuate the disadvantaged position of immigrants in comparison to established groups in the host country. One social disadvantage stems from lack of financial and social resources upon



arrival in Canada. Another disadvantage stems from minority status and how ethnicity, race, colour, religion, language, or dress set newcomers apart from Caucasian or Euro-Canadians. The studies conducted at McGill University have primarily predicted when immigrant groups will engage in individual or collective social mobility strategies (e.g., Lalonde & Cameron, 1993; Lalonde, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1988; Moghaddam & Perreault, 1992; Moghaddam, Taylor, & Lalonde, 1987). Some of these studies also included women's self-perceptions and meta-perceptions (how women perceive majority Canadians classify them) of various identity labels. One of the studies focused solely on predictors of immigrant women's social identifications (Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992).

In the majority of these studies, the researchers operationalized social mobility as the strategies immigrants endorse in order to *get ahead* in Canada. For example, do immigrants prefer to work with others of their ingroup (collective strategy) or do they prefer to "go it alone" (individualistic strategy)? These studies were based on Moghaddam's (1988) mobility model of social integration. According to this model, immigrants will engage in either individual or collective acculturative strategies. Moghaddam's model assumes that migrating individuals are motivated to improve the conditions of their life and to advance in the host society. His model posits two bipolar strategies for the improvement of migrating individuals' economic and social status: an assimilationist strategy, which involves the abandonment of their own culture in favour of the dominant culture (individualistic strategy), and a heritage culture maintenance strategy (collectivist strategy).

Lalonde and Cameron (1993) suggest that Moghaddam's (1988) social mobility model can be examined within the context of Berry's (1990, 1997) model of acculturation, which identifies four acculturation strategies: integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization. Which strategy is chosen is a function of how immigrants resolve two major issues they encounter in their daily lives in plural societies: cultural maintenance, and contact and participation. Cultural maintenance is the extent to which newcomers consider their cultural identity and characteristics important and strive to maintain a distinct identity. Contact and participation is the extent to which newcomers mix socially with other cultural groups, or interact primarily among themselves. Berry's model can be applied to a variety of groups in a multicultural context (e.g., ethnic groups, native peoples, immigrants, sojourners, and refugees). Lalonde and Cameron (1993) argue that in the case of immigrants, integration and assimilation are the only reasonable modes of acculturation because an immigrant's contact with the host culture is voluntary and because, presumably, immigrants desire to become participants in the host culture. These authors further propose that whereas the options of separation and marginalization may be more compelling for other groups (e.g., ethnic groups and indigenous peoples), they do not seem viable for immigrants. Thus, in the case of immigrants, Moghaddam's *heritage culture maintenance* can be equated with Berry's *integration*. Both models would define assimilation in the same way.

The McGill researchers conducted a series of studies in Montreal, Canada. They used the individualistic-collective integration strategy distinction to primarily study immigrant women's attempts to establish a new life. The focus on members of visible

minority groups stemmed from earlier findings that members of these groups may face different types of barriers to pursuing integration strategies than less visible immigrants. For example, Moghaddam, Taylor and Lalonde's (1987) research found that Iranian immigrants, who felt that heritage culture maintenance was important, were more likely to support a collective approach to immigrant integration as compared to those for whom it was less important. Specifically, immigrants who felt heritage culture maintenance was important were more likely to belong to an Iranian cultural organization and were more likely to place greater importance on establishing contacts within their cultural community as compared to Iranian immigrants who felt heritage culture maintenance was less important.

Moghaddam et al. (1987) state, however, that the Iranian immigrant sample was relatively advantaged compared to other immigrant groups in that Iranian participants were highly educated and less visible than other immigrant groups. While Iranian migrants had to contend with their immigrant status, they did not have the added burden of belonging to a visible minority group in Canada. Other types of immigrant groups may face additional barriers to integration, thus further limiting their integration choices. For example, Moghaddam and Taylor's (1987) research with South Asian immigrant women suggests that an immigrant's visibility represents a potentially important barrier for individual integration strategies. Female migrants who belong to visible minority groups in Canada may face discrimination both as women and as a member of a visible minority (double jeopardy), and are often accorded the lowest level on the status hierarchy in the Canadian context. For this reason, Moghaddam, Taylor and Lalonde conducted their five

studies with different groups of visible minority immigrants in Montreal, Canada. These studies are briefly summarized below.

Moghaddam and Taylor (1987) examined Indian immigrant women's ( $N = 104$ ) attitudes toward multiculturalism. They were also interested in learning to what extent these women felt motivated to retain aspects of their heritage culture that may not be valued by the host culture. In an individual interview setting, women answered questions about their backgrounds, their orientation towards heritage culture maintenance in general and with regard to specific aspects of their culture, patterns of social interactions, the types of information sources they used to obtain information about Canadian society, and how they perceived themselves. The researchers first assessed women's views about general heritage culture maintenance with respect to all groups in Canadian society, then with respect to their own Indian community, and with respect to all non-Indian ethnic groups. Women gave their responses on a nine-point scale, where one (1) represented total assimilation ("Ethnic minority groups should give up their traditional ways of life and take on the Canadian way of life"), and nine (9) represented total heritage culture maintenance ("Ethnic minority groups should maintain their traditional ways of life as much as possible when they come to Canada").

Findings indicated that Indian women scored around the mid-point on the issues of general heritage culture maintenance ( $M = 5.55$ ), heritage culture maintenance by Indian groups ( $M = 5.67$ ) and by other, non-Indian ethnic groups ( $M = 5.60$ ). However, these women strongly desired to train their children in certain aspects of their culture, such as heritage language ( $M = 7.89$  for girls;  $M = 7.85$  for boys), religious ceremonies

( $M = 7.52$  for girls;  $M = 7.48$  for boys), and intergenerational relationships ( $M = 8.00$  for girls;  $M = 7.98$  for boys). Women rated these specific aspects of culture well above the mid-point (5). Moghaddam and Taylor suggest that the women's views on general heritage culture maintenance may reflect ambivalent feelings toward this issue, but not for specific aspects of their culture.

The researchers next examined the women's social interaction patterns, information networks, and self-perceptions in order to better understand their attitudes toward culture maintenance. In examining social interaction patterns, Moghaddam and Taylor found that women tended to socialize with members of their own ethnic group. Findings indicated that women obtained information about Canadian society primarily through their husbands and friends from their own ethnic group. They also learned about Canadian culture from English television and magazines.

Women's perceptions of themselves were assessed in two ways: the extent to which women perceived themselves as members of selected groups (women's self-perceptions), and women's ratings of the extent to which Anglophones (English-speaking Canadians) and Francophones (French-speaking Canadians) perceived these women as members of the same groups (women's meta-perceptions). Moghaddam and Taylor presented women with a set number of labels based on a pilot study. They grouped these labels into three categories: low status labels (immigrant, coloured, Indian, South Asian, women, ethnolinguistic group), high status labels (Canadian, English Canadian, English Quebecer, individual person, French Canadian, French Quebecer); and mixed status labels (Indian Canadian, Canadian Indian). The authors found differences between the

way women perceived themselves and their perceptions of how Anglophones and Francophones perceived them. Women saw themselves primarily as individual women from India, but also to some extent as Canadian; whereas they felt Anglophones and Francophones perceived them more as coloured immigrant women. Thus, relative to how Indian women perceived themselves, they perceived that Anglophone and Francophone Canadians viewed Indian women as belonging more to low status groups and less to high status groups.

Moghaddam and Taylor also explored relationships between demographic variables, women's self-perceptions, and women's meta-perceptions. Women who were older, had lived longer in Canada, and who were Canadian citizens tended to perceive themselves more as members of high status groups ("Canadian") and less as members of low status groups ("immigrant"). Moreover, the researchers found that women's perceptions of how Anglophones and Francophones perceived them were similar across demographics, with one exception. Moghaddam and Taylor found that while the longer women had lived in Canada seemed to lead to a greater sense of belonging in Canada, it was accompanied by feelings that Anglophones and Francophones perceived these women more as a member of a minority group and less as a Canadian citizen. Thus, it appears that the feeling that "I am seen as an outsider" increased with length of stay in Canada.

Moghaddam and Taylor contend that the belief that majority groups perceive one as belonging to low status groups more than one believes oneself to be a member of these groups may be based on perceived discrimination. In Moghaddam and Taylor's research,

women perceived discrimination based on their affirmative responses to two questions about experiences of personal discrimination and discrimination at the group level. In response to “Have you ever personally felt badly treated in Canada because of your race?”, 67% of women responded yes. In response to “Do you know an Indian who has ever been badly treated in Canada because of his or her race?”, 89% of women answered yes. Moghaddam and Taylor conclude that retention of heritage culture may not be based solely on strong support for multiculturalism; it may also arise in response to perceptions of discrimination and isolation.

Lalonde, Taylor, and Moghaddam (1988) compared predictors of collective and individual integration strategies for Haitian ( $N = 136$ ) and Indian ( $N = 108$ ) immigrant women. Based on SIT, and the five stage model of intergroup relations’ prediction that perceived social injustice can lead to collective action, the authors hypothesized that perceptions of discrimination and social barriers imposed by outgroups would be related to stronger support for a collective integration strategy. The authors based this hypothesis on the assumption that both Haitian and Indian women cannot easily dissociate themselves from their groups and that a collective strategy would be the most salient alternative when faced with discrimination. Based on the five stage model, the authors further hypothesized that women who perceived themselves as possessing more personal ability would more strongly endorse an individual integration strategy. While SIT and the five stage model do not predict a direct relationship between social comparison outcome and choice of strategy for social change, the researchers expected that there would be a relationship between the social comparison process and choice of integration strategy.

Lalonde et al. (1988) measured social integration strategy with two questions: (a) “In order for me to get ahead in Canada it is important that I work with others in the Haitian (Indian) community, rather than go it alone (collective strategy)”; and (b) “In order for me to get ahead in Canada it is important that I go it alone, rather than acting as part of the Haitian (Indian) community (individual strategy).” During personal interviews conducted in their homes, women responded to these questions using a nine point scale ranging from definitely no (1) to definitely yes (9).

Lalonde et al. (1988) found that Indian women showed a significantly stronger preference for an individual strategy ( $M = 5.95$ ) rather than a collective strategy ( $M = 3.34$ ). For the Haitian women, there was no significant difference in preference of integration strategies (individual strategy,  $M = 4.88$ ; collective strategy,  $M = 4.47$ ). Comparisons made between samples indicated that Haitian women showed a stronger preference for collective action than the Indian sample, whereas Indian women more strongly preferred individual action than Haitian women did. However, note that women’s average scores suggest that in this study, the Haitian and Indian women did not strongly endorse either type of integration strategy.

The analysis of correlates of the integration strategy revealed only one significant correlation between individual discrimination and collective integration orientation for Indian women. Barriers imposed by Canadian society were not related to integration orientation. However, perceived ingroup barriers were negatively correlated with integration strategies for both samples. Women who perceived their ingroup as a barrier to advancement favoured an individual integration strategy and women who perceived



their ingroup as facilitating advancement favoured a collective integration strategy.

Within the Haitian sample, women who felt that they had greater personal ability more strongly endorsed an individual integration strategy than a collective strategy.

Haitian and Indian women were also asked to compare the treatment of their ingroup in Canada relative to specific outgroups, using a scale ranging from *much worse than* to *much better than*. Participants socially compared their ingroup to majority groups (English and French Canadians) and minority groups (Italian, Haitian or Indian, Lebanese, Jewish, and Greek). Analysis of the relationship between social comparisons and integration strategies revealed a significant relationship between integration orientation and social comparisons made with other *disadvantaged groups* (minority Canadians), indicating that immigrant women endorsing a collective integration strategy were more likely to see themselves as better off than other minority groups in Canada, as social identity theory would predict. No significant relationship emerged between orientation strategy and comparisons made with the *advantaged groups* (majority Canadians).

The analysis of behaviours related to integration found that for both samples a collective orientation was related to the following: a stronger desire to retain ethnic identity, the perceived importance of establishing ingroup contacts for the purposes of getting ahead, and attributing importance to living in an ethnic neighbourhood. For the Haitian sample, collective orientation was positively correlated with active participation in the Haitian community, and also negatively correlated with creating outgroup contacts.

Lalonde and Cameron (1993) investigated factors that influence immigrant groups' endorsement of collective integration strategies. In this study, Lalonde and Cameron expected the relative social disadvantage of a group to be systematically related to patterns of acculturation. They compared the acculturation patterns of four immigrant groups (Black Caribbeans, Chinese, Greeks, and Italians) that differed with regard to their relative position of social disadvantage. Black Caribbean and Chinese immigrants represented more stigmatized groups within the Canadian context than Greek and Italian immigrants. Lalonde and Cameron used cross-generational methodology to obtain responses from first-generation immigrants<sup>1</sup> ( $n = 116$ ) from the four groups and their adult children ( $n = 136$ ).

Lalonde and Cameron measured collective acculturation orientation with fifteen items assessing the extent to which respondents endorsed strategies that benefited their ingroup's position in Canada. Predictors of acculturation orientation included in this study were group identification (8 item measure), perceptions of group disadvantage (14 item measure), and membership in an ethnic ingroup organization. Both attitudes toward women (10 items) and attitudes toward multiculturalism (6 items) were measured; however, the latter measure had poor reliability for the parent sample.

From a social identity perspective, Lalonde and Cameron expected that ethnicity should be a particularly salient identification for first-generation immigrants. Moreover,

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<sup>1</sup> In this dissertation, the terminology "first-generation immigrant" is used to describe an individual who has left his or her country of origin to live in Canada. "Second-generation immigrant" is used to describe a Canadian-born individual whose parents were not born in Canada.

as immigrants from stigmatized groups experience or perceive prejudice they may perceive group boundaries to be impermeable and the intergroup situation as illegitimate.

The findings showed that Black Caribbean and Chinese immigrants perceived their groups as more socially disadvantaged than Italian and Greek immigrants and they also more strongly endorsed collective acculturation strategies than Italian and Greek immigrants. Lalonde and Cameron also found that first-generation immigrants belonging to an ethnic ingroup organization were more supportive of a collective strategy than non-members. Parents across the four groups scored higher than their children on the collective acculturation orientation measure and on the group identification measure. Lastly, expressed ethnic identification was positively correlated with collective orientation scores for both the parent and adult children samples.

Moghaddam and Perreault (1992) also examined factors associated with individual and collective mobility strategies among visible minority immigrants (158 males; 155 females) from Southern Asia, mainland China and the West Indies. The two mobility strategies (individual-assimilation and collective-multiculturalism) were measured with two statements. Predictors of integration strategies included personal talent (measured by self-esteem and objective factors), perceived discrimination (personal and group) in four settings (job, public, housing, and police), perceived legitimacy of the social system, minority resources (ethnic density), a measure of conservatism, education level, year of arrival in Canada, and perceived social class in land of origin. Level of agreement with items measuring the various predictors were recorded on a nine-point scale, ranging from definitely no (1) to definitely yes (9).

Findings demonstrated that respondents across all groups showed stronger support for the collective-multiculturalism strategy than for the individual-assimilation strategy. However, support for heritage culture maintenance ( $M = 5.31$ ) was high only when compared with support for assimilation ( $M = 3.62$ ). In actuality, respondents' mean scores on the nine-point scale suggest that they did not strongly endorse either strategy.

Using a series of multiple regression analyses (type of regression not indicated), Moghaddam and Perreault found that support for the individual-assimilation strategy was best predicted by low self-esteem and belief in the legitimacy of the social system. Significant predictors of the collective-multiculturalism strategy included perception of ethnic ingroup as a target for racial discrimination, year of arrival in Canada (i.e., longer length of residence), residence in a neighbourhood with higher ethnic density, and higher conservatism scores.

To summarize the above four studies, integration strategy preferences were measured in different groups of immigrant women, and predictors of these strategies were assessed. It is difficult to conclude from these studies whether immigrant women prefer individual or collective integration strategies. This is because for three of the studies, women's average integration scores suggest they did not strongly endorse either type of strategy. Only Lalonde and Cameron's (1993) study indicated that immigrant women endorsed a collective integration strategy. The 15-item measure of integration orientation addressed various collective behaviours to increase social mobility. Scores on this scale could range from 15 to 105, with high scores indicative of a strong collective orientation. Average collective orientation scores for parents and their adult children

combined in each of the four immigrant groups were 79.64 (Caribbean sample), 70.34 (Chinese sample), 63.30 (Greek sample) and 60.24 (Italian sample).

These four studies primarily operationalized integration strategies as social mobility strategies (i.e., what strategies do immigrants take to *get ahead* in Canada). However, it should be noted that with the exception of Lalonde and Cameron's (1993) 15-item measure, the integration measures combined behavioural and identification aspects of integration. For example, in Moghaddam and Taylor's (1987) and Moghaddam and Perreault's (1992) integration measures, item wording included *abandoning heritage culture and taking on the Canadian way of life* (individual strategy) or *maintaining traditional ways of life* (collective strategy). Thus, the researchers assumed that if men and women employed a collective strategy to get ahead in Canada, then they strongly identified with their ethnic culture; whereas if men and women employed an individualistic strategy, then they assimilated into the host culture (weakening their identity with their heritage culture). In a later section of this dissertation, which describes acculturation models, it is argued that identity and behavioural aspects of integration do not necessarily imply one another. Therefore, they need to be measured separately and both included in studies of acculturation in order to obtain a more complete understanding of individuals' integration strategies in Canada.

In addition to the investigation of integration strategies, many of the studies also examined predictors of integration strategies. The findings suggest that perceived discrimination (personal and group) is associated with preference for collective integration strategies (i.e., heritage culture maintenance). As well, demographic variables

such as length of residence in Canada, and membership in cultural associations are usually associated with women's integration strategy preferences: women who lived longer in Canada and who belong to cultural associations are more likely to endorse collective integration strategies.

To conclude, the findings of the four studies do not provide conclusive evidence regarding women's preferences for individual or collective integration strategies. Moreover, the primary focus of the above four studies was to identify predictors of individual and collective integration strategies. These strategies were operationalized in terms of social mobility. However, some of these studies confounded behavioural and identification aspects of integration, making the assumption that behaviour suggests identity or vice versa. One exception to this was Lalonde and Cameron's (1993) study. In this study, integration strategy behaviours and group identification were measured separately. Lalonde and Cameron (1993) found that expressed ethnic identification positively correlated with collective integration strategy scores. The researchers note that this finding supports Phinney's (1990) belief that a collective orientation can be indicative of one's strength of identity.

While the above studies primarily focused on predictors of individual and collective social mobility strategies, they also provide some insight into women's social identifications. For example, Lalonde and Cameron's (1993) study found that parents expressed stronger ethnic identification than their adult children. Moghaddam and Taylor (1987) measured women's self- and meta-perceptions about their identifications and found a discrepancy between the two perceptions. Specifically, women saw themselves

as individual Indian Canadians but they felt that Canadian Anglophones and Francophones perceived them more as coloured, immigrant women. Moghaddam and Taylor (1987) suggest that the discrepancy between self- and meta-perceptions may be based on perceived discrimination. Moreover, when specifically asked about discrimination, the majority of women answered that they experienced discrimination personally and toward their ethnic group. Therefore, factors other than support for multiculturalism may influence women's choice of integration strategies.

These findings suggest that women may experience threat to their cultural identity in the host country, in so far as they experience discrimination, especially if they perceive differences between their self-perceptions and meta-perceptions of their group affiliation. Moreover, interesting questions are raised as to how women negotiate their social identifications in the host country and what factors might influence their social identifications. Indeed, understanding women's social identification processes may provide insight into how women participate in the host culture.

### 2.3 NEGOTIATION OF SOCIAL IDENTIFICATIONS

This section presents two social psychological studies that explicitly examined social identifications of first-generation (Lalonde, Taylor & Moghaddam, 1992) and second-generation immigrant men and women (Ethier & Deaux, 1990, 1994) and ethnographic research that illustrates some of the challenges women experience while negotiating their identities in the host culture (Hedge, 1998).

Lalonde, Taylor and Moghaddam (1992) investigated three specific social identifications available to first-generation Haitian and Indian women ( $N = 136$  and  $N =$

108, respectively) in a multicultural setting: immigrant, Canadian, and ethnic identity. They proposed a number of pragmatic and social psychological factors that may contribute to women's identification with a social category, and the degree of strength of that identification. The pragmatic factors they investigated were length of time in Canada, adoption of Canadian citizenship, and age at time of immigration. Based on this "functional model of social identification," Lalonde et al. predicted that women who immigrated at a young age, who had been living in the host culture for a number of years, and who had acquired citizenship in Canada would be more likely to identify themselves as Canadians and less likely to identify themselves as immigrant women.

The two social psychological factors Lalonde et al. investigated were perceived discrimination (personal and targeted at cultural group in the host culture), and motivation to retain culture. The discrepancy between how one views oneself (self-perceptions) and how one perceives how the host culture categorizes them (meta-perceptions), on the labels Haitian or Indian, immigrant, and Canadian, was also measured to provide another indicator of perceived discrimination. Lalonde et al. hypothesized that the experience of discrimination would be a better predictor of new social identifications than pragmatic indicators (i.e., length of time in host country).

Lalonde et al. chose to focus on the social categories of immigrant, original national identity, and host national identity. This was on the assumption that these categories indicate the extent of immigrant integration into the host culture. They also were interested in assessing women's feelings about these categories. Lalonde et al. expected identification with heritage culture to remain strong for the participants in this



study; this was based on Liebkind (1986) who noted that women and men's sense of belonging to their ethnic community might provide a source of security amidst the alienation they experience in the dominant culture. Lalonde et al. also predicted that the motivation to retain the heritage culture would be a predictor of new identity acquisition. Based on SIT, the researchers expected that individuals strongly motivated to identify with their heritage culture would be less likely to identify with other categories (host culture) in order to make their cultural identification as distinct as possible. The authors also predicted that individuals who had less conflicting heritage culture and host culture identifications would feel more integrated than individuals experiencing more conflict. They further predicted a discrepancy between how women perceived themselves and their perceptions of how others perceived them. Also, a larger discrepancy between self-perceptions and meta-perceptions for the categories immigrant, cultural group, and Canadian was predicted to indicate greater feelings of alienation. The variables included in this study were formulated to be answered on a 9-point response scale ranging from definitely no (1) to definitely yes (9).

Lalonde, Taylor and Moghaddam (1992) found differences between Haitian and Indian women's self- and meta-perceptions of identification. Specifically, they found that for the Haitian sample, women rated Haitian and immigrant labels significantly higher than the Canadian label for both self- and meta-perceptions. Recall that women were asked to what extent they perceived themselves as belonging to the three categories using a nine-point scale (1 = definitely no, 9 = definitely yes). The researchers present the findings in a bar graph and do not provide the actual mean scores. However, based on the

bar graph, Haitian women's approximate mean self-perception scores for the Haitian, immigrant, and Canadian labels were 7.9, 7.3 and 3.1, respectively. Haitian women's approximate mean meta-perceptions for the Haitian, immigrant, and Canadian labels were 7.8, 7.9, and 2.5, respectively. Indian women perceived themselves as being more Indian ( $M \approx 7.5$ ) than Canadian ( $M \approx 5.8$ ) or immigrant ( $M \approx 4.2$ ). Indian women thought that Anglophone and Francophone Canadians perceived them as being more immigrant ( $M \approx 6.4$ ) than Canadian ( $M \approx 4.5$ ). Both groups of women saw themselves as more Canadian and less as immigrant women than they assumed Anglophone and Francophone Canadians perceived them. However, the endorsement for the Canadian category was low for Haitian women ( $M \approx 3.1$ ). Lalonde et al. also found differences between the two groups of women in terms of the ratings they gave to immigrant and Canadian labels. The Haitian sample rated the immigrant label higher than the Indian sample; the Indian sample rated the Canadian label higher than the Haitian sample.

Lalonde et al. used a series of step-wise regression analyses (conducted separately for each sample) to test the effects of pragmatic predictors and social psychological predictors on social identifications. Because they used the step-wise procedure, caution needs to be taken when interpreting the following results<sup>2</sup>. Motivation to retain culture emerged as a significant predictor of ethnic identity for both samples. Variables that predicted women's identifications with the immigrant and Canadian labels varied for each group. For the Haitian sample, perceived group discrimination and motivation to

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<sup>2</sup> In stepwise regression, the order of entry of variables is based solely on statistical criteria. The meaning or interpretation of the variables is not relevant. Moreover, this procedure capitalizes on chance differences in a single sample and may overfit the data, hence the equation derived may not generalize well to the population (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

retain ethnic identity emerged as positive predictors of identification with immigrants but negative predictors of identification with Canadians. Demographic variables were found to be the best predictors of immigrant and Canadian identity for the Indian women, where women who did not have Canadian citizenship and immigrated to Canada at an older age were more likely to identify with the immigrant category. Conversely, Indian women who were Canadian citizens were more likely to identify as Canadians. Finally, the perception of personal discrimination was a significant predictor of perceptions of self as an immigrant for the Indian sample.

In summary, Lalonde et al.'s study shows that there are differences in women's self-perceptions and meta-perceptions of ethnic, immigrant, and Canadian labels, as well as predictors of these identifications among groups of visible minority women. It is possible that both groups differed in terms of the stigmatization of their ethnic identities in Canada. In this research, Haitian women reported higher levels of discrimination than Indian women, indicating that discrimination may have been more salient for the Haitian sample than for the Indian sample. Moreover, at the time of this study, the Haitian community was a more visible minority in Montreal compared to the Indian community. Both groups of women strongly identified with their ethnic label, lending support to previous findings that first-generation immigrant women continue to highly identify with their ethnicity. Lastly, caution needs to be taken when interpreting Lalonde et al.'s findings because they used a series of step-wise regressions to test the effects of pragmatic predictors and social psychological predictors on social identifications. At the

very least, these findings suggest that both types of predictors should be included when investigating predictors of social identifications.

The findings of discrepancies between self-perceptions and meta-perceptions of social identifications suggests that women may be experiencing multiple threats to their ethnic identity, such as a change in status differential or loss of membership or loss of validation of membership in a social group. If we hypothesize about what social groups might be relevant to immigrant women, we need to take into account that attributions about group membership, based on objective factors, does not necessarily imply subjective identification with a group. For example, research demonstrates that not everyone identifies with their gender or ethnicity (e.g., Ethier & Deaux, 1990; Lau, 1989). For this reason, Deaux (1992) adopts a subjective approach to identity and considers personal definitions from two perspectives: the degree to which an individual may claim an identity that might, on the basis of objective criteria, be assumed; and the meanings that individuals associate with a given identity category.

Ethier and Deaux (1990, 1994) explored both identity supports and perceptions of threat to ethnic identity of Hispanic students throughout their first year of university at primarily Anglo colleges. They interviewed 45 Hispanic first-year students at three times during their first year at college to examine the consequences of social identification in a naturally occurring, major contextual change. They expected to find several means of adaptation among the students. Specifically, they expected to find general trends of remooing: students would change the means of supporting their ethnic identity, moving from family and home culture to group involvement in their respective colleges. They

also expected students to maintain stability, whereby students more involved in their ethnic group would continue their involvement at school by joining Hispanic groups and making Hispanic friends. They expected a positive relationship between group involvement and changes in ethnic identity.

At each interview, Ethier and Deaux assessed students' identity, self-esteem associated with group membership, and perceptions of threat. The researchers measured identity both quantitatively and qualitatively. Students named all the identities that were important to them, and they listed attributes or characteristics associated with each identity. Ethier and Deaux assessed personal significance or importance of each identity quantitatively by having students rate the importance of each identity they listed on a scale of 1 (not at all important) to 7 (very important). The researchers used the identity and private acceptance subscales of Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) collective self-esteem scale to measure group identification and collective self-esteem, respectively. They altered the identity subscale for wording specific to Hispanic identity. Ethier and Deaux assessed students' perceptions of threat to their ethnic identity with a six-item scale they developed based on exploratory interviews with a small sample of Hispanic students (items in Ethier & Deaux, 1990).

Ethier and Deaux used a variety of questions to assess the extent of involvement with family, friends, and Hispanic culture at each interview. At the first interview, these questions focused on community and family background. The researchers combined responses to form an index of "strength of cultural background" (SCB). At the second and third interviews, Ethier and Deaux asked students about their level of involvement in

ethnic culture at school and composite indexes were again formed of students' level of involvement in ethnic culture at college.

Ethier and Deaux found that students with a strong Hispanic cultural background were less likely to perceive threats to their ethnic identity. Strength of cultural background appeared to buffer the potential effects of discrimination and negative evaluation. Past ethnic involvement also predicted students' tendency to involve themselves in campus-related Hispanic cultural activities.

Over the three interview times, there were no mean changes in the number of identities students mentioned, the importance that they attached to their Hispanic identity, or the level of self-esteem associated with ethnic identity. The majority of Hispanic students in this study (87%, 83%, and 86% at Times 1, 2, and 3, respectively) listed their ethnicity as an important identity; student identity and friend identity (mentioned by all participants) were rated higher in importance. Importance ratings of Hispanic identity were significantly related to the identity subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (correlations of .79, .59, .73 at times 1, 2, and 3 respectively). Ethier and Deaux found that students described their Hispanic identity using a variety of terms. Positive feelings about the group and background characteristics were mentioned most often at all three times, although background became significantly less prominent over time. There was also a significant decrease in negative feelings and use of personality attributes to describe Hispanic identity. Ethier and Deaux argue that these qualitative changes provide support for their hypothesis that, although objective membership in the group may remain constant, the subjective meaning associated with a social identity can change.

Ethier and Deaux also found support for the remooing process in that students changed the ways in which they maintained their Hispanic identity by releasing old supports for their identity and attaching to new supports in their new environment.

A series of regression analyses provided evidence for the importance of prior ethnic involvement to group identification. These analyses demonstrated that ethnic background predicted changes in strength of identification from Time 1 to Time 2. The stronger the students' ethnic backgrounds, the stronger the identification with group became during the first semester. Second, ethnic involvement at the university significantly predicted changes in identification from Time 2 to Time 3. The more involved students were in their ethnic groups at university, the stronger their ethnic identity became in the second semester of the year.

For those students who were not as ethnically involved, their processes of identity negotiation were different. Students who did not participate in Hispanic activities prior to university perceived the new environment as more threatening. Perceptions of threat, in turn, had negative effects on students' self-esteem. Perceived threat at Time 1 significantly predicted changes in self-esteem both from Time 1 to Time 2 and from Time 2 to Time 3.

Ethier and Deaux found support for the prediction made by SIT, whereby collective self-esteem at Time 2 predicted changes in identification from Time 2 to Time 3. Students who experienced low collective self-esteem had decreased strength of identification. Ethnic involvement prior to university moderated the relationship between collective self-esteem and identification. The interaction between strength of cultural

background and collective self-esteem significantly predicted change in identification from Time 2 to Time 3. Participants who were minimally involved in cultural activities in their home community, and who had lower collective self-esteem at the start of university, showed more negative changes in identification. Those students with higher self-esteem, and more immersed in cultural activities prior to university, showed positive changes.

Ellemers and colleagues (Doosje & Ellemers, 1997; Ellemers, 1993) have also demonstrated that reactions to stigmatization are mediated by the degree of one's identification with a stigmatized group. They have shown that high identifiers in response to threat were more likely to engage in collective strategies, whereas low identifiers were more likely to engage in individual strategies. More generally, highly identified people are more likely to use enhancement strategies, maintaining their identity in the face of threat. Low identifiers, on the other hand, may be more inclined to dissociate themselves from the group.

Ethnographic research also elucidates the importance of investigating social identifications of immigrant women. There is an assumption that migrating individuals strongly identify with their culture of origin and that this remains constant. Moreover, empirical research has shown that migrants strongly identify with their ethnicity (e.g., Lalonde & Cameron, 1993; Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992). However, the literature on women's immigration experiences suggests that women experience uncertainty about their social identifications. In particular, women who are visible minorities in Canada may experience higher levels of uncertainty about their social



identities than western European female migrants in Canada. This suggests that the migration experience not only involves behavioural adaptation to the new environment but also the negotiation of social identities. Ethnographic research demonstrates that women struggle with both behavioural adaptation and identity negotiation (e.g., Hedge, 1998; Ganguly, 1992). For example, Hedge (1998) researched the identity negotiation processes of Asian Indian immigrant women in the United States from a communication perspective. Hedge (1998) states that in the field of communications there is an emerging view that identities can no longer be viewed as fixed, stable and self-contained. Instead, they are “fluid evolving entities” that are affected by communication and everyday interaction (Gergen & Davis, 1985; Hecht, 1993; Hecht, Collier, & Ribeau, 1993; Mokros, 1996; Shotter & Gergen, 1989). Hedge argues that as migrants “walk in and out of cultural frames,” questions of identity emerge as they struggle to deal with the salient contradictions they see outside and within themselves. In this sense, identity is seen as constructed and relational and an issue of “becoming and being.” This is also the perspective of self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987).

Following feminist research tradition, Hedge (1998) used women’s narratives to reveal how identities are constructed and the conflicts encountered during the process of integrating into a new country. She conducted 20 unstructured in-depth interviews with ten first-generation and ten second-generation immigrant women from the Indian subcontinent living in the eastern United States. The narrative methodology enabled

Hedge to represent the voices of her participants by basing the discussion of identity and communication with respect to the “material reality” of Asian Indian women.

In these interviews, Hedge spoke with participants about their lives, the conflicts and isolation they experienced, and the meaning and challenges of being an immigrant and female. Hedge initiated conversations with two primary questions: (a) “What is your life in this country like,” and (b) “What does it mean to be an Indian woman in this country?”

From the interviews, Hedge discussed major themes in terms of identity negotiation in inter- and intra-ethnic contexts. During the interviews, women identified the interethnic and intraethnic situations as two separate domains through the use of the us-and-them binary. Themes that emerged included stereotypical representations, racist encounters, and isolation.

In the interviews, women continually emphasized how Asian women were represented stereotypically and how this affected them on a regular basis. The persistence of stereotypical images of Asian Indian women forced women to resort to surface assimilation such as “westernizing” their appearance by cutting their hair and no longer wearing Indian saris in the public sphere. One participant talked about attending a corporate leadership training program for Asian women to unlearn everything in which she had been socialized.

Identity negotiation in the face of racism led women to either assert or deny their Indian identity. For example, to deal with the continual issue of “names being forgotten or changed,” women intentionally anglicized their names and chose names for their

children that were “easy for the Americans to pronounce and won’t embarrass the children.” Other women resented this appropriation of their identity, actively resisting the dominant culture’s attempt to anglicize their names by reasserting their proper names. Women responded to more intimidating forms of racism by masking their cultural origins. Second-generation Asian Indian women recalled racist encounters during middle and high school that led many to act as “un-Indian” as they could in attempts to mask their cultural origins. These encounters with racism contributed to women’s self-doubts and search for personal meaning. Hedge commented, “a sense of inadequacy and being denied their selfhood was persistent in the tone and recall of these encounters” (p. 45).

The experience of isolation was compounded by the question that immigrants continually hear: “When are you going back home?” Home signifies belonging and continuity. Women talked about being between two cultures; they felt they did not belong in America or India. Not surprisingly, women’s feelings of not belonging were combined with feeling unaccepted and alienated in their surroundings. The women wanted to belong, but instead, faced isolation. In talking about their sense of dislocation, Hedge noted that women emphasized their class and social status in India prior to coming to the United States as a strategy to cushion the effects of marginalization that they felt in the United States. One participant stated, “after all, we had status in India; they [Americans] don’t know anything about our background.”

Hedge writes that Asian Indian immigrants have worked to create “little Indias” in America, complete with religious institutions, temples, and cultural organizations. Partaking in the Indian community in America offers women a sense of continuity and

familiarity that helps to counter the disruptions and lack of coherence they experience in the host culture. The differences of class and language that were important in India were overlooked in America for a common bond of cultural origins. Women talked about a sense of relief from being able to “let down the mask and finally be oneself.” Hedge contends that it is for these reasons that all of the women interviewed indicated that their closest friends were Asian Indian women. The need to bond among Asian Indian women arises out of two needs: the need to counter isolation from the host culture, and the need to provide support for the “ideological curtailments” of women within the ethnic group.

Hedge also talks about the impact of the Indian home in America on Asian Indian immigrant women. It is the home that provides an Indian cultural space in the lives of immigrant families. Women’s roles in the home obligate them to run the home, celebrate the Indian religious holidays, and maintain the rituals and customs that re-create a version of “Indianness.” Hedge describes how this theme emerged in women’s narratives of domestic conflicts and raising of daughters.

Domestic conflicts arose from expectations of women that included cooking Indian food each night and responsibility for all household chores, as Indian men did not participate in this. Other stress emerged from trying to raise bicultural children and to keep an Indian home. Women indicated that it was taboo within the Indian community to be too American. For the second-generation women, they faced the contradiction of being brought up in a traditional home versus the “modernity” of the American culture. Their parents did not want their children to become too modern. Hedge concludes that race and

gender are simultaneously woven into the narratives of self, and immigrant women's identities need to be considered within the context of racism and sexism.

To summarize this section, Lalonde et al. (1988) and Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) research underscore the importance of assessing social identifications in the investigation of immigrant integration in the host society. Hedge's (1998) research demonstrates that women continually undergo identity negotiation as they try to cope with stereotypes, discrimination, and isolation. Hedge argues that the strategies women use to negotiate their identity is not based on women's choices but on their response to their experiences with the dominant culture. While Ethier and Deaux (1990, 1994) focused on ethnic identity, Lalonde et al. (1988) investigated ethnic, immigrant, and Canadian identity among female migrants. Although ethnic identity remained strong, women's self-perceptions and meta-perceptions of their identity differed. Similar to Moghaddam and Taylor's (1987) findings, Lalonde et al. (1988) found that women perceived themselves to be more Canadian and less immigrant than they assumed Anglophone and Francophone Canadians perceived them to be. Moreover, although ethnic identification remained strong, Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) research demonstrates that subjective meanings may change over time. As well, their research suggests that perceptions of threat may negatively influence levels of collective self-esteem and strength of identity, although strength of cultural background may buffer perceptions of threat. Students who had a strong ethnic identity remooored their identity in the new environment, finding new supports for it and in so doing, strengthened their ethnic identity. Students who were less involved in their ethnic groups at school had a

weaker ethnic identity in the second semester of the year. Lalonde et al.'s (1988) study also illustrates that both social factors such as discrimination and practical factors such as citizenship can influence social identifications.

#### 2.4 ACCULTURATION: PSYCHOLOGICAL AND BEHAVIOURAL COMPONENTS

From Ethier and Deaux's (1994) research, active involvement in cultural activities strengthened Hispanic students' cultural identity. Students who did not remove, or find new supports in the academic environment for their ethnic identity, reported a weakened Hispanic identity. Moreover, Lalonde and Cameron's (1993) study also found that strength of ethnic identification was positively correlated with endorsement of collective behaviours for both parents and their adult children. The collective orientation measure consisted of 15 items assessing various behaviours with the ethnic group. Ethier and Deaux (1990, 1994) and Lalonde and Cameron's (1993) research improves on the earlier studies by Lalonde and colleagues in that they separately measured identity and behaviours rather than making the assumption that behavioural and psychological acculturation are the same construct.

In acculturation literature, researchers have also theorized about behavioural participation in a culture and psychological identification with that culture, and have suggested a more complex relationship between the two. For example, recent acculturation models acknowledge the possibility that individuals may identify with one culture, but may behave congruent with another culture (e.g., Birman, 1994; Hutnik, 1991). Ergo, an Indian immigrant woman may behaviourally "act" like a Canadian, and may continue to strongly identify with her ethnic culture. Thus, attention to only

behaviour or to only processes of psychological identification would not fully capture this woman's adaptation strategies. Moreover, acculturation researchers no longer consider acculturation a unidimensional process, but rather a bidimensional process. Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) describe the unidimensional approach to acculturation as one that places individuals on a continuum of identities ranging from exclusively heritage culture to exclusively mainstream culture. Proponents of this approach assume that change in cultural identity takes place along a single continuum over time. Acculturating individuals are seen as relinquishing attitudes, values, and behaviours of their culture of origin while at the same time taking on those of the new society. In contrast, proponents of the bidimensional approach argue that acculturation can best be understood by viewing heritage and mainstream cultural identities as independent of one another. This approach incorporates the possibility that individuals may adopt many values and behaviours of the mainstream culture while retaining facets of cultural identity developed in their country of origin.

Recent acculturation studies provide empirical support for the bidimensional approach to acculturation. For example, Ryder et al. (2000) compared the unidimensional and bidimensional models of acculturation in three samples of ethnic Chinese people, one sample of non-Chinese East Asian individuals, and one diverse group of acculturating individuals. All participants were volunteer university undergraduate students and were either first-generation or second-generation immigrants.

The purpose of Ryder et al.'s three studies was to establish the validity of the bidimensional model by demonstrating that the two dimensions (a) can be measured

reliably, (b) correlate in expected directions with other third variables, (c) are orthogonal (or at least are not strongly negatively correlated), and (d) show a distinct pattern of correlations with other variables of interest (p. 51).

In the three studies, the authors used the SL-ASIA (Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew & Vigel, 1987; Suinn, Ahuna & Khoo 1992), a widely used acculturation measure for Asian Americans, to assess unidimensional acculturation, or assimilation. The SL-ASIA is a 21-item multiple-choice questionnaire that covers topics such as cultural preferences, ethnic identity, friendship choice, language, history, and attitudes. Respondents selected from five response choices, ranging from low acculturation with high Asian identity (1.00) to high acculturation with low Asian identity (5.00). Midrange responses are designed to reflect degrees of biculturalism.

To assess bidimensional acculturation in the first study, Ryder et al. used two experimental subscales, consisting of two items each pertaining to values and dealing with social interactions. However, due to low reliability of the subscales used in study one, Ryder et al. developed an improved measure of acculturation: the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA), which was used in the second and third studies. In the second study, a 12-item version of the VIA was utilized and yielded high reliability coefficients of .79 and .75 for the Heritage and Mainstream subscales, respectively. In the third study, Ryder et al. further refined the VIA to more fully capture the construct of acculturation. The final version of the VIA is a 20 item self-report instrument that assesses several domains relevant to acculturation, including values, social relationships, and adherence to traditions.



Psychometric properties of the VIA include high reliability, internal validity, and concurrent validity. Specifically, in study three, the Heritage dimension was highly internally consistent in the Chinese, East Asian, and mixed diverse (non-English-speaking and non-East Asian culture) samples ( $\alpha = .91, .92, \text{ and } .91$  respectively). Similarly, the Mainstream dimension yielded high alpha coefficients for the Chinese, East Asian and mixed diverse samples ( $\alpha = .89, .85, \text{ and } .87$  respectively). Moreover, a principle-components analysis of the VIA extracted 2 components: one containing the Heritage identity items and the second containing the Mainstream identity items for all three samples in study three.

Across the three studies, the results revealed a modest negative correlation between the VIA's heritage and mainstream identity dimensions across three separate samples (average  $r = -.19, p < .01$ ), with the association tending to disappear after the first-generation (average  $r = .06, ns$ ). Moreover, the two dimensions distinctively correlated with measures of self-construal and adjustment. Self-construal was measured using the personal and collective identity subscales of the Aspects of Identity Scale (AIS: Cheek, Tropp, & Chen, 1994) and the Self-Construal Scale (SCS: Singelis, 1994). The SCS assesses two dimensions of self-construal: (a) independent self-construal, or the extent to which an individual views him or herself as being a separate and autonomous entity, and (b) interdependent self-construal, or the extent to which an individual views him or herself as being enmeshed within a group (Ryder et al., 2000; p. 54).

Ryder et al. found that the Heritage subscale of the VIA was significantly associated with a stronger interdependent self-identity, but in the Chinese and East Asian

samples, it was unrelated to independent self-identity. In contrast, the Mainstream subscale predicted a stronger independent self-identity, and was unrelated to the interdependent self-identity in all three samples. For the heterogeneous sample of acculturating individuals, the Heritage subscale predicted a stronger independent, as well as interdependent, self-identity. As one explanation, Ryder et al. suggest that the diverse sample included many individuals whose heritage culture is Northern or Western European, regions that tend to be individualistic in orientation. Hence, as Markus and Kitayama (1991) theorize, these individuals would be expected to possess a strong sense of independent self.

The investigation of the relationship between acculturation dimensions and adjustment revealed distinct results for each dimension. Specifically, the Mainstream subscale was significantly related to greater psychosocial adjustment (i.e., lower depression, reported symptoms, symptom distress, and lower health, social, and academic maladjustment); no association emerged between adjustment and the Heritage subscale. The unidimensional measure of assimilation was also significantly associated with greater adjustment. Ryder et al. (2000) note the importance of the difference between predictions based on the two types of acculturation models. Specifically, results from the unidimensional measure lend themselves to two other interpretations: (a) acquiring a new identity leads to greater adjustment, and (b) losing an old identity leads to greater adjustment. In contrast, predictions based on the bidimensional model clearly indicate that the first interpretation provides the best fit to the findings. Finally, in the three

studies, Ryder et al. controlled for personality factors and found that the acculturation-adjustment relation is not due simply to the effects of preexisting personality factors.

Birman (1998) also examined acculturation using the bidimensional approach. However, she adopted a contextualist perspective on acculturation advocated by Sasao and Sue (1993), who have proposed a *Culturally Anchored Ecological Framework of Research in Ethnic-Cultural Communities*. Birman examined the relationship between acculturation and outcomes in different situations. Birman posits that a particular acculturative style may be adaptive in some contexts and not in others.

Birman (1998) tested whether a contextual model of acculturation describes the experiences of adolescent Latino immigrants by assessing the relationship between acculturation and adjustment in a variety of cultural contexts. She hypothesized that high acculturation to the Hispanic culture would predict adjustment in Hispanic-oriented contexts, but that high acculturation to the American culture would predict adjustment in American-oriented contexts, and that biculturalism would predict a sense of global self-worth.

To assess acculturation, Birman modified two existing scales designed for Cuban Americans: the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire Scale (BIQS: Szapocznik, Kurtines & Fernandez, 1980) and the Behavioral Acculturation Scale (BAS: Szapocznik, Scopetta & Kurtines, 1978). Birman reworded these two scales to assess acculturation to Hispanic and American cultures independently. The BAS assessed behavioral acculturation to the two cultures and the revised BIQS assessed identity and evaluative acculturation to each of the two cultures. For the BAS, respondents indicated how much they used each of the

two languages, ate American and Hispanic foods, celebrated cultural holidays, and so on. The BIQS assessed how much respondents enjoyed those activities and would like to have them in their lives. However, it should be noted that the BIQS does not measure psychological identification.

Birman found strong significant correlations between the Hispanic Behavioral and Bicultural Involvement scales ( $r = .74; p < .01$ ) and American Behavioral and Bicultural Involvement scales (also  $r = .74; p < .01$ ). Therefore, Birman combined the Behavioral and Bicultural Involvement scales to create a single acculturation measure with two dimensions: one measuring Hispanicism and one measuring Americanism ( $\alpha = .90$  and  $.93$  respectively). Birman operationalized biculturalism as the interaction term of the Hispanic and the American dimensions, with low scores reflecting low involvement in both cultures and high scores representing high involvement in both. Birman found that American acculturation was significantly negatively related to Hispanic acculturation ( $r = -.22, p < .001$ ) and she suggests that becoming more involved in one culture may be accompanied by somewhat less involvement in the other culture. However, given that identity and behavioural acculturation were combined, it is unclear whether this result refers to behavioural involvement or identification with each culture. Moreover, the items of the BIQS measure desire to participate in cultural activities, not identification or actual behaviour.

The bidimensional approach to acculturation is similar to Hutnik's (1991) beliefs about ethnic minority identity in second-generation immigrants. Hutnik suggested that

ethnic minority identity encompasses both ethnic identity and minority identity. That is, it encompasses the:

whole gamut of social psychological relations involved in being a member of a group that is subordinate or relatively disadvantaged in society, but which also has cultural mores and traditions that contribute to its maintenance (Hutnik, 1991, p. 24).

Hutnik (1991) argued that ethnic minority individuals' behavioural adaptation to a host culture is independent of their psychological identification with that culture. Hutnik conducted a series of studies investigating South Asian<sup>3</sup> adolescents' behavioural adaptation and identification with the host culture (Britain). She found that for second-generation immigrants, their sense of who they are does not necessarily have implications for how they will behave. Hutnik found only a very moderate relationship between behavioural adaptation and identification. For example, for South Asian adolescents who assimilated into the British culture, 50% saw themselves as fundamentally Indian and 17% saw themselves as both Indian and British. On the other hand, for South Asian adolescents who only identified as British, only 24% assimilated into the British culture, whereas 43% participated equally in both British and Indian cultures. For those South Asian adolescents who participated equally in the British and Indian cultures, 39% self-identified as Indian, 31% self-identified as British and 21% self-identified as both Indian and British.

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<sup>3</sup> The term "South Asian" denotes people who originate from the Indian subcontinent, namely, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. It also includes Indians who have been ousted from countries in East Africa by dictatorial regimes (Hutnik, 1991, p. 81).

More recently, Grant (2002) completed a study that examined the content and function of Canadian and cultural identities among 403 first-generation immigrant men and women living in Canada. In this study, Grant measured strength of cultural identification, Canadian identification, and behavioural acculturation. He used Cinnerella's (1997) identification measure and Ryder et al.'s (2000) VIA measure. Cinnerella adapted his identification measure from Brown and colleagues (1986). Used frequently by intergroup relations researchers, this measure has good reliability and validity (Jackson & Smith, 1999). Respondents filled out this scale twice, once in reference to Canada, and once in reference to their cultural group. Reliability and validity of Cinnerella's scale is discussed in the Method Section of Study 1 of this dissertation.

Grant (2002) found that respondents strongly identified with both Canada and their cultural group, although they tended to identify more strongly with their cultural group. Examination of the relationship between identification and behavioural acculturation revealed significant correlations between identification and acculturation, suggesting that these aspects of acculturation are related, but not the same construct. Specifically, the stronger respondents identified with Canada, the longer they had lived in Canada and the more they tended to participate in mainstream Canadian activities. Likewise, the stronger respondents identified with their cultural community, the more they tended to participate in their cultural group's activities in Canada. Thus, for this sample of first-generation immigrant men and women, Grant found a strong relationship between psychological acculturation (identification) and behavioural acculturation in terms of both mainstream Canadian culture and their cultural heritage. Note that there

was also a significant correlation between strength of cultural identification and participation in Canadian society; no significant relationship emerged between strength of Canadian identification and participation in cultural community.

In summary, the series of studies described above demonstrate the importance of measuring women's psychological identification and behavioural adaptation to both the ethnic culture and host culture. Although Hutnik (1991) conducted her research with British-born South Asian individuals, her findings may also apply to first-generation South Asian individuals. For example, Lalonde and colleagues' studies were based on Berry's two factor model of acculturation. They presented participants with two integration strategies: individual-assimilation (give up your culture to get ahead), and collective-multiculturalism (work with your culture to get ahead). However, in some of the studies, participants did not strongly endorse either type of strategy, suggesting the need to present participants with more options. Moreover, Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) and Lalonde et al.'s (1988) research demonstrates the importance of investigating psychological identification with the host and heritage cultures. Although strength of identification may remain constant, women's construction of their ethnic identity may not. Horenczyk (1997) argues that culture of origin may be reinterpreted or reconstructed such that the new norms and behaviours newcomers acquire from the host country become part of this construction. Moreover, the small amount of research that has investigated the relationship between social identifications and participation in cultural activities demonstrates that this relationship varies. For example, some researchers have found a positive correlation between strength of ethnic identification and participation in

ethnic culture (e.g., Ethier & Deaux, 1990, 1994; Grant, 2002; Lalonde et al., 1988), while other studies suggest that identification and participation are independent of each other (e.g., Hutnik, 1991). However, both Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) and Hutnik's (1991) research involved second-generation (or later) immigrants. Moreover, Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) research focused on ethnic identity negotiation and Lalonde and Cameron's (1993) research assessed predictors of one acculturation strategy. Therefore, the difference in findings may be attributable to differences in how acculturation has been measured. Further, to date, only one study has followed the bidimensional approach to acculturation, measuring identification and behavioural participation in Canadian society and the heritage culture (Grant, 2002). In short, the relationship between social identification with the host culture and with the culture of origin, and behavioural participation in both cultures for first-generation immigrant women, warrants further examination.

Examination of both psychological identification and behavioural adaptation of migrants and the relationship between the two will provide a better understanding of the process of adaptation and expand the existing acculturation literature. This expansion is needed because earlier acculturation models focused on behavioural adaptation and the skills and knowledge needed to function in a new cultural environment (Birman, 1994). The focus on behavioural adaptation originated from the view that questions of identity are not as pressing for most immigrants and refugees as they are for oppressed ethnic and racial groups born in the United States (Birman, 1994). The models assume that immigrants and refugees are recently separated from their culture of origin and a firm



sense of belonging to the culture is easily maintained. Instead, the most pressing issue is survival in the host country. As a result, investigation and intervention has primarily focused on the ways in which immigrants and refugees can maximize their participation in their surrounding community under the assumption that first-generation immigrants strongly identify with their culture of origin and that this remains constant. However, the migration experience can be filled with threats to identity and create subjective uncertainty about identity (Hogg & Mullin, 1999). This suggests that immigration not only concerns behavioural adaptation to the new environment, but also the negotiation of ethnic identity. Thus, understanding how migrating individuals maintain their identity, and respond to threat and uncertainty, is critical to understanding the immigration experience. Therefore, using the bidimensional approach to acculturation that incorporates identity and behavioural aspects of acculturation will advance the acculturation literature.

This dissertation investigated factors influencing women's social identifications and behavioural adaptation in the host culture. The studies described previously indicate that both social psychological (e.g., perceived discrimination, motivation to retain culture) and demographic variables (e.g., length of residence, citizenship) are associated with behavioural adaptation and that there is considerably less empirical evidence for factors influencing social identification strategies. Here, subjective uncertainty reduction theory (SURT: Hogg, 2000; Hogg & Abrams 1993) offers a promising new direction. Described as a modern motivational theory of intergroup bias, SURT has amassed a substantial literature (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002). The theory proposes that people

are motivated to reduce subjective uncertainty. One way to do this is to identify with social groups that provide clear behavioural norms. The next section describes this theory and the empirical tests of its main tenets.

## 2.5 SUBJECTIVE UNCERTAINTY AS A MOTIVATOR OF GROUP BEHAVIOUR

Tajfel and Turner (1985) asserted that a favourable intergroup comparison enhances the positivity of a person's group identity, and hence, his or her self-esteem. Abrams and Hogg (Abrams, 1992; Abrams & Hogg, 1988) argue that the prominence of self-esteem as a prime motivator of identity is exaggerated. While self-esteem may be involved, other motivators may be more prominent, especially outside of the minimal group paradigm (Abrams, 1992). For example, Hogg and Abrams (1993) propose that subjective uncertainty-reduction plays the primary motivational role in group processes, and they further suggest that this motive may be one of the most fundamental group motivations on which other motives rest. Crocker and colleagues (1993) believe that the drive for a certain self-concept, rather than a positive self-concept, is a primary motive underlying collective identification. Jost (1995; Jost & Banaji, 1994) argues that uncertainty reduction and the maintenance of stability may be stronger group motivations than self-enhancement. Other researchers suggest self-esteem is pursued only when one has secured a certain self-concept (e.g., Sedikides & Strube, 1995; Taylor, Neter & Wayment, 1995). Hogg and Mullin (1999) note that the recent research on self-esteem has revealed that self-esteem is related to, or even contingent upon, self-certainty (e.g., Banaji & Prentice, 1994; Brown, Collins, & Schmidt, 1988; Crocker et al., 1993).

Hogg and Abrams (1993) base SURT on social identity theory and self-categorization theory, as well as Festinger's (1950, 1954) social comparison theory and Moscovici's (1976) writings on social influence: people have a fundamental need to be confident that their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours are valid and that they have an accurate understanding of their environment. In particular, people strive for certainty about aspects of their lives that are subjectively important or self-relevant and have implications for the self-concept (Mullin & Hogg, 1998a). Festinger (1950, 1954) has argued that individuals reduce uncertainty either by using objective methods of evaluation, or if that is not possible, by comparison with similar individuals.

The basic premise of SURT is that when individuals feel "uncertainty about subjectively important issues, they self-categorize and identify with social groups to reduce their uncertainty" (Mullin & Hogg, 1998a, p. 348). Uncertainty is reduced when we perceive agreement about our beliefs, attitudes, or behaviours from similar others or when we can agree with similar others. In this context, similar others are defined as other ingroup members. That is, similar others are people that are categorized as belonging to the same social group as us. The social group is the group that is salient in the intergroup context.

Hogg and colleagues (Hogg, 1996, 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1993; Hogg & Mullin, 1999; Mullin & Hogg, 1998a, 1999) argue that self-categorization and depersonalization processes associated with social identification and group behaviour are well suited to uncertainty reduction. They define depersonalization as a process in which "individuality and concomitant unshared cognitions, feelings, and behaviours are replaced by an

ingroup prototype (i.e., group norm) that prescribes shared cognitions, feelings, and behaviours” (Hogg & Mullin, 1999, p. 254). Depersonalization operates such that people are perceived as agreeing more strongly with each other. This effect can either be transitory (associated with local situational factors), or it can be enduring (associated with wider social contextual factors). Hogg and colleagues argue that subjective certainty, then, is tied to group membership and thus the self-concept:

Things that we are certain about is linked to who we are via the prototypical features of social groups with which we identify and which form part of our self-concept—thus certainty about attitudes, feelings, and behaviours is actually certainty about who we are. (Hogg & Mullin, 1999, p. 254).

Hogg and colleagues’ analysis suggests that uncertainty reduction is a basic human motive that can be satisfied by salient group membership. In response to feelings of uncertainty about subjectively important issues, people self-categorize and identify with relevant social groups to reduce their uncertainty. Thus, according to Hogg and colleagues, the basic underlying motivation of group behaviour is uncertainty reduction, and self-categorization and social identification mediate this relationship. As a result, strong ingroup identification, more than weak ingroup identification, should satisfy this motive to reduce uncertainty and should accordingly accentuate group attitudes, beliefs and behaviours (Mullin & Hogg, 1998a).

Intergroup relations that result in social change may cause the group prototype to change because the social context has changed. According to Hogg and Abrams (1993),

this situation activates subjective uncertainty when individuals realize their actions, behaviours, and attitudes are not aligned with the group prototype (i.e., group norm). Individuals then work to subjectively re-align their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours with the prototype. Individuals may also opt instead to disassociate themselves from the group if they perceive themselves as dissimilar to other group members. In this situation, individuals would seek subjective uncertainty-reduction within a different group membership.

Hogg and Abrams (1993) assert that subjective uncertainty reduction is grounded in perceived *intragroup* consensus or agreement, not simply interpersonal agreement. Subjective uncertainty is reduced through self-definition in terms of an emerging and shared group prototype, which is defined through social interaction in an intergroup comparative context (Hogg & Grieve, 1999).

Hogg and colleagues propose that elevated self-esteem may be a consequence of the reduction of subjective uncertainty. As uncertainty reduces, pleasing feelings, such as self-efficacy, power and control, and self-knowledge, emerge and positively impact mood and feelings about self and relevant others. Hogg and colleagues further propose that these effects may explain three phenomena:

- (a) positive social identity and ethnocentrism—because the ingroup has reduced one's uncertainty, members evaluate it more favourably than the outgroup

- (b) self-esteem as a group member (collective self-esteem)—because self is a depersonalized component of the ingroup, ingroup evaluation based on uncertainty reduction embraces self-evaluation
- (c) group membership-based social attraction among group members—because other members of the group are also depersonalized and are seen as similar to the self. Thus, ingroup evaluation based on uncertainty reduction embraces other group member evaluation (Hogg & Mullin 1999, p. 255).

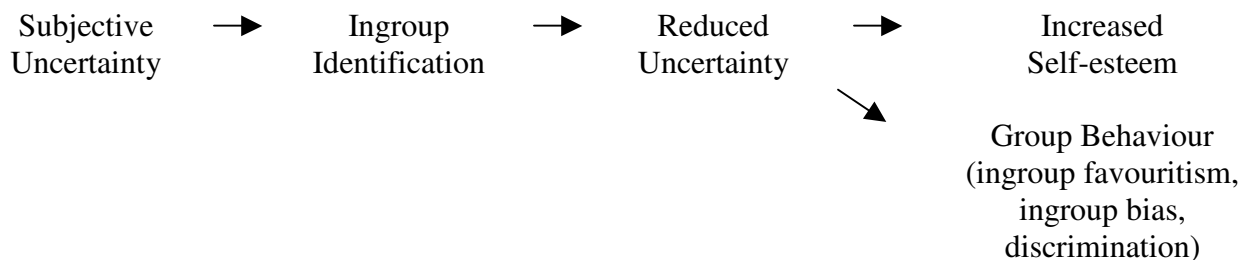
Moreover, various social change initiatives may be inhibited by group members protecting these positive feelings by generating dislike for ingroup members who seek to change the existing ingroup reality and outgroups who advocate an alternative reality.

Hogg and Abrams (1993) further postulate that group members may employ various other cognitive strategies to protect their state of subjective certainty. Examples include when groups isolate themselves from outgroups to avoid the outgroups' different interpretations of reality. When groups are presented with information which threatens subjective certainty, groups may discredit the information and its source. On occasion, the desire to maintain or achieve subjective certainty may have an adverse effect. For example, groupthink may occur when groups develop consensus in isolation from wider social agreements (Janis, 1972).

Mullin and Hogg (1998a) review the three principles of SURT as follows: (a) under some conditions, uncertainty reduction may be the basic underlying motive for group behaviour, with positive social identity and positive self-esteem as derivatives of

this motivation; (b) uncertainty will be a potentially strong motive if the dimension of uncertainty is subjectively important in the relevant context; and (c) uncertainty reduction is an individual motivation; however, it primarily can be satisfied only by membership in contextually relevant groups, and, therefore, is a social motivation. Thus, the theory proposes that subjective uncertainty leads to ingroup identification that can result in reduced uncertainty and in turn can result in higher self-esteem, and ingroup bias, favouritism, or intergroup discrimination, as illustrated in Figure 1.

*Figure 1.* Illustration of the Main Principles of SURT



Tenets of SURT have been primarily tested using laboratory experiments, although two unpublished field studies are mentioned in Hogg and Grieve (1999). The remainder of this section describes the experimental research, followed by a brief description of the two field studies.

Hogg and colleagues conducted a series of laboratory experiments using the minimal group paradigm to investigate the basic premise of SURT: people identify with groups to reduce uncertainty (Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Hogg & Grieve, 1999; Mullin & Hogg, 1998a, 1998b, 1999). It was specifically investigated as to whether subjective

uncertainty motivated people in minimal group studies to identify with an explicit categorization and to express ingroup favouritism.

Hogg and colleagues propose that the minimal group paradigm fosters high subjective uncertainty due to the novelty of the situation and the strangeness of the resource distribution task. As a result, in the minimal group paradigm, participants use the minimal categorization to reduce uncertainty about themselves and how they should behave. Hogg and colleagues argue that it is not social categorization per se that produces intergroup discrimination, but social categorization under conditions of subjective uncertainty, as opposed to subjective certainty, that produces identification (a moderating factor), which in turn generates discrimination, or differential intergroup perceptions, feelings, and behaviour.

To investigate the question of whether subjective uncertainty motivates people in minimal group studies to identify with the explicit categorization, and thus express ingroup favouritism, Hogg and colleagues first utilized a 2 (categorization) X 2 (uncertainty) design (Hogg & Grieve, 1999; Grieve & Hogg, 1999). Student participants were either randomly categorized into X- and Y-groups (in fact all categorized participants were in an X-group) or were not categorized, but were issued individual identification numbers (all uncategorized participants received the code number 34). Both categorized and uncategorized groups were placed under conditions of high subjective uncertainty (normal minimal group condition) or low subjective uncertainty (participants were given practice trials on the matrices). During the point allocation task, uncategorized participants allocated points between individuals identified by code



numbers alone. Categorized participants allocated points to both participants identified by code numbers and participants identified by X- or Y-group membership. Ingroup bias was measured by assessing use of favouritism strategies on the minimal group matrices. Participants then filled out a dependent measures questionnaire, adapted from Hogg and Sunderland (1991), that included manipulation checks on categorization and certainty, and items measuring self-esteem and ingroup identification. For items measuring ingroup identification, participants categorized by X- or Y-group membership answered items worded in reference to the ingroup; uncategorized participants answered items worded in reference to “people with similar code numbers.” In Hogg and Grieve’s (1999) experiment, they found that participants under the condition of high uncertainty displayed more ingroup bias than those participants under the low uncertainty condition. Moreover, participants categorized as either X or Y, under high uncertainty, also showed significant reduction in uncertainty (compared to uncategorized participants and participants categorized under low uncertainty) and significantly greater self-esteem (compared to participants categorized under low uncertainty). Self-esteem in this case was measured by one item that focused on transitory and specific self-esteem. In this experiment, there was no significant difference in strength of identification (measured by a five-item identification scale) between conditions.

Grieve and Hogg (1999) conducted two additional experiments that replicated Hogg and Grieve’s (1999) experiment, with some differences in methodology. In the first experiment, the main differences were that participants in the low subjective uncertainty condition completed 12 rather than three practice matrices, and ingroup identification was

measured with a 10-item rather than a five-item scale (based on Hains, Hogg & Duck, 1997; Hogg & Hains, 1996). This first study confirmed Hogg and Grieve's (1999) findings, in that there was significant bias only among participants categorized under the high uncertainty condition. Moreover, these participants identified significantly more strongly with their group than participants in the low subjective uncertainty condition. Changes in self-esteem and uncertainty were not found in this experiment.

Grieve and Hogg's (1999) second experiment conceptually replicated their first, but used a different strategy to manipulate level of uncertainty. Participants had their uncertainty lowered or raised by engaging in a judgment task where the correct judgements were ambiguous (high uncertainty) or obvious (low uncertainty). They were then explicitly categorized or not categorized and they completed minimal group allocation matrices following the same procedure as experiment one.

Similar to the first experiment, the findings showed that ingroup bias was significantly stronger for categorized participants than uncategorized participants. Moreover, categorized participants in the high uncertainty condition exhibited significantly more ingroup bias than participants in the other conditions. Categorized participants under high uncertainty also showed stronger ingroup identification and had higher self-esteem than participants in the other conditions.

Mullin and Hogg (1998a) conducted another minimal group experiment, seeking to differentiate between task uncertainty and situational uncertainty (uncertainty about the experimental setting as a whole). In the experiments discussed above, task and situational uncertainty were not separated. Mullin and Hogg were also interested in investigating the

mediational role of identification between uncertainty reduction and ingroup bias, as proposed by SURT. Their experiment was one of the first to investigate this.

Mullin and Hogg distinguished between the two types of uncertainty based on the assumption that situational uncertainty might be more closely related to uncertainty about social identity because the situation involves relationships between self and others in the social setting. Psychology students participated in a 2 (categorization) X 2 (task uncertainty) X 2 (situational uncertainty) minimal group study. Low-task uncertainty participants were given six practice matrices and instructed to complete as many as they needed to feel completely certain about the task. Situational certainty was a subject variable. High-situational uncertainty participants had never taken part in an experiment, whereas low-situational uncertainty participants had already taken part in at least five experiments (none minimal-group experiments) through the psychology department's research participation program. Participants were then asked to engage in the point allocation task and complete a dependent measures questionnaire (i.e., identification, self-esteem).

Mullin and Hogg found that participants categorized under high task uncertainty or high situational uncertainty expressed more ingroup bias than participants categorized under low task or situational uncertainty. There was a significant interaction between categorization and situational uncertainty on identification. Categorized participants high in situational uncertainty identified more strongly with their group than uncategorized participants high in situational uncertainty. Categorized participants high in situational

uncertainty also identified significantly more strongly than categorized and uncategorized participants low in situational uncertainty.

There was also a significant interaction between categorization and task uncertainty on identification. Although follow-up Newman-Keuls post-hoc tests were not significant, the trend in findings matched that for the categorization X situational uncertainty interaction: categorized participants high in task uncertainty identified more strongly with their group than uncategorized participants high in task uncertainty and categorized participants and uncategorized participants low in task uncertainty.

Mullin and Hogg also predicted that ingroup identification would mediate the effects of uncertainty and categorization on group behaviour. However, they found only partial support for this prediction. In a three-way (categorization X (task uncertainty) X (situational uncertainty)) ANCOVA (identification controlled), identification was not a significant covariate and the effects of the independent variables remained significant. However, they found that the magnitude of the main effects was reduced. Based on this finding, Mullin and Hogg suggest that identification may have played a mediating role in ingroup bias, albeit a very weak role.

Another important factor in SURT is subjective importance. Specifically, SURT posits that uncertainty will be a motivational force if it relates to subjectively important dimensions. Mullin and Hogg (1999) tested this premise with psychology student participants in a 2 (categorization) X 2 (task uncertainty) X 2 (task importance) experiment. Participants' levels of subjective uncertainty were manipulated via feedback they received about the validity of their attitudes towards low-importance or high-

importance issues (e.g., trivial commodity preferences versus important lifestyle and health preferences). They were then randomly categorized as group members of the Alpha-group or the Beta-group, or they were identified as individuals. As predicted, categorized participants under conditions of high uncertainty about important issues expressed stronger ingroup identification than participants in all other seven conditions.

Mullin and Hogg (1998b, as discussed in Hogg & Mullin, 1999) conducted two additional experiments to test the role of dimensional importance and category relevance. In the first experiment, psychology students participated in a 3 (categorization) X 2 (task certainty) X 2 (task importance) experiment, utilizing the same procedure as in Mullin and Hogg (1999), with one exception. In this experiment, Mullin and Hogg increased category relevance for one of the categorization conditions. In this condition, the researchers led categorized participants to believe that their ingroup was contextually more relevant because they would later be given normative attitudinal information from their ingroup. Mullin and Hogg found that categorized participants (high- or low-relevance groups) under conditions of high uncertainty about important issues expressed stronger ingroup identification than participants in other conditions. The category relevance manipulation was unsuccessful; thus Mullin and Hogg conducted a second experiment targeting category relevance and task certainty in a 2 X 2 design. In this second experiment, Mullin and Hogg (1998b) categorized all participants and gave them an important task. Mullin and Hogg accentuated category relevance by associating group membership to basic personality attributes that might be useful to the experimental task at hand. As predicted, Mullin and Hogg found that participants in the high-uncertainty and



*Figure 3. SURT: Uncertainty—Identification Link*



The remaining three of the seven experiments also provide support for the uncertainty reduction—identification link (Mullin & Hogg, 1998b, exps. 1 & 2; Mullin & Hogg, 1999). In Mullin and Hogg's (1999) experiment, uncertainty, categorization, and task importance were manipulated and the effects on ingroup identification and consensual validation were measured. In this experiment, participants categorized under conditions of high uncertainty about important issues expressed significantly stronger ingroup identification than participants under the other conditions. The next two experiments by Mullin and Hogg (1998b) also explored the effect of the relevance of the group to uncertainty reduction on identification. Both experiments replicated Mullin and Hogg's (1999) findings, which indicated that people may identify more strongly with groups if the groups are relevant to reducing uncertainty. Moreover, people may be more inclined to reduce uncertainty when the dimension of uncertainty is subjectively important.

SURT proposes that identification mediates the relationship between uncertainty and ingroup bias and other intergroup behaviours. Only two of the seven experiments investigated the mediating role of identification (Mullin & Hogg, 1998a; Mullin & Hogg, 1999). Mullin and Hogg (1998a) conducted a three way ANCOVA on ingroup bias and found that identification was not a significant covariate and the main effects of

uncertainty and categorization remained significant. They did note, however, that the magnitude of the main effects was reduced. Mullin and Hogg (1999) tested the mediational role of identification on the interactive effect of group membership, task uncertainty, and task importance on consensual validation (extent to which participants would like to find out about or discuss attitudes and beliefs with other ingroup members or individuals). Mullin and Hogg found that identification did mediate the interactive effect of the independent variables on consensual validation.

Another tenet of SURT is that identifying with groups may reduce subjective uncertainty. Three of the experiments examined levels of uncertainty reduction over time in categorized and uncategorized participants (Grieve & Hogg, 1999, exp. 1; Hogg & Grieve, 1999; Mullin & Hogg, 1998a). Two of the three experiments found that participants categorized under conditions of high uncertainty had significantly reduced uncertainty compared to uncategorized participants and participants categorized under conditions of low uncertainty. This suggests that categorization may serve to reduce uncertainty. However, the link between strength of identification and reduction in uncertainty was not examined.

Self-esteem was measured in four of the experiments (Grieve & Hogg, 1999, exps. 1 & 2; Hogg & Grieve, 1999; Mullin & Hogg, 1998a). In only one experiment (Hogg & Grieve, 1999), did significant results emerge for self-esteem: participants categorized under high subjective uncertainty scored significantly higher on self-esteem (one-item scale) than participants categorized under low uncertainty. Therefore, the



relationship between subjective uncertainty, categorization, and self-esteem warrants further investigation.

The series of seven experimental studies demonstrates that under relatively minimal conditions, people identify with groups (as indicated by identification and ethnocentrism measures) when they feel uncertain about the situation or task, particularly when the dimension of uncertainty is subjectively important and when the group is relevant to uncertainty reduction. Evidence that this elevates self-esteem and reduces uncertainty is less robust and clearly needs further investigation (Hogg & Mullin, 1999). Hodson and Sorrentino (2001), using Hogg and colleagues' paradigm for testing SURT, have also found support for the uncertainty—increased identification link.

While most of the empirical support for SURT comes from minimal group experiments, two questionnaire studies of student groups (Sussman & Hogg, 1998; as cited in Hogg & Grieve, 1999) and extremist political parties (Hogg & Reid, 1998; as cited in Hogg & Grieve, 1999) have also tested the prediction that individuals who are contextually uncertain are more likely to identify with groups. These two studies remain unpublished as of February 2004 and are unavailable from the authors (personal communication with Hogg, March 2001). However, Hogg and Grieve (1999) briefly describe Sussman and Hogg's (1998) study. This study focused on the high levels of contextual uncertainty that new university students experience upon arrival at university and the various clubs and societies available for students to join. Sussman and Hogg administered a questionnaire that demonstrated that the number of clubs and societies that students indicated they had joined or intended to join was significantly predicted by

students' reported levels of uncertainty. Sussman and Hogg note that the levels of uncertainty were not simply procedural uncertainty, but uncertainty about self in the university setting.

Hogg and Mullin (1999) suggest that uncertainty reduction and social identity extend into many larger social contexts. They discuss how the role of uncertainty, in social identity processes, has received substantial support with regard to large-scale social categories, such as gender, race, and nationality. Researchers posit that identification with these categories seem to be motivated by concerns about certain self-knowledge and psychological security (e.g., Abrams, 1990; Deaux, 1992; Mitchell, 1981). Moreover, threats to identity that produce uncertainty (e.g., threats that arise from geographical relocation (migration), rapidly changing status differentials, loss of membership or loss of validation of membership in a group) can greatly impact people's self-confidence, self-esteem, and sense of who they are (Breakwell, 1986; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993; van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993). However, a challenge in applying SURT to a real-life setting is finding a meaningful way to measure subjective uncertainty.

Hogg and colleagues manipulated subjective uncertainty in their laboratory experiments. Moreover, the two field studies discussed above remain unpublished. In personal communication with Hogg, he was unable to provide specific information with regard to the items they used to measure subjective uncertainty in the two questionnaire studies (April, 2001). However, he indicated that in both studies, they measured subjective uncertainty in a fairly ad hoc and commonsense manner.

In the study of extremist political parties, the researchers asked a number of questions concerning uncertainty about Australia's cultural identity, and its economic, political, and social future, and about people's feelings of uncertainty about their own economic, employment, and relationship futures. They focused on categories that people could be uncertain about in a socio-cultural context. In the student study, Hogg and colleagues asked a few questions about how certain and confident students felt about fitting in at the university, about getting around at the university, and about knowing what sort of person they wanted to be at university.

Given that Hogg and colleagues have yet to develop an empirically validated measure of subjective uncertainty, I researched other theories and models of intergroup relations and intercultural adaptation for the possibility of a similar construct. Over the last fifteen years, Gudykunst has developed the anxiety and uncertainty management (AUM) theory of effective interpersonal, intergroup communication, and intercultural adjustment that incorporates cultural variability (Gudykunst, 1985, 1988, 1993, 1995, 1998; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988). Gudykunst's main goal in developing AUM theory was to make it applicable to improving the quality of communication and adjusting to living in new cultures. This theory is based on the assumption that managing uncertainty and anxiety is necessary for effective communication and intercultural adjustment. When applied to intercultural adjustment, AUM theory posits that the basic cause of intercultural adjustment is strangers' (e.g., sojourners, immigrants) abilities to manage their uncertainty and anxiety in the host culture. When strangers can manage their uncertainty and anxiety, they will feel comfortable in the host culture (Gudykunst, 1998).

Moreover, although other factors are often associated with intercultural adjustment, they affect the amount of anxiety and uncertainty migrating individuals experience, but are not directly related to intercultural adjustment.

Gudykunst's theory, applied to intercultural adjustment, assumes that during encounters in foreign cultures, individuals are not cognitively sure of how to behave (i.e., they have uncertainty) and they experience a feeling of lack of security (i.e., they have anxiety). Uncertainty reduction is defined as "the ability of individuals to predict and explain their own behaviour and that of others during interactions" and anxiety as "the fear of negative consequences in a 'foreign' cultural environment" (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988, p. 112). The theory further assumes that uncertainty and anxiety are independent dimensions of intercultural adaptation and that uncertainty reduction and controlling or reducing anxiety, in combination, are necessary and sufficient conditions for intercultural adaptation. Here, intercultural adaptation is defined as "working out a fit between the person and the new cultural environment" (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988, p. 107).

Gao and Gudykunst (1990) empirically tested and found support for two assumptions of AUM theory: the reduction of cognitive uncertainty and affective anxiety exert independent influences on adaptation; and the reduction of uncertainty and anxiety are necessary and sufficient conditions for adaptation. Moreover, they found that the effect of social contact, cultural similarity, and cultural knowledge on adaptation is mediated through the reduction of uncertainty and anxiety. In their study, Gao and Gudykunst measured uncertainty reduction using a modified version of Gudykunst and

Nishida's (1986) attributional confidence scale, which was originally based on Clatterbuck's (1979) scale. Attributional confidence is the reverse of cognitive uncertainty (i.e., increasing attributional confidence is the same as decreasing cognitive uncertainty). The original scale focused on uncertainty at the interpersonal level (i.e., uncertainty around interacting with individuals). Gao and Gudykunst (1990) modified the attributional confidence scale to reflect uncertainty with the host culture (i.e., uncertainty with Americans in general), rather than uncertainty with specific individuals, as in Gudykunst and Nishida's (1986) original version.

Gao and Gudykunst (1990) used the following five items to measure uncertainty: (a) How confident are you in your general ability to predict how Americans behave?; (b) How confident are you that Americans like you?; (c) How accurate are you at predicting Americans' attitudes?; (d) How accurate are you at predicting the values Americans hold?; and (e) How well can you predict Americans' feelings? Reliability of the uncertainty measure was high ( $\alpha = .84$ ). In answering these items, respondents indicated the degree of certainty they experienced when interacting with Americans on a scale of 0 (total uncertainty) to 100% (total certainty). International students ( $N = 121$ ) at a large urban American university participated in the study. Twelve different countries were represented: France, West Germany, Norway, Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Japan, Indonesia, South Korea, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, and India. Students' length of stay in the United States ranged from a few months to two or three years. The higher the score on this measure, the less uncertainty the respondents reported.

Hogg and colleagues hypothesize that subjective uncertainty is a basic underlying motive of group identification and behaviour. Uncertainty arises when we discover that we disagree in our beliefs, attitudes, feelings, and behaviours with “similar” others, who are defined as people categorized as members of the same social group (Hogg, 2001). Gao and Gudykunst’s (1990) measure of uncertainty may be one way to measure the uncertainty immigrant women experience within the Canadian culture.

When considering factors motivating identification with social groups, SURT’s uncertainty-reduction hypothesis seems plausible. For example, if Ethier and Deaux’s (1994) findings were re-examined within the uncertainty reduction framework, it could be proposed that subjective uncertainty led Hispanic students to renege their Hispanic identity by joining Hispanic groups on campus and by participating in Hispanic activities; this, in turn, strengthened their Hispanic identity. For the Hispanic students, the Hispanic university groups were relevant to reducing uncertainty. For the Hispanic students who did not follow this pattern, it may be that the Hispanic groups in the university environment were not relevant to reducing uncertainty. Indeed, qualitative data obtained in interviews with these students suggest that students who were not strongly rooted in their Hispanic culture often felt that they were not accepted by other Hispanic students and Hispanic groups on campus. SURT predicts that these students would seek uncertainty reduction with other groups, deemed more relevant, and would strengthen their identity in other groups. Ethier and Deaux (1994) did have students name all of the identities that were important to them. However, these authors only measured strength of

ethnic identification over time; therefore, it is unknown what other groups, if any, these students may have identified with to reduce uncertainty.

SURT can also be applied to the migration experience. Hogg and Mullin (1999) suggest that the migration experience can create a threat to cultural identity that produces self uncertainty. They posit that immigrants may find everyday interactions unpredictable or unfavourably stereotypical because their self-concept does not meaningfully fit into the new social context. In response, immigrants can redefine or adapt their social identity, “retreat” into a social environment that reinforces their existing identity, or show signs of acute anxiety or depression. For example, ethnographies of female migrants’ experiences reveal the ways in which women partake in their ethnic communities to provide them with a sense of continuity and familiarity that helps to counter the disruptions and lack of coherence experienced in the host culture (e.g., Ganguly, 1992; Hedge, 1998; Ralston, 1998). Differences in language and class are often overlooked, in America, in attempting to form a common cultural origins bond. Research also indicates that female migrants who are members of visible minorities in Canada may experience higher levels of uncertainty about their ethnic identities than female migrants from western European backgrounds. However, it would be erroneous to assume that all women who are members of visible minorities experience the same levels of uncertainty. Research indicates that perceptions of threat and cultural remooing (ways in which individuals establish new supports for their cultural identity) in the host country are mediated by degree of social identification (e.g. Ethier & Deaux, 1990, 1994; Ellemers, 1993). By

extension, degree of identification may also mediate the relationship between experienced uncertainty and cultural remooing.

## 2.6 THE PRESENT RESEARCH

In this dissertation, I investigated factors influencing women's strength of Canadian and cultural identifications (psychological acculturation) and participation in Canadian and cultural activities (behavioural acculturation). In so doing, this research replicates and extends Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) work by examining social identifications and the extent of participation of first-generation immigrant women in mainstream Canadian society and within their cultural group. Ethier and Deaux (1990, 1994) focused on how Hispanic students (i.e., second-generation or later immigrants) negotiated their Hispanic identity during the first year of university. The present research examined how first-generation immigrant women negotiated both their cultural identity and Canadian identity and the extent to which they participated in both cultures. Moreover, this research investigated the role of subjective uncertainty, strength of cultural background, and perceptions of threat as predictors of women's social identifications with their cultural group and with Canada. This research also explored the relationship (if any) between subjective uncertainty, threat, and extent of women's participation in Canadian and cultural activities.

The inclusion of both psychological acculturation and behavioural acculturation follows recent acculturation perspectives (e.g., Birman, 1994; Hutnik, 1991; Ryder et al. 2000), as well as findings that immigration not only concerns behavioural participation in the new environment but also the negotiation of social identities. For example, Ethier and



Deaux's (1990, 1994) research, and ethnographic research (e.g., Hedge, 1998; Ganguly, 1992), demonstrate that migrating individuals struggle with participating in the mainstream culture, and continually negotiating their cultural identity and their new national identification. Moreover, identification cannot be inferred from behavioural criteria alone. Ethnicity is determined by how one defines oneself psychologically, not by how one is observed to behave (De Vos, 1995). Therefore, to obtain a more complete understanding of acculturation, both psychological and behavioural aspects were included in the present research.

For this research, acculturation was considered to encompass identification with culture of origin and with Canada, as well as behavioural participation in both cultures. This research followed the bidimensional approach to acculturation by viewing heritage and mainstream cultural identities as relatively independent of one another (Ryder et al., 2000).

Two studies, one using quantitative and the other using qualitative methods, were conducted to investigate the predictors of women's social identifications and the relationship between social identifications and extent of participation in Canadian and cultural activities. The quantitative study replicated and extended Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) research. The qualitative study, using in-depth interviews with six women, further elaborated and described women's experiences with subjective uncertainty and perceptions of threat. The intent of the second study was to illustrate the breadth of women's experiences with uncertainty by presenting the unique experiences of each of the six women. Specifically, the second study examined how these experiences may

influence women's participation in Canadian and cultural activities and how strongly they identify with Canada and their cultural community. Moreover, the uncertainty measure used in Study 1 was a preliminary measure of uncertainty. The qualitative study intended to further explore different facets of uncertainty, and potentially further theoretical development of the construct. Both studies were conducted together for simultaneous methodological triangulation (Morse, 1991).

### 3. STUDY 1

#### 3.1 HYPOTHESES

Study 1 made predictions about the relationship between social identifications and extent of participation in Canadian and cultural activities based on Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) findings. These researchers found that Hispanic students, who had a strong cultural background, engaged in remoooring behaviours that involved developing new bases of support for their Hispanic identity in a new university environment (e.g., belonging to Hispanic university groups, participating in Hispanic activities). Moreover, strength of Hispanic identity increased for these students over the first year of university. For students who were not strongly rooted in their cultural background, they did not engage in remoooring behaviours. Over the course of the first year, the strength of their Hispanic identity weakened over time. This suggests that behavioural participation is positively related to social identifications within a specific cultural context. However, in Ethier and Deaux's study, the relationship between acculturation to the heritage culture (Hispanic) and acculturation to the mainstream culture (Anglo university) is not known because they did not measure the latter. Therefore, based on Ethier and Deaux's research, I derived hypotheses regarding the relationship between behavioural participation and identification within the heritage culture, and inferred a parallel hypothesis for the relationship between both aspects of acculturation within mainstream Canadian culture.

**H1 Women's behavioural participation in their cultural community is positively related to the strength of their cultural identification.**

**H2 Women's behavioural participation in Canadian culture is positively related to the strength of their Canadian identification.**

The bidimensional approach to acculturation suggests that cultural identification and national identification are independent of one another. In parallel fashion, I predicted that women's behavioural participation in their cultural community and the Canadian community, and their social identifications, would be independent of each other.

**H3 Women's behavioural participation in their cultural community is independent of their behavioural participation in Canadian culture.**

**H4 Women's strength of cultural identification is independent of women's strength of Canadian identification.**

The present research replicated Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) research by investigating the relationship between women's strength of cultural background, perceptions of threat, and strength of cultural identification. Ethier and Deaux had found that students with a strong cultural background perceived less threat to their Hispanic identity and more strongly identified with their Hispanic culture. Based on these findings, the present research made the following predictions.

**H5 Strength of cultural background is negatively related to perceptions of threat to cultural identity.**

**H6 Strength of cultural background is positively related to cultural identification.**

Based on subjective uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg & Abrams, 1993; Hogg & Mullin, 1999), the present research also investigated subjective uncertainty as a predictor of social identification. Hogg and colleagues argue that subjective uncertainty is an important underlying motive that explains why individuals engage in different identification strategies. SURT proposes that when individuals experience uncertainty about subjectively important issues, they self-categorize and identify with relevant social groups to reduce their uncertainty.

Based on SURT, I can hypothesize that women immigrating to Canada, who experience subjective uncertainty about their cultural identity, will self-categorize and identify with relevant social groups to reduce feelings of uncertainty under two conditions: (a) women's feelings of subjective uncertainty are about important social identifications, specifically their cultural group and Canada; and (b) the social groups are relevant to women for reducing uncertainty. Therefore, subjective uncertainty may motivate women to maintain or strengthen their cultural identity, and to develop a new social identification with Canada, if the above conditions are met. In the present research, the assumption is that participants identify with cultural groups that are relevant and important in reducing uncertainty.

In the present research, I investigated the relationship between subjective uncertainty and women's strength of social identifications. I measured uncertainty as the uncertainty that women felt about fitting into the Canadian and cultural communities, and how confident they felt about predicting how Canadians and members of their cultural groups will feel and behave. In this way, I assessed the relationship between uncertainty

and identification and the extent of behavioural participation in two domains: women's cultural community in Canada, and broader Canadian society<sup>4</sup>.

**H7 It is expected that uncertainty about Canadian identity will be positively related to strength of Canadian identification.**

**H8 It is expected that uncertainty about cultural identity will be positively related to strength of cultural identification.**

I measured participation in both the broader Canadian culture and the cultural community. At this point, it was unclear whether there would be a relationship between participation in Canadian and cultural activities and subjective uncertainty, therefore this was an area of exploration. Moreover, I also explored the relationship between perceptions of threat, subjective uncertainty, and identification. According to social identity theory, perceptions of threat and subjective uncertainty may make a person insecure in their social identity. Therefore, this view would lead to the hypothesis that threat and uncertainty are positively related. Moreover, if threat induces uncertainty in immigrant women, then threat may be positively related to strength of identification, as proposed by social identity theory.

## 3.2 METHOD

### 3.2.1 Respondents

One hundred and fifty-three women living in a mid-sized city in western Canada, who voluntarily emigrated from South Asian, Southeast Asian and East Asian countries,

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<sup>4</sup> The term "broader Canadian community or society" is used throughout to mean all of the Canadian community or all of Canadian society, as women's cultural communities are also Canadian communities.

participated in this research. Table 1 summarizes demographic information for the sample. The majority of women (77%;  $n = 117$ ) were from the Philippines, China, Hong Kong, and India<sup>5</sup>. When asked about their heritage culture, 85% of women ( $n = 130$ ) identified as Filipino, Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, and East Indian. Most of the respondents ( $n = 104$ ; 94%) were Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist, or said they had no religion. Based on the 2001 Canadian Census data, there are 5,960 visible minority women living in this mid-sized city (Statistics Canada, n.d.). Over 69% of visible minority women in this city belong to four cultural groups: Chinese (32%), Filipino (15%), South Asian (13%), and Southeast Asian (9%). Hence, the sample of women in Study 1 is comprised of women from the largest cultural groups in this city. For the most part, women's heritage cultures greatly overlapped with their countries of origin. For example, all of the women who identified as Filipino and Hong Kong Chinese were born in the Philippines and Hong Kong respectively. For the 33 women who identified as Chinese, 26 were born in China, and seven were born in Taiwan, Vietnam, Macau, and Mauritius. For the 36 women who identified as East Indian, 31 were born in India, and five women were born in Uganda, Kenya, and Bangladesh.

The majority of women (84%,  $n = 128$ ) had moved directly to Canada from their country of origin. Most of the women immigrated to Canada under the family class (66%,  $n = 101$ ) or independent class of immigration (30%,  $n = 46$ ).<sup>6</sup> When asked why they left

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<sup>5</sup> The Philippines are a set of islands located in Southeastern Asia. China and Hong Kong are located in Eastern Asia. India is located in Southern Asia.

<sup>6</sup> Women entering Canada under the family class of immigration were sponsored by a close relative living in Canada. Women entering Canada under the independent class of immigration were assessed on a point system (level of education, ability to communicate in English or French, work experience, age, arranged employment, adaptability, occupation).

Table 1

*Demographic Profile of the Sample*


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Country of Origin	( <i>N</i> = 152)
Philippines	35 (23%)
China	33 (22%)
India	31 (20%)
China (Hong Kong)	18 (12%)
Vietnam	10 ( 7%)
Other East Asian Countries <sup>a</sup>	9 ( 6%)
Other South East Asian Countries <sup>b</sup>	8 ( 5%)
Other South Asian Countries <sup>c</sup>	5 ( 3%)
African Countries <sup>d</sup>	3 ( 2%)
Heritage Culture	( <i>N</i> = 153)
Chinese	40 (26%)
Hong Kong Chinese	18 (12%)
East Indian	36 (24%)
Filipino	35 (23%)
Vietnamese	8 ( 5%)
Other South East Asian Cultures <sup>e</sup>	8 ( 5%)
Other East Asian Cultures <sup>f</sup>	5 ( 3%)
Other South Asian Cultures <sup>g</sup>	3 ( 2%)
Religion	( <i>N</i> = 132)
Christian	60 (42%)
Hinduism	27 (20%)
Buddhism	13 (10%)
Sikhism	5 ( 4%)
Islamic	2 ( 2%)
No Religion	25 (19%)

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Table 1 (continued)

*Demographic Profile of the Sample*


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Years Living in Canada	( <i>N</i> = 153)
Less than 5 years	19 (12%)
6-10 years	27 (18%)
11-15 years	27 (18%)
16-20 years	27 (18%)
21-25 years	14 ( 9%)
26-30 years	21 (14%)
31 years or more	18 (12%)
Age Range of Women	( <i>N</i> = 150)
18 – 25 years	9 ( 6%)
26 – 35 years	30 (20%)
36 – 45 years	50 (33%)
46 – 55 years	41 (27%)
56 – 65 years	16 (11%)
66 years or older	4 ( 3%)
Highest Level of Education	( <i>N</i> = 146)
Elementary or Primary School	4 ( 3%)
High School or Grammar School	29 (20%)
Technical Diploma or Training	25 (17%)
Some University training	13 ( 9%)
Bachelor's Degree	49 (33%)
Post-graduate Degree	26 (18%)

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<sup>a</sup> Other East Asian Countries include Taiwan, Macau, Tibet and Japan. <sup>b</sup> Other South East Asian Countries include Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, and Singapore. <sup>c</sup> Other South Asian Countries include Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. <sup>d</sup> African Countries include Kenya, Mauritius and Uganda. <sup>e</sup> Other South East Asian cultures include Laotian, Malaysian, Singaporean, Indonesian and Cambodian. <sup>f</sup> Other East Asian Cultures include Japanese, Tibetan and Taiwanese. <sup>g</sup> Other South Asian Cultures include Sri Lankan, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi.

their home country, the four main reasons women gave were to be with family, for freedom and opportunities in Canada, to pursue education, and for employment. When asked if they had voluntarily left their home country to move to Canada, of the 148 women who responded, 90% ( $n = 133$ ) stated yes. For the fifteen women who indicated they did not move to Canada voluntarily, the main reason they gave for immigrating was for family reasons. One woman indicated she moved to Canada to go to school. Fourteen of these women moved to Canada under the family class of immigration, and one moved under the independent class of immigration. Hence, the circumstances of the fifteen women who stated they did not voluntarily immigrate do not appear to systematically differ from the circumstances of the sample of women who stated they voluntarily immigrated to Canada.

Over 80% of women were Canadian citizens and had lived in Canada for an average of 17.3 years ( $Mdn = 17.0$ ;  $SD = 10.0$ ; range 3 to 44 years). The majority of women (59%;  $n = 91$ ) were between the ages of 36 and 55. Most of the women (77%;  $n = 117$ ) spoke English, or both English and their heritage culture language, in the home. Over 70% of women had children and were employed. The sample was highly educated; approximately half of the women had a bachelor's or post-graduate university degree (see Table 1).

### 3.2.2 Procedure

Data collection for Study 1 occurred between February 2002 and September 2002. The two criteria for screening women to participate in Study 1 were that they had voluntarily immigrated to Canada (i.e., they were not refugee claimants), and that they

had lived in Canada for a minimum of three years. I did not recruit women with refugee status primarily because I was concerned that they would have very different life experiences than women who voluntarily emigrated from their home countries. In particular, I felt that having to leave your country, versus wanting to leave your country, was likely to affect women's motivations for developing a new Canadian identity and maintaining their cultural identity. I also selected women to participate who had lived in Canada for a minimum of three years. I wanted to survey women who had lived in Canada long enough that they had time to adjust from the stress of moving to a new country and adapting to a new way of life. I assumed that women who had lived in Canada for three years or more would be more easily able to answer questions about how they feel as Canadians, and as members of their cultural group in Canada, compared to women who are familiarizing themselves with Canadian culture and their cultural community in Canada.

I used several methods to recruit the 153 women who participated in Study 1. I first consulted with key members of a non-profit refugee and immigrant service agency for ideas on how to access women from Asian cultural communities, and to ensure that the recruitment process was conducted in a culturally sensitive manner. I then contacted South, Southeast, and East Asian language schools in the community to potentially recruit participants. However, language proved to be a barrier, in that most directors of the language schools believed that women who used their services did not have the language skills necessary to fill out the questionnaire. As such, the sample of 153 women

was limited to women who could read English, as I did not have the financial resources to translate the questionnaire.

I also contacted local cultural associations and religious communities. Through these means, I recruited 25 members of the Chinese Women's Association and 10 East Indian female patrons of the Hindu Temple in the city. I had personally met with the President of the Chinese Women's Association, and she agreed to send questionnaires to 30 of their members. I introduced the research protocol to her to ensure that she informed women that their participation was voluntary, and that women could call me if they had any questions about the research. I visited the Hindu Temple to discuss my research. I handed out 10 surveys to women in attendance, and left 6 surveys with the President to distribute. I was also able to recruit 10 Asian women I met through community contacts. In total, I distributed 85 surveys and received 50 back.

To recruit the additional 103 women, I hired four women from the Chinese, Filipino and East Indian communities to recruit participants within their cultural communities. I trained the research assistants to obtain informed consent, answer questions, and clarify English words. Research assistants personally contacted each respondent, and dropped off a questionnaire at their home or place of work. They then made several reminder phone calls to women, and picked up the completed questionnaires from the women. Prior to completing the questionnaire, participants signed a consent form that they sealed in a separate envelope from the questionnaire. Participants interested in receiving a copy of the research findings also provided their contact information with their signed consent forms (see Appendix A for the consent

form and feedback request sheet). Women were given a small honorarium for participating in the study. In total, the four research assistants distributed approximately 200 surveys.

### 3.2.3 Measures

The self-report measures for Study 1 were all closed-ended questions with likert-type response scales specifically developed for immigrant persons and validated on immigrant populations.

The survey questionnaire consisted of quantitative measures of participation in Canadian culture and culture of origin, social identifications with Canada and with culture of origin, subjective uncertainty with regard to Canada and culture of origin, perceptions of threat to Canadian identity and cultural identity, background information, and demographics. I created an index of strength of cultural background from background information items. Refer to Appendix B for the complete questionnaire. Descriptions of the quantitative measures are presented below.

#### *3.2.3.1 Behavioural Participation*

The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA: Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000) measured behavioural participation in the cultural community and Canadian community. The VIA is a 20 item self-report instrument that assesses several domains relevant to acculturation, including values, social relationships, and adherence to traditions. I selected this measure over other acculturation measures for several reasons. Ryder et al. developed the VIA based on the bidimensional approach to acculturation, as opposed to

the unidimensional approach. Empirical research has demonstrated the utility of separately measuring acculturation to the host culture and to the culture of origin (e.g., Ryder et al. 2000; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999), as well as separately measuring social identification and behavioural acculturation (e.g., Hutnik, 1991).

Researchers have designed the majority of current acculturation measures for use with specific ethnic groups, limiting their use with other ethnic groups (e.g., Birman, 1998). Participants in Study 1 came from diverse cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it was appropriate to utilize measures intended for use with women from diverse cultural backgrounds. Stephenson (2000) argues that although diverse groups will have different experiences rooted in their respective cultures, it is also likely that different acculturating groups will have some common experiences. The VIA was developed and validated on Chinese, East Asian, and mixed diverse (non-English-speaking and non-East Asian culture) samples.

The final reason for using the VIA was that Ryder et al. (2000) developed the measure within the Canadian context, making it applicable to cultural groups in Canada. Although the VIA assesses acculturation to the host culture and to the culture of origin, Ryder et al. use the general term *North American* in reference to the host culture. The present research assessed acculturation specifically to the Canadian culture. To this end, the term *Canadian* replaced *North American* on the VIA measure. For some items, the wording *typical Canadian* is used, following original wording on the VIA. For example, *I am comfortable working with typical Canadian people*. However, ongoing research indicates that first-generation immigrant men and women in Canada feel offended by the

implication that they are not typical Canadians (Grant, 2002). Therefore, the present research modified the wording on two items by replacing *typical Canadian* with *Canadians in general*. The instructions provided at the beginning of the questionnaire defined *Canadians in general* to mean Canadians from all cultural backgrounds.

### 3.2.3.2 Social Identifications

In the present research, I measured women's identification with their heritage culture group and with Canada using Cinnirella's (1997; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000) seven-item measure of social identity based on Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade, and Williams' (1986) ten-item scale. Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) indicate that the social identity measures they use are comparable to measures typically used in quantitative studies of social identities using social identity theory. The components of social identity measured included perceived importance, socio-emotional connotation, similarity between self and other ingroup members, and interdependence between self and ingroups (p. 500). Cinnirella (1997) measured British and European identity in British and Italian university students, while Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) measured three social identities (Scottish, British, and European, in this order) of Scottish undergraduate students. An example item from the scale is *To what extent do you feel strong ties with other Scottish people?* (Refer to Appendix B for the full scale). Respondents answered each item on a seven-point likert scale.

The measures of Scottish, British, and European identity yielded high reliability coefficients of .90, .93, and .92, respectively. Cinnirella's (1997) same measure applied to British and European identity also yielded high reliability coefficients of .88 and .91,

respectively. Validity for Brown et al.'s (1986) ten-item scale, on which Cinnerella's scale is based, is well established (see Jackson and Smith (1999) for a review). Moreover, Cinnerella's research (1996, 1997) has established validity for the seven-item measure. Cinnerella (1997) measured national and European identity in British and Italian respondents. For the Italian respondents, European identity was stronger than national identity, whereas for British respondents, national identity was stronger than European identity. Evidence for these relationships between social identities also emerged in the qualitative data: British respondents perceived both identities to be incompatible, whereas Italian respondents perceived the two identities to be compatible. Grant (2002) also used a six-item version of Cinnerella's scale to measure cultural and Canadian identity, yielding high reliability coefficients of .88 and .91 respectively.

#### *3.2.3.3 Subjective Uncertainty*

I measured subjective uncertainty with the heritage culture group and the Canadian culture separately using Gao and Gudykunst's (1990) validated five-item measure. A sample item of the scale is *How confident are you in your general ability to predict how Canadians (cultural group) will behave?* This five-item scale yielded high reliability ( $\alpha = .84$ ) when Gao and Gudykunst (1990) used it to measure uncertainty that international students experienced with Americans-in-general. Respondents indicated the degree of certainty they experienced when interacting with Americans on a scale of zero (total uncertainty) to 100% (total certainty). Gao and Gudykunst found that the higher the score on this measure, the less uncertainty the respondents reported. The present research also incorporated three items adapted from Sussman and Hogg (1998; cited in Hogg &



Grieve, 1999) into the measure of uncertainty: (a) *How confident/certain are you about fitting into Canadian culture?* (b) *How confident/certain are you about getting around in Canada?* (c) *How confident/certain are you about knowing what sort of person you want to be in Canada?* Respondents answered the items using a seven-point likert scale (e.g., 1 *not at all confident*; 7 *extremely confident*), which was then reverse scored so that low scores reflected low uncertainty and high scores reflected high uncertainty. Based on feedback from my research supervisor and committee members, to keep the response format consistent across all measures, I used a likert-response scale for this measure rather than Gao and Gudykunst's response scale. The eight items were repeated, with wording specific to heritage culture group and the Canadian culture (refer to Appendix B).

#### *3.2.3.4 Perceptions of Threat*

One goal of the present research was to replicate Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) findings regarding the relationship between strength of cultural background, perceptions of threat, and strength of social identification. To this end, I measured women's perceptions of threat to ethnic identity and Canadian identity using an adaptation of Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) 6-item scale. Ethier and Deaux developed their threat measure based on exploratory interviews with a small sample of Hispanic students. They measured perceived threat within the context of attending a primarily Anglo university. In Ethier and Deaux's study, reliability for the threat measure at interview times one, two and three was .66, .82, and .72, respectively. Validity for the threat measure was also established. Ethier and Deaux predicted and found that perceptions of threat negatively

influenced levels of collective self-esteem and strength of identity, although initial strength of cultural background buffered perceptions of threat.

Grant (2002) also used Ethier and Deaux's scale to measure cultural incompatibility in the Canadian context. In his sample of first-generation immigrant men and women, perceptions of cultural incompatibility were moderate; mean score of 3.12 on a scale of 1 to 5. Perceptions of incompatibility were related to a weaker Canadian identity. According to social identity theory, cultural incompatibility may contribute to an insecure or threatened cultural (Canadian) identity. In support of this, Grant found the relationship between strength of identification and ingroup bias to be stronger for those immigrant men and women who believed that their culture was incompatible with mainstream Canadian culture. This hypothesis was also supported for the relationship between both cultural and Canadian identification and ingroup bias.

For the present research, I adapted Ethier and Deaux's 6-item measure to better fit the immigration context. Moreover, I included one additional threat item following Grant (2002). Based on social identity theory, this item captures threat to social identity as "a form of attack on central, shared, in-group attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and group practices, rejecting and derogating their nature and importance" (Grant & Brown, 1995, p. 198).

#### *3.2.3.5 Strength of Cultural Background*

I measured cultural background using an adaptation of Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) method. Ethier and Deaux (1990) used demographic information about student participants and their families to develop a composite index called Strength of Cultural

Background (SCB). Specifically, the SCB index consisted of mother's birthplace, father's birthplace, student's birthplace, language spoken in the home, percent of home community that is Hispanic, percent of Hispanic high school friends, and participation in Hispanic activities at college (Ethier & Deaux, 1990, p. 433). The researchers assumed that students born in the same country as their parents, who speak Hispanic in the home, have higher percentages of home community that is Hispanic, have higher percentages of Hispanic high school friends, and participate in Hispanic activities at college, are strongly rooted in their culture.

For the present research, I used three demographic variables to calculate an index of cultural background: total number of cultural associations of which women are a member (none, one, or more than one); language spoken in the home (English, both English and Heritage Culture Language, or Heritage Culture Language); and percent of friends from country of origin (0–33%, 34–66%; 67–100%). Following Ethier and Deaux (1990), I made the assumption that a participant more strongly rooted in her cultural background would belong to more than one cultural association, speak only her heritage culture language in the home, and have between 67–100% of her friends from her country of origin. A participant less rooted in her cultural background would belong to no cultural associations, speak only English in her home, and have 0–33% of her friends from her country of origin. I originally considered parents' place of birth and respondents' place of birth for inclusion in the index; however, 99% of respondents were born in the same country as their parents. Hence, this variable did not add any variance to the index and was excluded. Scores on the index of cultural background could range from

3 to 9. Women were given a score of 1, 2 or 3 on each of the three variables that comprised the index. The three scores were added to give each woman a total SCB score that could range from 3 to 9. Higher scores reflected a stronger cultural background. Index scores were computed only for women who had answered the three demographic variables comprising the index. Other demographic information also asked in the background section included years in Canada, class of immigration, citizenship, age, employment, and education level.

#### 3.2.4 Pilot Testing

In developing the questionnaire for Study 1, I obtained feedback on several drafts from my research supervisor and members of my research committee who have expertise in preparing questionnaires for respondents from diverse cultural backgrounds. The questionnaire I developed was very similar to the one my research supervisor had distributed several months earlier throughout the cultural communities in which I was conducting my research. Based on feedback he received on the questionnaire he used, I modified question wording on the Vancouver Index of Acculturation, as discussed above in the Measures section. I also sought feedback on the clarity and appropriateness of question wording from one of my research assistants and two members of a non-profit refugee and immigrant service agency before starting data collection. Based on this feedback, I clarified instructions, provided a sample section on how to answer questions with rating scales, and changed question wording in the background section.

### 3.3 RESULTS

Data screening and preliminary analyses of the main variables in Study 1 are presented first, followed by a summary of the correlational and multiple regression analyses testing the hypotheses. The results of the exploratory analyses are discussed last.

#### 3.3.1 Data Screening

Prior to analysis, I examined the data for accuracy of data entry, missing data, univariate and multivariate outliers, normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, multicollinearity, and singularity.

Inspection of minimum and maximum values, means, and standard deviations of each variable, revealed that all variables were plausible and within expected ranges. All variables had fewer than five percent missing data.

To identify univariate outliers, raw scores were converted to standardized scores, and then evaluated using the critical value of 3.29 ( $p < .001$ , two-tailed test; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Two participants had  $z$  scores exceeding 3.29 on the behavioural participation in Canadian culture scale; however, examination of their surveys did not reveal that their overall responses on this scale were more extreme than the remaining sample. Therefore, they were included in the sample. Calculation of Mahalanobis distances revealed no multivariate outliers.

Data were also screened for violations of multiple regression assumptions. Analysis revealed no violation of assumptions. Examination of bivariate scatterplots and residual plots did not reveal linearity or heteroscedasticity. Frequency distributions were examined to check the assumption of normality. Most variables displayed mild to

moderate skewness and kurtosis. However, variables were not transformed because a normal distribution was not expected for some of the scales. Specifically, past research has shown that first-generation immigrants tend to strongly identify with their culture, identify less strongly with Canada, perceive minimal threat, and actively participate in both Canadian and cultural activities.

Examination of the correlation matrix of the independent variables used in the regression analyses revealed no evidence of multicollinearity nor singularity. Further analysis of collinearity diagnostics from the regression analyses confirmed the absence of multicollinearity. That is, in all regression analyses, no conditioning indexes for root numbers were greater than 30, and no variance proportions were greater than .50 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001).

### 3.3.2 Preliminary Analysis

Table 2 presents means, medians, standard deviations, and ranges for all scales and the cultural background index. I reverse scored the uncertainty and identity measures so that high scores indicated strong identification and greater perceptions of uncertainty. When looking at women's average scores in Table 2, women felt a strong identification with both Canada and their cultural group, and there was no significant difference between the strength of these identifications ( $t(145) = -1.44, ns$ ). Women, on average, also highly participated in both Canadian and cultural activities, although they tended to participate significantly more in cultural activities ( $t(152) = -6.48, p < .001$ ).

Table 2

*Means, Medians, Standard Deviations and Ranges for all Scales*

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	No. of Items	<i>N</i>
Identification						
Canadian	4.75	4.64	1.12	1-7	7	148
Cultural	4.93	4.86	1.21	1-7	7	150
Behavioural Participation						
Canada	4.86	5.00	.92	1-7	10	152
Cultural	5.44	5.50	.89	1-7	10	152
Uncertainty						
Canada	3.18	3.13	.94	1-7	8	151
Cultural	3.00	2.88	1.11	1-7	8	153
Threat						
Canada	2.46	2.40	1.20	1-7	5	151
Cultural	2.98	2.80	1.26	1-7	6	151
Strength of Cultural Background						
	6.20	6.00	1.59	3-9	3	141

*Note.* High scores indicate strong identification with cultural group or with Canada; more participation in the cultural community and Canadian culture; greater perceptions of uncertainty around the Canadian culture and cultural group; greater perceptions of threat toward Canadian identity and Cultural identity; and a strong cultural background.

When asked to provide examples of Canadian activities in which they participated, 63% ( $n = 50/80$ ) of women listed Canadian holidays (e.g., Canada Day, Remembrance Day, Thanksgiving, and Halloween). Fifty-three percent of women participated in Christian religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, and 18% of women participated in local festivals. Thirteen percent of women stated that they lived the Canadian way by going to house parties, having potlucks, going to music concerts, and attending business meetings and parties at work; while 18% of women indicated that Canada is a cultural mosaic, therefore they participated in multicultural activities such as local cultural festivals.

The main cultural activities, in which women stated they participated, were cultural festivals and holidays (61%;  $n = 62/102$ ). Twenty percent of women took part in their cultural associations, including language schools, while 20% of women participated in religious ceremonies.

Women also rated the importance of teaching their children 11 different aspects of their heritage culture (see Table 3). Women rated 10 of the 11 aspects of culture as important or very important for their children to learn. For *wearing clothing in the tradition of their heritage culture*, women rated this aspect of culture at the mid-point. Heritage culture language and respect for elders were the highest rated aspects of their culture that women considered important for their children to learn.

Women perceived low threat to both their cultural identity and Canadian identity, although they did perceive significantly more threat to their cultural identity ( $t(151) = 6.29, p < .001$ ). With regard to perceptions of uncertainty, women reported low



Table 3

*Importance Ratings of Various Aspects of Culture to Teach Children*

Aspect Of Heritage Culture	Average Rating
Respect elders	6.5
Heritage culture language	6.2
Cultural values relating to male-female relations	5.6
Raise children following heritage culture's child training practices	5.5
Participate in heritage culture's religious or spiritual ceremonies	5.3
Participate in cultural ceremonies	5.3
Appreciate specific food dishes	5.1
Read or know about books that are classics	5.1
Know how to prepare specific food dishes	4.9
Know about sports and athletes	4.6
Wear clothing in the tradition of heritage culture	4.1

*Note.* Ratings on a scale of 1 – 7 (not at all important to very important).  
*N* varies from 151-152.

levels of uncertainty around the Canadian culture and their cultural group in Canada. There was no significant difference between women's average scores on the uncertainty measures ( $t(150) = 1.66, ns$ ). When comparing women's perceptions of threat to their reported levels of uncertainty, women experienced significantly more uncertainty than threat in relation to the Canadian culture ( $t(149) = -6.03, p < .001$ ).

Women, on average, scored high on the cultural background index ( $M = 6.20$ ; range 3 – 9). Three variables were used to create the index: total number of associations women belonged to, languages spoken in the home, and percent of friends from the same heritage culture group. Table 4 presents summary statistics for these three variables.

Table 4

*Summary of Variables Making up the Cultural Background Index*

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Number of Cultural Associations of which a Member	( $N = 153$ )
None	75 (49%)
One	55 (36%)
More than one	23 (15%)
Percentage of Friends from Heritage Cultural Group	( $N = 143$ )
0 – 33%	43 (30%)
34 – 66%	38 (27%)
67 – 100%	62 (43%)
Language Spoken Most often at Home	( $N = 148$ )
Heritage Culture Language	94 (64%)
English	33 (22%)
Both	21 (14%)

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### 3.3.3 Testing the Hypotheses

Table 5 presents the correlations among the main variables, including strength of cultural background and years in Canada, and internal consistency estimates for the scales. All scales demonstrated high internal consistency ( $\alpha = .82$  to  $.94$ ). Study 1 tested eight predictions about the relationships between the main variables. Note that Table 5 provides one-tailed levels of significance for these predictions.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 predicted positive relationships between women's strength of cultural and Canadian identifications, and extent of participation in the cultural and Canadian communities. Results revealed a significant and strong correlation between women's strength of cultural identity and participation in cultural activities, providing support for hypothesis 1. A similar pattern of results emerged between women's strength of Canadian identity and participation in Canadian activities, providing support for hypothesis 2. Thus, for the women in Study 1, psychological and behavioural acculturation were positively related, suggesting one of two possibilities. Either the stronger the women's cultural and Canadian identities, the more they participated in each community, or higher levels of participation led to stronger Canadian and cultural identities.

Based on the bidimensional approach to acculturation, Hypothesis 3 predicted that women's level of participation in the cultural community and the Canadian community would be independent of each other. Hypothesis 4 predicted that women's strength of cultural identity and Canadian identity would be independent of each other. As shown in

Table 5

*Correlations Among the Main Variables in Study 1*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Identification Canadian	<b>.88</b>									
2. Identification Cultural	.12	<b>.91</b>								
3. Behavioural Participation Canada	.43 <sup>+++</sup>	.02	<b>.86</b>							
4. Behavioural Participation Cultural	-.07	.62 <sup>+++</sup>	.25 <sup>++</sup>	<b>.86</b>						
5. Uncertainty Canada	-.45 <sup>+++</sup>	.14	-.61 <sup>***</sup>	.09	<b>.90</b>					
6. Uncertainty Cultural	.12	-.40 <sup>+++</sup>	-.15	-.41 <sup>***</sup>	.30 <sup>***</sup>	<b>.94</b>				
7. Threat Canada	-.33 <sup>***</sup>	-.28 <sup>***</sup>	-.13	-.16 <sup>*</sup>	.08	.08	<b>.84</b>			
8. Threat Cultural	-.29 <sup>***</sup>	-.21 <sup>**</sup>	-.02	-.06	.05	.04	.67 <sup>***</sup>	<b>.82</b>		
9. Strength of Cultural Background	-.10	.42 <sup>+++</sup>	-.08	.48 <sup>***</sup>	.11	-.28 <sup>***</sup>	-.04	-.06	--	
10. Years in Canada	.28 <sup>***</sup>	-.04	.12	-.03	-.14	.01	-.12	-.16 <sup>*</sup>	.01	--

*Note.* Reliabilities (Chronbach's alpha) are bolded and in the diagonals. Other entries are Pearson correlations. *N* varies from 146 to 153. For correlations between Strength of Cultural Background and the other variables, *N* varies from 136 to 141.

<sup>++</sup>  $p < .01$  (1-tailed); <sup>+++</sup>  $p < .001$  (1-tailed); <sup>\*</sup>  $p < .05$  (2-tailed); <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < .01$  (2-tailed); <sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p < .001$  (2-tailed)

Table 5, women's strength of cultural and Canadian identifications were independent of each other; however, there was a small significant correlation between women's participation in cultural and Canadian activities ( $r = .25$ ), such as women's participation in one community increased, their participation in the other community increased as well. In the present research, these variables only share approximately 6% of the variance, therefore the prediction is largely supported.

Hypotheses 5 and 6 made predictions about the relationship between women's strength of cultural background and cultural identity, and strength of cultural background and perceptions of threat. Hypothesis 5 predicted that the stronger a women's cultural background, the less threat to her cultural identity she would perceive. No significant correlation emerged between these two variables, although there may have been a floor effect. Women's reported low levels of threat may have masked a correlation between these variables for this sample of women. Hypothesis 6 predicted that strength of cultural background would be positively related to cultural identity. A positive correlation emerged between these two variables, suggesting that the stronger a woman's cultural background, the more strongly she identifies with her cultural group.

Study 1 also tested two predictions about the relationship between women's levels of uncertainty and strength of cultural and Canadian identities. It was expected that uncertainty about Canadian identity would be positively related to strength of Canadian identity (hypothesis 7); and it was expected that uncertainty about cultural identity would be positively related to strength of cultural identity (hypothesis 8). Recall that in Study 1, uncertainty about Canadian and cultural identity was assessed by asking women how

confident they felt about fitting into the Canadian and cultural communities, and how certain they felt about predicting how Canadians and members of their cultural group would feel and behave. Study 1 results directly contradict these predictions. Significant negative correlations emerged between uncertainty around Canadian culture and strength of Canadian identity, and between uncertainty around cultural group and strength of cultural identity, such that stronger identification was associated with less uncertainty.

Study 1 also explored the relationships between participation in Canadian and cultural activities and uncertainty, perceptions of threat and uncertainty, and perceptions of threat and strength of identifications. Table 5 shows a significant negative relationship between women's levels of uncertainty about Canadian culture and their participation in Canadian culture. A significant negative correlation also emerged between women's levels of uncertainty about their cultural group and participation in cultural activities, such that greater participation was associated with less uncertainty. This suggests either that as women's levels of uncertainty around fitting into the Canadian and cultural community decrease, their participation in Canadian and cultural activities increases, or that as they become more active in Canadian and cultural activities, their uncertainty about fitting into the Canadian culture and their cultural group decreases. With correlational research, the causal direction cannot be determined.

When examining the relationship between women's perceptions of threat and their levels of uncertainty, interestingly, no significant correlation emerged. This suggests that uncertainty and threat are two conceptually different constructs.

Lastly, the relationship between perceptions of threat and strength of cultural and Canadian identifications was explored. Results revealed significant negative correlations between the four variables. Specifically, perceptions of threat to Canadian identity and cultural identity were negatively correlated with strength of Canadian identity and strength of cultural identity. It appears that women who perceived minimum threat to their cultural identity, more strongly identified with their heritage culture *and* with Canada. Similarly, women who perceived minimal threat to their Canadian identity, more strongly identified with Canada *and* with their heritage culture.

### 3.3.4 Predictors of Canadian Identification

The correlational analyses demonstrate a negative relationship between uncertainty and strength of cultural and Canadian identity. That is, as feelings of uncertainty decrease, strength of identification increases, or as strength of identification increases, the less uncertain women feel. Sequential multiple regressions were conducted to investigate whether uncertainty and threat predicted strength of cultural and Canadian identifications while controlling for strength of cultural background, and years lived in Canada. Table 6 displays the results from the sequential regression with Canadian identity as the dependent variable. In this regression, cultural background and years in Canada were entered in block one, and uncertainty around Canadian culture and cultural group were entered in block 2. When entered in Step 1, strength of cultural background and years in Canada predicted a small proportion of the variance;  $R^2 = .08$ ,  $F(2, 133) = 6.08$ ,  $p < .01$ . However, Step 2, when the uncertainty variables were added to the regression equation, accounted for significantly more variance;  $R^2 = .30$ ,  $F(4, 131) =$

14.32,  $p < .001$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .22$ ,  $F_{inc}(2, 131) = 20.75$ ,  $p < .001$ . At the end of Step 2, regression coefficients for years in Canada, and the two uncertainty measures, were significantly different from zero. Altogether, 30% (28% adjusted) of the variability in women's strength of Canadian identity was predicted by how long women have lived in Canada, how *certain* they feel about fitting into Canadian culture, and how *uncertain* they feel about fitting into their cultural community<sup>7</sup>.

Table 6

*Summary of Sequential Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Women's Strength of Canadian Identification (N = 136)*

Variables	<i>r</i>	B	$\beta$	<i>t</i> ( <i>df</i> = 131)	$\Delta R^2$
Strength of Cultural Background	-.10	.028	.038	.493	
Years in Canada	.27***	.022	.196	2.656**	.08**
Uncertainty Canada	-.44***	-.597	-.489	-6.270***	
Uncertainty Cultural	.15*	.270	.260	3.287***	.22***

$$R^2 = .30 \quad F(4, 131) = 14.32, p < .001$$

$$\text{Adjusted } R^2 = .28$$

*Note:* Correlations presented are between Predictors and Dependent Variable, Canadian Identity. Cultural background and years in Canada were entered in block 1; the two uncertainty measures were entered in block 2.

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

<sup>7</sup> The construct uncertainty encompasses how certain women feel they fit into the community, and how certain women feel about predicting feelings and behaviours.



A second sequential regression assessed the contribution of threat, in addition to the background variables and the measures of uncertainty, to predicting women's strength of Canadian identity. Table 7 displays a summary of the regression information. At the end of the last step, with all variables in the equation,  $R^2$  was significantly different from zero;  $R^2 = .39$ ,  $F(6,129) = 13.56$ ,  $p < .001$ . At Step 3, the two measures of threat added to the prediction of strength of Canadian identification over and above the background variables and the two measures of uncertainty;  $\Delta R^2 = .08$ ,  $F_{inc}(2, 129) = 8.68$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Table 7

*Summary of Sequential Regression Analysis for Variables, including Threat, Predicting Women's Strength of Canadian Identification (N = 136)*

Variables	<i>r</i>	B	$\beta$	<i>t</i> ( <i>df</i> = 129)	$\Delta R^2$
Strength of Cultural Background	-.10	.019	.027	.362	
Years in Canada	.27***	.018	.155	2.200*	.09***
Uncertainty Canada	-.44***	-.578	-.473	-6.406***	
Uncertainty Cultural	.15*	.298	.288	3.824***	.22***
Threat Canada	-.32***	-.236	-.251	-2.680**	
Threat Cultural	-.26***	-.053	-.058	-.630	.08***

$$R^2 = .39 \quad F(6,129) = 13.56, p < .001$$

$$\text{Adjusted } R^2 = .36$$

*Note.* Correlations presented are between Predictors and Dependent Variable, Canadian Identity. Strength of cultural background, years in Canada were entered in Block 1; the two uncertainty measures were entered in Block 2; the two threat measures were entered in Block 3.

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

That is, the addition of the two threat variables to the equation contributed 8% to the variance explained. However, only perceptions of threat to Canadian identity had a significant beta weight, along with significant regression coefficients for years in Canada, uncertainty about Canadian culture, and uncertainty about cultural group. Altogether, 39% (36% adjusted) of the variability in women's strength of Canadian identity was predicted by how long women have lived in Canada, how *certain* they feel about fitting into Canadian culture, how *uncertain* they feel about fitting into their cultural community, and their perceptions that their Canadian identity was not being threatened.

### 3.3.5 Predictors of Cultural Identification

Two sequential regressions were conducted to assess the extent that strength of cultural background, uncertainty, and threat predict women's strength of cultural identity. In the first regression, cultural background was entered in the first block, and the two uncertainty measures were entered in the second block. Table 8 provides a summary of the regression. After Step 1, with cultural background in the equation,  $R^2 = .18$ ,  $F(1, 136) = 29.80$ ,  $p < .001$ . After Step 2, when the uncertainty variables were added to the regression equation,  $R^2 = .31$ ,  $F(3, 134) = 19.77$ ,  $p < .001$ . The addition of the two uncertainty measures to the equation significantly increased the percentage of variance accounted for ( $\Delta R^2 = .13$ ,  $F_{inc}(2, 134) = 12.29$ ,  $p < .001$ ). That is, the addition of uncertainty about Canadian culture, and uncertainty about cultural group, to the equation accounts for 13% more of the variance in the dependent variable. At the end of Step 2, regression coefficients for cultural background, and the two uncertainty measures, were

significantly different from zero. Altogether, 31% (29% adjusted) of the variability in women's strength of cultural identity was predicted by women's strength of cultural background, the *uncertainty* they feel about fitting into Canada, and the *certainty* they feel about fitting into their cultural community.

Table 8

*Summary of Sequential Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Women's Strength of Cultural Identification (N = 138)*

Variables	<i>r</i>	B	$\beta$	<i>t</i> ( <i>df</i> = 134)	$\Delta R^2$
Strength of Cultural Background	.42***	.325	.300	3.936***	.18***
Uncertainty Canada	.16*	.269	.206	2.708**	
Uncertainty Cultural	-.39***	-.418	-.370	-4.769***	.13***
$R^2 = .31$ $F(3, 134) = 19.77, p < .001$					
Adjusted $R^2 = .29$					

*Note.* Correlations presented are between predictors and the DV, Cultural Identity. Strength of cultural background was entered in Block 1; the two uncertainty measures were entered in Block 2.

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

The second sequential regression assessed the role of threat, in addition to strength of cultural background and uncertainty, in predicting women's strength of cultural identity. In this regression, cultural background was entered in the first block, the two uncertainty measures in the second block, and the two threat measures in the third block. Table 9 provides a summary of the regression information. At the end of the third step, with all of the variables in the equation,  $R^2 = .38$ ,  $F(5, 132) = 15.82$ ,  $p < .001$ . The

addition of the two threat measures to the equation accounts for 7% more of the variance in the dependent variable,  $\Delta R^2 = .07$ ,  $F_{inc}(2, 132) = 7.15$ ,  $p < .01$ . However, only threat to Canadian identity had a significant and negative beta weight, along with regression coefficients for cultural background, uncertainty about the Canadian culture, and uncertainty about the cultural group. Altogether, 38% (35% adjusted) of the variability in women's strength of cultural identity was predicted by women's strength of cultural background, how *uncertain* they feel about fitting into Canada, how *certain* they feel about fitting into their cultural community, and their perceptions that their Canadian identity was not being threatened.

Table 9

*Summary of Sequential Regression Analysis for Variables, Including Threat, Predicting Women's Strength of Cultural Identification (N = 138)*

Variables	r	B	$\beta$	$t(df = 132)$	$\Delta R^2$
Strength of Cultural Background	.42***	.223	.284	3.889***	.18***
Uncertainty Canada	.16*	.292	.223	3.054**	
Uncertainty Cultural	-.39***	-.396	-.351	-4.700***	.13***
Threat Canada	-.30***	-.228	-.222	-2.366*	
Threat Cultural	-.22**	-.054	-.055	-.595	.07**
$R^2 = .38$ $F(5, 132) = 15.82, p < .001$					
Adjusted $R^2 = .35$					

*Note.* Correlations presented are between the predictors and the DV, Cultural Identity. Strength of cultural background was entered in Block 1; the two uncertainty measures were entered in Block 2; the two threat measures were entered in Block 3.

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

### 3.3.6 Predictors of Behavioural Acculturation

Correlational analyses explored the relationships between uncertainty, threat, and behavioural participation in cultural and Canadian activities, and the findings were presented earlier. In addition to examining correlations between the variables, standard multiple regressions were conducted to explore the influence of demographic and psychological variables on women's participation in Canadian culture and their cultural community.

A standard regression was performed with participation in Canadian culture as the dependent variable, and years in Canada, cultural background, the two measures of threat, and the two measures of uncertainty as independent variables. Table 10 displays the summary information for the regression analysis.  $R^2$  for the regression was significantly different from zero,  $R^2 = .44$ ,  $F(6, 132) = 17.39$ ,  $p < .001$ . Examination of the regression coefficients revealed that only uncertainty about fitting into Canadian culture ( $\beta = -.65$ ) contributed significantly to the prediction of participation in Canadian culture, such that the less uncertain women were about fitting into Canadian culture, the more they participated in Canadian society.

A second standard multiple regression was performed with participation in cultural community as the dependent variable, and years in Canada, cultural background, the two threat measures, and the two uncertainty measures, as independent variables. Table 11 displays the summary information for the regression analysis.  $R^2$  for regression was significantly different from zero,  $R^2 = .35$ ,  $F(6, 132) = 11.69$ ,  $p < .001$ . Only strength of cultural background ( $\beta = .38$ ) and uncertainty about fitting into the cultural community

( $\beta = -.33$ ) contributed significantly to prediction of participation in cultural community:  
 The stronger the cultural background and the more certain women felt about fitting into their cultural community, the more they participated in their cultural community.

Table 10

*Summary of Standard Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Extent of Women's Participation in Canadian Activities (N = 139)*

Variables	<i>r</i>	B	$\beta$	<i>t</i> ( <i>df</i> = 132)	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>
					Unique
Strength of Cultural Background	-.08	.016	.028	.408	
Years in Canada	.12*	.003	.030	.452	
Uncertainty Canada	-.65***	-.638	-.654	-9.366***	.37
Uncertainty Cultural	-.13	.039	.047	.660	
Threat Canada	-.11	-.120	-.157	-1.780	
Threat Cultural	-.02	.111	.151	1.719	
$R^2 = .44$ $F(6,132) = 17.39, p < .001$					
Adjusted $R^2 = .42$					

*Note.* Correlations presented are between the predictors and the DV, participation in Canadian community.

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

Table 11

*Summary of Standard Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Extent of Women's Participation in Heritage Culture Activities (N = 139)*

Variables	<i>r</i>	B	$\beta$	<i>t</i> ( <i>df</i> = 132)	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>
					Unique
Strength of Cultural Background	.49***	.208	.377	5.033***	.13
Years in Canada	-.03	-.001	-.011	-.149	
Uncertainty Canada	.10	.124	.135	1.786	
Uncertainty Cultural	-.40***	-.260	-.327	-4.258***	.09
Threat Canada	-.15*	-.101	-.139	-1.455	
Threat Cultural	-.04	-.046	-.067	.706	
$R^2 = .35$ $F(6,132) = 11.69, p < .001$					
Adjusted $R^2 = .32$					

*Note.* Correlations presented are between the predictors and the DV, Participation in cultural community.

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

### 3.4 DISCUSSION

Study 1 investigated women's social identifications (psychological acculturation) and behavioural acculturation in relation to their cultural community and the broader Canadian community. Following the bidimensional approach to acculturation, psychological and behavioural acculturation to each community was measured separately. The relationships between women's acculturation and their strength of cultural background, perceptions of threat, and uncertainty were also examined. Correlational findings pertaining to women's psychological and behavioural acculturation are discussed first, followed by a discussion of women's cultural background, perceptions of threat, and psychological acculturation. Lastly, a discussion of the regression findings investigating predictors of women's psychological and behavioural acculturation is presented.

#### 3.4.1 Psychological and Behavioural Acculturation and their Relationship

Study 1 predicted that participation in cultural activities is positively related to strength of cultural identification, and that participation in Canadian culture is positively related to strength of Canadian identification. Study 1 findings support these two hypotheses suggesting that for the women in this study, behavioural and psychological acculturation are related constructs. These findings replicate Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) finding that as individuals participate in cultural activities, their strength of cultural identification increases over time. In addition, these findings parallel Grant's (2002) research with first-generation immigrant men and women conducted in the same



Canadian city as the current research. Ethier and Deaux discuss this relationship in terms of *remooing*. That is, through the process of re-establishing supports for their cultural identities, individuals strengthen their cultural identities. These supports can be in terms of joining cultural organizations, participating in cultural activities, and maintaining or developing friendships within the cultural community. Ethier and Deaux's research investigated remooing behaviour of university students during their first year of adjustment, whereas the current research, and Grant's research, found support for remooing in samples of individuals who had settled in Canada for an average of 17 and 7 years respectively. This suggests that individuals continue to engage in remooing behaviours beyond the first year of adjusting to a new environment. Moreover, in the current research, female participants had lived in Canada for an average of 17 years and participation in cultural activities and mainstream Canadian activities continued to be positively associated with women's strength of cultural and national identities.

The current study also found support for the bidimensional approach to acculturation in that women's cultural and national identifications were not significantly correlated. Acculturation from a bidimensional perspective views heritage and mainstream culture identities as independent of one another. This view incorporates the possibility that individuals may adopt many values and behaviours of the mainstream culture while retaining facets of cultural identity developed in their country of origin. In the present research, women strongly identified with Canada and strongly identified with their cultural group. These results suggest that women were able to develop a Canadian identity without having to relinquish their cultural values and beliefs. Grant's (2002)

research, on the other hand, found a positive correlation between cultural and national identification, whereby the more strongly men and women identified with Canada, the more strongly they identified with their heritage culture. This difference in findings may be attributed to sample differences. Participants in the current research had lived in Canada an average of 17 years, compared to 7 years in Grant's (2002) research. In both of the studies, years in Canada were positively correlated with strength of Canadian identity. This may suggest that individuals new to Canada develop a strong Canadian identity that remains strong over time. Initially, for new Canadians, their Canadian identity is linked to their cultural identity. Grant found that for new immigrants, one aspect of being Canadian included being allowed to maintain and sustain a connection with their culture of origin, hence the positive relationship between Canadian and cultural identities. However, in light of the current research, it is possible that over time, the link between cultural and national identities diminishes.

In terms of behavioural acculturation, a significant positive correlation ( $r = .25$ ) emerged between participation in cultural and Canadian activities. Grant (2002) also found a positive correlation between the two dimensions of acculturation ( $r = .31$ ), while Ryder et al. (2000) found a significant negative correlation ( $r = -.19$ ). Ryder et al. conducted their research with three different samples of university undergraduate students of first and second-generation ethnic descent. The current research, and Grant's (2002) research, was conducted with community samples of individuals of first and second-generation ethnic descent. Moreover, participants in our research were older and had lived in Canada for more years than the participants in Ryder et al.'s research. The

majority of women in the current research were between the ages of 36 and 55, and they had lived in Canada for an average of 17 years. The average age of participants in Ryder et al.'s research was 19 years. Ryder et al. do not report the average number of years participants had lived in Canada, but they do state that participants spent their formative years in their home countries. These differences in sample demographics may account for the difference in findings. In the university setting, participants in Ryder et al.'s (2000) research may not have had the opportunity to participate in mainstream North American activities. Ryder et al. do not report whether their sample participated more in cultural activities than mainstream North American activities. However, it is plausible that these university participants may have been strongly rooted in their heritage cultures based on their demographics. Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) research demonstrates that university students strong in their cultural background are more likely to remoor their cultural identities by participating in university-sponsored cultural activities. The women in my research already had ample time to remoor their cultural identities in the community, thus they may have had more time or inclination to participate in the broader Canadian community. This may suggest that when individuals first move to a new country, they remoor their cultural identities by spending time engaged in cultural activities, and perhaps less time participating in the host culture. The longer individuals live in Canada, the more likely they may be able to participate in both cultural and Canadian activities. Women in my research highly participated in both cultural and Canadian activities, similar to Grant's (2000) findings. The positive correlations obtained between the Mainstream and Heritage Culture dimensions of the VIA suggest that the

more individuals participate in heritage culture activities, the more they participate in mainstream Canadian activities. However, the size of the correlations need to be taken into consideration, in that in my research these variables only accounted for approximately 6% of the variance in women's behavioural acculturation. Hence, these results largely support the bidimensional approach to acculturation in that women's participation in Canadian culture was not strongly associated with participation in cultural activities.

#### 3.4.2 Cultural Background, Threat, and Women's Psychological Acculturation

Women in Study 1 had strong cultural backgrounds, as measured by participation in cultural organizations, language spoken in the home, and percentage of friends from the cultural community. Women reported low levels of threat to their cultural and Canadian identities, although they did perceive significantly more threat to their cultural identity than Canadian identity. It was expected that women's strength of cultural background (SCB) would negatively correlate with perceptions of threat; however, Study 1 did not find support for this hypothesis. Given the low levels of threat that women reported, there may have been a floor effect. That is, women in Study 1 reported minimal levels of threat to their cultural and national identities. Perhaps this was a factor of how long women had lived in Canada. The women in Study 1 had lived in Canada for an average of 17 years (range 3 to 44 years). Examination of the correlation between years in Canada and perceptions of threat revealed a small negative correlation between women's perceptions of threat to their cultural identity and number of years they lived in

Canada ( $r = -.16, p < .05$ ). This suggests that the longer women live in Canada, the less threatened they feel about their cultural identity. However, years in Canada did not significantly correlate with women's perceptions of threat to their Canadian identity ( $r = -.12, ns$ ). Similar to Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) findings, strength of cultural background did positively correlate with women's strength of cultural identity. Ethier and Deaux (1990, 1994) found that strength of cultural background buffered perceptions of threat. Hispanic students entering university with strong cultural backgrounds, compared to students less rooted in their Hispanic culture, perceived minimal threat to their cultural identity and more strongly identified with their heritage culture. The current research partially replicated Ethier and Deaux's findings; however, the circumstance under which the relationship between strength of cultural background and perceptions of threat is obtained warrants further investigation given that the current research did not find a relationship between these two variables. It is important to note that Study 1 measured strength of cultural background (SCB) in a slightly different manner than Ethier and Deaux. The current research developed an index based on women's behaviours in Canada: cultural organizations women belong to in Canada, the percentage of friends they have from their cultural community in Canada, and the language they speak in their homes. This index was based on the assumption that women strongly rooted in their heritage culture would be more likely to join cultural organizations, develop friendships primarily with members of their cultural community, and speak their heritage culture language in the home. However, it is possible that this index captured women's remooing behaviour instead of strength of cultural background. In future research, it may

be more appropriate to assess women's strength of cultural background based on questions about women's cultural community and family background in their country of origin. In this way, women's strength of cultural background upon immigrating to Canada can be better assessed. Alternatively, women can be asked directly about how strongly they feel they are rooted in their heritage culture. In assessing SCB, Ethier and Deaux considered the concentration of the Hispanic community in students' home towns, the percentage of Hispanic high school friends students had, and if students were born in their parents' country of origin. Unfortunately, Study 1 did not ask women questions about their cultural community and family background in their country of origin. Women did identify their parents' birthplace; however, the majority of women were born in the same country as their parents, thus this variable was excluded from the index as it did not provide any variance.

Study 1 also explored the relationship between women's perceptions of threat and strength of social identifications. Negative relationships emerged between women's perceptions of threat to their cultural and Canadian identities and women's strength of cultural and Canadian identity. These findings can be explained in one of two ways. Women who perceived less threat to their cultural and Canadian identities more strongly identified with their heritage culture and Canada. Alternatively, the more strongly women identified with their heritage culture, the less threat they perceived to their cultural identity; and the more strongly women identified with Canada, the less threat they perceived to their Canadian identity. The measure used to assess threat focused on how women managed their cultural identity within the broader Canadian community, and how

women managed their Canadian identity within their cultural communities. For example, sample items included: Did women feel like they could not show parts of themselves that were 'culturally' based? Did women feel their culture was incompatible within the broader Canadian community or that their Canadian identity was incompatible within their cultural community? Based on these items, it can be argued that this threat measure also provided an indicator of how compatible women felt their cultural and Canadian identities to be within their cultural community and Canada. Hence, women's perceptions of minimal threat to their cultural and Canadian identities could also be construed as women's perceptions of the compatibility of these two identities. Grant (2002) found that individuals who perceived greater compatibility between their heritage culture and the Canadian culture more strongly identified as Canadians. In the current study, women strongly identified with Canada and with their heritage culture, suggesting that women felt their heritage culture to be compatible with Canadian culture. Based on social identity theory, these findings also suggest that women had secure cultural and Canadian identities. Theoretically, SIT does not offer hypotheses to explain the relationship between perceptions of threat and strength of social identifications, however. Given that the relationship between perceptions of threat and strength of social identifications was an area of exploration in the current research, further research is warranted to confirm these findings in other settings. Then, further theoretical development is needed to explore the relationship between threat and strength of social identity.

### 3.4.3 Predictors of Women's Social Identifications (Psychological Acculturation)

Study 1 results found that uncertainty negatively correlated with cultural and national identification. This finding is opposite to subjective uncertainty reduction theory's proposition that experiences of uncertainty lead to stronger identification with groups. Women in Study 1 who experienced greater *certainty* in predicting Canadian behaviours and attitudes more strongly identified with Canada. Similarly, women who experienced greater *certainty* in predicting the behaviour and attitudes of members of their cultural group more strongly identified with their cultural group. I reexamined the correlation between uncertainty and strength of cultural and Canadian identification controlling for women's length of stay in Canada. Women who participated in Study 1 had lived in Canada for an average of 17 years. Was it possible that women who had lived in Canada for several years felt very certain compared to women who had lived in Canada for less than five years? A negative correlation between uncertainty and strength of identification emerged when controlling for years in Canada. Regardless of how long women had lived in Canada, the more *certain* they felt about Canada, the more strongly they identified with Canada, and the more *certain* they felt about their cultural community, the more strongly they identified with their heritage culture.

I also questioned whether the findings were attributable to the manner in which I measured uncertainty. I had used Gao and Gudykunst's (1990) 5-item measure of uncertainty as well as 3 items from Sussman and Hogg's (1998) field study to measure uncertainty. This measure yielded high reliability (uncertainty culture scale,  $\alpha = .90$ ; uncertainty Canada scale,  $\alpha = .94$ ). Perhaps the combination of these eight items resulted



in measuring a different construct of uncertainty than that conceptualized by SURT. I conducted a factor analysis of the uncertainty measure to verify the number of factors on which the items loaded. The eight items loaded on one factor suggesting that the measure was assessing one construct of uncertainty. I also reran the regression analyses using Sussman and Hogg's (1998) 3-item measure and I obtained a similar pattern of findings. Certainty, not uncertainty, emerged as a significant predictor of women's social identifications.

The regression analyses also revealed that women's strength of cultural identification was predicted by how certain women felt about their cultural community, and how uncertain they felt about the broader Canadian community. Parallel results emerged for women's strength of Canadian identity. Uncertainty with the cultural community, and certainty with the broader Canadian community, emerged as significant predictors of women's strength of Canadian identity. That is, the more uncertain women felt about their cultural community, and the more certain they felt about the broader Canadian community, the more strongly they identified with Canada. This suggests that uncertainty plays a role in women's national and cultural identifications in that how certain women feel about their cultural group, and how uncertain they feel about Canada, is positively related to women's strength of cultural identification. Similarly, how certain women feel about Canada, and how uncertain they feel about their cultural community, is positively related to women's strength of Canadian identity. Future research is needed to ascertain the causal role of uncertainty in women's cultural and national identifications.

When conducting the regression analyses, the background variables, years in Canada and strength of cultural background, were entered in the first block, and the uncertainty measures were entered in the second block in order to assess whether the motivational variables accounted for more variance in women's strength of identifications than the background variables. Based on social identity theory, it was expected that the uncertainty variables would emerge as the most immediate antecedents of identification. Although not in the predicted direction, the uncertainty variables did account for a unique percentage of variance in women's cultural and Canadian identifications, over and above that of the background variables.

Why did uncertainty emerge as a significant negative predictor of women's social identifications, contrary to what SURT would predict? Given that women felt very certain, regardless of years in Canada, it is possible that my study only sampled women who felt very certain. It is also possible that the reduced uncertainty women reported was a function of their social identifications. SURT predicts that feelings of subjective uncertainty lead individuals to identify with groups to reduce that uncertainty. In so doing, strength of social identification increases. The present research found that women had strong social identifications and reported minimal uncertainty. It is possible that strength of social identification led to reduced uncertainty in this sample of women. However, given that uncertainty and strength of social identifications was measured at one point in time, no conclusions can be drawn about the direction of the relationship (i.e., whether increased identification led to reduced uncertainty). Alternative

explanations for these findings and sampling limitations are discussed in the general discussion.

Study 1 also assessed the contribution of threat to predicting women's social identifications. The regression analyses showed that threat to Canadian identity emerged as a significant and negative predictor of women's strength of Canadian and cultural identities, in addition to the background variables and the uncertainty measures, providing support for SIT. The less threat women perceived to their Canadian identity, the more they identified as Canadians. Interestingly, the less threat women perceived to their Canadian identity, the more they identified as members of their cultural groups.

Correlational analyses revealed no significant relationship between threat and uncertainty. Both threat and uncertainty negatively correlated with women's social identifications. This suggests that uncertainty and threat are two conceptually different constructs, and hence are two different motivators of women's social identifications. However, they both influence women's social identifications in the same way.

#### 3.4.4 Predictors of Women's Behavioural Acculturation

The present research explored the influence of background variables, perceptions of uncertainty, and perceptions of threat on women's behavioural acculturation with regard to Canada and their cultural communities. Uncertainty about Canada emerged as a significant negative predictor of women's acculturation to Canada, such that the more certain women felt about fitting into Canada, the more they participated in Canadian activities. Significant predictors of women's acculturation to their cultural community

included strength of cultural background, and women's perceptions of uncertainty about their cultural community (significant and negative predictor). That is, women's strength of cultural background, and how certain they felt about the cultural community, predicted women's participation in cultural activities. These correlational findings suggest that women's participation in Canadian and cultural activities may be based, in part, on how certain women feel about fitting into each community, and how certain they are about the community's attitudes, beliefs, and feelings. For the women in Study 1, psychological acculturation (identification) was strongly associated with behavioural acculturation, in terms of both their heritage culture and mainstream Canadian culture. Thus, it is not surprising that uncertainty emerged as a predictor of both aspects of acculturation. Given that women strongly identified with both Canada and their cultural group, it is possible that ingroup identification led to reduced uncertainty about each group. One of the main principles of SURT is that subjective uncertainty leads individuals to identify more strongly with the group, and in so doing, the outcome is reduced uncertainty that in turn can result in higher self-esteem, and group-favouring behaviour (ingroup bias, favouritism, or intergroup discrimination). In the present research, women participated significantly more in cultural activities than Canadian activities. Thus it is possible that women's strength of cultural identification led women to reduce uncertainty by participating in their cultural community, explaining why uncertainty emerged as a significant negative predictor of women's behavioural acculturation. However, given that Study 1 provides correlational evidence, further research is needed to investigate the causal role of uncertainty in behavioural acculturation.

#### 4. STUDY 2

Study 1 used quantitative methods to investigate the influence of uncertainty, threat, and strength of cultural background on women's social identifications and behavioural participation strategies. Study 2 used qualitative methods to further elaborate and describe women's experiences with uncertainty and how these experiences may influence their social identifications. In Study 1, I used Gudykunst's measure of uncertainty; however, the application of his measure to the situation of immigrant women is novel. In exploring the meaning of uncertainty for women, Study 2's goal was to elaborate on the different facets of uncertainty and perhaps further theoretical development of the construct.

The intent of Study 2 was to examine Study 1's hypotheses about uncertainty and identity. Specifically, in Study 1, I hypothesized a positive relationship between uncertainty and strength of identity, and measured uncertainty with regard to Canadian identity and cultural identity. Study 2, therefore, explored the meaning of uncertainty for women and their perceptions of how uncertainty may come to influence their strength of social identifications. To this end, I asked women how immigrating to Canada might change a person, make them feel uncertain or certain about their cultural and Canadian identities, and whether any experiences (if any) made them feel uncertain about how they

fit within their cultural community and the broader Canadian community. I hoped to create a more accurate view of how uncertainty may motivate women's social identifications by presenting six women's unique experiences with uncertainty, as well as combining the results from both studies.

#### 4.1 METHOD

##### 4.1.1 Participants

When combining samples for a quantitative study and a qualitative study, Morse (1991) indicates that the greatest threat to validity is the use of inadequate or inappropriate samples. For example, although random sampling is appropriate for a quantitative study, using this same approach for qualitative studies would not ensure that the qualitative sample represents the population of interest. Morse states that a subsample of the larger quantitative sample can be used for the qualitative study; however, selection of participants must be based on criteria for "good" participants rather than randomly selected. As Morse indicates, participants for a qualitative study should be chosen based on their experience with the phenomenon of interest and their ability to articulate. Therefore, for Study 2, a purposive sample of six women was asked to participate in qualitative interviews. The women interviewed were a select sub-sample from the 153 women who completed the questionnaire in Study 1.

Of the 153 participants in Study 1, 26 women self-identified for a follow-up interview by providing their contact information on the last page of the questionnaire. Because I wanted to interview women who had very different experiences with uncertainty, I invited women to participate in an interview based on their scores on the

cultural uncertainty scale. I selected three women who scored below the 30th percentile (< 2.37) and three women who scored above the 70th percentile (> 3.25) on this scale. Some of the characteristics common to all of the interviewees include that they were fluent in English, they were university-educated either in Canada or in their country of origin, and they were employed. The six women immigrated to Canada at 18 years of age or older, and lived in Canada for an average of 27 years (range 16 to 35 years). At the time of the interview, women's average age was 50 (range 41 to 62 years of age). See Table 12 for complete demographic information about the six women.

Based on Gao and Gudykunst's (1990) cultural uncertainty measure used in Study 1, I expected women who scored low and high on the scale to feel quite differently about their cultural community. Women who scored low on the uncertainty scale indicated they felt very confident in their ability to predict the values, beliefs, and feelings of their cultural group. These women also felt confident about how they fit into their cultural group in Canada. They indicated they felt certain about knowing what kind of person they wanted to be in Canada.

Women who scored high on the scale felt uncertain or less confident about fitting into their cultural group and predicting the values, beliefs, and feelings of their cultural group. Based on their responses, these women felt less certain about knowing what kind of person they wanted to be in Canada.<sup>8</sup> Study 2's intent was to illuminate how women who feel certain and uncertain describe their experiences with their cultural group and

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<sup>8</sup> However, I realize that how women respond on a questionnaire may be very different from how they respond in an interview situation. Therefore, when conducting the interviews, I did not base questions or probes on how women scored on the uncertainty scale in Study 1.

with other Canadians and the influence these experiences have on their social identifications. I was also interested in hearing how women's experiences of certainty or uncertainty have influenced how they think about themselves culturally.

Table 12

*Demographic Profile of Interviewees*

	Women Interviewed <sup>a</sup>					
	Rashidah	Sally	Terry	Maria	Ruth	Madhui
Heritage Culture	Malay	Gujarati	Chinese	Filipino	Bengali	Hindu
Country of Origin	Singapore	India	Hong Kong	Philippines	India	Kenya
Years in Canada <sup>b</sup>	< 20	> 30	20–30	20–30	> 30	< 20
Age Range <sup>c</sup>	36–45	56–65	36–45	46–55	56–65	36–45
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married
Citizenship	Canadian Citizen	Canadian Citizen	Canadian Citizen	Canadian Citizen	Canadian Citizen	Canadian Citizen
Education	University	University	University	University	University	University
Employment	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cultural Uncertainty Score <sup>d</sup>	HIGH 6.88	HIGH 5.74	LOW 2.20	LOW 1.75	LOW 1.13	HIGH 5.50

<sup>a</sup>Women's names are pseudonyms provided by the interviewees. <sup>b</sup>Average years in Canada was 27 (range 16–35). <sup>c</sup>Women's average age was 50 years (range 41–62). <sup>d</sup>Scores ranged from 1 (low) to 7 (high)



#### 4.1.2 Procedure

Potential participants provided their names and phone numbers on the questionnaire they filled out in Study 1. I contacted participants by phone to describe the study and send them a written description to consider while thinking about their participation. This letter provided a general description of the research questions so that potential participants could make an informed decision about whether they were still willing to participate in an interview and share their experiences (see Appendix C for the letter). I then re-contacted participants after they had a chance to read the study description to see if they were still willing to meet with me. All six women I contacted agreed to be interviewed. I interviewed three women at their place of work. I went to the homes of two women, and one woman came to my house for the interview. The interviews took between 45 minutes and 1 ½ hours. All interviews were audiotaped and transcribed in full.

I began the interviews by taking time to establish a rapport with the women. I described the broad research goals of the interview: to understand how women think about themselves culturally; and to understand how experiences of uncertainty may have influenced how women feel about themselves as Canadians, and as women of their particular culture (e.g., Chinese woman, Filipino woman, Indian woman). I addressed any concerns or questions the interviewees had, and went through the informed consent process (see Appendix D for the consent form). I then asked women some basic demographic questions, such as their heritage culture, age, education, and years in Canada (see Table 12). I used a semi-structured interview schedule to allow for both

some structure and flexibility (see Appendix E for the interview schedule and demographic questions). The interview questions provided structure for the interview; however, questions and their order were not forced but were used to guide the interview process rather than dictate it. This process is important because, once rapport is established with the respondent, the interviewer is able to probe those areas of interest that arise during the discussion, and can follow the respondents' interests or concerns (Smith, 1995). Interview questions were open-ended and non-directive, with the goal of allowing participants to relate their experiences in their own unique conversational style. Before concluding the interview, I asked the women if they would like to add anything, or if they had any questions for me.

After transcribing the interviews, I provided each interviewee with a copy of the interview transcript. False starts and repetitions were removed to make it more readable. The women were asked to read over their transcript to ensure that it was an accurate representation of the interview, and to clarify areas where the meaning of interviewees' responses was unclear to me. In this way, I was able to ensure that I accurately understood the meaning of interviewees' responses, and that the women had deemed the interview transcripts to be a valid and reliable reflection of their perspectives. I also provided an opportunity for women to identify excerpts that they did not want used in the analysis because they thought they could be easily identified. No interviewee excluded parts of her transcript from the analysis. All of the women signed a transcript release form indicating that they felt the transcripts were an accurate representation of the

interviews. See Appendix F for the letter sent to interviewees with their transcribed transcript, and the transcript release form.

I also provided five of the six participants with my preliminary interpretation of her interview, and invited her to share her reactions and thoughts (see Appendix G for the letter sent to interviewees). I was unable to contact the sixth woman. Of the five women contacted, two provided me with general feedback, stating that they agreed with the analysis, while the other three women did not respond. These procedures led to a richer and clarified understanding of participants' intended meanings and perspectives, and served as a check on my interpretation and presentation of their experiences.

One potential risk for participants in Study 2 was that they might experience emotional discomfort when discussing their experiences. In light of this, I had a list of counselling services that I left with all six women in case the interview process elicited distressing memories. Also, prior to beginning the interview, I reminded participants that they controlled what they chose to share and how to share it, that they could refuse to answer any question(s), or that they could choose to terminate the interview at any time. During the interviews, two of the women did become visibly upset recounting stories. At these points, the tape recorder was turned off and we took a break from the interview. I asked the women if they would like to end the interview; both women wanted to continue.

#### 4.1.3 Analysis

I used interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), which is a recent qualitative approach developed specifically within psychology. The following description

of IPA is based on information provided on the IPA website (<http://nli.northampton.ac.uk/ass/behav/ipa/ipa.htm>). The goal of IPA is to understand how participants themselves make sense of their experiences. Therefore, it examines the meanings that these experiences hold for the participants. The intent is not to produce an objective record of the event or experience, but to explore an individual's personal perception or account of events or experiences. In this way, IPA is phenomenological. At the same time, while trying to get close to the participant's personal world, IPA considers that one cannot do this directly or completely. Access is dependant on the researcher's own conceptions, which are required to make sense of that other person's world through an interpretative activity. An important attribute of IPA centers on meaning; meaning is central and the aim is to understand the content and complexity of those meanings rather than take some measure of frequency (Smith, 1995).

An iterative process is used to identify themes. IPA follows an idiographic approach to analysis, where one begins with specifics and only slowly works up to generalizations. Smith (1995) proposes five steps to make the analysis more manageable. In following Smith's steps, I used ATLAS/Ti (version 4.1: Muhr, 1997), a computer program that aids in the qualitative analysis of large bodies of textual, graphical, and audio data, to help me with the iterative process. During the first step, I read the transcripts several times, using ATLAS/Ti to make notes about things that I thought were interesting or significant about what the respondent was saying. These comments were associations and connections that came to my mind, and were preliminary interpretations or attempts at summarizing. As a second step, I documented emerging theme titles using

key words that described what I was finding in the text. As the list of keywords expanded, I used Atlis-Ti to generate a frequency table of the preliminary keywords I had identified in the women's transcripts. In this way I could determine how often I used the same keywords within each women's transcript and also across all six transcripts. The keywords with the highest frequencies then became my emerging themes. In the third step, I listed emerging themes and looked for connections between them. I used Atlis-Ti's network function to explore the relationships between the emerging themes. In so doing, I was able to find that some themes clustered together and others acted as dominant or superordinate concepts. During this third step, as new clusters of themes emerged, I checked the original transcript to make sure that these connections reflected the primary source material—what the person actually said. I was attempting to understand what the women said, but as part of the process, I was drawing on my own interpretative resources. In this third stage, I was trying to create order from the array of concepts and ideas that I extracted from the participants' responses. Steps four and five involved producing a coherently ordered dominant list of themes, with identifiers that indicated where in the transcript instances of the dominant themes could be found.

When dealing with more than one transcript, the analysis can proceed in a number of ways. Smith (1995) suggests two possibilities that work well with up to five or six participants. This process entails using a dominant theme list from interview one to begin analysis of the second interview. Thus, I could look for more instances of the themes previously identified and contemplate new themes as they arise, or I could go through steps one to five with the second interview, generate a new list of dominant themes, and

then produce a consolidated list of themes for both interviews. I chose to use the first alternative for efficiency, looking for more instances of the themes previously identified and contemplating new themes as they arose. Iterations with the transcripts continued until no new themes emerged. If a new theme emerged, I tested them against earlier transcripts (Smith, 1995).

#### 4.1.4 Evaluating Qualitative Research

Elliott, Fischer, and Rennie (1999) present a set of evolving guidelines for reviewing qualitative research. One of the functions of the guidelines is to encourage better quality control in qualitative research through better self- and other-monitoring. Elliott and his colleagues developed these guidelines using an iterative process of revision and feedback from fellow qualitative researchers over a period of several years in the 1990s. Elliott developed the original list of 40 quality standards from existing sources (i.e., Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Packer & Addison, 1989; Stiles, 1993; Kirk & Miller, 1986; Patton, 1990; Rennie, Phillips & Quartaro, 1988; Wertz, 1986) and clustered them into 11 principles. He then presented the list for revision in a workshop at meetings of the Society for Psychotherapy Research. The list was further revised based on subsequent feedback from 23 members of the original discussion group. Elliott and his colleagues then forwarded the list to a range of well-known qualitative researchers with diverse theoretical perspectives. Further, the authors solicited feedback from a symposium on qualitative research sponsored by the Division of Counseling Psychology at the American Psychological Association's annual meeting in 1994. Based on this process, they developed the following seven guidelines pertinent to qualitative research:

(a) owning one's perspective; (b) situating the sample; (c) grounding in examples; (d) providing credibility checks; (e) coherence; (f) accomplishing general versus specific research tasks; and (g) resonating with readers. For Study 2, I adopted Elliott et al.'s guidelines.

#### *4.1.4.1 Owning One's Perspective*

Owning one's perspective requires investigators to specify their theoretical orientations, and personal anticipations, before commencing analysis and to revisit these perspectives periodically throughout the analysis. Throughout the process of conducting the research, researchers attempt to recognize their values, interests, and assumptions that may be influencing their understanding of the phenomenon. In disclosing values and assumptions, readers are better able to interpret and understand the researchers' data, and to consider possible interpretive alternatives. To meet these criteria, I have disclosed my theoretical perspective well in advance of conducting my research. I come to this research from an intergroup relations perspective, and my analysis of the interviews is based on this perspective. Throughout the process of interviewing women, I kept a log or journal to record my emergent values and assumptions about women's experiences in Canada. As part of the analysis, I included a description of myself so that readers will know that the values or worldview I bring to this analysis are those of an educated, middle-class woman who is a fourth-generation Euro-Canadian.

#### *4.1.4.2 Situating the Sample*

An adequate description of the research participants and their life circumstances is required to help the reader determine the range of persons or situations to which the

findings are relevant. Of the women I interviewed, I provided basic descriptive data: age, ethnicity, reason for immigrating, years in Canada, marital status, employment status, and their performance on the uncertainty scale from Study 1 (see Table 12). Before presenting the themes, I provide a written description of each woman's background, and how she came to live in Canada.

#### *4.1.4.3 Grounding in Examples*

This guideline concerns the presentation of the data. It is necessary to provide examples from the data to illustrate both the analytic procedures used and the understanding developed in light of them. In so doing, the reader can appraise the fit between the data and the author's interpretation of the data. This also facilitates readers' consideration of possible alternative meanings and understandings. During the analysis of women's experiences, I generated themes and provide specific examples and quotations to illustrate each theme.

#### *4.1.4.4 Providing Credibility Checks*

It is necessary to use methods that check the credibility of the researcher's categories, themes, or accounts. I checked my understandings with the women I interviewed. I gave the women both the transcript of their interview and my interpretation of their interview. In so doing, all six women verified the accuracy of the transcript of their interviews. Several months later, upon completion of the analysis, I provided five of the six women with my interpretation of their interviews. I was unable to contact the sixth woman. Two of the six women provided me with general feedback, stating that they agreed with my analysis of their experiences in Canada, and that they enjoyed reading the



thematic analysis. Three of the six women did not offer any feedback. As a final step, in the general discussion, I triangulated the data from the quantitative study and the qualitative study as they examined the same phenomena.

#### *4.1.4.5 Coherence*

This guideline concerns presenting the interpretation (i.e., the qualitative analysis) in a manner that achieves coherence and integration. The goal is to form a framework or underlying structure for the phenomena. Using interpretative phenomenological analysis and theory to understand women's experiences with uncertainty led to the presentation of themes in a meaningful way, such as grouping similar themes together while preserving nuances in the data.

#### *4.1.4.6 Accomplishing General Versus Specific Research Tasks*

Depending on the research task or purpose, there needs to be an appropriate range of experience and depth of understanding. For example, if the goal is to obtain a general understanding of a phenomenon, then the researcher needs to base the understanding on an appropriate range of informants. If the goal is to understand a specific instance or case, then the researcher needs to make a systematic and comprehensive presentation of a case in order to provide the reader a basis for attaining that understanding. For both types of research tasks, the researcher needs to address the limitations of extending the findings. The purpose of Study 2 was to provide a closer examination of women's experiences of uncertainty within the context of immigration. I did not intend it to be a case study but rather, I intended to elucidate the experiences of uncertainty for women who perform

high and low on the uncertainty scale. Hence, the six women for Study 2 were a subsample of the women from Study 1 who scored high and low on the uncertainty scale.

#### *4.1.4.7 Resonating with Readers*

This guideline concerns the manuscript and its effect on readers and reviewers. The material needs to be presented in such a way that the intended audience can judge whether the manuscript accurately represents the subject matter, and has clarified or expanded their appreciation and understanding of it. I believe that this last guideline is a shared responsibility on the part of my dissertation supervisor and committee, the women who participated in my research and myself. I made every attempt to adhere to the above guidelines to ensure the integrity of my research process. It was my intention that by using interpretative phenomenological analysis, I could present women's experiences in such a way that would resonate with the reader.

The findings from Study 1 and 2 were intended to clarify or expand the understanding of the factors that influence how women maintain their cultural identity and develop a Canadian identity. This research has both theoretical implications and practical implications, which I address when discussing the findings. The role of my supervisor and committee was to provide me with guidance throughout the research process to ensure that I used rigorous methods and adhered to the seven guidelines of Elliott et al. (1999). As a final note, the women I interviewed played a vital role in ensuring the rigor of my research by providing a validity check on the transcripts and my interpretation of their experiences.

## 4.2 RESULTS

When analyzing the interview transcripts for Study 2, it became evident that the data was extremely rich. Keeping in mind the research objective for Study 2, I had to be selective in the themes that I reported. I structured the themes into three dominant areas: (a) women's experiences in the broader Canadian community, (b) remoooring cultural identity, and (c) women's social identifications. Within each dominant theme, I had expected to present sub-themes of uncertainty; however, these themes did not emerge. Instead, women described positive and negative experiences they had within each community, and factors that facilitated and impeded remoooring their cultural identity. The impact of women's experiences on their social identifications seemed to be a central thread throughout the themes. Therefore, I incorporated it into the presentation of women's stories for each dominant theme. Other themes that did emerge, that are not presented here, include cultural contrasts between Canadian culture and women's heritage cultures, women's personal growth since living in Canada, and beliefs around raising children between two cultures.

In presenting the results, I remind the reader that I identified themes from an intergroup relations perspective. I looked at women's interactions within their cultural community, the broader Canadian community, and the influence of these interactions on women's social identifications.

For the values, beliefs, and worldview I bring to the analysis, I am not an immigrant woman, but a researcher with a middle-class, fourth-generation Euro-Canadian background. My interest in intergroup relations originated from my experience

of growing up in a language and religious minority in a small northern Ontario town. I grew up in a working class English Protestant household in a 95% majority French Catholic town, population 5000. I have two older brothers. My father is a third-generation Scottish Canadian. My mother is a third-generation French Canadian. Despite my mother's French background, I was raised in an English-speaking household and attended an English public school. All of my friends were English-speaking and the French I speak today, I learned inside the classroom. I attended the one bilingual high school in my hometown from grades 9 to 13. In grade 9, I had a cohort of 20 English-speaking students in my classes. By the time I graduated from grade 13, there were three English-speaking students left from the cohort.

Growing up in the language minority, I became habituated to being marginalized because of the language I spoke: rarely being served in English in the local stores, French-language local radio station and newspaper, and access to only French community events, functions, and organized sports. I observed at an early age minority-majority group dynamics, and I developed a keen interest in how groups came to form and how the minority-majority dynamic established itself. At university, I developed an interest in organizational psychology. I focused on intergroup relations in the workplace. In graduate school, this interest matured into a passion for employment equity and the promotion of organizational change toward valuing diversity in the workplace. My interest is such that I have written professional articles in my field, delivered presentations to the Canadian Psychological Association and to local practitioners, and conducted applied research in the area.

As I developed ideas for this dissertation, I became more interested in multiculturalism in Canada and the interactions of groups in Canadian society. I value a multicultural Canada. I believe in fostering an inclusive Canadian society where all Canadians, regardless of cultural background, have the opportunity to participate equitably in our society.

#### 4.2.1 Setting the Context: Women's Stories

To provide a context for the dominant themes, I have provided a brief biography of each of the interviewees, and general information about the countries from which the women emigrated. Women's biographies are based on the interview transcripts and general demographic information they provided prior to commencing the interviews. The country descriptions are based on the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) 2003 World Fact Book. As mentioned previously, all names are pseudonyms and cities have been generalized. Presentation of the dominant themes follows the women's stories.

##### *4.2.1.1 Rashidah's Story*

Rashidah emigrated from Singapore to Canada less than 20 years ago. Singapore is located in Southeast Asia, between Malaysia and Indonesia. In 1819, Singapore was founded as a British trading colony. In 1963, it joined the Malaysian federation, but separated two years later and became independent. The main ethnic groups in Singapore include Chinese (77%), Malay (14%), and Indian (8%). The official languages in Singapore are Chinese, Malay (also the national language), Tamil, and English (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2003).

At the time of the interview, Rashidah was between the ages of 36 and 45, married with no children, and employed. She initially moved to Canada to attend university and once living here, decided to permanently relocate to Canada.

Rashidah's first 10 years in Canada were spent on the East Coast. She has lived in her current city for six years. Raised as Malay, Rashidah grew up in Singapore in a minority culture. Rashidah is the only one of her family to live outside of Singapore. Her mother is Chinese, but she was adopted into a Malay family and raised Malay. Her father is Indian. Rashidah is a non-practicing Muslim, and during her childhood, her family did not closely follow the Muslim faith. However, since she has left Singapore, her mother has become more religious. During the interview, Rashidah talked about the challenges of growing up in the minority culture in her home country, her experiences in Canada compared to Singapore, and her relationship with her family.

#### *4.2.1.2 Sally's Story*

Sally immigrated to Canada from India more than 30 years ago. Located in Southern Asia, India's principle political borders include Burma (Myanmar), Pakistan, and China. India obtained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1947. The main religions represented in India include Hindu (81%), Muslim (12%), Christian (2%), and Sikh (2%). Hindi is the national language of India and is the primary language of 30% of the people. English, one of fifteen official languages, is the most important language for national, political, and commercial communication. Other language groups in India include Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujarati, Malayalam, Kannada, Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese, Kashmiri, Sindhi, and Sanskrit (CIA, 2003).

At the time of the interview, Sally was between 56 and 65 years of age, married with children, and employed. Sally is university educated. Sally's heritage culture is Gujarati. She and her husband, with their infant son, moved to Canada from India for work opportunities. Sally's husband had been offered a job in Small Town, Canada. Sally's husband encouraged Sally to continue her education in Canada. She could not do so where they lived, so she moved to a larger Canadian city with her son to pursue education. Sally enjoys a high profile among her professional colleagues and has several awards for work in her field. She spoke about the challenges she encountered in the 1960s: pursuing education, living separately from her husband, and raising her infant son. For most of the interview, Sally spoke about the challenges she has encountered with the East Indian community because she does not fit the typical East Indian woman's role prescribed by her cultural community.

#### *4.2.1.3 Terry's Story*

Terry has lived in Canada for more than 20 years. Originally from Hong Kong, Terry's heritage culture is Chinese. Hong Kong is located in Eastern Asia. It is bordered by the South China Sea and China. Hong Kong was occupied by the United Kingdom from 1841 until 1997 when it became a Special Administrative Region of China. The main ethnic group in Hong Kong is Chinese (97%). The main religions include a mix of local religions (90%), and Christianity (10%). The official languages are Chinese (Cantonese) and English (CIA, 2003).

At the time of the interview, Terry was between the ages of 36 and 45, married with children, and employed. Terry is university educated. Terry moved to Canada when

she was 18 years old to pursue an education. Terry boarded with a Caucasian Canadian family while attending high school in Small Town, Canada. Terry also completed her university education in Canada. Terry's parents made the decision to send Terry to Canada to further her education because the opportunity for post-secondary education in Hong Kong was limited. At that time, the population of Hong Kong was approximately 5 million people, and it was very competitive to get accepted into university. As a result, many parents sent their children to England, Canada, or the United States to further their education. After completing her education, Terry continued to live in Canada because she married a man who lived here. Her husband, also from Hong Kong, was a landed immigrant in Canada. From the time she married, Terry has lived in the same Canadian province. She and her husband have lived in several towns within this province. Terry has three brothers, two of whom live in Canada. Her parents have also immigrated to Canada. During the interview, Terry spoke of strategies she uses to fit into Canada, the different experiences of living in small towns compared to a city with a larger Chinese community, and how she raises her children to live the Canadian way, but to value their heritage culture.

#### *4.2.1.4 Maria's Story*

Maria moved to Canada more than 20 years ago from the Philippines. Located in Southeastern Asia, the Philippines are a set of islands between the Philippine Sea and the South China Sea, east of Vietnam. The Philippines were under Spanish rule until 1898 when Spain ceded them to the United States following the Spanish-American war. In 1946, the Philippines gained its independence from the United States. The main ethnic



groups in the Philippines include Christian Malay (92%), Muslim Malay (4%), and Chinese (2%). The main religions include Roman Catholic (83%), Protestant (9%), Muslim (5%), Buddhist and other (3%). Filipino and English are the two official languages of the Philippines (CIA, 2003).

Maria first moved to one Canadian province, stayed there for three years, and then relocated to a neighbouring province. At the time of the interview, Maria was between the ages of 46 and 55, married with children, and self-employed. Her heritage culture is Filipino. In coming to Canada, Maria was sponsored by her older sister, Anna. Maria has nine brothers and sisters. Maria is the third eldest in her family. In her culture, it is the custom for the eldest children to help the younger siblings by sending money home for their education. In Maria's family, the eldest children helped at least two of the younger brothers and sisters before getting married. Maria's parents and eight of her siblings live in Canada in a different city than Maria. During the interview, Maria focused on contrasts between the Filipino and Canadian cultures. She also shared her work experiences, and her interactions with her cultural community and the broader Canadian community.

#### *4.2.1.5 Ruth's Story*

Ruth moved to Canada over 30 years ago with her husband from India.<sup>9</sup> At the time of the interview, Ruth was between the ages of 56 and 65, married with children, and employed. Ruth's heritage culture is Bengali. Originally, Ruth and her husband did not intend to live in Canada permanently. Ruth and her husband planned to work in Canada and the United States, gain work experience, then return to India. However, once

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<sup>9</sup> A description of India is provided in Sally's Story, presented earlier.

in Canada, Ruth gave birth to their first child. Ruth's husband went back to school and then entered the workforce. After they had their second child, Ruth said that it "just sort of happened" that they stayed in Canada. Prior to moving to Canada, Ruth obtained a university degree in India from a residential college run by missionaries. Ruth was exposed to many cultures during her education, as people from all over the world attended the college. She spoke fluent English prior to moving to Canada. Ruth and her husband first moved to Small Town, Canada, and then they relocated to a larger Canadian city, where they have lived ever since. Ruth and her family have no other relatives living in Canada. During the interview, Ruth spoke of the cultural shock of living in a small town in Canada, how her outlook has changed since moving to Canada, and how she felt she fit into her cultural community and the broader Canadian community.

#### *4.2.1.6 Madhui's Story*

Madhui moved to Canada less than 20 years ago. Born in Kenya, Africa, Madhui lived there for 13 years then migrated to England with her parents. Madhui and her parents are East Indian, and their heritage culture is Hindu. In Kenya, non-African ethnic groups represent 1% of the population (CIA, 2003). While living in Kenya, Madhui went to British schools, and then completed her education in England. She stayed in England for eight years before migrating to Canada with her parents at 21 years of age. Madhui's sister, who had migrated to Canada earlier, helped Madhui and her parents to adjust to living in Canada. At the time of the interview, Madhui was between the ages of 36 and 45, married with children, and employed. After one year in Canada, Madhui returned to England to marry her husband; they both returned to Canada. Madhui and her husband

lived in several cities across Canada to pursue work opportunities. Madhui felt that the current city in which they live is where they will settle long-term. Her parents and sister live in the same city as Madhui, and she described her parents as pillars of their cultural community. During the interview, Madhui spoke of her experiences living in England and in different Canadian cities. She also spoke of her experiences in her cultural community and the broader Canadian community, and the importance of being proud of her heritage culture.

#### 4.2.2 Dominant Themes

As stated earlier, three dominant themes, each with sub-themes and components, emerged from the analysis of the interview transcripts: (a) experiences in the broader Canadian community, (b) remoooring cultural identity, and (c) women's social identifications (see Table 13). Each dominant theme, including its sub-themes and components, is discussed in detail below.

##### *4.2.2.1 Experiences in Broader Canadian Community*

Interviewees spoke about positive and negative experiences they had when interacting with fellow Canadians. Positive interactions with fellow Canadians made women feel included in Canadian society. Women's negative experiences resulted from having to contend with discrimination and stereotypes.

##### *4.2.2.1.1 Positive Experiences: Canada as a Multicultural Country Fosters Feelings of Inclusion*

Interviewees described several positive experiences they had in Canada that made them feel included in Canadian society. Women attributed their acceptance and success

Table 13

*Dominant Themes, Sub-Themes, and Components*

Sub-themes	Components
Experiences in Broader Canadian Community	
Positive Experiences	Canada as a multicultural country fosters feelings of inclusion
Negative Experiences	Contending with discrimination and cultural stereotypes
Remooring Cultural Identity	
Availability of Cultural Community	Access to a cultural community facilitates remooring  Limited cultural supports emphasize culture shock  Limited cultural supports offset by developing Canadian identity
Diversity Within Cultural Community	Community acceptance of diverse values and beliefs facilitates remooring  Divergent values and beliefs lead to disengagement from community
Social Identifications	
Managing Cultural and Canadian Identities	Identities are context dependent

in Canadian society to the country's multicultural policy and culturally diverse communities.

For one East Indian interviewee, she felt that her professional identity was better accepted in the broader Canadian community than in her cultural community in Canada. Sally's Canadian friends were her professional colleagues. In her career in Canada, she excelled within the Canadian community, taking leadership roles in professional associations and earning awards for her service. Sally commented that her ability to move up in her career and earn awards was a reflection of the broad-mindedness and multiculturalism of the Canadian community. Moreover, Sally felt that she lived two distinct lifestyles: "One is my professional life, my home life, my Canadian friends, that are in concordance with my thinking. [The other] is a second class role in the East Indian community." Within the Canadian community Sally was able to be her professional self, be recognized for her achievements, and receive the respect that she felt she deserved. Sally felt that her values and beliefs closely matched those of the Canadian community. Within the East Indian community, Sally felt that there was no place for her professional self. Women's roles were relegated to cooking and cleaning. Sally commented that beyond that, there was no other role for women in her cultural community. Thus, her interactions with the Canadian community were liberating because she was not confined to the gender roles ascribed by her cultural community.

Similar to Sally, Rashidah also felt accepted professionally in the Canadian community. For Rashidah, she felt there were more opportunities for her in Canada than in Singapore, where she grew up in a minority culture: "You look at the federal

government [in Canada]—they hire visible minorities. So being a visible minority in Canada was advantageous to me compared to being a minority in Singapore.” Rashidah grew up Malay in a predominantly Chinese culture. She experienced discrimination because of her minority status. Rashidah was also doubly disadvantaged in Singapore because of her gender:

Basically, in Singapore, you’re raised in the Asian culture where females are more secondary citizens. And I come from a culture too that if you’re not Chinese, then again, you’re treated differently. If you are Chinese, then you are in a privileged position in Singapore because that’s the dominant group. So in terms of employment, social status, everything—you’re Chinese, whether you’re female or male, that’s an advantage.

As a result, Rashidah felt more accepted in Canada than in Singapore:

If you look at in terms of my experiences in Singapore, and my experiences here, I feel definitely more at home here. Because sometimes I go home [to Singapore], and I feel very stifled, and I get angry. I wonder how my family would put up with it [the discrimination].

Moving to Canada was a very positive experience for Rashidah, to the extent that she wanted to distance herself from the Asian culture of her home country: “I first came here, I wanted to basically remove myself totally from being Asian. You know, because what I see my experiences of being Asian as have always been.”

Interviewees also felt included in Canadian society through their volunteer work. For example, Ruth and her husband volunteered for the Heart and Stroke Foundation,

Kidney Foundation, and Cancer Foundation. I asked Ruth what she thought of her involvement in these organizations. Ruth stated,

It's greatly appreciated, and sometimes I feel better working for the community-at-large. That's wonderful. That has, I think, given us a lot of confidence and belongingness. So that has really enriched our life a lot.

The cultural diversity in Canadian cities also contributed to women's feelings of inclusion in Canadian society. For one interviewee, Rashidah, moving from a Canadian city with limited cultural diversity to a more multicultural city made her feel more included in Canadian society:

I see Canada as being very much multicultural. Maybe it's not as obvious on the East Coast. But I feel more settled here. I feel I fit in more. I don't stand out as much as I did when living on the East Coast. It's more multicultural here.

Definitely. So you don't feel like you're not part of the Canadian culture.

Interviewees also construed the Canadian identity as a multicultural identity, one where they could be themselves. For example, Rashidah described the Canadian identity as, "you don't have a specific Canadian look. You have all kinds of faces, and yet, you can still be Canadian. And that's the beauty about being [Canadian]." Similarly, Madhui felt that being Canadian enabled her to have "the leniency to be yourself."

Another aspect of Canada as a multicultural country that fostered women's feelings of inclusion was Canadians' acceptance of different cultural practices. This aspect of Canadian life made it easier for women to integrate into Canadian society. For example, Ruth commented,

I find [Canadians have a] much broader outlook, and I certainly think they have enriched my life. I enjoy going out, I enjoy talking to people, I enjoy doing things that I do. And like something I don't agree, I'm not afraid to tell them I don't agree.

Madhui also felt fully integrated into Canadian life. She stated that 80% of her friends were Canadian. She felt able to share her cultural identity with her friends: Madhui introduced her friends to East Indian activities, she invited her friends to cultural functions, and she found that her friends were interested and excited about her culture. Madhui believed in respecting all people, regardless of religion or cultural background. She surrounded herself with people who shared her same values:

The friends that I have are open-minded; they ask me about my culture. And I'm very open-minded, and I tell them. And we've participated in my cultural activities as well as theirs. And that's been the fun part of it, you know. Because I don't think anybody is bound to religion, or culture, or colour, you know.

In selecting her friends, Madhui was hesitant about people who did not see value in multiculturalism: "For people who don't see any value in different cultures and stuff, I actually try to stay away from [them]. And then I find the people who respect who I am, and where I'm coming from." Madhui's confidence in interacting with fellow Canadians grew over time. When she first moved to Canada, Madhui was hesitant about her interactions with other Canadians. She feared that people would see her differently because of her cultural background: "Before, when I first came to Canada, it was like, oh people will see me differently because I'm East Indian." However, as Madhui became more comfortable with her cultural identity in Canada, her adjustment to living in Canada



became easier: “That fear was ... I had to really pull myself to get out of it, to find me within me. And once it was gone, I felt, oh wow, that’s not so bad after all.”

Ruth also believed that participating in Canadian society contributed to her feeling more certain about herself:

Everyday life here—talking to people, interacting with people, working. My working life here has given me a lot. I really learned a lot at workplace on how to understand people, how to give to people. So I think it certainly has made me a lot more certain in my self. I am so certain what I want to do, what I want to be, what I want to give.

To conclude, women’s positive experiences in the broader Canadian community helped them to feel included in Canadian society. Positive experiences included professional acceptance in the broader Canadian community, and participating in Canadian culture. Interviewees described the Canadian identity as a multicultural identity, one where they could be themselves. Interacting with fellow Canadians with multicultural values enhanced women’s feelings of acceptance in Canada, and contributed to their feelings of certainty about themselves as Canadians.

#### 4.2.2.1.2 Negative Experiences: Contending with Discrimination and Cultural Stereotypes

Interviewees expressed how they could feel marginalized in Canada due to discrimination and prejudice. Women faced racial discrimination and cultural stereotypes in the workplace and in the public domain. They discussed strategies they employed to counter discrimination. These negative interactions with fellow Canadians contributed to women’s feelings of uncertainty about their place in Canadian society; however, strong

cultural identities lessened the adverse impact of these negative experiences. Women's experiences of discrimination and stereotypes are presented first, followed by ways in which women's cultural identities lessened the impact of discrimination.

Interviewees described instances where they experienced discrimination in the workplace and in their personal lives, and how this made them feel uncomfortable. In the workplace, women described several instances of discrimination. For example, Maria recounted one experience where a Caucasian employee refused to be trained by Maria. From Maria's perspective, it was because she was Filipino:

But she's mad. She didn't want me to teach her. She wanted a white person to teach her, not a black, not a coloured one. Because she's white, she has to be more than me, up. She has to teach me, not me [teach her]. So I teach her, she made it wrong. And then when it's done, and the supervisor asked, "How come this is wrong?" She said, "Oh Maria taught me that." So two people I taught how to use this machine, but after that I said, "ask the supervisor. I do not teach you no more."

Not only did the fellow employee resent Maria teaching her, but also from Maria's account of the incident, the employee purposely used the machine incorrectly and blamed Maria. In recounting the story, Maria had made a motion with her hand that the Caucasian employee she trained thought she was above Maria. I asked Maria to explain what she meant by the hand gesture: "We're lower. We're always lower. They treat you less, even though you work there for eight years. And she's only been there two months; she's still higher than you. That's what they think." Maria perceived that racial discrimination was prevalent in factory settings, in restaurants, and in offices: "That's

always common. It always happens in a factory, in a restaurant, in an office.” After the incident with teaching the new employee how to use the machine, Maria protected herself from future discrimination. She informed her manager, “from now on, I will not teach any Canadians; just only my friends, that’s all, so they don’t blame me.”

Interviewees also spoke of having to contend with co-workers’ perceptions that they had been hired because of their visible minority status, as in Rashidah’s case:

I was working in an office on the East Coast, and you have people coming to me later saying, “this is how it felt when you first came in.” I’m not apologizing for that, because to them, I’m a visible minority. Part of me is saying, why should I have to prove myself? People should judge me for my work, not based on my skin colour or ethnic origin. They resented the fact that I was hired from a “visible minority” competition.

Rashidah also felt that her co-workers questioned her Canadian identity: “It’s like you have an accent, you’re not really a true Canadian. So I’ve had that in the workplace, but not outside in my personal life.”

In their jobs, women perceived that they had to work harder than their co-workers. For example, Rashidah commented:

I’m hurt by that in this time, in this era of zero tolerance, you still have some people that have these views. Like you’re not worthy of being a Canadian citizen.

I find even in my job, I feel that I’m putting in 110%–120% into work.

In the scenario of applying for a promotion, Ruth felt she would need to excel in the interview:

For me to go to a higher job, I'm sure I'll have to be 10 times better than somebody else here. I've got to prove myself better. And my question, then, is why do I have to prove myself? They're not saying, "you're different, I don't want to give you this." They've got a better candidate, am I right? I can't prove that. So you face that every day, every day.

For one interviewee, Terry, she stated that she had never experienced overt discrimination herself; she considered herself lucky: "I never have any people that is really prejudiced in front of me—'Okay because you're Chinese, I don't want'—I never felt that before." Terry understood that discrimination could be subtle. She also accepted that prejudice was a reality because most individuals were prejudiced, whether they realized it or not:

Maybe people say no, not anymore [there is no more discrimination today], but more or less you know, subconsciously we do. And also, subconsciously, some people will prejudice with Asian people. Maybe I understand this concept so I never think it's a big deal. Even though maybe I'm not too welcome for certain people, I don't really care. So that's why I never feel bad about people who don't accept me as a Canadian, because I'm a Chinese as a Canadian. But luckily I've never experienced anything like that.

When I asked Terry about her work experiences, Terry indicated that she never had encounters that made her feel uncertain about her identity. However, Terry did talk about when she first started work, co-workers questioned her credentials: "Maybe I know there are some people in the beginning who question who the hell you are." Terry's strategy was to prove to others that she was one of the "normal" people: "I always would

prove myself that I'm just like normal people. I like to help everybody. I think a lot of people have changed their perceptions about me." I asked Terry what she meant by "normal people." She explained, "Not like the Chinese type that they think. I'm just like other people." I clarified with Terry if other people meant other Canadians. She responded, "Yes, Canadian people." I asked Terry what she thought fellow employees' initial perceptions had been of her. She replied that employees who had never worked with a Chinese person might be uncomfortable around her. Her strategy was to "usually be open to communicating with them, and until they know me, then I think they're a bit more comfortable about me." In this way, Terry was able to make her colleagues feel more at ease around her. Terry used this strategy to offset potential discrimination:

Because I know when you meet someone, a lot of people usually don't say they're prejudiced. But you know within their words or actions, you can tell. The majority, more than 95%, I have no problems. But of course, once in a while, there are one or two like that. So that's why whenever I meet anybody, I am cautious about how does that person accept me? If it's no problem, I will continue what I'm doing. If I feel they're a little confused, questioning, I will try a little harder to show her that I'm one of the normal people.

Terry also indicated that her coworkers would sometimes question her ability to do her job. To counter this, similar to Rashidah and Ruth, Terry would work harder to prove her ability: "So they can change their mind to see me a little bit different. That I am really good."

Outside of the workplace, Terry also encountered stereotypes about her Chinese culture. She recounted one incident she had with a friend of her children's. Terry had

hosted a birthday party for her daughter. Terry overheard one friend express surprise at the nice house they lived in. Terry explained to her daughter's friend, "We are just like you guys. We make a living. We are doing good. We have a pretty nice house." Terry did not convey to her daughter that she thought the friend was prejudiced. Terry said to me, "I understand. I know that a lot of people, they don't think. They don't realize they have prejudice. You ask them, 'are they prejudiced?' They say, 'no, I'm not.' But in their mind, they already have ... how do you say that?" I said to Terry, "preconceptions?" Terry said,

Yes, preconceptions. So they think, you're a Chinese, you only do restaurants, that's all you guys do. So I think that's what the kid's parents give them education— that all the Chinese, they're running a restaurant, they live in a restaurant basement, okay and so forth. So I understand. I'm not mad. But that's the way it is. That is how I see things. So that's why it never bothered me when people say, geez you're Chinese.

Interviewees also had to contend with religious stereotypes. For example, Rashidah encountered stereotypes about the Muslim religion:

They asked me if I was a Muslim following Ayatollah Khomeini from Iran who had been at times very restrictive, very controlling. And the assumption is that I'm Muslim, I must be like that. So people make a lot of assumptions just because we come from a different culture. So that created a bit of not wanting people to know who I am ... I wouldn't say fearful, you just don't want them asking questions that you just don't want to answer.

Rashidah felt her role was to educate others about her religion in an attempt to change their stereotyped perceptions. However, she wished she knew more about the Muslim faith to do this effectively:

When I don't know enough about my religion, I feel it is a reflection on me that I didn't make an effort to find out. Or sometimes you want to tell people, have the answers for them, and you don't. Part of me feels that you should take some responsibility and educate people about you so they don't think of it [the Muslim faith] in a very negative way. Even though I don't practice it, I don't see the religion as being negative. It's just my inability to follow what is expected of me.

To counter stereotypes about the Muslim faith, Rashidah would educate people about the distinction between religion and culture:

In terms of recognizing or tolerating people's culture, religion, and language, I try to tell them [other Canadians] that I'm Muslim, but it's different. It's always the cultural portion that gets caught up in religion. And some of the things that have been done, has been culture. Because religion doesn't say that women are second-class citizens. Mohammad put women at a different level. He respects women. Mohammad doesn't teach hate or whatever. So you have to do a bit of education. That no, I'm not from the background. So that is Muslim, that is what I was raised, that is what I was told.

Interviewees described how questions about their cultural and religious identity, and questions about their country of origin could make them feel uncomfortable. For example, Rashidah described how the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United

States had an adverse impact on Canadians of the Muslim faith. She was relieved that she had been able to hide her Muslim identity:

I guess it [September 11] is easier for me because I didn't have an Indian name. So nobody connected me with Muslim. I think if they had known I'm Muslim, I think there'd be more questions. Like my friend Mathilda, she was Indian and people ask her questions—some were not very nice questions. Or even I know of someone who's Muslim who's been looked at very differently. Before they were looked at differently, now it's worse.

Terry also recounted an upsetting experience she had at the Vancouver airport after September 11, 2001. She and her husband had returned from a visit to Hong Kong. Terry noticed that security had been higher than usual at the airport; however, it was people off the Hong Kong flight who were closely scrutinized by security officials. For example, customs agents questioned Terry's husband as they disembarked, before entering the airport. They were questioned again while waiting for their luggage. A flight from Hawaii landed at the same time as the flight from Hong Kong; Terry noticed that customs agents did not question people off that flight. Terry witnessed one interrogation between a customs officer and an Asian man. The officer kept telling the Asian man that he was lying. Terry was very upset by this:

I was upset, you know. If you want to question people, why do you have to question them in public? If you suspect someone, fine. Take someone to a room then ask him questions nicely, but not with harassment and that kind of thing. So I was very, very, very upset. And then this question, "Am I a Canadian?" I'm



going home for a holiday. I was happy all the way until I came back to Canada. It was so upsetting I was crying.

Terry commented that it had been the only time since living in Canada when she questioned her Canadian identity: “That made me feel very, very bad. And that’s the only major time when I wondered, am I Canadian? It’s unfortunate, it’s when we go through the customs.”

Aside from the events of September 11, 2001, women also talked about racial discrimination in their personal lives. For one interviewee, Ruth, she had not expected this to happen. She realized that there would be physical differences, in terms of skin colour, and accent; however, she did not expect to be made to feel uncomfortable because of it: “Like when you’re brown, somebody looks at you, and I mean, it’s not that they’re trying to be mean, it’s just that you’re different. But you feel kind of uncomfortable.”

During the first part of my interview with Ruth, I had asked her what it was like getting used to Canadians, or Canadians getting used to her. She quickly corrected my terminology before answering the question: “First, I’m going to, if you don’t mind, I’m going to correct your terminology. When you said, ‘How did I feel when the Canadians?’ Well, we’re all Canadians.” I apologized for how I framed the question. My intent had been to ask Ruth, how as a new Canadian she felt getting used to fellow Canadians. Ruth commented that the “us versus them” dichotomy was prevalent even among her friends: “Even people like my friends do that all the time. They have lived here for 40 years and they’ll say to me ‘these Canadians’. And I’ll say, ‘Who are these Canadians? We are all Canadians.’” In answering my original question of getting used to other Canadians, Ruth

stated that there were the obvious visual differences between herself and others, especially when living in Small Town, Canada. She commented that people were not used to people who looked different from them. Residents of small towns were rarely exposed to cultural diversity. As a result, Ruth had to entertain many questions about where she was from. Her response to this question was to say she was from the Canadian city in which she lived:

The person who's asking the question is probably not comfortable with my answer. "Have you lived all your life in [Canadian city]?" My answer to that—just know exactly what he or she is asking of me—I say, "not yet." So it kind of puts him or her on the spot. Then finally, "No, I mean where are you originally from?" So you know, they're just curious to know where you are from.

Although Ruth accepted people's curiosity, she felt that the question "Where are you from?" was only asked of people of colour as a way to distinguish Canadians from non-Canadians:

I don't ask a person where have you come from? They wouldn't ask it to another white person. They'll ask it to another brown person, another black person, or a Chinese person, or Oriental person. So I think it does make a bit of a problem there. That's the difference. You try to make the difference— so and so is not a Canadian because they come from India, or has come from China, or has come from Japan, or has come from Thailand, or wherever. So I experience that everyday almost. I do. Even now, after living here. I have lived more years of my life here than in India.

Experiences of discrimination, and having their Canadian identity questioned, made women feel uncertain about their place in Canadian society. For example, Ruth described how being made to feel different could contribute to women's feelings of uncertainty. Ruth defined uncertainty as the question of "Will they accept me?" where "they" referred to Canadian-born individuals: "Because I'm different. I look different. I come from a different country. I have different sorts of values and cultures behind me. Can I be their friend? Can I really get into their inner circle?" Ruth commented that even after living in Canada for several years, she still felt at times that she was not included in social activities:

Say people are having a big get-together. I thought I was their friend, just like that, within their ten friends. They're having something. I'm not invited. I've been not asked to go there—at social gatherings, in the workplace. At workplaces, things happen like that a lot. People see you differently. They do. It's a reality. People do look at you differently.

Ruth believed that feeling excluded in Canadian society could make new Canadians question their decision to move to Canada:

So on the other end, if I feel threatened about that, if I feel shaken and threatened, it gives me an uneasy feeling. And I'm uncertain, and I get confused. And I don't know what's right, what's wrong. Should I do this? Maybe I shouldn't have left my country. Maybe I shouldn't have come here. Maybe I'm doing something wrong for my children. My children are doing things that I don't accept. Things like that constantly go through people who immigrated, in their minds.

Ruth also described how it could be different for people who felt more certain. She felt that new Canadians confident in their values and beliefs would be better able to cope with marginalization in Canadian society:

But at the same time, you can be a strong person. And you can say, okay, these are my values of life. These are my set values. And this is who I am. And do they like it or not? It doesn't matter to me. I can be successful no matter where I go, if I want to be. So if you're certain and confident. But I think you have to be able to have a very strong mind to do that, to be able to overcome that little bit of hurdle that you face at first.

Madhui also described how a strong cultural identity buffered the effects of discrimination. In feeling certain about her identity as an East Indian woman, she felt no pressure to change aspects of herself, especially when confronted with discrimination. Madhui shared one story of how she felt intimidated when shopping at a department store. At a Boxing Day sale, Madhui had been looking at snowmen on sale. A woman came up to her, took a snowman out of Madhui's hand, and put it in her own shopping cart:

She looked at me as though I don't need them. And I felt very, very uncertain. And I've had those experiences in other cities across the country, and also in different countries as well. Bottom line is, when somebody does that, they really intimidate you and make you feel so low.

Madhui explained that when she had these experiences, it was important to be herself and "be the best you can, and it doesn't matter."

Madhui also spoke about her interactions with Canadians in her work. She shared her culture with fellow Canadians, but she stated she was not in any position to change anyone. Similarly, no one could change her:

I don't think anybody would be able to change me, to change my religion either.

So a lot of people come here you know, hoping that I would change my religion, and I can't. Because this is how I was born, and I'm happy with it. See everybody as an equal being, then you'll live from a different perspective.

I asked Madhui if she had felt pressure to change since coming to Canada. She said no, although she adapted depending on the context: "If I'm around a big group of East Indian community people, then I will really adapt according to that crowd at that time. And if it is I'm at a Canadian show, I'm okay." Madhui stressed that self-acceptance was very important in feeling comfortable in different groups. She said,

I never see myself as I was supposed to be a different colour. I can't see that because I'm pretty well very proud to be who I am. And I love the colour of the skin I am. So I don't find it difficult. And that's what I've taught my children: if you accept yourself, you're going to be you.

Later in the interview, Madhui stated that in interactions with fellow Canadians, she had felt intimidated on several occasions. However, she reiterated that although people have questioned her Canadian identity, "there was no way I'm willing to change myself as a person, you know, because I feel comfortable. If I didn't feel comfortable, then yes I will change myself."

Although women felt a strong cultural identity helped to lessen the effects of discrimination, they realized that discrimination was inevitable. As a result, they felt it

was important to prepare their children for experiences of discrimination. For example, Terry reminded her children that although they were born in Canada and were Canadians, they were different. She explained why she wanted her children to be prepared for potential discrimination and prejudice:

When they get older, they may face prejudice. It will be harder for them to accept that because they were born here. So they may think, why should we be treated differently? For myself, I expect prejudice more because I wasn't born here. But I think my children are more sensitive to it. I'm educating my children to be more aware of it. I'm raising my children as Canadians so they can be more comfortable going out.

For Ruth, she talked about strategies she and her husband employed to provide their children with tools to counter discrimination. Ruth felt this was important because children of immigrant families were always being asked, "Where are you from?" In raising their children, Ruth and her husband stressed education as a means of ensuring their children would be secure: "People can take your wealth away. People can take you away physically, but they can't take away your education. So I think being an immigrant and you want children to be secure." Ruth further commented that she and her husband knew their children would be treated differently, and that they would need to prove themselves. Therefore, they needed to ensure their children were competitive in society by providing their children with the best opportunities for advancement:

You know you're treated differently in some ways. When you come, you've got to be better. To prove yourself, you're better, to be able to compete here too. So I mean, we had to make sure our children had the best advice, and the guidance,

and everything the best they can possibly have. So most immigrant women, immigrant people, they try that, their best. That the children have the best of everything here: their education, whatever they're doing, dancing, singing, or music, or whatever. You try to give them the best you can so that they eventually become a valuable person to the society.

To conclude, women experienced discrimination and prejudice in the workplace and in the public domain. They felt they had to work harder to prove their ability in the workplace. To counter cultural stereotypes, women educated fellow Canadians about their culture. Women described how discriminatory experiences could make them feel uncomfortable and marginalized in Canadian society. However, feeling certain about their cultural identities lessened the adverse impact of discrimination, in that women did not feel pressure to relinquish their cultural identities. Women felt that discrimination was inevitable for themselves and for their children. Women described strategies they used with their children to prepare them for discrimination: they educated their children, and they provided them with the best opportunities to ensure their competitiveness in Canadian society.

#### *4.2.2.2 Remooring Cultural Identity*

Women remoored their cultural identity by participating in their cultural communities. Factors that influenced women's efforts to establish cultural supports included availability of the cultural community and diversity within the cultural community (see Table 14). For some of the interviewees, availability of the cultural community, and diversity within it, helped women to establish supports for their cultural

identity. For other interviewees, these factors hindered their attempts to remove their cultural identity. These themes are discussed in detail below.

Table 14

*Factors Influencing Cultural Remooring*

Sub-themes	Components
Availability of Cultural Community	<p>Participating in cultural community facilitates remooring of cultural identity</p> <p>Limited cultural supports emphasize culture shock</p> <p>Limited cultural supports offset by participating in broader Canadian community</p>
Diversity Within Cultural Community	<p>Community acceptance of diverse values and beliefs facilitates remooring</p> <p>Divergent values and beliefs lead to disengagement from community</p>

4.2.2.2.1 Availability of Cultural Community

Availability of a cultural community played a significant role in women’s ability to remove their cultural identities. Depending on where they lived, women may not have had a community, either cultural or religious, with which to connect. Women with access to a cultural community were able to participate in cultural activities and build supports for their cultural identity. Women with limited cultural supports experienced culture shock. For some of the women, they chose to relocate to cities with larger cultural



communities. For those women who could not relocate, they participated in the broader Canadian community and developed supports for their Canadian identity.

#### *4.2.2.2.1.1 Participation in cultural activities facilitates re-mooring*

Access to a cultural community enabled women to build supports for their cultural identity in Canada. Availability of a cultural community enabled women to partake in cultural holidays and festivals. For example, Terry had lived in a number of small Canadian towns with limited or no Chinese cultural communities. While living in these towns, Terry seldom celebrated Chinese occasions: “We seldom celebrate Chinese occasions. Because when you’re in [Small Town, Canada], you don’t know when Chinese New Year is! You realize Chinese New Year has passed already.” When Terry moved to the city in which she currently lived, she had access to a large Chinese community: “Until four years ago, I moved to [City, Canada], then I started to join the Chinese community. Then I start to have my Chinese things back.” The Chinese community helped to make the Chinese culture more salient to Terry:

So you more pay attention to different occasions. And I do. As an observer, I try to provide as much information as possible with the Chinese culture. So usually on certain occasions, I’ll tell them [Terry’s children] that’s the occasion why this is occurring. I try to get the food, the fruit, to celebrate at that moment. I introduce to my kids, but I don’t know whether they’re listening. But I do my thing.

For Terry, the Chinese community helped her to teach her children about their heritage culture. She felt it was important to introduce her children to their heritage culture. She

feared that her children would grow up not knowing about their Chinese cultural heritage. Terry wanted her children to be proud of both cultures—Canadian and Chinese.

Ruth also talked about the importance of a cultural community for re-establishing support networks. Ruth indicated that immigrant families were attracted to larger cities because working in smaller cities offered no support structures, such as a cultural association or a temple. When Ruth and her husband moved to Small Town, Canada, they were the only immigrant family there: “So I was the only person who’s different there. I had no friends.” Similar to Terry, moving to the city provided Ruth with more opportunity to re-establish her cultural supports:

Then we moved to [Canadian city]. Of course we like it a lot better. There’s an Indian Association there. There’s things happening: there’s festivals going, hundreds of people getting together. And you feel like—oh God, it’s like India. We’re all together again. Talking your same language, you’re wearing the same kind of dresses. You’re talking about similar things, what we did in India. We’re talking about your childhood, what we did there.

Being able to re-establish cultural supports helped Ruth’s sense of belonging:

It certainly gives you strength mentally. Like you feel all of a sudden, oh yes, I belong here. I do belong here. So I think in a bigger city, those things are available more. There’s more ethnic people, so you say okay, I’m not the only one who’s different here. They wear different dresses. They talk differently. So you feel comfortable. You feel as though you fit there.

Moreover, although Ruth participated in both the East Indian community and the broader Canadian community, she felt it was easier to participate in her cultural community

because she and fellow members shared a common cultural background: “I think somehow you’re able to convey your messages to people easier, because they’re the same, from the same cultural background.”

To conclude, having access to a cultural community enabled women to participate in cultural activities. In so doing, women felt more connected to their heritage cultures: they could partake in cultural activities, interact with Canadians with the same cultural heritage, and they could teach their children about their culture.

#### *4.2.2.2.1.2 Limited cultural supports emphasize culture shock*

Women who lived in small Canadian communities with limited cultural supports also experienced culture shock. For example, Ruth and her husband moved from Delhi, India to Small Town, Canada. Ruth described the effect it had on her:

I didn’t expect that. Because coming from a huge city, which I do, coming to a very small town, we were the only immigrants probably in that little town. It is very shocking when you first come. So I think it changes your whole perspective. You’re a bit scared, you’re nervous; you don’t know what to expect. And of course you’re missing home, you’re missing your relatives, your friends. Your whole support system is gone and you have to create a new support system.

I asked Ruth what aspects of small town living she found different compared to living in Delhi. She commented that it was the emptiness. She described life in Delhi as being surrounded by people, but in Small Town, Canada, it felt empty—no people on the streets, no birds, no cats, no dogs, because they were all inside their homes. The impact on Ruth was that she and her husband left Small Town, Canada after one year: “We lived

only there for one year. I couldn't live in a small place like that because everybody sort of knows what we did, our business. It was just not that kind of culture that I came from.”

Similar to Ruth, Madhui experienced culture shock when she moved to Canada from England. She found a big difference in the East Indian cultural communities in Canada compared to England. She commented that in moving to Canada, she missed the latest East Indian fashion, jewelry, music, clothing, and lifestyle. Madhui had to adjust to a “laid-back, country lifestyle” in Canada, as she described it. Madhui also commented that members of her ethnic group were too spread out in Canada. Madhui and her husband had lived in several Canadian cities that had various sized East Indian communities. Each time they moved, they had to adjust to a new East Indian community. For example, when living in a smaller Ontario city, there were only five other East Indian families living there. Madhui described how she coped with limited cultural supports—she joined a multicultural association, and also worked within the broader Canadian community as a seamstress:

During that time, there were no East Indian places except for maybe five people in the city. So again, you have to change and adapt. And what is it that you can do to change and adapt? Well, there were multicultural associations that I joined. And then I used to make some bridal gowns because everybody there was western. So you're sewing, but you're sewing western outfits. And that was okay, because I still cooked and cleaned and wore my own clothing. And also wore my jeans when I was sewing.

Madhui and her husband then lived in two medium- and large-sized Canadian cities. Both cities had large East Indian communities in which Madhui and her husband

participated. However, in the large city, Madhui experienced culture shock: “Because I had been away from my own community for so long, that all of a sudden I ended up in [Large City, Canada]. I wasn’t sure if I belonged there or not [in the East Indian community].” Madhui explained that part of her fear was moving to an extremely cosmopolitan city after having lived in smaller Canadian cities. Madhui felt she had fitted into the cultural community in Medium City, Canada, but had concerns over fitting into the cultural community in Large City, Canada for several reasons:

I think language was one thing. There are different types of East Indian people. And there are so many different languages. So that was the hard part. I think how people see you in a big city is different too. I was the outsider, you know. So everybody was very comfortable living their lifestyles. And pouring down rain, and gray. I said no, this is probably not what I want. I wanted to be seen just as equal as everybody else. And I couldn’t see myself there in [Large City] no matter how much equal I wanted to be.

Madhui lived in Large City, Canada for four years. I asked Madhui if she felt differently at the end of the four years. She said, yes. After she adjusted to the cultural community of Large City, she “totally loved it” because she and her husband started participating in cultural events:

I think when I looked at it from an outside point of view; I didn’t fit in. But when I started participating, I think it was just great. Because then people get to know you, and then when they see you, it’s like “Oh, Madhui!”

Through their participation in cultural activities, Madhui and her husband felt like a part of the East Indian community:

That was an outing for us. You get dressed and get up, get out. That was what made us fit in: was get in, feel comfortable. If you're there, if you belong there, and you want to be there at that time, then make the most of fitting in.

To conclude, for some of the women, they experienced culture shock when they lived in Canadian towns with no established cultural community. Moving from large cities in their countries of origin to small towns in Canada, women had to adjust not only to Canadian life, but also to small town living. For women who had the opportunity, they relocated to cities with established cultural communities. Women also had to adjust to their cultural communities in Canada. One woman who lived in several Canadian cities described how she had to adjust to the East Indian community each time she moved. Participating in the cultural community helped women to adjust to the community and to feel that they belonged in the community.

#### *4.2.2.2.1.3 Limited cultural supports offset by developing Canadian identity*

Although living in smaller communities limited opportunities for women to remoor their cultural identity, some of the women developed their Canadian identities through participating in Canadian activities. For example, Terry had lived in a number of small Canadian towns with limited or no Chinese communities. Therefore, for several years in Canada, Terry primarily interacted with the broader Canadian community. As a new Canadian, Terry had modeled her behaviour after Canadians: "As a Canadian, I just follow whatever they do. Everything will be very Canadian. Do what a Canadian do: garden, yard work, they have a mortgage." I clarified with Terry whether she meant she had followed the Canadian ways of living. Terry replied, yes:

Before we moved to [Canadian city], all we know is Canadian friends. We seldom had any Chinese friends because there's none over there. So that's why whenever we go out, we go out with them. They go to the bar; okay we go to the bar. And so it's just whatever they do, we do.

Terry felt that it had been easy to adjust to having limited cultural supports because when she moved to Canada, she had been immediately immersed in the Canadian culture. She had lived with a Canadian family while she attended high school, hence she had quickly adapted to the Canadian way of life:

My culture got switched right away. And there's a short period of time where I have to learn a lot of things. You know, how does Canadians live? And basically, you have to adapt the environment in here. Because I'm room and board, whatever they cook, I have to eat. So I have no choice.

Because of her immediate exposure to Canadian culture, Terry felt that it had not been difficult to adjust to life in Canada: "All the time I was only dealing with Canadian people, so it's not a big issue to me."

Similar to Terry's experience, when Rashidah first moved to Canada, she did not have access to a cultural community. Rashidah first moved to the East Coast, where she lived for 11 years. During this time, Rashidah's Malay identity was not salient to her:

I guess being Malay never crossed my mind here because I was not surrounded by other people from my community. I was kind of isolated, because on the East Coast, where I went to school, there was only three foreign students in my residence. It was a very small university.

Because of limited cultural supports, Rashidah found that she fit in better with Caucasian Canadians:

Most of my supports were basically not from the Asian culture. They have a small Asian community, and they have a Chinese community, but I didn't fit into that community as well because I wasn't raised Chinese. So I don't have the language background. I don't have the same culture as them. So I find that I fit in better with the Caucasian Canadians.

When Rashidah moved to the city in which she currently lived, her cultural supports grew. She became friends with a Malaysian woman:

We are neighbours, in terms of country. But we share the same kind of culture. She understands the lingo. We both can joke about things and she picks up. Even my husband says, "You both talk the same way." He was just shocked. And there's another girl that she knew from Malaysia. She's the one who got me connected to the other Asian group.

When asked if Rashidah found this to be helpful, meeting other women who more closely shared her same culture, she said, yes. Also, moving to a more culturally diverse city helped Rashidah to feel more connected to the Asian culture:

Being in [Canadian city] has been more positive because there's more exposure to different kinds of food. On the East Coast, you can't get all the international food. Very limited, very restricted. So here you can go to Superstore and get whatever you want. Or go to Chinatown, or in [Canadian city], where my sister-in-law lives, I can get stuff there. So I guess on the East Coast, because it's not only the community, it's the things you can get. So you kind of becoming less and less Asian. There's nothing for you to connect with that's Asian. I think



being Asian is connection with the food, with the people, right. So I'm more connected now than I used to be.

However, Rashidah currently did not have a Malay community with which to interact. When asked about her cultural community, Rashidah replied, "but I don't know any. I wondered about that. Am I going to skew your report?" I asked Rashidah if she had another cultural community in the city: "I consider the cultural community I have is just a group of friends that I hang around with. There's a few of us. We don't meet regularly, but we do meet and go out for walks, or go for food." Rashidah indicated that her friends were primarily Canadian of East Indian descent.

To conclude, for some of the women, limited cultural supports in Canada appears to have led them to establish their Canadian identities. They did this by participating in Canadian activities, and modeling their behaviours after fellow Canadians. For one interviewee who had no cultural community in Canada, she identified more strongly as a Canadian because she felt she fit in better with Canadians.

In summary, availability of cultural community was an important factor in women's efforts to remoor their cultural identity in Canada. With a cultural community, women were able to connect with other Canadians who shared the same culture. Participating in cultural activities made women feel like they were a part of their cultural community. This helped to make their cultural identities salient in Canada. Some of the women who lived in small Canadian communities experienced culture shock, and chose to move to cities with larger cultural communities. Limited cultural supports led some of

the women to participate in the broader Canadian community and to develop their Canadian identities.

#### 4.2.2.2.2 Diversity within Cultural Community

Availability of cultural supports influenced women's efforts to remoor their cultural identity. Another important influencing factor was diversity within the cultural communities. The women spoke of diversity within the cultural communities as referring to diversity of values and beliefs. For some of the women, diversity within the community helped them to establish supports for their cultural identities, while for other interviewees, diversity within the community led to disengagement from the community.

##### *4.2.2.2.2.1 Community acceptance of diverging values and beliefs facilitates remoooring*

For some women in this study, diversity within their cultural community meant that diverse values and beliefs were accepted within the community. Hence, women were able to build supports within the cultural community without necessarily conforming to the community's cultural norms. For example, Terry felt no pressure from the Chinese community to conform to its cultural norms. She felt free to live her life according to her values, and to raise her children in a manner that suited her. However, Terry felt that this would not be true if she lived in Large City, Canada, and if she was wealthy. In that situation, she would be visible in the community because of her higher status (due to wealth), and it would be more difficult to oppose the community's cultural norms:

Because whenever you have a wealthy family, you're in a higher status, and I think it's more difficult for me to ignore what people are thinking. When you're

in a high status, you're being paid attention to ... Right now I'm living in a small town. I do my own thing. If we're not doing too well, okay, as long as we're happy. It's easier for me to justify how I raise my children. But if I was living in Large City, as I said, sometimes if you have peer pressure. It's exactly like a peer pressure.

Although the Chinese community in Terry's city was smaller than the one in Large City, the community in Terry's city was quite diverse. There were several associations and groups within the community. Terry commented that the peer pressure within the Chinese community was minimal: "Everyone can do his or her own thing." She felt that the peer pressure would be more intense in a larger cultural community:

But when you're living in a bigger Chinese community, you see them [members of the cultural community] every single day. And it's not just one parent or two parents, but every parent is like that [all parents raising their children in the same way]. So it's very difficult to single out yourself that you want to treat your kids in a different way.

Interviewees from the East Indian community also agreed that there was diversity within their cultural community. For example, Ruth stated there were language, food, and habit differences based on which part of India families emigrated from. However, she stressed that despite these differences, she felt that members of the East Indian community were very similar: "I think your upbringing is the same. Like your values are the same. I think your thought process is the same. Your spirituality is the same. So I think that makes the bonding easier." For Ruth, the common bond was India; it did not matter where families came from within India: "First we're Indian and then we're coming

from different provinces. So I think the Indian community is important.” However, although Ruth and her husband interacted with the East Indian community-at-large, they were Bengali and tended to get together more frequently with other families from Bengal:

There are very few Bengalis here in [Canadian city], so we’re a very close knit Bengali community. I mean we come and go more for each other. We do things together, and we do some festivals together, because we come from the same cultural background. We do exactly the same things. So we seem to have more communications and stuff.

Moreover, Ruth found that her values and beliefs differed from the East Indian community-at-large. She disagreed with certain beliefs of her cultural community; however, this did not deter her from participating in the cultural community:

Things, which were considered bad religiously in India, is not bad to me anymore here. So there is a conflict within my own opinion and our community organization. Not politically, but you know, I mean I have different opinions for certain things. Not that I’m against them, not that they’re against me, not that I don’t go to Temple, not that I don’t join the festival, not that I don’t do the festivals. But my opinion, on the whole, has changed.

In terms of how her values and beliefs differed from those of the East Indian community, Ruth talked about differences in parenting styles. She described how she allowed her children more freedom than children in other East Indian families. For example, she described the difference of how she and her husband addressed the issue of drinking with their teenaged children compared to other East Indian parents:

I would say to my kids, “I know you’re going to drink, you’re sixteen. And if you tell me you never drink, I know you’re going to lie to me. But if you’re going to drink, that’s okay. But phone me and tell me to come and pick you up, or take a cab to come home.” Not too many Indian parents would do that. Most Indian parents would like to think their kids haven’t drunk at ages 16, 17, 18, and fool themselves. I knew that.

Ruth also thought her open communication with her children differed from other East Indian families: “So I think this communication thing, a lot of parents, Indian parents, find it difficult to communicate to their children that freely. Because in India you don’t communicate to your children that freely.”

Ruth’s upbringing in India may have reflected her more liberal parenting style in Canada compared to the rest of the East Indian community. She described how her family was different from very conservative families in India. Ruth’s mother passed away when Ruth was very young, thus Ruth grew up in a one-parent household. Also, Ruth’s father sent his daughters to a co-education school that was atypical at that time: “A lot of parents would not send their daughters into a school with the boys. In those days, there would have been girls’ schools, but we always went to boys’ schools.” Ruth also commented that her choice to enter the nursing profession made a big difference in her life because it was not the usual career path for Hindu girls. When Ruth went to nursing college, the majority of students were “Anglo-Saxon.” Ruth thought that because of her upbringing, her educational pursuits, and exposure to different cultures while attending nursing college, she was different from other East Indian families living in Canada:

“There are people here I know who are a lot more strict, a lot more conservative in every day life, than me. I’m different to them.”

I asked Ruth if the differences she saw between herself and the East Indian community in the city in which she lived affected how she had been accepted into her cultural community. She stated, no, not at all. She and her husband had both taken on leadership roles within the cultural community. But, she did think that members of her cultural community might have criticized how she raised her children. However, Ruth did not think it made a difference in how she and her husband raised their children. Moreover, despite the differences Ruth saw between herself and the East Indian community, Ruth felt that she fit very well into the cultural community:

Oh I do fit. I mean, I do the same thing as everyone else does: I speak the language, I dress up the same way, I eat the same food, I do the same festivals, I take the leadership in the community. We have great friends, a huge circle of friends. So I do fit there.

Similar to Ruth, Madhui also felt that she fit within the East Indian community. Madhui had moved from a large Canadian city to the one in which she currently lived. Madhui commented that the cultural functions were less elaborate and fewer in number compared to England and Large City, Canada. With the smaller East Indian community in her city, Madhui felt that she had a closer network of friends, and she described the community as very comfortable. I asked her how she would define “comfortable”:

I would say the way my husband and I have been with the people in the community. They know who we are, first of all. That’s very important. People have to know who you are, and then what your needs are. Sometimes if you’re

down and out, you can certainly sit and talk with someone. If you're at the Temple, people like you, and they're with you all the time.

I asked Madhui if she felt her values and beliefs were compatible with the East Indian community in the city in which she lived. She said definitely, and that she had been able to be herself in the community: "Yes. I'm more so. In fact, more than who I am. Because sometimes I walk around the community and people feel really happy to see me. I feel comfortable."

To conclude, for some of the interviewees, diversity within their cultural communities facilitated women's efforts to remove their cultural identity. Women felt free to live their lives according to their own values and beliefs, regardless of whether they matched those of the cultural community. They felt minimal pressure to conform to cultural norms. Moreover, although women participated in their cultural communities-at-large, they established supports for their cultural identities with similar others within the community.

#### *4.2.2.2.2 Divergent values and beliefs lead to disengagement from the cultural community*

When women's values and beliefs diverged from those of the cultural community, this could hinder women's efforts to remove their cultural identity. In these cases, the differences between women's values and beliefs and those of their cultural community were too great to overcome. The outcome resulted in either complete or partial disengagement from the cultural community. For example, Rashidah had briefly engaged

the Muslim community when she lived on the East Coast; however, she found the Muslim community to be too culturally different for her:

I was initially in touch with the Muslim community, but for me it was a total turn off. It wasn't the same Muslim community that I know. You may be Muslim or Malay. Even though you're Muslim, the cultures have a lot of impact on how you interact with each other. I did make initial contact with the Muslim community, but it was a scary experience for me. There was the Imam who was actually the head of the community group. He has a brother, and they both have two wives who are totally isolated from the men. Very strict Islamic kind of law: they have no contact with men, when they go out they cover up, and so it was totally alien to me. I wasn't used to that. And I didn't feel I fit in at all. Also, they speak a different language too. I speak Malay. We can communicate in English. But I never felt comfortable in that group. And that's why even now; it makes me hesitate to even make connections with others because they're all from different countries. And there's nothing in common I have with them.

Although religion was a common bond within the Muslim community, the cultural diversity within the community made Rashidah feel that she did not fit within the Muslim community. In the current city in which she lived, Rashidah continued to distance herself from the Muslim community:

Even now when I'm upset, I don't even make the attempt to know people who are Muslims. I've met a couple who are [Muslim] but haven't made any attempts to really connect. Maybe fear of feeling guilty. You find something lacking in yourself. Part of it is maybe not wanting to venture that far. But in terms of culture, I still think I have the values in me.



Rashidah's choice to *not* join the Muslim community was in part because of the cultural diversity within it, and because she did not want the Muslim community to judge her for the choices she had made in her personal life. She had been married twice to Canadians, not of the Muslim faith, and she did not practice the Muslim faith. This had caused her family great distress, and for several years, Rashidah distanced herself from her family in Singapore. Over time, Rashidah felt she had become a stronger person and could cope with her family's disapproval of her lifestyle:

Before, I guess, I wasn't strong enough to say I know you don't like me not being in religion, but this is who I am. You know, I'm not a bad person. I think now that even though religion may not be a priority in my life, but I'm okay with not being a true Muslim. Before I would never tell my sisters, but I do tell them now.

On occasion, however, her family asked her if she had made connections with the Muslim community since moving to her current city. Rashidah had not because she did not want the community to judge her, to make her feel bad for her life choices, and to make her re-question her decision to disengage from the Muslim community:

But sometimes I think I could have made a connection if I wanted to with the Muslim community here, and I think I chose not to do it. Part of it is I don't want someone to judge me. I feel I will be judged by the fact that I married a non-Muslim, which is a big no no. And I have not even tried to convince my husband to convert. And I don't need my Muslim community here to start judging me. I didn't want that to happen. And I don't want to start feeling guilty, and start questioning who I am again, and having it affect my marriage and my family. Like my family in Singapore, you see them once every two to three years. I can

handle that when I see them. Yeah, you get nagged at all the time. So what? Let it go because you know you're heading back to Canada. But I'm not prepared to live in a community and have people judge me for who I am or who I'm not. So I never did make an effort to kind of connect and I don't want to.

However, although Rashidah did not participate in the Muslim community, she had not denounced her Muslim faith: "I guess if you ask me whether I will convert to another religion, I'll say no. I can't see myself converting to Christianity. Would I practice the religion? No, I don't. But if someone asked me, yes, I'm Muslim."

Similar to Rashidah, Sally also felt her values and beliefs were quite different from her cultural community in Canada, especially with regard to women's roles in the East Indian community. When Sally first moved to Canada, she and husband lived in Small Town, Canada. Sally found it very isolating. They had moved from a busy city in India to a small Canadian town. Similar to Ruth, Sally found it very much a culture shock. The location provided no opportunities for her to grow professionally. Her husband supported Sally in continuing her training. To do so, Sally moved, with her infant son, to the city. Her husband commuted back and forth on the weekends. Sally commented that in the late 1960s this was an unconventional arrangement for any family, and definitely unconventional in the East Indian community in Canada:

I came to the city with my little boy, and that's not the normal East Indian woman. My husband had to stand up a lot for East Indian community-at-large. And other immigrant families coming from England, they're all thinking that my husband is kind of a weirdo. Because women, she should be making [a home for

her husband]. See, I came in the late '60s. That's when women were considered to be follow the leader, you know.

Sally described the acceptable roles for women at that time: "She stayed married woman, married to a successful businessman, or man who has a good position in administration. The woman stays home, and makes a bunch of babies, and entertains the guests." Sally was unable to play the traditional role of wife as, for five years, she lived separate from her husband to pursue further training. Sally commented, "this deprived us from getting into the conventional stereotyped East Indian community. Like I couldn't cook in effort, you know. I didn't know how to cook."

Despite moving to a larger city with an established cultural community, Sally did not fit easily into the community. She did not fit the traditional role of the East Indian woman, nor did she agree with the role the community relegated to women. Moreover when she did participate in cultural activities, she found it difficult to interact with other East Indian women:

East Indian women housewives, they are "yes" women. I still have trouble getting mixed with them. I don't talk that openly and that kind of thing, because they are subservient to their husbands and financially dependent.

Sally provided an example of where she was asked to cook for a cultural event. She had received a phone call, during working hours, from the president of one of the East Indian cultural associations. He wanted her to cook 50 pounds of rice for a cultural event on a Thursday. Sally replied that she worked, so she could not cook that amount of rice. She offered to cook two Pyrex containers of rice. He said no. He wanted her to cook two 25-pound bags of rice, and described how these bags of rice were often the ones her

shopping cart hit when she was shopping at the supermarket. He asked her to cook the rice for Saturday instead of Thursday. However, Saturdays were Sally's day to do her administrative work so she could not do it. This conversation took place in Hindi between the two of them, and Sally translated his response to me in English:

He said, "This woman who study little bit here and there, you know, actually these women are like the slippers that men wear. This woman who is the slipper of the man is sitting on man's head now just because she has a little education."

In recounting this story to me, Sally was visibly upset. For her, this illustrated how men perceived women in her cultural community. Women were the slippers that men wore; women were subservient to men. The president implied that because Sally was educated, her ego was inflated and she thought she was better than men were. Sally told me at that point in the conversation with the president, she hung up the telephone. Later that evening, she saw the president in a social setting. He tried to explain that he was not just asking her to cook; he was asking all women to cook. To Sally, this did not make the request any easier. She replied to him, "then it's about time to start calling the guys to cook, because I can't cook."

Sally found the stereotyped roles of women within her community very frustrating and contended that they continued today. Moreover, Sally felt that her professional identity was never acknowledged within the East Indian community:

They don't see me as a professional. They see me as my job is I'm married to my husband. My job is, as first community's concerned, I cook, I entertain, I dress well. And it's still like that. It's like women are like a herd—Like a mare that

stays in the stable with the rest of the mares and waits for the master's wishes.

It's horrible. It's still like that.

Despite Sally's contention with the East Indian community, she was unable to disengage herself from the community because she needed to rely on the community for support:

"We go and meet and be sociable. Of course you have to. You don't want to be isolated and alone, because if something goes wrong, you have to count on them." For example, Sally stated she would need the cultural community's support if her husband's health failed. Also, some of the East Indian traditions, such as marriage, are very elaborate and require the whole community's help. For example, Sally's son wanted a traditional Hindu wedding with Mondap (the holy altar). There were 500 guests invited to the wedding. Sally's husband could not help because of his health problems. Thus, Sally needed to engage the help of members of the cultural community to make wedding preparations. Sally also believed that the cultural community was important in maintaining her culture: "You feel like that's where your roots are."

In further conversation with Sally, it became clear that Sally did have some supports within the cultural community, and that it was certain regional groups within the cultural community, and their view of women's roles in the community, with which she took issue:

I come from the West near Bombay. We have 12 families here. They are very open, and I get along well with them. They respect me like anything. They do so much for me. But it's the Punjabi community and the Sikh community. They are very orthodox, I think, very, very orthodox people. ... I think I'm getting more and more prejudiced—race prejudiced.

Similar to Ruth, Sally established supports for her cultural identity with smaller subgroups of East Indian families within the cultural community. Sally also maintained strong ties with friends and family in India, who provided the support and acceptance she lacked within the broader cultural community in the city in which she lived: “I have lots of contact with my home in India. And they cherish me. Like Goddess you know.” Sally commented that her community in India was proud of Sally’s accomplishments.

Similar to Rashidah and Sally, Maria had also experienced a conflict between her values and beliefs and those of the Filipino community. However, Maria was able to relocate to another Canadian city and build supports within a smaller Filipino community. Maria moved to the city in which she currently lived because she perceived a better fit between herself and the Filipino community. With the first Filipino community, Maria found it too divisive:

Because there are already a lot of Filipino community there. They’d been recruited for how many thousands. And let’s say one person comes from Ontario, Winnipeg, Quebec. So sometimes they have some misunderstandings. They fight. So that’s what’s happening in [Canadian city]. They don’t get along with others.

Maria commented that for some members of the Filipino community, they preferred to develop friendships and networks with others from the same region or city back in the Philippines. For example, “let’s say Legatos, a town near Manila. She was only sometimes being friends with people from Legatos. And they don’t want to help some of the Filipinos. They’re only just for themselves.”

Maria also found that the Filipino men did not respect the women in the community, and because of this, she hated the larger Filipino community. Maria believed that Filipino men in Canada should follow the cultural norms of the Philippines around male-female relations. In the larger Filipino community, Maria felt that the men had changed their ways too much: “That’s why I hate them. They changed their attitudes too much, too much than the Canadians. Because some Canadians are not worse like them. But they overdo it. They are wilder than Canadians.” Maria explained that in Canada, Filipino men had no respect for Filipino women, the men’s attitudes had changed too much, and they did not respect the women, as they should. Maria’s perception was that the Filipino men assumed that the Filipino women were like Canadians; however, Maria stressed that the Filipino women “still had the respect”:

It’s like in the Filipino culture; you have to respect the Filipina. But when I arrived there, in [Canadian city], just because they saw how these Canadians are, they thought this Filipina are also the same as the Canadians. They don’t respect Filipina. They asked, “Oh come on; let’s have a date.”

Maria adhered to her traditional cultural upbringing. The behaviour of the Filipino men contradicted Maria’s beliefs of how Filipino men should treat Filipino women. Maria had moved to Canada in the 1970s. She found quite a contrast between Canada and the Philippines in terms of male-female relationships. She talked about how Canadians could meet each other and become boyfriend or girlfriend within a day or two. Also, very early in the relationship, men and women would kiss. However, where Maria grew up in the Philippines, male-female relationships were very different: “But then in the Philippines you can’t. In the 70s and 80s you can’t do that, or else the father will kill the

guy or man. Or right away, he has to marry the girl.” Where Maria grew up, she stated it was very different, where even handholding was not permitted during the early stages of a relationship. When she first arrived in Canada, the Filipino men’s behaviour had shocked Maria. Hence, she chose to relocate to a city where she felt her values and beliefs better fit the smaller Filipino community there. Maria fully participated in this smaller Filipino community. Self-employed, her business was a hub of activity in the community. She offered several services, such as selling Filipino products, providing a money wire service, and travel agency services. Maria also had a strong network of Filipino friends for socializing. Many in her community turned to Maria for help with sponsorship and finding work:

Right now we’re busy with this Filipino soap opera, and the movie stars. And then sometimes [on] Saturday night we go to the disco. And not only that, the problems also: “Oh Maria, how can I sponsor this? What’s the best thing I have to do? How do I sponsor?” And there’s also some who are “Can you help me find a part-time job?” because I know a lot of Filipinos here, I can recommend them.

To conclude, diversity within the cultural communities could also hinder these women’s attempts to remoor their cultural identities. When these women felt there were no commonalities between their values and beliefs and those of the cultural community, they completely disengaged from the community, or they limited their participation in the community. In these cases, women developed new supports for their cultural identity within the broader Canadian community or a different cultural community. Women also maintained existing supports within their countries of origin.



#### 4.2.2.3 *Social Identifications*

##### 4.2.2.3.1 Managing Cultural and Canadian Identities

One focus of Study 2 was to understand how uncertainty might influence women's social identifications. To this end, as women described their experiences with their cultural community and the broader Canadian community, I would ask how these experiences made women feel about themselves culturally and as Canadians. Women strongly identified as Canadians and as members of their cultural groups. In managing their identities, women switched between their cultural and Canadian selves depending on the social context, and they employed various strategies for managing both self-defined and other-defined identities.

##### *4.2.2.3.1.1 Identities are context dependent*

For some interviewees, balancing national and cultural identities involved practicing cultural beliefs in their homes, and “acting Canadian” in the Canadian community. For example, Terry saw herself as Canadian first, Chinese second. That is, in the public sphere, she acted Canadian, and in the private sphere of her home, she was Chinese:

Yes, I would say I'm a Canadian Chinese instead of Chinese Canadian. Chinese is what I belong to; it's my own environment. At home I can be Chinese, but when I'm out there, I'm a Canadian. So I respect people. When I'm out there, I won't speak Chinese, but at home I will. I cannot go out there with a bunch of Canadian friends and speak Chinese with my husband. I think it's impolite. So I see myself will be a Canadian first and then a Chinese.

I asked Terry what she meant by Canadian Chinese:

That means I'll think Canadian way of thinking first, before I think of Chinese way of thinking. For example, raise the children, I will see as Canadian way first. And then I'll feed in whatever any advantages with the Chinese culture or way. Then I'll add it in. I think with a lot of things, I concentrate on Canadian way rather than Chinese way. Because I understand when you're living in this community, you cannot see things in the traditional Chinese way. If you want to fit in, you have to think of the way people think here.

Living in several smaller Canadian communities, and attending Canadian schools, contributed to Terry's ease of fitting into the Canadian lifestyle. Moreover, Terry felt that living in Canada required adopting the Canadian lifestyle: "Never a question. Actually, never a question that I have to choose whether I live in the Chinese way or Canadian way, because there's no Chinese way, there's only Canadian way."

Similar to Terry, Maria also felt it was important to "adjust herself" to Canada by participating in the broader Canadian community. She defined *adjustment* as socializing with people from different cultures, and learning about their attitudes and beliefs. Maria believed that if immigrant persons did not participate in the broader Canadian community, "there will be no progress to yourself"; that is, they would not grow and learn about the new country. Maria described herself as a Filipino Canadian. She switched between her Filipino and Canadian identities depending on which community she was in:

If you're with Canadians, with the whites, then adjust yourself with your attitudes. Be like them too, so they will be comfortable with you. If you're in the Filipino community, be Filipino, not do as a Canadian or you'll be out of way.

I asked Maria whether she found it easy to switch between her cultural and national identities. She said, yes. Later in the interview, I asked Maria whether any experiences made her feel unsure of her identity as a Canadian. Regardless of her experiences, Maria felt she was “half-and-half”: “Still, half-and-half. See, I grew up in the Philippines, so it’s still in myself. I’m still pure Filipino. But of course, if you go to Canadian parties, then you’re even Canadian, you’re a Canadian.”

When I asked Ruth about balancing two cultures, Ruth felt she, and immigrant people in general, had the best of both worlds. Ruth felt very proud about being able to blend Canadian culture with East Indian culture:

I have got an Indian culture behind me, a heritage behind me. I have certain values of my life. And to bring up children between the two cultures, you’ve got to make sure don’t let them forget your heritage. At the same time, there are wonderful values here too.

Similar to Terry, in raising her children, Ruth brought her children up in the two cultures. Later in the interview, asking Ruth how she culturally defined herself, Ruth felt that she was “at a point mixed. I’m sort of between the two [the East Indian culture and the Canadian culture].” However, when Ruth thought about how she would fit in India today, she considered herself to be more Canadian than Indian:

I’m a foreigner in India when I go there. I don’t fit there. I don’t fit in India because there I dress up differently too. If I’m wearing pants, well at my age, there are not too many ladies who would wear them. When I go to my family, it’s traditional there. I don’t fit there.

Moreover, Ruth's family in India viewed Ruth differently since she lived in Canada. They considered her to be Canadian rather than East Indian because "she is no more Indian. Her thought processes are different. She doesn't do this, she doesn't believe in certain things." I asked Ruth how certain she felt about her identity. Ruth replied, "I am 100% Canadian, no 110% Canadian." Ruth also felt she fit with Canada because she could incorporate East Indian and Canadian values into her life and her children's lives:

Like I told you in the beginning, between the cultures that I brought with me and the things I've learned here, I think I can be a better individual than many others. And I feel proud about that. I really do. And I think in terms of also educating children, that is our biggest contribution: our kids. Our kids have done extremely well, extremely well. They're better Canadians than a lot of Canadians claim themselves Canadians. So that's [why] I'm more Canadian than anybody else.

Similar to Ruth, Rashidah also found that her values and beliefs changed from those of her family in Singapore. Rashidah experienced discomfort when she visited her family in Singapore. During these visits, Rashidah explained that she embraced her Malay culture; however, there were topic areas she did not discuss with her family:

It's good; we're able to talk now, but we don't discuss religion. I avoid these kinds of questions. I don't even discuss what I eat. They don't know I eat pork. You're not supposed to. My husband and his mom are Chinese. She cooks pork. She doesn't understand why I shouldn't be eating it. And it's not because of her that I started eating. I was eating it before. But it's strange. When I go back, I don't touch pork, I go back to my own culture. It's still ... there's some level of discomfort when I go home because I know I don't fit in there.

When visiting Singapore, Rashidah's Malay identity was more salient to her, but in Canada, others considered her to be Chinese because her husband and his family were of Chinese heritage: "My mother-in-law, father-in-law, husband are Chinese. And they keep telling me I have more Chinese values than [Malay], because they don't know what a Malay value is. So I feel more Chinese here than I feel Malay." Also, Rashidah's friends questioned her Malay identity because of her physical appearance: "My friends all tease me—you don't look Indian, you don't look Malay. You're more Chinese or Native than anything else." Although Rashidah's friends and family considered her to be more Chinese than Malay, she stressed that she did not self-identify as a Chinese person:

I won't acknowledge myself as being Chinese. I always say I'm half Chinese but I was raised Malay. My blood is Chinese, but I wasn't raised in a Chinese culture. After a while you get tired of saying that because they still say you're Chinese.

Later in the interview, I asked Rashidah how she defined herself culturally. She stated she was proud to be Canadian:

I still get emotional when I sing the national anthem, because I take pride in it. Where my loyalty lies, is with Canada. I think I'm more Canadian than my husband is, because I struggle with trying to make him feel patriotic. For him it's not a big deal, and for me, it's a big deal.

Although women spoke of switching between cultures with ease, at times, it could be challenging. For example, Madhui described herself as an East Indian Canadian. She switched between her cultural and Canadian identities depending on the context: "I can't see myself in a three-piece suit going to my temple, but I do wear my best silk sari. If

you're in a job situation, of course you're going to be dressed for success, and dressed to go with the job that you're in." Madhui also indicated she did not need to dress culturally to prove her identity: "If we're going out to the movies or so on, I'm not going to be dressing up in my own cultural outfit and running around, saying that this is who I am just to prove my identity." Madhui felt proud about her East Indian heritage: "I'm proud to be the way I am, in the East Indian culture." She strived to live an East Indian lifestyle in Canada; however, she felt it was not possible: "In the way that you so much strive to live the one [lifestyle] and you can't." Madhui felt that one could not live the East Indian lifestyle at all times in Canada because it felt uncomfortable to do so when in the general Canadian public. As a result, "you pretty much change yourself, and say okay, this is what it is." Madhui commented that she felt comfortable with the changes she made, although, at times, it was difficult to switch back and forth between the East Indian lifestyle and the Canadian lifestyle when she wanted to stay in the East Indian lifestyle:

But the difficult part of it is that, an example, I would be at the Temple and I'm dressed in my costume outfit. It's probably Sunday afternoon where I just want to stay in my outfit because I'm not going anywhere. But then, all of a sudden, a customer calls and I have to probably see her. Or a friend calls to go to a movie. There you go, get changed, and then get out. Because there's no way you're going to be seen on the bus with this outfit, or traveling, because there's this conscious that you have, that people are not comfortable with you although you're comfortable with the whole wide world. You know. And this does happen.

For Sally, she felt more at ease in the broader Canadian community than the East Indian community. In the Canadian community, among her professional colleagues, she felt valued and accepted. It was in the East Indian community where she felt suppressed. Sally spoke about how she could not openly share her life in her cultural community. The East Indian community-at-large did not know the extent of her professional life or her financial independence within her marriage. However, Sally did have a smaller group of families that supported her. These families were from the same geographic area where she grew up in India. In her interactions with the East Indian community, Sally commented that she and her husband were very selective about where they went and how long they stayed. At cultural functions, Sally commented that she was unable to relate to the women beyond a superficial level: “So I go to the East Indian community. We are very sociable. But when I go, I wash the dishes because how can you talk to women who are just thinking about what clothes to wear, what you bought, and what dishes you can cook?” At the cultural functions, the men and women were segregated. She found this difficult as a professional woman, because she could not interact with fellow professionals:

In the social setting, I think it’s a disgrace for the professional woman to be kept away from integration. When a professional man talks about all these things during the week, in the washroom, or wherever—professional woman in the social setting, she’s losing that time of enriching herself.

Although Sally was frustrated with the role of women in the East Indian community, and the lack of acknowledgement her professional identity received within the community, she strongly identified as an East Indian woman. She stated that her identity was not

contingent on participating in activities at the Temple: “I am East Indian. I pray every day in the morning. Before I leave home, my husband and I do prayers. So going to the Temple is not an issue because we have temple in home.”

To conclude, these women lived dual lifestyles in Canada. They had strong cultural and Canadian identities. Within their cultural communities, and in their homes, they lived their cultural lifestyle. In the broader Canadian community, they lived the Canadian lifestyle, in terms of dress and language. Interviewees indicated they easily switched between their cultural and national identities and felt that it was appropriate to match their identity with the context. However, for one interviewee, she found it challenging at times that she could not be her cultural self regardless of the context. Women not only balanced their identities in Canada, but also in their countries of origin, where their families considered them to have stronger Canadian identities than cultural identities.

#### *4.2.2.4 General Conclusion*

Three dominant themes were discussed in Study 2: women’s experiences in the broader Canadian community, remoooring cultural identity, and social identifications. When discussing their experiences in the broader Canadian community, women in the study described both positive and negative experiences. Women attributed their feelings of acceptance in Canadian society to Canada’s multicultural values. Women described feeling accepted in Canadian society in terms of success in their professional lives, and in terms of more opportunities for members of visible minorities compared to their countries of origin. Women’s negative experiences in Canada included racial discrimination and



cultural stereotypes in the workplace and in the public domain. Although these negative experiences contributed to women's marginalization in Canadian society, women described how feeling confident in their cultural identities buffered the adverse impact of discrimination. Women prepared their children for racial discrimination by taking measures to ensure their competitiveness in Canadian society.

The ways in which women remooed their cultural identities were influenced by the availability of, and diversity within, the cultural community. Access to a cultural community enabled women to participate in cultural activities thereby making them feel connected to their culture. Cultural communities were important to these women to the extent that the women with limited cultural supports moved to Canadian cities with larger cultural communities. Interviewees described the culture shock they experienced living in small Canadian towns. Moving to larger centres helped to offset culture shock. In some cultural communities, women felt no pressure to conform to the community's cultural norms. For example, women felt able to raise their children according to their own values and beliefs. In some situations, divergent values and beliefs impeded women's efforts to remoor their cultural identities. In these cases, some of the women completely disengaged from the cultural community and participated either in the broader Canadian community or established supports in a different cultural community. However, for one interviewee, complete disengagement was not an option; she relied on the cultural community for support. In this case, she limited her participation in the community.

Women had strong cultural and national identities. Regardless of their experiences in Canada, positive or negative, women felt certain about their cultural and

Canadian identities. Study 2 attempted to better understand how uncertainty might motivate women's social identifications. However, asking women about feeling uncertain in their cultural and Canadian identities proved to be difficult. Interviewees, including the three women who felt relatively uncertain based on their scores on the uncertainty scale from Study 1, did not discuss uncertainty as a motivator. Women described how they could be made to feel uncomfortable in Canada, and situations where they felt their Canadian identity was questioned. However, when I asked women if these experiences made them feel uncertain about themselves as Canadians or as members of their cultural groups, they said, no.

Women described how they balanced their Canadian and cultural identities depending on the context. Specifically, in the broader Canadian community, they acted Canadian, and in their home and cultural communities, they expressed their cultural selves. In raising their children, they taught their children about their cultural and Canadian heritage. For the most part, these women felt it was easy to switch between the two identities; although one interviewee stated she would have liked to live her cultural lifestyle all the time but could not because it felt uncomfortable to do so in the general Canadian public.

### 4.3 DISCUSSION

The purpose of Study 2 was to investigate uncertainty by conducting in-depth interviews with six women from Study 1. The intent of Study 2 was to explore the breadth of women's experiences with uncertainty through the presentation of their stories in their own voices. The interviews explored the nature of these women's interactions in the broader Canadian community and with members of their cultural community, and the influence of these interactions on the women's strength of cultural and Canadian identities. Several themes emerged around these women's experiences in the broader Canadian community and ways in which they remooored their cultural identity in Canada. The results section presented an in-depth description of the themes. This discussion provides an examination of the emerging themes from the perspectives of social identity theory, self-categorization theory, and subjective-uncertainty reduction theory. The themes are first examined within the bidimensional approach to acculturation, followed by Ethier and Deaux's research on remoooring cultural identities. Women's identity management and functions of social identifications are then discussed. Finally, uncertainty as a motivator of social identifications is discussed within the context of Study 2 findings.

#### 4.3.1 Bidimensional Approach to Acculturation

The current research adopted a bidimensional approach to acculturation, which assumes the independence of psychological and behavioural acculturation to both the broader Canadian community and to a cultural community. That is, this approach is based on the assumption that women's behavioural participation in either community is not

necessarily a reflection of the strength of their Canadian or cultural identity (e.g., Birman, 1994; Hutnik, 1991; Ryder et al. 2000). By exploring a subset of women's experiences in their cultural communities and the broader Canadian community, Study 2 provided a better understanding of how women negotiate their identities in Canada. The six interviewees spoke of the ways in which they participated in both communities while maintaining their cultural identities and developing a strong national identity. Moreover, amount of participation in the communities did not necessarily reflect women's strength of cultural and national identities. Instead, pragmatic factors, such as size and availability of the cultural community, either facilitated or impeded these women's participation in cultural activities. For example, Terry and Ruth lived in Canadian towns with limited cultural supports yet they did not relinquish their cultural identities or identify less strongly with their heritage culture. While living in these towns, the women had minimal opportunities to participate in organized cultural activities. For example, Terry and her husband could not participate in the Chinese community because there was none: "Before we moved to [Canadian city], all we know is Canadian friends. We seldom had any Chinese friends because there's none over there." As well, Terry strongly believed that when living in Canada, she should integrate into Canadian society by acting as Canadians do, but retain her Chinese culture in her home: "Chinese is what I belong to. It's my own environment, thing you know. At home I can be Chinese, but when I'm out there, I'm a Canadian." This is similar to Birman (1994) and Hutnik's (1991) findings that individuals may "act" like a Canadian by participating in "mainstream" Canadian activities, but may nonetheless continue to strongly identify with their heritage culture.

Living in cities with larger cultural communities did provide women with the opportunity to interact with similar others, in terms of culture, and this was perceived to facilitate their sense of belonging in Canada. For example, Ruth described living in a small town as being the only one who is different. Moving to a city with a larger East Indian community was like being back in India for Ruth: “We’re all together again. Talking your same language, you’re wearing the same kind of dresses. You’re talking about similar things, what we did in India.” For Rashidah, when she moved to a more multicultural Canadian city, she felt it was easier to reconnect with her Asian culture because there was a larger community of Asian Canadians. Living in cities with larger cultural communities also increased the saliency of cultural events. Terry indicated that when she moved to her current city with a larger Chinese community, “then I started to join the Chinese community. Then I started to have my Chinese things back.”

Although the size of cultural community facilitated women’s efforts to remoor their cultural identity, equally important was the perception of “similar others” within the cultural community. That is, did women feel like the cultural community held similar values and beliefs to themselves? For example, Rashidah had access to the Muslim community, but she found the community too culturally diverse: “I was initially in touch with the Muslim community, but for me it was a total turn off. Very strict Islamic kind of law. I wasn’t used to that. And I didn’t feel I fit in at all.” Hence, she did not associate with the Muslim community in Canada: “I never felt comfortable in that [Muslim community] group. And that’s why even now, it makes me hesitate to even make connections with others [from the Muslim community].” However, Rashidah did not

relinquish her religious identity: “If you ask me if I will convert to another religion, I’ll say no. I can’t see myself converting to Christianity. Would I practice the religion? No, I don’t. But if someone asked me, yes I’m Muslim.” In Sally’s situation, she felt negatively toward the East Indian community because of her perceptions of how the community treated East Indian women. She described her role in the East Indian community as a “second class role.” However, Sally participated in her cultural community despite her ambivalent feelings toward the community. She did so because she relied on the community in times of need, such as when preparing a traditional East Indian wedding for her son, or in case her husband’s health failed: “We go and meet and be sociable. Of course you have to. You don’t want to be isolated and alone, because if something goes wrong, you have to count on them [East Indian community].”

Through the interviews, it became clear that these women’s interactions in their cultural communities and the broader Canadian community contributed to how these women thought about themselves culturally and as Canadians. Women in the study spoke of the different ways in which they negotiated and balanced their identities in both communities. For example, in the broader Canadian community, Sally felt that her professional identity was embraced and recognized. However, in the East Indian community, Sally felt that her professional identity received no recognition: “They don’t see me as professional. They see as my job is I’m married to my husband.” Sally expressed dismay for the way in which her cultural community relegated women’s role to second-class status. Other interviewees also spoke of how participation in the broader Canadian community facilitated feelings of inclusion. For example, when describing her

volunteer activities outside the cultural community, Ruth stated, “Sometimes I feel better working for the community-at-large. It has given us a lot of confidence and belongingness. So that has really enriched our lives a lot.”

All six interviewees established supports for their cultural and national identities within their cultural communities and the broader Canadian community. Nevertheless, the findings support the bidimensional approach to acculturation because participation in the cultural community and the Canadian culture did not necessarily reflect women’s strength of cultural and national identities. Women’s cultural identities remained strong despite limited opportunities to participate in the cultural community. The unidimensional approach to acculturation would argue that as individuals integrate into the host society, they relinquish their cultural identities and participate less in their cultural communities. However, in the current research, women engaged with both communities. Moreover, as women acculturated to the Canadian culture and participated in Canadian activities, they did not relinquish their heritage culture. Also, the women were quick to point out that participation in the cultural community helped them to remain connected to their culture and enabled them to teach their children about their heritage culture. As well, some women engaged the cultural community for social support, such as needing help in times of family crisis. Hence, different goals motivated women to participate in their cultural and broader Canadian communities of which maintenance of a strong cultural identity and the development of a strong Canadian identity were only two of those goals.

#### 4.3.2 Remooring Cultural Identity

Based on Ethier and Deaux's (1990; 1994) research, Study 2 explored ways in which women remoored their cultural identity in Canada. Ethier and Deaux found that students relinquished old supports and developed new supports for their ethnic identity in the university environment. They interviewed students at three times during their first year of university. Ethier and Deaux found that at the beginning of the school year, students' cultural background was significantly linked to strength of ethnic identification. In contrast, at the second and third interviews, the link between cultural background and strength of ethnic identification was no longer significant. Instead, involvement with Hispanic activities on campus was positively related to strength of identification. Ethier and Deaux suggest that involvement in Hispanic activities replaced cultural background as a support for students' ethnic identity.

Similar to Ethier and Deaux's (1990, 1994) findings, opportunities to re-establish new supports for their cultural identity played an important role in women feeling connected to their culture. Interviewees identified ways in which a cultural community was helpful in remooring their cultural identity. For example, living in cities with larger cultural communities made cultural traditions and holidays more salient for the women. Interviewees were able to participate in organized celebrations and functions and often had a gathering place (e.g., a temple) where they could interact with others from their cultural community. For some of the women, the overarching ethnic identity of their cultural community served as a common bond despite regional and linguistic diversity within the cultural communities. For example, Ruth stated, "First we're Indian and then



we're coming from different provinces. So I think the Indian community is important.” These findings are consistent with Hedge’s (1998) research with Asian Indian immigrant women in the United States. Hedge found that women participated in the cultural community to maintain a sense of continuity and familiarity while acculturating to the host culture. The differences of class and language were overlooked in America for a common bond of cultural origins. These findings support social identity theory as it predicts that individuals in the same social category will accentuate intra-group similarities.

In the present research, remooing occurred in different, perhaps novel ways as well. These women looked for ways to re-establish supports for their identity, and they also looked for ways to help fellow community members establish themselves. For example, Maria has played a central role in helping members of the Filipino community adjust to living in Canada and establish cultural supports in Canada. Sometimes if remooing of cultural identity was not possible within the cultural community, women remoored their cultural identity within the broader Canadian community and strengthened familial ties in their home country. Women shared their culture with other Canadians and in so doing; they felt supported within the larger Canadian community. Madhui spoke of introducing East Indian activities to her Canadian friends. When Rashidah first moved to Canada, she wanted to distance herself from the Asian culture because of the discrimination she experienced in Singapore. Also, she found the Asian and Muslim communities too culturally diverse for her. Hence, Rashidah felt she fit in better with Caucasian Canadians: “I don’t have the language background, I don’t have the same

culture as them [Asian community]. So I find that I fit in better with the Caucasian Canadians.” However, over time, Rashidah has also removed her cultural identity by strengthening her familial ties in Singapore. She has no Malay community in the Canadian city where she lives. She has reconnected to her cultural identity by re-establishing a connection with her family in Singapore: “I do think about it [Malay culture] now, because I’m a lot more closer to my family.” For Sally, maintenance of familial ties in the home country has provided the strongest support for her ethnic identity. She maintained strong ties with friends and family in India. They provided the support and acceptance she lacked within the East Indian community in her Canadian city: “I have lots of contact with my home in India, and they cherish me. Like Goddess you know.” For Maria, she continued to financially help her family in the Philippines while helping to develop the new Filipino community in the Canadian city in which she lived.

In the present research, women maintained strong ties with their home country; however, they did feel that in developing their Canadian identity, they did not fit as easily in their home country. For example, Ruth thought her family in India considered her to be a foreigner because her beliefs had changed. When Rashidah visited her family in Singapore, she did not discuss religion or food choices with her family. Rashidah stated, “there’s some level of discomfort when I go home because I know I don’t fit there.” This suggests that for women migrating to Canada, establishing new supports for their ethnic identity in Canada is important especially as they develop a Canadian identity and feel they no longer fit with their home country. However, Study 2 findings also suggest that

the process of relinquishing old supports and developing new supports for ethnic identity may not be a linear process for women who voluntarily immigrate to Canada. Women spoke of initially developing new supports; however, they also maintained existing supports for their ethnic identity. Women retained ties with their home country and developed new supports in Canada.

#### 4.3.3 Women's Identity Management

When asked how they defined themselves culturally, all six women interviewed strongly identified with their heritage culture and strongly identified with Canada. The manner in which women subjectively defined their cultural ingroup varied from one respondent to the next. For example, the women either described themselves culturally in terms of their nationality of origin (e.g., Filipino, East Indian, Chinese), or a cultural subgroup (e.g., Malay, Hindu, Gujarati, Bengali), or a religious affiliation (e.g., Muslim).

When discussing their Canadian identity, women used descriptions similar to those captured by three subscales of Grant's (2002) Immigrants' Canadian Identity Scale (ICIS): Belonging, Cultural Freedom, and Multicultural. Grant developed his scale based on interviews with leaders in the cultural communities in the city in which the current research was conducted. The ICIS Belonging subscale encompasses sense of belonging in Canada, feeling like Canada is home, and feeling accepted in Canada. In the current research, women spoke of their sense of belonging in Canada. Women described feeling included in the broader Canadian community primarily because Canada is a multicultural country. For example, Ruth commented how volunteering for the Canadian Heart and Stroke, Kidney, and Cancer Foundations enriched her life: "Sometimes I feel better

working for the community-at-large. That has, I think, given us a lot of confidence and belongingness. So that has really enriched our life a lot.” The women also felt that their Canadian identity encompassed cultural freedom, similar to the ICIS Cultural Freedom subscale. Items on this subscale include feeling free to hold one’s own cultural beliefs and practices, not having to give up cultural roots and traditions, and feeling respected by people from other countries. In the present research, women felt they could practice their culture in Canada, and share it with other fellow Canadians. For example, Madui felt that living in Canada provided her with the “leniency to be yourself.” Madui also stated she was able to share her cultural identity with her fellow Canadian friends: “The friends I have are open-minded. They ask me about my culture and I tell them. And we’ve participated in my cultural activities as well as theirs.” Women also described Canada as a multicultural country, similar to the ICIS Multicultural subscale’s items: I live in a country of immigrants, I live in a multicultural society, and My countrymen and countrywomen are from many different cultural backgrounds. For example, Rashidah commented, “I see Canada as being very much multicultural...It’s like you don’t have a specific Canadian look. You have all kinds of faces and yet you can still be Canadian.”

When women discussed their cultural and Canadian identities, they talked about how they managed these two identities in their cultural community in Canada, their home country, and the broader Canadian community. The manner in which women expressed their social identifications was dependent on the social context in which they found themselves, similar to the perspective of self-categorization theory. This theory argues that individuals have a multiplicity of personal and social identities that are not fixed or

static as part of their individual identity. These identities are dynamic, fluid, and situation-specific (Turner et al., 1987; Turner & Onorato, 1999). The interviews revealed the complexity of women's social identifications, and how these identities shift and change over time. For example, when Rashidah first moved to Canada, she had experienced racism in Singapore and did not want to re-establish ties with her Asian culture in Canada. However, she never relinquished her cultural identity while she developed her Canadian identity. In her first years in Canada, Rashidah felt she had more in common with fellow Canadians. However, over time, Rashidah began to embrace her cultural identity. She moved to another Canadian city that was more multicultural. As a result, Rashidah's cultural identity became more salient and she felt more connected to the Asian culture. Also, her relationship with her family improved, and she was more at peace with her religious and cultural identities. The women also talked about when in the broader Canadian community, they acted as Canadians and when in their cultural community, they were free to express their cultural selves. For example, Maria described how she switched between her Filipino and Canadian identities depending on the context:

If you're with Canadians, with the whites, then adjust yourself with your attitudes. Be like them so they will be comfortable with you. If you're in the Filipino community, be Filipino, not do as a Canadian or you'll be out of way.

In managing their identities, women talked about experiences of isolation, discrimination and cultural stereotypes. These themes also emerged in Hedge's (1998) research. Some of the strategies women employed to counter these experiences were also similar to Hedge's findings with Asian Indian women. For example, Hedge found that

women internalized assimilationist strategies to insulate themselves from stereotypic representations. Similarly, in the present research, Terry spoke of convincing her colleagues that she was one of the “normal” people, and not a stereotypical Chinese person. Madhui talked about wearing “western” clothing when out in the Canadian community-at-large. These women also played the role of educator. For example, Rashidah educated fellow Canadians about the interplay of culture and religion when describing the Muslim religion to fellow Canadians. This suggests that although interviewees strongly identified as Canadians, experiences of discrimination led the women to feel that other Canadians questioned their place in Canadian society. This finding parallels Moghaddam and Taylor’s (1987) research findings sixteen years earlier with East Indian women in Montreal, Canada. The researchers found differences in how women perceived themselves, and their perceptions of how Anglophone and Francophone Canadians perceived them. Women saw themselves as Canadians, but felt that Anglophone and Francophone Canadians perceived them more as coloured, immigrant women. This suggests that for women who have immigrated to Canada, and who are members of visible minority groups in Canada, their sense of Canadian identity may continue to be challenged in the broader Canadian community.

#### 4.3.4 The Functions of Social Identifications

When women described their interactions with the broader Canadian community and their cultural communities, it appears that women’s cultural and Canadian identities served multiple functions. This finding is consistent with Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, and Cotting (1999) who argue that social identifications can serve different purposes, much in

the same way that social identifications can differ in important ways. In previous research, Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, and Ethier (1995) established five distinct types of social and collective identities: personal relationships (e.g., mother); vocations and avocations (e.g., teacher); political affiliations (e.g., political independent); ethnic and religious groups (e.g., Asian-American); and stigmatized groups (e.g., smoker). Deaux et al. (1999) posit that if social identities can be qualitatively different from one another, then it logically follows that social identifications might serve different functions. Deaux et al. (1999) developed a questionnaire to assess several motives of social identification they derived from both theoretical suppositions and empirical research, including personal and interpersonal needs (Forsyth, Elliott, & Welsh, 1991; Wright & Forsyth, 1997), collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), ingroup cooperation, and intergroup competition. Deaux et al. (1999) administered the questionnaire to over 600 individuals. Participants filled out the questionnaire in reference to a specific, personally relevant, social identity that represented one of the five general categories from Deaux et al. (1995). Based on participants' responses, Deaux et al. (1999) extracted seven functions of social identifications that emphasize both individual and group-level needs and satisfactions: (a) self-insight and understanding, (b) intergroup comparison and competition, (c) ingroup cooperation and cohesion, (d) collective self-esteem, (e) downward social comparison, (f) social interaction, and (g) romantic involvement. Moreover, the researchers found that the functions of social identifications can vary between identities within the same cluster (e.g., two different types of ethnic or religious identities) and between different clusters of identities (e.g., vocational-avocational types

of identities and ethnic-religious types of identities). Deaux et al. (1999) acknowledge that these seven functions are not the only motives for social identification, but they believe the functions represent an important set of processes.

In the current research, the women described how their cultural and Canadian identities served the functions of ingroup cooperation and cohesion, collective self-esteem, and social interaction. Deaux et al. (1999) assess ingroup cooperation and cohesion as ingroup members sticking together, helping one another, showing concern for one another, and being close to one another. Some of the women in Study 2 described how their cultural groups provided them with support, and also how they offered support to others within their cultural communities. For example, Madhui described how members of the East Indian community knew who she was, what her needs were, and provided her with support when she needed it: “They know who we are, first of all. That’s very important. Sometimes if you’re down and out, you can certainly sit and talk with someone. If you’re at the Temple, people like you, and they’re with you all the time.” For Maria, she helped the Filipino community establish itself, and she provided several services, both professional and personal, to help out fellow members in the Filipino community. Other women spoke of how their cultural communities provided them with a common bond. For example, Ruth stated, “Your upbringing is the same. Like your values are the same. I think that makes bonding easier.”

In describing how they felt about their Canadian and cultural identities, it was clear that these identities also served the purpose of enhancing some of the women’s collective self-esteem. Women felt proud of their cultural identities. For example,



Madhui felt very proud of her East Indian identity: “I’m pretty well very proud to be who I am. And I love the colour of the skin I am.” For Maria, her cultural identity was very important to her: “See, I grew up in the Philippines, so it’s still in myself. I’m still pure Filipino.” All of the women also felt proud of their Canadian identities. Similar to how Deaux et al. (1999) assess collective self-esteem, interviewees defined themselves as “full-fledged” Canadians. For example, Ruth felt that she was “110% Canadian.” Rashidah commented that she still became emotional when she sang the national anthem because she felt proud to be a Canadian. This finding also supports social identity theory’s premise that an individual’s self-esteem is based partly on collective memberships. Moreover, the women’s enhanced collective self-esteem suggests that their cultural and Canadian identities were positive social identities.

Lastly, women’s cultural and Canadian identities motivated social interaction. Women participated in both the broader Canadian community and their cultural communities. The items Deaux et al. (1999) use to assess social interaction focus on the degree of involvement, connection, and similarity that individuals feel with other members of their social group. In the current research, the women felt very involved and connected with the broader Canadian community. They felt free to be themselves within the Canadian community. In fact, for two interviewees, they felt more connected to the broader Canadian community than their cultural communities. For example, Rashidah did not have a cultural community in Canada, hence she felt more similar to fellow Canadians: “I don’t have the language background, I don’t have the same culture as them [Asian community]. So I find that I fit in better with the Caucasian Canadians.” For Sally,

she felt her values and beliefs more closely matched the Canadian community than the East Indian community in the Canadian city in which she lived. For other interviewees, they also felt very connected to their cultural communities in Canada. For example, Maria helped to establish the Filipino community in her city. For Madhui and Ruth, feeling similar to other members in the East Indian community helped them to feel connected to their cultural community. For example, Ruth stated, “Your upbringing is the same. Your values are the same. ... That makes the bonding easier.” Hence, three different factors motivated women to develop their Canadian identities and maintain their cultural identities, consistent with Deaux et al.’s (1999) research. In developing their Canadian identities and maintaining their cultural identities, these women were able to fulfill their needs for ingroup cooperation and cohesion, enhanced self-esteem, and social interaction. It is possible that cultural and national identifications play different functions; however, in the interviews it appears that the women’s cultural and Canadian identities served similar functions. The circumstance under which cultural and national identities may serve similar or different functions warrants further investigation.

#### 4.3.5 Uncertainty and Impact on Women’s Strength of Social Identifications

Subjective-uncertainty reduction theory (SURT) posits that people have a fundamental need to feel certain about their world and their place within it. Subjective certainty makes life meaningful thereby providing one with confidence about how to behave, and what to expect from the physical and social environment within which one finds oneself. Uncertainty is aversive because it is ultimately associated with reduced control over one’s life, and thus it motivates behaviour that reduces subjective

uncertainty. SURT asserts that people join groups to reduce uncertainty. They join or form one group, rather than another group, because it is more relevant to uncertainty reduction for that person in that context (Hogg, 2000; Hogg & Abrams 1993).

Results of Study 1, however, found the opposite for immigrant women. That is, the *more certain* women felt about fitting into Canadian culture and predicting how Canadians will feel and behave, the more strongly women identified as Canadians. Similarly, the *more certain* women felt about fitting into their cultural community and predicting how members of their cultural group will feel and behave, the more strongly women identified with their cultural group. For Study 2, examination of the six women's individual scores on these variables revealed a similar pattern of results. The more certain the women felt about their cultural group, the more strongly they identified with their cultural group. The more certain the women felt about their interactions with fellow Canadians, the more strongly women identified as Canadians. Moreover, interviewees who felt they fit within their cultural community scored higher on the cultural identity scale than interviewees who felt their values and beliefs did not match those of the cultural community. For example, Terry, Ruth and Maria scored low on the uncertainty scale and high on the cultural identity scale in Study 1. In the interviews, these women indicated they participated in their cultural communities. They perceived a good fit between their values and beliefs and that of the cultural community. This does not necessarily mean that they conformed to the norms prescribed by the cultural community. In fact, part of the comfort they felt within their cultural communities was perceived to stem from the community's acceptance of diversity in values and beliefs. For example,

Terry and Ruth, by their own admission, raised their children more liberally than did other members in their cultural communities and they felt their cultural communities accepted this. However, Terry felt that this would be different if she lived in Large City, Canada with a larger Chinese community. She stated she would be more likely to conform to prescribed cultural norms because of peer pressure:

And it's not one parent or two parents, but every parent is like that [all parents raising their children in the same way]. So it's very difficult to single yourself out that you want to treat your kids in a different way.

Sally, Rashidah, and Madhui scored high on the uncertainty scale, and Sally and Rashidah scored low on the cultural identity scale in Study 1. For Sally, she felt she did not fit in with the East Indian community because she did not adhere to the prescribed norms for women in her community. She did not share the same values and beliefs as the men and women in her cultural community. Rashidah, on the other hand, did not have a Malay community in her city. There was a Muslim community; however, Rashidah found the religious community too culturally diverse and she felt that she did not share the same values and beliefs as the community: "Very strict Islamic kind of law. ... I wasn't used to that. And I didn't feel I fit in at all. Also they speak a different language too." In Madhui's situation, she scored high on the uncertainty scale and scored high on the cultural identity scale, supporting the prediction made by SURT that individuals who experience high uncertainty identify more strongly with relevant groups in order to reduce uncertainty. However, in the interview, Madhui did not speak of feeling uncertain.

She felt she fit in well with the East Indian community and stressed how important it was to be certain of yourself and to be proud of your cultural heritage.

During the interviews, I asked the women about their interactions with the broader Canadian community and with their cultural community and how they felt they fit within each community. Women mostly talked about the diversity and complexity within their cultural communities. I expected women to talk more about their experiences with the broader Canadian community. Based on SURT, I assumed that negative experiences with fellow Canadians might lead women to feel uncertain about themselves as Canadians, and therefore they would identify more strongly with their cultural community. Women did speak of incidents of discrimination in the workplace and having to contend with cultural stereotypes. However, they tended to view Canada as a multicultural country where they felt they could be themselves. When describing experiences of discrimination, these women tended to justify it in one of two ways: They either stated that people are prejudiced all over the world and it is part of life, or that they expected to encounter discrimination because they were not born in Canada. When asked how these experiences made them feel, interviewees did not feel their Canadian or cultural identities were threatened. Instead, they felt hurt, and they sometimes took measures to prove their worth in the workplace. As Rashidah stated,

I'm hurt by that in this time, in this era of zero tolerance, you still have some people that have these views. Like you're not worthy of being a Canadian citizen. I find even in my job, I'm putting in 110% - 120% into work.

I also expected interviewees to contemplate the impact that encounters with other Canadians have had on how certain they feel they fit into the broader Canadian community and their cultural community. However, women seemed to know how they fit within the cultural community. Women either felt that they fit, or they did not fit with the community. SURT predicts that individuals who are uncertain about their cognitions, perceptions, feelings, and behaviours will join or form groups to reduce uncertainty. Yet, the interviewees seemed confident and certain in this regard. For example, Maria moved to a different city because she saw herself fitting better into the Filipino community there. In recounting her migration to Canada, Maria was confident and certain in her values and beliefs. She quickly assessed the Filipino community in the first city in which she lived and did not see a good match between the community and her own cultural values and beliefs specific to Filipino male-female relations:

It's like in the Filipino culture, you have to respect the Filipina. But when I arrived there in [Canadian city], just because they [Filipino male immigrants] saw how these Canadians are, they thought this Filipina are also the same as the Canadians. They don't respect Filipina. ... That's why I hate them. They changed their attitudes too much.

As a result, she moved away to another Canadian city with a newly emerging Filipino community, one where she could assert her influence on the community and help newly emigrated Filipino men and women: "I thought maybe my experiences could apply here in [Canadian city] with new Filipinos who arrive here. I could help them with what to do. That's what I'm doing right now too." Madhui also lived in various Canadian cities and when in Large City, she felt that she did not fit within the established East Indian

community because of its size and diversity: “There are different types of East Indian people, and there are so many different languages...I was an outsider, you know.” She relocated to her current city where she can live a slower paced life. Also, her parents are pillars of the cultural community and she feels very supported and very much a part of the community: “They [East Indian community] know who we are, first of all. That’s very important. I walk around the community and people feel really happy to see me. I feel comfortable.”

When describing themselves, women identified strongly with both their Canadian and cultural identities. For example, Madhui stated “I never see myself as I was supposed to be a different colour. I can’t see that because I’m pretty well very proud to be who I am. And I love the colour of the skin I am.” The women also felt advantaged because they could incorporate both their cultural and Canadian values into their own lives and their children’s lives. Ruth stated,

Between the cultures that I brought with me and the things I’ve learned here, I think I can be a better individual than many others. And I feel proud about that. ... Our kids have done extremely well. They’re better Canadians than a lot of Canadians claim themselves Canadians. ... I’m more Canadian than anybody else.

Women also stressed the importance of feeling confident when adjusting to life in Canada and coping with first experiences of discrimination. The interviewees asserted that a strong identity helped to lessen the impact of discriminatory experiences. Madhui stated that although people have looked at her differently, “there was no way I’m willing to change myself as a person, you know, because I feel comfortable. If I didn’t feel

comfortable, then yes I will change myself.” This finding is consistent with Ethier and Deaux’s (1990; 1994) findings that strength of cultural background can buffer the potential effects of discrimination and negative evaluation.

It appears that the women interviewed were very resilient. I expected women who experienced low uncertainty to have very different stories than women who experienced high uncertainty. However, beyond adjusting to living in a new country, women seemed confident about their place in Canada, whether in the broader Canadian community or in their cultural community. Contributing factors to this may be that the women migrated to Canada as adults, they spoke English upon arrival, and they were highly educated. These factors may have eased their transition into Canadian life.

Study 2 results suggest that these women felt very certain about their social identifications, and their values and beliefs. They also felt certain about how they fit into the broader Canadian community and their cultural communities. Uncertainty reduction as a motivator of social identifications did not emerge as a theme. However, Study 2 found that women’s social identifications served other functions. Specifically, for the six women in Study 2, their cultural and Canadian identities served the functions of providing for ingroup cooperation, collective self-esteem, and social interaction. SURT argues that uncertainty reduction is the basic underlying motive of group identification, while other motives are secondary. Whether the three functions are derivatives of uncertainty reduction, as SURT would argue, remain to be seen. Alternate explanations for these results are presented in the general discussion.



## **5. GENERAL DISCUSSION**

Study 1 and Study 2 investigated women's acculturation in Canada from an intergroup relations perspective. Specifically, the current research investigated the relationship between uncertainty, threat, women's social identifications (psychological acculturation), and behavioural acculturation. Moreover, the current research adopted a bidimensional approach to acculturation whereby self-reports of psychological and behavioural acculturation to the broader Canadian community and women's cultural communities were measured separately.

Study 1 used quantitative methods to assess the relationship between uncertainty, threat, background variables, psychological acculturation (social identifications), and behavioural acculturation. Study 2 used qualitative methodology to explore the meaning of uncertainty for a subset of women, and how uncertainty might influence women's psychological acculturation. Study 2 was conducted at the same time as Study 1 to permit simultaneous triangulation of the results. Consistent with past research, Study 1 and Study 2 found support for the bidimensional approach to acculturation, remooing of cultural identity, and the compatibility of women's cultural and Canadian identities. However, certainty, not uncertainty, was associated with women's strength of cultural and national identifications. Moreover, themes of uncertainty did not emerge in Study 2. These findings are further discussed in detail below, followed by limitations and future directions, policy implications, and conclusions.

## 5.1 TRIANGULATION OF FINDINGS FROM STUDY 1 AND STUDY 2

The findings from Study 1 and Study 2 converged in a number of areas. Both studies provide support for the bidimensional approach to acculturation. Study 1 findings demonstrated that the women in this study had strong cultural and national identities, and that the strength of these two identities was not necessarily correlated. This suggests that as these women develop their Canadian identities, they do not have to relinquish their cultural identity. Moreover, in Study 2, the women had lived in Canada for an average of 27 years, and they continued to strongly identify with their cultural group and with Canada. These findings support Canada's multicultural ideal, in that women's cultural identities remained strong after many years.

Study 1 also found that self-reports of psychological and behavioural acculturation to the host culture were related, in that the women's participation in Canadian activities was positively related to their strength of Canadian identity. Parallel findings emerged for acculturation to the cultural community. Given the high correlation obtained between psychological and behavioural acculturation to the cultural community ( $r = .65$ ), it could be argued that these two aspects of acculturation are the same construct; hence both could be combined into one measure. However, Study 1 and Study 2 results combined suggest that psychological and behavioural aspects of acculturation are related, but different constructs. For example, interviewees in Study 2 described how they participated in their cultural community to offset isolation and reconnect to their culture. Factors such as size and availability of cultural community limited the women's ability to

participate in cultural activities; however, interviewees maintained a strong cultural identity despite these limited opportunities to participate. This finding lends additional support to the bidimensional approach to acculturation in that level of participation in Canadian and cultural activities may not always be an accurate indicator of women's strength of Canadian and cultural identification. Therefore, it is important to investigate both behavioural and psychological aspects of acculturation.

Study 2 also illustrated how cultural diversity within the cultural community may have a positive or negative impact on women's participation in the cultural community. For example, some interviewees found that the cultural diversity within their cultural community enabled them to live their lives according to their own values and beliefs. For other interviewees, the cultural community was too culturally diverse for them to establish a connection with the community. Study 2 also illustrated that these women established supports for their cultural identity in both the cultural communities and the broader Canadian community. This suggests that these women engaged both communities when remooing their cultural identities.

Study 1 and Study 2 findings, combined, suggest that the women in this research had strong Canadian and cultural identities, and they perceived minimal threat to both these identities. Based on Ethier and Deaux's (1990; 1994) research, I hypothesized that strength of cultural background would buffer women's perceptions of threat to cultural identity. However, Study 1 did not find support for this finding, as these two variables were not related. Study 2 findings did provide some support for this hypothesis. The women discussed experiences of discrimination and being culturally stereotyped in the

broader Canadian community. However, the women stated that being confident and comfortable with their cultural identity helped them to cope with experiences of discrimination.

As discussed in Study 1, the manner in which strength of cultural background (SCB) had been measured may have captured women's remooing behaviour instead of strength of cultural background. It was suggested that a better assessment of SCB might be questions about women's cultural community and family background in their country of origin. The qualitative interviews from Study 2 provide some direction in this regard. For example, based on the women's stories, factors associated with strength of cultural background might include the following: extent of participation in heritage culture or religion prior to immigrating to Canada (e.g., go to temple on a regular basis); extent of western cultural influence on childhood upbringing (e.g., language spoken in home, education) compared to extent of cultural or religious influence on childhood upbringing; knowledge of cultural traditions; cultural homogeneity of social networks; and extent of links to country of origin since living in Canada.

Study 1 and Study 2 findings combined suggest that the women in this research perceived their cultural and Canadian identities to be compatible. In Study 1, women strongly identified with both Canada and their heritage culture. Moreover, they perceived minimal threat to their cultural and Canadian identities. From the qualitative study, women described how they considered Canada to be a multicultural country, one where they could share their cultural identity with fellow Canadians. Interviewees felt their cultural values and beliefs to be compatible with Canadian values and beliefs.

The main focus of the current research was to investigate the relationship between uncertainty and women's self-reports of psychological and behavioural acculturation. Based on subjective uncertainty reduction theory (SURT), Study 1 hypothesized that uncertainty would be positively correlated with women's social identifications. SURT proposes that when individuals feel uncertain about important issues, they self-categorize and identify with relevant social groups to reduce their uncertainty. When women immigrate to Canada, the social context has changed, and they may experience uncertainty when they realize their actions, behaviours, and attitudes are not the same as the broader Canadian community or as their cultural community in Canada. Hogg and Abrams (1993) propose that individuals can do one of two things. They will work to realign their perceptions, attitudes and behaviours to be more similar to the Canadian or cultural community. Alternatively, they may opt to disassociate themselves from the group if they perceive themselves as dissimilar to other group members, and seek uncertainty-reduction through a different group membership.

Together, the findings from Study 1 and Study 2 suggest that *certainty*, not uncertainty, was related to these women's strength of cultural and national identities. Specifically, Study 1 found that the more certain these women felt about Canadians, the more strongly they identified as a Canadian. Similarly, the more certain these women felt about their cultural community, the more strongly they identified with their heritage culture. Moreover, a similar pattern of results emerged between uncertainty and behavioural acculturation: The more certain women in this research felt about the Canadian and cultural communities, the more they tended to participate in each

community. Additional analyses were conducted to determine whether the measure of uncertainty was poor or the demographic variable *years in Canada* might have accounted for the unexpected findings; however, both these possibilities were ruled out.

The purpose of Study 2 was to explore experiences of uncertainty, and how these experiences affected women's strength of cultural and national identities. However, in asking women about their experiences in Canada, the women did not speak of feeling uncertain. Instead, women felt confident about fitting into Canada and their cultural communities in Canada. Although the women did discuss experiences of discrimination and contending with cultural stereotypes in the broader Canadian community, these women did not feel these experiences contributed to any feelings of uncertainty about themselves. Women did stress that feeling certain and confident about their cultural identity helped them to cope with discriminatory experiences. Moreover, Study 2 findings suggest that women adhered to their values and beliefs in Canada. They did not necessarily align their values and beliefs to match those of the Canadian and cultural communities. In the situation where women's values did not match those of the cultural community, interviewees did not feel pressured to conform. Instead, they limited their participation in cultural activities, or if they had the opportunity, they sought another cultural community.

## 5.2 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Directions for future research largely evolved from the findings that contradicted SURT's hypotheses regarding uncertainty and acculturation. Several explanations are considered that focus on limitations in the current research, including sampling strategies

that possibly led to the recruitment of women who felt certain, rather than uncertain; interviewer-interviewee dynamics that may have led to socially desirable responses; and the use of retrospective accounts rather than contemporaneous accounts of women's experiences in Canada in Study 2. The following additional future directions in the investigation of uncertainty are also presented: the investigation of the interplay between uncertainty and other motivators of social identifications, and the examination of the interaction between psychological acculturation, behavioural acculturation, and uncertainty. Study 2 findings also suggest two interesting areas for further exploration: examining the interplay of intragroup and intergroup dynamics within the cultural community on women's uncertainty and social identifications, and exploring the interplay of uncertainty in how women balance their identities in their countries of origin and Canada.

#### 5.2.1 Limitations with Sampling Strategies

In the current research, random sampling was not a viable option for recruiting participants. The typical process of recruiting participants within cultural communities was followed for Study 1. That is, female members of the cultural communities were hired to recruit participants for Study 1. These research assistants used their personal networks and contacts to recruit women to participate in Study 1. The research assistants may have inadvertently recruited participants in a biased manner, such as asking women to participate who fell in the same demographic as the research assistants. Participants were highly educated, well versed in English, and had lived in Canada for an average of 17 years. Participants' demographics were very similar to the demographics of the

research assistants. It is also likely that the nature of the study attracted women who were more confident and certain, especially in regard to conversing in English, their second language. When I approached heritage culture language schools as a means of recruiting women, principals of the schools felt that the research was not suited for their patrons because of the language ability needed to fill out the questionnaire. Unfortunately, limited financial resources for Study 1 did not permit the translation of the questionnaire into women's heritage language, especially because women were recruited from several cultural communities, representing several different linguistic groups.

Given the demographic profile of the participants in the current research, it can be argued that these women were well integrated into Canadian society. They participated in Canadian and cultural activities, and they strongly identified with their cultural groups and Canada. Women perceived minimal threat to their cultural and Canadian identities, and they scored low on the uncertainty scales. Moreover, participants were highly educated, had lived in Canada for an average of 17 years, and were able to read and converse easily in English. Given the women's level of education, and proficiency in English, this enabled them to easily complete the survey in Study 1. Debriefing with my research assistants suggest that the participants did not find the questionnaire difficult to understand and answer. Moreover, in sampling women proficient in English, interviewees in Study 2 were able to articulate, and reflect on, their experiences in Canada. Language ability played an especially important role in Study 2. I was interested in not only women's accounts of their experiences in Canada, but also their reflections on how these experiences made them feel about themselves as Canadians and as members of



their cultural communities. This represents both a strength and a weakness of the sample. The interviews would have been much more challenging for women less fluent in English. However, these are the views of a very particular group of immigrant women. The results may differ significantly for women who have recently moved to Canada, and are in the process of learning English or French. Future research conducted in women's first language would enable broader participation of women who have moved to Canada, and facilitate exploration of the relationship between level of language ability and level of uncertainty.

At the theoretical level, it is possible that uncertainty may be a motive of social identifications when women first move to Canada and are establishing a Canadian identity, rather than later, when they are integrated into Canadian society. Participants living in Canada for a minimum of 3 years had been specifically recruited for the current research. I had wanted to survey women who had adjusted from the stress of migrating to a new country and had adapted to a new way of life. However, in so doing, I sampled women who had strong, established Canadian identities. Any uncertainty these women had experienced may have occurred years earlier.

I also specifically recruited women who had voluntarily immigrated to Canada, and excluded women who had claimed refugee status. Participants chose to come to Canada, rather than feeling forced to leave their countries of origin for fear of persecution or abjectly poor living conditions. Canada's multiculturalism policy encourages retention of heritage culture. It is possible that women's voluntary choice to move to Canada, combined with Canada's multicultural policy, contributed to the low level of uncertainty

that women reported. Including different groups of migrating individuals (e.g., family class immigrants, independent class immigrants, refugee claimants) in future research may better identify the context in which individuals will experience high uncertainty. For example, depending on the class of immigration under which women enter into Canada, they are able to access different services, such as language classes. Fluency in English greatly facilitates adaptation to Canada. The majority of women in my research spoke both English as well as their heritage culture language in their homes, suggesting these women had a strong command of the English language. Study 2 interviews also suggest that proficiency in English, and familiarity with western culture, can minimize the uncertainty that moving to a new country can cause. Interviewees commented that knowing English prior to moving to Canada, and living in countries influenced by Western cultures made the transition much easier. On the other hand, newly arrived immigrants and refugee claimants less proficient in English or French may experience high levels of uncertainty because they have limited supports established in Canada. Moreover, refugee claimants have been exposed to adverse situations and resettlement problems compounded by a forced nature of departure, often no option of returning, ongoing victimization, deprivation of family and friends, and reduced social status. that is, uncertainty may be especially high because they feel forced to relinquish their family supports and leave their country of origin.

### 5.2.2 Interviewer-Interviewee Dynamics

In Study 2, I was a white female interviewing women of colour. It is possible that the women may have provided socially desirable responses to the questions I asked,

especially questions about their experiences in the broader Canadian community. Women may have felt uncomfortable discussing challenges they had with Caucasian Canadians, given my cultural background. However, this seems unlikely because women discussed both positive and negative experiences they had within the broader Canadian community and their cultural communities. Women were also candid in their story telling, as evidenced in the excerpts included in this dissertation, and I feel we established good rapport. This suggests to me that women were honest in their story telling and they felt comfortable sharing their experiences with me.

### 5.2.3 Limitations with Retrospective Accounts in Study 2

Hogg and colleagues have primarily investigated the tenets of SURT in laboratory settings using the minimal group paradigm. These experiments revealed that participants in high uncertainty conditions more strongly identified with their group than participants in low uncertainty conditions. At the time that the current research was conducted, a measure of uncertainty for use in field research had not been developed. As a result, the current research used Gao and Gudykunst's (1990) validated measure of uncertainty and three items from Sussman and Hogg (1998) as a means of measuring uncertainty. This measure had high reliability in Study 1. However, given the novel application of Gao and Gudykunst's (1990) measure in the current research, Study 2 was designed to understand how women describe uncertainty in their lives. The interviewees had lived in Canada for an average of 27 years, hence I asked women to reflect on their experiences in Canada. Interviewees described the culture shock they experienced upon moving to Canada, and how the differences between their heritage culture and Canadian culture could make new

immigrants question their choice to move to Canada. Women also recounted experiences of discrimination. Yet, when I asked the women whether these experiences made them feel uncertain or threatened, they replied, no. Moreover, women minimized the effects of discrimination. These findings suggest that women did not find these experiences threatening to their identities or cause them to feel uncertain. However, it is plausible that in recounting their experiences, women modified their biographical presentations in order to produce self-enhancing personal accounts. Smith (1994) describes this phenomenon as self-reconstruction, where individuals continually monitor and adjust their biographies in order to present a particular conception of self to themselves and others. He investigated discrepancies in four women's contemporaneous and retrospective accounts of transition to motherhood at three, six, and nine months pregnant, and again at five months post-pregnancy. Women were interviewed at the three points during pregnancy and asked to keep a diary between interviews. The interviews explored how transition to motherhood affected women's sense of personal and social identity. The interview questions were deliberately open, intended mainly as cues for the women to talk. In their diary entries, women were instructed to record things they thought and felt during pregnancy, related to the topics discussed in the first interview. At five months after the birth of the child, each woman was asked to write a retrospective account of her pregnancy. She was asked to think back to herself at the three points she had been interviewed, and to write a brief account of how she felt about the pregnancy and how she thought it had affected her sense of identity at each point in time. When Smith compared women's real-time accounts to their retrospective accounts of pregnancy, Smith found that in women's

retrospective accounts, they glossed over difficulties, emphasized personal growth, and highlighted continuity of self. Hence, it is possible that the women interviewed in Study 2 similarly minimized experiences of uncertainty and its impact on their social identities. Future qualitative enquiries could investigate new Canadians' contemporaneous accounts of their developing Canadian identity to better assess the effects (if any) of uncertainty. In so doing, this strategy may succeed where the current qualitative study failed—providing an in-depth description of the nature of uncertainty.

Another consideration is that in asking women about uncertainty, I made the assumption that women were aware of uncertainty and how it came to influence how they thought about themselves. One interviewee, Ruth, had commented that it was difficult to give specific examples because it is hard to explain how she is made to feel uncomfortable. Ruth described it as a feeling she had when people looked at her differently when she wore a sari or when she spoke her cultural language. It is quite possible that uncertainty operates subtly and asking direct questions does not fully capture the construct.

#### 5.2.4 Further Considerations for Investigating Uncertainty Reduction

According to SURT, uncertainty is the basic motive underlying social identifications. Hogg and Abrams (1993) assert that subjective uncertainty-reduction provides general principles on which to base predictions about specific motivations that may have a more direct impact on specific behaviours. For example, people may pursue positive social identifications not only because they seek positive self-esteem, but also because positive self-esteem is often a reliable indicator of subjective uncertainty, the

underlying motivation. Although themes of uncertainty did not emerge in Study 2, findings suggest that women's social identifications served three different functions: enhanced self-esteem, ingroup cooperation and cohesion, and social interaction. Hogg and Abrams assert that self-esteem is a derivative of uncertainty. Whether ingroup cooperation and cohesion, and social interaction are also derivatives of uncertainty remains to be seen. Future research could explore the relationship between uncertainty reduction and different functions of social identifications. In so doing, Deaux et al. (1999) argue that the contextual factors and group-specific dynamics are important to consider because not all motives play an equally important role in a particular social identification. Study 2 findings demonstrate the truth of this argument, as the six women described very different intragroup and intergroup dynamics within their cultural communities. But the negative relationship between uncertainty and identification found in Study 1 still needs to be explained.

Another premise of SURT is that in identifying with groups, individuals reduce uncertainty. Study 1 found that uncertainty was negatively associated with behavioural acculturation, in that the more certain women in the study felt about their cultural and Canadian communities, the more they reported participating in both communities. Moreover, women participated significantly more in cultural activities than Canadian activities. In explaining this result, I proposed women's strength of cultural identification led them to participate in cultural activities, which then reduced their uncertainty. Hence, this suggests, based on SURT, that uncertainty is both a cause of social identification, and an effect of social identification, as illustrated in Figure 1. Indeed, Study 1 findings

suggest that in addition to identifying with a group, participation in that group may also be integral to reducing uncertainty. Given that the evidence is correlational, causal relationships between these variables can not be determined. Study 2 findings, however, lend some weight to this explanation in that the women spoke of strongly identifying with their cultural group, seeking out cultural communities in which they could participate, and feeling very certain about their cultural community. It is plausible that women sought uncertainty reduction, and because it is a subtle motive, they may have been unaware of its influence on their behaviours. Participant-observation methods within a longitudinal design may be more effective in understanding the circumstances and dynamics in which individuals experience uncertainty as they adapt to living in Canada. Moreover, it is likely that the influence of uncertainty on individuals' social identifications is not a one-time influence, but an ongoing process. It may interplay in migrating women's lives depending on the situations in which they find themselves at any given time. Hence, a longitudinal design would enable the investigation of the influence of uncertainty over time, as well as examine how uncertainty leads to stronger identification with a group, which in turn leads to reduced uncertainty. Specifically, I propose that individuals may experience high uncertainty when they move to Canada, and they may seek out relevant groups to reduce their uncertainty. Over time, their identification with the group strengthens, and as a result, they experience reduced uncertainty.

Women may experience differing degrees of uncertainty when they move to different Canadian cities. For example, Study 2 findings suggest that smaller communities compared to larger communities may provide limited opportunities for

women to establish supports for their cultural identity. Also, women may experience uncertainty within their cultural communities depending on the fit between women's values and beliefs and that of the community. Thus, the investigation of uncertainty as a motivator of acculturation in different Canadian cities and rural areas would demonstrate the extent to which these findings generalize to other settings.

Participants in the current research did not comprise a homogeneous group of women. Women emigrated from over 20 different countries and represented more than 20 different cultural groups. In so doing, this increases the potential of the current research to generalize to women from the different cultures represented here. However, the current research was unable to investigate whether the same relationship exists between uncertainty and acculturation for women from different cultural communities. Study 2 findings suggest that intergroup dynamics within women's cultural communities may influence women's interactions with their cultural community and the broader Canadian community. For example, one East Indian interviewee, whose heritage culture is Gujarati, indicated that she and her husband primarily interact with other Gujarati families in the East Indian community. However, she has had difficult interactions with members of the Punjabi and Sikh communities. The Gujarati families comprise a minority group within the East Indian community. Another interviewee, whose heritage culture is Bengali, indicated that there are also very few families from Bengal in the East Indian community in her city, thus they are a very close group and tend to do activities together. Future research is needed to investigate the relationship between intra and intergroup dynamics within the cultural community and women's feelings of uncertainty.



Conducting in-depth research with one cultural community would enable a closer examination of this relationship.

Finally, the current research investigated the relationship between uncertainty and women's social identifications with Canada and their cultural communities in Canada. However, the qualitative interviews revealed that women manage their identities not only in Canada, but also in their countries of origin. For some of the interviewees, they felt they no longer fit back in their countries of origin. However, they felt at home in Canada, and felt they belonged in Canada. For these interviewees, they were able to remoor their cultural identity in Canada and develop a new Canadian identity. In so doing, this possibly offset any uncertainty they felt about fitting into Canadian society. It is possible that the migration experience induces high uncertainty during the initial adjustment period when individuals feel between cultures—they feel they no longer fit in their countries of origin, and they have yet to develop their Canadian identities. Hence, investigating uncertainty in relation to how women feel they fit back with their country of origin may also be appropriate to ascertain the role uncertainty plays in immigrant women's identity formations and maintenance. Also, using a longitudinal design to examine women's uncertainty about their culture of origin over time would illuminate at what points during the migration experience might uncertainty influence women's cultural identifications.

### 5.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Study 1 and 2 findings demonstrate that women who have immigrated to Canada have a strong national identity and a strong cultural identity. Findings of this research are

based on women who have lived in Canada for an average of 17 years, are employed, and are highly educated. These findings support Canada's multiculturalism policy in that encouraging new Canadians to retain their heritage culture does not appear to deter the development of a strong national identity. Moreover, after several years of living in Canada, the women in this study continued to maintain their cultural identities. Women perceived Canada to be a multicultural country, and they took pleasure in practicing both their heritage culture and the Canadian culture. One participant from Study 1 wrote on the questionnaire: "In Canada, I got the opportunity to know people from all different cultures. I feel blessed that I got that chance and I could enjoy the treasure of all different cultures. I wish I was exposed to all these cultures and all the languages as a child." Women had many positive experiences in Canada, such as the opportunity to build successful careers that may not have come to fruition in their home countries, receiving professional recognition in the Canadian community, benefiting from Canada's employment equity practices, and pursuing higher education otherwise unavailable to them in their countries of origin.

The women who participated in this research perceived minimal threat to their cultural and Canadian identities, suggesting that they feel able to express themselves culturally in Canada. Moreover, women felt confident about fitting into Canada and their cultural communities in Canada, and they felt confident in terms of predicting behaviours and attitudes of fellow Canadians and members of their cultural communities. Interestingly, levels of uncertainty were not correlated with years in Canada. This suggests that women who participated in this research had a good understanding of

Canada and their cultural communities in Canada prior to moving to Canada. This confidence is important, in that it is related to stronger cultural and Canadian identities. The more confident women feel about fitting into Canada, the more strongly they identify with Canada. The more confident women in this research feel about fitting into their cultural communities, the more strongly they identify with their heritage cultures. This suggests that it is important to maintain and promote efforts to ensure that all Canadians have the opportunity to participate equally in Canadian society. Similarly, cultural associations that work toward incorporating women's values and beliefs into their cultural norms increase the likelihood that women will feel that they fit within, and are accepted by, the cultural communities. This is especially critical when women struggle to fit into their cultural communities. In some situations, women have limited opportunities to remove their cultural identities in other settings or with other groups. As a result, women are unable to exit the cultural community. In the current research, participants lived in a Canadian city with small, diverse cultural communities. If women wished to seek out other communities of their heritage culture, they would have to relocate. In the situation where women struggle to fit into their cultural community, they continue to participate in their cultural communities because they do not want to be isolated and alone in times when they might need the community's support (e.g., in times of family crisis). Moreover, the cultural community provides a place where women can maintain their cultural roots and teach their children about their heritage culture. Hence, access to one's cultural community appears to play a vital role in helping women to retain their cultural identities and to feel positive about their heritage culture in Canada.

Although the women in Study 2 had strong cultural and national identities, and felt confident about their fit in the Canadian community, they did have to contend with stereotypes and discrimination in the broader Canadian community. For example, the qualitative interviews revealed that women continue to experience racial discrimination in the workplace. Specifically, some of the interviewees felt they had to prove their worth at work by putting in more effort than their fellow employees did. When applying for higher positions, interviewees felt that they would need to significantly outperform the other candidates in order to secure the position. One interviewee tried to convince her coworkers that she was one of the “normal” people, rather than the stereotyped Chinese person of which her colleagues may be thinking. Other work-related issues included the discrediting of foreign credentials in Canada. Three women in Study 1 wrote comments on the questionnaire about the lack of recognition of foreign credentials in Canada, and how qualified professionals unable to work in their field are working instead in minimum wage positions. Women interviewed indicated that they expected to experience discrimination because they were not Canadian born. However, they felt that their Canadian born children would find it difficult to accept racial discrimination. Therefore, women in the research wanted to provide their children with the best opportunities to give them a competitive edge in Canada, and in so doing, offset any potential experiences of discrimination their children may encounter. These findings suggest that continued efforts to eliminate discrimination in Canada are necessary. Recall that the majority of participants in the current research were highly educated women. Moreover, most women were employed, and had lived in Canada for several years. These women may be in a

better position to cope with or counter the effects of discrimination; however, experiences of discrimination may have a more deleterious effect on less advantaged women's quality of life.

The women interviewed in Study 2 were strong and resilient women. Factors that seemed to buffer any threats they perceived to their cultural and national identities included a supportive family unit in Canada, strong ties with their cultural group in their country of origin, professional acceptance and recognition in the broader Canadian community and cultural community, and positive experiences participating in both the broader Canadian community and their cultural community. Policies and programs that facilitate or encourage supportive family units for women, and recognition of women's professional roles in both communities, may minimize threats women perceive to their cultural and national identities. This may, in turn, facilitate women's full participation in the broader Canadian community and their cultural communities in Canada.

#### 5.4 CONCLUSION

The main focus of the current research had been to investigate the uncertainty-identification link proposed by subjective uncertainty reduction theory (SURT), and more broadly, the link between psychological and behavioural acculturation. The majority of research testing the predictions of SURT has used the minimal group paradigm within an experimental setting. In these experiments, uncertainty is usually induced, and participants are categorized into short-term groups for the duration of the experiment. The current research was one of the first field studies to test the theory on stable, relatively long-term identifications that people use in self-definition (cultural identity and

national identity), in a real-life setting that ostensibly induced high uncertainty (i.e., immigration). Subjective uncertainty reduction theory hypothesizes that high uncertainty leads to stronger identification. However, the results from Study 1 and Study 2 directly countered this hypothesis: high *certainty* was associated with stronger social identifications. One underlying assumption of the current research was that migrating to a new country induces high uncertainty. However, women who participated in the current research had lived in Canada for an average of 17 years, they were well integrated into Canadian society, and they had strong, secure cultural and Canadian identities. Hence, the current research did not sample newly arrived individuals to Canada. It is possible that within the context of immigration, SURT may be more applicable as a theory of adaptation. It may be that the initial adjustment period is the most likely time individuals encounter high uncertainty and possibly develop insecure social identifications. Hence, replication of Study 1 with a sample of individuals new to Canada may be a better test of the uncertainty-identification link predicted by SURT. Also, longitudinal designs would enable exploration of how uncertainty interplays in immigrant women's lives over time, and potentially identify life events that might cause uncertainty to fluctuate for these women (e.g., birth of a child in a new country).

Study 2 intended to explore the meaning of uncertainty for women, and as such, I asked women direct questions about the effects of uncertainty on their lives. However, women found it difficult to describe uncertainty. This may have been a function of the questions I asked, given the nature of uncertainty itself, as SURT argues that uncertainty is a subtle influence. Women did describe other functions of their social identifications,

supporting Deaux et al.'s (1999) contention that social identifications serve multiple functions. Without the qualitative enquiry, the possibility of other motivators of women's social identifications would not have emerged. The qualitative findings also provided several avenues of exploration for future applied research into the functions of social identifications, and alternate ways to test the uncertainty-social identification link proposed by SURT. This illustrates the value of conducting qualitative research to examine theory that has primarily been investigated in laboratory settings. In light of the findings and the limitations of the dissertation, the construct of uncertainty certainly deserves continued investigation to identify the circumstances under which migrants will experience uncertainty. This dissertation offers several avenues to continue this exploration utilizing longitudinal designs to better understand uncertainty as a process, and different groups of migrating individuals, such as newly arrived immigrants and refugee claimants.

The current research demonstrates that continued application of theory to real-life settings is critical to the investigation of the motivational dynamics of identity choice and maintenance. Equally important, this research contributes to the growing body of literature on cultural adaptation that includes female migrant experiences. As this thesis demonstrates, women make significant contributions, both in their personal and professional lives, to Canada's cultural mosaic. Continued investigation of women's experiences is necessary to ensure that theories of cultural adaptation are duly inclusive.

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**APPENDIX A**  
**Consent Form for Study 1**

**Study Title: Immigrant Women's Experiences in Canada**

<b><u>Researchers:</u></b>	Debra Woods, Ph.D. student Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan Phone: (306) 652-1338	Dr. Peter Grant, supervisor Professor, Department of Psychology University of Saskatchewan Phone: (306) 966-6675
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The purpose of this study is to learn more about the experiences of immigrant women in Canada. In this study, women will be asked about their participation in the Canadian community and their cultural community. Women will also be asked about how they describe themselves in terms of their cultural group and as Canadians. This study is part of a Ph.D. dissertation. The results of this study may be published in journal articles.

One of the benefits of participating in this study is having the chance to share your experience as an immigrant woman in Canada. The results of this study will be shared with cultural associations in Saskatchewan and may help to increase their understanding of immigrant women's experiences in Saskatoon.

There are no known risks involved with participating in this study.

If you choose to participate, it should take about 45 minutes to fill out the questionnaire. If you want, you can read the questionnaire before signing this consent form. You can also consult with friends and family members about your participation in this study. You can refuse to answer any questions in the questionnaire and you can stop at any time.

There are also interviews that will be conducted by Debra (the researcher) with a few women who have filled out this questionnaire to learn more about their experiences in Canada. On the first page of the questionnaire, you are asked if you would be interested in being contacted for an interview. If you are interested, please write your name and how best to contact you on the questionnaire. Once you have been telephoned for an interview, your contact information will be destroyed. If you are not interested in being contacted for a follow-up interview, check off NO, and do not write your name or telephone number on the questionnaire. Everything that you write down on the questionnaire will be kept private. Only the researchers will see the completed questionnaires. Your name and contact information will not be revealed to anyone else. When the information on the questionnaires is summarized and presented, individual women who filled out the questionnaires will not be identified in any way. When you complete the questionnaire, you will seal it and one copy of this consent form in the envelope provided. Your questionnaire will be kept secured in the researcher's office for at least 5 years. Please sign your name below if you understand what you have read above and you want to participate in this study. Please sign both copies of this consent form. Return one with the questionnaire and keep one for yourself.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

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This research project was reviewed and approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Advisory Committee On Ethics Behavioral Science Research on February 6, 2002. If you have any questions with regard to the study or to your rights as a participant in the research study, you may contact Debra Woods at (306) 652-1338, or Dr. Peter Grant at (306)966-6675 or the Office of Research Services at (306) 966-4053

### **Request for Summary of Findings**

If you would like to receive a summary of the results of this research, please write your name and mailing address below, and return this with your questionnaire and consent form. If you prefer, you can place the consent form and this sheet in a separate envelope from the questionnaire. Results should be mailed out in 12 to 14 months.

## APPENDIX B

### Study 1 Experiences in Canada Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to fill out this questionnaire, which should take about 45 minutes of your time. There will be 125 women who will fill out this survey. Debra will be contacting about 10 women for a follow-up interview. Women's responses on this questionnaire will help Debra to contact women for a follow-up interview who have had a wide variety of experiences in Canada.

Are you interested in being contacted for a follow-up interview?

YES                      NO

If you checked off YES, please write your name and contact information below.

If you checked off NO, do not write your name or contact information on this questionnaire.

Remember that your responses on this questionnaire will be kept private and confidential. Only the researchers will have access to the questionnaires. Your name and contact information will not be given to anyone else. When you have been contacted for an interview, your contact information will be destroyed. The sole reason for asking for your name and contact information is to be able to contact women for later interviews.

Name: (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

Phone number, or how best to reach you: \_\_\_\_\_



## Experiences in Canada Questionnaire

There is one booklet of questions for you to answer. These questions are about your experiences in Canada. Most of the questions use scales. To be sure that everyone understands how to use a scale, please read the example below.

### Example

Answer the following questions using the scale provided. Circle only one answer.

I enjoy spending time with people from the same heritage culture as myself.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    ④    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

The person who answered the above statement circled “4” on the scale. This means that she feels neutral, or that she doesn’t disagree or agree with the above statement.

How important is it for your children to go to school with other children from your heritage culture?

**not at all important**    1    2    3    4    5    ⑥    7    **very important**

The person who answered this above question circled “6” on the scale. This means that she feels it is quite important for her children to go to school with other children from her culture.

How accurate are you at predicting the types of clothes Canadians wear?

**not at all accurate**    1    ②    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely accurate**

The person who answered this above question circled “2” on the scale. This means that she feels she is not very accurate when predicting the types of clothes Canadians wear.

Once again, please ask for help if you have any questions.

## Experiences In Canada Questionnaire

This questionnaire asks you about your experiences in Canada with both Canadians in general, and with people (Canadian or not) specifically from your cultural group. When you answer questions about Canadians, this refers to Canadians from all cultural backgrounds including your own. When you answer questions about your cultural group (your heritage culture), this refers to the culture that has influenced you most in your country of origin. Often there are several cultures living in one country. If this is true for your country of origin, pick the culture that has influenced you most throughout your childhood years.

Please write the name of your heritage culture here \_\_\_\_\_.

### Section One

#### Participation in Canadian Culture and Your Heritage Culture

The questions in this section ask about your participation in Canadian culture and in the traditions of your heritage culture. Remember that your heritage culture is the one that has influenced you most in your country of origin, and is the one that you wrote down above.

#### Directions

Please circle one number from 1 to 7 for each question that best describes your feelings, where 1 means 'strongly disagree' and 7 means 'strongly agree'.

1. I often participate in my heritage culture traditions.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

Please provide examples of heritage culture traditions in which you participate, or know about \_\_\_\_\_

—

2. I often participate in the cultural traditions of Canadians in general .

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

Please provide examples of Canadian cultural traditions in which you participate, or know about \_\_\_\_\_

3. I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture.
- strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**
4. I would be willing to marry a Canadian person.
- strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**
5. I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself.
- strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**
6. I enjoy social activities with Canadians in general.
- strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**
7. I am comfortable working with people of the same heritage culture as myself.
- strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**
8. I am comfortable working with Canadians in general.
- strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**
9. I enjoy entertainment (e.g., movies, music) from my heritage culture.
- strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**
10. I enjoy Canadian entertainment (e.g., movies, music).
- strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

11. I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

12. I often behave in ways that are typical of Canadians in general.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

13. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture in Canada.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

14. It is important for me to maintain or develop the cultural practices of Canadians in general.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

15. I believe in the values of my heritage culture.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

16. I believe in the values of Canadians in general.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

17. I enjoy the jokes and humour of my heritage culture.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

18. I enjoy the jokes and humour of Canadians in general.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

19. I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

20. I am interested in having Canadian friends.

**strongly disagree**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **strongly agree**

21. How important is it for your children to learn your heritage culture language?

**not at all important**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**

22. How important is it for your children to participate in your heritage culture's religious or spiritual ceremonies?

**not at all important**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**

23. How important is it for your children to participate in the cultural ceremonies (e.g. traditional dances) of your heritage culture?

**not at all important**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**

24. How important is it for your children to learn cultural values relating to male-female relations?

**not at all important**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**

25. How important is it for your children to respect their elders in their heritage culture?

**not at all important**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**

26. How important is it to raise your children following your heritage culture's child training practices?

**not at all important**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**

27. How important is it for your children to know about sports and athletes that are important to your heritage culture?

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**  
**important**

28. How important is it for your children to wear clothing in the tradition of your heritage culture?

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**  
**important**

29. How important is it for your children to know how to prepare specific food dishes in the traditions of your heritage culture?

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**  
**important**

30. How important is it for your children to appreciate specific food dishes in the traditions of your heritage culture?

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**  
**important**

31. How important is it for your children to read or know about literature (books) that are classics in your heritage culture?

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **very important**  
**important**

Are there any other cultural traditions that you feel are important for your children to learn? If so, please describe

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For those cultural traditions that you feel are important for your children to learn, can you please explain why they are important? \_\_\_\_\_

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### Section 3

#### Predicting Canadian behaviours

People vary in the degree to which they believe they can predict how people from other cultures behave and think. **Please answer each of the following questions with respect to how certain you feel when predicting aspects of Canadians' behaviours.**

**Please circle one number from 1 to 7 for each question that best describes your feelings. The higher the number, the more certain you are saying you feel.**

32. How confident are you in your general ability to predict how Canadians will behave?

**not at all confident**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely confident**

33. How confident are you that Canadians like you?

**not at all confident**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely confident**

34. How accurate are you at predicting Canadians attitudes?

**not at all accurate**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely accurate**

35. How accurate are you at predicting the values Canadians hold?

**not at all accurate**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely accurate**

36. How well can you predict Canadians' feelings?

**not at all well** 1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely well**

37. How certain / confident are you about fitting into Canadian culture?

**not at all certain**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely certain**

38. How certain / confident are you about getting around in Canada?

**not at all certain**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely certain**

39. How certain / confident are you about knowing what sort of person you want to be in Canada?

**not at all certain**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely certain**

40. How confident are you in your general ability to predict how members of your cultural group will behave in Canada?

**not at all confident**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely confident**

41. How confident are you that members of your cultural group in Canada like you?

**not at all confident**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely confident**

42. How accurate are you at predicting the attitudes of members of your cultural group in Canada?

**not at all accurate**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely accurate**

43. How accurate are you at predicting the values members of your cultural group in Canada hold?

**not at all accurate**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely accurate**

44. How well can you predict the feelings of members of your cultural group in Canada?

**not at all well** 1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely well**

45. How certain / confident are you about fitting into your cultural group in Canada?

**not at all certain**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely certain**

46. How certain / confident are you about getting around in your cultural group's community in Canada?

**not at all certain**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely certain**

47. How certain / confident are you about knowing what sort of person you want to be in your cultural group in Canada?

**not at all certain**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **extremely certain**



**Section 4**  
**Managing Heritage Culture Identity**

The following statements are about what you might do to show or hide your heritage culture. Please indicate how true each statement is for you by circling the one number from 1 to 7 that best describes your feelings, where 1 represents 'not at all' and 7 represents 'a great deal'.

48. I feel I have to change myself to fit into Canadian culture (e.g. clothes I wear, language I speak).

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

49. I try not to show parts of me that are 'culturally' based (e.g. clothes I wear, language I speak).

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

50. I often feel like I have to change how I act depending on the culture of the person I am with.

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

51. I feel that my culture is incompatible with the new people I am meeting and the new things I am learning about Canada.

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

52. Outside of my home, I feel I cannot talk to Canadians about my family or my culture

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

53. I feel that my culture's values and beliefs are under attack in Canadian society.

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

54. I feel that I have to change myself to fit into my cultural community in Canada (e.g. clothes I wear, language I speak).

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

55. When in my cultural community, I try not to show parts of me that are 'Canadian' (e.g. clothes I wear, language I speak).

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

56. I feel that my Canadian identity is incompatible with the people I meet in my cultural community and the cultural activities in which I engage.

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

57. Inside my home, I feel I cannot talk to my family about Canadian friends I may have or what I am learning about Canadian culture.

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

58. I feel that Canadian values and beliefs are under attack in my cultural community.

**not at all**    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **a great deal**

## Section 5

### Identity with Canada

The following questions ask about your feelings as a Canadian. Please answer the following questions by circling the one number from 1 to 7 that best describes your feelings.

59. To what extent do you feel Canadian?

**extremely Canadian** 1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **not at all Canadian**

60. To what extent do you feel strong ties with other Canadian people?

**extremely strong ties** 1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **no ties at all**

61. To what extent do you feel pleased to be Canadian?

**extremely pleased** 1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **not at all pleased**

62. How similar do you think you are to the average Canadian person?

**extremely similar** 1    2    3    4    5    6    7    **not at all similar**

63. How important to you is being Canadian?

**extremely important** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not at all important**

64. How much are your views about Canadians shared by other Canadian people?

**shared by all Canadians** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not shared by any Canadians**

65. When you hear someone who is not Canadian criticize Canadian people, to what extent do you feel personally criticized?

**extremely criticized** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not at all criticized**

66. To what extent do you feel a member of your cultural group?

**extremely** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not at all**

67. To what extent do you feel strong ties with other people in your cultural group?

**extremely strong ties** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **no ties at all**

68. To what extent do you feel pleased to be a member of your cultural group?

**extremely pleased** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not at all pleased**

69. How similar do you think you are to the average person in your cultural group?

**extremely similar** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not at all similar**

70. How important to you is being a member of your cultural group?

**extremely important** 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not at all important**

71. How much are your views about your cultural group shared by other people in your cultural group?

**shared by all members in my cultural group** 1      2      3      4      5      6      7      **not shared by any members in my cultural group**

72. When you hear someone who is not a member of your cultural group criticize your cultural group, to what extent do you feel personally criticized?

**extremely criticized** 1      2      3      4      5      6      7      **not at all criticized**

### Section Six

This last set of questions asks for information about your background. The information from these questions will be used to look at how people from different cultural backgrounds and experiences answered the questionnaire. Your answers are completely confidential.

### Background Information

73. How long have you lived in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

74. Under what class of immigration were you accepted into Canada? (Please check the one box that applies)

independent class immigration

business class immigration

family class immigration

other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

75. Did you voluntarily leave your home country to come to Canada?

YES or NO

Please explain

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76. Is Canada the first country that you have lived in since leaving your home country?

YES

NO

If no, where else have you lived outside of your country, and for how long? (list as many countries as applies):

\_\_\_\_\_

77. In what country were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

78. In what country was your mother born? \_\_\_\_\_

79. In what country was your father born? \_\_\_\_\_

80. What is your heritage culture language (the language you spoke while growing up)?

81. What language(s) do you speak in your home in Canada? (Please check off all that apply).

English

French

Heritage Culture Language

Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

82. What language do you speak most often in your home?

\_\_\_\_\_

83. What percentage of your current friends are first or second generation immigrants from your country of origin? \_\_\_\_\_

84. What percentage of your current friends are Canadians who are not from your country of origin? \_\_\_\_\_

85. What is your religion or spiritual practice? \_\_\_\_\_

86. Do you have a place where you worship in the community? (e.g. temple, mosque, church)

NO

YES If yes, where? \_\_\_\_\_

87. Do you belong to any of the following cultural organizations in Saskatoon? (Please check all that apply)

Immigrant Women's Association

Open Door Society

Saskatchewan Intercultural Association

Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

88. Are you a Canadian citizen? YES or NO

89. Into which age group do you fit? (please check the one box that applies)

18-25 years

26-35 years

36-45 years

46-55 years

56- 65 years

66 years or older

90. Do you have any children? YES or NO

91. Are you employed?

NO

YES

If yes, what is your job? \_\_\_\_\_

92. What is the highest level of education you have finished? Check one answer only.

Elementary school or primary school

High school or grammar school

Some technical training

Technical diploma

Some university training

university degree

(Bachelor degree)

some graduate studies

Masters degree

PhD degree

Is there anything else that you would like to share with us? Please use the space below.

**End of Questionnaire**  
**Thank You Very Much For Your Participation**

**APPENDIX C**  
**Information Letter Sent to Interviewees Prior to Interview**

EXPERIENCES IN CANADA STUDY  
INTERVIEW INFORMATION

My name is Debra Woods, and I am a Ph.D. student in Applied Social Psychology at the University of Saskatchewan. I am conducting research on immigrant women's experiences in Canada. I am surveying 150 immigrant women in the community and you are one of these women. Thank you for taking the time to fill out the survey.

I am also interviewing women as part of this research. You indicated that you would be willing to participate in an interview. The purpose of this interview is to give me more in-depth information about the things I asked in the survey. Specifically, how do women think about themselves culturally? How has immigrating to Canada changed the way women think about themselves? What kinds of uncertainty might women experience around the values and beliefs of their cultural group (back home and in Canada) and with the larger Canadian community? How do women feel about fitting into their cultural community in Canada and the broader Canadian community?

The interview will take approximately 1 ½ hours of your time and will be audiotaped, if you agree. Some time after the interview, I will give you a copy of the transcript of our discussion, and if you would be willing, we could meet again for you to give me your feedback, comments, reactions, and any other thoughts that you might have had after the interview. If you choose to participate, I will be sure to protect the anonymity of your identity—that is, I will not use your name or any other details that would allow other people to identify you.

People participating in similar interviews have often reported that they enjoyed the opportunity to reflect on, and discuss, their experiences. Through participating in this study, you may find you gain new insights about yourself and your experiences.

Thank you for your interest in this study. I am looking forward to our interview. In the meanwhile, if you would like to talk more about the study please call me at 652-1338 or email me ([debra.woods@usask.ca](mailto:debra.woods@usask.ca)).

Sincerely,

Debra Woods

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Researchers:	Debra Woods	Dr. Peter Grant, Research Supervisor
	Phone: (306) 652-1338	Phone: (306) 966-6675

Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A5



**APPENDIX D**  
**Consent Form for Study 2 Interviews**

Study Title: Immigrant Women's Experiences in Canada

Researchers: Debra Woods, Ph.D. student  
Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan  
Phone: (306) 652-1338

Dr. Peter Grant, supervisor  
Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan  
Phone: (306) 966-6675

The purpose of this research is to learn more about the experiences of immigrant women in Canada. This research builds off of the first study where you completed a survey about immigrant women's experiences in Canada. This second study is intended to elaborate on the concepts asked about in the questionnaire. Specifically, the uncertainty immigrant women may experience around the values and beliefs of their cultural group in Canada and with the larger Canadian community; and the impact that these experiences may have on how women think about themselves culturally.

One of the possible benefits of participating in this study is to tell your story, which you may not have been able to do before. This process may lead to new insights about yourself and your experiences. Some people like to participate in studies like this because they feel that their stories might be of help to others. Not everyone experiences these benefits in participating in studies like this, and there is no guarantee that you will experience these benefits if you choose to participate. The results of this research (both studies one and two) will be shared with cultural associations in Saskatchewan and may help to increase their understanding of immigrant women's experiences in Saskatoon.

On the other hand, by participating in this study, you may experience some emotional discomfort if you recall, or discuss experiences you have had in Canada that have been particularly upsetting. Please remember that what you choose to share and what you choose not to share is entirely up to you. You may also choose to take a break, or end the interview at any time.

If you choose to participate, we will meet for one to two hours at either your home or in a private interview room at the University of Saskatchewan, whichever would be most comfortable for you. The interview will be audiotaped and later transcribed in written form. As well, sometime after the interview (no more than 1 month), I will send you a written copy of our interview for you to read and comment on, and add any other thoughts you might have. Once you feel the transcript accurately reflects what you said in the interview, you will be asked to sign a Transcript Release Form. If you are willing, I will also invite you to meet with me on a second occasion after you have read these things, so that you can give me your reactions and for me to provide you with my thoughts and reactions to our interview as well. In total then, we will meet at least one time, and it is your choice whether you want to meet with me for a second time and provide me with your comments and additional thoughts. The longest period of time that you will be involved in

this study is several hours spread over no more than 4 months. When the study is complete, I will send you a summary description of what I learned from this study, and invite you to read anything I write about this study that is published.

It is entirely your voluntary choice whether or not you want to participate, and I will respect whatever decision you make. If you choose to participate, you can decide at any time to change your mind and not participate at all, without any negative results for you. If you choose to withdraw from the study after participating for a while, any information I have about you, including audiotapes or written transcripts, will be immediately destroyed if that is your wish.

In order to be sure that I am the only person who knows your identity, I will remove your name and any information that could identify you in the interview transcripts and anything I write about your story. The audiotapes and transcripts will be stored in a secure location at the University of Saskatchewan, under the care of my supervisor, Dr. Peter Grant. According to University guidelines, these materials will be stored for a minimum of five years.

The information shared by yourself and the other participants in this study will be part of the final written document for my thesis. In the future, I may also publish research articles about this study or present the findings of this study at conferences. I will make every effort to protect your identity in these written documents or presentations.

---

I, \_\_\_\_\_, acknowledge that this study and the contents of this consent form have been explained to me by Debra Woods. I understand the nature of this study and my rights as explained in this consent form, and I have been given a copy of this form for my records. I agree to participate in this study.

---

Participant

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Date

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Researcher

---

Date

---

This research project was reviewed and approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Advisory Committee On Ethics Behavioral Science Research on July 12, 2002. If you have any questions with regard to the study or to your rights as a participant in the research study, you may contact Debra Woods at (306) 652-1338, or Dr. Peter Grant at (306) 966-6675 or the Office of Research Services at (306) 966-4053

## APPENDIX E

### STUDY 2 INTERVIEW GUIDE

Immigrant women's experiences with uncertainty

#### (A) Impact of Uncertainty on Identity

1. Can you describe how immigrating to Canada might change a person?
  - a. Prompt: you said...Can you tell me how do you see yourself now as different to before you immigrated.
  - b. Prompt: Can you tell me what experiences you have had that have influenced this change?
2. Can you describe how immigrating to Canada might make a person feel uncertain about who they are? (how they think about themselves)?
  - a. Prompt: you said...Can you tell me in what ways you have felt uncertain about yourself? Probes.. uncertain about how you feel, behave, uncertain about what to believe.
  - b. Prompt: Can you give me an example of when you have felt uncertain about yourself? (probe.. in different settings—work? Public? Family? Cultural community? Canadian community? Community back in home country?)
  - c. Prompt: Can you tell me in what ways you have felt more certain about how you think about yourself?
3. When you think about your cultural community in Canada, how have your feelings about fitting into your cultural community changed over time
4. When you think about the broader Canadian community, how have your feelings about fitting into the Canadian community changed over time
5. If you could describe yourself culturally, what would you say about yourself?
  - a. Prompt: have any recent world events changed how you think about yourself culturally (culturally, Canadian identity)

#### (B) Wrap Up

6. Is there anything else that you would like to add or emphasize?
7. How did you feel about this interview and all that we have covered?

## GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Name:

Phone Number(s):

Address:

Heritage culture

Country of origin:

Years living in Canada

Class of immigration accepted into Canada:

Age:

Marital Status:

Children:

Employment:

## APPENDIX F

### Letter that Accompanied Interview Transcripts Sent to Interviewees

Debra Woods  
1027 15<sup>th</sup> St. E.  
Saskatoon, SK S7N 0R4  
(306)652-1338

[DATE]

Dear [Interviewee],

As promised, here is the transcript from the interview we had on [date]. I have transcribed it word for word; however, I have taken out town names and other identifying information, such as job title.

At this point, I would like you to read over the transcript to ensure that it contains an accurate presentation of our interview. I have typed in bold, some question marks indicating where I had trouble hearing what you said on the tape. I have also written comments to you in bold, asking for clarification on what you have said. If you could clarify these areas, I would greatly appreciate it.

As I said in the interview, I will do everything I can to protect your identity. When I conduct the thematic analysis of the transcripts, I will be identifying themes and using examples from the transcripts to describe the themes. However, I will take care to leave out identifying information. Please indicate on this transcript, the examples that you may not want me to use in my analysis. Or details contained within the examples that may identify you. Also when I have conducted the thematic analysis, I will give you a summary to ensure that I have not written about your interview in a way that can easily identify you.

Upon reviewing the transcript, and if you are comfortable that it accurately reflects what you said during our interview, please sign the transcript release consent form. When you have finished with the transcript, please call me and I will come and pick up your comments and the transcript release consent form.

If you would like to talk about the transcript, or the process in which I will be using it for my analysis, please call me anytime at 652-1338.

Sincerely,

Debra Woods

**TRANSCRIPT RELEASE CONSENT**

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have reviewed the complete transcript of my personal interview in this study, and acknowledge that the transcript accurately reflects what I said in my personal interview with Debra Woods. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to Debra Woods, to be used in the manner described in the consent form. I have received a copy of this Transcript Release Form for my own records.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date



## APPENDIX G

### Letter to Interviewees that Accompanied the Thematic Summary of their Interview

1027 15th St. E.  
Saskatoon, SK S7N 0R4  
652-1338  
debra.woods@usask.ca

October 7, 2003

Dear [interviewee],

I trust things are going well with you. As you may remember, I interviewed yourself and five other women between August and October 2002 as part of my dissertation research about women's experiences in Canada. The time has passed quickly!

I can't thank you enough for agreeing to the interview. I conducted two studies for my research—the questionnaire that you first filled out with 152 other women and the interviews with six women. The interviews were full of rich information that has helped me to better understand the results from the questionnaire.

I'm busy finishing my research and I wanted to send you a copy of what I've summarized about our interview. You will notice that not all of what we talked about is in this summary. This is because I had to limit the focus to my main research questions—how do the experiences that women have in Canada affect how they feel about Canada as a whole, and about their cultural communities in Canada?

The main themes that I focused on included 1) women's experiences in the broader Canadian community, 2) women's experiences within their cultural community. I used the term “remoooring” which means how did women build support for their cultural identities in Canada, and 3) women's social identifications – that is, how did women describe themselves culturally?

To help protect your identity, I used the name that you gave me, instead of your real name. I also did not say what city or province you currently live in. If you lived across Canada, I may have mentioned the cities. I also didn't provide your specific age (I gave an age range instead), or specific number of children you have, or where you work, other than that you were employed. I have, however, provided a brief summary of how you came to live in Canada based on what you shared with me in the interview.

In total, I have written 70 pages summarizing the themes based on the six interviews. Your interview is one part of the 70 pages. I have also organized the 70 pages according to the themes. Therefore, your interview summary is spread out across the 70 pages. I didn't write about all 6 women for every theme. In the summary I've provided you with, you may read about a theme, but not see any information from your interview under it. This is okay. It just means that we talked about other important things in the interview.

If you have any thoughts, reactions or questions for me about how I've summarized our interview, please contact me before October 20, 2003. You can either give me a call at 652-1338 or send your comments in the mail to me at 1027 15th St. E., Saskatoon, SK, S7N 0R4 or via email [debra.woods@usask.ca](mailto:debra.woods@usask.ca).

A sincere thanks for your participation in my research!