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A Dynamic Assimilation Model: Selected First-generation Arab-canadians

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A DYNAMIC ASSIMILATION MODEL:

SELECTED FIRST-GENERATION ARAB-CANADIANS

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation examines the process of Arab assimilation in Canada. Data was gathered by bilingual (Arabic/English) questionnaires. The author used a multidisciplinary approach to present assimilation as a process of psychosocial spatial transformation.

The contribution of the dissertation is a molecular assimilation model which integrates three parts: spatial interaction, assimilation and identity change. The model parts are totally interrelated allowing for dynamic feedbacks, multicyclic operation and continuous transformation. The application of the model led to a greater appreciation of the molecular and dynamic nature of assimilation.

Assimilation molecularity is recognized by discovering the assimilation molecules: intercultural events. They are the interacting subsystems that combine into an infinity of dynamic combinations/parts: adjustment, acculturation, integration, diffusion... etc. Using the concept of molecularity a new, comprehensive and simple definition is proposed: assimilation is the psychosocial spatial outcome of the aggregate effects of dynamic intercultural events.

Assimilation dynamism is the rule that governs assimilation progression, behaviour, stages, and configuration. Assimilation

progression is time-sensitive, uneven and non linear. Assimilation behaviour is variable and multidirectional. Assimilation stages are heterogeneous consisting of dissimilar events.

Because of its molecular and dynamic characteristics, the model shifts attention from surface appearances (the consequences) to the hidden interacting subsystems: assimilation events (the "molecular" processes). Future assimilation studies may focus on the structural, interactional, temporal, spatial and hierarchial dimensions of the assimilation events. An interdisciplinary team of psychologists, sociologists and geographers may work together to carry out laboratory investigations on the assimilation events. This should be an interesting and rewarding line of inquiry.

To

My wife Afaf
and

My children

Lubna, Sammy, Hady, Mohammed and Saleh

who had to share me with
this dissertation for seven years.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

my development as a person. The comments and criticism of an early version of this study from Professor Norman Nicholson and Dr. D. G. Cartwright, members of my advisory committee, were of great assistance in clarifying my thinking. Professor M. F. Goodchild gave useful advice and comment as well. My special thanks go to Dr. Allen Philbrick, Professor Emeritus of the University of Western Ontario for his encouragement during the final stage of dissertation preparation.

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After almost seven years of work, the dissertation has been completed. This is the Will of Allah. I thank Him for giving the go-ahead to human minds to produce this dissertation which is, in fact, His own work.

<div align="right">

Mohammed Saleh,
Woodstock, Ontario, Canada.
June, 1983.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Man's world may be divided into peoples and their places.
Cultures, nations, linguistic groups, ethnic groups, religious
communities, kinship groups, occupational groups are a few among an
expanding array of social and spatial orderings of people. The
human tendency for grouping, for belonging, for interaction with
others is expressed not only psychologically or socially but spat-
ially as well. These dimensions of human experience have been ex-
plored by social scientists using a variety of concepts that include
territoriality,[1] social space,[2] and regionalization.[3] When permanent
change in place and psychological affiliation occurs across national
boundaries, for whatever reasons, a complex process described as
assimilation commences. This dissertation examines the assimilation
process as psychosocial spatial transformation using a behavioural
geographic approach.[4]

1.1 THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS

1.1.1 Assimilation as a Process of Psychological Transformation

Upon arrival in their host societies, immigrants are confronted
with different physical/social settings to which they must relate.
Their mental energy is directed towards survival in the new, complex

and often confusing behavioural environment.[5] They begin a perceptual-cognitive process to find a place to fit, in their socio-cultural surroundings.

Cognition and perception are two closely related psychological processes whereby human beings obtain, store, use, and operate upon information. Cognition, includes a wide range of mental processes, such as sensing, perceiving, remembering, imagining, judging, deciding and others. Perception, a process of converting sensory stimulation into organized experiences, is a part of a broader cognitive process.[6] The change in behavioural environment is accompanied by reorganization of cognitive structure expressed as internal (attitudinal) and external (behavioural) transformations. From the psychological viewpoint, assimilation may be defined as a process of cognitive reorganization.

The internal transformations involve changes along an attitudinal continuum as shown in Figure 1.1[7]. The dynamic positions of

Negative ————————————————————————— Positive

FIGURE 1.1 ATTITUDINAL CONTINUUM

immigrants on the attitudinal continuum indicate in general terms the reluctance or eagerness for success in their assimilation endeavours in the new environment. Attitudinal transformation involves changes in satisfaction levels, internalization and identification (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974). Satisfaction may be considered, at least for the time being, the first step in the assimilation process. Internalization refers to changes in opinions, attitudes, and values. Identificational

assimilation.(Gordon, 1964) occurs when immigrants transfer their loyalty and national identification to their adopted land. All attitudinal transformations are related to the predisposition to change (Taft, 1963).

The external transformations also involve changes along a behavioural continuum as shown in Figure 1.2.

Passive ———————————————————————— Active
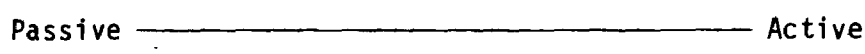
FIGURE 1.2 BEHAVIOURAL CONTINUUM

The dynamic positions of immigrants along the behavioural continuum reflect their involvement in interactions with their host society. If it is true that behaviour reflects attitudes held, and if it is true that immigrants undergo a continuing process of attitudinal change, the assimilation behaviour of immigrants is indeed a dynamic phenomenon.

According to Bjorklund and Philbrick (1975), the attitudinal and behavioural continua intersect creating four attitudinal/behavioural configurations: positive active, positive passive, negative active and negative passive. The "positive-active" configuration describes the attitudinal/behavioural characteristics of immigrants who deliberately search for forms of positive interaction. Immigrants who simply conform to the dominant cultural pattern unthinkingly represent the "positive-passive" interactional posture. The "negative-active" configuration represents cases of deliberate resistance to positive interaction. The "negative-passive" posture refers to interactional configuration expressed in the form of a turning inwards, an unaware

avoidance or ignoring of interactions with the host population. In their changing reactions to different circumstances originating in the dynamic behavioural environment, every immigrant will occupy some changing position in the attitudinal/behavioural matrix undergoing a continuous process of cognitive reorganization.

At the foundation of the cognitive transformation, is identity transformation. The concept of identity is related to the 'I' and 'me' concept (Hoult, 1969). For each individual there is one 'I' but many 'me's'; the number of 'me's' for each individual equals the number of roles played by that individual. When immigrants start the processes of adjustment, fitting in, and survival, they play different roles in unfamiliar environments leading to transformations not only in their personal identities but also in the sociocultural and spatial identities of their adopted land.

The process of identity transformation at the individual level is inseparable from the broader process of psychosocial spatial transformation. The transformation of the personal identity is a function of transformation of the socio-cultural and spatial identities.

1.1.2 Assimilation as a Process of Social-Cultural Transformation

Assimilation refers, also, to the aggregative effects of the transformations of individuals interacting with each other. The context of assimilation is a socio-cultural process involving different images, ideas, values, codes, customs and other patterns of group living.[8] For the processes of socio-cultural transformation, two apparently contradictory definitions of assimilation may be given.

First, assimilation is a process of difference elimination.   Second,
assimilation is a process of psychosocial differentiation.

If the first definition is accepted, the reader may be misled to
believe that differences between all individuals and groups will be
totally eliminated over time leading to the formation of a super-culture.
This might be true if all individuals and groups follow a single assim-
ilation path, a one-way transformation guided by a single reference
group. It is known however that immigrants go many different directions,
making different assimilation decisions dynamically conforming to dif-
ferent types of reference groups, and different behavioural environments
at different points in time. It is also known that not all immigrants,
assimilate at the same rate. A single homogeneous global cultural
group formed by culturally "melting" all individuals/groups together
will never appear. The melting-pot theory advanced by Kennedy (1944) and
Herberg (1955) does not realistically describe the assimilation process.

If the second definition is accepted, the reader will find it easier
to justify the socio-cultural differences existing between different
human groups. The second definition enforces the ideas on cultural
pluralism advanced by Kallen (1924, 1956) predicting the emergence of
heterogeneous societies based on complex assimilation of ethnic,
linguistic and religious backgrounds. The second definition, however
realistic it may appear, cannot be used independently of the first
one because both elimination and differentiation of differences occur.

The differentiation hypothesis has been endorsed by Bertalanffy
(1967) and Powers (1973). Bertalanffy states that living systems are
maintained in states of non-equilibrium tending toward increasing

differentiation. Powers underscores the variability of human behaviour, undermining the foundations of the deterministic and mechanistic theories of behaviourism. According to Powers, without variations in human behaviours there would be no behavioural patterns.[9]

The two contrasting ideas can be integrated to describe the process of differentiation on one hand and homogenization on the other hand. It is the creative capacity of man that is responsible for adaptive blending with different groups triggering a continuous process of socio-cultural transformations.

The psychological transformation is meshed with the socio-cultural transformation through a psychosocial link: identity. As with personal identity, the cultural identity of the host society has one cultural 'I' and many cultural 'me's'; there is one cultural 'me' for every member in that culture. The cultural 'me' stands in fact for the personal 'I'. Any change in the personal 'me' must find its way to change the cultural "We". As immigrants undergo the assimilation process they change their attitudinal/behavioural/identificational characteristics effecting transformations in the socio-cultural mix of their adopted land. The process of socio-cultural transformation cannot be, therefore, separated from the broader process of psychosocial spatial transformation. The transformation in the socio-cultural identity is a function of the transformation of the personal and spatial identities.

1.1.3 Assimilation as a Process of Spatial Transformation

The people-place concept is one of the important underlying concepts in geographical investigation. People-identity becomes place identity. The two are inseparable. Persons have their own identities; cultures have their own identities, and from this so do places. For

each place there is one spatial 'I' and many spatial 'me's' reflecting the complexity of using the place. Any change in a single personal 'me' must be reflected not only in the personal 'I' but also in the cultural "We" and the spatial "We" and, by reciprocation, any change in the spatial 'me' must be reflected, somehow and sooner or later, not only in the spatial 'I' but also in the cultural "We" and the personal 'I'. The people-place identity stands, in fact, for the combined effects of the personal identity, cultural identity, and spatial identity. The point to be made here is that the dynamic inter-actions between peoples and places are real and the hyphen in the people-place concept connects instead of separates.

The ongoing struggle for people-place identity is expressed by the way people emotionally and socially attach themselves to people-places. It is commonly believed that the longer people live in a place, the greater the intensity of psychosocial spatial relationships they develop to make them feel they are a part of the place. They carry the people-place label when they travel; they salute its flag; they stand and sing together its national anthem; they willingly "stand on guard" to protect its boundaries against intruders and many are willing to give up their lives for it.

The emotional attachment to place is illustrated at international airports where the language of separation and union are spoken. At the departure terminal, people let their feelings do the talking: tears and other signs of separation. At the arrival terminal, people hug and kiss each other: joy and signs of union with the homeland. No

group of people appreciates the spatial separateness and union polarities like immigrants who decide, for better or worse, to depart a homeland and take on the challenge of assimilation in a different country.

The assimilation process is life-long and even transgenerational. As the process of assimilation initiated by the first generation of immigrants continues, the offspring proceed to different experiences, making their own assimilation decisions which may or may not correspond with those of their parents. In due time, further permanent changes will lead to a change in national identity where immigrants and/or their children will carry different identities, salute different flags, sing different songs, pursue different ways of life, and perhaps even die defending the adopted country.

The way people manage their places and order themselves socially and spatially is rooted in their ideology which manifests itself spatially in all forms of human expressions (Bjorklund and Philbrick, 1968). The introduction of new ideas (by birth and migration) into places must bring about corresponding spatial transformations. Upon arrival, immigrants interact with the host society creating different types of interactional configurations, the success or failure of which depends on the attitudinal/behavioural postures of the interacting parties. The spatial "We" is directly or indirectly influenced by the dynamic position each and every immigrant occupies on the assimilation continuum shown in Figure 1.3.

Isolation	Transitional	Togetherness
(Separatism)	FIGURE 1.3	(Assimilation)
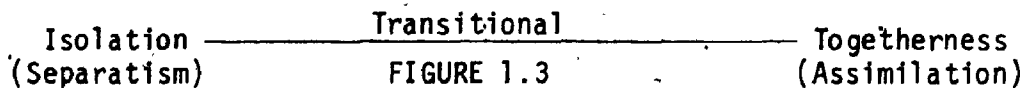
ASSIMILATION CONTINUUM

Guided by the assimilation scale (Figure 1.3), three broad sets
of assimilation/spatial configurations are identified: separatist
transitional, and assimilationist. The first configuration is
achieved by centripetal processes leading to the concentration of
ethnic groups in certain locations in the urban regions. Negative
separatist behaviours produce types of ethnic enclaves/ghettos. The
middle interactional configuration is transitional in nature represent-
ing an urban zone of compromise and tolerance, an integration zone.
The last configuration is the outcome of centrifugal processes leading
to spreading immigrants among the host population indicating the success
of a psychosocial spatial process at work. Assimilation could be
spatially characterized as a positive active solution to cultural and
territorial conflicts (Bjorklund and Philbrick, 1968).

The preceding sets of assimilation/spatial configurations suggest
the existence of three dynamic types of assimilation spaces: negative,
neutral, and positive which dynamically reflect transformations of the
identity of the interacting parties over time. The spatial behaviour
of immigrants in the urban regions shows some regularities and patterns
reflecting the progress they make in their preceptual-cognitive attempt
to fit and succeed. The dispersal of immigrants in the outer zone of
the urban region is a sign of a spatial assimilation. The transformation
of the spatial identity is a function of the transformation of personal
and cultural identities.

1.2 ASSUMPTIONS

There are certain assumptions on which the assimilation model

is based and upon which the empirical work was carried out. There are seven assumptions:

1) If nothing is constant but change, human behaviour is inevitably changeful. All individuals undergo psychological change, social change and spatial change throughout their lifetimes.

2) Human behaviour consists of interactions between information inside-the-self (feelings, earlier learning, memories, etc.) and with information outside-the-self.

3) Behavioural change is not random. It is an outcome of maintaining earlier learned behaviour and accommodating new behaviours to correspond to changes in surroundings.

4) Changes in surroundings or circumstances comprise personal and social constraint and contexts, and variations in environmental constraints and contexts.

5) As individuals interact with other people in the social/ physical environment, no single consequence or reaction is inevitable. Alternative courses of behaviour are always possible. One can like or dislike any given situation; one can act positively or negatively, passively or actively.

6) The greater the shift of individual's experience in location and groups, the greater the extent of change or assimilation.

7) Assimilation, a process of psychosocial spatial change is variable. It does not proceed in a uniform manner among individuals but in different states and at different rates of change according to their capability for dealing with new/different information.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the dissertation is to examine the process of assimilation as psychosocial spatial transformation focusing on an individual's experiences, to define a spatial assimilation model. Confronted by his experiences as a bicultural (Egyptian/Arab and Canadian) person, the writer has selected "Arabs" in Canada as subjects for this assimilation investigation.[TO]

The general objective stated above is supported by five specific objectives:

1) To describe the nature of the assimilation process.

2) To examine the psychological, sociological and spatial perspectives on assimilation underscoring transformations in the personal, cultural, and spatial identities.

3) To integrate the major assimilation concepts into a coherent conceptual structure.

4) To develop a measure of Arab assimilation in Canada.

5) To identify, classify, and discuss the psycho/social/spatial variables affecting the rate of Arab assimilation, acknowledging the impact of the time factor on the variability and heterogenity of assimilation behaviour.

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION

The dissertation is organized around these five specific objectives. In this first chapter, the nature of assimilation has been overviewed; assimilation has been introduced as a process of

psychosocial spatial transformation focusing on the dynamic inter-
dependence between personal, cultural and spatial identities.

Understanding the nature of the assimilation process is the task
of the second chapter. A multi-disciplinary approach is used to
examine the psychosocial spatial dimensions of assimilation. Three
perspectives on assimilation are introduced: psychological, socio-
logical, spatial.

The third chapter integrates six psychosocial spatial concepts
drawn from earlier discussions in a dynamic model of assimilation.
These concepts are spatial interaction, conformity, reference groups,
progressive assimilation, progressive differentiation and identity
change.

The model assumes variability, heterogeneity and multidirect-
ionality in assimilation behaviour. It incorporates change from one
cultural-place identity to another. The Arab side of the scale rep-
resents the configuration of isolation (separatism); the middle part,
transition; and the Canadian side, togetherness (assimilation). The
parts of the model are dynamically interrelated by psychosocial
spatial feedbacks allowing for dynamic, multicyclic and continuous
operation, which create relative, not absolute, assimilation con-
figurations.

A measure for assimilation is described in the fourth chapter
which identifies a set of forty-one psychosocial items that are fitted
into an accumulative Arab-Canadian assimilation scale. The number of
scale items an immigrant endorses (scores positively) indicates the
position of that immigrant on the continuum of the proposed

Arab-Canadian assimilation scale. The psychosocial configurations illustrated by the scale are inseparable from their spatial config- urations. This idea of meshing psychosocial and spatial concepts will be examined further in chapter five. This fact is extremely important to this dissertation because the psychosocial character- istics of Arab immigrants in Canada are used as surrogates for spatial configurations appropriate to the process of identity transformation generally.

The fifth chapter discusses the time-spatial dimension of assimilation based on empirical findings. Nine sets of psychosocial variables are examined in the light of the transformation processes of personal, socio-cultural and spatial identities. The effect of time on the assimilation process is explicitly acknowledged. The psychosocial variables, used as surrogates for spatial configurations, are: 1) opinions, 2) attitudes, 3) religion, 4) language, 5) food preference, 6) satisfaction, 7) contacts with the Arab world, 8) con- tacts with Canada and 9) sense of belonging. The proposed assimilation model forms the axis to which all ideas developed in this dissertation are directly or indirectly connected.

The sixth and last chapter summarizes the dissertation, discusses the main findings and poses some problems and questions arising from the work. The model can be modified to reflect new understandings gained from future field investigations. It is believed that the assimilation model is a modest contribution to behavioural geography. Its contribution is the development of a molecular assimilation concept which shifts attention from the surface appearances of the assimilation

process (adjustment, acculturation, absorption...etc.) to the hidden interacting subsystems: the assimilation events themselves.[11]
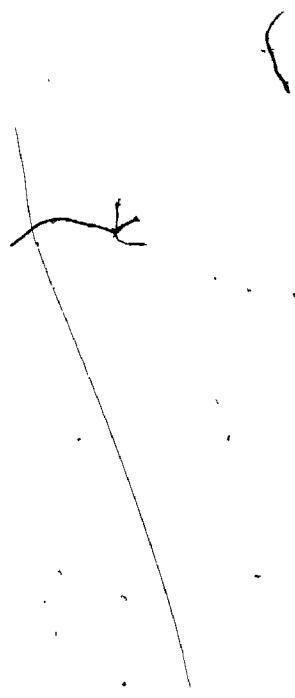
CHAPTER I - NOTES

1. The concept of territoriality has been applied in different
   contexts by Davis (1958), Soja (1971), Gottmann (1973) and
   Altman (1975). The relationship between territoriality
   and cognition has been examined by Gold (1980). For work
   done on animal territoriality see Howard (1920), Huxley
   (1934), Burt (1943), Watson and Moss (1971), and Hall (1972).

2. The concept of social space has been examined generally by
   Relf (1973, 1976) and Tuan (1975, 1976, 1977). An attempt
   has been made by Armstrong (1981) to map social space using
   a social network approach.

3. The concept of regionalization has been applied by Watson
   (1971) who feels that regions start in the mind of man.
   This concept has been approached also by Bjorklund (1983)
   from a behavioural geographic point of view. The relation-
   ship between assimilation and transformation of human regions
   will be discussed in Chapter Three under the spatial per-
   spective.

4. According to Gold (1980, p. 4), behavioural geography is
   that part of geography that relates spatial patterns of
   behaviour to cognition. Behavioural geography is roughly
   equivalent to 'cognitive-behaviouralism' (Sprout and Sprout,
   1965; Murton, 1972), 'environmental perception' (Saarinen,
   1969), 'psychogeography' (Kates, 1970), 'ethno-geography'
   (Knight, 1971), 'image geography' (Watson, 1975), and
   'perception geography' (Gottmann, 1977).

5. Behavioural environment of a given individual/group consists
   of the people who interact with that individual/group dynam-
   ically affecting each other. Immigrants are expected to
   interact interculturally with their new behavioural environ-
   ments creating dynamic spatial configurations appropriate to
   their stage of assimilation. The term behavioural environment
   is roughly analagous to what Bjorklund (1983) calls a perception
   field to be presented in Chapter Two under the spatial per-
   spective.

6. Experimental and environmental psychological approaches deal with perception and cognition in various ways. According to Gold (1980) the debate has focused on the type of environmental information upon which perception and cognition are based, the role of hereditary factors, the development of cognitive processes over time and the way that individuals attach meaning to environmental phenomena. For detailed discussion of differences between perception and cognition see Proshansky et al (1976).

7. The concept of continuity as employed in this dissertation refers to apparently continuous phenomena that are made up of discrete parts. A picture in the newspaper (a half tone) appears as a continuous surface but in reality it consists of discrete dots of varying sizes. An electric current is treated by engineers as a smoothly variable continuous quantity but in reality an electric current is the drift of tiny individually charged particles (electrons) through the atomic matrix of a conductor. For detailed discussion on continuous versus discrete representation of reality see Wiener (1948), Arbib (1964), Powers (1973) and Philbrick (1982).

8. See an article on place, landscape and dialectics of cultural geography by Cosgrove (1978).

9. Powers (1973) has developed a hierarchial control-systems model of behavioural organization to account for variability of human behaviour. Powers states that behaviour is the control of perception and behaviour is controlled not by environmental stimuli outside the system but by reference conditions and signals inside the system. Powers' work challenges the behaviouristic ideas based on the S-R model.

10. The Arab world consists of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Palestine, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait and Iraq. These countries form a cultural region dominated by the Arabic language, the Islamic religion, similar historical development and common future aspirations.

11. The distinction between molecular and molar models is based on the study level; molar models examine "wholes" but molecular models focus on "parts". See Gold (1980, pp. 13-15).

CHAPTER II

MAJOR ASSIMILATION PERSPECTIVES

Assimilation is a complex process that benefits from multi-disciplinary investigation.[1] Although the subject has been addressed by poets, writers, philosophers, and by many in the social sciences, the discussion here will concentrate on a particular selection of studies that have contributed significantly to the author's thinking. A comprehensive bibliography and full discussion of assimilation theories and empirical studies is beyond the scope of the research. For the purpose of this dissertation three major classes (perspectives) of assimilation research are cited and their general characteristics are discussed: 1) psychological perspectives, 2) sociological perspectives, and 3) spatial perspectives as shown in Figure 2.1. Useful examples from these three perspectives will be introduced to formulate another perspective referred to as psychosocial spatial transformation. This chapter briefly describes germane aspects of these perspectives towards the integration of concepts in the spatial assimilation model to be developed in the following chapter.

2.1   THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

The psychological perspectives examine the dynamic relationships

Assimilation Perspectives

Psychological Perspectives
Adjustment
Absorption
Acculturation
Adaptation

Sociological Perspectives
Assimilation
Amalgamation
Pluralism
Ecology

Spatial Perspectives
Ecology   Urban Ecology Model
          Social Area Model
          Factorial Ecology

Diffusion
Ideological and Spatial Transformations
Dynamic Spatial Interaction
Transformation of Human Regions

FIGURE 2.1

ASSIMILATION PERSPECTIVES

between immigrants and their behavioural environment from the
individual's psychological transformation point of view. This
perspective illustrates assimilation as processes of adjustment,
absorption, acculturation, and adaptation. This perspective
focuses on the role of individuals in the interactional process.

2.1.1 Assimilation as a Process of Adjustment

Adjustment is the process of establishing harmonious relation-
ships between immigrants and their host societies. Moving from
one social system to another creates a different social context
within which immigrants make adjustments to their new environments.
The process of adjustment is usually carried out through two closely
related sub processes: learning and socialization. Learning is
"a kind of blanket term for the ability of the organism to modify
his behaviour in order to take into account the conditions in the
environment" (Bennett and Tumin, 1948, p. 307). Socialization
occurs when individuals learn to behave willingly in accordance
with the prevailing cultural standards (Hoult, 1969, p. 299).
Adjustment, therefore, implies optional behavioural modification
through learning by experience, by trial and error.

Related to the process of adjustment is the concept of
"visibility". The greater the cultural difference between immi-
grants and their cultural environments, the greater the "visibility".
In the long run, adjustment implies the reduction of group vis-
ibility as members become indistinguishable from members of the host

society. But the extent to which immigrants will in fact become culturally "invisible" depends not only on members of immigrant groups but also, among other things, on the conformity level expected by the host society (Shuval, 1968, p. 373-377). Taft has noted that the total process of adjustment (economic and social) may vary in terms of four dimensions. Does the individual want to be assimilated? Does he do anything in this direction? Does he perceive that he is accepted or rejected? Is he in fact accepted by the host group? (Taft, 1963, p. 153).

The process of adjustment, therefore, has two aspects: the immigrants and their host society. A satisfactory outcome of the adjustment process, however, necessitates a certain complementarity of the two. Immigrants are generally expected to play the active role of adjustment while the more passive role of acceptance is left to the host society. The immigrant's side of adjustment is based on the predisposition to change which implies a willingness to accept new roles. It also implies a certain "time-perspective" that enables the immigrant to see beyond the initial difficulties of adjustment to future goals.

The predisposition to change depends, also, on how immigrants view their host country. If the host country is viewed as a permanent place of residence, immigrants are likely to be more open to change than those who consider their stay in the host country less permanent. The predisposition to change is also influenced by whether immigrants view their host culture as superior or inferior

to their own. If the host culture is viewed as superior, immigrants
will be more motivated to abandon traditional norms and patterns
and adopt those of the host society. When the reverse is the case
and immigrants feel that their traditional patterns are superior,
their predisposition to change will be lower.

2.1.2 Assimilation as a Process of Absorption

Assimilation has been examined as a process of absorption by
Eisenstadt (1952, 1954), Patterson (1965, 1968), and Ryan (1973).

Eisenstadt (1952, 1954) prefers the term "absorption" which
seems to imply a totally one-way process calling for no adaptation
at all on the part of the host society. He goes on to develop
three indices of absorption. These indices are:

1) acculturation or learning the new roles, norms, and customs
in the country of immigration;

2) personality adjustment or ways in which the new country
affects the immigrant's personality, his satisfaction, and his
ability to cope with problems; and

3) institutional dispersion or integration into new structures
and institutions of the host country.

Within this framework, Eisenstadt (1952, 1954) is particularly
interested in discovering the conditions under which successful
absorption takes place. He hypothesizes that an important variable
is a positive disposition to change on the part of the immigrant.
Consequently, he concentrates on the individual rather than on the

group and adopts a psychological rather than sociological approach to the problem. This perhaps explains why he places acculturation at the beginning of the absorption process.

Sheila Patterson (1965, 1968) extends Eisenstadt's term absorption to cover the whole range of the two-way process of adaptation and acceptance that occurs between immigrant groups and the host society. She goes on to identify the following four phases of the process:

1) accommodation: earlier phase of migrant-host relations involving a minimum modus vivendi between newcomers and the receiving society.

2) self-segregation: voluntary ghetto creation to act as a 'cushion' in the process of adaptation; for some this stage may become permanent.

3) integration: immigrant groups adapt to life in the larger culture without giving up their own cultural identity.

4) assimilation: complete incorporation and acculturation of the immigrant group.

Derviving from the earlier sociological work of Eisenstadt (1952, 1954) and Patterson (1965, 1968), W. Ryan (1973) developed a three-stage model of absorption: accommodation, integration, and assimilation. Ryan's work is important to this dissertation, it has significantly affected the present writer's thinking in the area of methodology. Ryan applied his model to Irish immigrants in Britain; he used the Guttman scaling technique to build an assimilation scale.

Ryan's methodology has been used in the present investigation.

The work of Eisenstadt (1952, 1954), Patterson (1956, 1968), and Ryan (1973) presented the process of assimilation as an orderly multi-stage process. In reality, however, the assimilation process does not proceed in such clearly defined stages but it is made up of heterogeneous events some or many of which may be in fact contrary to assimilation, separatist and isolationist in nature.

2.1.3 Assimilation as a Process of Acculturation

Acculturation is used here in its psychological, not anthropological sense. Richardson (1961, 1967) found three subvarieties of acculturation: obligatory, advantageous, and optional. Richardson believes that acculturation is the termination of a three stage assimilation process: satisfaction, identification, and acculturation. According to Richardson, immigrants must rise beyond the satisfaction stage before they can identify with the host society. Richardson suggests that identification may be reached after spending five years in the host country and identification, in turn, is a prerequisite for the acculturation stage of assimilation. Richardson's three types of acculturation will be discussed next.

a) Obligatory Acculturation

This kind of acculturation contains the element of obligation. Immigrants may adopt a given set of attitudinal/behavioural characteristics not because they want to but because they must. This form

of acculturation does not require some minimum level of satisfaction and identification as a prerequisite. It should be noted however, that the immigrants who are unwilling or unable to make these changes may find it more difficult to achieve a minimum level of satisfaction with life in their adopted country. This is obvious in the case of the immigrant who is unable to communicate adequately in the language of his host society.

b) Advantageous Acculturation

There are many areas of public behavior where an immigrant may find himself exposed to pressure from the members of the new community to change his behaviour in some way. An immigrant who has been accustomed to calling his boss "Mr." or "Sir" may be criticized for "crawling" by the members of host groups who call the boss by his first name. The immigrant may bring his behavior in line with the norms set by the group. Research has supported the hypothesis that the adoption of group norms is closely associated with the degree to which an individual values his membership in the group.

The host group, on the other hand, may often value some characteristic of an immigrant group, and seek to preserve it and sometimes to adopt it for their own. When this happens, the preservation of a national characteristic may constitute a form of advantageous non-acculturation for the immigrant. The continental courtesy associated with the social behaviour of some European immigrants might serve as an example of this phenomenon.

Though much advantageous acculturation may occur in the absence of any prior identification; it might be expected to take place quicker and more extensively where prior identification has occurred.

c) Optional Acculturation

Richardson has chosen the term 'optional' to indicate the kind of behavior characteristic of the host community but not required of a newcomer. This optional class of characteristics encompasses the expressive or stylistic aspects of behavior: speech and gesture characteristics. The deliberate attempt to take on the typical expressive qualities of host group members is likely to arouse suspicion of immigrants. If changes in speech or gesture are not obligatory or even advantageous why is the immigrant putting them on? What is he trying to hide? What is he seeking to achieve?

Expressive patterns of behavior can only occur convincingly when they develop naturally. The natural growth of this form of acculturation is likely to be facilitated once some minimum level of identification has been achieved. Richardson feels that this 'optional' kind of acculturation may be considered as an appropriate terminal stage to the assimilation process.

Richardson's model placed acculturation at the end of the assimilation process while Eisenstadt placed it at the beginning. The two models appear to contradict each other. It will be shown later that acculturation is not reserved for any given stage in the

assimilation process but occurs to varying degrees on the dynamic continuum of assimilation. This apparent conflict between the Richardson (1961, 1967) and Eisenstadt (1952, 1954) models will be clarified in chapter six.

2.1.4 Assimilation as a Process of Adaptation

Appreciating the complexity of assimilation, Goldlust and Richmond (1974) developed a multivariate model of immigrant adaptation. They applied the model to immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto, Canada. The Goldlust and Richmond model consists of five components: a) the objective factors of adaptation, b) the subjective factors of adaptation, c) pre-migration characteristics of immigrants, d) situational determinants in the receiving society and e) length of residence in the host society. Each of these components will be discussed next in some detail.

a) The Objective Factors of Adaptation

An analysis of the immigrant adaptation according to Goldlust and Richmond accounts for _four_ objective factors: the economic experience, the culture sphere, social aspects, and political aspects. The _economic_ experience of the migrant includes the industries and occupations into which migrants move together with their subsequent occupational and social mobility including income and expenditures. The _culture_ sphere encompasses the establishment of channels of communication through language learning together with interchange of cultural artifacts and symbols between immigrants and the

receiving society. These may range from changes in food habits to more radical changes in fundamental religion or moral beliefs and practices. The <u>social</u> aspects include not only the integration of immigrants into the network of primary relationships but also the social participation in formal organization of various types. <u>Political</u> aspects include participation in voting, standing for election, and the formation of new parties and pressure groups representing the special interests of ethnic minority groups.

b) <u>The subjective factors of adaptation</u>

The subjective side of the adaptation process in the work of Goldlust and Richmond includes three main elements: identification, internalization, and satisfaction. <u>Identification</u> involves the immigrant's own sense of identity and a transference of loyalty. <u>Internalization</u> refers to the process of change in the attitudes and values of the immigrant and is closely related to the objective process of acculturation. Level of <u>satisfaction</u> depends on the reference group or condition being used for comparison.

c) <u>Pre-migration characteristics:</u>

There is a variety of different pre-migration characteristics and conditions likely to influence the subsequent adaptation of immigrants. Among the most important in an advanced industrial society, according to Goldlust and Richmond will be the <u>education and technical training</u> of the immigrant. In many cases adult immigrants may be required to undertake further courses and to gain experience before qualifications are recognized and the immigrants

permitted to pursue the occupation for which they were trained
before migration. Prior urbanization of the immigrant will affect
his adaptation to life in metropolitan areas like Toronto. Demo-
graphic factors (sex, age on arrival, marital status, size of
family) are likely to be important determinants of post-migration
experience. The auspices of migration may influence the subsequent
modes of adaptation. There are three kinds of migrants in Canada:
sponsored, nominated, and independent. It is the independent type
of immigrants who find themselves, upon arrival, in a sink-or-swim
situation; they take the adaptation process seriously. Motives for
migration may also affect the adaptation process. Most immigrants
(but not all) migrate to improve their material standards and
economic status.

d) Situational determinants in the receiving society cover a
whole range of variables related to demography, urbanization,
industrialization, government policies, and dominant cultural
philosophies.

e) Length of residence in the receiving society is necessarily
an independent variable that interacts with both pre-migration
and situational determinants to modify the objective and sub-
jective modes of adaptation.

Goldlust and Richmond (1974) applied their model to immigrants
in Toronto and they were able to identify five types of immigrants:

a) Urban villager: immigrants originating in rural areas of
southern Europe who have re-created social networks in Canadian

cities based on close relatives from their own region or country of origin. Although their economic status is low by Canadian standards, they are well satisfied and committed to Canada.

b) Anglo-conformist: immigrants from various parts of the world who have come as independent immigrants or as refugees and have a higher level of education. They seek to assimilate into a Canadian middle-class way of life as quickly as possible.

c) Pluralistic: immigrants from various parts of the world who have come as independent immigrants or refugees and have a higher level of education but prefer a pluralistic form of social integration, in which some aspects of the former language and culture are maintained.

d) Transient: immigrants who bring valuable skills to the Canadian labour market but who do not plan to settle permanently in Canada.

e) Alienated: immigrants who fail to obtain steady employment at a level commensurate with their qualifications. Their social isolation and lack of acculturation generate deep-seated dissatisfaction and stress.

The typography developed recognizes that there are significant differences in conditions of departure from homeland, motivational states and behavioural outcomes for immigrant peoples in the host country.

2.1.5 Summary

The psychological perspective illustrates the assimilation process as psychological transformation through internal changes and behavioural modifications at the individual level. The psychological perspective is useful to the present investigation in five ways. First, the general discussion of the psychological models furnished the author with a valuable set of concepts necessary to the understanding of the complex process of assimilation. Second, the author will carry forward a number of concepts such as satisfaction, internalization, acculturation, and identification, the last of which will become a major component in the author's tripartite model on assimilation to be developed in the following chapter. Third, Goldlust and Richmond's (1974) multivariate model on assimilation led the author to examine assimilation as a function and a variable function of time; Richmond's model emphasized time as an essential factor in the assimilation process. Fourth, Ryan's (1973) scaling methodology will be used in the processing of data used in this dissertation. Fifth, the author's attempt to explain the contradiction between the Richardson (1961, 1967) and Eisenstadt's (1952, 1954) models contributed significantly to the development of the author's molecular model of assimilation to be presented in the last chapter.

2.2 THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

In the sociological literature on assimilation, three major

doctrines have evolved to describe the complex social interactions between the host society and immigrants; the emphasis is on the host society. These major sociological doctrines are: assimilation, amalgamation, and cultural pluralism. In addition to the discussion of these three doctrines, this perspective critically examines Gordon's sociological model and introduces assimilation as an ecological process.

2.2.1 Assimilation

From the sociological viewpoint, the doctrine of assimilation stands for the social consensus resulting from the absorption of minority groups into the majority group. In the American context, this has been described as "anglo-conformity". Against the arguments of contemporary assimilation theorists who relate assimilation to social power and economic relationships, the original doctrine of assimilation relied upon the assertion that the dominant group's culture is socially superior. It is true that much research has demonstrated that the assimilation process is occurring in many societies; but it is also true that the assumption of the ultimate disappearance of minority cultures has not been empirically validated. Encouraged by the racial and cultural movements such as Black Power, "red power", and the white ethnic revivals of the 1970's, social scientists are calling assimilationist assumptions to question.

2.2.2   Amalgamation

The doctrine of amalgamation provides a slightly different, though still basically deterministic, set of predictions. This doctrine has been expressed as "melting pot" and "multiple-melting-pot".

The 'melting pot' idea was advanced by Ruby Kennedy (1944) and made popular by Will Herberg (1955). The 'melting pot' idea stipulates that all ethnic cultures have desirable elements that merge together to form the new social amalgam. The 'melting pot' means the assimilation of truly mixed backgrounds in a new ethnicity where no one dominant ethnicity or past ethnic contribution stands out more than any other. According to this theory, all ethnic groups, are integrated into a new creation, a new breed of humanity with its own ethnic culture, structure, and identity in an increasingly diverse world (Thernstrom et al, 1980).

The 'multiple melting pot' (Kennedy 1944) is based on Kennedy's investigation of the intermarriage trends in New Haven, among three religious groups (Protestants, Catholics, and Jews). Kennedy found that the situation in New Haven represents not a single melting-pot but a 'triple melting pot' in which nationality groups merge through intermarriage and acculturation according to their shared beliefs expressed by their respective religious affiliations. Swedish, German, and English Protestants, for example form one pool, Italian, Irish, and Polish Catholics are another, and Spanish, German and Eastern European Jews represent a third.

Supporting the preceding assimilation tendency, Will Herberg (1955) argued that this kind of assimilation could result in the dominance of a single ethnicity in each religious blend. Italian Catholics may be said to become "Irish" as they merged into the Irish model of Catholicism. Scandinavian and Dutch Protestants would evolve into an English or Anglo-Saxon ethnicity through inter-marriage and amalgamation.

A somewhat similar suggestion is found in the work of Glazer and Moynihan (1970) who see political interest as the motive force behind the continued existence of ethnic association. Ethnic groups are seen as essentially special-interest groups which came into existence because of common cultural background that remain in existence after the distinctive cultural element has disappeared because they have become the bases of political and social economic power.

2.2.3 Cultural Pluralism

Horace Kallen's (1924, 1956) idea of cultural pluralism does not mean the relative absence of either simple or complex assimilation but the emergence of a heterogeneous society based on a complex assimilation of ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds. Kallen argued that social diversity has been an inherent aspect of American society from its beginning. Kallen's theory was intended to combat the assimilationist assumptions and acknowledges the strength of cultures other than a white-Protestant-dominated culture - "We don't ask people that people be less Jewish, less Protestant,

or less Catholic. We want them to understand and appreciate people of other groups" (Gordon, 1964, p. 16). Cultural pluralism suggests that cultural groups live together separately.

2.2.4 Gordon's Model of Assimilation

No sociological discussion of assimilation is complete without the inclusion of Gordon's (1964) sociological model that attracted the attention of many sociological investigations. Gordon (1964) hypothesizes two kinds of assimilation: acculturation or cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. The first involves the learning of cultural patterns of the host country; the second is a large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society especially at the primary group level. Gordon (1964) suggests that acculturation precedes structural assimilation.

Gordon accepts the concept of a core culture which acts as a standard against which the progress of immigrants can be measured. Unfortunately, there is no standard vocabulary to describe that progress. Consensus is lacking as to the precise meaning of such terms as acculturation, integration, and assimilation.

Within the total assimilation process, Gordon distinguishes seven important variables (or subprocesses) each of which may be thought of as constituting a particular stage of the assimilation process. Gordon gives most emphasis to the first two processes and states that once structural assimilation has taken place all later stages will follow automatically. The seven subprocesses are:

Subprocess or Condition	Type of Assimilation
1. Change of cultural patterns to those of host society.	Acculturation or cultural and behavioral assimilation
2. Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society	Structural assimilation
3. Large-scale inter-marriage	Amalgamation, or marital assimilation
4. Development of sense of people-hood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation
5. Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation
6. Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation
7. Absence of value and power conflict	Civil assimilation

Gordon's model has been presented to identify four distinct types of assimilation. His variables are: cultural assimilation (adoption of dominant group culture, values, and life-style); structural assimilation (entrance into dominant group institutions, clubs, and cliques); amalgamation (defined and measured by inter-marriage rates); and identificational assimilation (minority group members think of themselves as American, Canadian, Australian, etc.). In addition to these four types of assimilation, Gordon argues that assimilation may be measured by the absence of three phenomema: prejudice, and power or value conflicts between groups.

The most noticed difficulty in Gordon's model is his claim that acculturation is likely to be the first type of

assimilation to occur. Indeed, Gordon himself thinks of his sub-
processes as independent rather than as stages in a sequence.

Accordingly Gordon (1964) concluded that "once structural
assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or sub-
sequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation
will naturally follow...structural assimilation...is seen to be
the keystone of the arch of assimilation" (Gordon, 1964, p. 81).
This writer does not accept such deterministic approach; the
empirical investigation of this dissertation does not confirm Gordon's
conclusion. Other studies do not confirm Gordon's work either. In
an article entitled "The New Chinese Immigrants in Toronto", Lai
(1971) raised some doubts about Gordon's theory; "the data from this
survey suggests that "complete" assimilation in any one area tends
to occur and each aspect of assimilation may occur simultaneously.
The Chinese immigrants examined...are only partially culturally
assimilated, partially structurally assimilated..." (Lai, 1971, p. 138).

The strongest challenge to Gordon's work came from Newman (1978);
"...the two most important theoretical propositions that emerge from
Gordon's work have not been validated. First, the idea that all
groups enter a linear and cumulative process of cultural assim-
ilation has been shattered by ethnic consciousness and even separa-
tists movements in the United States, Canada, Ireland, Southeast
Asia, Africa, and elsewhere. Second, the intention that assimilation
culminates through the onset of structural assimilation has not
been validated...Gordon's work suffers from erroneous assumption

that total assimilation inevitably occurs" (Newman, 1978, p. 43).

2.2.5   Assimilation as an Ecological Process

This section examines assimilation as an ecological process. The discussion utilizes the ecological theory of population succession. The literature on ghettos and ethnic enclaves suggests the existence of a cyclical process of change of immigrants' ethnic origin over time; this cyclical process is the core of the population succession theory.

The population succession theory is founded on plant and animal ecology (Yeates and Garner, 1971). The theory deals with two processes: succession and invasion. Succession involves the mixing of animal/plant species within a given territory. Invasion then occurs with the influx of new species to the territory; the new species dominate the territory only if the invasion is successful. Successful invasion is therefore a prerequisite for the ecological process of plant/animal successions.

The population succession theory is useful in discussing human group behaviour in general and the immigrant cyclical process mentioned earlier in particular. Cressey (1938) found that immigrant ethnic groups follow a three-stage sequence of settlement; these stages correspond generally to the original ecological model but modified slightly to fit the context of immigrant ethnic groups.

The first stage of settlement is characterized by the

introduction of pioneer immigrants to a city. The invading group usually settles in a low-rent residential area near the city centre and develops an ethnic enclave where the cultural traits are usually perpetuated. If the size of the invading group is very large a number of ethnic enclaves, not just one, may be formed. It should be mentioned that these enclaves are not exclusive; individual members of ethnic groups may prefer to live outside their ethnic enclaves.

The second stage of settlement involves a process of relocation to different and better residential areas. It is logical to expect that ethnic groups improve their economic and social positions over time, a process that is usually accompanied by residential relocation away from the central enclaves and diffused into the more prestigious suburban locations. This centrifugal process has a negative impact on the enclave; it weakens its spatial concentration and reduces its cultural/social identity.

The third stage of settlement involves the processes of ethnic gradual dispersion into multi-cosmopolitan residential areas. This is the stage of spatial assimilation where ethnic groups are finally absorbed into the general population. This stage completes the cycle of the pioneer immigrants. Additional cycles accompany new immigration waves.

The theory does not suggest a complete abandonment of the earlier enclaves. Some members of ethnic groups may prefer to stay behind for a variety of reasons: slow upward mobility, experiencing

language difficulties, resisting change, and willingness to perpetuate their familiar living patterns.

In spite of its usefulness, the theory has been criticized by a number of investigators. Duncan and Duncan (1955) feel that the population succession theory is only an abstract and idealized scheme which offers, at best, a rough approximation of the actual process. All residential changes cannot be attributed to effects of succession alone. Nelli (1970) warns against viewing the succession process as an orderly and logical one, which is not necessarily the case. Many immigrants resist change and many ethnic enclaves are still alive and prosperous with their traditional flavours.

The author has two basic evaluative comments to make; the first is positive and the second is negative. First, the theory succeeded in its explicit examination of ethnic residential behaviour as a time-spatial process. Second, this theory failed to take into account the more complex phenomenon of residential behaviour of individual immigrants who make individual locational decisions that may account for variability and heterogenity of ethnic residential behaviour. In general, the theory has not been conclusively disproven nor has its application been strongly doubted.

The present investigation benefits from the ecological theory by identifying a continuum of ethnic residential behaviour as shown in Figure 2.2. This continuum enforces the assimilation continuum presented in the first chapter (Figure 1.3).

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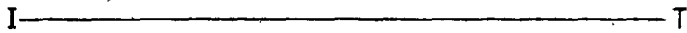
I Spatial isolation (maximum congregation
in enclaves - separateness)

T Spatial assimilation (minimum congregation
in enclaves and spatial dispersal in the
larger population - assimilation)

FIGURE 2.2

ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL BEHAVIOUR CONTINUUM

2.2.6 Summary

The sociological perspective has introduced three major
sociological doctrines of assimilation, amalgamation, and
cultural pluralism. Gordon's sociological model has been
discussed and evaluated. Unlike the psychological perspective
which focused on the individual, the sociological perspective
examined the assimilation process from the host society's point
of view.

From the concepts presented in the sociological perspective,
the author will carry forward the concepts of structural and
identificational assimilation. More conceptually, the critical
evaluation of Gordon's (1964) model led the author to doubt
altogether the idea of assimilation stages. Starting with such
doubt, the author has attempted to develop an assimilation model
based not on assimilation stages but on heterogeneous assimilation
events.

2.3 THE SPATIAL PERSPECTIVES

The discipline of geography has a distinctive contribution
to make to the study of psychosocial phenomena in the context of
assimilation. The purpose of this section is to offer a statement
about a geographic view of the assimilation process and to dem-
onstrate that ideology contains the fundamental bases from which
spatial decisions are made. The examination of the spatial per-
spectives provides insights into the assimilation/differentiation
process by which areas and their occupants are transformed.

Five approaches to the study of assimilation are examined.
This perspective illustrates assimilation as a spatial ecological
process, a process of diffusion, a process of ideological and
spatial transformation, a process of dynamic spatial interaction
and a process of transformation of human regions.

2.3.1 Assimilation as a Spatial Ecological Process

The spatial ecological process is in fact an extension of
the ecological process examined in the sociological perspective.
Three ecological models will be briefly examined in this section:
urban ecology, social area analysis, and factorial ecology. The
three models are useful to the study of assimilation because they
provide insight into the processes of spatial ordering of people
in urban social space.

The urban ecology model

The roots of the urban ecological model lie in the process

of population succession examined in the sociological perspective. The process of succession begins with the invasion by a foreign ethnic group of a given space or territory of a city. Successful succession occurs when the new invading groups replace the older ones (Burgess, 1925). Subsequent ecological studies showed that immigrant groups initially concentrate in ethnic enclaves located within the least desirable areas. As time goes on and as immigrants improve their socioeconomic conditions, they gradually move towards better residential areas leaving the slum areas for new waves of immigrants (Berry and Kasarda, 1977). The work of Glazer and Moynihan (1970) documented the succession of Blacks, Jews and Puerto Ricans in the New York slum areas.

Matwijiw (1975) applied the population succession theory to Winnipeg. He develops a model of spatial behaviour of ethnic groups. Matwijiw related the spatial configurations of human interaction in an urban setting to the residential decision-making process of ethnic groups. When immigrants stay with their ethnic group, they tend to create a cohesive ethnic space. When immigrants decide to separate from their own ethnic groups, they create an integrated space, a spatial equivalent for the sociological concept of assimilation. A peripheral ethnic space is associated with the decision of immigrants to simultaneously belong to their ethnic groups and the host society at large. Matwijiw's work reinforces the continuum of ethnic residential behaviour (Figure 2.2).

The social area model

Social area analysis provides an opportunity to shift the emphasis from the spatial effects of individuals' moves to the examination of the group effect to produce social spatial configurations. Social area analysis requires the aggregation of census tracts based on the similarity of three factors: social rank, urbanization, and segregation (Shevky and Williams, 1949). A social area is a group of similar census traits.

The technique constructs an index for each of the three factors. Social rank reflects the economic status. Urbanization is measured in terms of fertility, women at work and single family dwelling units; urbanization measures family status. Urbanization is similar to density gradient: high urbanization or low family status in high density areas closest to city centre and low urbanization or high family status in less dense peripheral areas. The segregation index is based on racial and national groups and measures ethnic status. Similar census tracts are aggregated together to form social areas.

Social area analysis has the advantage of using census tract data. Because of their small size and relative socioeconomic homogeneity, the census tracts data is very useful in delimiting interurban land use patterns. The theory of social area analysis was also examined by Hawley and Duncan (1957); Van Arsdol, Camilleri and Schmid (1958); Abu-Lughod (1969); and Heywood (1975).

Factorial ecology

Factorial ecology which emerged from the work done in rural

sociology (Hagood et al., 1941: Gregory, 1949) has also been applied in the study of urban areas (Murdie, 1969).

The studies of 'factorial ecology' use factor analysis to determine the strength of associations among the socioeconomic characteristics of urban areas. Because of the large number of social and spatial variables included, the output of factorial ecology has a greater number of dimensions than social area analysis. According to Steiss (1974), the most significant methodological problem of factorial ecology lies in the fact that the input variables are not determined by a theoretical framework but by whatever data is available on hand. Furthermore factorial ecology only uncovers the statistically significant association of these variables and enables only very limited description.

Summary

Assimilation as a spatial ecological process examines residential behaviour of ethnic groups in the context of spatial dominance of ethnic groups. According to succession theory, immigrants are expected to reside initially close to city centre, move gradually outward to the periphery leaving older areas to newer immigrants. Three types of ethnic spaces were identified: cohesive, integrated, and peripheral. The ecological process acknowledges the social and spatial transformations in the urban region.

2.3.2 Assimilation as a Process of Diffusion

Diffusion theory is related to assimilation theory because it

identifies mechanisms by which immigrants (individuals and groups) spread into the host society.

Diffusion as applied to intercultural interaction means the spread of culture from one ethnic group or area to another. In general, the term diffusion denotes "all the processes whereby selected culture traits and complexes developed in any given area, become known to, and adopted by, people who live in other areas" (Hoult, p. 108). Implicit is the idea of spatial transformation by spreading newer cultures.

Immigrants are bearers of homeland cultures. The spread of cultures rests not only on their mobility but also on the receptivity of adopters. No culture is ever adopted in total by other groups. Selectivity and change of certain traits always occur: "A people do not take a foreign element like a patient swallowing a pill from his doctor. Rather, they chew on it, adding their own juices to make it digestable—or they chew it around and reject it" (Broek, 1968, p. 28). Furthermore, the acceptance of any particular trait depends not only on its utility to the borrower but also on whether or not it can be integrated into the receiving culture. The selection of cultural elements may be positive or negative. Positive selection implies adoption but negative selection implies rejection of certain cultural elements due, perhaps, to their incompatibility with firmly established customs.

The role of attitudes on selectivity cannot be denied. Immigrants with positive attitudes toward life in general may be willing to

borrow or integrate a larger number of cultural traits characteristic
of the host society. If immigrants could be placed on an attitudinal
continuum of positive to negative, and if it is true that selectivity
is dynamically influenced by attitude, it would follow that the
processes of cultural adoption and cultural spread between peoples/
areas will never proceed uniformly or unidirectionally enforcing
the concept of progressive differentiation which will be discussed
in the following chapter.

Equally important is the role of ideology on selectivity.
The degree of cultural adoption depends, at least in part, on the
degree to which immigrant cultural elements 'fit' the host societies'
belief systems. This fact will be illustrated using examples
related to this dissertation. Arab Muslims derive their ideology
from the Quran which, among other things, forbids drinking and sex
outside marriage. This means that practising Muslim immigrants in
the western cultures reject social drinking, dating, public sexual
displays and dancing. These western practices are not compatible
with the Islamic beliefs. On the other hand, Muslim families
living in the western cultures, under the pressure from their
children, may participate in Christmas celebrations. The rationale
is: if Jesus is a prophet of Islam, why not celebrate his birthday?

Given a rationale for the adoption of cultural traits by
either immigrant or host populations, there are expected regular-
ities in the rate of adoption. If the number of individual adopters
of cultural elements are measured over time, a S-shaped curve

normally appears. This curve shows a slow take-off stage of varying duration, an intermediate stage of more rapid development, and a final stage of declining growth. The S-curve has spatial implications in the way the adopters are distributed. During the <u>initial stage</u> adopters are usually concentrated in a small cluster or sets of small clusters. During the <u>intermediate stage</u>, the expansion takes place in a pattern which indicates that a new adoption is more likely to occur in the vicinity of existing adoptions than further away. This "neighborhood effect" creates an outward movement along a more or less sharply defined frontier (as ripples on the water), while at the same time the general density of adoption behind the frontier is continuously growing. The <u>third stage</u> is a saturation stage; it may be reached in the central area of dispersal while the frontier is still advancing. The S-curve concept and the three diffusion stages are borrowed from the work of Heine-Geldern (1968) and Gould (1969).

2.3.3. <u>Assimilation as Progress of Ideological and Spatial Transformation</u>

According to Philbrick (1963) culture consists of three components: values, ways of life, and works. Values refers to ideas, concepts, attitudes and goals by which a people live. Ways of life apply to the procedures people evolve to meet their needs. Works refer not only to tangible things like institutions and establishments within which a culture operates, but also to less tangible items as language and other means of communication and ideological

expressions. It should be noted, however, that "ways of life" and "works" are both manifestations and have roots in "ideology".

The ideological component of a given culture provides the framework for the conscious activities of its members who constantly evaluate problems and circumstances confronting them by applying their ideology. Bjorklund (1964) refers to a continuing process of evaluation as the "processes of cultural appraisal" consisting of innovation, selection and continuation of cultural traits. These three fundamental processes result from different applications of mental activity to implement culture change. These lead to different concrete expressions of ideology in area over time. It may be concluded, therefore, that all cultural features are subject in one way or another to the three processes of cultural appraisal and over time they likely undergo alterations.

Ideology is spatially expressed because it manifests itself in all human establishments and institutions that make up the 'content' of areas.[3] Based on the preceding discussion which related the spatial manifestations of culture to ideology, it could be deduced that the spatial transformation of cultures starts in the mind of its adherents.[4]

2.3.4 Assimilation as a Process of Dynamic Spatial Interaction

More recently further investigators of the dynamics of intercultural interaction use a behavioural approach. Since the

assimilation process is one aspect of intercultural interaction the new ideas have relevance to this study. Bjorklund and Philbrick (1975) developed a dynamic intercultural spatial-interface model (Figure 2.3). The model identifies a set of spatial configurations resulting from the union of positive to negative attitudes and active to passive behaviours between two interacting cultural groups.

The intercultural spatial-interface model applies the behavioural tendencies of nearness, separateness and connectedness to an attitude scale (positive/negative) and a behavioural scale (active/passive) to derive four general behavioural postures: positive-active, positive-passive, negative-active, and negative-passive. These are shown in Figure 2.3. The positive-active posture implies aggressive promotion of something favoured. The positive-passive posture indicates silent acceptance of something favoured. The negative-active position means aggressive opposition to something disliked. The negative-passive position expresses resigned acceptance of something disliked. The arrows (Figure 2.3) are added to the attitudinal/behavioural matrix to indicate the possibility of change of attitudinal/behavioural characteristics over time.

The spatial component of the Intercultural Spatial-Interface Model (Figure 2.4) postulates twelve spatial configurations that may be applied to any intercultural interaction. The spatial configurations are conceptualized in three basic sets called attachment, containment and withdrawal. The names are selected from the

Behavioural Continuum

ACTIVE $\longleftrightarrow$ PASSIVE

Agressive promotion of something favoured	Silent acceptance of something favoured
Aggressive opposition to something disliked	Resigned acceptance of something disliked

POSITIVE

Attitudinal Continuum

NAGATIVE
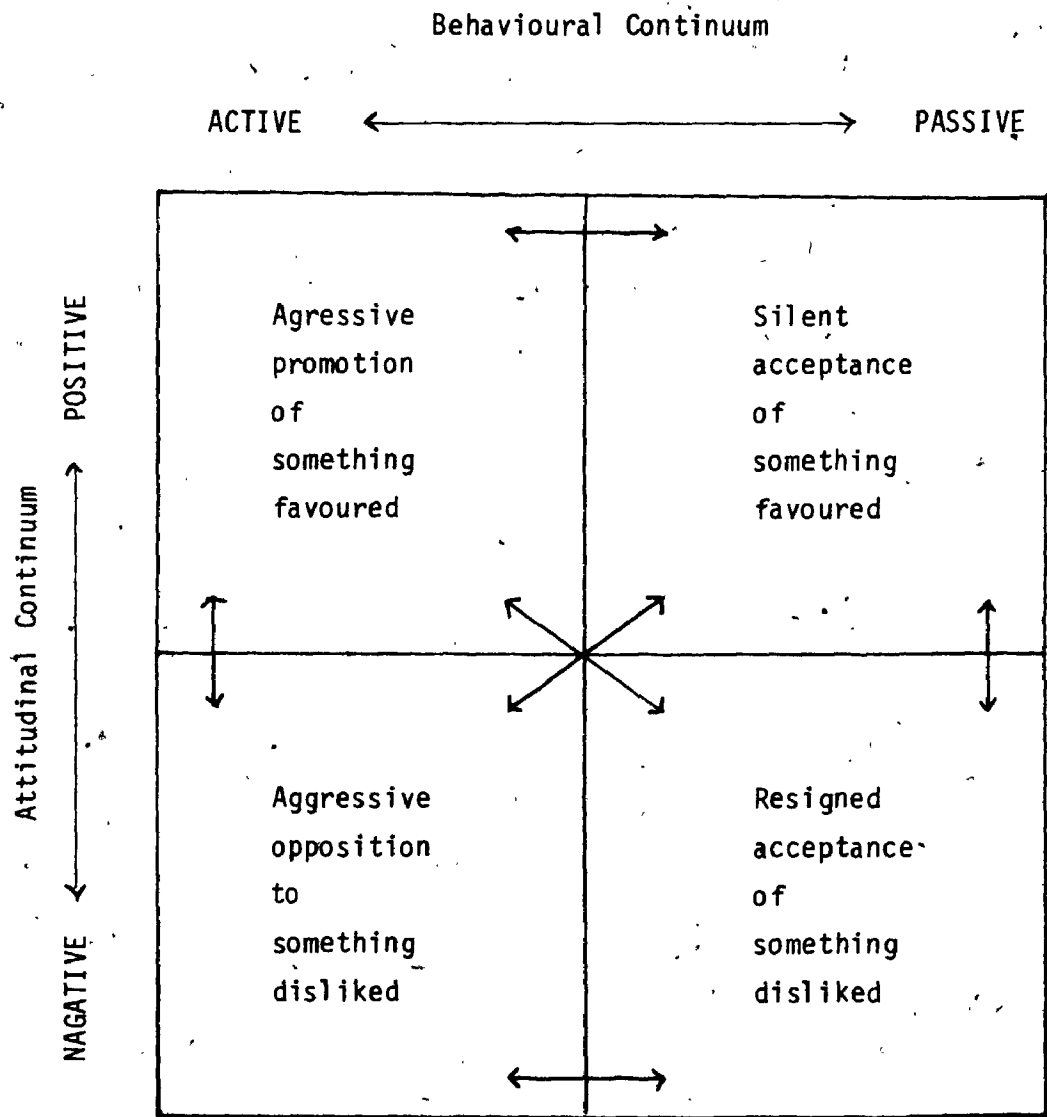
FIGURE 2.3

ATTITUDINAL/BEHAVIOURAL COMPONENT

OF THE INTERCULTURAL SPATIAL-INTERFACE MODEL

Source (Bjorklund-Philbrick, 1968)

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
ATTACHMENT +	DEVELOPMENT	OCCUPANCY
−	ENSLAVEMENT	ATTACHMENT

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
CONTAINMENT +	DEFENSE	CO-EXISTENCE
−	ENCIRCLEMENT	CONTAINMENT

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
WITHDRAWAL +	ASSIMILATION	INTEGRATION
−	REPLACEMENT	WITHDRAWAL

FIGURE 2.4

AN INTERCULTURAL INTERFACE MODEL

Source (Bjorklund-Philbrick, 1968)

negative-passive positions of the three matrices in Figure 2.4 and
are somewhat arbitrary. The twelve positions represent a progress-
ive scaling from the positive passive posture called development,
to the opposite end, replacement.

Attachment means a group simply attaches itself to another's
territory. There is often a superior/inferior interpretation
acknowledged between cultures which are spatially attached to
one another. Attachment tends to be an unstable relationship. Con-
tainment means the groups physically contain each other in the
sense of "keeping each other at arm's length", a state of mutual
stand-off and confrontation.

Withdrawal is the spatial resolution of a conflict between
two groups by the occupation of the territory of one group by
the other group. Attachment, containment, and withdrawal are
dynamic spatial configurations; they are means and stages by
which cultural groups expand their territorial control and
occupation at either the expense of or with the cooperation of
other groups.

Closely related to the theme of this dissertation is the
spatial configuration of withdrawal, the third matrix in Figure
2.4. Assimilation and integration express the positive-active
and positive-passive postures of withdrawal. Integration is the
passive toleration of the cultural characteristics of other
individuals/groups. Assimilation is the active-positive case
where amalgamation or adaptive melding into union occurs. With-
drawal has the negative passive meaning of retreat. Replacement

means that the aggressive and active group replaces the less
aggressive or more passive group and this controls or occupies its
territory.

The dynamic character of intercultural interaction is
illustrated by the arrows crossing the boundaries of the attitudinal/
behavioural matrices (Figure 2.4). All attitudinal/behavioural
shifts are possible. The interacting individuals/groups do not
have to be in the same attitudinal/behavioural position; they
could occupy different positions in different matrices; they could
move towards or away from each other. To that effect, the model
succeeds in describing the complex and dynamic realities of inter-
cultural interaction.[5]

2.3.5 Assimilation as a Process of Transformation of Human Regions

Human regions are conceptualized as dynamic mental energy
fields in which the mental activity of individuals occurs and
where the ordinary operation of perception as a spatial search
process proceeds (Bjorklund, 1983). To show the relationship
between perception-cognition, belief-behaviour and spatial pattern,
Bjorklund developed a model of behaviour as a spatial search
process as shown in Figure 2.5.

According to Bjorklund's model, "P" field consists of the sum
of all perceptions of a given group of people; the dashed lines
surrounding the system with corner arrows suggest that there is
always opportunity for new mental energy (stimulus) introduced
into the group from outside as well as within itself. New energy
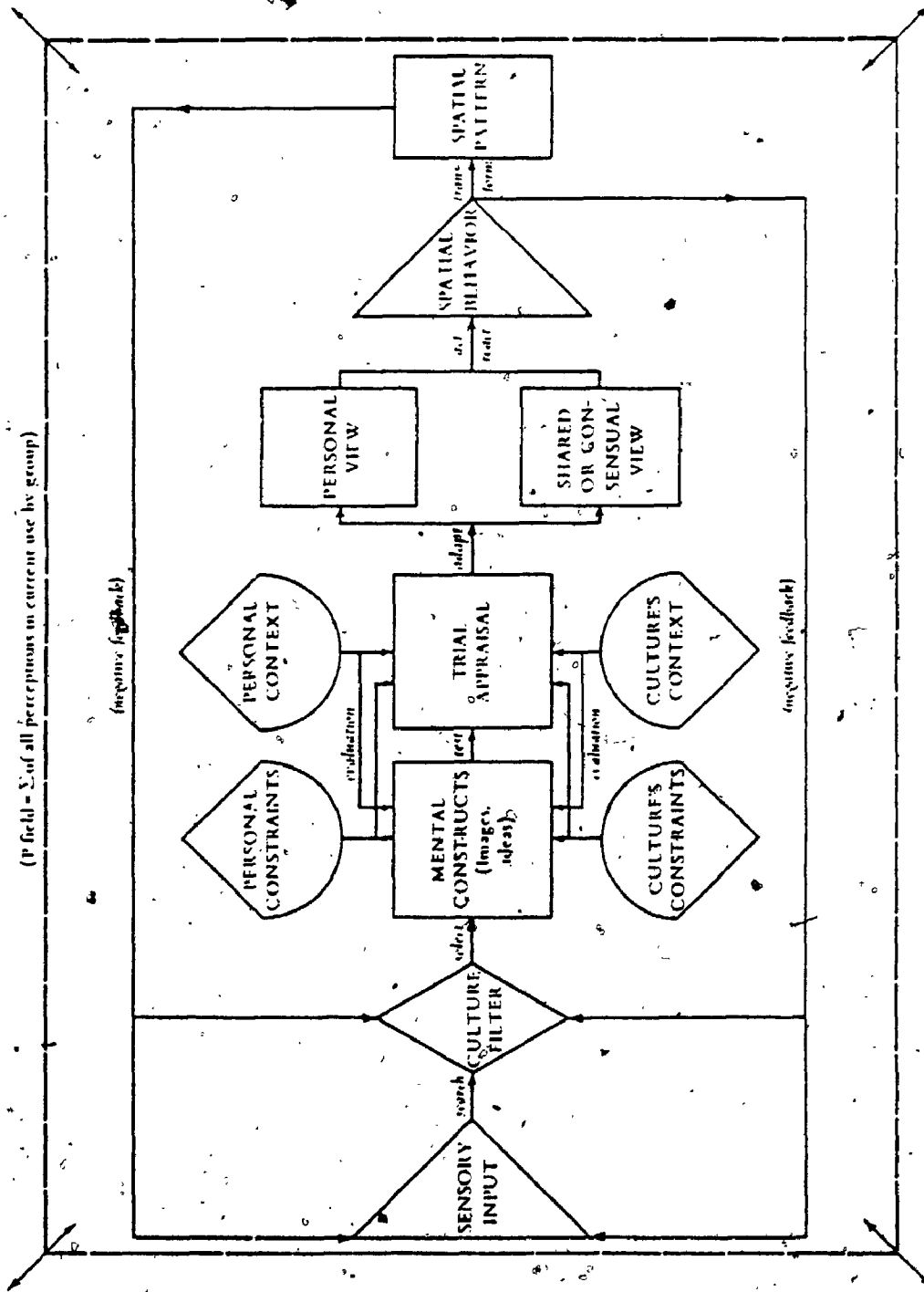
FIGURE 2.5.

BEHAVIOUR AS A SPATIAL SEARCH

(Source: Bjorklund, 1983, p. 93)

is introduced through immigrants or by information received from outside. The P field consists-of the collective experience of all individuals in the group including memory, knowledge, expectations, feelings, and dreams, etc. The P field is dynamic; it simultaneously expands to adopt new perceptions and contracts to disregard older ones.

The model (Figure 2.5) starts with a sensory-mental operation which may be sometimes conscious or often unconscious; the sensory scanning operations seek information compatible with "reference conditions" already established. The reference condition is basically a culturally-controlled filter which allows only a small part of potential information to register by individuals because only specific sensory stimuli fit previously established "reference conditions". "We see basically what we are taught to see, hear what we are culturally-conditioned to hear and touch only those things we understand to be touchable" (Bjorklund, 1983). This formulation puts emphasis on the human capacity to accommodate new information, restructure information already acquired, to reject that which cannot be accommodated.

Two sets of constraints influence the process of information structuring: personal constraints (age, sex, memory, level of learning and motivation), and group constraints (history, pre-vailing beliefs, attitudes and values). Both sets of constraints are stored in the brain and used to evaluate incoming perceptions which are aggregated to form mental constructs (images and ideas)

which, in turn, are used to assign meaning to the perceived information.

From the assembled information, two inter-related views are formulated: a personal view (one's beliefs, attitudes and values) and a consensual view (shared beliefs, attitudes and values) as shown in Figure 2.5. The beliefs, attitudes and values guide the interaction between individuals/groups and consequently guide the corresponding spatial configurations. Beliefs, attitudes, and values are inseparable from the processes of decision-making, spatial location/allocation strategies, and the activation of spatial interactions. The diagram in Figure 2.5 shows the relationship between perception-cognition and spatial behavioural pattern.

According to Bjorklund (1983), culture can be construed as the spatial impact of mental activity. She expresses this relationship as $R = f(b, a)$; the formula says that human regions are a function of beliefs and actions. Bjorklund (1983) identifies six bases for human interaction to develop differentiated belief-behaviour regions:

1. Shared experiences and behavioural patterns are based on sets of beliefs, attitudes and values produced by the perceptual-cognitive processes.

2. Groups transmit their beliefs and behaviours to oncoming generations.

3. The perceptual-cognitive structures are dynamic.

4. Belief-behaviours are adaptive; the perceptual-cognitive structures accommodate new experiences within earlier beliefs. The older patterns are rarely totally eliminated.

5. Regional differentiation is the spatial outcome of the perceptual-cognitive structuring of shared experiences.

6. The progressive addition of newer beliefs on earlier ones result in progressive differentiation of belief-behaviour regions.

2.3.6 Summary

The spatial perspectives examined some aspects of urban and regional transformations. The main line of inquiry of these perspectives, regardless of the form it takes, is to establish a link between psychosocial and spatial characteristics, between social distance and physical distance, between social space and physical space. Explicitly or implicitly, all spatial perspectives acknowledge one of the most important underlying concepts in geography: the people-place identity and its transformations over time. Geography can be truly defined as "the spatial impact of mental activity" (Philbrick, 1982).

The socio-economic status of city dwellers is spatially expressed in a number of urban configurations. The economic status is reflected in a sectoral pattern; family status, in a concentric pattern; ethnic status in clusters or nuclei. When these three indicators of social space are superimposed on the physical space of the city, the human mosaic that makes up the urban landscape emerges.

All human configurations are changeful and so are their corresponding spatial configurations at all levels: local, regional, national and international. Human identity is a dynamic phenomenon and so is the spatial identity thereof. Any given place is

shaped by the identities of all individuals using that space (perception field); any change of any magnitude in the individual must be reflected, sooner or later, in the spatial identity. But the spatial identity of any given place, without being metaphysical, is more than the sum of the identities of all individuals occupying that place. The force of assimilation and adaptive blending is necessary to the formation of given personalities to given places.

The way people conduct their lives (work, ways of life) creating different spatial configurations depends on their ideology (opinions, attitudes and belief systems). When people move, they carry with them their ideas which are, sooner or later, expressed in three-dimensional forms in their different phenomenal world. Progressive mobility leads to progressive spatial transference of two-dimensional memories and dreams which leads, in turn, to progressive differentiation of human regions. As time progresses immigrants and/or their children are expected to experience a process of transformation of loyalty leading them to defend new places, salute different flags and sing different anthems.

The diffusion of cultures between peoples/places and the spatial interaction between and among individuals/groups enhance the process of ideological transformation creating appropriate, and equally dynamic spatial transformations. The process of cultural adaptation and selection has no single outcome; there is a continuum of outcomes that ranges from acceptance to rejection. The sequence in which these occur depends upon the specific attitude-behavioural

postures adopted. The positive-active posture perceives assim-
ilation as a positive and active spatial resolution of territorial
conflicts.

The realization of the present human-spatial morphology of
the world reflects the growing appreciation of the continuing
process of human-spatial transformations. The urban and regional
landscapes are to ideological transformations what historical
records are to history.

Three essential concepts emerge from the discussion on the
spatial perspectives. These concepts are: 1)mobility, 2) assimi-
lation, and 3) identity transformation. These complex ideas are
dynamically integrated to form the highly complex cycle of assim-
ilation proposed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO - NOTES

1. The multi-disciplinary outlook of behavioural geography
   "is partly due to recognition that the problems studied
   transcend the boundaries of academic subjects, but also
   reflect the need for the geographer to seek explanation
   of behavioural processes in the literature of the social
   and behavioural sciences." (Gold, 1980, p. 242)

2. Assimilation will be introduced in the spatial perspective
   as a spatial ecological process using the models of urban
   ecology, social area, and factorial ecology.

3. The relationship between ideology, culture, and community
   space has been examined by Björklund (1964) in her study
   of the Dutch-Reformed community of southwestern Michigan.

4. In his recent work on hierarchial nodality in geographical
   time-space, Philbrick (1982) found complete correspondence
   between human systems and spatial systems in a hierarchial
   context.

5. The Bjorklund-Philbrick model was applied by Lo-lim (1973)
   in her study of intercultural interactions in Malaya between
   Malays, Chinese and Indians. Lo-lim's work focused on test-
   ing the hypothesis that favourability of ethnic attitudes is
   a function distance.

CHAPTER III

THE CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE

The preceding chapter reviewed a number of studies to introduce the assimilation process as a complex psychosocial spatial trans-formation. This chapter discusses the concepts upon which the dissertation is founded. Conceptually the problem of assimilation is formulated as the interaction of three interrelated perspectives called psychosocial spatial transformation.

Assimilation, a human experience, is internally psychological because it involves mental energy, and that mental effort is directed toward achieving acceptance and satisfactions in a different social-cultural environment. Assimilation while expressed personally, always occurs in social cultural contexts containing different images, ideas, values, codes, customs, and other cultural patterns. Assimilation is a spatial process because it involves transference of peoples from a familiar place to an unfamiliar one; it involves different spatial behavioural interactions, and it produces complex spatial outcomes. These combined and integrated aspects of the process are called psychosocial spatial transformations. The structure of concepts adopted by the author toward modelling the process of assimilation is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

With reference to the model (Figure 3.1), the first part contains one concept: spatial interaction. The second part,

psychosocial spatial feedback

I — SPATIAL INTERACTION

II — ASSIMILATION

III — IDENTITY CHANGE

Conformity

Reference Groups

Progressive Assimilation

Progressive Differentiation
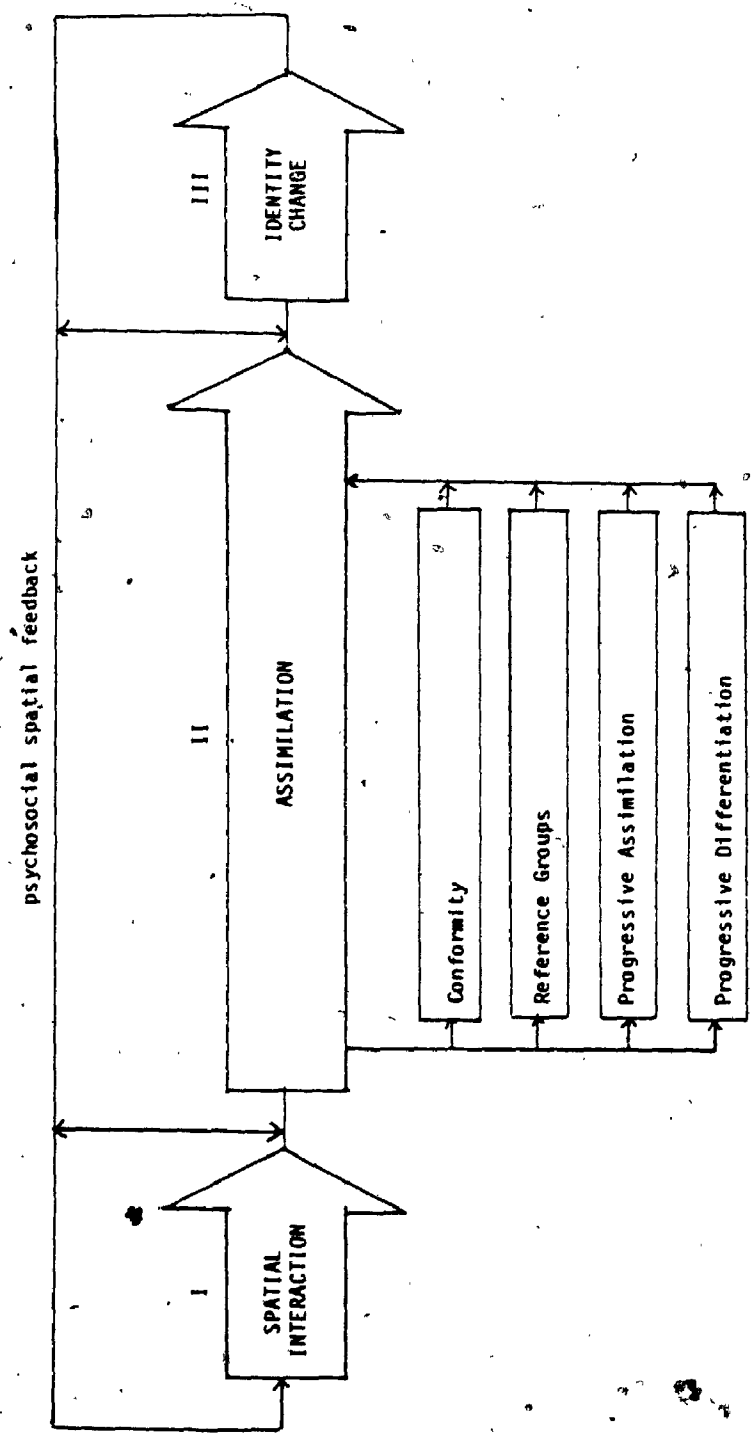
FIGURE 3.1

A SPATIAL ASSIMILATION MODEL

(The Conceptual Structure)

called assimilation, contains four interrelated concepts: conformity, reference groups, progressive assimilation, and progressive differentiation. The third part of the model contains the concept of identity change. The arrow format has been used to underscore the directional linkage between the model parts; spatial interaction, first; assimilation, second; identity change, third. The model acknowledges complex psychosocial spatial feedbacks between all parts of the model.

Assimilation as a psychosocial spatial process has certain sequential operations, feedbacks and interactional effects that create continuous multi-cyclic transformations of human behaviour. The conceptual model, Figure 3.1 portrays these basic relationships using the broad arrow to convey the sequential operation of the three components: 1) spatial interaction of individuals/groups, 2) assimilation where behaviours range from being progressively more like or progressively more unlike those of the host culture, and 3) resulting identity change. Spatial interaction between/among immigrants and members of the host culture present a new experience field to "outsiders" who undergo long and difficult perceptual cognitive adjustments to organize information, structure it into behavioural configurations appropriate to being progressively more like their host, or possibly less like them. The outcome of these interactions and behavioural adjustments is identity change of individual immigrants.

The relatively simple sequential operations outlined briefly above describe only part of the assimilation process from this

behavioural geographic perspective. There are important feedback effects from each of the three parts of the model. Starting with the effects of identity change, there are many facets to identity, and these are not changed at the same time or at an equivalent rate. Some attributes of identity, are more susceptible to change than others. The particular aspect of identity that may be changed by certain psychosocial interactions between individuals/groups making them more like or unlike others has effects on subsequent encounters the individual has with other individuals/groups. This is shown in Figure 3.1 by the feedback to spatial interaction and a feedback to assimilation from identity change.

It should be noted, at the outset, that feedbacks occur within the individual. The feedbacks represent perceptual cognitive reinforcements, modifications, or additions to the individual's ability to relate to the social surroundings. Subsequently feedbacks may also effect ongoing interactions with other individuals or groups.

3.1 THE CONCEPT OF SPATIAL INTERACTION

The first part of the model contains the concept of spatial interaction which is the cornerstone of the entire assimilation process.

Interaction among people implies mobility of things, ideas, or people over the surface of the earth. In human affairs, migration brings people into new lands, and diffusion of cultural traits carries cultures beyond their areas of origin. Spatial interaction requires

overcoming distances through circulation - communication, trans-, portation and all forms of movement.

In its broadest sense, spatial interaction covers short-distance shuttles everywhere, longer distance movement between cities, rural to urban migrations, broad streams of migration between regions, and migration currents and countercurrents across borders. Spatial mobility takes many forms ranging from shopping, commuting, recreational travel, labour migration, inter-urban moves, inter-regional shifts, and international relocations. Movements that result in permanent change of residence and permanent change in affliation and national identity are of special interest to this dissertation.

Outsiders moving into a host society start their perceptual process of becoming like/unlike others, of being accepted/rejected, and of finding fit/misfit in the psychosocial matrix surrounding them. Immigrants' behaviour varies to reflect variations in pre-migration conditions and situational variations characteristic of host societies. In assimilation their behaviour may also vary in every possible way either to continuously improve their fit in their host societies or to minimize the change they make to the new environment. The best fit will be experienced wherever and whenever immigrants feel "at home" away from home.

Upon arrival, immigrants may feel closer to the people who speak their language, have the same ideology and share the same cultural characteristics. As time goes on, and as these immigrants

undergo a process of psychosocial transformation, their reference groups will change and their location on the assimilation continuum will change. The search for the "best fit" continues.

The decision to return or to stay may just depend on the ability of immigrants to fit, which in turn depends on the attitudinal/ behavioural posture of both immigrants and their receiving societies. When they fail to find a satisfactory fit in the new people-place, immigrants may return to their old people-place and another process of perceptual search to refit starts. Some immigrants may in fact spend their lifetime in moving back and forth between places hoping to settle in the place where they fit best. It will be shown later that the intention to stay is a variable that affects the process of assimilation significantly.

The feedbacks linking the concept of spatial interaction to the rest of the model illustrate the impact of assimilation and identity change on the countless spatial decisions immigrants make in their daily lives. Any assimilation encounter and its associated identity changes affect one major spatial decision: Stay in host country or return to homeland.

The second part of the model integrates four concepts: conformity, reference groups, progressive assimilation and progressive differentiation as shown in Figure 3.1. The four concepts are totally interrelated. At the bottom line of the assimilation problem is the concept of conformity. People conform to their reference groups through membership or non-membership,

because they need to belong, to participate and to be integrated. Conformity is a non-refundable membership fee set by the group and paid by the individual. The concept of conformity should be examined in the light of the creative capacities of man "who adds a little of his own juice to anything he chews on".

Absolute assimilation exists only in theory. Because individuals creatively assimilate different things from different groups, the result can be not only assimilation but also differentiation. Continuation of this logic means that a global homogeneous superculture will never be obtained. Rather there also will be progressive differentiation of cultures among people along with progressive assimilation. Every change, however slight, will have an impact, however small, on the identity of the interacting people.

3.2 THE CONCEPT OF CONFORMITY

The concept of conformity commences the detailed discussion of the second part of the model. The theoretical foundation of this dissertation is based on a basic human tendency: The tendency to be similar to others. Research supports the saying, "Birds of a feather flock together." People prefer to associate and interact with others who are similar rather than dissimilar to themselves in attitudes, status, background, interests. (Deutsch, 1968, p. 269). This human tendency of similarity to

others is acquired through the day to day experiences in search
of ways to survive in new behavioural environments with minimal
problems.

Individuals conform because they need to communicate: "the
group has the potential to provide for a range of human needs
including

1. a need to belong and to be accepted;

2. a need to be validated through feedback processes;

3. a need to share common experience with others; and

4. an opportunity to work with others on common tasks"
(Anderson and Carter, 1978, p. 84).

The process of conformity is an indicator of the dynamic
capacities of man. Experiments in social psychology confirm that
many people unconsciously yield to group pressure. People strive
for conformity because groups provide a host of human needs. The
immigrants' position in a different setting heightens immensely the
psycho-spatial search to learn the rules for acceptance.

3.3 THE CONCEPT OF REFERENCE GROUPS

The concept of reference groups relates to psycho-spatial
search for acceptance. Two types of reference groups are relevant
to this study: comparative and normative. The first functions as
standards of comparison for self-appraisal; they provide guidelines
for making self and other judgements. The second functions as

sources of individual's norms, attitudes, and values; they establish behavioral standards.

Directly related to the process of assimilation are the normative reference groups because they act as reference points for immigrants; they serve as cultural sources. To immigrants, normative reference groups may represent either dominant cultural groups of the host society or their own ethnic groups or some combination of both. Reference groups include any of the groups of which one is a member (membership groups) as well as groups of which one is not a member (nonmembership groups). The impact of the reference group on the individual appears most in the area of attitudes but the impact of the membership group manifests itself in behavior; "...the attitude held reflects the reference group, whereas the attitude expressed reflects the membership group" (Hayman, 1968, p. 356).

To immigrants who decide to assimilate, the cultural group(s) of the host country become positive normative reference groups. Their own ethnic groups may become, therefore, negative normative reference groups. The opposite is true for immigrants who resist assimilation: ethnic groups are positive, host society groups are negative.

Regardless of whether they are membership or nonmembership groups, reference groups with their conformity-based characteristics work as cultural tools to produce assimilation; "...the power of some reference groups thus inheres in the fact that they will

ultimately be membership groups...and therefore exact some con-
formity as the price of admission..." (Hayman, 1968, p. 356).

Why and how do immigrants change their reference orientation?
When immigrants interact with the host society they are not expect-
ed to limit themselves to just one or two reference groups. They
interact with as many groups as their needs and interests dictate.
It is more realistic, therefore, to base the reference orientation
of immigrants on multiple reference groups, at least one for each
dimension of socialization. Furthermore, the social mobility of
immigrants may require them to adopt newer reference groups.

How do reference groups affect the perception of their
members? What people perceive or do not perceive is affected
by the degree to which individuals are able to identify themselves
with the subject to be perceived. One's social group becomes a
source of meaning which serves as a frame of reference through
which the environment is viewed and experience is formed.

How does the concept of reference groups fit in the concept-
ual model of assimilation? The concept of groups has been included
in the discussion because groups provide the social context for
human interaction. Without reference groups to belong to and/or
refer to, there would be neither intercultural interaction nor
reference orientation and the very foundation of the assimilation
process itself will collapse.

3.4 THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION

The concept of progressive assimilation is the third concept

of the second part of the assimilation model (Figure 3.1).
Assimilation in the present context may be defined as a process
of progressive elimination of differences between culturally
different groups.

If assimilation is interpreted absolutely, individuals are
assumed to follow the same assimilation direction, to cover the
same social distance, to adopt the same combination of new traits,
and finally to move in the assimilation process at the same speed.
This interpretation assumes similar internal responses to the
external assimilation environment. It is a mechanistic behavioural
approach. It also would mean that immigrants would take on the
ways of the dominant group. It is such an absolute interpretation
that may erroneously lead one to expect at least in theory, that
global intercultural interaction ultimately will lead to the
formation of a single homogeneous superculture. Such expectations
assume that individuals/groups, in their cultural transformation
follow a single assimilation path.

Bertalanffy has drawn the line between physical and living
systems by saying that "Physical processes follow the second law
of thermodynamics, which prescribes that they proceed toward
more probable states which are states of equilibrium, of uniform
distribution and disappearance of existing differentiations and
order. But living systems apparently do exactly the opposite. In
spite of irreversible processes continually going on, they tend to
maintain an organized state of fantastic improbability; they are

maintained in states of non-equilibrium; they even develop toward increasingly improbable states, increasing differentiation..." (Bertalanffy, 1967, p. 62).

Following Bertalanffy's reasoning, if assimilation is approached in relative terms it means that assimilation is a process in which a number of ethnic groups may become increasingly similar (assimilation) to one another in particular respects and (2) increasingly different in other respects (differentiation). The "differentiation" aspect of assimilation will be discussed under the concept of progressive differentiation. The concept of progressive assimilation will be examined further in this section.

Irrespective of the approach taken to consider it, assimilation may be examined, at least at two basic levels: cultural (behavioural) and structural. Cultural assimilation occurs when ethnic groups become more <u>similar</u> to one another in style of living, attitudes, speech and so on. For cultural assimilation, the unit of reference is the individual, or the discrete group, or the cultural unit. The unit of reference of structural assimilation is the social system and its elements: position, status, role and reference group. Seen in this light, structural assimilation exists where ethnic origin is not a relevant attribute in the allocation of roles, rights...and so on.

3.5   <u>THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESSIVE DIFFERENTIATION</u>

<u>The concept of progressive differentiation is companion</u>

concept to the concept of progressive assimilation. This is the last concept of the four-concept assimilation arrow (Figure 3.1). At the time of their introduction, many immigrant groups are relatively homogeneous in terms of cultural background, social class, and so on. With the passage of time groups may develop complex internal differentiation along several dimensions.

The complexity is increased by influences of new members. Ethnic differentiation develops when ethnic groups become progressively less similar to their parent groups. The most obvious and visible examples of ethnic dissimilarity occur in the expressive spheres of play, sport, art, and tastes. Canada has become more diversified in many respects: ethnically-oriented movie houses, radio broadcasting, newspapers, athletic teams, restaurants, and so on.

The process of differentiation can be observed in some large groups and be expected to emerge in others. French Canadians throughout the country are becoming more differentiated, according to region of origin. A similar kind of differentiation can be forecast for Italian Canadians. Italians living in the Province of Quebec have assimilated to the French Canadians in language. In the future, their descendants may not be regarded simply as Canadian of Italian origin but of Franco-Italians as distinct from Anglo-Italian origin (Vallee et al, 1957).

While individuals are becoming more similar to their reference groups (assimilating) in some respects, the ethnic groups and

categories with which they are affiliated may undergo increasing
differentiation in other respects and at other levels. Ethnic
assimilation and differentiation can go on concurrently in the
same group at different levels and in different parts of the
society. Because individuals/groups assimilate different
attitudinal/behavioural characteristics from different and dynamic
behavioural environments the result of the assimilation process
is both assimilation and differentiation. The opposite of assim-
ilation is isolation, not differentiation.

Similar to assimilation, there are two types of differentiation;
cultural (expressive) and structural. Cultural or expressive
differentiation refers to the process by which ethnic groups become
more different in style of living, attitudes, speech, and so on.
For the cultural type of differentiation (and assimilation), the
unit of reference is an individual or discrete group. Structural
differentiation refers to the process in which ethnic origin is
a relevant attribute of allocating roles, rights...and so on. The
emergence of new reference groups is an evidence of a process of
differentiation at work. The following discussion posits the
truth of progressive differentiation.

The assimilation of two cultures (A) and (B) will produce an
assimilation universe (Figure 3.2) that consists of the two original
cultures plus their combinations and permutations: (A), (B), (AB),
(BA). The addition of a new culture (C) will increase the domain
of the original assimilation universe to accommodate culture (C) in:

Interacting Cultures   Combinations/Permutations
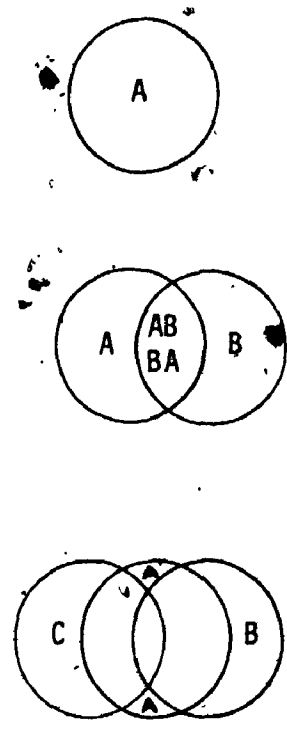
A	B	C
AB	BA	CA
AC	BC	CB
ABC	BAC	CAB
ACB	BCA	CBA

FIGURE 3.2

THE CONCEPT OF

PROGRESSIVE DIFFERENTIATION

addition to the original one (A) and (B) plus the combinations and permutations of the three cultures (A), (B), and (C). With the addition of cultures, the cumulative cultural heritage expands; such cultural expansion is expressed by the ever increasing numbers of possible cultural outcomes.

The idea of cultural intersection can best be illustrated by what John Dewey (1916) wrote about "hyphenated Americans". Such terms as Irish-American or German-American are false terms...the typical American...is himself a hyphenated character. But the American is himself Pole-German-English-French-Spanish-Italian-Greek-Irish-Scandinavian...and so on. The point is to see that the hyphen connects instead of separates (Dewey, 1916, p. 185).

It is the assimilative capacity of man that is responsible for producing greater differentiation of differences that accounts for the presence of rich global cultural heritage. Diversity is bound to increase as experience among peoples accumulate. This cumulative process is not a mechanistic process of mixing combinations and permutations but it is a live process which causes new elements to emerge. Differentiation results from the attempts of individuals and groups to become similar.

3.6 THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY CHANGE

The third part of the conceptual model (Figure 3.1) contains one concept: identity change. When individuals interact with

groups the process of identity change begins. They change them-
selves and effect change in others. In time-spatial terms they
write the story of their identity transformation. Individuals
establish their own identities when they interact with individuals
and groups. It is through playing different roles in different
situations that they find out to whom they are similar and from
whom they are different. Through establishing their own identities
people establish their sense of direction: where they came from,
where they are going, and most definitely where they belong.

The concept of identity in its broadest sense is closely
related to the "I" and the "me" concept. The "I" depends on the
"me's"; "...the "I" denoting the person's idea of himself and the
total person and the "me" denoting his conception of himself as
the player of a particular role---so that each person has a number
of "me's" one for each role played, whereas he has only one "I""
(Hoult, 1969, p. 156).

Since the identity of people is directly related to the roles
(or perceived roles) they play and since these roles change with
the groups people belong to (or refer to) it follows that the
identity of people is indeed a dynamic phenomenon. No human group
can more vividly illustrate the dynamism of identity than immigrants
who move between places with very different cultures.

Upon arrival in their host countries, immigrants will confront
an array of problems the solution of which requires the immigrant
to learn different rules and to play different roles. Every time

an immigrant plays a new role in the host society, the corresponding "me" of that immigrant is subjected to change. The larger the number of the different/new roles an immigrant has to play, the larger the number of the "me's" that have to change and the greater the transformation in the "I" of that immigrant. The arrival of immigrants in the host country sets the wheel of identity change in motion.

No interaction can make people so much aware of their identity question as the intercultural interactions that usually take place between immigrants and other cultural groups in the host country. Immigrants interact with different behavioural environments and every interaction contributes to the reshaping of identity. Each interaction is interpreted by immigrants as an indicator of who they are, whom they most resemble, and where they belong.

As a result of interaction, people also know who they are not and from whom they are different. The new interactions with different cultural groups give the immigrants clues to their own identity. Interactions are a basis of defining and evaluating identity. These interactions are definable in the context of the roles played in different cultural groups by individual immigrants. It is through "roles" that immigrants connect themselves to their membership groups.

The psychological viewpoint of identity has been developed along three dimensions: similarity, differences, and roles. The first two dimensions of similarity and differences apply to any

activity that leads to cultural homogenity and heterogeneity respectively. The role dimension is a basic dimension without which no appreciation of similarities and/or differences is possible. What are the spatial implications of these social dimensions? This question is addressed in the remainder of this chapter.

Bjorklund and Philbrick (1968) identified three spatial behavioural tendencies which relate human experience spatially. The tendency to strive for <u>nearness</u> is revealed in sharing, coming together, and belonging. The tendency to establish <u>separateness</u> is shown by setting of bounds and limits and by minimizing propinquity. The tendency to develop <u>connectedness</u> is found in lines and networks of interactions. The spatial concepts of nearness, separateness and connectedness respectively correspond to the three psychosocial dimensions of "similarity", "differences", and "roles". Psychosocial spatial characteristics of identity are illustrated in Figure 3.3.

SPATIAL TENDENCIES expressed as search for:	PSYCHOSOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS expressed as perceived
NEARNESS ⟷	SIMILARITIES
SEPARATENESS ⟷	DIFFERENCES
CONNECTEDNESS ⟷	ROLES

FIGURE 3.3

PSYCHOSOCIAL SPATIAL

CHARACTERISTICS OF IDENTITY

The _first_ tendency (nearness) applies to immigrant behaviour when he selects his place of residence _close_ to the people with whom he identifies. This spatial concept underlies the process of ethnic neighbourhood formation and individuals' search for propinquity with some members of their former affiliation. Immigrants in general tend to associate with people they feel comfortable with, and this tendency increases with heightened immigrants' need for attachment to their ethnic community. The existence of an Arab-Muslim community in London, Ontario has attracted other Arab-Muslim immigrant families to move to London, Ontario. The London Muslim Mosque (Oxford Street, East) is a cultural focus that acts like a magnet to draw Muslim people to it.

The tendency of nearness expressed as social distance underlies the spatial residential relationships between sponsored immigrants and their sponsors. Some sponsored immigrants follow their sponsors across the country. If the reason is _to be near_ someone or someplace, the process of migration (or remigration) becomes a social distance expression of a spatial centripetal process at work.

The _second_ spatial tendency, separateness, may reveal itself in different forms. An example of physical separateness between neighbours of different cultures is the construction of actual fences at the edge of properties for culturally and/or socially-based reasons. Separateness also may present itself by deter-

ioration in the relationships between culturally different neighbors forcing some to use different doors or to redesign their fences to minimize eye contacts with others. Also, the tendency of separateness is represented by avoidance as when parents instruct their children to play only with children from their own ethnic group. At a macro scale, the social phenomenon of ethnic organizations may be seen, at least in part, as cultural indicators to establish a base for maintaining social distance from culturally different peoples.
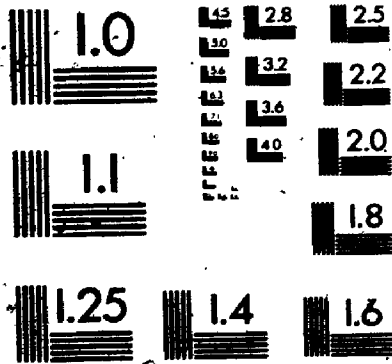
The _third_ tendency, connectedness, is concerned with establishing tangible and/or intangible kinds of relationship with others. Connectivity links both near and separate sets of people for specific purposes. The interests around which some connections are based may be social, economic, or political in nature. An example of this occurs when Canadians of Palestinian origin and non-Palestinian origin organize campaigns to raise funds to further the Palestinian cause. Some large North American cities have their own Palestinian organizations which meet regularly to discuss developments regarding the Palestinian question. Supportive actions are usually planned and carried out. Similarly, Jewish organizations across North America and the world provide Israel with continuous support in every field. These and similar organizations are in fact important expressions of connectivity to consolidate separate parts and to integrate people.

Important to the theme of this dissertation, however, are the kinds of connectivities that bind immigrants to other sets of

people. For example, the office of Canada Manpower Centre becomes
the focus of almost all new Canadians. Driven by the need to im-
prove their linguistic ability, many immigrants from non-English
speaking countries enroll in language courses at the night schools
in their local areas. During the initial period of their settle-
ment in Canada, the activities of new Canadians may have three
spatial foci: place of work, place of residence, and the local
school which offers English as a second language. With the passage
of time and with their changing circumstances, immigrants develop
different sets of interactions with different organizations. Over
time, immigrants' interactions do change and so do their correspond-
ing spatial consequences.

Immigrants must interact with groups to establish their new
identities. Immigrants' spatial behavior follows the general con-
cepts of nearness, separateness, and connectedness by geographically
altering behaviours over time.

The concept of personal identity is considered basic to any
cultural geographical research. From the moment they arrive in the
host country, immigrants "go through the mill" of change: they
begin different roles in different groups. They go through the
inevitable process of identity change. Once subjected to the
demanding immigration experiences immigrants will never be the
same again.' When they identify not with their country of origin
but with their host country, immigrants may be said to have reached
the level of identificational assimilation. Identity can be
examined using the combined psychosocial characteristics and

spatial tendencies.

With reference to the model (Figure 3.1), the concept of identity change theoretically marks the end of the assimilation cycle. But in practice, however, the assimilation cycle is continuous. Wherever new immigrants are admitted the process starts again. Wherever the assimilative population exists there is the ongoing psychosocial spatial transformation of all persons involved. The story of assimilation is the process of cultural life that will produce continuing spatial interaction, ongoing assimilation and further identity transformations. The spatial outcomes are dynamic intercultural regions in which the occupants, changing their own identity, change the interactional mix and the spatial interactional effects.

The dynamic outcome of the assimilation process is identity change. A measure of identity transformation will be developed in the following chapter. Psychosocial data will be used as surrogates for spatial configurations.

CHAPTER IV

ASSIMILATION SCALE

A tripartite assimilation model has been developed in the last chapter underscoring the concept of identity change as the dynamic outcome of the assimilation cycle. The objective of this chapter is to construct an assimilation scale (Figure 4.1) to measure the transformation of Arabs in Canada along an Arab-Canadian continuum.

Assimilation of immigrants into a new culture is a complex process. It can be approached from many different angles. This explains why a large number of questions are needed in the development of a scale to measure it. To reduce the effects of idiosyncracies of particular immigrants in respect of particular aspects of assimilation, the responses to a large set of questions/ statements must be first obtained in order to create a body of data suitable to the development of a representative scale that is typical of the whole.

Such a scale must be anchored in individual experience collected into a group by questioning as large a number of respondents as possible. The methodology for obtaining the data necessary to measure this transformation requires a questionnaire procedure that will be capable of representing the breadth of experience of the community of people being studied.
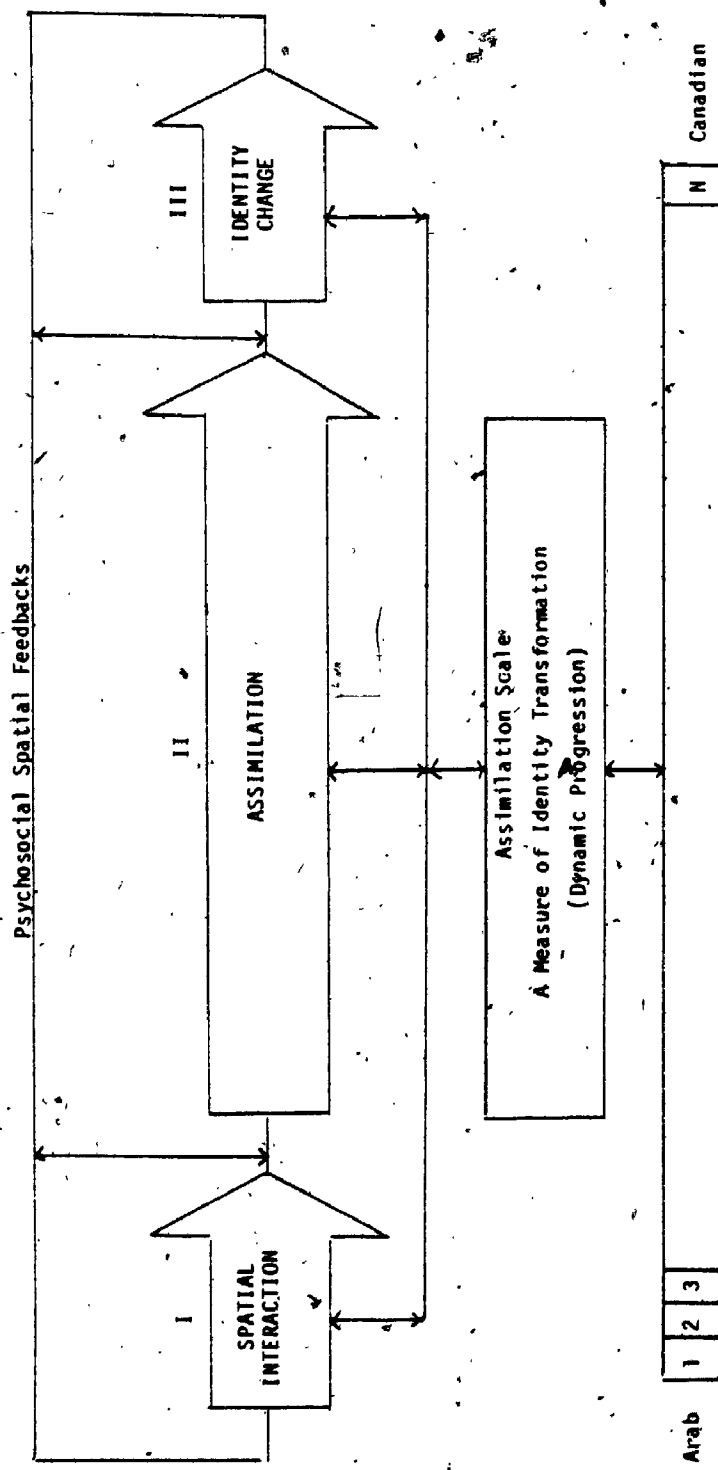
FIGURE 4.1
A SPATIAL ASSIMILATION MODEL
(Assimilation Scale)

According to Moser and Kalton (1972, p. 351), the scaling
process can be completed in three steps. The first is to
decide what are the appropriate parts, ensuring they are logically
related and all refer to the same dimension. The second is to
fit the parts together into a meaningful whole. The third is
to test the soundness of the scale. Matching these three steps,
this Chapter is divided into three major parts: data collection,
scale construction and scale testing.

4.1 DATA COLLECTION

In order to gather information about the characteristics
of the Arab culture in Canada it was not possible to use census
data. Rather it was believed that the data required for this
investigation could better be generated through the design of
a questionnaire.

4.1.1 Questionnaire Design

The rationale behind the design of the questionnaire
(Appendix 1) may be given in three points:

1) to elicit personal responses to different types of
assimilation experience in order to characterize the culture.

2) to measure intensity or significance of personal ex-
periences for comparison with other individuals in order to derive
an overall measure of significance.

3) to scale the different experiences to assess the progression
of assimilation/differentiation.

The content of the questionnaire can be arranged, in nine groups of variables. These groups pertain to opinions, attitudes, religion, language, food preference, satisfaction, contacts with the Arab world, contacts with Canada and belonging. These group variables as shown in Table 4.1 represent continua of psychosocial spatial transformations.

In the questionnaire, nominal and ordinal scales are used appropriate to the information sought. Arabic and English were used to give opportunity for informants to use the language of preference. The percentage of respondents who used mainly English, half English/half Arabic and mainly Arabic were 58 percent, 7 percent and 35 percent respectively. It will be shown later that the rate of assimilation of respondents is significantly related to the stage of linguistic transformation.

During the preparation stage, a master mailing list was prepared by using the telephone directories of major Canadian cities. All Arabic sounding names were added to the list. Additional entries were made as respondents on the initial list were contacted. All Arabian national embassies/consulates in Ottawa, Islamic associations, Mosques,[1] and the Coptic[2] churches in Canada were valuable sources of such information.

From the master mailing list, a separate mailing list for each province was prepared. The distribution of potential respondents is given in Table 4.2. It is interesting to note the similarity between mailing list distribution and actual

TABLE 4.1

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

N	Category	Question Numbers (Appendix 1)
1.	**Opinions**	
	General issues	81, 84, 85, 91, 92
	Male/female related issues	80, 86, 87, 88, 89
2.	**Attitudes**	
	Toward Canadians	48, 53, 59, 60, 61, 65, 67
	Toward assimilation of children	13-17
3.	**Religion**	39-42
4.	**Language**	34, 35, 37, 38
5.	**Food Preference**	46, 47
6.	**Satisfaction**	26, 56, 97
7.	**Contacts with the Arab World**	23, 29, 31, 32
8.	**Contacts with Canada**	
	Primary level contacts	62-64, 66
	Acculturation	32, 58, 59
9.	**Belonging**	
	Similarity	69, 80-90
	Naturalization	4, 43, 44
	Identification	22, 68
	Intention to remain	27, 28, 51, 52, 57
	Loyalty	
	General	74, 77, 78
	Specific	71-73

TABLE 4.2

DISTRIBUTION OF POTENTIAL RESPONDENTS

ACCORDING TO THE MAILING LIST

Province	N	%
Newfoundland	18	.5
Prince Edward Island	8	.2
Nova Scotia	57	1.4
New Brunswick	11	.3
Quebec	835	20.9
Ontario	2812	70.3
Manitoba	76	1.9
Saskatchewan	39	1.0
Alberta	83	2.1
British Columbia	112	2.8
Canada	4051	100%

distributions of the Arabic-speaking population shown in Table 4.3. According to the 1971 statistics (Table 4.3), the Arabic speaking population are concentrated in five provinces: Ontario (59 percent), Quebec (26 percent), Alberta (7 percent), Nova Scotia (2 percent) and British Columbia (2 percent).

4.1.2 Questionnaire Evaluation

The author formulated initially a set of 131 questions to provide information appropriate to the research objectives already stated. The questions ranged from demographic information to highly personal questions about social behaviours. The questions were arranged to form a coherent series which would elicit from respondents facts, feelings and judgments.

The questionnaire was tried out on a group of 30 Arabs. From this experience, the total number of questions was reduced to 101 questions to shorten the length of time for respondents and eliminate redundancy. Words were changed to simplify meanings. Translation of each question was checked to ensure that the English and Arabic versions of each question meant the same thing. A general agreement on the sequence of questions was arrived at. An additional page was added for personal comments. The result of the evaluation stage is the questionnaire shown in Appendix ۲.

4.1.3 Sampling

Based on the mailing list which contained 4051 entries, a random sample for each province was drawn to correspond with the 1971

TABLE 4.3

THE ARAB POPULATION OF CANADA, 1941-1981

	1941*		1951*		1961*		1971*		1981**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Newfoundland	---	---	277	2.2	417	2.2	35	.1	55	.1
P.E.I.	182	1.5	208	1.7	240	1.2	105	.4	105	.2
Nova Scotia	1,469	12.3	1,397	11.7	2,153	11.2	675	2.4	1,210	2.4
New Brunswick	573	4.8	392	3.2	984	5.1	185	.6	255	.5
Quebec	4,002	33.6	3,622	29.3	5,302	27.6	7,540	26.4	14,335	28.7
Ontario	3,810	32.0	4,578	37.1	7,137	37.1	16,835	58.9	26,465	52.9
Manitoba	445	3.7	455	3.7	590	3.1	345	1.2	400	.8
Saskatchewan	681	5.7	466	3.8	678	3.5	240	.8	315	.6
Alberta	428	3.6	504	4.1	1,327	6.9	1,965	6.9	5,500	11.0
British Columbia	262	2.2	393	3.2	530	2.8	620	2.2	1,465	2.9
Canada	11,857	100%	12,301	100%	19,374	100%	28,550	100%	50,115	100%

* Abu-Laban, 1980 p. 64
** Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, Cat. 92-902 (Volume 1, National Series)

'distribution of the Arabic-speaking population as shown in Table 4.3.
The distributions of mailed and processed questionnaires are given
in Table 4.4. Both distributions follow the general distributional
pattern of Arabs in Canada.

4.1.4 Response to Questionnaires

Out of the 1000 questionnaires mailed (Table 4.4), 127
completed returns were found useful for further processing as
shown in Tables 4.4 and 4.5. The data collected was organized
into a 127 by 101 data matrix, 127 respondents and 101 questions.
With the help of a computer, the data was analyzed and tabulated.
The response to a second (short) questionnaire will be discussed
in section 4.3.2.

4.2 SCALE CONSTRUCTION

An assimilation scale was developed by using a Guttman-type
scalogram analysis (Guttman, 1950), a technique used in other
studies by Richardson (1961), Taft (1961), Ryan (1973) and
Armstrong (1981). Brief descriptions of the scalogram analysis
and the Arab-Canadian assimilation scale follow.

4.2.1 Scalogram Analysis

A scalogram is a diagram that shows a pattern of responses
of a set of individuals to a set of related items (questions,
statements, problems, or attitudinal/behavioural characteristics).

TABLE 4.4

QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTION

Province	Questionnaires Mailed		Questionnaires Processed	
	N	%	N	%
Newfoundland	1	.1	1	.8
Prince Edward Island	4	.4	1	.8
Nova Scotia	24	2.4	2	1.6
New Brunswick	6	.6	1	.8
Quebec	264	26.4	24	18.9
Ontario	600	58.9	86	67.7
Manitoba	12	1.2	1	.8
Saskatchewan	8	.8	1	.8
Alberta	69	6.9	8	6.4
British Columbia	22	2.2	2	1.6
Canada	1000	100%	127	100%

TABLE 4.5

RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRE

	N	%
1. Total questionnaires returned answered	223	22.3

	N	%
a) Questionnaires not analyzed	96	43.0
b) Questionnaires actually processed........	127	57.0
Total	223	100.

	N	%
2. Total questionnaires returned unanswered........	168	16.8

Envelopes stamped as follows:

	N	%
a) No such address.............	8	4.8
b) Address incomplete:..........	22	13.1
c) Moved, address unknown...........	138	82.1
Total	168	100.

	N	%
3. Total questionnaires not returned..........	609	60.9

	N	%
Total questionnaires mailed.........	1000	100%

A hypothetical scalogram is given in Figure 4.2.

Scale Items

	1	2	3	4	5	Score
	+	+	+	+	+	5
	+	+	+	+	-	4
	+	+	+	-	-	3
	+	+	-	-	-	2
	+	-	-	-	-	1
	-	-	-	-	-	0

(Scale, Types — left-hand vertical label)

FIGURE 4.2

A HYPOTHETICAL SCALOGRAM MATRIX

(Source: Moser and Kalton, 1972, pp. 368)

In Figure 4.2, the scale items are arranged in order of
difficulty. Item 1 is the easiest to endorse; item 5 is the
most difficult. Endorsing an item means agreeing with it,
answering it favourably and scoring (+). The pluses and minuses
on the scalogram indicates whether items have been scored pos-
itively (accepted) or negatively (rejected). The scale types
equal the number of items plus one. In the scalogram given
above, there are five items and six scale types.

The production of a close-to-perfect scale involves arrang-
ing the items and respondents in such a way that maximizes the
number of pluses in the upper left-hand part of the scalogram

and minuses elsewhere. This process is repeated as many times as required to minimize the errors.

Having arranged the scalogram so that it resembles the perfect scale as closely as possible, the next operation is to measure how successfully this has been achieved. Guttman's overall index for this purpose is the coefficient of reproducibility, which is defined as

$$Rep = 1 - \frac{\text{total number of errors}}{\text{total number of responses}}$$

where the total number of responses equals the number of items in the scale multiplied by the number of respondents. Another way of expressing Rep. is to say that it is the proportion of responses that can be correctly predicted from the individual's total scores. A coefficient of reproducibility can also be calculated for each item individually as the proportion of responses on that item that are correctly predicted; Rep. is that simple average of these items' coefficients. According to Guttman (1950), a set of items are fitted into a scale if Rep. is no less than 0.90. Additional scaling requirements will be discussed later.

4.2.2 Arab Canadian Assimilation Scale

To construct an Arab Canadian assimilation scale the author has used the scalogram methodology described earlier. Out of the original data matrix (127 by 101) forty-one items (questions and statements) fitted into a Guttman-type scale.

In Table 4.6, the scale components are given in descending

TABLE 4.6

ASSIMILATION SCALE COMPONENTS

N	SCALE COMPONENTS (see Appendix II for details)	N. of parts in the nominal/ ordinal scales						Item Popularity
		2	3	4	5	9	11	%
1	Respondents' opinion regarding developing a daily routine for children	x						93.7
2	Level of satisfaction			x				91.3
3	Respondents' opinion regarding allowing children to share their parents' bedroom	x						91.3
4	Level of interest in Canadian news			x				90.6
5	Feeling of acceptance in the community				x			86.6
6	Respondents' opinion regarding husbands sharing house-keeping duties	x						83.5
7	Level of loyalty (a scale)						x	78.8
8	Ability of respondents to understand Canadians		x					78.7
9	Supporting Canadian athletic teams against non-Arab teams		x					78.7
10	Attitude toward Canadians				x			76.4
11	Ability of Arab immigrants to make themselves understood		x					74.8
12	Respondents' opinion regarding co-education	x						74.0
13	Level of adaptation (a scale)						x	72.4
14	Friendliness of the Canadian people				x			70.1
15	Respondents' opinion regarding allowing Arab boys to have girl friends	x						69.3
16	Comparing Arabs to Canadians as two cultural groups		x					69.2
17	Opinion on allowing Arab girls to have complete freedom to select their marriage partners	x						67.7
18	Respondents' perception of Canadian attitude				x			67.0
19	Language used in answering the questionnaire				x			57.5
20	Friendliness of people in neighborhood				x			57.4
21	Willingness of respondents to defend Canada		x					55.1
22	Frequency of visiting Canadians			x				53.6
23	Feeling at home in Canada	x						53.0
24	Respondents' opinion regarding allowing Arab girls to have boy friends	x						48.0
25	Change in satisfaction		x					43.3
26	Respondents' opinion on allowing single Arab girls to take birth control pills	x						32.3
27	Perceived Similarity Index					x		30.7
28	Accepting and applying Canadian customs				x			30.7
29	Respondents' opinion regarding doing things the Canadian way	x						29.1
30	Language most often spoken at home				x			29.1
31	Respondents' perception of attitudes of Canadians toward immigrants in general				x			26.0
32	Respondents' contacts				x			25.2
33	Respondents opinion on sitting facing the shoes of an Arab host	x						21.3
34	Respondents' self perception: Arab to Canadian				x			19.7
35	Respondents' opinion regarding respecting older people	x						19.7
36	Food eaten at home				x			19.3
37	Supporting Canadian athletic teams against Arab teams		x					13.4
38	Identity of respondents' friends				x			11.8
39	Neglecting Arab customs				x			11.0
40	Preferred food				x			10.2
41	Supporting a Canadian team against a team from respondents' country of origin		x					1.5

order based on item popularity. 'The scale starts with the easiest
item; the first item is endorsed by 93.7 percent of respondents.
It ends with the most difficult item (identity transfer item)
which is endorsed by only 1.6 percent of all respondents. In order
to position equally popular items on the scale, the author has
accepted the decision of a committee of outside judges.[3] The
committee helped the author in placing the following five pairs of
scale items: 2 and 3. 8 and 9. 27 and 28, 29 and 30, 34 and 35.

To satisfy the scaling requirements, the number of response
categories of all variables has been standardized into dichotomous
categories:' positive (+) and negative (-). The number' of response
categories before standardization (Table 4.7) range from two to
eleven categories. Using specific examples, the process of stand-
ardization is illustrated in Table 4.8. Respondents were not
counted as scoring any item positively unless they occupy an
attitudinal/behavioural position located very close to the Canadian
end of the scale.

Limitations

The coefficient of reproducibility (Rep.) was found to be 0.97
(Table 4.9). But Rep. should not be taken alone to express the
soundness of the scale. Guttman (1950) indicated that it is possible
to obtain a high Rep. for a set of independent items. Guttman showed
that for independent, dichotomous items endorsed, respectively, by
0.2, 0.4, 0.6 and 0.8 of the respondents, the coefficient is over 0.90.

Because of the limitations of Rep., Moser and Kalton (1972)

TABLE 4.7

RESPONSE CATEGORIES OF SCALE ITEMS

BEFORE STANDARDIZATION

Item Types	Number of Response Categories Before Standardization	Item Number (Item Position on the Scale, Table 4.7)	N	%
1	Two	1, 3, 6, 12, 15, 17, 23, 24, 26, 29, 33, 35	12	29.3
2	Three	8, 9, 11, 16, 21, 25, 37, 41	8	19.5
3	Four	2, 4, 22	3	7.3
4	Five	5, 10, 14, 18, 19, 20, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40	15	36.6
5	Nine	27	1	2.4
6	Eleven	7, 13	2	4.9
		Total	41	100.0

TABLE 4.8

STANDARDIZATION OF SCALE ITEMS

Item Type (N. of categories)	Item Numbers	Item Heading of Selected Examples	Nominal and Ordinal Response Categories Before and After Standardization	
			Before	After
Two	24	Arab girls should be allowed to have boy friends	1. Agree 2. Disagree	1. Positive 2. Negative
Three	21	In case of war, would you defend Canada?	1. Yes 2. No opinion 3. No	1. Positive 2. Negative
Four	2	How satisfied are you with life in Canada?	1. Very satisfied 2. Satisfied 3. Dissatisfied 4. Very dissatisfied	1. Positive 2. Negative
Five	10	What is your attitude towards Canadians?	1. Friendly 2. More friendly than unfriendly 3. Half and half 4. More unfriendly than friendly 5. Unfriendly	1. Positive 2. Negative
Nine	27	Perceived Similarity Index	Nine (highest) Eight Seven Six Five Four Three Two One (lowest)	1. Positive 2. Negative
Eleven	7	Level of loyalty (A Scale)	Ten Nine Eight Seven Six Five Four Three Two One Zero	1. Positive 2. Negative

TABLE 4.9

COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY (REP.)

Scale (1) Types	Expected Positive Responses (2)		Actual Positive Responses (3)		Errors Expected Minus Actual (4)
	%	N	%	N	
1	100.0	127	93.7	119	8
2	97.6	124	91.3	116	8
3	95.1	121	91.3	116	5
4	92.7	118	90.6	115	3
5	90.2	115	86.6	110	5
6	87.8	112	83.5	106	6
7	85.4	108	78.8	100	8
8	82.9	105	78.7	100	5
9	80.5	102	78.7	100	2
10	78.0	99	76.4	97	2
11	75.6	96	74.8	95	1
12	73.2	93	74.0	94	1
13	70.7	90	72.4	92	2
14	68.3	87	70.1	89	2
15	65.9	84	69.3	88	4
16	63.4	81	69.2	88	7
17	61.0	77	67.7	86	9
18	58.5	74	67.0	85	11
19	56.1	71	57.5	73	2
20	53.7	68	57.4	73	5
21	51.2	65	55.1	70	5
22	48.8	62	53.6	68	6
23	46.3	59	53.0	67	8
24	43.9	56	48.0	61	5
25	41.5	53	43.0	55	2
26	39.0	50	32.3	41	9
27	36.6	46	30.7	39	7
28	34.1	43	30.7	39	4
29	31.7	40	29.1	37	3
30	29.3	37	29.1	37	0
31	26.8	34	26.0	33	1
32	24.4	31	25.2	32	1
33	22.0	28	21.3	27	1
34	19.5	25	19.7	25	0
35	17.1	22	19.7	25	3
36	14.6	19	19.3	25	6
37	12.2	15	13.4	17	2
38	9.8	12	11.8	14	2
39	7.3	9	11.0	14	5
40	4.9	6	10.2	13	7
41	2.4	3	1.6	2	1
42	0.0	0			

Total 174

$$Rep. = 1 - \frac{Total\ Number\ of\ Errors}{N.\ of\ Respondents\ \times\ N.\ of\ Items}$$

$$= 1 - \frac{174}{127 \times 41} = 0.97$$

(1) Number of scale types equals the number of scale items (41) plus 1.
See Section 4.2.1 on Scalogram Analysis .

(2) The percentage of endorsement is uniformly decreasing at a rate of 2.439%
arrived at by dividing the number of items into 100%.

(3) Data is given in Figure 4.2. This column matches perfectly the distribution
of respondents on the assimilation scale.

(4) Absolute differences are used.

warn of using Rep. alone as a measure of scalability. They suggest two additional conditions that must be met in order to obtain a valid scale. First, at least ten dichotomous items are needed to produce a satisfactory scale. Second, the distribution of errors on the scale should be patternless because the existence of a pattern may indicate the existence of more than one dimension in the psychosocial data being scaled.

Evaluated against the preceding discussion on scale limitations, the Arab Canadian scale developed in this chapter may be considered as a very satisfactory scale for at least three reasons. First, the coefficient of reproducibility is very high, 0.97. Other researchers developed, accepted and used scales with Reps. as low as 0.90 (Ryan, 1973) and 0.86 (Armstrong, 1981). Second, the number of items fitted into the scale equals at least four times the minimum number recommended by Moser and Kalton. Furthermore, the "content validity" is easily discernible; the scale items cover a very wide range of assimilation aspects: opinions, attitudes, language, food preference, loyalty...etc. Third, the distribution of scale errors (Figure 4:3) is almost patternless. It is the common thread of assimilation that runs through all scale items.

Assimilation stages

It is possible to divide the Arab Canadian assimilation scale into three approximately equal sections as shown in Figure 4.4. The first third of the scale (the Arab side) contains the first fourteen items; the second third (middle section), the next thirteen items
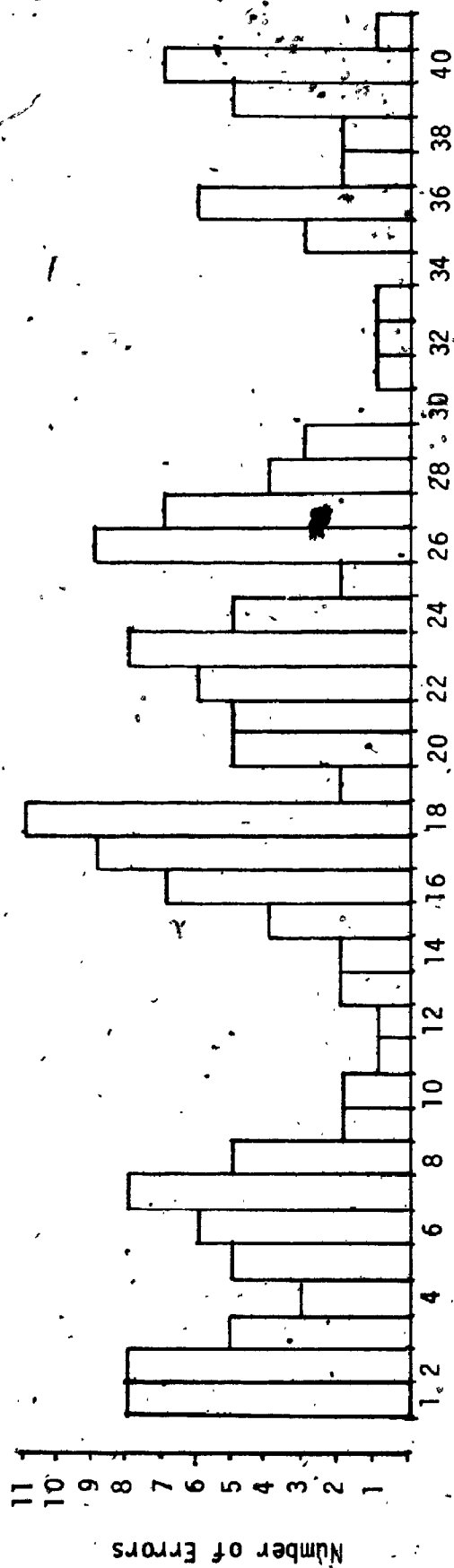
FIGURE 4.3

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE ERRORS

and the final third (the Canadian side), the last fourteen items. Respectively, these sections are called low, medium, and high assimilation stages. Dividing the scale into sections/stages is necessary to carry out statistical analysis performed in the following chapter.

	Low	Medium	High	
ARAB	14 items (1-14)	13 items (15-27)	14 items (28-41)	CANADIAN

FIGURE 4.4

ASSIMILATION STAGES

The positions of respondents on the scale determine their assimilation stages. Respondents whose scores range between one and fourteen are placed in the low assimilation stage. Undergoing the medium assimilation stage are those respondents whose scores range from fifteen to twenty-seven. To enter the high assimilation stage, respondents must endorse at least twenty-eight items.

Grouping of respondents

The process of placing respondents on the scale is based on respondents' assimilation scores not on the highest items they endorsed. Since perfect progression is impossible on imperfect scales such as the one developed above, it follows that some respondents are expected to skip some items, making errors by endorsing

difficult items but, at the same time, failing to endorse less difficult ones. The process of placing respondents on the assimilation scale is clarified in Table 4.10.

In Table 4.10, the first column identifies five hypothetical respondents. The second column gives the location of errors made by respondents in their progression toward the Canadian end of the scale. The third, fourth and fifth columns may be related symbolically in the equation given below:

$$S = H - E$$

where, S = total score on the assimilation scale (number of endorsed items),

H = position/number of the highest item endorsed.

E = number of errors (items that should have been scored positively under the scale hypothesis)

The last column indicates the assimilation stage which corresponds to the total respondents' assimilation scores; the assimilation stages are described in Figure 4.4. By carefully examining Table 4.10, the reader may derive three major conclusions.

First, whenever respondents make no errors, the numbers/positions of the highest items they endorsed are equal to their total assimilation scores. This conclusion is based on the assimilation path taken by the first and third respondents.

TABLE 4.10

PLACING RESPONDENTS ON THE

ASSIMILATION SCALE

1 N	2 Location of Errors (Items that should have been scored positively under scale hypothesis)	3 Number/Position of the highest item endorsed H	4 Number of errors E	5 Assimilation Score (Number of endorsed items) $S = H - E$	6 Assimilation Stages Low (items 1-14) Medium (items 15-27) High (items 28-41)
1	-	15	0	15	Medium
2	6, 14	15	2	13	Low
3	-	28	0	28	High
4	2, 11, 27	28	3	25	Medium
5	13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27	28	15	13	Low

Second, whenever respondents make errors, their total assimilation scores are always less than the numbers/positions of the highest items they endorsed. This conclusion is supported by the assimilation paths of the second, fourth and fifth respondents.

Third, it is possible to find discrepancy between the highest items endorsed by respondents and their assimilation scores. With respect to this study it was found that the total assimilation score of the most assimilated respondent falls well below the number/position of the highest item endorsed. This conclusion explains why the highest item on the Arab-Canadian assimilation scale has been endorsed by almost two percent of respondents while the most assimilated respondent did not advance beyond the thirty-eighth position, three positions below the top of the scale.

Based on their total assimilation scores, respondents are grouped into three broad groups as shown in Table 4.11. A separate analysis has shown that the distribution of respondents on the scale very closely approximates the statistical normal distribution.

Assimilation Stage	N	%
Low	34	26.8
Medium	60	47.2
High	33	26.0
Total	127	100.0

TABLE 4.11

GROUPING OF RESPONDENTS

This section concludes the process of scale construction.

Based on evidence given above, the scale has been accepted initially as a satisfactory scale. Further examination has added strength to and confidence in the scale. In the following section, the scale is tested using statistical, empirical and descriptive approaches.

4.3 SCALE TESTING

In order to rule out the possibility that the scale was developed by chance, the researcher tested the scale using three different approaches that provided evidence to cause him to accept the scale as a sound assimilation measure.

4.3.1 Statistical Evidence

The author tested the chance hypothesis statistically by following a procedure recommended by Blalock and Blalock (1968). This procedure is outlined below.

1. A hypothetical data matrix, assuming the chance hypothesis was generated.[4] An IBM computer was used to produce the required 127 by 41 matrix.

2. According to the same rules employed for the real data matrix, the hypothetical data matrix was rearranged to minimize errors of reproducibility.

3. The best estimates of the Guttman scales for the real and hypothetical data were compared.

The respondents, both real and hypothetical, were partitioned into those with no errors of reproducibility, those with one error, those with two errors, etc. A chi-square test was applied to the

resulting contingency table.

The chi-square value was so large that the chance hypothesis had to be rejected indicating that the scale attribute of assim- ilation could not have been produced by chance alone.

4.3.2 Empirical Evidence

To test the applicability of the scale to real life situations- a short questionnaire (Arabic/English) was designed. The short questionnaire consisted of the forty-one scale items discussed above and respondents were asked to comment freely. Respondents' comments and the language used in their replies were used to determine the linguistic orientation of respondents. Some 200 questionnaires were mailed out to randomly selected respondents as shown in Table 4.12 but only 63 short questionnaires were processed as given in Table 4.13. This is an independent test; the short questionnaires were sent to a new sample.

Rep. was calculated twice; the first Rep. was .852 based on 182 errors, 30 respondents and 41 scale items; the second Rep. was 0.872 based on 331 errors, 63 respondents and 41 scale items. A Rep. of 0.872 exceeded the acceptable margin of error by 0.028, a small amount that may become even smaller with increasing number of observations.

4.3.3 Descriptive Evidence

The answers to question 98 in Appendix I (What advice would you give to Arabs in Canada?) are used to give descriptive evidence

TABLE 4.12

SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTIONS

Province	Questionnaires Mailed		Questionnaires Processed	
	N	%	N	%
Newfoundland	0	.1	0	0.0
Prince Edward Island	1	.4	1	1.6
Nova Scotia	5	2.4	3	4.7
New Brunswick	1	.6	1	1.6
Quebec	52	26.4	10	15.8
Ontario	119	58.9	42	66.4
Manitoba	2	1.2	1	1.6
Saskatchewan	2	.8	1	1.6
Alberta	14	6.9	3	4.7
British Columbia	4	2.2	1	1.6
Canada	200	100%	63	100%

TABLE 4.13

RESPONSE TO SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE

		N	%
1.	Total questionnaires returned answered..............	74	37.0

	N	%
a) Questionnaires not analyzed...........	11	14.9
b) Questionnaires actually processed....	63	85.1
Total	74	100.

		N	%
2.	Total questionnaires returned unanswered......	33	16.5

Envelopes stamped as follows:	N	%
a) No such address............	1	3.0
b) Address incomplete..........	4	12.1
c) Moved, address unknown......	28	84.8
Total	33	100.

		N	%
3.	Total questionnaires not returned................	103	51.5
	Total questionnaires mailed................	200	100%

to the assimilation scale. Under the assumption that the assim-
ilation scale is true, the reader expects to find some useful
relationship between the position of immigrants on the Arab-
Canadian continuum on one hand and their attitudes towards assim-
ilation as reflected in the kind of advice they give to the Arab
population in Canada on the other hand.

The advice given by the three groups of respondents (low,
medium, high) were classified into three categories: negative
(items against assimilation), neutral (items not directly against
assimilation), and positive (items encouraging assimilation). The
classification of items as negative or neutral or positive was
left to the subjective evaluation of the author.

The negative and positive comments made by the low, medium
and high assimilation groups are organized in Tables 4.14, 4.15 and
4.16 respectively. Most of the comments made by low scale respond-
ents (Table 4.14) are negative representing pro-Arab mentality and
expressing spatial centrifugal tendencies: either return to home-
land or stay in Canada and separate/isolate. The quantitative,
qualitative and distributional aspects of the comments made by
middle scale respondents (Table 4.15) reflect the transitional
nature of this group. They are living in two worlds trying to
accommodate two sets of values originating in two different
cultures/places. Using the Arabic saying , they are "holding the
stick from the centre" in anticipation of gaining the best of the
two cultures/places. Most of the comments made by the high scale

TABLE 4.14

ADVICE GIVEN BY LOW SCALE RESPONDENTS

TO ARABS IN CANADA

Negative

1. Keep your religion, family tradition, and the strong social ties.

2. Be loyal to your country of birth.

3. Do not forget your past.

4. Defend your heritage.

5. Protect your children.

6. Spread, in your own circle, the Arabic principles which are based on Love and Generosity.

7. Do everything in your power to return to your country of origin; they do need you there.

8. For your children's sake, use the Arabic language at home.

9. Do not adopt the Canadian values because they are material-oriented.

10. Fight assimilation.

11. Arab girls in Canada should not imitate Canadian girls.

12. Girls: Stay away from premarital sex.

13. Help new Arab immigrants; do everything you can to convince them to return after they achieve their financial and academic objectives.

14. Protect your children from the evils of the Canadian complex urban-industrial society. Protect boys as well as girls from the immoral environment surrounding them.

15. Your country of origin needs your modern knowledge; give to the people who gave you;

16. Do not change your habits or traditions because if you do, Canadians would not respect you.

17. Never lose your culture; never imitate Canadians in dress, speech or modes of life as this will not bring you acceptance. Be proud of what you are: an Arab.

18. Do not forget that you are nothing but a stranger in Canada; this is a fact whether you like it or not.

Positive

1. Mix with the Canadian people but not all the way.

2. Enrich your circles of friends by having at least one Canadian friend.

TABLE 4.15

ADVICE GIVEN BY MIDDLE SCALE RESPONDENTS

TO ARABS IN CANADA

Negative

1. Do not forget your country of origin.
2. Do not lose your habits or loyalty to your country of origin.
3. Benefit your country from your education.
4. Get married to an Arab person.
5. Be a messenger of your country of origin.
6. Stay Arab.
7. Do not lose identity.
8. Do not try to be Canadian.
9. Bo not lose your religion or language.
10. Communicate with your children in Arabic.
11. Visit your country of origin as frequently as you can to keep abreast with the changing conditions.

Positive

1. Get involved.
2. Get maximum education and technical knowledge.
3. Mix with the Canadian society as much as you can, but keep your good traditions.
4. Never isolate yourself from the Canadian society.
5. Take good things and leave bad things.
6. Enlarge your friendship networks but don't forget your Arab friends.
7. Learn the language.
8. Blend with the society while retaining your good heritage and identity.
9. Adjust yourself to Canadian ways of life.
10. Obey laws and make your way in society.
11. Make the time to read about Canada so you can understand the people.
12. Maintain your individuality but participate a little in the current events of your community.

TABLE 4.16

ADVICE GIVEN BY HIGH SCALE RESPONDENTS

TO ARABS IN CANADA

Negative

1. Loosen up a bit, but never forget your history and language.

Positive

1. Enjoy the freedom in Canada but not excessively; we should
    know that scientific achievements are important to us. We
    have to work for the freedom of women in our beautiful East.
    We have to be ideal Canadian Arabs.

2. Get used to the new life style in Canada. Don't keep complaining
    about people, weather, lack of things,...etc.. Don't keep com-
    paring everything with the old country. Make some new Canadian
    friends; they are not bad people; in fact, in most cases they
    are better than Arabs.

3. Work hard, build your future, and integrate in the society.

4. Be grateful to Canada for giving you the chance you wanted;
    improve yourself and add the best of their heritage to the
    best of yours.

5. You must come to Canada with an open mind to integrate. Keep
    your customs if you want but don't force them on Canadians. Do
    not expect Canadians to accept and apply your customs but you
    are expected to accept and apply theirs.

6. Don't take a minority attitude.

7. Tell your children that Canada is their country.

8. Get on with the business of assimilation, but do it very,
    gradually. Never try something new until you study it, convince
    yourself, learn it, read about it, practise it, feel comfortable
    with it, and then do it, only one step at a time.

9. Start building relationships with Canadians, develop the roots
    slowly but surely; then, enlarge your circle of friends. Par-
    ticipate. Stop blaming Canada and Canadians for your troubles.
    Your problems start in the mind. If you don't like Canada,
    just leave; if you like it, do yourself a favour and integrate.

respondents (Figure 4.16) are solid positive comments expressing pro-Canada mentality and expressing spatial centripetal tendencies: stay in Canada and assimilate the Canadian culture. And in plain language the concept of assimilation scale has been verified, once again.

The three pieces of evidence (statistical, empirical, descriptive) described above support and strengthen each other and provide a basis for accepting the assimilation scale as an effective scale to measure the psychosocial spatial transformations of Arabs in Canada toward progressive assimilation/differentiation.

4.4 SUMMARY

A tripartite assimilation model has been developed in the last chapter underscoring the concept of identity change as the dynamic outcome of the assimilation cycle. This chapter has provided a scale to measure the transformation from the Arabian identity to Canadian identity. The scale was constructed using forty-one attitudinal/behavioural items that fitted into a Guttman-type assimilation scale.

The scale has been checked as a valid scale on at least <u>six</u> counts. <u>First</u>, the coefficient of reproducibility is very high; it exceeds the minimum acceptable level by 0.07. <u>Second</u>, the scale contains a large number of items, at least four times the number recommended by statisticians. <u>Third</u>, the patternless distribution of scale errors underscores the undimensionality of the scale attributes. Different scale items measure different

aspects of assimilation. Fourth, the chance hypothesis has been ruled out by comparing actual data with hypothetical data using x^2 test. Fifth, the universal applicability of the scale has been tested by collecting a new set of data from a newly drawn sample; a short questionnaire was used to collect the new data. The co-efficient of reproducibility was only 3 percent off the acceptable range. Sixth, the written comments made by respondents has been carefully analyzed. The content of these comments support the scale developed here; it was found that the quantity and quality of positive comments do increase/improve with the increase of respondents' positions on the assimilation scale.

An errorless scale is perhaps impossible to develop. Taking this fact into consideration, the author has constructed a reasonable scale capable of providing valid measurements. Based on the position of respondents on the assimilation scale, three assimilation groups have been identified: low (26 percent) intermediate (47 percent) and high (26.8 percent). The scale will be used as the dependent variable to which nine sets of independent variables will be related in the form of hypotheses. The inquiry continues.

CHAPTER IV - NOTES

1. The mosque in Islam does not have exclusively religious
    significance; Muslims can pray on any clean spot on
    earth. In Canada, however, the mosque is the centre
    of the religious, educational and social activities.
    It acts as a liaison between the Muslim community and
    the Canadian society at large. The mosque is the
    place for Islamic wedding ceremonies, social and
    political events, religious festivities and funeral
    services.

2. According to Atiya (1974) the word "Copts" is derived
    from the Greek word "Aegyptus" meaning Egypt. "Copts"
    are Christian Egyptians.

3. The committee consisted of (1) a religious leader
    (Muslim, Egyptian, a father of two), (2) a manager of
    a club (Muslim, Lebanese, single), (3) a Ph.D. student
    of the U.W.O. (Christian, Egyptian, single), (4) a
    factory worker (Muslim, Syrian, married with no children)
    and (5) a housewife (Muslim, Palestinian, a mother of
    four).

4. To produce the required hypothetical data matrix, the
    investigator wrote response patterns using the methodol-
    ogy suggested by Blalock and Blalock (1968). Suppose
    for example that the real data matrix refers to four
    items, I (4) endorsed by 30 percent of the respondents,
    I (3) by 40 percent, I (2) by 50 percent and I (1) by
    60 percent. If the first two-digit numbers consulted
    in the Table of random numbers is 30 or lower, hypo-
    thetical R (1) will be considered to have endorsed
    I (4). The second number consulted in the Table de-
    termines the response of the first respondent to the
    second item. Thus acceptance will be scored if the
    number is equal to or less than 40, and rejection if it
    exceeds the popularity of the item in the real data
    matrix. In this way the entire response pattern for
    each hypothetical respondent, in turn, can be generated.

In the present illustration, after the response of
the first respondent to the first item is determined
based on the popularity value of 0.60, the data may
be generated simply by reiteration using the random
Table to generate the responses of other respondents.
The total number of hypothetical respondents is equal
to the number of respondents contributing to the
actual data matrix.

CHAPTER V.

THE SOCIAL TIMESPATIAL DIMENSION OF ASSIMILATION

(MESHING PSYCHOSOCIAL WITH SOCIAL TIMESPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS)

The assimilation model as shown in Figure 5.1 examines the timespatial dimension of the assimilation process toward tracing the rate of change in assimilation/differentiation. The chapter focuses on the timespatial aspects of the process of identity transformation of Arab Canadians and summarizes the findings of the empirical investigation.

At the outset, it is useful to review three important facts about identity. First, identity is definable not only in terms of psychosocial characteristics of perceived similarity, perceived differences, and roles but also in terms of the expression of human behavioural spatial tendencies of nearness, separateness, and connectedness. In Figure 3.3, the three psychosocial characteristics of perceived identity are meshed with the corresponding three spatial tendencies to produce three identity dimensions: similarity/nearness, differences/separateness, and roles/connectedness.

Second, the psychosocial component of each identity dimension is inseparable from its spatial component. The two components go together always. Explicit discussion of one component must imply the other. This fact is extremely important to the empirical investigation because the psychosocial characteristics of Arabs

Psychosocial Spatial Feedbacks

I	II	III
SPATIAL INTERACTION	ASSIMILATION	IDENTITY CHANGE

The Timespatial Dimension

Spatial Dimension
using psychosocial variables as
surrogates for spatial configurations

1. Opinions
      General Issues
      Male/Female oriented issues

2. Attitudes
      Attitudes toward Canadians
      Attitudes toward assimilation of children

3. Religion

4. Language

5. Food Preferences

6. Satisfaction

7. Contacts with the Arab world

8. Contacts with Canada
      Primary Level Contacts
      Acculturation

9. Sense of Belonging
      Similarity
      Naturalization
      Identification
      Intention to Remain
      Loyalty

Temporal Dimension
assimilation is a function and
a variable function of time

FIGURE 5.1

A SPATIAL ASSIMILATION MODEL
(The Timespatial Dimension)

in Canada are used as surrogates for spatial configurations.

Third, identity is a dynamic phenomenon. When roles change, the corresponding "me's" must change. The larger the number of new roles an immigrant has to play, the larger the number of "me's" that have to change, and the greater is the transformation in the identity of that immigrant.

Given the inseparability of the psychosocial and spatial configurations associated with the process of identity transformation, the psychosocial characteristics can be used as surrogates for the spatial tendencies of nearness, separateness, and connectedness and the spatial configurations related to them. The discussion proceeds under nine headings: 1) opinions, 2) attitudes, 3) religion, 4) language, 5) food, 6) satisfaction, 7) contacts with the Arab world, 8) contacts with Canada, and 9) belonging. The chapter will be concluded with a summary. Under each heading a number of related hypotheses will be examined. Hypotheses are given in the form of statements that relate independent psychosocial variables to the dependent variable: the position of individuals on the Arab,-to-Canadian continuum as measured by the assimilation scale. The statistical tables that form the data base for hypotheses examined in this chapter are given in Appendix III to which reference will be made frequently. It should be noted at the outset that the hypotheses discussed here are all statistically significant: the x^2 test results for all hypotheses are also given in Appendix III.

Each set of hypotheses will be examined from two viewpoints:

spatial and temporal. First, hypotheses will be examined to illustrate how the application of the spatial tendencies of nearness, separateness, and connectedness vary according to the psychosocial transformation of Arab Canadians. Second, the time factor will be introduced to show assimilation/differention trends over a 15-year-long period of residence in Canada. A graphic illustration of the effects of time on all assimilation variables forms a major part of this chapter. The detailed discussion of the hypotheses will begin after making a general statement on the relationship between assimilation and time.

The effect of time on anything is too well documented to deny. The relationship between time and assimilation has been acknowledged in most assimilation studies but here the effect is examined in detail. In his study of ethnic residential segregation in Canadian cities, Balakrishnan (1976) found that segregation decreases over time for twelve major ethnic groups and he added that the extent of decline is not the same for the different ethnic groups.[1] Balakrishnan's work confirmed a basic hypothesis: <u>assimilation is a function and a variable function of time</u>. This basic hypothesis will be examined in this chapter to complement the discussion on spatial configuration in the context of Arab assimilation.

More closely related to the theme of this dissertation is Barclay's (1971) study of a Lebanese community in Lac La Biche, Alberta. Based on his general observations on the first and second generation Lebanese in Alberta, he found out that Arab traditions are weakened with time. "Inevitably contrasts between first and

second generations (of Arabs in Alberta) will widen and become
more magnified over time. All children born in Canada and educated
in-the public schools acquire English as their first language or at
least become bilingual (Arabic, English). Many have no facility
in reading or writing Arabic. As with other immigrant groups,
for the second generation the old traditions become identified
with the elders and are somewhat removed from perceived reality,.
As the old generation, already weakened in its allegiance to the
past, retreats into the background, the hold of tradition will
become feeble indeed" (Barclay, 1971, p. 83).

The relationship between assimilation and time has been con-
firmed also by the present study at the .001 level of significance.

Hypotheses

There is a positive relationship between length of residence in
Canada and rate of assimilation. (Appendix III Table 1)

The conclusion arrived at here agrees with the conclusion
found in other studies. W. Ryan (1973) hypothesized that the rate
of assimilation of Irish immigrants correlates positively with the
length of time spent in Britain. Ryan confirmed his hypothesis
as the 0.01 level of significance. The time-factor also has been
considered as an essential element in the multivariate immigrant
adaptation model advanced by Goldlust and Richmond (1974). All
assimilation-oriented studies deal with the time factor. This
concludes the general statement on assimilation and time. The
discussion on the nine assimilation themes will start next.

5.1   OPINIONS

Opinion is a judgment about a given phenomenon.   Such a
judgment is not necessarily based on evidence sufficient
to constitute proof.   In comparison with attitude, beliefs are
generally regarded as more specific and as less persistently
held and deeply felt.   Opinion is sometimes used synonymously
with belief, although the two terms are frequently distinguished
on the grounds that opinions, in comparison with beliefs, involve
less emotionalized feeling and are relatively less enduring
(Hoult, 1969, p. 228).   This section studies two sets of opinions
related to Arab assimilation in Canada: opinions on general
issues and opinions related to male/female relationships.

5.1.1   Opinions on General Issues

Hypothesis

There is a relationship between the respondents' opinion on the
acceptability of sitting facing the soles of the shoes of the Arab
host and the rate of assimilation.   (Appendix III, Table 2)

Most of the Arab-Canadians are aware that the guest-host relation-
ships with Canadians have dimensions different from those that
guest-host relationships with Arabs entail.   Therefore, obligations
and expectations are expected to be different.   For example, many
Arabs who do not approve of sitting facing the shoe soles of an
Arab host do not condemn the behaviour from a Canadian host knowing
that perceptions, beliefs and values differ in Canadian society.
The preceding conclusion has been confirmed by F. Yousef (1972) in

his study of the cross-cultural communicative behaviour of Egyptians in the U.S. With reference to Tables 5.1 and 5.2, the percentage of Egyptians in the U.S. who accept sitting facing the shoe sole of American hosts is at least 40 percent higher than the corresponding percentage in case of an Egyptian host. Now the effect of time on the opinions of Arab Canadians about some general assimilation issues will be introduced. The following observations are based on the content of Figure 5.2.

1) The top two opinions (Mothers should develop and apply a daily routine for their children, and older people should be respected just because they are older) were each endorsed by at least 75 percent of respondents regardless of length of residence in Canada.

2) The third opinion (husbands should have the final word in their homes) is more difficult to endorse than the preceding two opinions. The role of the husband, according to the Arab culture, goes beyond economic definitions: he is not only the breadwinner for his family, but also the family pillar upon whom rests the total responsibility for the family's success or failure. The relationship between husbands and wives is expressed beautifully and clearly in the Quran. "They (wives) are garments for you while you are garments for them" (Quran, 2:187).

3) Respondents were asked to express their opinions about the acceptability of sitting facing the shoes of a Canadian and an Arab host. The respondents apply a double standard in judging cultural

TABLE 5.1

GUEST SITS FACING THE SHOE SOLES

OF AN EGYPTIAN HOST

	N	%
Insulting	17	13.4
Ill-mannered	37	29.1
Ordinary	10	7.9
Americanized	49	38.6
Acceptable	8	6.3
Confusing	6	4.8
Total	127	100.

Source: Adapted from Yousef (1972), p. 55

TABLE 5.2

GUEST SITS FACING THE SHOE SOLES

OF AN AMERICAN HOST

	N	%
Insulting	2	1.6
Ill-mannered	36	28.4
Ordinary	64	50.4
Friendly	2	1.6
Acceptable	15	11.8
Confusing	8	6.3
Total	127	100.

Source: Adapted from Yousef (1972), p. 57

FIGURE 5.2

OPINIONS (GENERAL VARIABLES)
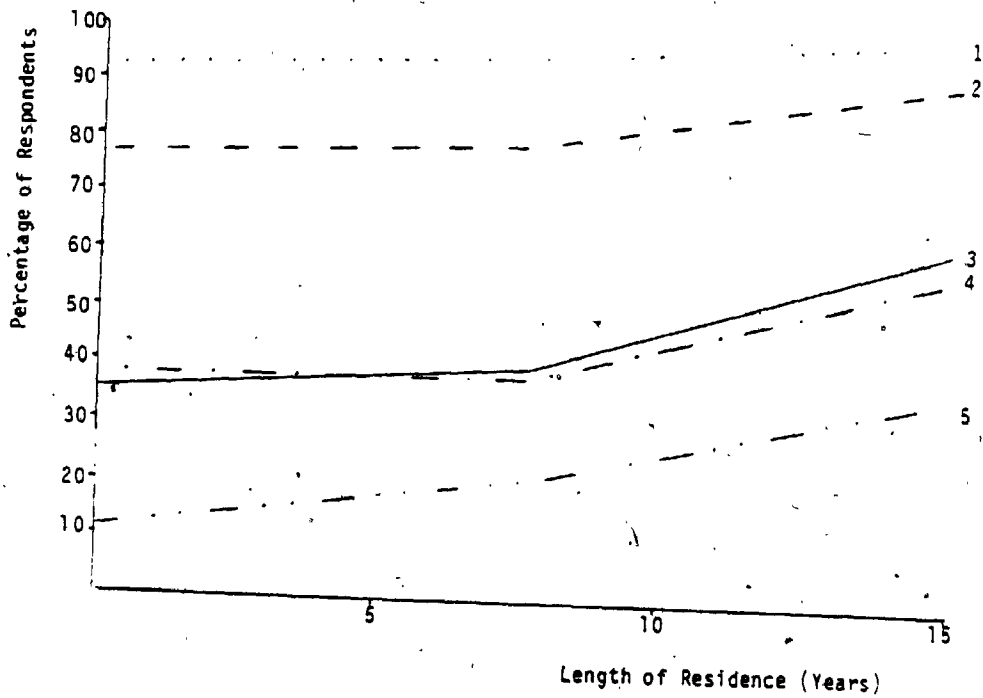
1. Mothers should develop and apply a daily routine for their children. (agree)

2. Older people should be respected just because they are older. (agree)

3. Husbands should have the final word in their homes. (agree)

4. Sitting facing the shoes of a Canadian host. (acceptable)

5. Sitting facing the shoes of an Arab host. (unacceptable)

issues: they would accept a given behaviour from Canadians and, at the same time, reject the same behaviour from acculturated members of their own cultural group. The percentage of respondents who accept sitting facing the shoes of a Canadian host are 20 percent higher than those who accept this behaviour towards an Arab host. It is interesting to note that both behaviours increase with time spent in Canada. The Arab culture considers this behaviour to be insulting and generally unacceptable; the Arabs in Canada, by accepting this behaviour, may be considered to be breaking away from the Arab-culture rules.

5.1.2 Opinions on Male/Female Oriented Issues

Hypotheses

Respondents who agree that mixed high schools (co-education) are good for students, assimilate faster than those who disagree. (Appendix III Table 3)

Respondents who agree on allowing Arab boys to have girl friends assimilate faster than those who disagree. (Appendix III, Table 4)

Respondents who agree on allowing Arab girls to have complete freedom in selecting their marriage partners have a higher rate of assimilation than those who disagree. (Appendix III, Table 5)

Respondents who agree on allowing single Arab girls to take birth control pills have a higher rate of assimilation than other respondents. (Appendix III, Table 6)

The sensitivity of the marriage-related issues are not reserved only for Arabs in Canada. Other ethnic groups are also concerned about intercultural/interracial marriages; "there appears to be

strong parental pressure on the (Chinese) children (in Canada) to marry within their own ethnic group". (Wong, 1979, p. 65)

In the Arab world, the virginity of the unmarried female is highly valued and extreme negative sanctions are invoked against women who engage in premarital sexual relations. This situation is reversed in Canada where living together before marriage is possible and where birth control pills and sex magazines are easily obtainable.

In the process of psychosocial transformation, Arab immigrants in Canada may soften their stand on a set of related issues: virginity, dating, dancing, sleepovers and Canadian ways of mate selection. Coupled with this process is the process of spatial transformation as expressed in nearness (accepting Canadian values of love and sexual experience before marriage as prerequisites for successful marriages), separateness (dropping the idea of arranged marriages which is widely accepted in the Arab world), and connect-edness (developing networks related to issues that may begin with dating and end with living common law or marriage).

The temporal effect on the male/female oriented assimilation variables is illustrated in Figure 5.3. The examination of Figure 5.3 leads to the following conclusions:

1) The five issues shown in Figure 5.3 all show evidence of becoming more acceptable, as respondents spend more time in Canada.

2) The order of the 5 lines indicate that the idea of allowing Arab girls complete freedom is slowest to change. Single girls,

FIGURE 5.3

OPINIONS (MALE/FEMALE - ORIENTED VARIABLES)
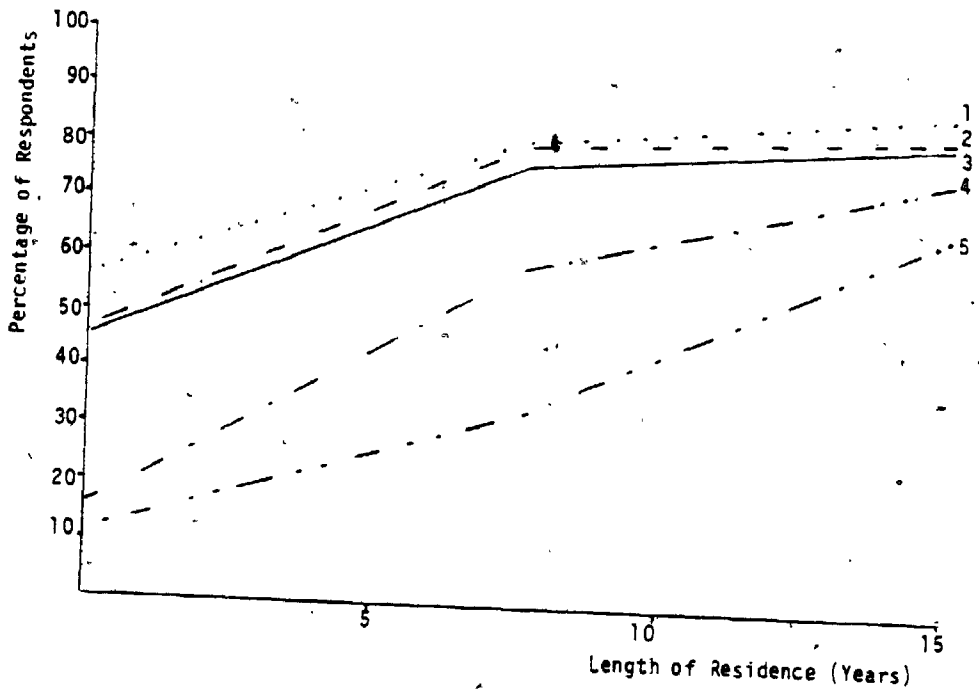
1. Mixed high schools are good for students. (agree)

2. Arab boys should be allowed to have girl friends. (agree)

3. Arab girls should have complete freedom to select their marriage partner. (agree)

4. Arab girls should be allowed to have boy friends. (agree)

5. Single Arab girls should take the pill if they wish. (agree)

in the Arab culture, are expected to be virgin.[2]

3) Respondents again apply a double standard: they accept the idea of allowing boys to have girl friends (line 3) and, at the same time, reject the idea of allowing girls to have boy friends (line 4).

5.2 ATTITUDES

Attitudes are defined in behavioural sciences to be equated with the probability that given behaviours will be manifested in defined situations. The older type of definition, however, asserts that the term attitude denotes an inferred variable operating between a stimulus and a response. More traditionally, attitudes are defined in sociology and psychology as a general, learned, and relatively enduring tendency on the part of individuals to respond negatively or positively to a given phenomenon, such response being based on the individual's evaluation of that which he believes about phenomenon. Sociologists generally stress the relationships between attitudes and factors external to the attitude-holder, while psychologists generally stress relationships between attitudes and factors which are internal so far as the attitude-holder is concerned. Attitudes are sometimes loosely used synonymously with opinions and with values, although usually distinguished from both on the grounds that neither involves tendencies to act, and in addition opinions are comparatively tightly held and less enduring. Regardless of what definition is used, attitudes imply something about tendencies to act and include the positive-negative kind of evaluation that

constitutes the basis of attitudes (Hoult, 1969, p. 60).

This section deals with two sets of attitudes: respondents' attitudes or perceived attitudes as related to the assimilation of Arabs in Canada and the attitudes of respondents toward the assimilation of their children.

5.2.1 Respondents' Attitudes Toward Canadians

Hypotheses

There is a parallel relationship between rate of assimilation and respondents' friendly attitude towards Canadians. (Appendix III, Table 7)

There is a parallel relationship between respondents' perception of a friendly attitude by Canadians and the respondents' rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 8)

Respondents' who feel that the Canadian people are more friendly than unfriendly assimilate faster than others. (Appendix III, Table 9)

Respondents who feel that people in their neighborhood are more friendly than unfriendly assimilate faster than others. (Appendix III, Table 10)

There is a parallel relationship between respondents' perceived degree of the helpfulness of government officials and respondents' rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 11)

Respondents who think that the attitude of Canadians towards immigrants in general is more favourable assimilate faster than others. (Appendix III, Table 12)

There is a relationship between rate of assimilation and respondents' views regarding superiority or inferiority of the Canadian people. (Appendix III, Table 13)

Respondents who feel that they are accepted in the community in which they live assimilate faster than respondents who do not. (Appendix III, Table 14)

New Canadians of Arab or Syrian origin were, and still are, objects of sterotyping. The terms most often applied to Syrian immigrants are as follows: "Peddlers", "factory workers", "low intellectual level", "miserable physique with infectious diseases, and unsanitary". These negative stereotypes were derived from a number of circumstances: low educational qualifications, the desire of early Syrians to make as much money as possible in the shortest time possible, and rooming together in crowded surroundings. Early Syrian immigrants must have found difficulties to interact with the Canadian society in the face of these negative stereotypes.

A number of early studies on immigration show the negative attitude of Canadians toward Syrian immigrants. Syrians "are generally of a most undesirable class; and, while not vicious, their intellectual level is low. There are exceptions to this rule, but not in sufficient numbers to remove from this immigration movement the bad reputation it has attained among those brought into contact with it" (Porter, 1965, p. 139).

At present, prejudice and discrimination against Arabs still remain but in different form. McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) have noticed in their research on prejudice that discriminatory attitudes do not disappear but only change form. "Immigrants may no longer be called 'shiftless and vicious' but there are still instances where they are referred to as 'a problem' or 'a swarm'. It may be

that these terms have a more immediate effect on readers'
attitudes than would more obvious discriminatory references"
(McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971).

In their analysis of 69 history texts used in Ontario schools
in grades 5 to 12, McDiarmid and Pratt found ten terms most
frequently applied to four groups: Arabs, French Canadians,
Indians, and Negroes. The results are shown in Table 5.3 Concern-
ing the Arabs a number of negative evaluative terms are encountered:
cruel, feuding, pagan, dictatorial, fierce and resentful. The
positive terms are great, kind, brilliant and friendly. On the
balance, the composite image, in general, is unfavourable. The
stereotypes and biases found in social science textbooks are
reflected in the attitudes of Ontario school teachers. In his
study about the Middle East in Canadian Social Science Textbooks,
Kenny (1975) found that Ontario teachers associate with Arabs a
set of negative characteristics: wild, uncivilized, nomadic,
backward, disorganized, and militant with Israel. The last comment
indicates that the question of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli con-
flict are important factors in the creation of a negative image
of Arabs. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that about 82 per-
cent of Arab Canadians feel that the mass media are treating the
Arabic-speaking people unfairly (Abu-Laban, 1980, p. 93).

The effect of time on the attitudinal transformations will
be discussed next (Figure 5.4). Based on the direction of change,
two sets of attitudes may be identified: the first includes the

TABLE 5.3

Ten Evaluative Terms Most Often Applied to
Four Groups in History Texts Used in Canada

Arabs	French Canadians	Indians	Negroes
great	great	savage	friendly
cruel	brave	friendly	unfriendly
feuding	courageous	massacre	savage
kind	skillful	skillful	faithful
pagan	heroic	hostile	kind
brilliant	determined	fierce	fierce
dictator	proud	great	primitive
fierce	devoted	murder	murder
friendly	famous	unfriendly	violent
resentful	daring	thief	backward

Source: McDiarmid and Pratt, Teaching Prejudice, p. 127.

FIGURE 5.4

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD CANADIANS
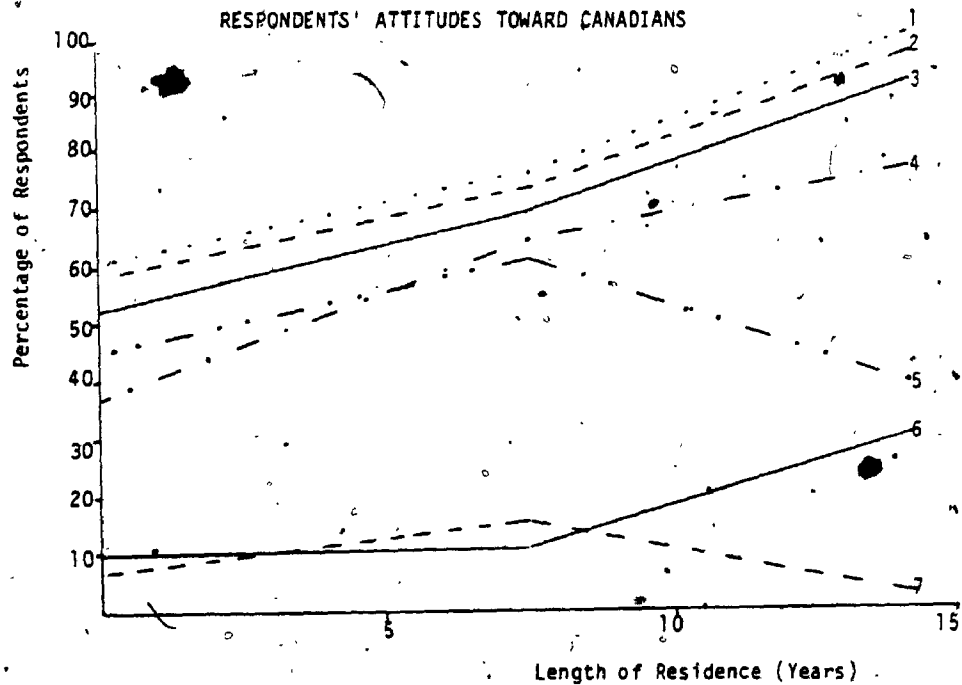
1. What is your attitude toward Canadians? (more friendly than unfriendly)

2. With regard to your acceptance by the people in the community in which you live, do you feel that you are...(positive categories)

3. What do you think is the attitude of Canadians towards you? (more friendly than unfriendly)
   How friendly are the Canadian people you deal with? (more friendly than unfriendly)

4. How friendly are the people in your neighborhood? (more friendly than unfriendly)

5. How helpful do you think the government officials are to the Arabs in Canada? (more helpful than unhelpful)

6. What do you think is the general attitude of the people in the street towards immigrants in general? (more favourable than unfavourable)

7. When I compare Canadians to Arabs as two human groups, I feel that (Canadians are superior).

attitudes represented by lines 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6; and the second, the attitudes represented by lines 5 and 7. The first set is positive: the increase of percentages over time indicates a greater chance of finding a more positive assimilation environment. The second set is negative.

The discussion will start with the first set. When line 1 is compared with line 3, it becomes apparent that about 10 percent of respondents—and this percentage does not decrease over time—feel that, in general, they are friendlier to Canadians than Canadians are to them. The Arabs in Canada perceive the attitude of Canadians at three different levels: attitude of Canadians in general (line 3), attitude of Canadians in the neighborhood (line 4), and attitude of Canadians in the street toward immigrants in general (line 6). Arabs in Canada perceive the first-level attitude to be positive, the second-level attitude to be less positive, and the third-level attitude to be least positive. What the three attitudes have in common is that they all show an increasing adoption with time indicating gradual adjustment in the Canadian environment.

The negative set contains two attitudes: the perceived degree of helpfulness of the Canadian government officials (line 5) and the attitude of Arab immigrants toward superiority/inferiority of Canadians compared to Arabs (line 7). As they cross the first boundary (boundary lines are imaginary lines which mark the end of residence periods) the two lines rise to reflect the fact that respondents in their first residence-period have the tendency to

unfairly compare everything in Canada with everything in their
country of origin. Such comparison, usually results in over-
evaluating the former and underevaluating the latter. As res-
pondents spend more time in this country, the scope of cultural
exposures widens and, as a result, they begin to view what is
happening around them more objectively. Many respondents may
discover that Canadians, after all, are not superior. When the
two sets of variables (positive and negative) are weighed against
each other over a 15-year period, the balance favours assimilation,
particularly during the third residence-period.

5.2.2 Respondents' Attitudes Toward the Assimilation of Their Children

This variable (children) has been included in the discussion
because children in the Arab world occupy the core of family life.
The birth of the first son signals a name change for the parents.
If the first son is named Muhammad, the father becomes known as
"Abu Muhammad" (the father of Muhammad) and the mother as "Um
Muhammad" (the mother of Muhammad). This change in names is a
cherished tradition in adulthood. Similarly, children are often
identified by their father's name as "Ibn Saud" or the son of Saud.
The changes in the way children are perceived to be, or in the
way they are expected to behave are good indications of the
position of their parents on the assimilation continuum.

Hypotheses

There is a relationship between actual children contacts and
respondents' rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 15)

There is a relationship between rate of assimilation and whether respondents' worry about the future of their children in Canada. (Appendix III, Table 16)

There is a relationship between rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion regarding whether they like their children to grow up as Canadians. (Appendix III, Table 17)

There is a relationship between rate of assimilation and the kind of contacts respondents prefer their children to have. The more Canadian children the higher the rate of assimilation and vice versa. (Appendix III, Table 18)

There is a relationship between rate of assimilation and the language respondents prefer to use when dealing with their children. (Appendix III, Table 19)

Figure 5.5 shows graphically the changes that take place over time in the attitude of respondents toward the assimilation of their children. Figure 5.5 contains three attitudes: line 1 represents the percentages of respondents whose children have contacts with more Canadian children; line 2 is an average line—a line formed by combining two extremely similar sets of data—representing whether the respondents worry about the future of their children in Canada and whether they would like their children to grow up as Canadians; line 3 represents the two value questions of whether respondents prefer their children to have contacts with more Canadian children and whether respondents prefer their children to speak to them in "more English/French than Arabic".

The following conclusions may be drawn from Figure 5.5:

1) Arab immigrants in Canada experience a more positive

FIGURE 5.5

ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS TOWARD

THE ASSIMILATION OF THEIR CHILDREN
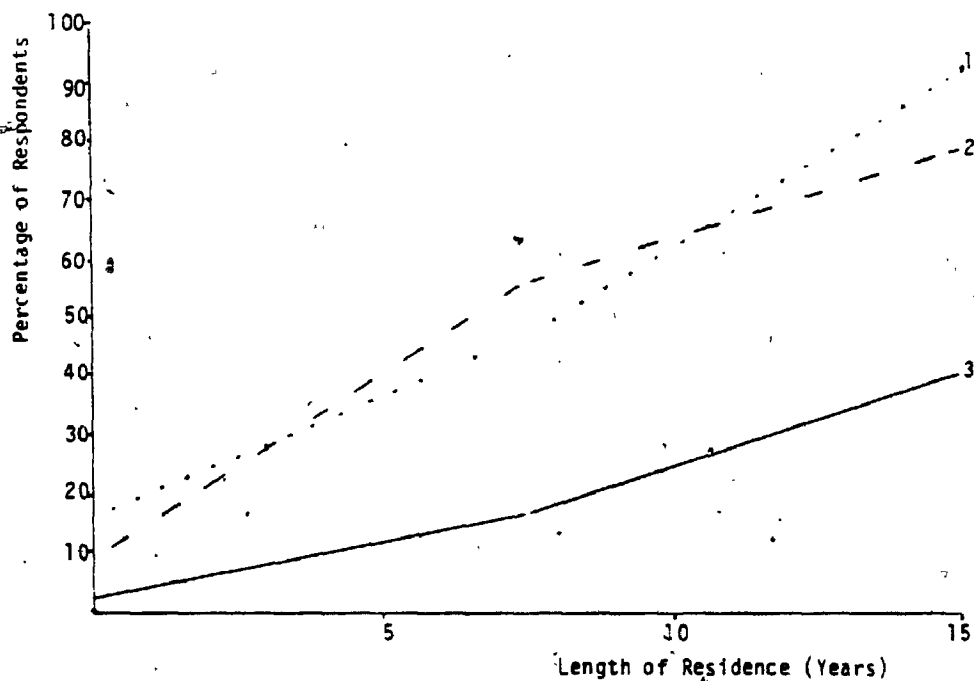
1. My children have contacts with.. (more Canadian children)

2. Are you worried about the future of your children in
    Canada? (no)
    Would you like your children to grow up as Canadians?
    (yes)

3. I prefer my children to have contacts with...(more
    Canadian children)
    In what language do you prefer your children to speak
    to you? (more English/French than Arabic)

assimilation environment in their third residence period in Canada;
the three attitude changes rise notably when they cross the second
boundary line.

2) The intersection of line 1 (actual children contact) with
line 2 (whether the respondents like their children to grow up as
Canadians) can be interpreted that Arab migrants pass through
three attitudinal stages: the first ends during the first six
months of their third year (line 1 above line 2); the second ends
during the last six months of their tenth year in Canada (line 2
above line 1); and the third period ends at the end of their
fifteenth year in Canada (line 1 above line 2).

3) When line 1 is examined in relation to line 3, the reader may
find that actual child contacts are greater than the preferred con-
tacts. This fact may suggest that the children are at least one
step ahead of their parents in the area of assimilation. The
children indeed, become the agents of spreading the new culture, a
process that is usually met with varying degrees of resistance
which, in turn, depends on the level of the assimilation of the
parents. What happens between children and their parents at home
is very similar to what happens between cultural/ethnic/racial
minorities on the one hand and the Canadian society, at large, on
the other.

5.3 RELIGION

Contrary to the western image that tends to regard Arabism and

Islam as one and the same thing, a Muslim is not necessarily an
Arab and an Arab is not necessarily a Muslim. An Arab may be a
Muslim or a Christian or a Jew while a Muslim may be an Arab, a
Turk, a Russian, an Iranian, a German or a national of some other
country.

The Arab Canadian community is a religious mosaic within a
larger cultural mosaic. The Arabs in Canada include, among others,
Maronites, Melkites, Serian Orthodox Protestants, Druses, Shi'i
and Sunni Muslims. It should be emphasized, therefore, that
Arabism and Islam are not the same. The religious identity is a
variable source of difference, not similarity, of Arab ethnicity.
Arab Canadians are a mixture of Christians and Muslims. Their
particular loyalty to different sects adds to religious heterogeneity.
The following hypotheses suggest that Christian Arabs assimilate
faster than Muslim Arabs.

Hypotheses

There is a positive relationship between the degree of religiosity
of Muslim respondents and rate of assimilation. (Appendix III,
Table 20)

Christian respondents assimilate faster than Muslim respondents.
(Appendix III, Table 21)

There is a relationship between the change in religious practice
and rate of assimilation (Appendix III, Table 22)

The relationship between religious variables and Arab assim-
ilation has been also confirmed by Harold Barclay (1971) in his

study of a Lebanese community in Lac La Biche, Alberta. "Those who wish to remain the strictest Muslims will find complete assimilation, hence any opportunity to rise to the top in the community a most overwhelming task because to be completely assimilated means to do what everyone else in town does. This too often entails behaving in ways contrary to Muslim teaching, e.g. social drinking, bingo games, poker, parties, dating and necking, wearing flimsy bathing suits" (Barclay, 1971).

A possible explanation of the difference in assimilability may be found in the fact that Christian respondents may develop with Canadians more contact along the religious line through church attendance. For Christian respondents there is always a church around the corner! It is primarily religion that separates Muslim respondents apart from the main stream of Canadian life. Many Muslim respondents expressed hesitation to celebrate the Christmas season in the way followed by Canadians. Muslim parents may be under pressure from their own children when it comes to buying a Christmas tree or attending an activity group at a near-by church and other religion-oriented activities. Christian respondents are not likely to be under this kind of pressure; they find conventional Christian behaviour easy to relate to in contrast with Muslim adherents.

The relationship between religiosity and assimilation in an Arab-Canadian context has been investigated by other writers. In his study of the assimilation of Arab Muslims in Alberta, Khattab (1969)

found out that Islam plays a negative role in the assimilation of Albertan Arab Muslims into the Canadian way of life.

The changes in religious variables over time are illustrated in Figure 5.6 from which the following observations/conclusions are made.

1) By comparing the percentages of Muslim respondents (line 1) with the percentages of Christian respondents (line 4), two periods of religious configurations can be identified: a period of considerable change followed by a period of relative stability. During the first 7.5 years of residence in Canada, the percentage of Muslim respondents drops sharply; the opposite is true for Christian respondents. This pattern may be explained by the fact that many Muslim respondents may be "pushed" from Canada because of their inability to find a niche in a predominantly Christian society, and/or "pulled" by better opportunities in the Islamic world where the "fit" will be much easier in a familiar society. The period of relative stability is characterized by minimal change in percentages of respondents of both religions. Muslim respondents who continue to live in Canada beyond their seventh year of residence believe that their faith is good for all time and places and any contradictions between it and the Canadian environment are more apparent than real. If a Muslim is prevented by his work from praying five times a day, at specified intervals, he may combine the prayers at the end of the day. The weekly group prayer on Friday noon cannot be combined. For this reason, Muslims of Ontario

FIGURE 5.6

RELIGION

Length of Residence (Years)
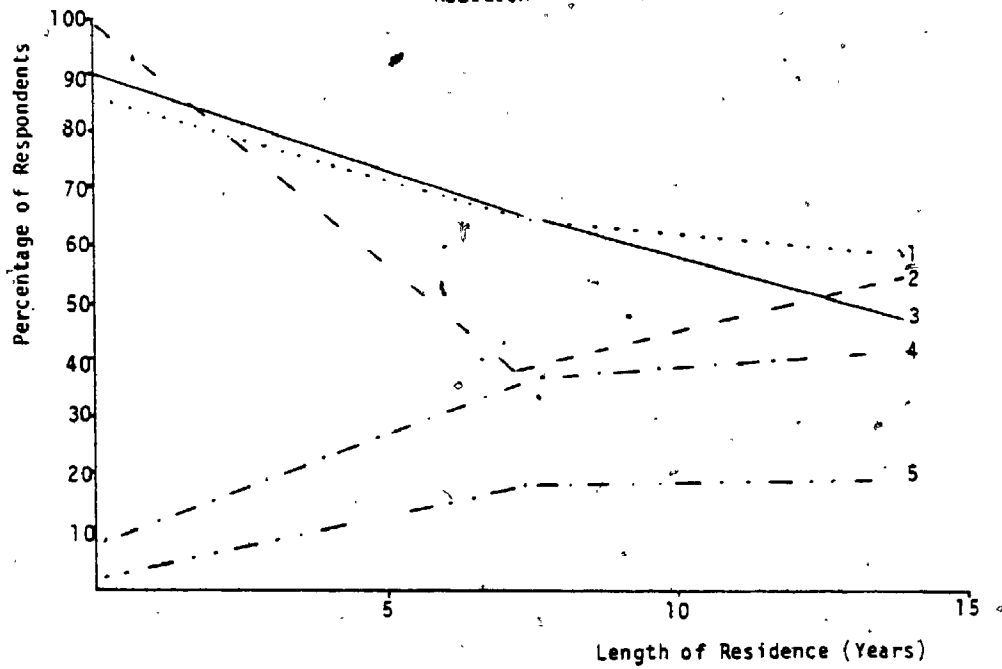
1. Percentages of Muslim respondents

2. How religious are you (Muslim respondents only)?
   (religious)

3. How religious are you (Christian respondents only)?
   (religious)

4. Percentages of Christian respondents

5. Has the practice of your religion become better or worse
   since you came? (worse)

are requesting the Government of Ontario to grant them a special prayer leave on Fridays.[3] Liberal Muslims believe that the religion which has its origin in seventh century Arabia is' adaptable to twentieth century city life in Canada.

2) The percentages of religious Christians (line 3) decrease over time; the opposite is true in case of Muslim respondents (line 2). In general, the percentages of respondents whose religious practice (line 5) diminishes, increase slightly over time, with the sharpest increase being experienced during the first residence-period.

3) The percentages of highly assimilated respondents (13 percent in the first residence-period, 37 percent in the second, and 42 percent in the third) may be expressed in a form of a line that may be labelled "the high assimilationline". The reader may easily find the striking similarity in size and direction, between the high assimilation line and line 4 (percentages of Christian respondents).

5.4 LANGUAGE

The linguistic ability of Arab respondents in Canada to interact and communicate successfully with the host society is an important factor in the process of assimilation. Linguistic transformation cannot be separated from the broader process of identity transformation of respondents along the Arab-to-Canadian continuum.

The determination of many Arab respondents to learn English (or French) by spending one or two of their evenings attending

language classes confirms the operation the spatial tendency of belonging (nearness). But getting closer to the Canadian pole does not necessarily mean getting away from the Arab pole. People can be fluent in more than language and can move multidirectionally (towards different poles) simultaneously.[4]

It can be argued that the process of linguistic transformation of Arabs in Canada takes place not as a result of real willingness to assimilate the language but as a result of the necessity to live and interact (near and connected) with the host population. If this argument is true, it may be interpreted that the transformation has already begun. The author has observed that the highly assimilated respondents (on the assimilation scale) use more English than Arabic in their homes, in their conversation with their children, friends, and spouses. Some even keep their private records in English, not Arabic. The following language/communication-related hypotheses were found statistically significant.

Hypotheses

There is a positive relationship between ease of understanding Canadians and respondents' overall rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 23)

There is a positive relationship between respondents' ability to make themselves understood by Canadians and their rate of assimilation in Canadian culture. (Appendix III, Table 24)

Respondents who answered the questionnaire in English only or in more English than Arabic have a higher rate of assimilation than other respondents. (Appendix III, Table 25)

Respondents who speak more English (or French) than Arabic assimilate faster than respondents who speak more Arabic than English (or French). (Appendix III, Table 26)

Figure 5.7 contains four linguistic conditions: line 1 represents the percentages of respondents who experience no difficulty in understanding Canadians; line 2, respondents who have no difficulty in making Canadians understand them; line 3, respondents who used "English" "more English than Arabic" in answering the questionnaire; and line 4, respondents who use "English/French" or "more English/French than Arabic" most often at home. The observation of Figure 5.7 leads to the following conclusions:

1) Three of four of the communication conditions show gradual positive change with length of residence in Canada. The sharpest change occurs during the first two residence-periods.

2) Based on the endorsement and difficulty levels, the communication conditions arrange themselves in the following, descending order: (1) understanding Canadians least difficult and most endorsed; (2) respondents' ability to express themselves; (3) using "English/French" or "more English/French than Arabic" to answer the questionnaire. (The questionnaire of the present study was prepared in both English and Arabic, and respondents had the choice of using either); and (4) using "English/French" or "more English/French than Arabic" most often at home most difficult and least endorsed.

3) When the first two lines are compared to each other, the reader will observe that, for some respondents (10 percent during

FIGURE 5.7

COMMUNICATION/LANGUAGE
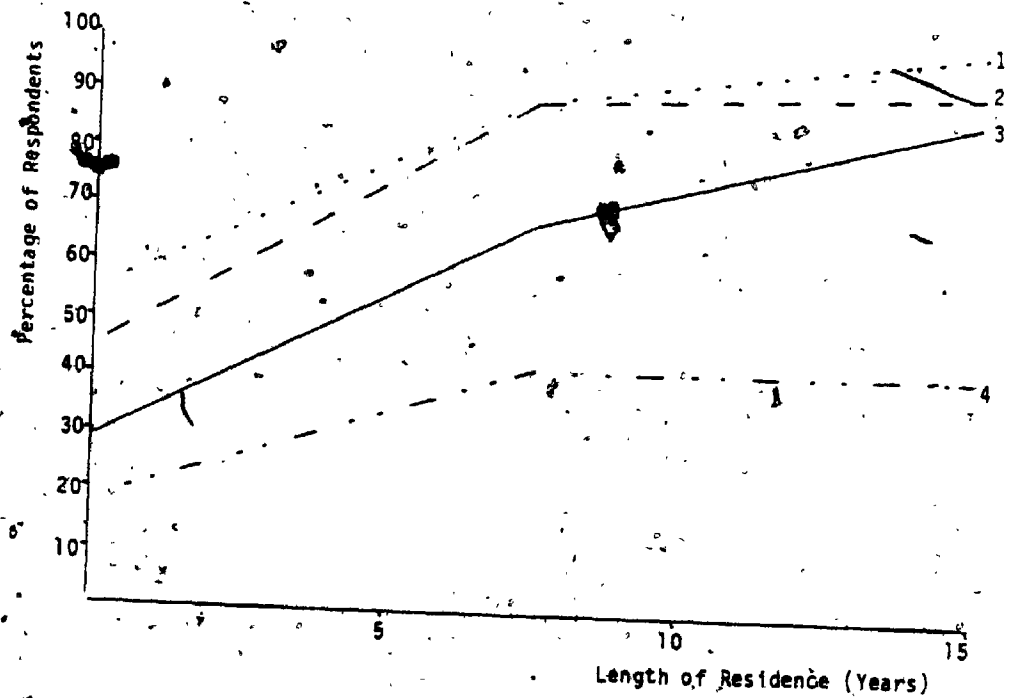
1. In talking with Canadians, how difficult is it to under-
stand them? (no difficulty)

2. When you talk with Canadians, how difficult is it to make
them understand you? (no difficulty)

3. Language used in answering the questionnaire? (more
English than Arabic)

4. Language most often spoken at home. (more English than
Arabic)

the first year and 5 percent during the 15th year), the process of making themselves understood by Canadians is more difficult than the process of understanding Canadians.[5]

5.5 FOOD

Changing eating habits may be more difficult than changing opinions, attitudes, or even loyalty. Arabic food represents a strong, if not the strongest, link with the past. Abu-Laban (1980, p. 213) found out that 85 percent of his Canadian-born Arab respondents eat Arabic food either "frequently" or "very frequently". The present study confirmed the following two hypotheses.

Hypotheses

Respondents who eat Canadian type food assimilate faster than respondents who do not. (Appendix III, Table 27)

Respondents who prefer Canadian food have a higher rate of assimilation than those who prefer Arabian food. (Appendix III, Table 28)

The idea of "sharing Canadian" food represents a spatial expression of belonging (nearness). Separateness is expressed in the way Arab immigrants refuse to eat some types of Canadian food like pork.

As the taste of Canadian food becomes acceptable to Arabs in Canada, their identity undergoes gradual change including spatial change. They will share the Canadian values by participating in the Canadian eating patterns (nearness). They will relax regulations

regarding animal killing accepted widely in the Arab world (separateness); they will develop contacts and networks with peoples and places appropriate to their transformation along an Arab to Canadian continuum (connectedness). The effect of time on eating habits and preferences is examined in Figure 5.8.

Two lines are included in Figure 5.8: the first represents the percentages of respondents who prefer to eat, at home, "mostly Arabian" food; and the second, respondents who actually eat, at home, "mostly Arabian" food.

The two lines intersect at the beginning of the second year of residence which suggests the existence of two periods related to food: a short period (two years) and a longer one (thirteen years). During the first period, some respondents show the willingness to try other foods; some may give up by the second year. During the second, longer period, the difference between the two lines indicates that some respondents do not eat what they prefer. That difference, however, decreases very gradually with the increase in the length of residence in Canada.

Appreciating the food-related needs and preferences of Arab immigrants in Canada, some business-minded Arab immigrants, particularly the Lebanese, cater to such needs.[6] The Middle East Bakery in London, Ontario is a good example of such successful ethnic business; the bakery is extending its market boundary to include the Arab communities in areas as far as Detroit, Michigan. It is interesting to note that an increasing number of Canadians who have been exposed to the Arab culture through their Arab friends,

FIGURE 5.8

FOOD
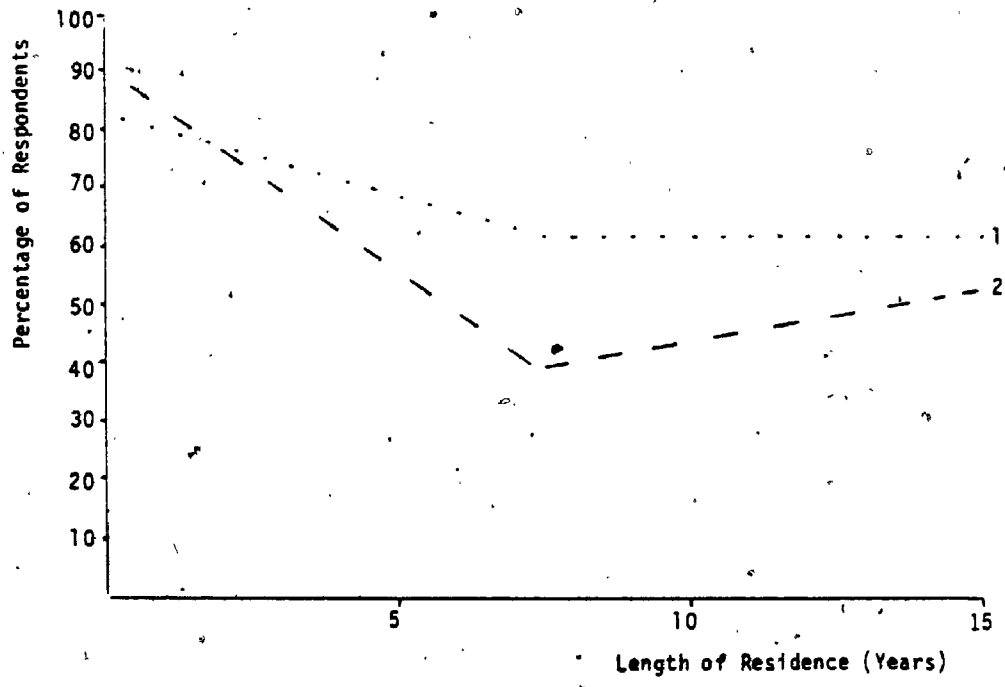
1. What kind of food do you prefer to eat at home? (mostly Arabian)

2. What kind of food do you eat at home? (mostly Arabian)

are becoming regular customers of the London Bakery.

In their attempts to follow the Islamic regulations that govern the consumption of food—these regulations, as stated in the Quran, prohibit the consumption of pork—many religious Muslims do not eat pork or pork-based products. When they go shopping, Muslim Arabs read carefully every unfamiliar food label to make sure that the item is pork-free. Since the Quranic reg- ulations require Muslims to mention the name of God during animal- killing time, the religious Muslims prefer, therefore, to go the extra mile and assume the butcher's duties for a few minutes. Some Arab immigrants form what may be called "meat-and-chicken" groups where buying, slaughtering, preparing, and delivery are handled by group members on a rotational basis; these groups are single-purpose, small in size, temporary, and sometimes heter- ogeneous. In addition, Muslim respondents make sure that they consume only wine-free foods as wine and other alcoholic beverages are forbidden by Islam.

The reader, perhaps has already come to the conclusion that when Muslims are invited for supper, the host would be advised to change the main course from pork chops to roast beef, the drinks to soft ones, the Irish coffee to plain coffee or tea, and to cancel the open bar. The Arab host would appreciate a word of assurance that the soup he is about to eat does not contain any porkfat, and the knife used to prepare the roast has never touched pork. The Canadian host would, likewise, appreciate it if he/she can hear advice from the

Muslim Arab guest on such matters that would avoid disappointments/ embarassments to the guest/host. Uncertainities about such matters often add to the reluctance of both Arab and Canadian for social interaction.

5.6 SATISFACTION

The variable of satisfaction is very important to the assimilation process. Alan Richardson (1967) suggested that immigrants must rise above the level of satisfaction before they take on the higher identification and acculturation steps of assimilation. The following satisfaction-related hypotheses were found to be statistically significant.

Hypotheses

There is a positive relationship between respondents' level of satisfaction and respondents' level of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 29)

Respondents who 'gained' through immigration assimilate faster than those who 'lost'. (Appendix III, Table 30)

Respondents whose satisfaction increased since arrival in Canada assimilate faster than respondents whose satisfaction did not change or decreased. (Appendix III, Table 31)

Richardson's (1967) ideas on the position of the variable of satisfaction in the process of assimilation are generally supported by this study. The general satisfaction scale (Q. 56, Appendix I) is an assimilation scale item located only second from the base and

endorsed by 91 percent of Arab respondents. Comparing this result with other studies, it is interesting to note that Ryan (1973) found that the general satisfaction scale was endorsed by 91 percent of Irish immigrants in Britain and occupied the third position on the Irish assimilation scale. Figure 5.9 shows the over time changes in the satisfaction level of Arab respondents in Canada.

The three satisfaction variables shown in Figure 5.9 indicate that Arab immigrants in Canada go through three satisfaction stages: a stage of increasing satisfaction, a stage of maximum satisfaction, and a stage of decreasing satisfaction. The first stage may be marked by successful experiences of immigrants in the area of accommodation, employment/study, freedom, and continuous discovery. The second stage is reached by Arab immigrants when their material dreams are realized; for example, buying a car or two, buying a house, investing money, starting up own business (particularly true of the business-minded Lebanese), buying a piece of land in the country of origin, and so on.

The stage of decreasing satisfaction is not associated with decreasing standard of living, but with a period of weighing the material achievement which has been achieved, against the moral gains/losses. Some respondents feel that it is now impossible to live below the present standard of living, but at the same time, experience difficulty in fully accepting current cultural patterns in Canada. This adds to dissatisfaction and may increase, however gradually, with length of residence in this country.

FIGURE 5.9

SATISFACTION

1. Has your satisfaction increased or decreased since you came? (increased)

2. Respondents' evaluation of their own immigration experience. (gain)

3. How satisfied are you with life in Canada? (dissatisfied)

5.7 CONTACTS WITH THE ARAB WORLD

This section deals with variables related to visiting and corresponding with relatives and friends in the respondents' countries of origin—the Arab world. The following hypotheses are confirmed in this study.

Hypotheses

Rate of assimilation is inversely related to the frequency of correspondence with relatives and friends in the country of origin. (Appendix III, Table 32)

Related to this hypothesis, W. Ryan hypothesized that Irish immigrants in Britain who write to relatives in Ireland at least once a week have a lower rate of assimilation than those who write less often. Ryan's study did not confirm his hypothesis. The conditions of Irish assimilation in Britain are different however from the conditions of Arab assimilation in Canada. These differences are related to cultural characteristics of migrants and situational determinants related to post-migration experiences. Examples are the mother tongue of migrants, the scope and depth of cultural similarities between immigrants and the receiving societies, the distance between origin and destination, degree of concentration and availability of similar cultural groups and the emphasis placed on the idea of "keep in touch with relatives".

The over-time changes in the contacts of respondents with the Arab world are illustrated in Figure 5.10 based on which the following observations are made.

FIGURE 5.10

CONTACTS WITH THE ARAB WORLD
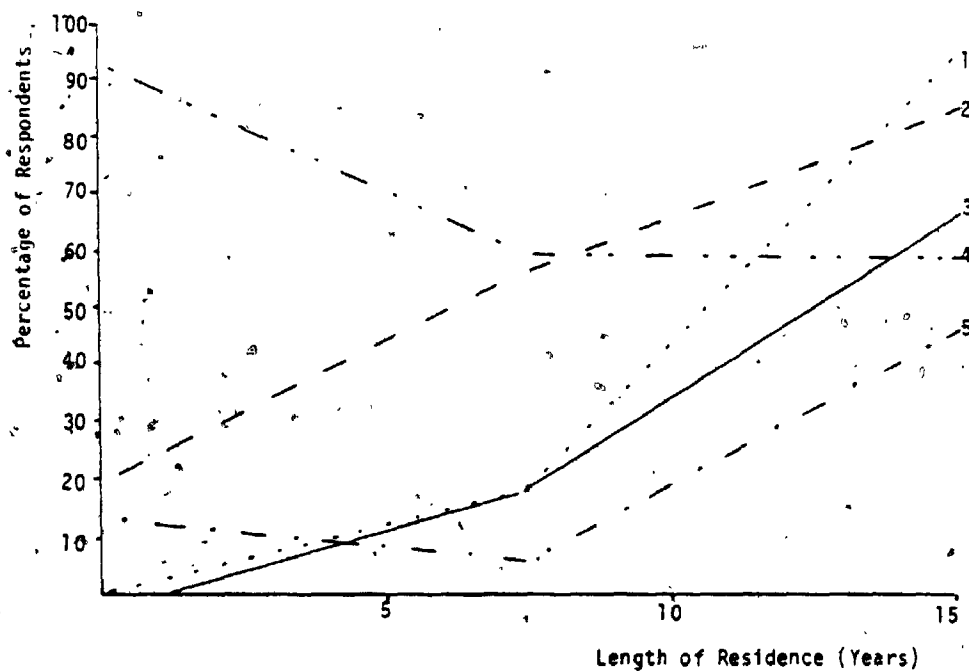
1. How soon after arrival did you make your first visit?
   (five years and over)

2. Did you visit your country of origin after you came?
   (yes)

3. Number of visits to country of origin (three and over)

4. How often do you correspond with your relatives...in your
   country of origin? (regular)

5. Average duration of visits. (very short)

1) Line 1 represents the percentages of respondents who made their first visit to the country of origin as late as five years after arrival. The sharpest rise (line 1) which coincides with the second and third residence-periods may be explained by one reason or a combination of the following reasons:

As with all other immigrants, the first residence period for Arabs in Canada is a building period, the requirements of which occupy the top section on the priority list, which may make visiting the country of origin have lower priority.

Some Arab immigrants borrow the money required to cover the transportation and other costs involved in the migration process. To these immigrants, paying off their debts might be a self-imposed prerequisite for visiting the country of origin.

Some may wish to first save enough money to cover the cost of the trip back in addition to buying presents for family, relatives, and friends who usually think that in N. America "money grows on trees"! Being conscious of the relatives' expectations, some immigrants prefer to postpone their first visit until they save enough money to enable them to accommodate expectations in their homeland. Sometimes the decision to visit the country of origin had disastrous consequences on family finances with social side effects beyond repair.

Many Arab students in Canada cannot make their first trip back until they complete their graduate work and related assignments which may require a period of four to seven years.

2) Line 2 represents the percentages of respondents who visited their country of origin after arrival in Canada. The evidence shows that 18 percent of respondents managed to complete 15 years of residence in Canada without visiting their country of origin. This fact may be due to political, religious, and personal reasons.

3) The percentages of respondents who have visited their country of origin at least three times are represented by line 3. Like line 2, this line rises gradually with time. One or two trips are usually made for the purpose of marriage.

4) Line 4 may be labelled "the regular correspondence line"; it represents the percentages of respondents who correspond regularly with relatives in their country of origin. If lines 1, 2, 3, and 5 follow a general pattern of increase corresponding to the length of residence in Canada, line 4 follows a different path. It increases gradually over the first residence period, reaching its minimum at 7.5 years of residence, and then continues unchanged through the third residence period. The evidence suggests that correspondence generally diminishes over time with maximum occurring during the first 7.5 years of residence.

5.8 CONTACTS WITH CANADA

This section examines hypotheses related to two themes: primary level contacts and acculturation

5.8.1 Primary Level Contacts

This theme deals with contacts made at the individual level. In the context of Arab Canadians, the spatial tendency of connectedness

is expressed socially in the forms of visiting Canadian homes,

having Canadian friends, having greater contacts with the host

society, and developing a general interest in Canadian affairs.

As they change their identity from Arab to Canadian, Arab immigrants

undergo a gradual process of socio-spatial change.

Hypotheses

There is a relationship between respondents' level of interest in
Canadian news and rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 33)

There is a relationship between the frequency of visiting Canadians
in their homes and respondents' rate of assimilation. (Appendix III,
Table 34)

Respondents whose friends are more Canadians than Arabs assimilate
faster than respondents whose friends are more Arabs than
Canadians. (Appendix III, Table 35)

There is a positive relationship between the number of contacts
with Canadians and respondents' rate of assimilation, the greater
the contacts the higher the level of assimilation and vice versa.
(Appendix III, Table 36)

The variables related to the preceding theme are examined in
Figure 5.11 to show the effect of time on respondents' ability to

develop contacts with Canada and Canadians at the primary level.

Figure 5.11 shows five contact situations: line 1 represents res-

pondents' interest in Canadian news; line 2, the frequency of

visiting Canadians in their homes; line 3, the desirability of

having more contacts with Canadians; line 4, intensity of contacts

with Canadians; and line 5, friendship network. Each of these

lines follows one of three patterns:

FIGURE 5.11

CONTACTS WITH CANADA: PRIMARY LEVEL CONTACTS
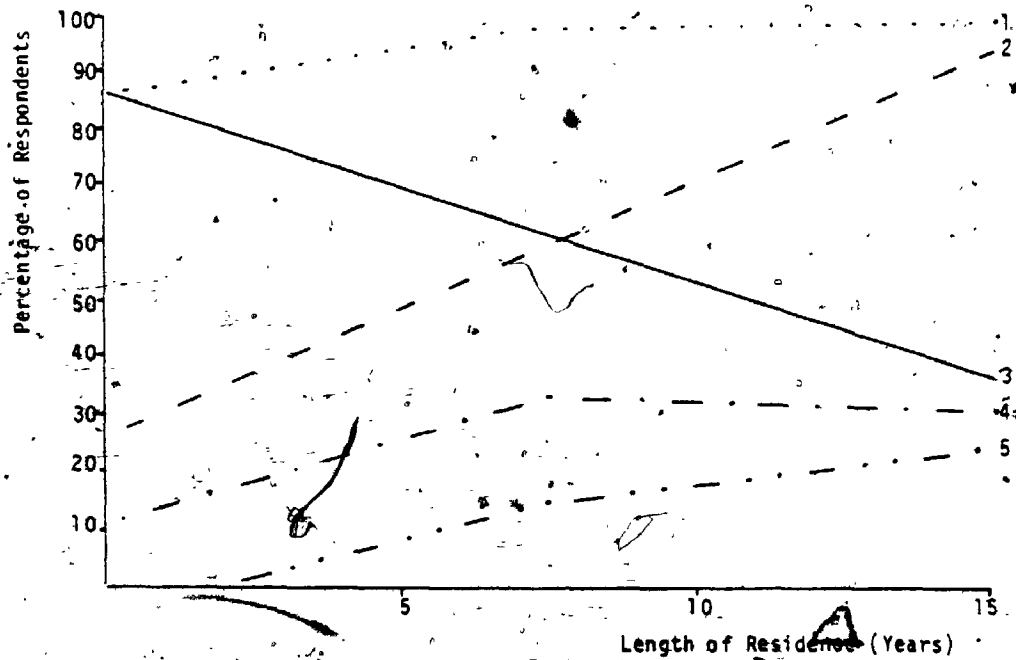
1. Are you interested in Canadian news? (yes)

2. How frequently do you visit Canadians in their homes?
    ("regularly and occasionally", combined categories)

3. Would you prefer to have more contacts with Canadians? (yes)

4. For all the contacts you have, all your contacts are...
    (mostly with Canadians)

5. My friends are: (more Canadian than Arab)

(1) a generally progressive pattern over the entire 15-year period,
(2) a generally progressive pattern over the first half followed by
a period of stability during the second half, and (3) a generally
regressive pattern over the entire period.

Contained in the first pattern are contacts 2 and 5. The
longer they stay in Canada, the greater is the frequency of visiting
Canadians in their homes and the greater the number of Canadian
friends Arab immigrants in Canada are likely to have.. When these
two lines are compared to each other, the reader will notice that
social contacts at the primary level—they occur at a high level
of communication—are conducive to making friends.

Line 4 (second pattern) implies that Arab immigrants in Canada
can distinguish, according to their own perceptual abilities,
Canadians from other groups. The Canadian component of the total
contact-unit is stabalized during the second 7.5 years of residence
in Canada.

When line 3 (third pattern) is examined in relation to line 2,
the reader can identify two socialization periods: the first (7.5
years in Canada) is characterized a low frequency of visiting
Canadians in their homes and a greater desire to have more contacts
with them; the second high frequency of visitation and less desire
to increase contacts. A psychological explanation may be given to
account for the differences between the two socialization periods:
needs demand satisfaction (socialization as a need and visitations
as an agent of satisfaction).

The observations/conclusions to be made from the foregoing may be summed up as follows: the longer respondents reside in Canada the greater and the more active are the processes of desocialization (from their country of origin) and resocialization (into their country of destination, Canada).

5.8.2 Acculturation

The cluster of assimilation steps that make up the top third (high assimilation region) on the assimilation scale starts with an acculturation item: accepting Canadian customs. Higher still on the same assimilation scale is another acculturation item: neglecting Arab customs; this item is only three steps away from the scale top.

The acculturative tendency of Arabs in Canada represents the spatial tendency of nearness (as in belonging and acceptance) while the tendency of denouncing and neglecting Arab customs represents the spatial tendency of separateness from Arab culture. Based on the rank of the preceding variables on the assimilation scale, it could be concluded that the tendency to become near is expressed before the tendency to become separate.

Hypotheses

Respondents who accept many of the Canadian customs assimilate faster than those who accepted few or none. (Appendix III, Table 37)

There is a relationship between neglecting Arabian customs and respondents' rate of assimilation, the greater the customs neglected, the higher the rate of assimilation and vice versa. (Appendix III, Table 38)

Respondents who agree that immigrants in Canada should do things
the Canadian way assimilate faster than other respondents. (Appendix
III, Table 39)

Mention of the process of denouncing and neglecting the cultural

traits of the country of origin on the one hand and accepting

and applying these of the country of destination relates to the work

of Malcolm McFee about acculturation. In his anthropological essay

entitled "The 150 Percent Man: A Product of Blackfeet Acculturation",

McFee challenged earlier acculturation studies which he found rested

on the erroneous assumption that man is a "cultural container"

whose contents cannot add up to more than 100 percent. McFee

attempted to measure "level of acculturation" among the members of

the Blackfeet Indian Tribe of northern Montana and found two sub-

societies to exist, White-oriented and Indian-oriented.[7]

In addition to the two subsocieties, McFee found some unusual

cases, as one man scored 35 percent on the Indian and 75 percent on

the White scales while another 45 percent and 100 percent respect-

ively. Five other people, including two women, appeared to fall in

the 60-90 percent range on both scales.

These facts serve to indicate that man is not a culture con-

tainer. If, by one measure, he scores 75 percent on an Indian

scale, he should not be expected to be limited to a 25 percent

measure on another scale. Contemplation of this "container"

metaphor led McFee to call these bicultural cases "the 150 percent

men". The experience of these people shows that there can be

cultural loss at the individual level, but the retention of Indian

characteristics, rather than their replacement as new ways are learned, depends upon whether or not these are seen to have continuing utility for the individual.

McFee's conclusions have obvious relevance for the study of Arab assimilation in Canada. McFee's study explains why some respondents in the present study gave answers (related to questions 28a and 28b) that do not add up to 100 percent. Arabs in Canada who said they accepted a great deal of the Canadian culture should not be expected to neglect the same amount of their original culture. The present author found similar evidence that Arabs may retain significant parts of their Arab culture while increasing their adoption of Canadian cultural patterns of behaviour.[8]

Spatially speaking, when Arab immigrants separate themselves from their Eastern culture to a given extent, they should not be expected, therefore, to connect themselves to Canada to the same extent. One may move in different spatial directions at different levels at different speeds at any given time creating different spatial configurations suitable to his own individual needs appropriate to the process of identity transformation: psychosocial and spatial. The acculturative tendencies of respondents are examined in Figure 5.12 to underscore the effect of time on the processes of adopting Canadian customs and neglecting Arab customs.

Figure 5.12 contains two conditions: the percentages of respondents who accepted and applied many/very many (combined categories) Canadian customs and traditions and the percentage of respondents

FIGURE 5.12

CONTACTS WITH CANADA: ACCULTURATION
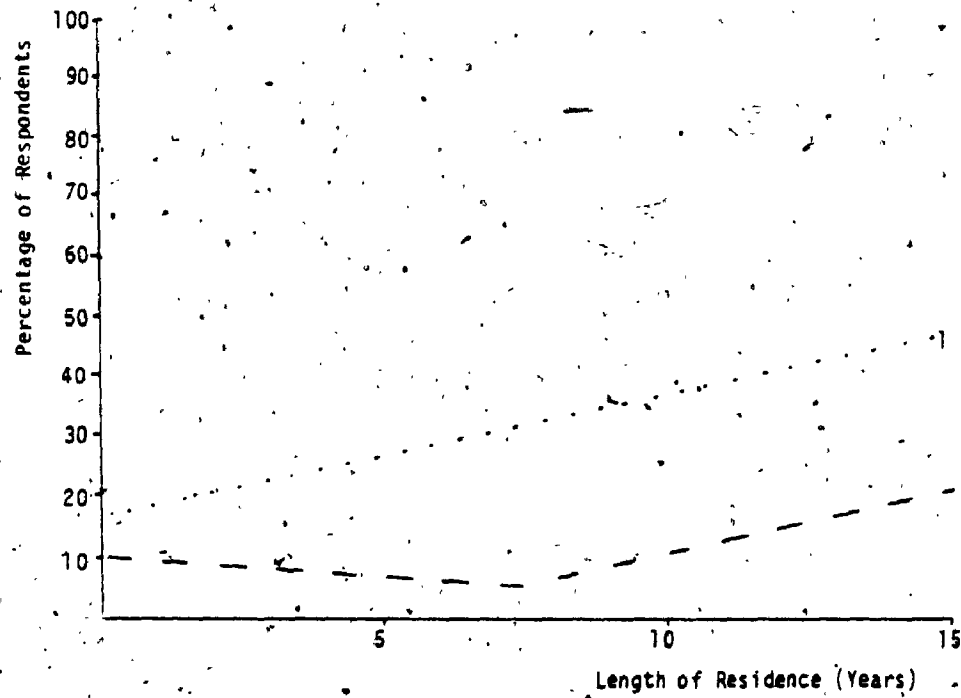
1. How many Canadian customs and traditions have you accepted
   and applied? (many/very many - combined category).
   Immigrants in Canada should do things the Canadian way.
   (agree)

2. How many Arab customs and traditions have you denounced
   and neglected? (many/very many - combined category)

who denounced and neglected many/very many (combined categories) Arabian customs and traditions.

Based on Figure 5.12 the following observations may be made:

1) Both conditions change gradually with the increase of length of residence in Canada.

2) The two conditions arrange themselves in a way that may suggest that, for Arab immigrants in Canada, the process of taking on a different culture is easier than that of giving up their own. The process of denouncing and neglecting one's own culture appears to be most difficult, during the first 7.5 years.

3) Based on the relationship of these two conditions, the idea of treating man as a cultural container is rejected. If a person learns more than one language, his linguistic growth would definitely exceed 100 percent. Many Arab immigrants in this country have achieved high scores on both cultural scales: Canadian and Arab. This section on acculturation provides evidence to suggest that cultural multidirectionality is actually taking place in the context of assimilation.

5.9 BELONGING

This section examines five themes: similarity, naturalization, identification, loyalty and commitment.

5.9.1 Similarity

Similarity and nearness are integrated to form a major identity-

dimension. Similarity of Arab respondents to Canadians is invest-
igated mainly by the Perceived Similarity Index (P.S.I.) discussed
earlier.

Hypotheses

Respondents who have high scores on the Perceived Similarity Index
assimilate faster than other respondents (Appendix III, Table 40).

Figure 5.13 contains two similarity related variables: Per-
ceived similarity (P.S.I.) and physical appearance. In the context
of Arab Canadians the physical/racial characteristics fail to provide
a valid basis for determining Arab ethnicity. It is impossible to
identify any grouping of traits as being uniquely Arabian. This is
due to two facts. First, the present inhabitants of the Arab world
are an amalgam of many centuries of assimilation among migrants from
the Arabian peninsula and residents of the Near East: Persians,
Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, European Crusaders, and Turks. Second,
since Arab immigrants and their descendants in Canada have inter-
married with various ethnic groups, they have become physically
indistinguishable from other Mediterranean immigrant groups such
as Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, Greeks and Turks.

Acceptance was measured by a five-category scale: accepted, more
accepted than rejected, half and half, more rejected than accepted,
and rejected. The half and half category divides the scale into
positive categories ("more accepted than rejected" and "accepted")
and negative ones ("more rejected than accepted" and "rejected").
Line 1 represents the positive-categories respondents; it shows a

FIGURE 5.13

SIMILARITY
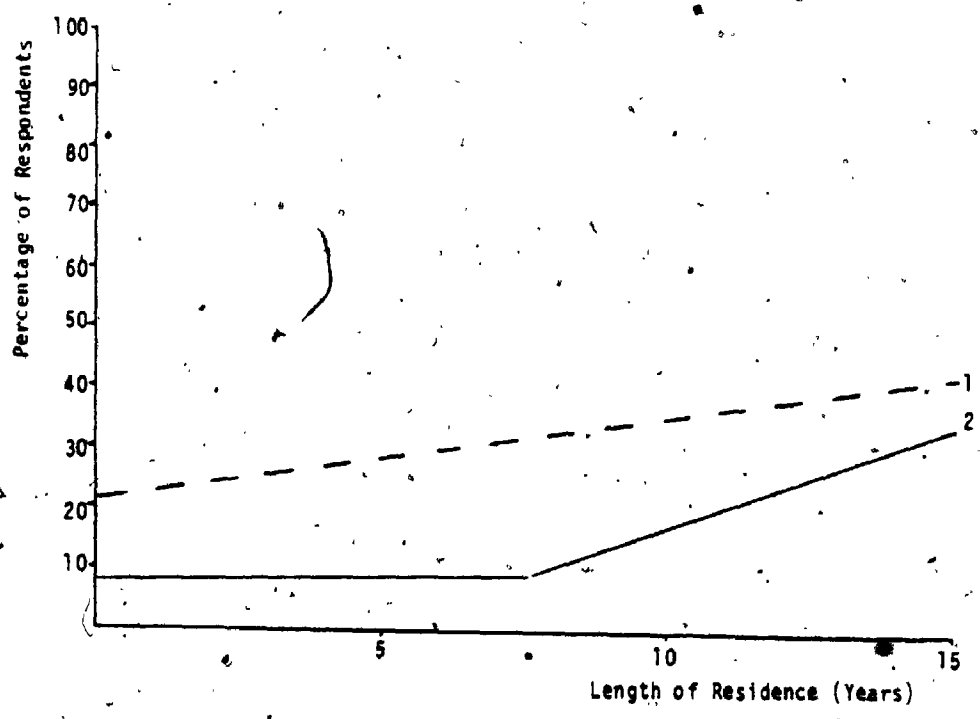
1. Respondents' positions on the Perceived Similarity Index. (high)

2. In physical appearance I look like (more Canadian than Arab)

very high level of acceptance which continues to increase with the length of residence in Canada. Line 2 shows an upward change by the end of the 15th year in Canada indicating that the longer they stay in this country the more similar (using the P.S.I. results) to Canadians they become.

An interesting phenomenon may be observed by examining line 2 which enters the third residence-period at 18 percent level and leaves at 35 percent level; this fact suggests that the increasing rate of acculturation and internalization which Arab immigrants enjoy during their third residence-period in Canada lead them to think that they are similar to Canadians not only in cultural aspects but also in physical characteristics. The physical eye is used during the first two residence periods, and the cultural eye is used during the third.

5.9.2 Naturalization

Naturalization of Arab immigrants as Canadian citizens reflects their identification with and belonging to their adopted land.[9] Because it occurs after a period of three years during which immigrants learn the language and blend into the new environment, naturalization may be considered as an index of assimilation. In theory, naturalization appears to be a major symbolic rejection of the old country but in practice it precludes neither loyalty to the ethnic heritage nor the possibility of return migration at some future date. The reasons for acquiring or planning to acquire Canadian citizenship are given in Table 5. 4.

Hypotheses

Arab immigrants who obtained Canadian citizenship have a higher rate of assimilation than those who did not. (Appendix III, Table 41)

Respondents who prefer to use a Canadian passport to enter their country of origin have a high level of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 42)

Respondents who feel that naturalization involves some change in loyalty from the old country to Canada assimilate faster than others. (Appendix III, Table 43)

The relationship between naturalization issues and time is illustrated in Figure 5.14 from which the following observations/conclusions are drawn.

TABLE 5.4

REASON FOR ACQUIRING OR PLANNING TO

ACQUIRE CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

		Percent of Total Responses N = 395
1.	Positive Attitudes Toward Canada	28
	a. prefer Canada, have come to stay........ 15	
	b. like Canada, feel at home in Canada..... 8	
	c. facilitates adjustment, integration and identification........ 5	
2.	Citizenship Rights	26
	a. freedom to travel..................... 15	
	b. social and political rights........... 11	
3.	Better Economic Opportunities	13
	a. easier to get a job.................. 10	
	b. better opportunities for children....... 3	
4.	Alienation From the Homeland	4
5.	Miscellaneous Reasons	29
	Total	100

Source: Abu Laban (1980, p. 190)

FIGURE 5.14.

NATURALIZATION
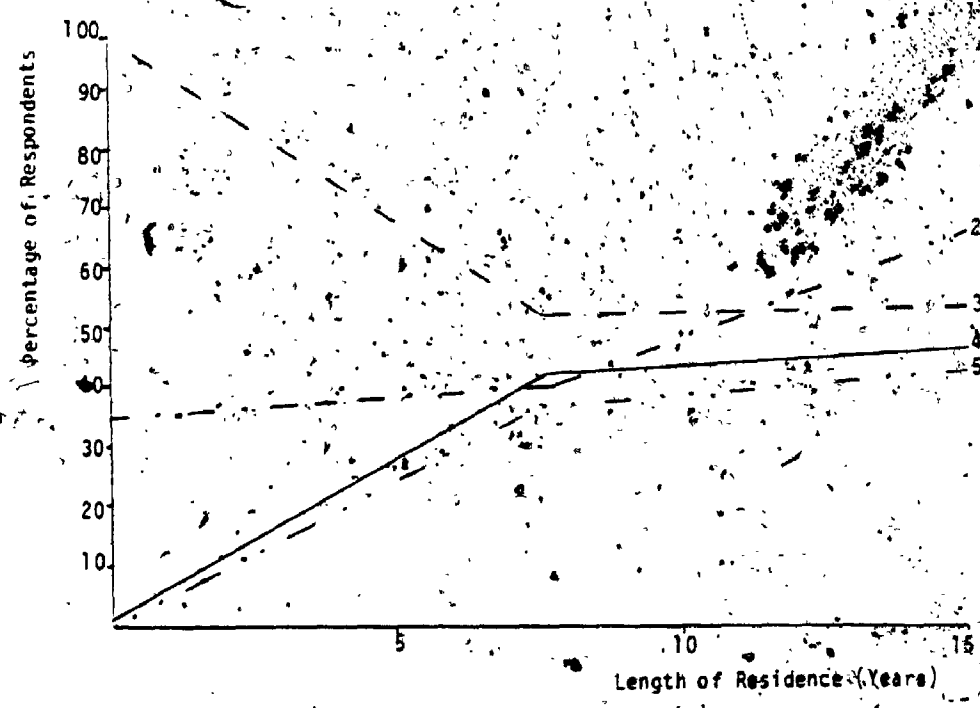
1. Percentages of Naturalized Canadians

2. Do you feel that naturalization is only a formality or does it involve a change in loyalty from the old to the new country? (some change/a lot of change - combined category)

3. What passport do you prefer to present in entering your country of origin in the future? (The Arabic Passport)

4. How many passports do you carry? (more than one)

5. Respondents' positions on the assimilation scale. (high)

1) There is a striking similarity between the high level assim-
ilation (line 5) and number of passports (line 4),-and preferred
passports (line 3). Arab immigrants in Canada prefer to have dual
nationality. When it comes to passports, two groups of respondents
may be identified. The first group prefer to use an Arabic pass-
port to enter their country of origin, and keep the Canadian pass-
port to use elsewhere. Many believe that the holders of Canadian
passports get more respect and better treatment as they travel.
The second group of respondents prefer to use the Canadian passport
only; they feel that the Canadian passport is more prestigious to
use even when they enter their country of origin. They feel that
the Canadian passport entitles them to the best treatment, the
treatment given to the strangers. They prefer to line up with the
tourists; the psychosocial tendency of recently acquired nearness
is enforcing itself. The first group is associated with lower
assimilation than the second group.

2) Line 1 rises sharply during the first two residence-periods.
Canadian citizenship is a pre-requisite for obtaining some profess-
ional jobs. The line also shows that some respondents hesitate to
take on Canadian citizenship; they keep postponing the process till
later years. Attending the citizenship ceremony is usually assoc-
iated with mixed feelings.

Under the assumption that the longer they stay in Canada the
more loyal they become, the reader, therefore, may expect to see a
gradual increase, over time, in the percentages of respondents who
feel that the process of taking Canadian citizenship involves at
least, some change in loyalty. By examining Figure 5.14 line 2,

the reader will find his expectation to be true.

5.9.3 Identification

The identification item occupies a high position, only seven steps away from the scale top.

Hypotheses

There is a relationship between respondents' perception of their own identity (Canadian or Arab) and rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 44)

The effect of time on the identification level of respondents is examined in Figure 5.15 where two identification variables are used: line 1 represents identification; and line 2, perceived spouses' identification.

The two identificational lines show a gradual rise over time, indicating a general improvement of the assimilation environment. When these two lines intersect, three identificational time periods and two identificational patterns emerge.

The first identificational pattern emerges during the first and third identificational periods: the percentages of the identified-with-Canada respondents exceed the corresponding percentages of spouses. The second identificational pattern emerges during the second identificational period—this period starts during the last six months of the 12th year—which is characterized by the fact that the percentages of identified spouses exceed the corresponding percentages of respondents. In an attempt to explain the preceding identificational patterns, the author has developed the following

FIGURE 5.15

IDENTIFICATION
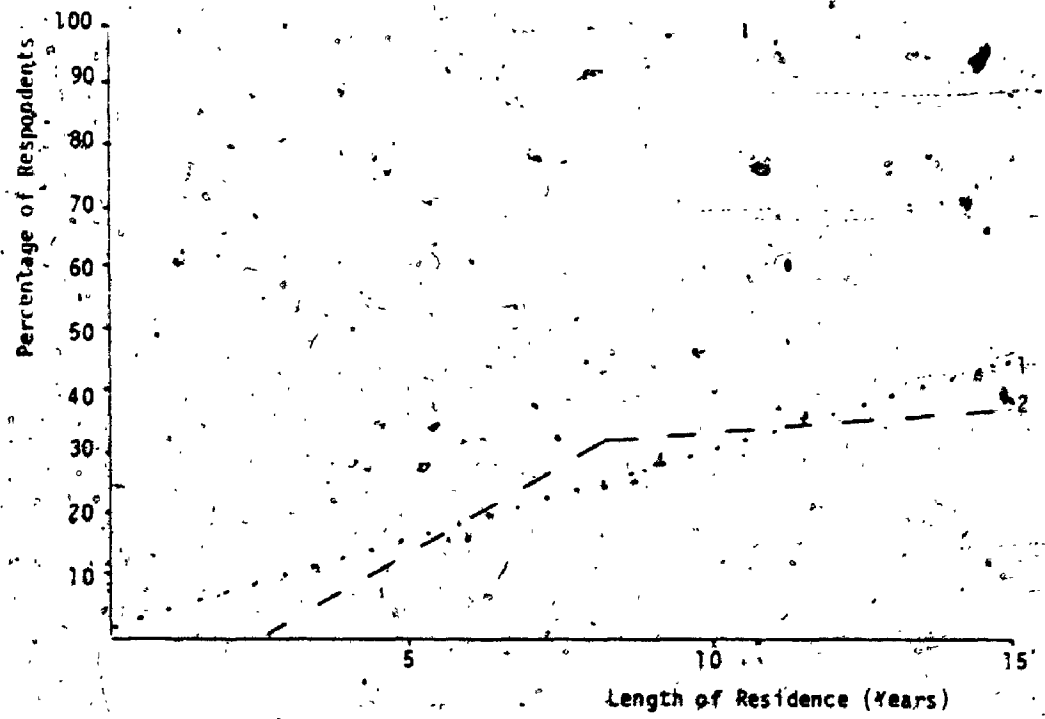
1. What do you consider yourself in Canada? (more Canadian than Arab)

2. What do you consider your spouse in Canada? (more Canadian than Arab)

3
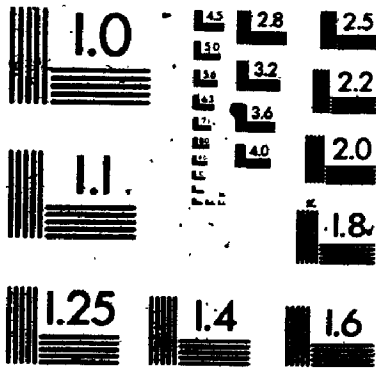
argument: since most respondents are males, most of the spouses should be females; since most females assimilate slower than males, most spouse's identification line should be below that of respondents'. The argument may be summed up as follows: the second identificational pattern is an exception to the rule.

In his second attempt to explain that exception-to-the rule pattern (being hopeful to find a higher-than-average percentage of females during the second identificational period), the investigator analyzed the over-time-changes of the respondents' sex-structure. The percentages of males to females during the three residence periods—the second residence period generally coincides with the second identificational period—were found to be as follows: period 1, 18/20; period 2, 88/12; and period 3 87/13. The average male/female ratio was 84/16.

These attempts may conclude, therefore that the second identificational pattern could not be accounted for by a dominance-of-females variable. The author interviewed families who experienced an over-time-switch of identification level between husbands and wives. During the first and third identificational time periods, wives may initiate in opposition to their husbands an idea of returning to their country of origin; during the second identificational period, the roles may be reversed.

5.9.4 Intention To Remain

The majority of Arab immigrants remain permanently in Canada. However, many will never define their situation in this way and will never make a permanent commitment to the new society. It is expected that for parents an important item influencing the decision to remain will be the acculturation of their children and their total integration in the Canadian educational network especially at the high school level.

Hypotheses

Respondents who intend to stay in Canada assimilate faster than those who do not. (Appendix III, Table 45)

Respondents who own their own homes assimilate faster than those who do not. (Appendix III, Table 46)

There is a relationship between feeling at home in Canada and respondents' rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 47)

The preceding hypotheses and other related variables are examined in Figure 5.16 to describe variations of respondents' level of commitment to Canada.

Three lines in Figure 5.16 represent the commitment-to-Canada variables: line 1 is an average line and may be labelled "ownership/type of residence", line 2 may be labelled "intention to stay/feeling at home in Canada", and line 3 represents the amount of change required to settle down and feel at home in Canada.

As they spend more time in Canada, greater percentages of Arabs decide to buy single family homes. The percentage of homeowners rose from 10 percent, at the beginning of the first residence-period,

FIGURE 5.16

INTENTION TO REMAIN
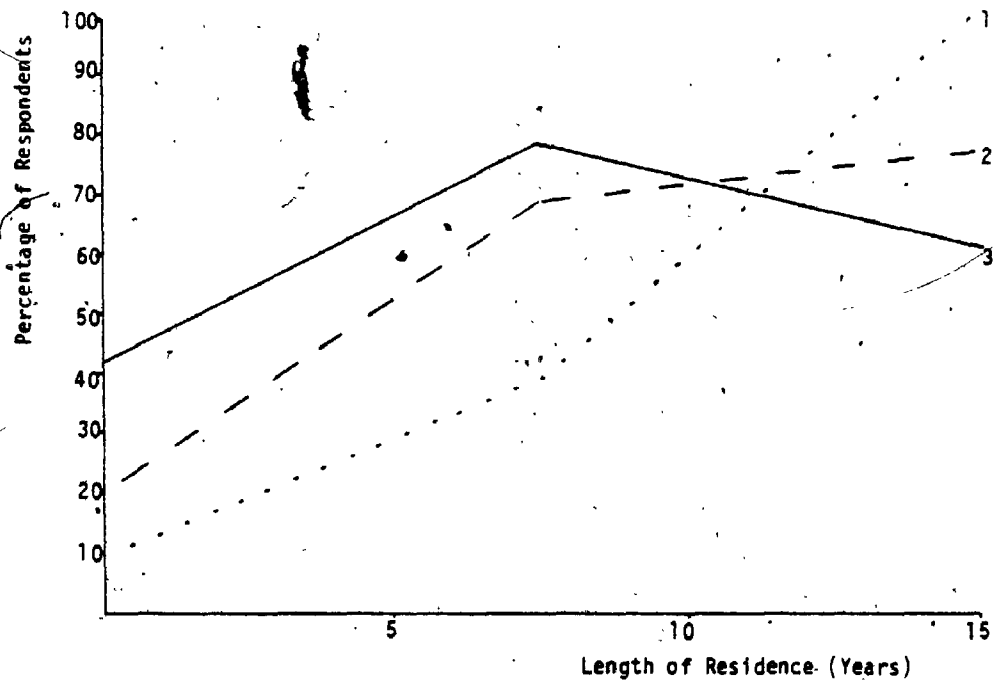
1. Do you own or rent? (own)
   What type of residence do you occupy at present? (a single
   family home)

2. At present do you intend to stay the rest of your life in
   Canada? (yes)
   At present do you feel at home in Canada? (yes)

3. How much does an Arab person have to change in order to
   settle down and feel at home in Canada? (much and very
   much - combined category)

to 100 percent at the end of the third residence-period. But buying a home in Canada does not necessarily mean feeling at home in Canada; the ownership and feeling at home lines are further apart from each other in spite of following the general trend of increase over time. These two lines intersect at some point in time between the 11th and the 12th year of residence; the intersection points indicate the existence of two clearly identifiable time periods. During the first period (11 years long) the percentages of respondents who feel at home in Canada exceed the percentages of the homeowners. During a second time period (4 years long) the percentages of homeowners exceed the percentages who feel at home in Canada.

When line 3 is brought into consideration, four observations may be made:

1) At the beginning of the first period the lines arrange themselves in descending order: line 3 at the top (40 percent), line 2 in the middle (20 percent) and line 1 at the bottom (10 percent).

2) The distance between the three lines decreases with time until they converge at approximately the 11th year.

3) In the following 4 years, the distance between these lines increase with time to reach the maximum by the end of the 15th year at which time the lines rearrange themselves in a descending order which is opposite to the preceding arrangement: line 1 at the top (100 percent), line 2 in the middle (80 percent), and line 3 at the bottom (60 percent).

4) When lines 2 and 3 are compared, it could be observed that a maximum of 20 percent of Arabs in Canada in their first 11 years

of residence feel that they could not cope with the change required to settle down and feel at home in this country. In the next four years, a maximum of 20 percent felt that it does not take that much change to feel at home in Canada. It is common to find clearly acculturated Arabs in Canada who claim that they have not changed a bit!

5.9.5 Loyalty

As Arabs in Canada change their position along the Arab-Canadian continuum, they also change their loyalty. The change in loyalty takes different forms such as the readiness of respondents to defend Canada in case of war and supporting Canadian athletic teams. When Arab Canadians identify fully with Canada, they display maximum loyalty by their willingness to support Canadian teams against teams representing their country of origin. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the loyalty item commands the top position of the assimilation scale.

Hypotheses

There is a relationship between rate of assimilation and whether respondents would defend Canada in case of war. (Appendix III, Table 48)

There is a relationship between respondents' level of loyalty and rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 49)

Respondents who would support a Canadian athletic team against an Arab team have a higher rate of assimilation. (Appendix III, Table 50)

Respondents who would support Canadian athletic teams against teams from the respondents' country of origin assimilate faster than other respondents. (Appendix III, Table 51)

The preceding hypotheses will be divided into two groups: general loyalty and specific loyalty. The general loyalty variables will be idscussed first.

General loyalty variables (Figure 5.17).

Under the assumption that the longer they reside in Canada the more loyal they become, the reader, therefore, may expect to see a gradual increase, over time, in the percentages of Arabs in Canada who would be willing to defend this country in case of war (Line 1). By examining Figure 5.17 the reader will find that his expectations are true.

Turning to the remaining two lines, the reader may find that the percentages of the highly loyal respondents—high loyalty means higher scores (8, 9, 10) on the loyalty scale—increase gradually with time spent in Canada; line 2 starts with a minimum of 18 percent to reach the maximum (61 percent) after 7.5 years of residence; the line enters the remaining period at a maximum level and continues unchanged. It is in the first 10 years of residence in Canada that most changes in loyalty takes place.

The unequal loyalty line (line 3) represents the percentages of respondents who feel that their spouses are either more loyal or less loyal than themselves. It is interesting to note that the unequal loyalty line gradually increases with time spent in Canada, with the sharpest rise being experienced in the first 10 years of residence. The pattern of change in the unequal loyalty line implies that the differences in the loyalty-oriented attitudinal/behavioural

FIGURE 5.17

LOYALTY (General Variables)
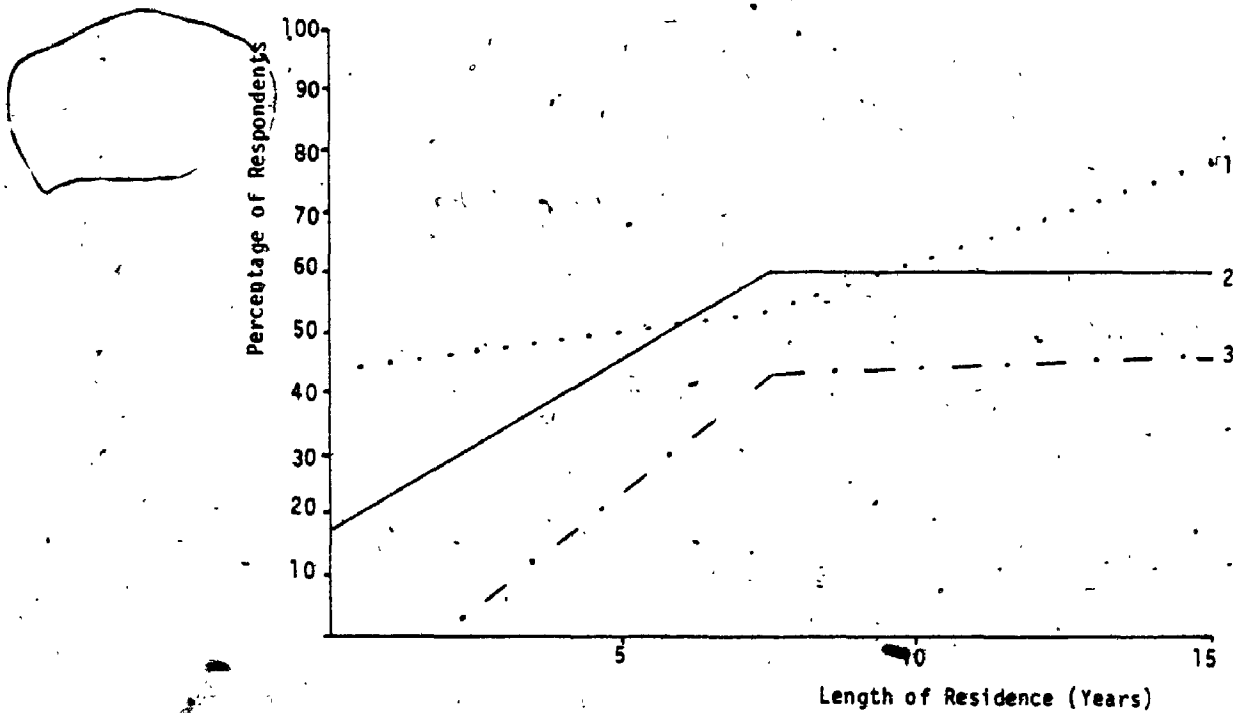
1. In case of war would you defend Canada? (yes)

2. Respondents' position on the loyalty scale. (high)

3. On the loyalty scale, I feel that my spouse shows...
   (different loyalty level)

attributes between respondents and their spouses increase with time.
The effect of such differences on family life of Arabs in Canada
could not be ignored. "What makes you so loyal to Canada?" is
not an unfamiliar question asked of respondents by their spouses and,
sometimes, leads to more questions, which may, in turn, result in
extreme cases, in family trouble like separation/divorce. The
loyalty-inequality phenomenon is most evident in the first 10
years of residence. At the end of the 15th year of residence, at
least one-half of the Arab families in Canada suffer from this un-
favourable phenomenon.

Specific loyalty variables (Figure 5.18)

Figure 5.18 contains three lines representing the loyalty of
Arabs in Canada as experienced in the athletic field: line 1
represents percentages of respondents who would support the Canadian
team against any foreign team not including Arab athletes; line 2,
respondents who would support the Canadian team against a team from
the Arab world not including any athletes from the country of origin;
and line 3, respondents who would support the Canadian team against
a team from their own countries of origin.

The three lines arrange themselves in such a way that line 1
is at the top; line 2, somewhere between lines 1 and 2; and line 3,
at the bottom. This arrangement holds true for the entire 15-year
period. What this means is that the loyalty of Arabs in Canada
goes, in descending order, to their country of origin, the Arab
world, and Canada. This order of loyalty appears to match the

FIGURE 5.18

LOYALTY (ATHLETICS - ORIENTED VARIABLES)
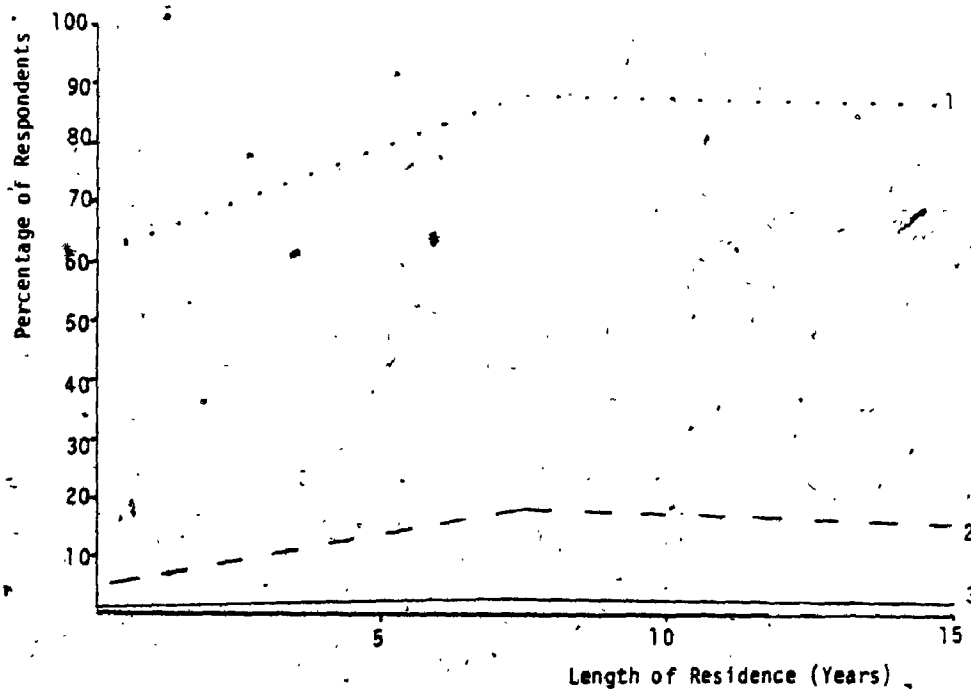
1. If a team of athletes (no Arabs) came out to play a Canadian team, which side do you think you would support? (The Canadian team)

2. If a team of athletes from the Arab World (your country of origin is not represented) came out to play a Canadian team, which side do you think you would support? (The Canadian team)

3. If a team of athletes from your country of origin came out to play a Canadian team, which side do you think you would support/ (The Canadian team)

Arabic saying: "My brother and I against my nephew, my nephew and I against the stranger". There is nothing unusual about the loyalty pattern just described, but the unusual thing is that there is a minimum of 12 percent respondents (line 1) who would not exclusively support the Canadian team. Further analysis has shown that the percentages of respondents who would support the other team against the Canadian team ranges from 2 percent (during the first 5 years) to 0 percent (during the next 5 years), to 3 percent (at the end of the 15th year).

5.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

1. The reader is reminded that the Arab community in Canada consists of both Muslim and Christian Arabs. Based on the collected data, it seems that the ratio of Muslim to Christian respondents changes gradually over time favouring the latter over the former (Figure 5.6). The percentage of Muslim respondents who return to their homeland during their first ten years of residence in Canada exceeds the corresponding percentage of Christian respondents. In connection with religious transformation, it appears that time works differently on the Muslim and Christian Arabs in this country. Unlike the Muslim respondents who become more religious over time, Christian respondents become progressively less religious. In contrast with Christian respondents who have nothing to lose in a predominantly Christian society, Muslim Arabs tend to protect their Islamic identity by becoming progressively more religious. Some Muslim Arab respondents

who turned religious in Canada admit that they have never opened
the Quran in their country of origin where the society is pre-
dominantly Islamic. On the other hand, some Christian Arab res-
pondents who became progressively less religious in Canada admit
the fact that they seldom missed a Sunday mass in their country of
origin where Christians are a minority; they wonder what happened
to them in Canada.

2. The data on linguistic transformation suggests that res-
pondents are improving their linguistic skills (sending and receiving)
over time (Figure 5.7). The percentage of respondents who voluntarily
answered the questionnaire in "more English than Arabic" also in-
creased over time suggesting a link between time and optional ling-
uistic assimilation.

3. It appears that many respondents change their food preferences
over time; the data supports the fact that the percentages of res-
pondents who prefer to eat Arabian food has dropped, however slightly,
over time (Figure 5.8). This fact suggests the existence of a possible
link between some psychosocial and physiological aspects of assimilation,
between perceptual-congnitive transformation and physiological trans-
formation.

4. The percentage of naturalized respondents increased pro-
gressively over time (Figure 5.14) indicating greater willingness to
accept the official change in national identity from Arab to Canadian.
This official change implies genuine internal change in immigrants'
personalities; the percentage of respondents who prefer to use

Canadian passports to enter their countries of origin increased over time. This fact may be used as a cultural index for the spatial process of belonging (nearness).

5. As time progresses, respondents appear to be strengthening their relationships with Canada and simultaneously weakening their ties with their homeland (Figures 5.10, 5.11, and 5.12). Two observations may be given to support the fact that respondents are strengthening their relationships with Canada. First, the percentage of respondents who visit Canadians in their homes has increased over time and the relationship between time and "visiting Canadians in their homes" has taken the graphic form of a straight line. Second, Arab immigrants in Canada have also changed the structure of their friendship network; the percentage of respondents whose friends are "more Canadians than Arabs" has increased over time. Simflarily, two observations may be made to confirm the fact that Arabs in Canada are weakening their ties with their country of origin. First, the frequency of correspondence with relatives and friends in the country of origin is decreasing over time. Second, the duration of visits made by respondents to their country of origin became shorter as time progressed. These two observations may be interpreted as cultural indications of the spatial tendency of connectedness.

6. Related to developing stronger relationships with Canada and weakening their ties with their homeland are two facts. First, the percentage of respondents who accepted more Canadian customs/

traditions (Figure 5.12) has progressively increased over time. Second, the percentage of respondents who neglected more Arabian customs/traditions (Figure 5.12) has similarly increased over time. Using the model's terminology, more respondents are becoming progressively similar to Canadians and/or progressively different from Arabs and the Arabs in Canada are going through a variable process of spatial transformation based directly on two spatial tendencies: nearness and separateness.

7. The effect of time on the process of Arab assimilation in Canada manifests itself internally in the way respondents are changing their opinions and attitudes on a number of sensitive issues related to family and single Arab girls. As time progresses, more respondents are willing to adopt opinions and attitudes contradictory to the basic cultural norms characteristic of the Arab culture. As time progresses, the assimilation process becomes more difficult because the core of individuals and cultures is approached.

8. The positive relationship between time and perceived similarity index (Figure 5.13) has been established statistically and graphically. This fact suggests the existence of an internal process of perceptual/cognitive transformation which may be used as surrogate representing a corresponding process of identity transformation. Basic to the processes of perceptual/cognitive and spatial transformations is the identity dimension of similarity/nearness.

9. To measure the transformation in loyalty, a number of indices have been successfully applied. At least six indices

(Figures 9.3.8 and Figure 9.3.9) may be cited: 1) buying homes (Figure 5.16), 2) intention to stay in Canada for the rest of one's life (Figure 5.16), 3) willingness to defend Canada in case of war (Figure 5.17), 4) loyalty scale (Figure 5.17), 5) perception of self: Canadian or Arab (Figure 5.15), and 6) respondent's willingness to support Canadian athletic teams against foreign teams (Figure 5.18). The last index is an important one because it represents a case of optional loyalty. These measures are surrogate measures of the three spatial tendencies of belonging (nearness), separateness and connectedness.

10. Dynamic progression is the common conclusion that can be derived from the discussion of every assimilation theme presented in this chapter. Dynamic progression allows for a multitude of psychosocial spatial configurations at the individual and group levels. A proof of the dynamic progression is found in all Figures individually and/or collectively. If all Figures are superimposed on each other the complexity of assimilation progression as a dynamic phenomenon may be appreciated.

CHAPTER V - NOTES

1. Unlike other cultural groups who ghetto themselves in identifiable neighbourhoods, the "Arab community is scattered: the churches, mosques, businesses, restaurants, and residences of Arab Canadians are all dispersed. The Arab Canadian community in Toronto and elsewhere in Canada is more of a mental than physical construct. It is, above all, a community of interest, a community of social and kinship networks that transcend neighbourhood and municipal boundaries" Abu Laban (1980, p. 63).

2. Families in the Arab world believe that the decision to marry is a single most important decision in one's lifetime. It is a basic cultural value that the choice of spouses should never be left to the individual or to romantic 'blind' love. Furthermore, the assumption that marriages of 'free choice' are more successful than marriages which are arranged by family elders, has to be tested.

3. On behalf of at least 100,000 Muslims in Ontario, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) is requesting the Government of Ontario to provide some legislative guarantee to the Muslim employees for one and half hours time for Friday prayers. A copy of a letter from the Director of ISNA to the Attorney General of Ontario is given in Appendix IV.

4. Further evidence on linguistic multidirectionality is supported by the actual linguistic configurations of Arabs in Quebec. Arab Quebeckers', being in a unique situation today, tend to be oriented - in ideology and practice - toward bilingualism in French and English, rather than toward integration into the French language alone (Abu Laban 1980, p. 200).

5. Other studies provide evidence that the longer they stay in Canada the greater is their linguistic adaptation. Khattab (1969) in his study of Arab Muslims in Alberta found that the second generation respondents command English (in terms of speaking, reading and writing) better than the first generation respondents. According to Abu Laban (1980, p. 188), many Christian and Muslim religious leaders of the Arab-Canadian community in Toronto and Montreal have introduced religious services in one of Canada's official languages mainly to reach the second generation.

6. The Lebanese Arab respondents' admonitions in the 'area'
   of work reflect elements of what Abu Laban (1980, pp.
   109-115) calls "Levantine ethic": orientation towards
   kinsmen; devotion to work and self-employment; and risk-
   taking, resourcefulness and self-denial.

7. Knowledge of Blackfeet religious beliefs, participation in
   Indian dances, singing, give-aways, and some linguistic
   indices of home environment were used as measures of Indian-
   orientation. A comparable set of indices for White-
   orientation was established. Each man was measured by
   each of these standards; two continua were constructed and
   used as the vertical and horizontal axes of a two-dimensional
   matrix, or scattergram, upon which the two measures of each
   case were plotted. The scattergram distribution showed the
   two clusters (Indian-oriented and White-oriented) to be
   treated as meaningful social entities.

8. Having experienced both East and West, and having chosen
   the West, Arab immigrants see acculturative change as
   desirable, yet they and their descendants have continued
   to maintain links with the ancestral heritage. (Abu Laban,
   1980, p. 200)

9. According to Karam (1935, pp. 19-20), the first Arab to
   become a naturalized Canadian was Selim Sheyck, A Maronite
   Catholic.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to find the extent to which
the dissertation succeeded (or failed) in achieving the objectives
stated in Chapter I.

6.1 FIRST OBJECTIVE

To describe the nature of the assimilation process

The assimilation process has been introduced in Chapter I,
as a process of psychosocial spatial transformation. The
inseparability of psychological, sociological and spatial con-
figurations has been underscored using the 'I' and 'me' concept
showing the complex interconnection between personal identity,
socio-cultural identity and spatial identity. When immigrants
move to new environments they undergo a process of cognitive
reorganization as a part of a broader process of identity and
psychological transformation. Since individual immigrants
are expected to interact with different groups in the host society,
it follows that these groups are also expected to undergo corres-
ponding processes of transformation adding to the complexities
and richness of the interactional mix in the receiving society.
The "face" of Canada provides comprehensive evidence of a

dynamic assimilation process at work whereby immigrants from
virtually every country in the world have come together and
interacted positively and/or negatively, actively and/or
passively in a continuous process of assimilation/differentiation
and/or isolation transferring the identities of individuals,
cultures and places.

6.2 SECOND OBJECTIVE

To examine the psychological, sociological and spatial
perspectives on assimilation underscoring transformations
in the personal, cultural and spatial identities.

The idea of psychosocial spatial transformation has been
given a full discussion in Chapter II. A multidisciplinary
approach has been used to extend, broaden and deepen the under-
standing of the assimilation process along three dimensions:
transformation of the individual (personal identity), trans-
formation of the host society (cultural identity), and areal
transformation (spatial identity).

The psychological perspective examined the dynamic relation-
ships between immigrants and their behavioural environments from
the individual psychological transformation point of view. The
psychological perspective introduced assimilation as a process of
adjustment, absorption, acculturation and adaptation. This per-
spective underscored the psychological transformation through
internal changes and behavioural modification at the individual

level. Assimilation has been defined as a process of cognitive reorganization.

The sociological perspective examined assimilation from the host society's point of view. Major concepts of assimilation, amalgamation and cultural pluralism were introduced. Gordon's sociological model was presented to show the traditional method-ology in approaching assimilation. Assimilation was also introduced as an ecological process based on the population succession theory to identify a continuum of ethnic residential behaviour. From the sociological/cultural point of view, assimilation has been defined as a process of socio-cultural transformation.

The spatial perspective provided insight into the process by which areas and their occupants are transformed. This perspective examined assimilation as a spatial ecological process by discussing the urban ecology model, the social area model and factorial ecology. The spatial perspective has also introduced assimilation as a process of diffusion, ideological and spatial transformation, dynamic spatial interaction and transformation of human regions.

This perspective identified the three spatial behavioural tendencies of nearness, separateness, and connectedness upon which the spatial foundation of the dissertation is built. Spatially speaking, assimilation was described as a process of solving territorial con-flicts. The spatial identity depends on the cultural identity which depends, in turn, on the personal identity. The idea of people-place transformation serves as an underlying concept in the present

investigation. The complex process of personal/cultural/spatial
transformation is very active wherever immigrants are allowed.
It is the geographic concept of mobility/spatial interaction
that sets the process of people-place transformation in motion.

Most of the psychological and sociological models/theories,
examined in this multidisciplinary investigation attempted at
varying degrees and in different formats to identify assimilation
stages/categories.

They disagreed, sometimes sharply, on the duration, content
and name for each assimilation stage. The disagreement on how to
describe each assimilation stage indicates the existence of a
conceptual problem. Some writers have developed their models under
the assumption that variable things must be packaged into neat
containers in the form of uniform stages and homogeneous categories
with definite boundaries. They have treated the variability
characteristic as an undesirable phenonemon that ought to be ration-
alized away. That is why their models do not contain the element
of dynamic progression.

A comparative examination of Gordon's (1964) sociological
model and Richardson's psychological (1961, 1967) models reveals
the maximum range of disagreement on what really goes on in the
transformation of an immigrant's life. Gordon (1964) whose ideas
are shared by Eisenstadt (1952, 1954) places acculturation at the
very beginning of the assimilation process while Richardson (1961,
1967) places it at the very end. If the multidisciplinary

investigation failed to provide answers, it definitely succeeded
in raising one essential question: if these models are correct,
why is there such disagreement on the sequence of assimilation
stages?

6.3 THIRD OBJECTIVE

To integrate the major assimilation concepts into a coherent
conceptual structure.

From the multidisciplinary investigation the author has used
six concepts to construct a tripartite conceptual theoretic model
on assimilation. The first part contains the geographic concept
of spatial interaction between and among peoples (individuals
and groups) of different cultures. Migration is assumed to be
for the purpose of permanent settlement, and upon arrival in the
host society, immigrants are confronted with a different behavioural
environment to which they learn to respond. The second part of the
assimilation process involves conformity, reference groups, progress-
ive assimilation and progressive differentiation.

.The third part of the model contains one concept: identity
change, a psychosocial spatial concept. Since identity change is
the end result of the complex process of assimilation, it comes as
no surprise to find a loyalty-transfer item at the top of the
assimilation scale developed in this study. The psychosocial
spatial feedbacks interrelate the three model parts. The model
uses the idea of an assimilation continuum ranging from 100 percent

Arab (the Arab pole) to 100 percent Canadian (the Canadian pole).
The Arab and Canadian poles represent the configurations of
isolation and assimilation respectively. If it is true that the
personal, cultural and spatial identities are fully interrelated,
it follows that the assimilation continuum truly represents a
process of psychosocial spatial transformation. The position of
each respondent on the assimilation continuum is, in fact, the
outcome of daily interactions: the assimilation events. They are
the building blocks of the assimilation process where the roots
of the assimilation process lie and where the keys needed to solve
the assimilation puzzle must be found.

Assimilation events

During the process of this dissertation the author has
attempted to find a solution to the assimilation puzzle: the
contradiction between Gordon's (1964) sociological model and
Richardson's (1961, 1967) psychological model. From the attempt
to penetrate beneath the surface descriptions on assimilation,
the author postulates the assimilation molecule, the assim-
ilation event. The comments made by many respondents in general
and the extreme cases in particular (those who assimilated too
little, too slow and those who assimilated too much, too fast),
indicate clearly that the lives of some Arab immigrants in Canada
can be determined, in fact, by a few major events which contribute
positively or negatively to their assimilation paths.

Assimilation events are intercultural interactions that take

place between the immigrant population (individuals and groups) and
the population of the host society (individuals and groups) on a day
by day basis. Positive events are centripetal in nature and lead
to assimilation; negative events are centrifugal and lead to isolation.
All daily intercultural events are psychosocial spatial and the
assimilation process is in fact the dynamic outcome of the aggregative
effects of these assimilation events.

The assimilation events combine into infinite combinations
expressing the variable, complex, dynamic, and personal interactions
with the host population. Each combination of these assimilation
events may be given a different name and similar combinations of
events may be constructed to produce similar broad patterns that
are describable by different labels: adjustment, acculturation,
integration, absorption, identification...etc. to reflect a spec-
trum of outcomes rooted in the hidden assimilation subsystem:
the assimilation event.

Change of any magnitude in the interacting subsystems at any
level will produce corresponding changes in the appearance of the
assimilation process. It is possible, therefore, for different
assimilation processes to occur in different combinations anywhere
on the assimilation continuum: at the beginning, in the middle,
at the end; indeed, anywhere at all. The author is not surprised
by placing particular parts of the process like acculturation
at two different places on the assimilation continuum by different
writers. Conflicts and ambiguities between earlier models may be
more apparent than real. The assimilation model will be modified

later in this chapter to reflect this new understanding.

6.4 FOURTH OBJECTIVE

To develop a measure of Arab assimilation in Canada.

An assimilation scale has been developed to measure the rate of assimilation of Arabs in Canada along the isolation (Arab) - assimilation (Canadian) continuum.

The assimilation scale has two poles: the Arab pole and the Canadian pole representing the psychosocial spatial configurations of isolation and assimilation respectively. The middle section of the assimilation scale represents the psychosocial spatial configuration of transition. The phenomenon of "progression" on the assimilation scale should not be interpreted absolutely. This section provides enough evidence to undermine deterministic interpretations; the assimilation progression is time-sensitive, dynamic, uneven and non linear.

6.4.1 Time-Sensitivity of Assimilation Progression

The scale is made up of forty-one items all of which are time-sensitive. The assimilation process becomes more difficult as time progresses; the higher the item on the assimilation scale the lower its popularity. This conclusion may be illustrated by examining the loyalty-related scale items as shown in Table 6.1. Similar clusters of scale-items may be cited to give further evidence to the preceding conclusion. The assimilation

TABLE 6-1

TIME-SENSITIVITY OF LOYALTY SCALE-ITEMS

Item Position On The Assimilation Scale (From High To Low)	Item	Percentage Of Respondents Who Endorsed The Item
7	Level of loyalty	79
9	Supporting Canadian athletic teams against Non-Arab teams	79
21	Defending Canada in case of war	55
27	Perceived Similarity Index	31
34	Self perception: Canadian	20
37	Supporting Canadian athletic teams against Arab teams	13
41	Supporting Canadian athletic teams against team from respondent's country of origin	2

process works first at the periphery of the individual/cultural
being and then erodes its way inward towards the core. The core
is seldom reached in the case of first generation immigrants.
The erosive nature of the assimilation process may be likened to
the process of "onion peeling" which begins with the outermost.
ring (lowest scale-item) and ends with the innermost core (highest
scale-item).

6.4.2 Dynamics of Assimilation Progression .

A closer look at the assimilation scale (Table 6.2) reveals
the complexities of the psychosocial spatial journey followed by
Arab immigrants in this country. At least six conclusions may be
drawn:

1. The journey on the assimilation scale may be likened to
a dynamic car trip on a highway network.

2. Because the assimilation scale is divideable into six
clusters of items (sub-dimensions), the assimilation journey may
proceed along a multipath network. Travellers taking this journey
may (and do) begin in any highway and they keep changing directions
at different points of the journey at different speeds to reflect
their variable ability to satisfy the needs of a difficult journey.

3. Because the percentages of respondents who endorsed each
scale position decline as the end of the journey is approached, it
can be concluded that the journey of assimilation becomes more
demanding as time goes on and the assimilation network of highways
may be thought of as sloping upward. The higher one goes, the more
energy he/she needs to continue the climb.

TABLE 6-2a

CLUSTERING OF

ASSIMILATION SCALE-ITEMS (LOW ASSIMILATION STAGE)

ITEM POSITION	Assimilation Scale-Items (Low Assimilation Stage)	% OF ENDORSEMENT	OPINIONS	ATTITUDES	FEELINGS	ADAPTATION/ACCULTURATION	LANGUAGE	FOOD	CONTACTS/NETWORKS	IDENTITY/LOYALTY
1	Respondents' opinion regarding developing a daily routine for children	94	x							
2	Level of satisfaction	91	x		x					
3	Respondents' opinion regarding allowing children to share their parents' bedroom	91	x			x				
4	Level of interest in Canadian news	91			x					
5	Feeling of acceptance in the community	87								
6	Respondents' opinion regarding husbands sharing housekeeping duties	83	x							
7	Level of loyalty	79								x
8	Understanding Canadians	79								
9	Supporting Canadian athletic teams against non-Arab teams	79								x
10	Attitude towards Canadians	76		x						
11	Arab immigrants making themselves understood	75					x			
12	Respondents' opinion regarding mixed high schools	74					x			
13	Level of adaptation	72				x				
14	Friendliness of the Canadian people	70		x						

TABLE 6-2b

CLUSTERING OF ASSIMILATION SCALE-ITEMS

(MEDIUM ASSIMILATION GROUP)

ITEM POSITION	Assimilation Scale-Items (Medium Assimilation Stage)	% OF ENDORSEMENT	OPINIONS	ATTITUDES	FEELINGS	ADAPTATION/ACCULTURATION	LANGUAGE	FOOD	CONTACTS/NETWORKS	IDENTITY/LOYALTY
15	Respondents' opinion regarding allowing Arab boys to have girl friends.	69	x							
16	Comparing Arabs to Canadians as two cultural groups.	69	x	x						
17	Opinion on allowing Arab girls to have complete freedom to select their marriage partners.	68		x						
18	Immigrants' perception of Canadian attitude.	67		x						x
19	Language used in answering the questionnaire.	57					x			
20	Friendliness of people in neighbourhood.	57							x	
21	Defending Canada in case of war.	55								
22	Primary group visiting.	54								
23	Feeling at home in Canada.	53			x					
24	Respondents' opinion regarding allowing Arab girls to have boy friends.	48	x							
25	Change in satisfaction level.	43			x					
26	Respondents' opinion on allowing single Arab girls to take birth control pills.	32	x							
27	Perceived similarity index.	31	x							x

TABLE 6-2c

CLUSTERING OF ASSIMILATION SCALE-ITEMS
(HIGH ASSIMILATION GROUP)

ITEM POSITION	Assimilation Scale-Items (High Assimilation Stage)	% OF ENDORSEMENT	OPINIONS	ATTITUDES	FEELINGS	ADAPTATION/ACCULTURATION	LANGUAGE	FOOD	CONTACTS/NETWORKS	IDENTITY/LOYALTY
28	Accepting and applying Canadian customs	31				x				
29	Respondents' opinion regarding doing things the Canadian way	29	x							
30	Language most often spoken at home	29					x			
31	Respondents' perception of Canadian Attitudes towards immigrants in general	26		x						
32	Respondents' contacts	25							x	
33	Respondents' opinion on sitting facing the shoes of Arab host	21	x							
34	Respondents' self perception: Canadian or Arab	20								x
35	Respondents' opinion regarding respecting older people	20	x							
36	Food eaten at home	17						x		
37	Supporting Canadian athletic teams against Arab teams	13								x
38	Primary group friendship	12							x	
39	Denouncing and Neglecting Arab customs	11				x				
40	Preferred food	10						x		
41	Supporting a Canadian team against respondents' country of origins' team	2								x

4. The variations of the dynamic journey on the assimilation scale are represented by sharp and sudden drop in the percentages of endorsements at the 19th, 25th and 41st scale positions. These three positions represent three significant departures from the Arab culture on the issues of language, virginity and loyalty respectively. The assimilation path may be described as an irregular, rough, and multi-slope route.

5. To accommodate the three assimilation stages dealt with earlier, the assimilation journey may be described as a multi-stage journey.

6. It is too mechanistic to assume that those making the assimilation journey follow only one and the same highway during the first part of the journey, move to a second during the second part, and then make their last move to a third during the last part of the journey. This deterministic assumption could not be supported by this study. According to Table 6.2, more than one route has been used in every stage. The assimilation stages are heterogeneous, not homogeneous, stages; each stage contains more than one endorsed cluster of assimilation items. In all assimilation stages, the process of transformation takes place along more than one front. Assimilation is a multi-stage multi-frontal process, and most definitely, the assimilation stages are heterogeneous composed of positive, neutral and negative assimilation events.

6.4:3 Unevenness of Assimilation Progression

This investigation has shown that the process of assimilation does not proceed uniformly among individuals and groups. This fact is supported by Table 6.3 from which the following conclusions are drawn:

1. The time needed to reach a given position on the assimilation scale varies among individuals reflecting their unique assimilation circumstances and experiences in the new setting. Since it has been reached by the largest number of respondents, the 20th position on the assimilation scale is used to support this conclusion as shown in Figure 6.1. To reach this assimilation position, the time needed by the fastest respondent is 17 times shorter than the time needed by the slowest respondents. Similar graphic illustrations may be made for most scale positions to enforce this basic characteristic: immigrants as individuals are not equally capable of coping with the new/different information generated in a dynamic behavioural environment.

2. When the rate of assimilation (Column F in Table 6.3) is considered for the three groups of respondents, the reader finds that each group is assimilating at a different speed. The rate of assimilation of Arab-Canadians, transitional Arabs, and Canadian-Arabs follow the ratio of 1:3:4. Respondents occupying the top third of the scale are a little faster than middle scale respondents and at least four times faster than respondents of the bottom third of the scale. The progression pattern shown by the progressive variations in the rate of assimilation supports and strengthens the

TABLE 6-3

VARIABILITY OF ASSIMILATION RATES

A	B	C	D	E	F
Scale Items	Number Of Respondents	Actual length of time needed by respondents to reach scale levels shown in Column A in months	Average Time Needed	Range Of Time Needed	Rate Of Assimilation Assimilation units per month A ÷ D
41					
40					
39					
38	1	41	41	-	.9
37					
36					
35	5	11, 88, 127, 127, 156	101.8	145	.3
34	4	40, 111, 112, 132	98.8	92	.3
33	1	118	118	-	.3
32	3	17, 66, 169	84	152	.4
31	6	17, 67, 118, 118, 155, 270	124	253	.3
30	6	66, 105, 109, 116, 277, 338	168.5	272	.2
29	3	53, 124, 264	147	211	.2
28	3	2, 124, 192	106	190	.3
27	3	51, 145, 168	138	117	.2
26	5	2, 30, 101, 114, 166	82.6	164	.3
25	3	2, 56, 81	46	79	.5
24	6	29, 41, 101, 127, 136, 144	96	115	.3
23	3	39, 76, 254	123	215	.2
22	2	102, 131	116.5	29	.2
21	7	42, 52, 65, 80, 83, 136, 172	90	130	.2
20	9	17, 24, 47, 55, 81, 126, 128, 132, 288	99.7	271	.2
19	4	65, 103, 127, 211	126.5	146	.2
18	4	21, 43, 48, 54	41.5	33	.4
17	2	11, 18	14.5	7	1.2
16	4	7, 24, 30, 55	29	48	.6
15	6	12, 30, 65, 66, 95, 120	64.6	108	.2
14	5	18, 29, 30, 30, 53	32	35	.4
13	5	6, 10, 11, 21, 168	43	162	.3
12	5	1, 8, 18, 18, 45	18	44	.7
11	5	4, 8, 33, 59, 67	34	63	.3
10	2	17, 124	70.5	107	.1
9	4	27, 47, 48, 54	44	27	.2
8	2	45, 71	58	26	.1
7	2	13, 30	21.5	17	.3
6	2	48, 83	65.5	35	.1
5	1	83	83	-	.1
4					
3					
2					
1					

The Nine Respondents (R s) who Reached the 20th Position
on the Assimilation Scale as Shown in Table 6.3.

FIGURE 6.1

VARIABILITY OF ASSIMILATION RATES

progressive accumulative nature of the assimilation scale developed in this dissertation. It has been established earlier that immigrants as individuals vary in their ability to cope with change; the same conclusion applied equally well to immigrants as groups.

3. Using the data in Table 6.3 (Column C), to reach the low, medium, and high level of assimilation the average respondent would need approximately 4 years, 7 years and 9 years respectively. This suggests, at least in general terms, that the move from medium to the high level of assimilation is somewhat easier than the move from the first to the second. Perhaps this is an indication of the cumulative effects of learning.

6.4.4 Nonlinearity of Assimilation Progression

This dissertation does not support the idea of total transformation. According to Table 6.3, no respondent has reached the upper end of the scale; with one exception, the most assimilated group of respondents did not advance beyond the thirty-fifth position on the assimilation scale leaving the top 15 percent of the scale almost unused. This fact is extremely important not only to this investigation but to all assimilation studies. It is impossible for any first generation immigrants to change completely over to the culture of the new land because it is impossible to erase completely earlier cultural learning. This conclusion strengthens the idea that behavioural change is not random. It is an outcome of modifying earlier learned behaviours to correspond to changes in surroundings. The nine respondents who reached the 20th position on the assimilation scale are shown in Figure 6.1.

6.4.5 Summary

Four major conclusions are made in this section. First, the assimilation scale-items are time-sensitive; more time and more energy are needed to reach higher scale-positions; the highest item on the assimilation scale may never be reached in one's life time. Second, the assimilation process is highly dynamic, highly complex and highly heterogeneous; it proceeds on a highly irregular, multi-level and multi-slope network. Third, the assimilation process does not proceed uniformly; similar positions are reached at different speeds and different positions are reached at similar speeds. Fourth, total transformation from 100 percent Arab to 100 percent Canadian is impossible, at least in the case of first generation immigrants.

6.5 FIFTH OBJECTIVE

To identify, classify and discuss the psycho/social/spatial variables affecting the rate of Arab assimilation, acknowledging the impact of the time factor on the variability and heterogeneity of assimilation behaviour.

This assimilation model was applied in Chapter V to examine the process of Arab assimilation in Canada as a function of time. The attention is focused here on the dynamics of assimilation configuration.

6.5.1 Major Assimilation Configurations

The major assimilation configurations are outlined in Table 6.4 and their temporal trends (least-squares lines) are

TABLE 6.4

MAJOR ASSIMILATION AND SPATIAL CONFIGURATION

SCALE	ASSIMILATION LEVEL	DIRECTIONAL ORIENTATION ON THE ASSIMILATION CONTINUUM	SPATIAL CONFIGURATION	MAJOR ATTITUDINAL/BEHAVIOURAL CHARACTERISTICS
ARAB	Low (Arab-Canadians) N = 33	Arab Reference (Isolation Pole)	Negative Trend: Regression	Negative towards self and others. Placing great emphasis on protecting moral standards. Nearness to his ethnic and ideological mix. Attachment and commitment to the Arab issues. Belief that Islam is the best religion in the world. Rejection and avoidance of Canadian food. Preference for larger family units and less freedom for individuals. Arabic is always encouraged. Language of communication at home. Loyalty to the homeland above loyalty to Canada.
	Intermediate (Transitional Arabs) N = 58	Shifting References	Transitional Trend: Progression	Attitudinal/behavioural characteristics of transitional nature. Tendency to compromise on most issues. Mild inclination to the past and cautious orientation to future. Double reference guides assimilation behaviours.
CANADIAN	High (Canadian-Arabs) N = 32	Canadian Reference (Assimilation Pole)	Positive Trend: Regression	Positive towards self and others. Willing to accept other ways of life including Canadian way of life equal to that of homeland. Enjoys the company of culturally different people. Development of positive connectedness with Canada and Canadians. Belief in "diversity in unity"; religion takes different forms, and Islam is one of them. Developing a taste for Canadian food. Appreciation of individuality and freedom. English/French is the dominant language in daily interactions including communication at home. Loyalty to Canada.

shown in Table 6.5 and Figure 6.2. The analysis of questionnaire data provides evidence to conclude that the assimilation configurations are highly dynamic because assimilation is a multi-directional process resulting from variable assimilation behaviour and heterogeneous assimilation stages.

6.5.2 Multidirectionality, Variability and Heterogeneity of Assimilation Behaviour.

Multidirectionality means that all options and all directions are open to all immigrants all the time; Arab immigrants in Canada may (and do) decide to follow the assimilation direction on some issues and the isolation direction on other issues; they may even reverse direction on some issues as time progresses. Variability in assimilation behaviour means that immigrants do not react similarly to the same stimuli originating in the same behavioural environment. There is always more than one way to solve the same problem encountered by different immigrants during the process of transformation. There is always a set of outcomes that result from intercultural interaction between immigrants (individuals and groups) and the host population (individuals and groups). Heterogeneity of assimilation stages means that each assimilation stage is the product of a mixture of assimilation events (intercultural interactions/encounter(s). The low assimilation stage is not associated with only negative centrifugal assimilation events, but also with neutral and positive centripetal events. Equally heterogeneous are the medium and higher assimilation stages. The ideas of multidirectionality, variability and heterogeneity

TABLE 6.5

ASSIMILATION TEMPORAL TRENDS
(STATISTICAL DATA)

Assimilation Level	N	Prediction Equation	Coefficient of Correlation
Low (Arab-Canadians)	33 33	(A) Y = 11.4 - .02x (B) Y = 11.5 - .02x	(A) - .25 (B) - .25
Medium (Transitional)	58 55	(A) Y = 19.7 + .01x (B) Y = 19.0 + .02x	(A) .23 (B) .31
High (Canadian-Arabs)	32 27	(A) Y = 32.7 - .01x (B) Y = 31.9 + .00x	(A) - .25 (B) .03
All Respondents	123 115 108	(A) Y = 16.9 + .05x (B) Y = 15.7 + .07x (C) Y = 14.5 + .08x	(A) .41 (B) .41 (C) .52

(A) All respondents, regardless of length of residence in Canada, are considered.

(B) Respondents living in Canada longer than 15 years are excluded.

(C) Three groups of respondents are excluded:

1. Respondents living in Canada longer than 15 years.

2. Cases of overassimilation (four respondents) located two standard deviations above the regression line Y = 16.9 + .05x (Figure 6.2)

3. Cases of underassimilation (three respondents) located two standard deviations below the regression line Y = 16.9 + .05 (Figure 6.2).

FIGURE 6.2

ASSIMILATION TRENDS *

$Y = 16.9 + .05x$ (1)

$Y = 32.7 - .01x$ (2)

$Y = 19.7 + .01x$ (3)

$Y = 11.4 - .02x$ (4)

(1) All Respondents
(2) Canadian-Arabs ▲
(3) Transitional Arabs ⊙
(4) Arab-Canadians ▢

LENGTH OF TIME
SPENT IN CANADA (MONTH)

ASSIMILATION SCALE
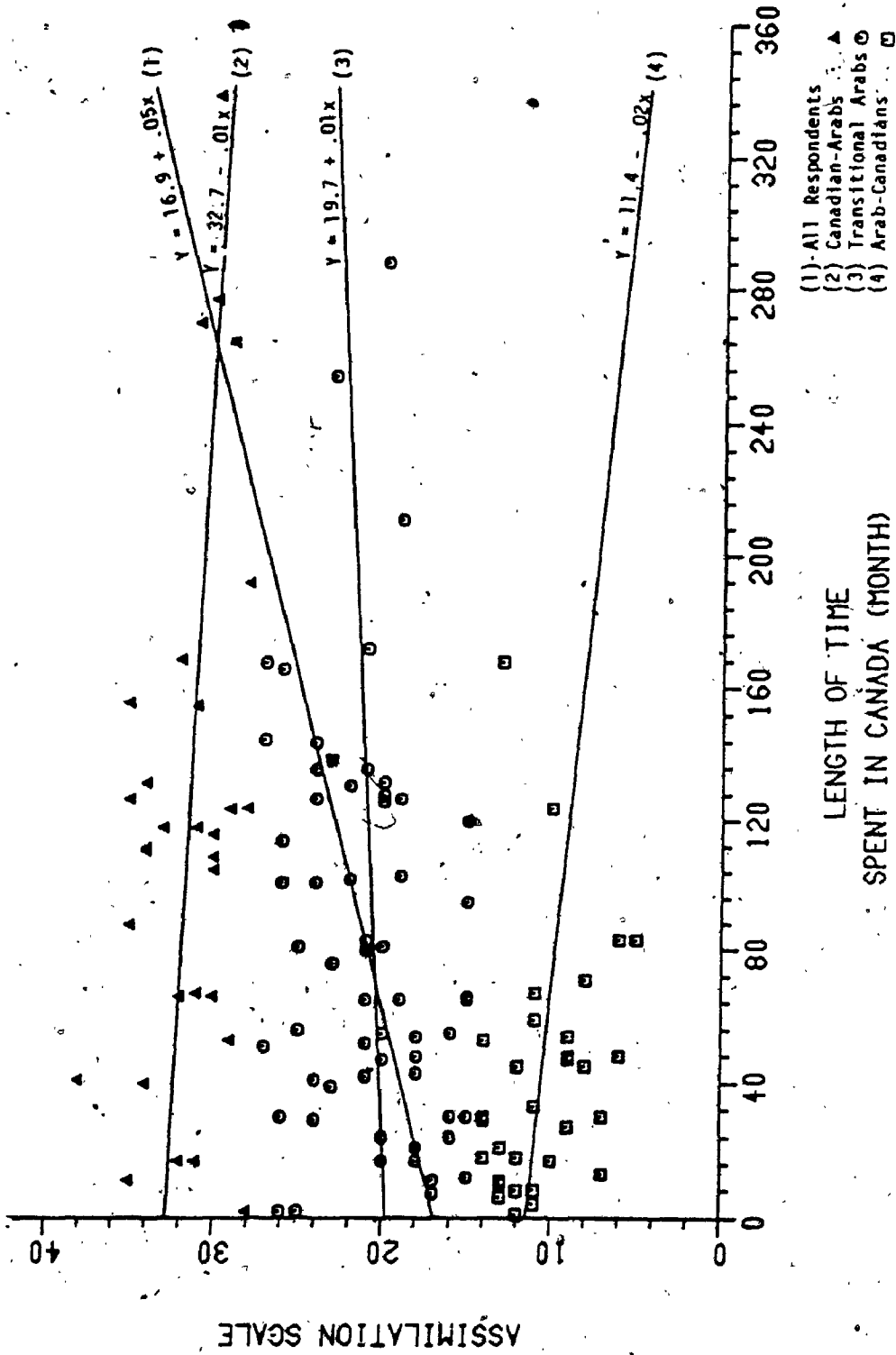
* Assimilation trends for individual respondents cannot be predicted from Figure 6.2.
Assigning attributes of a group to an individual represents a case of ecological fallacy.

supported in this dissertation represent a significant departure from the mechanistic, deterministic earlier models/theories on assimilation.

6.5.3 Dynamics of Assimilation Trends

According to Figure 6.2, two major assimilation trends are depicted: progressive and regressive. The first indicates that the longer Arab immigrants stay in Canada the greater is their level of assimilation; the second describes cases of negative correlation between assimilation levels and length of residence in Canada. Considered as a single group, all respondents followed the progressive path showing a positive correlation. The longer they stay in Canada the more Canadian they become. On the other hand, however, when respondents are grouped according to their level of assimilation, each group displayed a different assimilation trend. Transitional Arabs are progressive but not as progressive as the entire set of respondents. On the other hand, Arab-Canadians and, surprisingly, Canadian-Arabs are regressive. There is a tendency for Arab-Canadians already low on the assimilation scale to become more isolated as time goes on. Canadian-Arabs, already high on the assimilation scale, tend to become less assimilated as they spend longer time in Canada.

The pattern adopted by Arab-Canadians is perhaps due to their resistance to change and their inability to cope with the new complex environment. This is the slowest group; on the average an Arab-Canadian assimilates at one-third to one-fourth of the assimilation

speed of transitional Arabs and Canadian-Arabs respectively. Some
Arab-Canadians assimilate too little too slowly; they represent a
case of under-assimilation. According to Table 6.3, one respondent
reached the fifth position after a period of seven years. Slower
still is another respondent who reached the 13th position after
spending in Canada almost 15 years, at a transformation speed of
less than one scale item per year.

The regressive pattern followed by Canadian-Arabs does not
reflect inability or unwillingness to assimilate; on the contrary,
it confirms cases of over-assimilation where immigrants accepted
too much too fast. According to Table 6.3, one respondent has
reached the 35th position on the assimilation scale in less than
a year! Other cases of over-assimilation may be found in Table 6.3
at the 25th, 16th and 28th position where respondents reached those
positions within only two months of residence in Canada. The fast-
est respondent in the group of Canadian-Arabs is nine times faster
than the average respondent of the low assimilation group. The
regressive trend may express the fact that Canadian-Arabs have the
chance to experience and evaluate the two cultures and then decide
to change directions towards more realistic assimilation levels,
levels they can cope with comfortably. The regressive pattern of
Canadian-Arabs enforces the conclusion made earlier about the
existence of a few critical points beyond which only determined
immigrants dare to venture.

6.5.4   Configurations of under-and-over Assimilation

No complete discussion of assimilation configuration is

possible without dealing with the extreme configurations of under-assimilation and over-assimilation. According to Figure 6.2, the under assimilation configuration is represented by three respond-ents located at least two standard deviations below the regression line; the over-assimilation configuration, by four respondents located at least two standard deviations above the regression line.

The extreme configuration, according to Table 6.6, is explain-able by four variables: sex, marital status, religion and subject-ion to discrimination. With respect to these four variables, the under-assimilation configuration contains a homogeneous group of married Muslim females who have experienced discrimination in Canada. With respect to the same four variables, the over-assimilation group are equally a homogeneous group of single Christian males who ex-perienced no discrimination in Canada. Further, analysis has shown that three of these four variables affect significantly the process of Arabs assimilation in Canada; the statistical relationships between rate of assimilation and these variables are given in Tables 52, 53 and 54 in Appendix III.

6.5.5. Absolute and Relative Configurations

The ideas of assimilation variability, heterogeneity, and multidirectionality are closely linked to the type of assimilation configurations. There are two types of assimilation configurations: absolute and relative. Absolute configurations result from following one assimilation direction all the time on all issues. The psycho-social spatial configuration of absolute isolation is created when

TABLE 6-6

ANALYSIS OF EXTREME CONFIGURATIONS

A. SEX

	Under assimilation		Over assimilation	
	N	%	N	%
Male	-	-	4	100
Female	3	100	-	-
Total	3	100%	4	100%

B. MARITAL STATUS

	Under assimilation		Over assimilation	
	N	%	N	%
Married	3	100	-	-
Single	-	-	4	100
Total	3	100%	4	100%

C. RELIGION

	Under assimilation		Over assimilation	
	N	%	N	%
Muslim	3	100	-	-
Christian	-	-	4	100
Total	3	100%	4	100%

D. DISCRIMINATION

	Under assimilation		Over assimilation	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	3	100	-	-
No	-	-	4	100
Total	3	100	4	100

all respondents progress toward the Arab pole all the time. The psychosocial spatial configuration of absolute assimilation occurs when respondents proceed always toward the Canadian pole. When immigrants decide to stay always equidistant from both poles the psychosocial spatial configuration of transition is created.

Relative configurations allow for multidirectionality in assimilation. Based on this relative assumption, immigrants as individuals and groups are not expected to move always in the same direction all the time on all issues. They may move in the Canadian direction on some issues and in the Arab direction on other issues. The characteristic of dynamic multidirectionality and relative configuration have enforced themselves throughout this dissertation. At each of the three assimilation levels (low, medium, high), it was found that the majority of each group (Arab-Canadians, transitional-Arabs, and Canadian-Arabs) did not proceed in the same direction on all occasions.

With reference to Table 6.7, not all Arab-Canadians endorsed the Arab side of the scale on all issues/questions all the time. The majority of Arab-Canadians have endorsed the Arab-side, transitional region and the Canadian side of the assimilation scale 45 percent, 36 percent and 18 percent of the time respectively. This group has moved simultaneously in three different directions, but their assimilation configurations are mainly Arab-oriented. Variability, differentiation and multidirectionality are acknowledged within the framework of assimilation.

Not all transitional Arabs endorsed the middle ground (the

TABLE 6-7

MULTIDIRECTIONALITY OF ASSIMILATION BEHAVIOUR

N.	SELECTED ATTITUDINAL/BEHAVIOURAL CHARACTERISTICS	Low A	Low M	Low C	Medium A	Medium M	Medium C	High A	High M	High C
1	In what language do you prefer your children speak to you	x								x
2	My children have contacts with		x							x
3	I prefer my children to have contacts with		x							x
4	Language most often spoken at home				x		x			x
5	What kind of food do you eat at home	x				x				x
6	What kind of food do you prefer to eat at home	x			x					x
7	How friendly are the Canadian people you deal with	x			x		x		x	
8	How friendly are the people in your neighbourhood			x	x		x			x
9	What is your attitude toward Canadians	x		x			x			x
10	What do you think is the attitude of Canadians toward you						x			x
11	How helpful do you think the Gov. officials are to Arabs in Canada			x			x	x		
12	For all the contacts you have, all your contacts with						x			x
13	My friends are	x	x		x					x
14	What is the general attitude of people in the street toward immigrants in general	x	x		x					x
15	What do you consider yourself in Canada	x			x					x
16	Acceptance in the community in which you live	x			x	x				x
17	In case of war would you defend Canada						x			x
18	Adaptation Scale		x							x
19	Loyalty Scale		x							x
20	Evaluation of immigration experience		x	x			x			x
21	Language used in answering the questionnaire	x					x			x
22	Perceived Similarity Index		x			x	x			x
	Frequency of endorsement	10	8	4	8	3	11	1	1	20

Key: A - Arab side of the assimilation scale
  M - Middle section of assimilation scale
  C - Canadian side of assimilation scale
  X - The scale side/section endorsed by the majority

half and half category) on all questions all the time. The
majority of transitional Arabs have endorsed the Canadian side of
the scale 50 percent of the time, the Arab side 36 percent of the
time and the transitional region only 14 percent of the time. If
the transitional Arabs are purely transitional, they would have
endorsed the middle region of the scale, but they haven't. The
transitional region has been endorsed by only 14 percent. Thus,
the transitional Arabs could not be realistically described as
those holding the half-and-half position. They could be examined
only in the context of directional orientation as a bi-polar
group, a bi-reference group that drifts back and forth between
the Arab and Canadian poles. Shifting references as an expression
of dynamic equilibrium are a basic characteristic of the transitional
Arabs and the transitional configurations. This group has also gone,
simultaneously in three different directions but their assimilation
configurations are Canadian-oriented. Variability, differentiation
and multidirectionality are enforced here once again.

And finally not all Canadian-Arabs endorsed the Canadian side
on each question all the time. The majority of Canadian Arabs have
overwhelmingly endorsed the Canadian side of the assimilation scale
91 percent of the time underscoring the influence of the assimilation
pole on this group. But this fact should not overshadow the equally
important observation that the majority of this group went Arab and
transitional 5 percent of the time each. Even at this high level
of assimilation, variability, differentiation and multidirectionality
have enforced themselves for the third time.

6.5.6 Configurational Patterns

This dissertation supports the concept of relative not ϕ absolute assimilation acknowledging the tendency to simultaneously assimilate/differentiate and separate/isolate producing the highly complex configurational patterns. Three configurational patterns are shown in Figure 6.3. The horizontal axis of these patterns represents a selection of attitudinal/behavioural characteristics as outlined in Table 6.7. The vertical axis is based on three points on the assimilation continuum: low, medium and high.

6.5.7 A surface of Dynamic Assimilation Configurations

But describing the assimilation process by only three configurational patterns is in fact an oversimplification of the assimilation reality. Since the assimilation configurational patterns are based on a <u>continuum</u> of assimilation and a <u>continuum</u> of attitudinal/behavioural characteristics, it follows that the intersection of these two continua <u>must</u> result in an infinity of configurations and configurational patterns. There is a surface of psychosocial spatial assimilation configurations as shown in Figure 6.4. The model in its final form (Section 6.6) integrates this "new" understanding.

6.5.8 Summary

This section identified the major assimilation configurations which are rooted in the Arab Canadian continuum and definable in psychosocial and spatial terms. The dynamic characteristics of the assimilation process have been underscored; assimilation is a
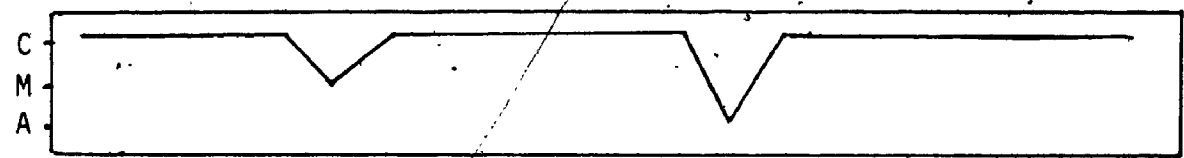
High Assimilation Group   (Canadian-Arabs)
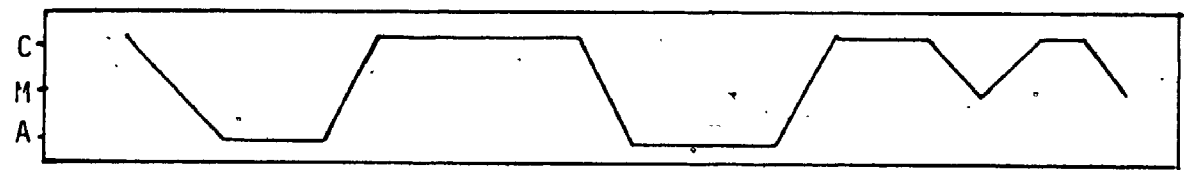
Medium Assimilation Group   (Transitional Arabs)
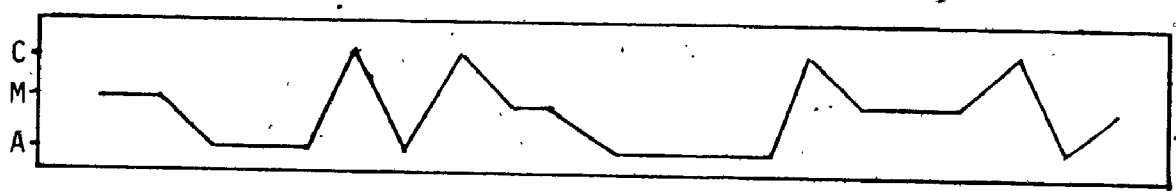
Low Assimilation Group   (Arab-Canadians)

Key:

C	Canadian Side of the Assimilation Scale
M	Middle Section of the Assimilation Scale
A	Arab Side of the Assimilation Scale

FIGURE 6.3

ASSIMILATION CONFIGURATIONAL PATTERNS

Arab-Canadian Continuum

Attitudinal/Behavioural Characteristics
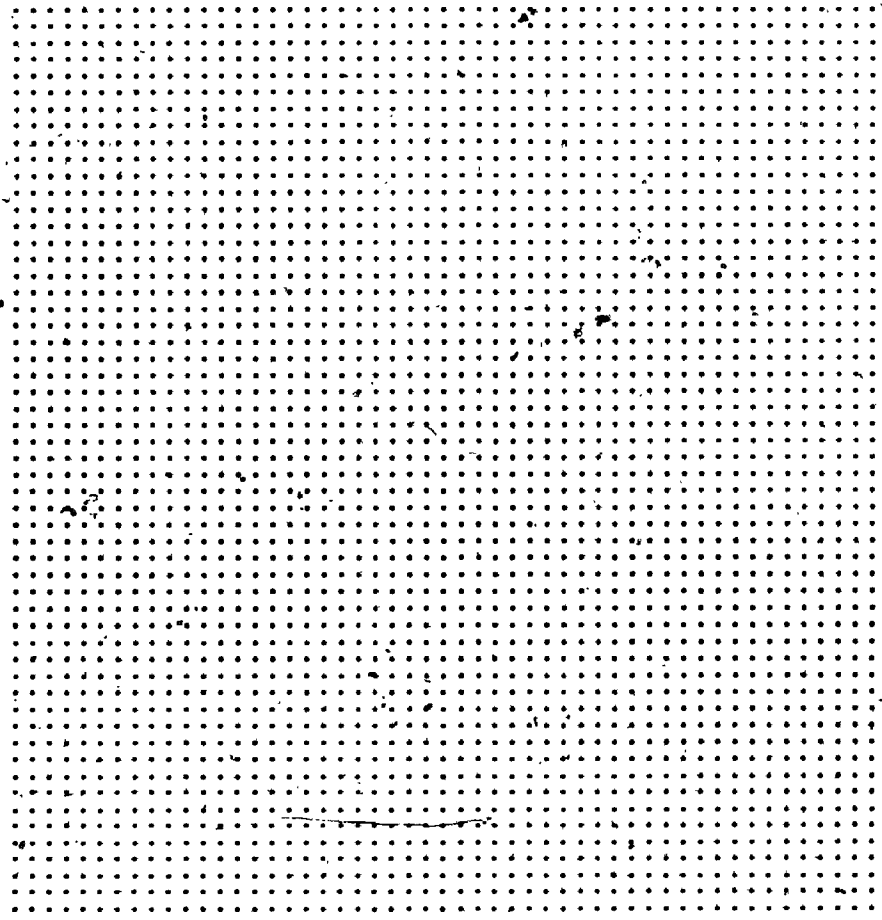
FIGURE 6.4

THE SURFACE OF ASSIMILATION

CONFIGURATIONS

multidirectional, highly heterogeneous and highly variable process.

6.6 A MOLECULAR ASSIMILATION MODEL

The molecular assimilation model as shown in Figure 6.5
integrates the author's earlier conceptualization on assimilation
(Figure 3.1) and the new ideas gained from the empirical invest-
igations. Two major ideas were integrated in the model: assimilation
molecularity and assimilation dynamism.

Assimilation molecularity is recognized by discovering the assim-
ilation molecules: assimilation events. They are the interacting
assimilation subsystems that combine into infinity of dynamic com-
binations. At the surface of the assimilation process different com-
binations are labelled by different writers differently: adjustment,
internalization, acculturation, integration, absorption, diffusion,
dispersion...etc. Since there is an infinity of these dynamic com-
binations, there cannot be enough names to describe given combinations
of intercultural events or specific parts of the assimilation process;
they fail to describe the assimilation process adequately. Using the
concept of molecularity of assimilation a new, comprehensive and
simple definition is proposed: Assimilation is the outcome of the
aggregate effects of dynamic intercultural events.

Assimilation dynamism is underscored by incorporating the idea
of "a surface of dynamic configurations". Assimilation dynamism is
the rule that governs assimilation progression, behaviour, stages,
and configurations. Assimilation dynamism means that assimilation
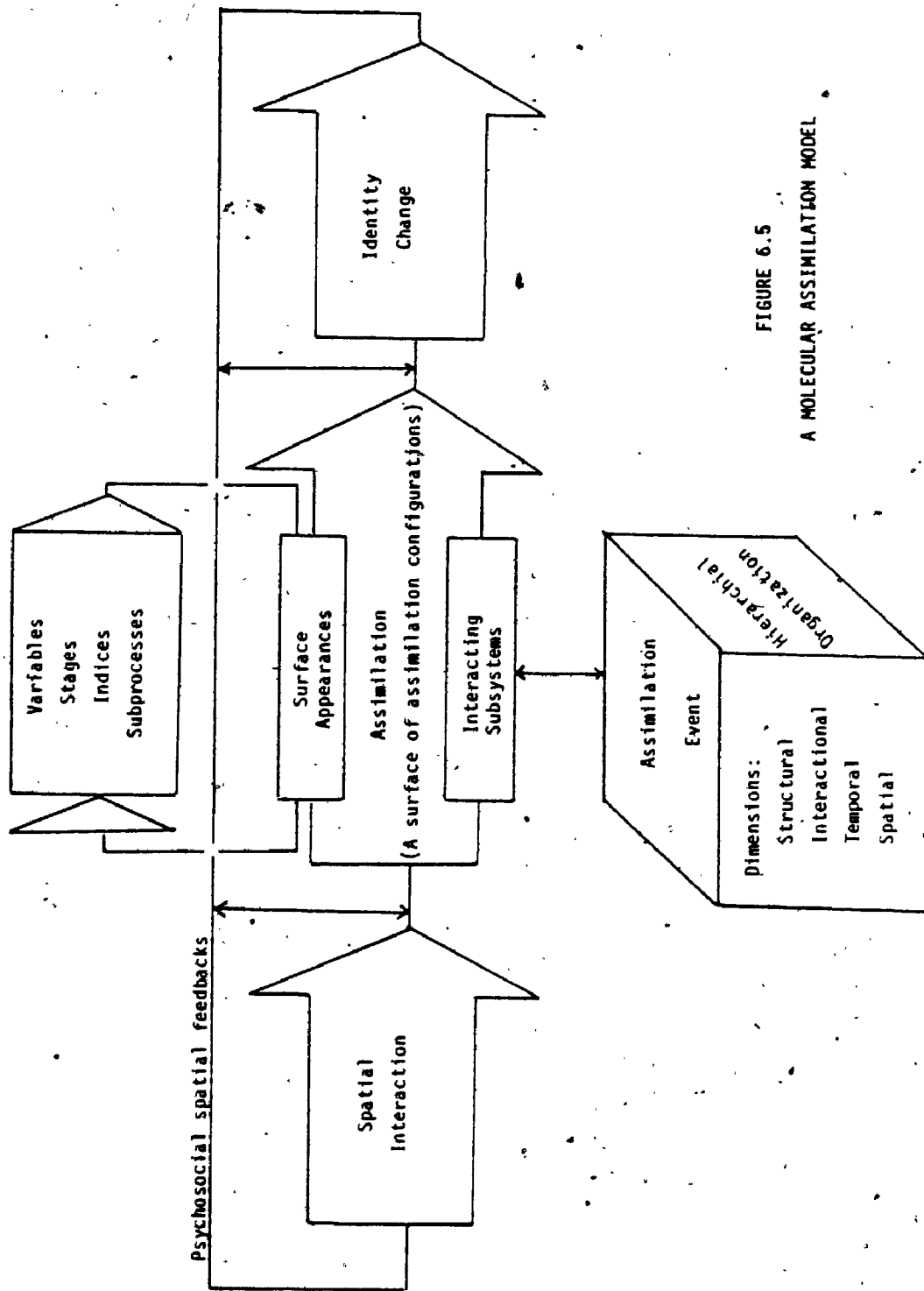
FIGURE 6.5

A MOLECULAR ASSIMILATION MODEL

progression is time-sensitive, uneven, and non linear. It means

that assimilation behaviour is variable and multidirectional.

Assimilation dynamism means that assimilation stages are heter-

ogeneous; each stage consists of dissimilar events: negative,

neutral and positive. It means that the assimilation configurations

are relative not absolute. Assimilation dynamism means also multi-

cyclic operations through psychosocial spatial feedbacks within the

framework of continuity.

6.7 LIMITATIONS

The results of this dissertation should be interpreted with

caution because of at least six limitations.

First, it was impossible to draw a representative sample because

it was impossible to define the "universe" of Arab population in

Canada. From a purely statistical viewpoint, it may be correctly

argued that the results of this investigation are applicable only

to the group of 4000 Arab persons from whom the sample was randomly

drawn.

Second, the data is biased toward only two Arab groups:

Egyptians (73 percent) and Lebanese (12 percent). It should be noted

that these two groups of Arab people represent the liberal attitudes

in the Arab world. Had the data included respondents from conserv-

ative Arab countries, the composition of the assimilation scale would

have been, perhaps, a little different.

Third, most of the processed questionnaires originated mainly

in two provinces: Ontario (68 percent).and Quebec (19 percent).
That is why the effect of regional differences on assimilation could
not be examined.

Fourth, since the data was collected from Arab population
residing mainly in Toronto and Montreal, it was not possible to
compare the urban with rural assimilation configurations. For the
same reason, it was not possible to examine the effect of urban
hierarchy on the process of psychosocial spatial transformations
of the Arab population into this culture/country.

Fifth, the social timespatial dimension of assimilation was
examined using grouped data. For this reason, intermediate values
have to be generated by graphic interpolation. The results must
be considered, therefore, as broad generalizations rather than
as exact facts.

Sixth, the examination of the process of assimilation as a
function of time, did not extend beyond fifteen years of residency
in Canada. Due to this narrow temporal base of the data, it was
not possible to investigate empirically the assimilation process as
intergenerational transformation.

6.8 SUMMARY

In spite of the limitations outlined above, this dissertation
has attempted to model the process of assimilation in general and
Arab transformation into the Canadian society in particular. Because
of its molecular and dynamic characteristics, the model shifts

attention from surface appearances (the consequences) to the hidden interacting subsystems: assimilation events ("molecular" processes).

Identity has been presented as a psychosocial spatial concept. The psychosocial aspects of human behaviour cannot be separated from its spatial aspects: The model underscores the spatial tendencies of assimilation behaviour: nearness, separateness and connectedness. The dynamic movement along the assimilation continuum is expressed internally in the form of cognitive reorganization, socially in the form of cultural evolution and differentiation and spatially in the form of dynamic spatial configurations rooted in the spatial tendencies of nearness, sparateness and connectedness.

Future assimilation investigations may focus on the structural, interactional, temporal, spatial and hierarchial dimensions of the assimilation events. An interdisciplinary team of psychologists, sociologists and geographers may work together to carry out laboratory investigations on the assimilation event. This should be an interesting and rewarding line of inquiry.

The implications of this study will become progressively important as distances between people become progressively shorter in a progressively shrinking world. If loving each other is a remote possibility, the least people can do is to learn to interact positively with each other to achieve peace between individuals, groups and nations.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Mohammed Saleh,
981 Sunset Blvd.,
WOODSTOCK, Ontario.
N4S 8C6

December 20, 1977.

Dear Sir or Madam:

I am writing to you in the hope
that you will assist me in completing
a private study in the field of immi-
gration. This survey is concerned
with the Arabs and their children
who are at least 16 years of age.
The study is a part of graduate prog-
ramme leading to the degree of Ph. D.
in Geography.

I am aware of the fact that you
are busy but I am confident that you
will spare an hour of your time to
answer my questionnaire. My academic
future depends on the completion of
the questionnaire you are now holding.
Without your help I will never graduate,
it is as simple as this.

Please answer each question by
circling the number of the correct
answer. If you are not sure of an
answer to any given question, don't
skip that question but answer it any-
way to the best of your knowledge
Your replies will be treated as
strictly confidential and the data
will be tabulated in such a way that
your individual identity will be
completely concealed. I would
appreciate it if you would complete
the questionnaire today. I am enclos-
ing an envelope for your convenience.

ج. ديسمبر ١٩٧٧

الى الاخوة والاخوات العرب في كندا
اني اكتب لكم آملاً في أن
تساعدون في اكمال دراستي عن موضوع
الهجرة . ان بحثي يتركز على العرب ،
دلى كل من يحمل منهم أصل عربي من شرط
اعليه من تبلغ الدائية . ان هذا البحث
يتم اعداده للحصول على درجة الدكتوراه في
الجغرافية الشرقية .

رغم علمي بضيقم الوقت للجميع الا أنني
اطمع في الحصول على ساعة واحدة من وقتك
لتجيب على اسئلة المرفقة . ان مستقبلي
العلمي يتعلم بدرجة بعونك بي .

أرجو اجابة كل سؤال بوضع دائرة
حول رقم الاجابة السليمة في نظرك . اذا
حاولة اجابة كل سؤال على قدر ما
تستطيع . اني أضمن سرية الاجابة .
ان الجداول في الصورة النهائية سوف
تعد بالطريقة التي لا تضح معها
الافراد و تبلغ بنقاط الصورة
الاجمالية نقط . ارفق طيه ظرف
طوابع باسمي تضمنه . و تلقيت
البريد بورقة لطبه البريد ، ومتشكراً .

If you have any questions, please
don't hesitate to write or call (519)
539-4786. Thank you very much for
your co-operation. May I take this
opportunity to wish you a Happy New
Year.

Yours very truly,

Mohammed Saleh.

في حالة الرغبة ٢١٢ ستفاد
أرجوك الاتصال بي على العنوان أو ٥٢٥
أو اتصل بي تليفونيا (٥٢٩)
٥٢٩ - ٤٧٨٦ ، و تعصيا نع

باك محمد سعيد

المخلص

محمد صالح

1. a) Today's Date

   _____
   day   month   year

١ (أ)تاريخ اليوم

1. b) What city do you live in?

   _____

ب) في أي مدينة تسكن حالياً ؟

2. What province do you live in?

   _____

   * If you live in Quebec don't
     answer questions #14, 34, 49,
     54

   * If you live outside Quebec don't
     answer questions #15, 35, 50, 55.

٢، في أي مقاطعة تقيم حالياً _____
اذا الحانت اقامتك في كوبك لا جيب
على الاسئلة رقم ١٤و ٣٤و ٤٩و ٥٤
اذا احنت اقامتك خارج كوبك
فلا جيب على الاسئلة رقم ١٥و ٣٥و
٥٠و ٥٥.

3. Sex   1. Male
         2. Female

٣. الجنس
أ. ذكر
ب. أنثى

4. What is your legal situation in
   Canada
   1. Canadian by birth
   2. Naturalized Canadian
   3. Landed Immigrant
   4. Work Permit
   5. Student Visa
   6. Others (   )

   * If you circled item 1 or 4 or 5
   or 6 don't answer question #97.

٤. ماهو وضعك القانوني كندا؟
أ. كنت بالميلاد
ب. كندي بمقتضى الدة القانونية
للهجرة
ج. مهاجر
د. تصريح عمل
ه. تصريح دخلة
و. أوضاع أخرى
O. الوظيفة

5. Occupation _____

6. Country of Birth _____

   *If born in Canada don't answer
   questions #10, 20, 24, 25, 26.

٦. دولة الميلاد

7. What is your country of origin?

   _____

   (Your country of origin is the country
   where you used to live permanently
   before coming to Canada or the country
   of parents or grandparents.)
   * If your country of origin is Canada
   don't answer questions #29, 30, 31,
   32, 33, 72, 73.

٧. ماهي دولتك الاصلية
الدولة الاصلية هي الدولة التي كنت
تقيم بها بصفة دائمة قبل وصولك
كندا، أو هي دولة ميلاد الآباء

8. Educational level
   1. Less than Grade 9
   2. Grade 9 - 12
   3. Some university or college
   4. University or college degree
   5. Post-graduate degree

٨ . المستوى التعليمي
١ . أقل من السنة التاسعة
٢ . ٩ - ١٢
٣ . بعض الدراسة الجامعية
٤ . شهادة جامعية
٥ . دراسات عليا

9. How old are you?
   1. Less than 20
   2. 20 - 29
   3. 30 - 39
   4. 40 - 49
   5. 50 and over.

٩ . ما عمرك؟
١ . أقل من ٢٠
٢ . ٢٠ - ٢٩
٣ . ٣٠ - ٣٩
٤ . ٤٠ - ٤٩
٥ . ٥٠ وأكثر

10. How old were you when you arrived
    in Canada?
    1. Less than 5
    2. 5 - 9
    3. 10 - 14
    4. 15 - 19
    5. 20 - 24
    6. 25 - 29
    7. 30 - 34
    8. 35 - 39
    9. 40 and over.

١٠ . كم طاب عمرك عندما وصلت لكندا
١ . أقل من ٥
٢ . ٥ - ٩
٣ . ١٠ - ١٤
٤ . ١٥ - ١٩
٥ . ٢٠ - ٢٤
٦ . ٢٥ - ٢٩
٧ . ٣٠ - ٣٤
٨ . ٣٥ - ٣٩
٩ . ٤٠ وأكثر

11. Do you have children?
    1. Yes
    2. No
    *If you don't have children don't
    answer questions #12, 13, 14, 15,
    16, 17.

١١ . هل عندك أولاد
١ . نعم
٢ . لا
اذا لم يكن عندك أولاد لا تجيب
على الأسئلة رقم من ١٢
إلى ١٧ .

12. a) Your children (if you have more than 7 children add a separate
    sheet)

١٢ (٢) أسماء الجدول

	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Country of Birth	Country of Residence
First					
Second					
Third					
Fourth					
Fifth					
Sixth					
Seventh					

12. b) Do you have children living
       in Canada at present?
       1. Yes
       2. No (skip 13, 14, 15, 16,
          & 17).

١٢ ب) هل عندك أي طفل
يقيم كندا ؟
ا. نعم
ج. لا

13. Are you worried about the future
    of your children in Canada?
    1. Yes
    2. No

١٣. هل أنت قلق على مستقبل
أولادك كندا ؟
ا. نعم
ج. لا

14. In what language do you prefer your
    children to speak to you?
    1. Only English
    2. More English than Arabic
    3. Half and half
    4. More Arabic than English
    5. Only Arabic

١٤. ما هي اللغة التي يتكلمها
لك أولادك ؟
ا. الانكليزي فقط
ج. الانكليزي أكثر من عربي
٤. النصف انكليزي والنصف عربي
٤. عربي أكثر من الانكليزي
٥. عربي فقط

15. In what language do you prefer
    your children to speak to you?
    1. French only
    2. More French than Arabic
    3. Half and half
    4. More Arabic than French
    5. Arabic only

١٥. ما هي اللغة التي تفضل
انت يتكلمها لك أولادك ؟
ا. فرنسي فقط
ج. فرنسي أكثر من عربي
٤. النصف فرنسي والنصف عربي
٤. عربي أكثر من فرنسي
٥. عربي فقط

16. My children have contacts with -
    1. Only Canadian children
    2. Canadian children and some
       Arabs
    3. Half and half
    4. More Arabs than Canadians
    5. Only Arab children

١٦. اما أولادي لهم علاقات مع
ا. أطفال كنديين فقط
ج. أطفال كنديين أكثر من عرب
٤. نصف نصف
٤. أطفال عرب أكثر من كنديين
٥. أطفال عرب فقط

17. I prefer my children to have
    contacts with -
    1. Only Canadian children
    2. More Canadian children and
       some Arabs
    3. Half and half
    4. More Arabs and some Canadians
    5. Only Arab children

١٧. أفضل ان يكون لأولادي علاقة مع
ا. أطفال كنديين فقط
ج. أطفال كنديين أكثر من عرب
٤. نصف نصف
٤. أطفال عرب أكثر من كنديين
٥. أطفال عرب فقط

18. Would you like your children to
    grow up as Canadians?
    1. Yes
    2. No.

١٨. هل ترغب ان يكونوا أولادك
مثل الكنديين
ا. نعم
ج. لا

19. Marital Status
       1. Married
       2. Not married
       * If you are not married don't
          answer questions #20, 21, 22, 23,
          76, 78.

١٩. حالتك الاجتماعية
ا. تزوج ٠٠ غير متزوج
اذا كنت غير متزوج لا تجيب
على ٢٠ ، ٢١ ، ٢٢ ، ٢٣ ، ٧٦
و ٧٨ .

20. Did you marry before or after
     coming to Canada?
       1. Before
       2. After

٢٠. هل تزوجت قبل أو بعد
وصولك لكندا؟
ا. قبل وصولي ٢. بعد وصولي

21. Who are you married to?
       1. A person born in Canada
       2. A person born in an Arab
          country
       3. A person born in another
          country.

٢١. هل أنت متزوج لـ
ا. شخص مولود بكندا
٢. شخص مولود بـ بلد عربية
٣. شخص مولود ببلد أخرى (غير عربية)

22. Does your spouse live in Canada
a)   at present?
       1. Yes
       2. No. (skip 22b, 76, and 78)

٢٢. أ) هل زوجتك او زوجك
يعيش حالياً بكندا؟
ا. نعم ٢. لا

22. What do you consider your spouse
b)   in Canada?
       1. An Arab
       2. More Arab than Canadian
       3. Half and half
       4. More Canadian than Arab
       5. A Canadian

ب) كيف تصنف زوجتك
أو زوجك بكندا؟
ا. عربي
٢. عربي أكثر من كندي
٣. نص بنص
٤. كندي أكثر من عربي
٥. كندي

23. What is the mother tongue of your
     spouse?
     (A mother tongue is the language
     a person learned in childhood and
     still speaks and understands.)
       1. Arabic
       2. Other language (specify)
     _____

٢٣. ما هي اللغة التي نشأت لا زوجتك
أو زوجك؟
ا. عربي
٢. لغة أخرى (   )

24. When did you arrive in Canada?
       Month _____
       Year _____

٢٤. متى وصلت لكندا؟
شهر _____
عام _____

25. At the time of arrival how
satisfied were you with Canada?
    1. Very satisfied
    2. Satisfied
    3. Dissatisfied
    4. Very dissatisfied

٢٥. عندوصولك لكندا كيف كانت
درجة رضائك كانت :
١. راضٍ جداً   ٢. راض
٤. غير راضٍ   ٣. غير راضٍ للمرة

26. Has your satisfaction increased
or decreased since you came to
Canada?
    1. Increased
    2. No change
    3. Decreased

٢٦. هل حصل تغير في درجة رضاك
منذ وصولك ؟
١. رضائي زاد
٣. رضائي لم يتغير   ٢. رضائي نقص

27. At present do you feel at home
in Canada?
    1. Yes
    2. No

٢٧. هل تشعر في الوقت الحاضر
انه بلدك ؟
١. نعم   ٢. لا

28. At present do you intend to stay
in Canada for the rest of your
life?
    1. Yes
    2. No

٢٨. هل تنوي حالياً ان
تقضي بقية حياتك بكندا ؟
١. نعم   ٢. لا

29. How often do you correspond
(letters, telephone calls...)
with relatives or friends in
your country of origin?
    1. Regular
    2. Occasionally
    3. Seldom
    4. Never

٢٩. كيف تصف اتصالاتك بأقاربك
واصدقائك في بلدك او خلية ؟
١. بانتظام   ٣. احياناً
٤. نادراً   ٢. بعضاً

30. Has the frequency of corres-
pondence been changed since
you came to Canada?
    1. Increased
    2. No change
    3. Decreased

٣٠. هل كثرة اتصالاتك بالاهل
والاصدقاء في بلدك او خلية
مرور الوقت ؟
١. زادت   ٣. لم تتغير   ٢. نقصت

31. Did you visit your country of
origin after you came to Canada?
    1. Yes
    2. No (skip 32, 33)

٣١. هل زرت بلدك او خلية
بعد وصولك لكندا ؟
١. نعم
٢. لا (لا تجب على ٣٢ و ٣٣)

٢٢. أنظر الجدول المقابل

32. Your visits to your country of origin -

	Year	How Long
First Visit		
Second		
Third		
Fourth		
Fifth		
Sixth		
Seventh		
Eighth		
Ninth		
Tenth		

33. When you came to Canada after the last visit, had your appreciation of Canada increased or decreased?
    1. Increased
    2. No change

٢٢. بعد عودتك كندا بعد الزيارة الأخيرة هل هذت تقدر تقديرك كندا ؟

١ زياد ٠ ٢ تغيير ٣ نقص

34. Language most often spoken at home. (If you live alone circle the language most often spoken in an average day.)
    1. Only English
    2. More English than Arabic
    3. Half and half
    4. More Arabic than English
    5. Only Arabic

٢٤. ماهي لغة التي طب تندرسه
١ انجليزية فقط
٢ انجليزية أكثر من عربي
٣ نص بنص
٤ عربي أكثر من انجليزية
٥ عربي فقط

35. Language most often spoken at home. (If you live along circle the language most often spoken in an average day.)
    1. French only
    2. More French than Arabic
    3. Half and half
    4. More Arabic than French
    5. Only Arabic

٢٥. ماهي لغة التي طب تندرسه
١ فرنسي فقط
٢ فرنسي أكثر من عربي
٣ نص بنص
٤ عربي أكثر من فرنسي
٥ عربي فقط

36. What is your mother tongue?
    1. Arabic
    2. English
    3. French
    4. Other (please specify)

    _____

٢٦. ما هي اللغة التي نشأت عليها؟
١. عربي   ٢. انجليزي
٢. فرنسي   ٤. لغة أخرى

37. In talking with Canadians, how
    difficult is it to understand them?
    1. No difficulty
    2. Little difficulty
    3. Great difficulty

٢٧. عندما أتحدث مع الكنديين
١. أفهمهم لا
١. بصعوبة صغيرة
٢. بصعوبة قليلة
٤. بصعوبة كبيرة

38. When you talk with Canadians, how
    difficult is it to make them
    understand you?
    1. No difficulty
    2. Little difficulty
    3. Great difficulty

٢٨. عندما أتحدث مع الكنديين أستطيع
أن أجعلهم يفهمون
١. بدون صعوبة
٢. بصعوبة قليلة ٤. بصعوبة كبيرة

39. Your Religion -
    1. Christian (skip 41)
    2. Muslim (skip 40)
    3. Other religion (skip 40, 41)
    4. No religion (skip 40, 41, 42)

٢٩. ديانتك
١. مسيحي (لا تجب على ٤١)
٢. مسلم (لا تجب على ٤٠)
٣. دين آخر
٤. بدون دين

40. A religious Christian is someone
    who believes in God, goes to Mass
    regularly and says some prayers
    daily. How religious are you?
    1. Very religious
    2. Religious
    3. Half and half
    4. Not religious
    5. Not religious at all

٤٠. المسيحي المتدين هو الشخص الذي
يعتقد بوجود الرب ويذهب للكنيسة
بانتظام ويقيم بعض الصلوات يوميا.
كيف تصف درجة تدينك؟
١. متدين جدا ٢. متدين
٣. نصف ونصف ٤. غير متدين
٥. غير متدين اطلاقا

41. A religious Muslim is someone who
    observes the five pillars of Islam:
    repeated saying of the basic creed,
    frequent prayers, a month of fast-
    ing, almsgiving, and pilgrimage to
    Mecca if able. How religious are you?
    1. Very religious
    2. Religious
    3. Half and half
    4. Not religious
    5. Not religious at all

٤١. المسلم المتدين هو الشخص الذي
يقيم اعمدة الاسلام الخمس: الصلاة
والصوم والزكاة والشهادة والحج لمن
استطاع اليه سبيلا. كيف
تصف درجة تدينك؟
١. متدين جدا ٢. متدين
٣. نصف ونصف ٤. غير متدين
٥. غير متدين اطلاقا

42. Has the practice of your
    religion become better or worse
    since coming to Canada?
    1. Better
    2. No change
    3. Worse

٤٢. هل من شتت تمرسة ماريستك لديانتك
منذ وصولك لكندا؟
ا. زارت إرتفعت
ح. لم تتغير
د. قلت أو ترهورت

43. How many passports do you carry?
    1. One passport only
    2. More than one
    * If you carry one passport
    only don't answer question
    #44

٤٣. كم عدد جوازات السفر
التى تحملا
ا. واحد   ح. أكثر راحد

44. What passport would you prefer
    to use to enter your country
    of origin in the future?
    1. An Arabic passport
    2. A Canadian passport
    3. Other

٤٤. ما هو جواز الفرال تفضل
ا. تستعمله لدخول بلدك الأصلي
المستقبل
ا. جوازعربى   ح. جوازكندى   د. جوازآخر

45. Do you feel that naturalization
    is only a formality or does it
    really involve a change of
    loyalty from the old country to
    the new country?
    1. Only a formality
    2. Some change in loyalty
    3. A lot of change in loyalty.

٤٥. هل تعتقدان الحصول على جنسية
الكنية يلعب على تغير الولاء ؟
هو مجرد تعبير
ا. مجرد تعبير
ح. يكون الولاء بسيط التغير
د. يكون الولاء لشديد التغير

46. What kind of food do you eat
    at home?
    1. All Canadian
    2. Mostly Canadian but
       occasionally Arabian
    3. About half and half
    4. Nearly all Arabian and
       some Canadian foot
    5. All Arabian

٤٦. ماهو نوع الطعام الذى تتناوله
فى منزله؟
ا. الكل عربى
ح. معظم الطعام عربى ح بعض كندى
د. نصف بنصف
ه. معظم الطعام كندى ح بعض عربى
و. الكل كندى

47. What kind of food do you really
    prefer?
    1. All Canadian
    2. Mostly Canadian but
       occasionally Arabian
    3. About half and half
    4. Nearly all Arabian and some
       Canadian food
    5. All Arabian

٤٧. ماهو نوع الطعام الذى تفضل
ا. تتناوله فى منزلك
ا. الكل عربى
ح. معظم الطعام عربى ح بعض كندى
د. نصف بنصف
ه. معظم الطعام كندى ح بعض عربى
و. الكل كندى

48. How friendly are the Canadian people you deal with?
   1. Friendly
   2. More friendly than unfriendly
   3. Half and half
   4. More unfriendly than friendly
   5. Unfriendly

٤٨. كيف تحكم على تصرفات الكنديين الذين تتعامل معهم
   ١ صداقة
   ٢. صداقة أكثر من لاصداقة
   ٣ـ بين بين
   ٤ـ لاصداقة أكثر من صداقة
   ٥ـ لا صداقة

49. Do you work at present?
a)
   1. Yes
   2. No
   (If no, skip 49 and 50)

٤٩ (ب) هل تعمل حاليا ؟
   ١ نعم
   ٢. لا

49. To your knowledge, what is the
b) ethnic origin of the people you work with?
   1. Mainly British
   2. Mostly British and some minority groups
   3. Half minorities and half British
   4. Mainly minority groups

ب) على حسب معرفتك ، ما اصل الناس الذين تتعامل معهم ؟
   ١. بريطانيين ذوي الغالبية الاولى
   ٢. أغلبية بريطانية مع أقليات أخرى
   ٣ـ النصف بريطاني والنصف أقلية
   ٤. الأغلبية أقليات مع بعض بريطاني
   ٥ أقليات ذو الغالبية الاولى

50. To your knowledge, what is the ethnic origin of the people you work with?
   1. Mainly French
   2. Mostly French and some minority groups
   3. Half French and half minorities
   4. Mostly minorities and some French
   5. Mainly minority groups

٥٠. على معرفتك ، ما اصل الناس الذين تتعامل معهم ؟
   ١ فرنسيين ذوي الغالبية الاولى
   ٢. أغلبية فرنسية مع أقليات أخرى
   ٣. النصف فرنسي والنصف أقليات أخرى
   ٤. الأغلبية أقليات مع بعض فرنسي
   ٥. أقليات ذو الغالبية الاولى

51. What type of residence do you occupy at present?
   1. A room
   2. An apartment in a house
   3. An apartment in a high rise
   4. A townhouse (a row of houses)
   5. A duplex (semi-detached)
   6. A single family house

٥١. ما هو نوع مسكنك حاليا ؟
   ١. حجرة
   ٢. شقة بدار
   ٣. شقة بعمارة ضخمة
   ٤. واحد نصف منازل
   ٥. دبلكس (دارمنزلية مشتركة في الجدار والسقف)

52. Do you own or rent your present residence?
   1. Own
   2. Rent

٥٢. هل معك أنت أم تؤجر مسكن الدار ؟
   ١. ايجار
   ٢. ملك

53. How friendly are the people in your neighborhood?
    1. Friendly
    2. More friendly than unfriendly
    3. Half and half
    4. More unfriendly than friendly
    5. Unfriendly

٥٣. علمي وصف الناس في المنطقة التي تسكن في كم؟
ا. صداقة
٢. صداقة أكثر من صداقة
٣. بين بين
٤. بعداقة أكثر من صداقة
٥. لا صداقة

54. To your knowledge, what is the origin of the people in your neighborhood?
    1. Mainly British
    2. Mostly British and some minority groups
    3. Half British and half minorities
    4. Mostly minorities and some British
    5. Mainly minority groups

٥٤. على معرفتك، ماهو أصل الناس في هذه المنطقة التي تسكن في؟
ا. بريطاني في الفئة الأولى
٢. اغلبية بريطانية مع أقليات أخرى
٣. النصف بريطان والنصف أقليات
٤. اقليات مع بعض بريطان
٥. أقليات في الفئة الأولى

55. To your knowledge, what is the origin of the people in your neighborhood?
    1. Mainly French
    2. Mostly French and some minority groups
    3. Half French and half minorities
    4. Mostly minorities and some French
    5. Mainly minority groups

٥٥. على معرفتك ماهو أصل الناس في المنطقة التي تسكن في؟
ا. فرنسي في الفئة الأولى
٢. اغلبية فرنسية مع أقليات أخرى
٣. النصف فرنس والنصف أقليات
٤. اقليات مع بعض فرنس
٥. اقليات في الفئة الأولى

56. Considering everything, how satisfied are you with life in Canada?
    1. Very satisfied
    2. Satisfied
    3. Dissatisified
    4. Very dissatisified

٥٦. آخذا في العوامل بإعتبار، كيف تصف درجة رضائك عن حياتك في كندا؟
ا. راض جدا
٢. راض
٣. غير راض
٤. غير راض اطلاقا

57. How much does an Arab person have to change in order to settle down and feel at home in Canada?
    1. Very much
    2. Much
    3. Little
    4. Very little

٥٧. ماهي كمية التغير الذي يجب ان يتعرضها الفرد العربي حتى يستطيع ان يعيش حياة عادية في كندا؟
ا. كثيرا جدا
٢. كثيرا
٣. قليلا
٤. قليلا جدا

58.
a) How much Canadian customs and traditions have you accepted and applied?
    1. Very much
    2. Much
    3. Little
    4. Very little
    5. Nothing

b) How much Arab custome and traditions have you denounced and neglected?
    1. Very much
    2. Much
    3. Little
    4. Very little
    5. Nothing

59. What is your attitude towards Canadians?
    1. Friendly
    2. More friendly than unfriendly
    3. Half and half
    4. More unfriendly than friendly
    5. Unfriendly

60. What do you think is the attitude of Canadians towards you?
    1. Friendly
    2. More friendly than unfriendly
    3. Half and half
    4. More unfriendly than friendly
    5. Unfriendly

61. How helpful do you think the Government Officials are to the Arabs in Canada?
    1. Helpful
    2. More helpful than un-helpful
    3. Half and half
    4. More unhelpful than helpful
    5. Unhelpful

62. How frequently do you visit
Canadians in their homes?
1. Regularly
2. Occasionally
3. Seldom
4. Never

٦٢. إلى أي حد تزور الكنديين
في منازلهم؟
١. دائماً   ٣. نادراً
٢. أحياناً   ٤. إطلاقاً

63. For all the contacts you have
with other people would you say
that all your contacts are -
1. All with Canadians
2. Mostly with Canadians and
some Arabs
3. Half Canadian and half
Arab
4. Mostly Arab and some
Canadian
5. All with Arabs

٦٣. أمنياً كل أنواع التعامل
ذا الإختيار - كن من تتعامل؟
١. كنديين
٢. أغلبية كندية وبعض عرب
٤. نصف كندي، نصف عربي
٢. غالبية عربية وبعض كندي
٥. عرب

64. My friends are -
1. Only Canadians
2. More Canadians and some
Arabs
3. Half and half
4. More Arabs and some
Canadians
5. All Arabs

٦٤. أصدقائي كالآن
١. كنديين
٢. كنديين أكثر من عرب
٤. نصف ونصف
٢. عرب أكثر من كنديين
٥. عرب

65. When I compare Canadians with
Arabs as two human groups (con-
sidering everything) I feel that
1. Canadians are superior
2. Both are the same
3. Arabs are superior

٦٥. عندما أقارن العرب بالكنديين
كمجموعتين بشريتين آخذاً كل
ما يطرأ بالله. أعتقد
١. التقويم الكندي
٢. التساوي به المجموعتين
٤. التقويم العربي

66. Would you personally prefer to
have more contacts with
Canadians than you have now?
1. Yes
2. No

٦٦. هل تفضل أنت علاقات مع علاقتك
بالكنديين أكثر مما عليها حالياً؟
١. نعم
٢. لا

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67. What do you think is the general attitude of the people in the street towards immigrants in general?
    1. Favourable
    2. More favourable than un-favourable
    3. Half and half
    4. More unfavourable than favourable
    5. Unfavourable

٦٧. كيف تصف اتجاهات الناس في الشارع بالنسبة للمهاجرين عموماً؟
١. تأييد
٢. تأييد أكثر من معارضة
٣. نصف بنصف
٤. معارضة أكثر من تأييد
٥. معارضة

68. What do you consider yourself in Canada?
    1. Canadian
    2. More Canadian than Arab
    3. Half and half
    4. More Arab than Canadian
    5. Arab

٦٨. ماذا تعتبر نفسه في كندا؟
١. كندك
٢. كندي أكثر مما عربي
٣. نصف بنصف
٤. عربي أكثر مم كندي
٥. عربي

69. In appearance (like skin, colour, hair, eyes...) I look like -
    1. Canadians
    2. More Canadian than Arab
    3. Half and half
    4. More Arab than Canadian
    5. Arabs

٦٩. من ناحية المظهرا الخارجي (اللون والتفاصيل، الشعر، العيون)
١. بطني كالآت
٢. كندي ٢. كندي أكثرمم عربي
٣. نصف بنصف ٤. عربي أكثرمم كندي
٥. عربي

70. With regard to your acceptance by the people in the community in which you live, do you feel you are -
    1. Accepted
    2. More accepted than rejected
    3. Half and half
    4. More rejected than accepted
    5. Rejected

٧٠. كيف تصف درجة بتقبلك لك الجماعة التي تعيش فيه..
١. بتقبل
٢. بتقبل أكثر من رفض
٣. نصف بنصف
٤. رفض أكثر من تقبل
٥. رفض

71. If a team of athletes (no Arabs) came out to play a Canadian team, which side do you think you would support?
    1. The Canadian team
    2. Both teams
    3. The other team

٧١. اذا ما رغب لك صفة سابق رياضية بيه لفريق كندي وزله أو أو الفريق الآخر ياتحمل عليه أي الفريقين تنشد له تشج
١. الفريق الكندي ٢. الفريقين ٣. الفريق الآخر

72. If a team of Athletes from the Arab world (your country of origin is not represented) came out to play a Canadian team, which side do you think you would support?
    1. The Canadian Team
    2. Both teams
    3. The Arab team

٧٢. اذا ما دعيت لمشاهدة مباراة رياضية بين فريق عربي (دولتك الخصلية غير ممثلة بالفريق العربي) وفريق كندي . فأي الفريقين تفضل انه ينجح ؟
ا. الوحيد الكندي
ك. الفريقين   ك . الفريق العربي

73. If a team of athletes from your country of origin came out to play a Canadian team, which side do you think you would support?
    1. The Canadian Team
    2. Both teams
    3. The team from my country of origin

٧٣. اذا ما دعيت لمشاهدة مباراة رياضية بين فريق الكندي وفريق آخر من بلدك الاصلي فأي الفريقين تفضل انه ينجح
ا. الفريق الكندي
ك. الفريقين ج ك . الفريق الذي ينتمي لبلدي الاصلي

74. In case of war, would you defend Canada?
    1. Yes
    2. No opinion
    3. No

٧٤. في حالة حرب ، هل تدافع عن كندا ؟
ا. نعم
ك. لا رأي ج   ٢. لا

75. If we said that a score of '10' represented complete adaptation to Canada, and '0' no adjustment at all, and the numbers in between varying degrees, which number best expresses your situation?
    10. Full adaptation
    9.
    8.
    7.
    6.
    5.
    4.
    3.
    2.
    1.
    0. No adaptation

٧٥. هذا السؤال لقياس درجة تكيفك مع المجتمع الكندي بعد طريقة تقاس من صفر الى (١٠) حيث ١. يمثل لم تتكيف (درجة صفر) يمثل لم يتم تكيفك ؟ . ضع دائرة حول الرقم الذي يمثل لك مقدار تكيفك .
١٠ تكيف تام
٩
٨
٧
٦
٥
٤
٣
٢
١ .
٠ لم يتم التكيف

76. Using the adaptation scale given
   in question 75, if compared with
   me I feel that my spouse shows -
   1. Much greater adaptation
   2. Greater adaptation
   3. Almost equal level of
      adaptation
   4. Less adaptation
   5. Much less adaptation

٧٦. حل نفس بياس الشجرة المذكور
   ـ سؤال ٥٧ اذا قارنت
   زوجتك (زوجي) بي نا نشعر
   ا۔ زوجتي (زوجي) يبدي
   ١. درجة أعلى بينهم
   ٢. درجة أعلى نسبة
   ٣. درجة تكـ ريو تم
   ٤. درجة أقل بي
   ٥ ـ درجة أقل بنهم

77. If we said that '10' represented
   complete loyalty to Canada and '0'
   complete hostility, and the numbers
   in between varying degrees, which
   number most accurately expresses
   your attitude?
   10. Full loyalty
   9.
   8.
   7.
   6.
   5.
   4.
   3.
   2.
   1.
   0. Hostility

٧٧. هذا السؤال يقيس
   درجة ولائك ارتباطك بكندا
   رقم ١٠ يمثل ولاء الكامل درجة ضعف مثل ف
   العداد الكامل . مع دائرة حول الرقم الذي يمثل
   كل درجة ولائك او ارتباطه
   ١٠ . ولاء الكامل
   ٩
   ٨
   ٧
   ٦
   . عداد كامل

78. Using the loyalty scale given in
   question 77, if compared with me
   I feel that my spouse shows -
   1. Much greater loyalty
   2. Greater loyalty
   3. Almost equal level of
      loyalty
   4. Less loyalty
   5. Much less loyalty

٧٨. اذا قارنت زوجتي (زوجي)
   في حل نفس بياس الولاء المذكور
   ـ سؤال ٧٧ ، فانا اشعر ان
   زوجتي (زوجي) على درجة
   ١. أعلى بكثير جدا
   ٢. أعلى بنهم
   ٣. مساوية ٤. أقل بنهم
   ٥. أقل بكثير جدا

79. How interested are you in Canadian
   news?
   1. Very interested
   2. Interested
   3. Not interested
   4. Not interested at all.

٧٩. من الذي تهتم بالاخبار الكندية
   ١. مهتم جدا ٢. مهتم
   ٣. غير مهتم ٤. لا يهم المطلقا .

Now you will be given a number of statements. For each statement you are asked to show whether you agree or disagree with it.

الأسئلة من ٨٠ الى ٩٠ كل ست هذا الترتيب ، كل سؤال تركيبه ٢ أو ٣ الجزء الأول عبارة عن جملة يعوض بوصف

Each statement is followed by two questions to indicate whether your opinion is shared by Arabs and/or Canadians.

كلمة توافق أو لا توافق عليها في الجزء الثاني عبارة عن سؤال

Remember that there is no correct or incorrect answer. It is your opinion.

اجابة صحيحة أي خطأ . أن علي استطلاع لرأيه

80. Arab girls in Canada should have complete freedom to select their marriage partner.
    1. Agree
    2. Disagree

٨٠ .. يجب أن يترك للبنات العربيات
ذكنظ الحرية الكاملة لاختيار ازواجهم
١. توافق   ٢. لا توافق

Would most Canadians share your opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم الكنديين يشاركونك الرأي   ١. نعم   ٢. لا

Would most Arabs share your opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم العرب يشاركونك الرأي ؟   ١. نعم   ٢. لا

81. Older people should be respected just because they are older.
    1. Agree
    2. Disagree

٨١ . الأشخاص الأكبر سناً يجب احترام العمر
١. توافق
٢. لا توافق

Would most Canadians share your opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم الكنديين يشاركونك الرأي   ١. نعم   ٢. لا

Would most Arabs share your opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم العرب يشاركونك الرأي ؟   ١. نعم   ٢. لا

82.. On regular basis, men should help their wives with housekeeping duties.
1. Agree
2. Disagree

٨٢. على أنه من الواجب أن يساعد الرجال زوجاتهم بأعمال المنزلية بصورة منتظمة

١. موافق   ٢. غير موافق

Would most Canadians share your opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم الكنديين يشاركونك الرأي

١. نعم   ٢. لا

Would most Arabs share your opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

هل تعتقد معظم العرب يشاركونك الرأي

١. نعم   ٢. لا

83. Children should not share their parents bedroom.
1. Agree
2. Disagree

٨٣. يجب أن لا يسمح للأطفال مشاركة غرفة نوم والديهم

١. موافق   ٢. غير موافق

Would most Canadians share your opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم الكنديين يشاركونك الرأي

١. نعم   ٢. لا

Would most Arabs share your opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم العرب يشاركونك الرأي

١. نعم   ٢. لا

84. Mothers should develop and apply a daily routine (eat and sleep according to a schedule) for their children
1. Agree
2. Disagree

٨٤. يجب على الأمهات تقديم وتطبيق روتين يومي (الأكل والنوم) روتين وقتي

١. موافق   ٢. غير موافق

Would most Canadians share your opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم الكنديين يشاركونك الرأي

١. نعم   ٢. لا

Would most Arabs share your opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

هل تعتقد أن معظم العرب يشاركونك الرأي

١. نعم   ٢. لا

85.. Husbands should have the final
word in their homes.
1.. Agree
2. Disagree

Would most Canadians share your
opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

Would most Arabs share your
opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

٨٥. أما يجب أن يكون للزوج القرار الأخير في أموره
١. بوافق   ٢. لا يوافق

هل تعتقد أم يعظم الكنديه في تكون من الأب؟
١. نعم   ٢. لا

هل تعتقد أم يعظم العرب في تكون من الرأس
١. نعم   ٢. لا

86. Mixed High Schools in Canada
(where boys and girls study to-
gether) are good for students.
1. Agree
2. Disagree

Would most Canadians share your
opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

Would most Arabs share your
opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

٨٦. أما اختلاط الطلبة والطالبات في المدارس الثانوية أمر فيه منفعة الطلبة والطالبات؟
١. بوافق   ٢. غير بوافق

هل تعتقد أم يعظم الكنديه في تكون من الأب؟
١. نعم   ٢. لا

هل تعتقد أم يعظم العرب في تكون من الأب
١. نعم   ٢. لا

87. Arab boys should be allowed to
have girl friends.
1. Agree
2. Disagree

Would most Canadians share your
opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

Would most Arabs share your
opinion?
1. Yes
2. No

٨٧. يسمح للفتى العربي بأن يكون صديقات له يعني (Girl friend)
١. بوافق   ٢. لا يوافق

هل تعتقد أم يعظم الكنديه في تكون من الأب؟
١. نعم   ٢. لا

هل تعتقد أم ينظم العرب في تكون من الأب
١. نعم   ٢. لا

88. Single Arab girls should take
the pill if they wish.
    1. Agree
    2. Disagree

Would most Canadians share your
opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

Would most Arabs share your
opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

89. Arab girls in Canada should be
allowed to have boy friends.
    1. Agree
    2. Disagree

Would most Canadians share your
opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

Would most Arabs share your
opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

90. To become good Canadians,
immigrants from the Arab world
should talk, dress, eat, and in
general do things the Canadian
way.
    1. Agree
    2. Disagree

Would most Canadians share your
opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

Would most Arabs share your
opinion?
    1. Yes
    2. No

91. In visiting with an Arab family
    in Canada, if you find yourself
    sitting facing the soles of the
    shoes of the Arab host, then
    the behaviour of the Arab host
    is -
    1. Acceptable
    2. Unacceptable

٩١. في حالة زيارتك لأسرة عربية في
    كندا، إذا وجدت نفسك
    جالساً تواجه أسفل حذاء
    مضيفك العربي، فما هو
    تصرف المضيف العربي :
    أ. مقبول   ع. غير مقبول.

92. If the situation described in
    question 91 happens while visit-
    ing a Canadian family, then the
    behaviour of the Canadian host
    is -
    1. Acceptable
    2. Unacceptable

٩٢. إذا تكرر بما تم في سؤال ٩١
    ع مضيف كندي، فيكون تصرف
    المضيف الكندي
    أ. مقبول   ع. غير مقبول.

93. What is the best thing about
    Canada?

٩٣. ماهو أهم شيء في كندا ؟

94. The worst thing about Canada.

٩٤. ماهو أردأ شيء في كندا ؟

95. The best thing about your
    country of origin.

٩٥. ماهو أهم شيء في بلدك
    الأصلي ؟

96. The worst thing about your
    country of origin.

٩٦. ماهو أردأ شيء في بلدك
    الأصلي ؟

97. How would you evaluate your
    immigration experience in
    Canada?
    1. Gain
    2. More gain than loss
    3. Half and half
    4. More loss than gain
    5. Loss

٩٧. كيف تقيّم هجرتك الى كندا
    أ. كسب
    ع. كسب أكثر من خسارة
    ع. بين بين
    ع. خسارة أكثر من كسب
    ٥. خسارة

98. What advice would you give to
    the Arabs in Canada?

٩٨. ماهي النصائح التي تقدمها
    للعرب في كندا ؟

99. What advice would you give to
    Canadians in contact with Arabs?

٩٩. ماهي النصائح التي تقدمها
    للكنديين الذين لهم علاقات بالعرب في
    كندا ؟

100. Have you personally exper-
ienced any sign of prejudice
while in Canada?
    1. No
    2. Yes (Tell me what
                happened)

١٠٠. هل درت بتجربة
أحسست بنوع يا اضطهاد به
الكنديه
١. نعم
ع. لا

101. Comments. Write anything you
wish to see published. If you
wish your name to appear with
your comments in my thesis,
you must give me your permission
in writing.

١٠١. تعليقات

102. Do you wish to receive a summary
of this survey?
    1. Yes (Give me your name
            and address or
            write to me later
            on)
    2. No

١٠٢. هل ترغب أن تصلى
ملخص هذه الرسالة
١. نعم
ع. لا

103. Would you please give me names
and addresses of 5 of your Arab
friends who may wish to help me
in completing this study.

١٠٣. هل أرجوك الملائ بسماء
وعناوين خمسة أفراد (أزدقاء)
ممن يستطيع أن يساعدني موهذه
أسئلة

    1. Name

        Address

    2. Name

        Address

    3. Name

        Address

    4. Name

        Address

    5. Name

        Address

    Would you please check over the
questionnaire and then mail it in the
enclosed envelope. My sincere thanks
for your effort and time.

أرجوك راجعة الاسئلة ورسل
بالظرف ، أرسل لابر
البريد لا مته الخطاب وتستقبل لكم كريم
شكرا على الجهود والوقت.

٧

APPENDIX II

COMPONENTS OF THE ASSIMILATION SCALE

	N	Percentage of Respondents	
		Positive	Negative
1. Mothers should develop and apply a daily routine for their children.			
Agree	119	93.7	
Disagree	8		6.3
Total	127	93.7	6.3
2. How satisfied are you with life in Canada?			
Very satisfied	30	23.6	
Satisfied	86	67.6	
Dissatisfied	10		7.9
Very dissatisfied	1		0.8
Total	127	91.3	8.7
3. Children should not share their parents' bedroom.			
Agree (+)	116	91.3	
Disagree (-)	11		8.7
Total	127	91.3	8.7

	N	Percentage of Respondents	
		Positive	Negative

4. How interested are you in Canadian news?

	N	Positive	Negative
Very interested	42	33.1	
Interested	.73	57.5	
Not interested	11		8.7
Not interested at all	1		.0.8
Total	127	90.6	9.5

5. With regard to your acceptance by people in the community in which you live, do you feel you are

	N	Positive	Negative
Accepted	80	63.0	
More accepted than rejected	30	23.6	
Half and half	15		11.8
More rejected than accepted	2		1.6
Rejected	0		0.0
Total	127	86.6	13.4

6. On regular basis, men should help their wives with house-keeping duties.

	N	Positive	Negative
Agree	106	83.5	
Disagree	21		.16.5
Total	127	83.5	16.5

		N	Percentage of Respondents	
			Positive	Negative

7. If we said that '10'
represented complete loyalty
to Canada and '0' complete
hostility, and the numbers
in between varying degrees,
which number most accurately
expresses your attitude?

Position on
Loyalty Scale

		N	Positive	Negative
Ten	highest	41	32.3	
Nine		19	15.0	
Eight		21	16.5	
Seven		19	15.0	
Six		8		6.3
Five		11		8.7
Four		1		0.8
Three		2		1.6
Two		1		0.8
One		2		1.6
Zero		2		1.6
Total		127	78.8	21.4

8. In talking with Canadians,
how difficult is it to
understand them?

	N	Positive	Negative
No difficulty	100	78.7	
Little difficulty	23		18.1
Great difficulty	4		3.1
Total	127	78.7	21.2

		Percentage of Respondents	
	N	Positive	Negative

9. If a team of athletes (no Arabs) came out to play a Canadian team, which side do you think you would support?

	N	Positive	Negative
The Canadian team	100	78.7	
Both teams	25		19.7
The other team	2		1.6
Total	127	78.7	21.3

10. What is your attitude toward Canadians?

	N	Positive	Negative
Friendly	67	52.8	
More friendly than unfriendly	30	23.6	
Half and half	20		15.7
More unfriendly than friendly	4		3.1
Unfriendly	6		4.7
Total	127	76.4	23.5

11. When you talk with Canadians, how difficult is it to make them understand you?

	N	Positive	Negative
No difficulty	95	74.8	
Little difficulty	29		22.8
Great difficulty	3		2.4
Total	127	74.8	25.2

12. Mixed High Schools are good for students.

	N	Positive	Negative
Agree	94	74.0	
Disagree	33		26.0
Total	127	74.0	26.0

		Percentage of Respondents	
	N	Positive	Negative

13. If we said that a score of
'10' represented complete
adaptation to Canada, and
'0' no adjustment at all,
and the numbers in between
varying degrees, which
number best expresses your
situation?

Full adaptation
10, 9, 8, ...2, 1, 0 no adaptation

Position on adaptation scale

	N	Positive	Negative
Ten (highest)	17	13.4	
Nine	12	9.4	
Eight	37	29.1	
Seven	26	20.5	
Six	5		3.9
Five	18		14.7
Four	6		4.7
Three	2		1.6
Two	2		1.6
One	1		0.8
Zero	1		0.8
Total	127	72.4	28.1

14. How friendly are the Canadian
people you deal with?

	N	Positive	Negative
Friendly	56	44.1	
More friendly than unfriendly	33	26.0	
Half and half	26		20.5
More unfriendly than friendly	6		4.7
Unfriendly	6		4.7
Total	127	70.1	29.9

		N	Percentage of Respondents	
			Positive	Negative

15. Arab boys should be allowed to have girl friends.

	N	Positive	Negative
Agree	88	69.3	
Disagree	39		30.7
Total	127	69.3	30.7

16. When I compare Canadians with Arabs as two cultural groups, I feel that

	N	Positive	Negative
Canadians are superior	12	9.4	
Both are the same	76	59.8	
Arabs are superior	39		30.7
Total	127	69.2	30.7

17. Arab girls should have complete freedom to select their marriage partners.

	N	Positive	Negative
Agree	86	67.7	
Disagree	41		32.3
Total	127	67.7	32.3

18. What do you think is the attitude of Canadians towards you?

	N	Positive	Negative
Friendly	58	45.7	
More friendly than unfriendly	27	21.3	
Half and half	31		24.4
More unfriendly than friendly	5		3.9
Unfriendly	6		4.7
Total	127	67.0	33.0

		N	Percentage of Respondents	
			Positive	Negative
19.	Language used in answering the questionnaire.			
	English only	62	48.8	
	Mainly English but some Arabic	11	8.7	
	Half and half	9		7.1
	More Arabic but some English	9		7.1
	Arabic only	36		28.3
	Total	127	57.5	42.5
20.	How friendly are the people in your neighborhood?			
	Friendly	45	35.4	
	More friendly than unfriendly	28	22.0	
	Half and half	32		25.2
	More unfriendly than friendly	9		7.1
	Unfriendly	13		10.2
	Total	127	57.4	42.5
21.	In case of war, would you defend Canada?			
	Yes	70	55.1	
	No opinion	42		33.1
	No	15		11.8
	Total	127	55.1	44.9

	N	Percentage of Respondents	
		Positive	Negative
22. How frequently do you visit Canadians in their homes?			
Regularly	19	15.0	
Occasionally	49	38.6	
Seldom	47		37.0
Never	12		9.0
Total	127	53.6	46.0
23. At present do you feel at home in Canada?			
Yes	67	53.0	
No	60		47.0
Total	127	53.0	47.0
24. Arab girls should be allowed to have boy friends.			
Agree	61	48.0	
Disagree	66		52.0
Total	127	48.0	52.0
25. Has your satisfaction increased or decreased since you came to Canada?			
Increased	55	43.3	
No change	52		40.9
Decreased	20		15.7
Total	127	43.3	56.6

		Percentage of Respondents	
	N	Positive	Negative

26. Single Arab girls should
be allowed to take birth
control pills.

	N	Positive	Negative
Agree	41	32.3	
Disagree	86		67.7
Total	127	32.3	67.7

27. Perceived Similarity Index (1 to 9)

Position on the P.S.I. Scale

	N	Positive	Negative
Nine (highest)	6	4.7	
Eight	14	11.0	
Seven	19	15.0	
Six	32		25.2
Five	22		17.3
Four	17		13.4
Three	17		13.4
Two	0		
One (lowest)	0		
Total	127	30.7	69.3

28. How many Canadian customs
and traditions have you
accepted and applied?

	N	Positive	Negative
Very many	6	4.7	
Many	33	26.0	
Few	52		40.9
Very few	18		14.2
Nothing	18		14.2
Total	127	30.7	69.3

	N	Percentage of Respondents	
		Positive	Negative

29. To become good Canadians immigrants from the Arab world should talk, dress, eat and in general do things the Canadian way.

	N	Positive	Negative
Agree	37	29.1	
Disagree	90		70.9
Total	127	29.1	70.9

30. Language most often spoken at home.

	N	Positive	Negative
English only	18	14.1	
More English than Arabic	19	15.0	
Half and half	26		20.5
More Arabic than English	31		24.4
Arabic only	33		26.0
Total	127	29.1	70.9

31. What do you think is the general attitude of the people in the street towards immigrants in general?

	N	Positive	Negative
Favourable	14	11.0	
More favourable than unfavourable	19	15.0	
Half and half	62		48.8
More unfavourable than favourable	24		18.9
Unfavourable	8		6.3
Total	127	26.0	74.0

	N	Percentage of Respondents	
		Positive	Negative

32. For all the contacts you have, all your contacts are

	N	Positive	Negative
All with Canadians	5	3.9	
Mostly with Canadians and some Arabs	27	21.3	
Half with Canadians and half with Arabs	42		33.1
Mostly with Arabs and some with Canadians	48		37.8
All with Arabs	5		3.9
Total	127	25.2	74.8

33. In visiting with an Arab family in Canada, if you find yourself sitting facing the soles of the shoes of the Arab host, then the behaviour of the Arab host is

	N	Positive	Negative
Acceptable	27	21.3	
Unacceptable	100		78.7
Total	127	21.3	78.7

34. What do you consider yourself in Canada?

	N	Positive	Negative
Canadian	15	11.8	
More Canadian than Arab	10	7.9	
Half and half	28		22.0
More Arab than Canadian	40		31.5
Arab	34		26.8
Total	127	19.7	80.3

			Percentage of Respondents	
		N	Positive	Negative
38.	My friends are			
	Only Canadians	1	0.8	
	More Canadians and some Arabs	14	11.0	
	Half and half	38		29.9
	More Arabs and some Canadians	60		47.2
	All Arabs	14		11.0
	Total	127	11.8	88.1
39.	How many Arab customs and traditions have you denounced and neglected?			
	Very many	1	0.8	
	Many	13	10.2	
	Few	51		40.2
	Very few	37		29.1
	Nothing	25		19.7
	Total	127	11.0	89.0
40.	What kind of food do you prefer to eat?			
	All Canadian	1	0.8	
	Mostly Canadian but occasionally Arabic	12	9.4	
	About half and half	30		23.6
	Nearly all Arabian but some Canadian food	41		32.3
	All Arabian	43		33.9
	Total	127	10.2	89.8

	N	Percentage of Respondents Positive	Negative

35. Older people should be
respected just because
they are older.

	N	Positive	Negative
Agree	102		80.3
Disagree	25	19.7	
Total	127	19.7	80.3

36. What kind of food do you eat
at home?

	N	Positive	Negative
All Canadian	7	5.5	
Mostly Canadian but occasionally Arabian	15	11.8	
About half and half	33		26.0
Mostly Arabian but occasionally Canadian	35		27.6
All Arabian	37		29.1
Total	127	19.3	82.7

37. If a team of athletes from
the Arab world (your country
of origin is not represented)
came out to play a Canadian
team, which side do you think
you would support?

	N	Positive	Negative
The Canadian team	17	13.4	
Both teams	49		38.6
The Arab team	61		48.0
Total	127	13.4	86.6

		N	Percentage of Respondents Positive	Negative
41.	If a team of athletes from your country of origin came out to play a Canadian team, which side do you think you would support?			
	The Canadian team	2	1.6	
	Both teams	23		18.1
	The team from my country of origin	102		80.3
	Total	127	1.6	98.4

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Table Number	Hypotheses	.001	.01	.02	.05
		Level of Significance			
1	Rate of assimilation and length of stay in Canada	x			
2	Rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion on the acceptability of sitting facing the soles of the shoes of Arab host......................	x			
3	Rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion regarding whether mixed high schools are good for students.........................	x			
4	Rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion regarding whether Arab boys should be allowed to have girl friends...........................	x			
5	Rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion on allowing Arab girls to have complete freedom to select their marriage partners...........	x			
6	Rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion regarding whether single Arab girls should be allowed to take birth control pills...........	x			
7	Rate of assimilation and respondents' attitude towards Canadians...........................	x			
8	Rate of assimilation and respondents' perception of attitude of Canadians......................	x			
9	Rate of assimilation and friendliness of the Canadian people.............................	x			
10	Rate of assimilation and friendliness of people in neighbourhood.............................	x			
11	Rate of assimilation and perceived degree of helpfulness of government officials to the Arabs in Canada............................	x			
12	Rate of assimilation and respondents' perception of attitudes of Canadians towards immigrants in general...............................			x	
13	Rate of assimilation and respondents' views regarding superiority or inferiority of the Canadian people.............................	x			
14	Rate of assimilation and feeling of community acceptance................................				x
15	Rate of assimilation and children's contacts....		x		
16	Rate of assimilation and worrying about the future of children in Canada..................	x			
17	Rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion regarding whether they like their children to grow up as Canadians......................	x			
18	Rate of assimilation and preferred children's contact..................................	x			
19	Rate of assimilation and language preferred in dealing with children......................	x			

Table Number	Hypotheses	Level of Significance			
		.001	.01	.02	.05
20	Rate of assimilation and degree of religousity of Muslim respondents............	X			
21	Rate of assimilation and religion..............		X		
22	Rate of assimilation and the change in religious practice after arrival...........				X
23	Rate of assimilation and difficulty in understanding Canadians....................	X			
24	Rate of assimilation and difficulty in respondents' making themselves understood by Canadians................................	X			
25	Rate of assimilation and language used in answering the questionnaire...............	X			
26	Rate of assimilation and language most often spoken at home............................	X			
27	Rate of assimilation and food eaten at home....	X			
28	Rate of assimilation and preferred food........	X			
29	Rate of assimilation and level of satisfaction with life in Canada....................	X			
30	Rate of assimilation and respondents' evaluation of their immigration experiences.......	X			
31	Rate of assimilation and the change in respondents' satisfaction since arrival........	X			
32	Rate of assimilation and frequency of correspondence with relatives and friends in the country of origin............................				X
33	Rate of assimilation and level of interest in Canadian news............................	X			
34	Rate of assimilation and primary group visiting (frequency of visiting Canadians in their homes)................................	X			
35	Rate of assimilation and primary group friendship: Canadians or Arabs................	X			
36	Rate of assimilation and respondents' contacts.	X			
37	Rate of assimilation and accepting Canadian customs................................	X			
38	Rate of assimilation and neglecting Arab customs................................	X			
39	Rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion regarding doing things the Canadian way......	X			
40	Rate of assimilation and perceived similarity index................................	X			
41	Rate of assimilation and legal situation in Canada................................	X			
42	Rate of assimilation and preferred passport....			X	

Table Number	Hypotheses	Level of Significance			
		.001	.01	.02	.05
43	Rate of assimilation and respondents' opinion regarding whether naturalization involves a change of loyalty..........................	X			
44	Rate of assimilation and respondents' perception of own identity: Canadians or Arabs?	X			
45	Rate of assimilation and the intention to stay in Canada..................................				
46	Rate of assimilation and home ownership........				X
47	Rate of assimilation and feeling at home in Canada....................................	X			
48	Rate of assimilation and defending Canada in case of war................................		X		
49	Rate of assimilation and level of loyalty......	X			
50	Rate of assimilation and supporting Canadian teams against Arab teams......................	X			
51	Rate of assimilation and supporting Canadian teams against teams from respondents' country or origin.................................	X			
52	Rate of assimilation by sex....................	X			
53	Rate of assimilation and respondents' marital status..................................		X		
54	Rate of assimilation and religion..............		X		

TABLE 1

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND LENGTH OF STAY IN CANADA

	Less than 5 Years	5 Years but Less than 10	10 Years and Over	Total
	N %	N %	N %	N %
LOW	26 (44.1)	5 (15.2)	2 (6.5)	33 (26.8)
MEDIUM	26 (44.1)	16 (48.5)	16 (51.6)	58 (47.2)
HIGH	7 (11.9)	12 (36.4)	13 (41.9)	32 (26.0)
TOTAL	59 (100)	33 (100)	31 (100)	123 (100)

x^2 = 22.19, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 2

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' OPINION ON THE ACCEPT-

ABILITY OF SITTING FACING THE SOLES OF THE SHOES OF ARAB HOST

	Acceptable		Not Acceptable		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	2	(7.4)	32	(32.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	9	(33.3)	51	(51.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	16	(59.3)	17	(17.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	27	(100)	100	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 20.82, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 3

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' OPINION REGARDING

WHETHER MIXED HIGH SCHOOLS ARE GOOD FOR STUDENTS

	Agree		Disagree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	11	(11.7)	23	(69.7)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	50	(53.2)	10	(30.3)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	33	(35.1)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	94	(100)	33	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 44.98, Degrees of Freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 4

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' OPINION REGARDING WHETHER ARAB BOYS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO HAVE GIRL FRIENDS

	Agree		Disagree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(1.6)	33	(50.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	29	(47.5)	31	(47.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	31	(50.8)	2	(3.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	61	(100)	66	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 55.56$, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 5

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' OPINION ON ALLOWING ARAB GIRLS TO HAVE COMPLETE FREEDOM TO SELECT THEIR MARRIAGE PARTNERS

	Agree		Disagree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	9	(10.5)	25	(61.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	45	(52.3)	15	(36.6)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	32	(37.2)	1	(2.4)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	86	(100)	41	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 40.83$, Degrees of Freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level
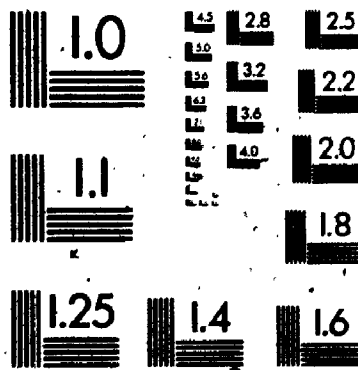
TABLE 6

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' OPINION REGARDING WHETHER
SINGLE ARAB GIRLS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO TAKE BIRTH CONTROL PILLS

	Agree		Disagree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(2.4)	33	(38.4)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	14	(34.2)	46	(53.5)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	26	(63.4)	7	(8.1)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	41	(100)	86	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 48.23$, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 7

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE

TOWARDS CANADIANS

	More Friendly Than Unfriendly		Half and Half		More Unfriendly Than Friendly		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	¢	N	%
LOW	13	(13.4)	12	(60.0)	9	(90.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	51	(52.9)	8	(40.0)	1	(10.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	33	(34.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	97	(100)	20	(100)	10	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 43.60$, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 8

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION

OF ATTITUDE OF CANADIANS

	More Friendly Than Unfriendly		Half and Half		More Unfriendly Than Friendly		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	8	(9.4)	16	(51.6)	10	(90.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	45	(53.0)	14	(45.2)	1	(9.1)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	32	(37.7)	1	(3.2)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	85	(100)	31	(100)	11	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 51.10, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 9

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND FRIENDLINESS OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

	More Friendly Than Unfriendly		Half and Half		More Unfriendly Than Friendly		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	13	(14.6)	10	(38.5)	11	(91.7)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	45	(50.6)	14	(53.9)	1	(8.3)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	31	(34.8)	2	(7.7)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	89	(100)	26	(100)	12	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 38.57, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 10

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE IN NEIGHBORHOOD

	More Friendly Than Unfriendly		Half and Half		More Unfriendly Than Friendly		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	6	(8.2)	14	(43.8)	14	(63.6)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	37	(50.1)	15	(46.9)	8	(36.4)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	30	(41.1)	3	(9.4)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	73	(100)	32	(100)	22	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 40.26$, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 11

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND PERCEIVED DEGREE OF HELPFULNESS

OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS TO THE ARABS IN CANADA

	More Helpful		Half and Half		More Unhelpful		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	8	(12.3)	14	(32.6)	10	(58.8)	32	(25.6)
MEDIUM	32	(49.2)	23	(53.5)	5	(29.4)	60	(48.0)
HIGH	25	(38.5)	6	(14.0)	2	(11.8)	33	(26.4)
TOTAL	65	(100)	43	(100)	17	(100)	125	(100)

$x^2 = 21.63$, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 12

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF ATTITUDES

OF CANADIANS TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS IN GENERAL

	More Favourable		Half and Half		More Unfavourable		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(7.1)	2	(10.5)	22	(31.4)	25	(24.3)
MEDIUM	7	(50.0)	7	(36.8)	34	(48.6)	48	(46.6)
HIGH	6	(42.9)	10	(52.6)	14	(20.0)	30	(29.1)
TOTAL	14	(100)	19	(100)	70	(100)	103	(100)

x^2 = 11.64, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .02 level

TABLE 13

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' VIEWS REGARDING

SUPERIORITY OR INFERIORITY OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

	Canadians are Superior		Both are the Same		Arabs are Superior		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	3	(25.0)	9	(11.8)	22	(56.4)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	5	(41.7)	39	(51.3)	16	(41.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	4	(33.3)	28	(36.9)	1	(2.6)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	12	(100)	76	(100)	39	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 31.73, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 14

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND FEELING OF COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE

	Accepted		More Accepted Than Rejected		Half and Half		More Rejected Than Accepted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	17	(21.3)	7	(23.3)	8	(53.3)	2	(100)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	38	(47.5)	16	(53.3)	6	(40.0)	0	(0.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	25	(31.3)	7	(23.3)	1	(6.7)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	80	(100)	30	(100)	15	(100)	2	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 13.96, Degrees of freedom = 6, significant at the .05 level

TABLE 15

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND CHILDRENS' CONTACTS

My children have contacts with:

	More Canadian Children		Half and Half		More Arab Children		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	4	(11.8)	7	(38.9)	6	(60.0)	17	(27.4)
MEDIUM	17	(50.0)	10	(55.6)	4	(60.0)	31	(50.0)
HIGH	13	(38.2)	1	(5.6	0	(0.0)	14	(22.6)
TOTAL	34	(100)	18	(100)	10	(100)	62	(100)

x^2 = 16.34, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .01 level

TABLE 16

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND WORRYING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF

CHILDREN IN CANADA

	Worried		Not Worried		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	20	(58.9)	1	(2.8)	21	(30.0)
MEDIUM	12	(35.3)	21	(58.3)	33	(47.1)
HIGH	2	(5.9)	14	(38.9)	16	(22.9)
TOTAL	34	(100)	36	(100)	70	(100)

x^2 = 28.61, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 17

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' OPINION REGARDING: WHETHER THEY LIKE THEIR CHILDREN TO GROW UP AS CANADIANS

	Yes		No		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	.0	(0.0)	33	(53.2)	33	(28.2)
MEDIUM	26	(47.3)	28	(45.2)	54	(46.2)
HIGH	29	(52.8)	1	(1.6)	30	(25.6)
TOTAL	55	(100)	62	(100)	117	(100)

x^2 = 58.99, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 18

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND PREFERRED CHILDREN'S CONTACT

	More Canadian Children		Half and Half		More Arab Children		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(7.1)	13	(30.2)	8	(57.1)	22	(30.1)
MEDIUM	3	(21.4)	25	(58.1)	6	(42.9)	54	(47.9)
HIGH	10	(71.4)	5	(11.6)	0	(0.0)	15	(21.1)
TOTAL	14	(100)	43	(100)	14	(100)	71	(100)

x^2 = 30.29, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 19

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND LANGUAGE PREFERRED IN

DEALING WITH CHILDREN

	More English or French Than Arabic		Half and Half		More Arabic Than English or French		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	0	(0.0)	5	(20.0)	17	(50.0)	22	(30.1)
MEDIUM	4	(30.1)	15	(60.0)	16	(47.1)	35	(48.6)
HIGH	9	(69.2)	5	(20.0)	1	(2.9)	15	(20.8)
TOTAL	13	(100)	25	(100)	34	(100)	72	(100)

x^2 = 30.48, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 20

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND DEGREE OF RELIGOUSITY

OF MUSLIM RESPONDENTS

	Religious		Half & Half		Not Religious		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	23	(43.4)	7	(33.3)	0	(00.0)	30	(33.7)
MEDIUM	26	(49.1)	13	(61.9)	4	(26.7)	43	(48.3)
HIGH	4	(7.5)	1	(4.8)	11	(73.3)	16	(17.9)
TOTAL	53	(100)	21	(100)	15	(100)	89	(100)

x^2 = 44.23, Degrees of freedom = 8, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 21

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RELIGION

	Christian		Muslim		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	4	(11.4)	30	(33.3)	34	(27.2)
MEDIUM	16	(45.8)	43	(47.8)	59	(47.2)
HIGH	15	(42.9)	17	(18.9)	32	(25.6)
TOTAL	35	(100)	90	(100)	125	(100)

x^2 = 10.12, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .01 level

TABLE 22

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND THE CHANGE

IN RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AFTER ARRIVAL

	Improved		No Change		Declined		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	12	(40.0)	21	(25.9)	1	(6.3)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	15	(50.0)	38	(46.9)	7	(43.8)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	3	(10.0)	22	(27.2)	8	(50.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	30	(100)	81	(100)	16	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 11.14, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .05 level

TABLE.23

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND DIFFICULTY

IN UNDERSTANDING CANADIANS

	No Difficulty		Little or Great Difficulty		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	16	(16.0)	18	(66.7)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	54	(54.0)	6	(22.2)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	30	(30.0)	3	(11.1)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	100	(100)	27	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 27.85$, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 24

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND DIFFICULTY IN RESPONDENTS'

MAKING THEMSELVES UNDERSTOOD BY CANADIANS

	No Difficulty		Little or Great Difficulty		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	13	(13.7)	21	(65.6)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	52	(54.8)	8	(25.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	30	(31.6)	3	(9.4)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	95	(100)	32	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 33.14$, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 25

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND LANGUAGE USED

IN ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

	More English Than Arabic		Half and Half		More Arabic Than English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	4	(5.5)	3	(13.3)	27	(60.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	37	(50.1)	5	(55.6)	18	(40.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	32	(43.1)	1	(11.1)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	73	(100)	9	(100)	45	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 53.29, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 26

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND LANGUAGE MOST

OFTEN SPOKEN AT HOME

	Only English or French		More English or French Than Arabic		Half and Half		More Arabic Than English or French		Only Arabic		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(5.6)	0	(00.0)	6	(23.1)	7	(22.6)	20	(60.6)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	7	(38.9)	6	(31.6)	13	(50.0)	22	(71.0)	12	(36.7)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	10	(55.6)	13	(68.4)	7	(26.9)	2	(6.5)	1	(3.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	18	(100)	19	(100)	26	(100)	31	(100)	33	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 58.86$, Degrees of freedom = 8, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 27

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND FOOD EATEN AT HOME

	Mostly Canadian		Half and Half		Mostly Arabian		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	0	(0.0)	3	(9.1)	31	(43.1)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	6	(27.3)	16	(48.5)	38	(52.8)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	16	(72.7)	14	(42.4)	3	(4.2)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	22	(100)	33	(100)	72	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 54.33$, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 28.

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND PREFERRED FOOD.

	Mostly Canadian		Half and Half		Mostly Arabian		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	0	(0.0)	2	(6.7)	32	(38.1)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	3	(23.1)	16	(53.3)	41	(48.8)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	10	(76.9)	12	(40.0)	11	(13.1)	39	(26.0)
TOTAL	13	(100)	30	(100)	84	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 34.54$, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 29

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND LEVEL OF SATISFACTION

WITH LIFE IN CANADA

	Very Satisfied		Satisfied		Dissatisfied		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(3.3)	27	(31.4)	6	(54.6)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	14	(43.3)	42	(48.8)	5	(45.5)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	16	(53.3)	17	(19.8)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	30	(100)	86	(100)	11	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 22.94$, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 30

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' EVALUATION

OF THEIR IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCES

	Gain		More Gain Than Loss		Half And Half		More Loss Than Gain		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	8	(13.8)	8	(30.8)	7	(33.3)	5	(83.3)	28	(25.2)
MEDIUM	27	(46.6)	14	(53.9)	12	(57.1)	1	(16.7)	54	(48.7)
HIGH	23	(39.7)	4	(15.4)	2	(9.5)	0	(0.0)	29	(26.1)
TOTAL	58	(100)	26	(100)	21	(100)	6	(100)	111	(100)

$x^2 = 22.66$, Degrees of freedom = 6, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 31

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND CHANGE IN RESPONDENTS'

SATISFACTION SINCE ARRIVAL

	Increased		No Change		Decreased		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	3	(5.5)	21	(40.4)	10	(50.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	27	(49.1)	24	(46.2)	9	(45.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	25	(45.5	7	(13.5)	1	(5.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	55	(100)	52	(100)	20	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 31.59, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 32

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND FREQUENCY OF CORRESPONDENCE

WITH RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

	Regular		Occasional		Seldom NEVER		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	30	(34.1)	3	(11.5)	1	(8.3)	34	(27.0)
MEDIUM	38	(43.2)	16	(61.5)	5	(41.7)	59	(46.8)
HIGH	20	(22.7)	7	(27.0)	6	(50.0)	33	(26.2)
TOTAL	88	(100)	26	(100)	12	(100)	126	(100)

x^2 = 10.19, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .05 level

TABLE 33

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND LEVEL OF INTEREST

IN CANADIAN NEWS

	Very Interested		Interested		Not Interested		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	7	(16.7)	20	(27.4)	7	(58.3)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	14	(33.3)	41	(56.2)	5	(41.7)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	21	(50.0)	12	(16.4)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	42	(100)	73	(100)	12	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 24.10, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 34

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND PRIMARY GROUP VISITING

(FREQUENCY OF VISITING CANADIANS, IN THEIR HOMES)

	Regularly		Occasionally		Seldom		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	0	(00.0)	6	(12.2)	17	(36.2)	11	(91.7)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	4	(21.1)	27	(55.1)	28	(59.6)	1	(8.3)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	15	(79.0)	16	(32.7)	2	(4.3)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	19	(100)	49	(100)	47	(100)	12	(100)	127	(100)

$x^2 = 21.63$, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 35

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND PRIMARY GROUP FRIENDSHIP:
CANADIANS OR ARABS

	More Canadians		Half and Half		More Arabs		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	0	(0.0)	2	(5.3)	32	(43.2)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	1	(6.7)	22	(57.9)	37	(50.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	14	(93.3)	14	(36.8)	5	(6.8)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	15	(100)	38	(100)	74	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 62.78, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 36

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' CONTACTS

	Mostly With Canadians		Half and Half		Mostly With Arabs		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	5	(15.6)	7	(16.7)	22	(41.5)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	8	(25.0)	25	(59.5)	27	(51.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	19	(59.4)	10	(23.8)	4	(7.6)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	32	(100)	42	(100)	53	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 32.97, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 37

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND ACCEPTING CANADIAN CUSTOMS

	Much or Very Much		Little		Very Little or Nothing		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(2.6)	9	(17.3)	24	(66.7)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	13	(33.3)	37	(71.2)	10	(27.8)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	25	(64.1)	6	(11.5)	2	(5.6)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	39	(100)	52	(100)	36	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 74.2, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 38

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND NEGLECTING ARAB CUSTOMS

	Much or Very Much		Little		Very Little or Nothing		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(7.1)	3	(5.9)	30	(48.4)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	1	(7.1)	30	(58.8)	29	(46.8)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	12	(85.7)	18	(35.3)	3	(4.8)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	14	(100)	51	(100)	62	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 58.96, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 39

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' OPINION REGARDING DOING THINGS THE CANADIAN WAY

	Agree		Disagree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	4	(10.8)	30	(33.3)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	15	(40.5)	45	(50.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	18	(48.7)	15	(16.7)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	37	(100)	90	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 15.78, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 40

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND PERCEIVED SIMILARITY, INDEX

	Low		Medium		High		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	13	(76.5)	21	(29.6)	0	(0.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	4	(23.5)	38	(53.5)	18	(46.2)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	0	(0.0)	12	(16.9)	21	(53.9)	33	(26,0)
TOTAL	17	(100)	71	(100)	39	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 47.28, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level.

TABLE 41

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND LEGAL SITUATION IN CANADA

	Naturalized Canadian		Landed Immigrant		Other Situations		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	9	(12.5)	15	(41.7)	10	(52.6)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	37	(51.4)	16	(44.4)	7	(36.8)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	26	(36.1)	5	(13.9)	2	(10.5)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	72	(100)	36	(100)	19	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 20.58; Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 42

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND PREFERRED PASSPORT

	An Arabic Passport		A Canadian Passport		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	15	(33.3)	4	(14.3)	19	(26.0)
MEDIUM	23	(51.1)	11	(39.3)	34	(46.6)
HIGH	7	(15.6)	13	(46.4)	20	(27.4)
TOTAL	45	(100)	28	(100)	73	(100)

x^2 = 8.93, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .02 level

TABLE 43

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' OPINION REGARDING
WHETHER NATURALIZATION INVOLVES A CHANGE OF LOYALTY

	Only A Formality		Some Change In Loyalty		A Lot Of Change In Loyalty		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	26	(38.2)	6	(13.3)	2	(16.7)	34	(27.2)
MEDIUM	36	(53.0)	21	(46.7)	2	(16.8)	59	(47.2)
HIGH	6	(8.8)	18	(41.0)	8	(66.7)	32	(25.6)
TOTAL	68	(100)	45	(100)	12	(100)	125	(100)

x^2 = 28.59, Degrees of Freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 44

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION
OF OWN IDENTITY: CANADIANS OR ARABS?

	More Canadian Than Arab		Half and Half		More Arab Than Canadian		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	34	(46.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	9	(36.0)	18	(64.3)	33	(44.6)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	16	(64.0)	10	(35.7)	7	(9.5)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	25	(100)	28	(100)	74	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 49.56, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 45

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND THE INTENTION TO STAY IN CANADA

	Intend To Stay		Do Not Intend To Stay		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	7	(11.0)	26	(46.4)	33	(27.5)
MEDIUM	28	(43.8)	29	(51.8)	57	(47.5)
HIGH	29	(45.3)	1	(1.8)	30	(25.0)
TOTAL	64	(100)	56	(100)	120	(100)

x^2 = 36.72, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 46

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND HOME OWNERSHIP

	Own		Rent		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	8	(14.6)	26	(36.1)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	28	(50.9)	32	(44.4)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	19	(34.6)	14	(19.4)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	55	(100)	72	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 8.43, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .02 level

TABLE 47

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND FEELING AT HOME IN CANADA

	Feel At Home		Do Not Feel At Home		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	3	(4.5)	31	(51.7)	34	(26.8
MEDIUM	33	(49.6)	27	(45.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	31	(46.3)	2	(3.3)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	67	(100)	60	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 48.91, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 48

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND DEFENDING CANADA IN CASE OF WAR

	Would Defend Canada		No Opinion		Would Not Defend Canada		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	12	(17.1)	15	(35.7)	7	(46.7)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	31	(44.3)	21	(50.0)	8	(53.3)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	27	(38.6	6	(14.3)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	70	(100)	42	(100)	15	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 16.59, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .01 level

TABLE 49

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND LEVEL OF LOYALTY

	High Loyalty		Medium Loyalty		Low Loyalty		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	6	(10.0)	23	(39.0)	5	(62.5)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	27	(45.0)	30	(51.0)	3	(37.5)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	27	(45.0)	6	(10.0)	0	(0.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	60	(100)	59	(100)	8	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 29.90, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 50

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND SUPPORTING CANADIAN TEAMS

AGAINST ARAB TEAMS

	Support A Canadian Team		Support Both Teams		Support The Arab Team		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	1	(5.9)	7	(14.3)	26	(42.6)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	5	(29.4)	26	(53.1)	29	(47.6)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	11	(64.7)	16	(32.7)	6	(9.8)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	17	(100)	49	(100)	61	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 29.62, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 51

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND SUPPORTING CANADIAN TEAMS AGAINST TEAMS FROM RESPONDENTS' COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

	Support The Canadian Team		Support Both Teams		Support the Team From Country Of Origin		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	0		0		34	(33.3)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	0		9	(39.1)	51	(50.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	2	(100)	14	(60.9)	17	(16.7)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	2	(100)	23	(100)	102	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 28.12, Degrees of freedom = 4, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 52

RATE OF ASSIMILATION BY SEX

	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW	21	(19.6)	13	(65.0)	34	(26.8)
MEDIUM	56	(52.3)	4	(20.0)	60	(47.2)
HIGH	30	(28.0)	3	(15.0)	33	(26.0)
TOTAL	107	(100)	20	(100)	127	(100)

x^2 = 17.79, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .001 level

TABLE 53

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RESPONDENTS'

MARITAL STATUS

	Married	Not Married	Total
	N %	N %	N %
LOW	31 (32.7)	3 (10.7)	34 (27.6)
MEDIUM	45 (47.4)	11 (39.3)	56 (45.5)
HIGH	19 (20.0)	14 (50.0)	33 (26.8)
TOTAL	95 (1,00)	28 (100)	123 (100)

$x^2 = 19.32$, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .01 level

TABLE 54

RATE OF ASSIMILATION AND RELIGION

	Christian	Muslim	Total
	N %	N %	N %
LOW	4 (11.4)	30 (33.3)	34 (27.2)
MEDIUM	16 (45:8)	43 (47.8)	59 (47.2)
HIGH	15 (42.9)	17 (18.9)	32 (25.6)
TOTAL	35 (100)	90 (100)	125 (100)

$x^2 = 10.12$, Degrees of freedom = 2, significant at the .01 level

APPENDIX IV

A LETTER FROM THE ISLAMIC

SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA

TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF ONTARIO

بسـم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الإتحاد الإسلامي لامريكا الشمالية

THE ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA

Canadian Zonal Office: P.O. Box 160, Station P, Toronto, Ont. M5S 2S7
Phone: (416) 922-5828

March 23, 1983

Mr. Roy McMurtury
Attorney-General
Province of Ontario
Toronto, Ontario

Re: <u>Legislation on Freedom of Worship for Muslims in Ontario</u>

Dear Mr. McMurtury:

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) formerly the Muslim Students Association of U.S. & Canada (MSA), would like to submit an appeal to the Government of Ontario through your office. This appeal is regarding the difficulties which the Muslims residing in Ontario are facing for the practice of their religion.

The appeal itself describes such difficulties and defines those areas where we as Muslims need help from your Government through legislation. Some members of our community in various towns have gone through the ordeal of losing their jobs when they request for permission to perform their Friday prayer in a nearby mosque. Two recent cases are of Brs. A. G. Chaudhry and Ali, former employees of Ontario Hydro and C. B. Packaging Ltd. respectively. In both cases, complaints were filed with the Ontario Human Rights Commission with no results until the present time.

A number of members of the Muslim community have signed this petition and their signatures are attached herewith. We would request you to please consider the grievances of our community and we would hope that you would kindly do something about these problems.

Thank you very much.

Yours very truly

Mohammad Ashraf Ph.D.
Director

The Muslim Community of Ontario which numbers well over 100,000 people appreciates and supports the Government of Ontario for its declaration and support of the concepts of "Mutual Respect, Flexibility, Mutual Understanding and Religious Toleration".

We the Muslims residing in the Province of Ontario, in our desire and eagerness to make the richest and most useful contribution to this Province and its people through "Islamic Culture and Heritage" respectfully request the Government of Ontario to incorporate in the Bill 4.7 a fundamental privilege with respect to our "Days of Worship". The Muslims of the Province of Ontario feel that it will be of immense value to our and to the Muslim Community at large if the Government of Ontario would give consideration to the following:

a) Friday Prayer:

It is obligatory on all Muslims to go to the Juma Prayer every Friday between 1:00 - 2:30 p.m. This worship takes place by way of congregation in a mosque and not individually by each Muslim. It is to be performed in the early hours of the afternoon on each Friday according to what Allah (God) says in the Qur'an.

"Oh you who believe, when the call to prayer is made on Friday, hasten to the rememberance of God and leave off all worldly commerce, this is better for you if you know".

Chapter LXII:9

Therefore, the Muslims would request the Government of Ontario to provide some legislative guarantee to the Muslim employees for one and half hours time for prayer on Friday.

b) Two Muslim Festivals:

The Muslims also celebrate two major religious festivals every year. They are Eid al-Fitr, which is at the end of the month of Fasting, i.e. Ramadan, and the other, the Eid al-Adha, the festival of sacrifice in the tradition of Prophet Abraham (peace be upon him). These two days are important for the Muslims in order to preserve their religious faith

and Islamic culture. Therefore, we would appreciate if these days are declared as Muslim holidays. This would be of immense relief for Muslims residing in the Province of Ontario.

The Muslim employees are quite willing to accept that either they may not be paid for such time taken off or they would make up by putting in extra time.

- c) <u>Amendment for the Right to Appeal</u>:

The Bill 4.7 is silent as to the remedies open to a complainant if the Human Rights Commission does not request a hearing by Board of Inquiry or refuses any such request on the part of a complainant. There must be a right of appeal to the Minister with a further right of appeal to the Supreme Court.

These problems are being faced by those who have embraced the Islamic faith. It will be necessary for all employees to realize that the Law of the land i.e. Province of Ontario allows freedom of worship for its Muslim residents as prescribed for them in their Holy Book (Holy Quran). Therefore, the employers' co-operation in this regard will be guaranteed for the Muslim residents of Ontario by such legislature.

As you are aware, other religions such as Christianity and Judiasm have their days of worship on Sunday and Saturday respectively, which are not working days. Thus they are not faced with the same problem as the Muslim community is . Moreover, both the Christians and Jews are also given the days of for their annual religious festivals such as Christmas and Yom Kippur respectively.

We would also like to point out that these privileges which we are seeking here in Ontario were accorded to the Muslim Community in London, England a couple of years ago.

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