SOUTH ASIAN FIRST-GENERATION AND SECOND-GENERATION FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

By

Gaganpreet Deol, BSW, Ryerson University, 2013

An MRP

presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Social Work

in the Program of

Social Work

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2017

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ABSTRACT

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Master of Social Work, 2017

Gaganpreet Deol

Program of Social Work,

Ryerson University

The topic of this research is examining family dynamics and dual identity. The aim of the research was to analyze whether identity and social construction of ideologies influence family dynamics. It examined how social and internal factors affect a family, focusing on first-generation and second-generation families. This was a qualitative study examining first-generation and second-generation South Asian individuals. I interviewed the individuals using open-ended questions to examine the experiences of adult first-generation Canadians and second-generation Canadians. The study examined how their relationships are affected and influenced by external sources such as school, work, social circles and western ideologies. In conclusion, although themes were common among participants the experience of families and individuals are based on the unique and individualized family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction

Families are unique and come in many different forms, whether through birth, adoption, foster families, or families created through social interactions and/or communities. Understanding the function and development of a family in an individual's life is important because they have an enormous impact on psychological, emotional and physical development. This research examines family dynamics and family relationships.

I believe that first-generation and second-generation individuals battle with their individual identities, along with how their identity fits into their societal context First-generation refers to people who were born outside of Canada and second-generation refers to individuals who were born in Canada and had at least one parent born outside Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013.). First-generation individuals migrate to another country to live in a host country. Immigration is vital to society, and has increased over time with many people migrating to Canada from many countries. The focus of this research will be South Asian/Indian immigrants and their families who have migrated from India. In this research, I am referring to first-generation South Asian and second-generation South Asian individuals. There is a collective struggle occurring within these intersecting identities. The individuals that migrate, as well as their families, have to struggle through similar experiences such as racism, stereotypes, oppression, and stigma as a collective group due to their skin colour, accents and immigration status.

In my perspective and experience, western ideologies focus on an individualistic perspective, while the South Asian lens looks at the family as a collective, working together

for the benefit of the collective rather than the individual. As a family migrates to Canada, they are integrated into the Canadian system and Canadian/western norms can become ingrained into the immigrant's life. That is the experience of many first-generation Canadians. For second-generation Canadians, individuals grow up with western perspectives, unlike their parents who grew up with the norms in their home country and then experience western perspectives once they arrive in Canada. Canadian norms are ingrained into second-generation Canadians systematically during school and many other everyday situations. As a second-generation Canadian, I identify myself as a Canadian. Therefore, having a conversation with my first-generation Canadian parents causes conflicts due to my having a dual identity and us holding different views. In my personal experiences, my views as a South Asian first-generation and my parent's views as second-generation often conflict and cause problems within the home and the family. There is a gap in research that examines how these important differences in views are addressed, as well as their corresponding impact on the South Asian family home.

Families are an essential support system for many people. Immigration has changed the dynamic of family life and many services are now provided to help families with this struggle, such as counselling for South Asian individuals through Indus Community Services. Effects of immigration are different for parents, children and elderly (Juthani, 1992). Youth will adapt to culture and explore their identity as new immigrants in their host culture while navigating through their family dynamics (Renzaho et al.,2017). Understanding South Asian family dynamics and how these families experience conflict will

provide future practitioners with valuable knowledge for addressing issues of cultural differences when providing services to this community. This major research paper will examine existing literature regarding South Asian immigration issues, followed by the theoretical framework used to understand this topic and the methodology used for research. The paper will then provide findings from the research participants, and discuss these conclusions from the context of the theoretical framework and existing literature. I will end by addressing the implications of this research for social work practice.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Living in Canada as a settler, we often come across a variety of cultures and views which most are not aware of, or take for granted. s an individual who lives in a community where culture is significant, the ideologies I form often influence my identity. In this paper, I refer to ideology as the views and values that an individual holds. Ideology "refers to the study of ideas, a form of general or abstract discourse, immobilized thought, or any doctrine claiming to justify a collective activity of a political, religious, artistic, or other kind" (Auffert, 2005, p. 795). On an individual basis, ideology can be understood as the lens through which we understand our world and from which we view our identity. Ng and Northcott (2009) refer to identity as a "continuing and coherent sense of self over time" (p. 131). Identity can change over time for individuals, especially for those who migrate to another country. Immigrants must take their sense of self and adapt to a new culture and different ideologies, which invariably affects their identity (Kulu & González-Ferrer, 2014). There appears to be little literature regarding immigrant families and the relationship conflicts that occur within a family related to dual identities. This is surprising, given the extent of immigration that occurs around the globe. I assume the lack of literature I discovered may be due to the specific research terms I used, such as South Asian, identity, conflict, family conflict, Indian, immigration and dual identity. This may be significant in itself?

In a family, everyone has a role to play and each role is connected within the overall family structure. How individual roles are determined and assigned vary with each family,

based on group ideologies as well as the social location of the individuals. The role of the female is traditionally that of the mother, caregiver, daughter, and wife; the role of the male is that of the father, breadwinner, husband and leader of the family (Mehrotra & Calastani, 2010). In traditional South Asian families, these are the gender roles of family members. Gender roles are the often determined by society and are represented by a generic set of practices that individuals follow, such as women cooking and childrearing, or men doing heavy lifting and being decision-makers. In the article *The Family as a Site for Gendered Ethnic Identity Work Among Asian Indian Immigrants,* Meeta Mehrotra and Toni Calastani (2010) discuss gender as it relates to South Asian first-generation women, specifically the connection between gender and the South Asian community:

> Ethnicity and gender are intertwined, so that what it means to be an Indian man differs from what it means to be an Indian woman, and influences individuals' conceptualization and performance of their roles as parents, spouses, and children within the context of family relationships (p. 781)

Notably, the authors do not discuss whether the ethnicity of different cultures and subgroups affect the role of women, as even within the South Asian community there are many subgroups. We do know from the scholarship that in some families, women perform traditional roles informed by stereotypes about gender roles (Mitchell, 2014). Women discuss not having enough time, being obligated to provide care for both the elderly and children, and experiencing a lack of support for immigrants (Mitchell, 2014). South Asian families take the responsibility of the elders within the family, and commonly live in the

same house. The responsibility towards the elderly in the home and of the children is placed on the women of the house with little support from other family members. Riley and Bowen (2005) discuss how caregivers dealing with children can increase caregiver stress, intergenerational conflicts and marital conflicts, while also diminishing mental health. The role of caregiver falls to the women in the South Asian community, who are given the added responsibilities of caring for the elderly, the children and the husband. Role responsibilities often include household chores, cooking most of the time, and working a full time job to provide financial support for the family.

As a second-generation Indo-Canadian, in my experience, my mother was responsible for taking care of both my grandparents, all of the children, my father, as well as my aunts and uncles. While being a caregiver, she also worked a full time job to support the family financially. These multiple identities can be examined from social roles and socio-demographic characteristics (Mehrotra & Calastani, 2010). In the South Asian community, gender roles are determined by social structures such as race, wealth, caste and financial status. The traditional roles of South Asian men and women are at conflict once migrated to Canada (Mehrotra & Calastani, 2010). Although roles may change due to adaptation to a new culture, traditional gender identities and hierarchy are often reproduced in the host country (Mehrotra & Calastani, 2010). In Canada, gender inequities occur despite the fact that women are more likely to perform paid work than unpaid work (Mitchell, 2014). "Baby boomer women have unprecedented stresses that stem from the demands of work and caregiving; balancing multiple identities, such as parent, grandparent, volunteer, friend

6

and/or spouse, as well as normative pressures to take care of themselves" (Mitchell, 2014, p. 333). In the South Asian context, the role of the man is to be the breadwinner. With regards to caregiving, women are expected to provide all the care for the elderly and children, while the man is the source of financial support (Mehrotra & Calastani, 2010). Second-generation individuals continue to face inequalities in the Canadian context through stereotypes created by society about their cultural group and appearances.

Mehrotra and Calastani (2010) discuss how the women participants in their study showed concern about how to socialize their children to be proper Indian boys and girls in a foreign environment. As a woman from a South Asian community, I am familiar with this concern, and have observed and experienced similar gender inequalities. From an early age, I was informed about differences between male and female roles, and I was told I would not be able to do certain activities. I was told that girls must not talk to boys or they were considered promiscuous; that my brother will care for my parents while I get married off to take care of my in-laws; that I should not run because girls aren't supposed to run; and that I should clean up after the boys in the home.

Parent-child relationships can be a determinant of identity. There are multiple barriers and challenges in parent-child relationships, including language barriers, cultural divides and discrepancies between children's ideals and parents' ideas (Kang, Okazaki, Abelmann, Kim Prieto & Lan, 2010). This is relevant to immigrant families and their children who may live in the same house, but still have challenges in their relationships due to differences in identity and ideologies. Kang et al (2010) note that Korean Americans

7

report challenges in parent-child relationships around lack of parental involvement, language barriers, communication problems, and academic pressures.

A common theme in the literature is around academic pressure from immigrant parents. In academia, females score higher grade than boys, although teachers report relationships with female students as less problematic than with boys, reinforcing gender roles within academia (Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes & Milburn, 2009). I have observed gender roles in academia where girls are seen as intelligent and do not require assistance, while boys require continuous observation as they are seen to want to play or goof around. These behaviours impact the way teachers react to the students, which can result in biased responses to students, such as a negative relationship with boys. In my experience working with schools, administration often discriminates against immigrant and poor families, due to their own ideologies about how each culture acts and how their children behave. Education is especially important among immigrant families, as it is a way for family members to gain power and privilege. However, education may not necessarily contribute to family well –being, due to system barriers experienced by immigrant and racialized families. Similarly, academic success is important to South Asian immigrant parents, which adds pressure to second-generation individuals and immigrant youth. Due to higher education achievement, South Asian individuals who excel academically have been given the label of "model minority" (Somerville & Robinson, 2016, p. 101), further reinforcing harmful cultural stereotypes.

Academic success for individuals is important to the South Asian community; the success of a family is measured through each individual within the family. If one member of the family does not succeed, it portrays a negative image of the family as a whole. "The College years mark the time when an individual frames his or her identity in terms of other persons, institutions, and the social and historical context in which he or she is embedded" (Louie, 2006, p. 375). Kang et al. (2010) demonstrate that youth have difficulty socializing with peers, due to pressure from parents about academic success, which is linked with parental approval. The pressures of academic success expectations by parents may have a negative effect on the youth, as it is often linked to approval of their parents. When the youth does not achieve this academic success, they are negatively impacted. Support from parents and community members diminishes when youth rebel against parents and their expectations (Somerville & Robinson, 2016). Conflicting support refers to the negative image and lack of support that individuals receive from other individuals when they do not follow the cultural norms. While not experienced by everyone within the South Asian community, I have experienced parents have expectations regarding children and the career path they choose, whereby certain careers are considered worthy, while others are not. Picking a career or ideology that goes against the parents can cause conflict in the parent-child relationship. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2009) examines patterns of academic engagement and achievement over multiple generations. Parents with lower educational attainment and single parents reported higher levels of school problems; individuals who had social supports in the school setting achieved higher academically. Parents with less

9

education often must learn the new cultural norms of the society they migrate to in order to teach their children and assist them with their homework/schoolwork. English language skills predicted academic performance, while social supports predicted academic engagement (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Immigrant students can struggle significantly in academia, which is often dependent on the supports around them.

Similarly, I am constantly pressured about my education from my parents. I decided that I wanted to become a police officer, but was told by my parents that I couldn't make that career choice due to my gender. I was the first to go to university among my siblings and cousins; for my older cousins who did not attend post-secondary education, they were viewed negatively and spoke of within the family as 'bad kids'. My community speaks of education highly and there is a lot of success attached to obtaining a post-secondary education. This is due to the fact that education is seen as an opportunity to escape the hardships that first-generation Canadians faced.

Immigrants work in riskier jobs than other labourers due to differences such as language ability and education (Orrenius & Zavodny, 2009). Some South Asian first-generation Canadians may not have the education or experience required to get jobs in Canada. Often stories are heard about individuals being doctors, lawyers and engineers in India and coming to Canada to work as taxi or truck drivers in order to support their family. Although there appears to be academic pressures placed on second-generation individuals, the pressure is based on the difficulties that immigrants face in order to adjust

to life while ensure that their children do not have to work risky jobs, as they do, in order to survive.

My parents came to Canada in 1989 from a village in India. They did not complete high school and could not speak English, and they did not have any experience in the workplace. For the last 26 years they have worked in factories and have learned English through communication with co-workers. My father cannot write or read neither English nor Punjabi; he was not given the opportunity to attend school as he had to take care of his family.

Tonsing (2014) discusses that depending on age of migration, first-generation individuals were employed in risky occupations, while a higher proportion of second-generation individuals are in office jobs,. Orrenius and Zavodny (2009) examined immigrants working conditions to determine whether immigrants work riskier jobs; they concluded that immigrants are more likely to work riskier jobs due to immigrants' lower English language ability and education. English is a large part of western society. South Asian immigrants must learn the language of the country they live in. This allows them to obtain employment in Canada, but depending on their language skills, they may end up working jobs that lack opportunities for them. In order to maintain and encourage the second-generation Canadians to learn their ethnic language, they must practice this language in the home. "When a family migrates, parents cannot rely on the new society to assist in the transmission of cultural values to their children, often leading parents to adhere more strongly to the traditional culture to help bolster maintenance of ethnic

values" (Stuart & Ward, 2011, p. 118). With long hours trying to provide for a family, first-generation parents may lack involvement in the lives of their children as second-generation individuals.

Korean Americans report lack of parental involvement as a challenge in the parent-child relationship (Kang et al, 2010). Similar to Korean Americans, South Asian first-generation parents often become preoccupied by work and supporting the family financially, which can have a negative effect on the child and can become a barrier in the parent-child relationship. Fatima, Sheikh and Ardila (2015) discuss the parent-child relationship and the effects of the relationship on cognition in South Asian adolescents; results showed that the parent-child relationship, socioeconomic status and parents' education are related to cognition. Second-generation individuals expressed that the parent-child relationship is overwhelmed with inconsistencies; "although the second generation expresses frustration, lack of understanding, and at times anger or resentment, they also express caring and understanding that their parents sacrificed a lot to provide them with educational opportunities" (Somerville & Robinson, 2016, p. 113).

As immigrants and children of immigrants, a common theme is around challenges in relationships. Kang et al. (2010) discuss the challenges between Korean children and their immigrant parents. Some of the challenges relate to providing understanding about South Asian communities, as South Asian and Chinese communities have commonalities. The authors discuss the formation of identity and this is formed over time, but they do not go into detail about bi-cultural identity or the identity formation relative to the environment.

A common theme between Kang et al. (2010) and Saavedra (2016) is language and its influences on the family, both negatively or positively. Individuals who communicate with their parents in the same language have a stronger relationship than those communicating in different languages (Saavedra, 2016). The language an individual speaks within the home is a form of expression and a way to continue the traditions and heritage of a culture. As such, language is a form of identity. Louie (2006) discusses identity differences between second-generation Chinese and Dominican, and how these differences are dependent on the environment and relationships developed with first-generation parents. This relates to transnationalism, which refers to immigrants maintaining connections to their country of origin and examines their experiences in the country they migrate to (Louie, 2006). Louie's study (2006) determined that better communication in the family, maintaining language and trips to their homeland allowed respondents to draw from both transnationalism and ethnic orientation, and they expressed themselves with both identities. In the Chinese respondents, there was a loss of language and rare contact with parents' country of origin; these factors, combined with authoritarian parenting styles, resulted in the ethnic identity of the Chinese respondents being grounded using mainstream American ideologies (Louie, 2006). In Canada, the two official languages are English and French; these languages are reinforced throughout academics, work, social interactions and everyday life. First-generation individuals have practiced their country of origin language and must adapt to a new culture and language if they have not practiced that language before. In this struggle to learn the Canadian culture, immigrants lose their own culture and language. In my own life,

Punjabi language and ethnic traditions have been enforced with my family encouraging me to speak the language and attending traditional events, but Eurocentric ideologies have also been encouraged.

The identity of second-generation individuals is dependent on the relationship and identity that is reinforced by first-generation individuals. Parents that enforce ethnic ideologies of their country of origin using an authoritarian parent-child relationship style will not maintain ethnic culture with second-generation individuals. It has been found that first-generation individuals who share cultural views with the second-generation are more likely to have pan-ethnic identities (Louie, 2006). Living in western society, the western way is encouraged for immigrants and Canadian-born individuals, no matter what their race or ethnicity. I live with a dual identity as a Sikh Punjabi woman and a Canadian woman, often holding contradictory values regarding cultural views such as drinking alcohol, which is against the Indian culture, but not discouraged in a Canadian context. Socializing with the different communities, I change my identity to 'fit in'.

Similarly, first-generation individuals may live in a community that supports their ethnic background. For examples, examining Brampton as a community that has a large subgroup of South Asian individuals, newcomers may be attracted to join this community in order to maintain and encourage ethnicity and culture in a host country context. Zaidi, Couture-Carron, Maticka-Tyndale and Arif (2014) use the demographic of Greater Toronto Area (GTA) within their research as they describe "The Greater Toronto Area (GTA), with 41% of its population of 5.5 million considered immigrants, receives the largest proportion

of immigrants to Canada" (p. 28). The article examines immigrant experiences and the

challenges that they face. A critique of this article is that it examines cross-gendered

relationships amongst South Asian youth in Canada, but does not examine relationships

with individuals that are not a part of the South Asian community, such as inter-racial

relationships. Also, the article does not discuss same sex relationships, as if they do not

exist within the community. This is important in my research, as same sex relationships are

frowned upon, and sexuality issues are not discussed within the South Asian community.

First-generation individuals face discrimination, racism and hassles within their host

country. Although Canada is known to be a 'multicultural' and 'culturally competent'.

Culturally competent can be defined as "understand[ing] culture and its function in human

behavior and society, recognizing the strengths that exist in all cultures (NASW, 2011, p. 7).

Referring to Canada as culturally competent means that Canada recognizes differences

between cultures but assumes that all members of a cultural or ethnic group are the same,

and does not recognize individual differences and the cultural, racial and ethnic

discrimination that continues to occur. There continues to be discrimination and bias

placed on individuals whether they are first-generation or second-generation. The concept

'brown' or 'browness' is attached to the South Asian community to classify a minority

group of individuals. A study by Purnima Sundar in 2008 examined the idea of being

"brown". Sundar (2008) speaks to South Asian-Canadian women and men examining how

youth describe and use their identity in different social contexts. Sundar (2008) found that

a youth's race, ethnicity and personal history influences how they represent and view their

15

identity in Canadian contexts. Individuals construct and reconstruct their identity depending on the environment around them. An individual associating with youth from the South Asian community may portray more ethnic identity based on their ethnic group, known as "brown it up" (Sundar, 2008, p. 266). Meanwhile, at school, individuals may construct a more western identity in order to "fit in" with that social group, "bringing down the brown" (Sundar, 2008, p. 266). To 'fit in', second-generation youth must behave differently inside and outside of their home (Zaidi et al., 2014). Due to cultural and language barriers, individuals may face hassles and discrimination.

Outside of the ethnic group and community, individuals may experience discrimination and racism that affects the community and the family. As Zaidi et al. (2014) mention, behaviour inside and outside the home differs in order to "fit in".

Whether their goals are material/economic or psychological/ emotional, these youth have gained expertise in: 1) evaluating the demands of particular interactions at individual, group, and systems levels; 2) making decisions about which identity will best support them in achieving their goal(s) within those interactions; and 3) foregrounding particular identity dimensions favorable to reaching these objectives. This is clear in the way youth make decisions to "brown it up" or to "bring down the brown" as a way of attaining specific goals or managing the challenges of living in a multicultural Canadian context (Sundar, 2008, pp. 269-270).

Even when trying to 'fit in', individuals face discrimination and racism. Individuals face discrimination, prejudice and structural barriers when they do not conform to

mainstream ideologies or appear to be different from mainstream counterparts (Sundar, 2008). Tummala-Narra, Inman and Ettigi (2011) examine discrimination and mental health in their research, where participants were asked to identify a situation involving racial/ethnic discrimination. Participants perceived race as significant when immersing within the Indian community to connect with their Indian heritage. Race was important, as it was a determinant of racism, stereotypes and also possible opportunities. Generational differences revealed that for first-generation individuals race was relevant in situations involving discriminatory incidents but for second-generation, race was significant in situations when they identified as a racial minority (Tummala-Narra et al., 2011). Participants also felt that ethnicity was relevant, as they felt they stood out due to otherness (Tummala-Narra et al., 2011). First-generation individuals have to deal with discrimination regarding acculturation, which may be different than second-generation experiences, as follows. Abouguendia and Noels (2001) examine difficulties of first-generation and second-generation Canadians using Lay and Nguyen's hassle inventory, by measuring general hassle (money, no time to meet obligations), family hassles (overburden with traditions and different values than parents), internal group hassles (people from own ethnic group not understanding and feeling disliked by other members of the community) and external group hassles (actions based on ethnic origins or rudeness). Results found both generations report more in-group hassles, with first-generation predicting low self-esteem and second-generation reporting greater depression (Abouguendia &

17

Noels, 2001). Although the hassles appear to be similar, the outcomes of the hassles

are different; therefore, it is important to consider acculturation experience of

second-generation individuals to be different than that of first-generation immigrants

(Abouguendia & Noels, 2001).

On a regular basis, first-generation and second-generation individuals deal with

conflicting identities. Identity is socially constructed and developed over time. This raises

the question of how identity that is socially constructed conflict in a family unit where

culture, ethnicity and ideology are placed in a small space? Within a family, everyone is

given a role in order to allow the family as a system to function, but ideologies regarding

gender roles conflict. South Asian culture reinforces gender inequality through gender

roles and sacrifice for the collective (family), while western culture encourages women to

speak up against injustices that occurs. These conflicting identities influence family

dynamics. Families place pressure on first-generation and second-generation South Asian

individuals to excel and to be the "model minority" and "perfect son/daughter", unaware of

the barriers in place in academia and workplace settings that put first-generation and

second-generation individuals at risk. The parent-child relationship is affected by the

pressures placed by parents on academic attainment, lack of involvement due to work,

socio-economic status and social supports. Parents encourage ethnic values and language

in a society where English is the dominant language. These issues intertwine and influence

a family, as each family role is affected. My focus of study is examining how social and

internal factors affect a family, focusing on first-generation and second-generation families.

18

The aim of my research is to determine whether identity and social construction of ideologies influence family dynamics. There is a lack of literature about how these multiple issues intertwine within the family and affect first and second generation families as a whole. My research will focus on examining how families are affected and influence ideologies. My research question asks: how do identity issues and ideological values, as first and second generation individuals, influence family dynamics?

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Although there are many theories and frameworks that exist, I am limiting my

theoretical framework to critical perspectives, anti-oppression frameworks and critical

race theory to inform my work.

For my research, I want to examine ideas through a critical theory lens. Critical theory

"refuses to identify freedom with any institutional arrangement or fixed system of thought.

It questions the hidden assumptions and purposes of competing theories and existing

forms of practice" (Bronner, 2011, pp. 1-2). Examining ideas through a critical lens allows

for questions and reexamining of ideas that alter with time and situation. A critical lens

allows us to understand how the common ideas and points of view often create a double

standard, in which some groups benefit from society while another group continues to

struggle. Understanding first-generation and second-generation South Asian perspectives,

which exposes how dominant ideas oppress these groups, is part of critical thinking. Two

ideas associated with critical theory are alienation and reification (Bronner, 2011). In order

to look ahead, theorist must examine the past (Bronner, 2011). Looking backwards

demonstrates the history of individuals and where their ideologies stem from. Alienation

happens where there is a lack of consciousness and critical thinking of individuals (Bonner,

2011). Examining immigration and migration with a critical lens to understand the history

behind these ideas will provide knowledge regarding how we have come up with ideologies

of western perspective. A critical perspective allows for the questioning of dominant

discourses that are hidden and circulated throughout western ideologies through

20

institutions such as our education system. The way that Canadians or South Asians are viewed by the dominant group is fixed and concrete, creating a group identity based on stigma and stereotypes. As a part of a critical theory lens, I want to step away from the single lens of identity and examine a more complex dual identity.

This research also stems from an anti-oppression perspective through a critical theory lens. Anti-oppression discourse has emerged to address issues of diversity, differences and inclusion (Brown, 2012). Throughout the process, anti-oppression is important as it will guide me in my interviews and help me understand how individuals truly see their lives instead of assuming that all South Asians have the same experiences. As minority individuals, we constantly try to include ourselves in the Canadian identity by merging ideologies without reflecting on what it means to be Canadian, and what that identity contains. In trying to blend with the Canadian identity, we often lose our individual identity (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001). A postmodern lens may increase reflection on theories of knowledge regarding practices, causing advancement of the social justice agenda within anti-oppression discourse (Brown, 2012). In the research, I want to understand how knowledge regarding one particular group is perceived, and further explore how to deconstruct it in order to understand how the participants view the dominant knowledge. Reflexivity allows for individuals to examine how oppression and colonial perspective is embedded in discourse (Brown, 2012). In order to work with minorities, I have to be reflexive in the research process, to understand how I am privileged or disadvantaged in relationship to my research participants. When examining anti-

oppression, especially within the South Asian community, it is vital to also explore the idea of surveillance (Fuchs, 2015). The current economy and state depends on the control of workers, consumers, prosumers and citizens; surveillance is a form of domination (Fuchs, 2015). Surveillance is used to develop this idea of 'the other', which is anyone that does not fit with the 'dominant group'. Oppression occurs for those individuals who do not fit into the norms, where the other is suppressed and discriminated against. Surveillance is a form of control that forms dimensions of domination, exploitation, class, capitalism, patriarchy, racism and other negative phenomena (Fuchs, 2015). South Asian individuals in particular are surveilled by dominant groups because they do not often follow the dominant cultures and views. There is stigma and stereotypes that are attached to the South Asian person, with expectations to act a certain way or be considered as 'the other'. Individuals that do not conform to the norms of society are then reported on or oppressed for being different from the dominant group

Through history, colonization has negatively influenced both South Asia and Canada respectively, creating white colonized perspectives and reinforcing western ideologies. Challenging colonial views with an anti-oppression perspective that uses a critical lens is important for the further development of social justice and advocacy for racialized individuals and minorities. Decolonization refers to the transition from a world of colonial empires to a world of nation states after World War II (Kennedy, 2016). After World War II, Britain's South Asian possessions, India, Sri Lanka and Burma/ Myanmar, fought for independence (Kennedy, 2016). But during the colonization process, the powers left

turmoil and conflict within the country. This brings into light who has power and who matters. Power is manifested within relationships (Brown, 2012). In relation to this research, examining powers within families is an importance concept to consider. Cosis-Brown and Cocker (2011) draw on power and Foucault in the context of lesbian and gay men, which can be seen as a parallel with the South Asian community such that power is exercised from specific locations and by specific people. It is vital to understand and deconstruct how western power influences family and how that power is constructed and deconstructed among family members in order to gain knowledge about the influence of western ideologies on the family. As well, it is important to understand that western ideas of power are prevalent in the immigration processes and reconstructed within first-generation and second-generation South Asians. Power is prevalent in immigration; racism impacts immigration policies, and racism is often on minorities families, which can be linked to power, wealth, privilege and whiteness (Bhui, 2016).

While examining race, we must also be critical. Critical race theory examines race through a critical and reflexive lens. Race dominates our personal lives (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). For anyone moving to Canada as a racial minority, discrimination and bias occur. Individuals from specific countries are excelling in Canada while other immigrants, such as those from developing nations, are required to work much harder to be able to gain the same advantages (Somerville & Robinson, 2016). As discussed in my social work class at Ryerson University, if we critically analyze education status, those individuals who immigrate from India are often required to prove that their education meets the standards

of Canadian education by jumping through hoops such as tests, exams, and requalification courses. Immigrants from the United States, Australia or England are not required to do the same. This experience is further perpetuated by the over qualification of immigrants, particularly those from India, in their work roles in their host country (Dumont & Monso, 2007). Haney Lopez (1994) discusses the notion that humankind can be divided by black, white, and yellow lines which reveals the social nature of race rather than the origin of race. Race is socially identified and socially constructed. This means that you are identified by the colour of your skin and how society perceives that race. Identity in terms of race can be linked with different societal contexts, and if the societal context changes, it can influence your identity and what race you identify with. As a part of this research, I will be examining how race and identity are socially constructed and how these societal constructs influence an individual, as this is vital to understanding the conflict that occurs in the family. I want to examine how race, identity and ideologies influence the family dynamics. Families are influenced by external sources such as work, school, society, other members of the family, and social relationships. Critical race theory examines power, privilege and how whiteness impacts social justice work and how whiteness impacts the dominant discourses and views the world through its frame (Patton & Bondi, 2015). There continues to be a tug of war that occurs within an immigrant family regarding identity. Colonization has instilled a white perspective within families, but for immigrant families who have different ideologies, how do external views and perspectives influence the family?

These theories work together as they are viewed through a critical lens and take into account the view of racialized and oppressed persons, and how they are impacted by the dominant ideologies and whiteness. These theories are connected through a critical perspective of social work practice that considers how dominant views are perpetuated through norms and how these norms impact various groups differently. These theories are also connected in providing the lens that the social work professional should use for a rights-based practice.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This section of the paper will examine the methodology used to design this research. This study implements a qualitative narrative approach, where participants share their experiences and stories with the researcher.

Using a qualitative approach allows me, as a researcher, to take what the participants have stated and use it to develop common themes, patterns and relationships. A narrative approach collects individual stories about their experiences and lives (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Creswell and Poth (2017) discuss that with a narrative approach to qualitative research, the stories that emerge can be stories that the participants tell the researcher, stories that are co-constructed between researcher and participant, or stories intended as a performance to portray a message or point. "Narrative stories tell of individual experiences and they may shed light on the identities of individuals and how they see themselves" (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p. 69). The research is examining how first-generation and second-generation individuals view themselves through their experiences and how their societal context has influenced their identity. Participants gave the researcher an oral history. "An oral history consists of gathering personal reflections of events and their causes and effects from one individual or several individuals" (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p. 55). In asking participants to talk about their past and current experience, they recall those experiences orally throughout the interview. In doing so, I am not conducting an oral history of a family or group, which is how some researchers understand and use oral history in their work

26

(e.g., Portelli, 2006), but instead am using an oral method of data collection (interviews) to ask participants to reflect on their own history and current experiences.

In order to understand cross-cultural research, we must learn to accept that there is a world out there other than the one we know (Andrews, 2007). As a part of the research, I examine cross cultural groups and ideologies that pertain to the participants, specifically those who identify as Canadian, Indo-Canadian or South Asian. If you listen carefully to an individual's narrative, there is a lot to learn from every story (Clandinin, 2007). Andrews (2007) discusses attempts to converse with men and women from different cultures, and investigates the differences of participants based on the gender. Similarly, I worked with individuals who come from South Asian backgrounds who have moved to a country of western ideologies. I examined how these cross-cultural identities affect the individual and their family.

Participants and Procedure

This research examines how social and internal factors affect a family, focusing on first-generation and second-generation South Asian families. The recruitment of participants used purposeful sampling to locate potential participants through snowball methods and posters outside of grocery stores and at Ryerson University. The individuals were asked to email the researchers and upon meeting the inclusion criteria, participants received a consent form. Inclusion criteria was South Asian first-generation and second-generation, living in the greater Toronto area. The first-generation individuals must have children, who are adults between the ages of 20-30. The second-generation Canadians had

to be born in Canada. All individuals must speak English, Hindi or Punjabi. Exclusion criteria of research include individuals who are vulnerable such as children under the age of 18 years old. Once the consent was received, participants were given a data collection form.

Ethical issues

Additionally, an interview time and place was set up. Names were collected to identify individuals, but were not written or used in the research process. All participant names have been changed to ensure confidentiality of the participants. Email addresses were collected to have contact with participants throughout the research process and to forward the study to them. All personal information was stored on a password-protected computer and I was the only individual that had access to the information. Information will be destroyed prior to publication of this research.

Data Collection and Analysis

After selecting the individuals, I interviewed them using open-ended questions. In developing the interview guide, I considered what aspects of a person's history might be relevant to the themes that I had seen emerge in the literature review, as well as from my own experiences. I then reflected on those points and developed a set of questions as my interview guide. I used that guide to create a dialogue with the participants. The interviews were approximately 60-90 minutes each. The interviews were completed in English, audio-recorded and transcribed for thematic analysis within a week. The data analysis used was a

narrative thematic analysis, where the researcher identifies common themes and patterns in the dialogue.

Riessman (2008) discusses thematic analysis involving individual oral or written narrative and coming up with themes. For this study, I spoke to individuals and received their narratives. From those narratives, I coded the themes that I examined in all of the transcripts using a colour method. When I observed a theme, I highlighted the conversation and on a piece of paper, and coded it as a theme, for example, being a good South Asian or marriage. "Narratives are composed for a particular audience at moments in history, and draw on taken-for-granted discourses and value circulating in a popular culture. Consequently, narratives don't speak for themselves, offering a window into an 'essential self'" (Riessman, 2008, p. 3). I used similar questions and examined the answers of participants based on their answers to the same questions. The stories told by the participants were "selected, organized, connected and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience" (Riessman, 2008, p. 3). Commonalities were demonstrated in the conversation with some participants, which I recognized as important moments in the stories. The ideas and concepts from participants that were similar were grouped into themes, such as identity or marriage expectations. Differences between participants that emerged in our conversations were accepted and I engaged participants to understand their differences. Some differences were about a similar idea or concept, so I group those aspects into the theme of the idea itself, and then spoke about how the participants discussed these ideas in different ways. Similar to Chenail's (1995) comments on

29

juxtaposition in qualitative research writing, I looked for ways any participant's voice

confirmed or countered other participants' voices. Analysis of the dialogues involved taking

the transcribed conversations and reducing the statements made by participants into

themes or patterns within the discussions.

Chapter 5: Findings

There were four individuals interviewed for this study. Two of the individuals were males and two were females. Two of the participants were first-generation and two were second-generation. The main themes that emerge in the interviews were the idea of being a good South Asian versus a bad South Asian, expectations about marriage and the opposite sex, the importance and functions of family in South Asian families, the influences of society on their beliefs and identity. An emerging theme was also change that occurred within families over time. Participant identity was a common theme, where they used specific terms to refer to their own identity. Before presenting my finding, I want to give a narrative of the four individuals interviewed in this study.

Profile of Participants

Larry is a second-generation Canadian. He identifies as a male that has spent most of his life in a small city west of Toronto. He resides with one sibling and his parents. He received his education from college. Larry has an older brother and a younger sister.

Mia is a second-generation Canadian. She identified as a female that grew up in a town west of Toronto most of her life. She currently lives with her parents, brother and sister-in-law. Mia has a Master's degree. She has an older brother and sister.

Ria is a first-generation female. She arrived in Canada in early 1990s through a sponsorship. She resides with her in-laws, husband and children in a town northwest of Toronto. Ria has two children, one in high school and one in university. Ria spent most of her life in India until she was married to a distant family member, which brought her to

Canada. She then divorced that man and married her current husband. She has been with her husband and in-laws for over 20 years.

Garry is a first-generation male who has been in Canada for 7 years. He was previously in western Canada and recently moved to Ontario to be with his children. His wife resides in India and has a visitor visa. He has no siblings and his parents are deceased. Garry lives with his two children in a town northwest of Toronto.

Below I discuss each of the themes that emerged from my analysis of the interviews I conducted with the research participants.

Theme 1: A Good South Asian Male/Female

All participants in this study identified as South Asian, Indian or Punjabi. But with these identities there are characteristics attached to being a good South Asian boy or a good South Asian girl.

As a second-generation male, Larry discussed both his perspective and his parents' perspective of what a 'good South Asian' looks like. He spoke of attributes that he had to hide from his parents in order to appear to be a good South Asian. Larry explained:

hmmm well I never tell them how much I drink... my mom doesn't like my drinking... it's a Indian mother things.. my buddies have the same problem... or about sex... I would never tell them about the girls in my life or that I had sex... premarital sex is a big no no... sometimes lie about who I'm with... especially if it's a girl. My parents don't get the idea of girls and boys beings friends but they getting more used to it...

32

There also appears to be expectations placed on South Asian women to appear a certain way to the community. Participants discussed being "good girls", inferring that if you were not a good girl than you were bad. Parents teach their daughters to be good girls. Garry explains, "Yes, most of the time with my daughter. I always try to give her good social etiquette and values". Mia explained what it means to be a good girl as a second-generation Canadian female:

> You know basically if you've dated, if you're drinking if your independent, if you move out before marriage all those things are seen as no no for women because women are supposed to be polite educated and nurturing. Basically they're look for the ideal daughter in law…right… and that is someone who is submissive educated and seen as good polite, won't stand up, doesn't have a voice. And I think it's not so much now but it's still prominent… like girls drinking, I can't drink at my cousins wedding… you kidding me my whole family is there, whereas my brother can. Those things make me feel oppressed

Ria discussed her family differently than Mia did. She said that her family did not place restrictions on her. She explained that other girls were jealous as they were forced to do housework before being able to play as kids. She was not forced into gender roles. Ria spoke of her experience growing up in her early days in India in the following way:

> We had maids, never really focused on doing "girl" chores, friends always use to say you're lucky and we have to do so much work and you don't. We volunteered to work we were never forced to do it. Other girls had to do house work then go home change

for school early as 7:30 sometimes and we were just chilling and playing sometimes

the other moms would go and get mad saying our girls still have so much work to do

before they can play. People use to say we're lucky…

Although Ria stated the above, she also discussed cooking and cleaning for her family,

but she did not see these as gender roles. She enjoys cooking for her family every day. Ria

explained: "I usually cook and we eat together… it depends on if everyone is at home and if

someone comes home after then they eat alone. I usually rewarm it and serve it to them".

These participants discussed what it meant to be a good South Asian person versus a

bad South Asian. Most of the characteristics were based on how they acted in society and

what others thought about them. They discussed that being a good South Asian meant

there was a lot of emphasis on the women being good by prescribing to certain roles.

Theme 2: Marriage Expectations

From the day an individual is born, they learn about the meaning of marriage through

their family, society, media and social interactions. Marriage is a common theme among the

research participants. Mia explained:

umm they all want me to get a good job they all want me to be secure. They want me

to marry someone that has a good job someone that makes money… decent amount of

someone, someone that will look after me

There are many expectations that are attached to the idea of marriage, such as

marrying someone worthy enough to be a part of the family, and marrying someone that is

from the same culture as you. Worthy enough refers to someone being a good person,

educated, well settled, and from a good family. As Mia discussed her own views and her parents' views on marriage, she noted the importance of marrying a girl that keeps the family together and has characteristics of a good girl. Marriage is a significant theme that came up with the second-generation individuals. Larry explained:

> My parents don't get the idea of girls and boys beings friends but they getting more used to it... right now they're always thinking of girls to set me up with... marriage is a big thing especially since I'm 30 soon. They want to find me a good Punjabi girl that will keep our family together and be a good daughter in law. There is always conflict between mothers and their daughter in law, so they want to find me someone that is good and will not break our family.

Ria had expectations regarding their children's marriages. She believed that her children did not have thoughts about marrying outside the culture. She had negative feelings of her children marrying someone that was not a part of her culture. Then Ria discussed that, "Feelings would get hurt but they haven't thought about marrying outside of the culture and understand where we come from."

Ria also discussed her experiences with immigration and marriage in the past. Ria said that she came to Canada for her marriage. She explained the stigma attached to marriage for couples that immigrate to Canada. Ria explained that marriage expectations were around arranged marriage and finding a partner approved by her family. Ria discusses that marriage occurred in respects to immigrating to another country. Ria shared:

Back then you could sponsor anyone under engaged basis and you come here and get married. Now even if you are actually married to someone, the immigration process is harder and it's long. Sometimes you worry if immigration thinks that your marriage is fake or a fraud. It was easier back then.

Unlike the other participants, Garry spoke of marriage in terms of the person and did not think that culture had a lot to do with it. Garry stated:

I am married but me and wife separated for a long time due to our difference. I saw her for the first time in year recently and it still hard. I think marriage with someone who mind same. When have understanding, everything work out. If no, then marriage end.

Garry further discussed that culture is not important in marriage. Garry explained it this way: "Marry same culture good but no important".

Marriage was a common point of discussion among the participants. The participants discussed who were the right people to marry and who were not. They explained what their families' expectations were as well as their own. Larry discussed how after a certain age marriage was expected. Marriage is linked to family and maintaining the family unit based on what an Indian family looks like. The second-generation individuals discussed how their views on marriage are based on their family.

Theme 3: Family

Family relationships were extremely important to all the participants. They discussed family in all aspects of their life - work, family, friends and school. Family was at the centre of all of the discussions that occurred with the research participants.

Mia explained that her family goes beyond the western definition of family. She discussed her family in terms of cousins, aunts and uncles. Mia explained: "So with us we all get together with my mom's family and there about 35 of us and we all get together".

Larry discussed his family and how traditions have influenced his family. He explained how his brother is not a part of the family as he left the family home and now the responsibility is placed on him to take care of his family. Larry stated:

> My dad is angry at him for leaving his family… in the Indian culture the son is supposed to take care of his parents and live with them forever… my dad lived with his dad and his dad before that and his dad before that… he didn't follow the traditions and hopes of my dad and my brother always starts fights over nothing with my dad.

Larry explained that although they have been in Canada for years, traditions of a joint Indian family where the son takes care of their parents exist. In Larry's family, if one child is unable to care for their parents, it is passed on to the younger child.

Garry referred to his family as his best friends. They appear to have a strong relationship in the family that provides support to Garry. Garry stated, "You know my

37

daughter is like she's a good human being and my son is my best friend". Garry also mentioned that he believes that all families are different. He spoke of his experiences with his family and explains that families often have different perspectives and views. Garry stated: "Yeah every family member has a different thinking and attitude and that relation is like according to their behaviour and attitude."

Similar to Garry, Ria discussed her identity as an Indian family in comparison to "white families". She explains how these differences between families are based on their women family identity and not the collective community's ideas. Ria explained:

Every family is different, some families work differently people don't like to change. In terms of marriage some people don't care white people don't live with their parents after marriage whereas Indian people care more because family structure is different we're more family oriented white people are independent.

First-generation Canadians described their family in positive manners and discussed that they work and do everything for the betterment of their child.

Theme 4: Western Influences

Participating in events is often family based. Some individuals are influenced by western culture in their relationships.

Garry reported that he does not follow religion because he does not believe it. But he discusses that family is important and he accompanies his family in their religious practices. Garry explained: "I don't believe in the religion but I go to Gurdwara with my family just to be with them, to give them company".

Similarly, Ria discussed her family and how she believes that geography does not have an impact on how an individual or family is influenced by western ideologies. Ria believes that it is determined on an individual basis. Ria described her view of western families as the following:

Everyone's thinking is different I don't think it all depends on parents, I think everyone thinks different parents have some influence but you are still your own mind. Every family is different, some families work differently people don't like to change.

The first-generation participants discussed adapting to the culture of the country that they migrated to. While discussing adapting, some of the participants did discuss racism as a part of their life and how they have become used to it. Although Garry talked about racism, he also talked about the liberty and freedom of being in Canada. Garry explained: "There is racism but Canadians are typically good and I don't fight it. I feel like I've grown with the culture. Here you are free to do anything and participate in whatever your beliefs are".

Similarly, the second-generation individuals discussed that their families have adapted to western cultures including celebrating holidays such as Christmas. All participants mentioned celebrating Christmas. Mia explained:

umm so my family is kind of weird... we are Indian but over time we have adapted to the western culture so we celebrate Mother's day, celebrate Father's day, we celebrate Christmas, ahh we celebrate New Year's and then we celebrate umm Diwali

and we celebrate the birth of our founders in terms of our religion…ahh we celebrate birthday, anniversaries…umm we also celebrate the creation of our religion which is April 15… Vaisakhi but yea…that's about it".

They discuss recreating the holidays based on their own perspectives. Larry explained:

Well Christmas we give each other gifts if that counts but we usually pick them out ourselves and have a tree, we celebrate birthdays but don't think those are holidays and we usually just go out. We pretty much take white people holidays and twist them to how we want to celebrate.

All participants discussed how they or their families have been influenced by western culture. Although they are influenced by western views, they continue to celebrate their Indian values and traditions. All the participants mentioned going to Gurudwara, which is the holy place of prayer. Participants discussed celebrating their traditional holidays with their families out of their own choice. Larry and Ria discussed teaching their children about their history and culture. Participants discussed celebrating Canadian holidays such as Diwali and Vaisakhi, as well as Christmas and Mother's Day in Canada.

Theme 5: Identity

The participants all identified as Canadian and Indian in a variety of ways. Participants identify and contribute to both identities. All the participants referred to themselves using the following words: Indian, Punjabi, South Asian, Sikh, Canadian or Born in Canada.

Mia stated: "So I identify as South Asian" and also stated "I was born in Canada so my status is Canadian". Mia described herself as Canadian and South Asian.

Larry reported: "I am a Punjabi Sikh, but I identify as Canadian most of the time". He also described himself as Canadian and with a South Asian identity.

Ria explained that she identifies with a South Asian identity. She stated "Sikh family, a religious Sikh family". When asked about her immigration status, Ria stated, "I have Canadian citizenship".

Garry does not specifically identify as Indian or Punjabi, rather he uses his dialect is able to reference how he identifies. Garry identities as Punjabi and Indian. Garry stated, "We celebrate Diwali, it is the biggest festival of India or you can say world because wherever Punjabis are living".

Theme 6: Change

Participants discussed that there have been changes over the past few years in the ideologies that exist. Mia discussed that some individuals in her family are marrying outside of the culture. She explained: "Marrying a Sikh or a Hindu that has recently changed some people in my family have done". Ria discussed changes in the immigration processes. She stated: "it was different it was a lot easier back then… it's so much harder now".

Larry discussed changes in the area he lives. He explained that the area he resides in used to be predominantly white and that has changed. Larry reported that he "was born in Canada… but I was in Burlington which is majority white people… but that's changed a lot

over the years". Larry also discussed changes in his parents' attitudes over the years as they have been exposed to more western ideologies. He stated:

we always had to go to school.. it was like either go or get the belt... not just a belt. that stopped a long time ago. when we got older... if we got bad grades... we were in shit...I remember coming home with a bad test one time and my dad got pissed... he made me sit there and I got slapped...that was back in the day..ahh there are a lot of things that were not allowed in India and since my parents were new they didn't know anything... but they've changed a lot... and if I'm being honest I don't regret it.. they pushed me because they didn't want me to have the life that they had.. they wanted me to have an office job and not have to work in a factory... my parents have worked really hard.

Summary

To summarize the conversation with the participants, several themes emerged. There was the idea of being a good South Asian, as stated by the norms of the community. Participants also discussed the importance of marriage and finding partner that is considered a good South Asian. The participants discussed that family is a large part of their life. The participants spoke of how western influences have impacted their life. Also there was the participants' views of their identity and how their family and culture impact their identity. A final theme was that participants talked about change over a long time within their lives.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The aim of my research is to determine whether identity and social construction of ideologies influence family dynamics. My research has focused on examining how families are affected and influenced by ideologies. The research was examined through a critical theory and anti-oppressive lens. Within my findings, the identified themes are perspectives on a good South Asian, views on marriage, identity, aspects of family and the influence of western culture. A further theme that developed was that families are often changing to norms within cultures, based on individual families and individuals.

From my own experience in my family and my community, I have faced the differences around being a woman compared to my male counterparts. I believe that this is a limitation of this research, as my own opinions and views about western culture and Indian culture are embedded in this research. Yet at the same time, it is a strength, as part of the narrative inquiry is co-creating a story of these experiences with the participants. In my own life, I have also experienced the expectations attached to being an Indian Canadian second-generation individual. Throughout the interviews, I felt myself relating to the second-generation participants. I believe that I possess certain biases about the culture because I belong to the community and I am also a second-generation Canadian. As a researcher, I sought ways to separate my views about the culture and often reexamine my own biases about the individuals that I interviewed. As part of this process, I reflected on my own experiences and noted where my experiences were connected to those of the participants.

Some of the responses I received from the first-generation Canadians were unexpected. The first-generation participants discussed that they did not place expectations on their children. Findings I anticipated were that there would be gender differences in the responses, and expectations regarding being Indian, as well as expectations for girls and women to behave a certain way. I was not expecting the males in the study to also mention that they were required to behave a certain way. I also anticipated there would be some mention of change within the families over time as they adjust to the norms of the cultures they are surrounded by, which was mentioned by male participants. I was required to examine my own biases and learned more about my own experiences and challenges.

Below I further discuss the results of this study in terms of my theoretical framework and what I have understood from the research.

Conformity

This research demonstrates that there is constant pressure from society to act a certain way and behave a certain way. Women are faced with scrutiny if they do not act the way that the culture believes that they should. As well, men face pressures to abide by the rules of the family. Larry's perspective of being in charge of the family and staying with his family demonstrates the family as a collective, in comparison to the western view of children leaving the home at age 18. Western culture is about independence while eastern culture demands interdependence (Kitayama, Park, Sevincer, Karasawa & Uskul, 2009). The view of children staying in the home is a collective view of South Asian culture. With

the advancements of technology, dominant discourses are hidden and more globally present in articles, media and conversations. The norms created by society continue to further enforce individuals to conform to culture boxes. Younger individuals are moving towards the western perspective of independence (Kitayama et al, 2009). Conforming to the western culture is not consciously recognized; therefore, it is important in unpacking dominant ideologies (Kitayama et al, 2009).

Zaidi et al. (2014) mention that behaviour inside and outside the home differs in order to "fit in". Participants also discussed that they must conform to being a good South Asian in order to fit in with their cultural group. Similarly, participants discussed the norms that they had to abide by, in order to be considered a "good Indian" and fit in with the family unit. Garry discussed how he teaches his daughters about good etiquettes, but does not mention speaking to his son about the same. Larry discussed that he is given responsibilities for taking care of his parents, but he does not state that his sister was given that same. Mia discussed that she is restricted about what she can do based on her gender, and she felt oppressed. Ria discussed that girls were often jealous of her as she was given freedom and was able to play instead of doing household chores. All the research participants said that there was some pressure from families to act a certain way and conform to certain norms. It is important to be critical of the dominant discourses within sub-cultures and how they perpetuate ideologies such as gender differences (Kitayama et al., 2009). In unpacking the dominant discourses, groups will be aware of the assimilation that occurs when adapting to a culture. The Indian culture described by the participants

45

has ideologies regarding men as dominant and the women as submissive, as demonstrated through their answers. Mehrotra and Calastani (2014) discuss the different roles for men and women, describing men as breadwinners and dominant, and women as homemakers and submissive. Women adapt traditional gender role behaviours in the family (Mitchell, 2014). In this study, women followed the traditional roles of their family by following the values set by the adults.

Surveillance is a form of control that forms dimensions of domination, exploitation, class, capitalism, patriarchy, racism and other negative phenomena (Fuchs, 2015). If we examine conformity through a critical lens, we must ask the question: is conformity a way to avoid surveillance? The participants discussed assimilating into the culture, but no participant was able to discuss why this occurs. There are norms set out by society that must be followed, which perpetuates assimilation and conformity to the dominant cultures. The second-generation youth discussed having an identity for their family but also having to lie in order to fit in. The culture of conforming occurs in both generations and is influenced by the norms created by society. The conformity is visible through the second-generation participants lying to their parents in order to conform to western norms, while maintaining their traditional views in their parent's perspectives. They appear to be living a double life in order conform to norms of two different cultures.

Oppression

The participants did not mention colonization in their origin country or in Canada. The first-generation participants required a definition of the word oppression in order to

respond to the interview question. There was a lack of understanding among all generations about the impact of colonization on their culture and in the Canadian context. The participants referred to Canada as their home and often praised their home without considering that they are settlers. They lacked knowledge about indigenous families and centered their worlds on being South Asian or Canadian, without having knowledge about what it actually means to be Canadian.

In discussing oppression, there was one participant that discussed racism and how they feel that they have faced discrimination based on race. The participants appeared unaware of how this racism stemmed from and was related to colonization, in both their original country and Canada. Instead, participants focused on wanting to not face discrimination, noting that they wished to fit in with a norm of whiteness in Canada, even though they recognized this as discrimination (Sundar, 2008). I can relate to this experience. Recently, I was waiting in line to get served along with an older, white couple waiting to get served; I continued to wait for 20 minutes after the couple was served. I was outraged and thought to myself "is this racism and discrimination depending on my age, gender and ethnicity?" This made me think more about my participants, and wonder if, in the presence of racism and discrimination, do people such as these research participants recognize these and similar situations as questionable, and perhaps as discrimination and oppression. As noted earlier whiteness is a dominant perspective that exists in society. Whiteness is expressed as "the idea that there is a category of people identified and self-identifying as 'white', situated within this simultaneous operation of race and racism"

(Huijg, 2012, p. 3). In order for whiteness to be identified, there is a clear separation of race and colour.

Mia discussed that she was required to be a "good" South Asian which can be linked to the oppression of women. South Asian women consider the place of women in the home as being a good wife and caring for her family, which limits her from gaining power in the relationships that she holds (Mehrotra & Calastani, 2010). This limits decision-making power for women, as men's decisions are not based on the women's perspective but rather what men think is important to men. In this power imbalance, women are still dependent on their spouse and parents in political involvement (Kasapoglu & Ozerkmen, 2011). Critical theory refuses dominant perspectives and begins to question the dominant ideologies. It is important to be critical of policy decisions that occur and how these policies influence dominant discourses and minority groups. Ria discussed that she is often required to warm up food for her family and this is considered an expectation placed on her that is not placed on men and boys. The women in the study affirmed that they are given gender roles and viewed as being domesticated, caring and nurturing in the home. This perspective further demonstrates that the power is usually given to the breadwinner, who is often the male (Mehrotra & Calastani, 2010). It is important to view roles for men and women though a critical lens, where we must acknowledge that men dictate society and provide women with specific power. If we look back at history, it was through advocating that women were able to get the right to vote, but that was a decision that men approved. Anti-oppressive practices view sexism on the individual, while combining it with

critical theory to be mindful of the dominant ideologies that still exist in society. Within this relationship of men and women, men are the individuals that create rules, values and norms within family, excluding women's voices and aspirations, thus further oppressing women in his relationships (Brown, 2012). Brown (2012) criticizes feminists for generalizing the experiences and voices of women. An anti-oppressive practice examines individual voices and experiences.

Individual Based Experience

Although there are pressures to behave in certain ways, the responses presented by each participant were unique to their own experiences. Participants identified certain themes, such as a gender differences and what it means to be Indian, but the way they describe those ideologies are individualized and based on their experiences with their own families.

While recognizing that oppression is important, it is problematic when the oppression of a particular group, based on identity, is assumed to be the same experience for all members of that group. Doing so ignores the unique individual experiences of oppression. I think participants demonstrated their uniqueness of experiences that occurred within their shared identity as South Asian people who, as a group, experience racism. Anti-oppression views the individual experience of a group. In contradiction to the previous theme of oppression, each individual had an individualized experience of their family. They believed that the experiences their families faced were based on the history of their family and the family's individual values. Most of the participants discussed that their

experiences are unique and that other individuals or families would not have the same experiences as they have. A common theme among the participants was that each individual had their own way of dealing with situations. An anti-oppressive framework examines the view of individuals through their experiences and perspectives. Working within an anti-oppressive framework, individual experiences are based on how they perceive their views and their situations, rather than generalizing the experience of a group to be the same for all.

An example of this is the way that traditions are celebrated among the participants. All the participants discuss that they celebrate both western and Indian traditions, but the way in which they celebrate the holidays is unique to each family. Participants discuss that they have modified their celebrations and that doing so creates new family traditions that are unique to them. The response of each participant is individual based, even though they belong in a family. A family is made up of multiple individuals and each family member is unique, therefore the way they celebrate is often unique to their own experiences, culture and families. Transforming traditions based on the individual/families is not noted in current scholarships regarding the experiences of immigrants and second-generation individuals, and appears to be new knowledge. Families who come to Canada adapt in a variety of ways and one of those ways is embrace traditions that are common in Canada, which might not have the same presence in India (Stuart & Ward, 2011). Over time, the family may experiences a transformation in their family traditions and celebrations, which may include a combination of religious and secular traditions. For each family, the

embracing of these traditions may be different; for example, for some families they may celebrate Christmas as a religious holiday (if they are Christian), while other family may celebrate Christmas as a secular holiday.

Conclusion

Often when thinking about western and Indian perspectives, I used to believe that there was constant clashing and conflict within households. With this study, I have come to realize that families conform to norms. There appears to be a give and take relationship between both ideologies. The South Asian culture gives traditions and value to Canadian culture, while Canadian culture gives the same cultural values/traditions back through community celebrations (i.e., Diwali, cultural festivals) or by providing the Canadian perspective of culture (i.e., Christmas, Mother's Day, Canada Day). Canada has incorporated traditions from other cultures and celebrate them in the Canadian context. In my experiences, I often hear from people about my culture and holidays such as Diwali, and how learning about and celebrating these South Asian traditions has enhanced the lives of some Canadians; equally, I have learnt about traditions from other cultures. All participants noted that there was constant change within their family dynamics, and this appears to be ongoing. The participants discussed that they celebrated western holidays in their own way, according to their family's needs, and expressed enjoyment in the way they celebrated. Although it could be considered oppressive that the Indian culture changes to adjust to the western way, research participants did not appear to be pressured to participate in the holidays, but rather did it on their own accord. Since anti-oppressive

practice views individual experiences, the perspective of how one adjusts or assimilates to a culture is based on their own views and experiences. Current research does not examine the ongoing changes that occur within the family that allow for the family to be stable and work collaboratively in society.

A case study conducted by Lan-Hung Nora Chiang (2004) examined how middle-class Taiwanese immigrant women adapt to life in Australia. She states that in the absence of their husbands, women were adapting to the new culture while maintaining their own values. Similarly, the participants in this study demonstrated that they adapt to the challenges they face, often adjusting to various values, ideologies and cultures, while maintaining their Indian values. The first-generation individuals demonstrated that although they receive more autonomy, they still value their traditions and continue to teach their children about the traditions of their country of origin. The second-generation individuals continued to learn new traditions from their parents, while learning the traditions of their host country.

In the future, I believe observing an individual family and understanding their perspectives would be interesting. Due to confidentiality and limited time frame, I was unable to do case studies on multiple families that would allow me to understand how each specific family views their ideologies and influences from their parents. A limitation of this research is that it is individually based, therefore the participant may perceive a specific perspective, but other family members may not align with that same perspective.

Limitations in time and resources did not allow me to have a variety of South Asian cultures represented in my sample, which did not bring into perspective the view of other South Asian cultures. If there was more time I would have been able to recruit and interview more individuals from different regions to understand how their perspectives differ based on their social location. Due to the limitations on time and resources, I also was only able to conduct one interview with participants, thereby not getting the full picture of their lives. This also impacted what the participants disclosed; with limited time, I was unable to develop a good rapport with participants, and they only disclosed specific details of their lives in our one meeting.

Another limitation of this research is that I was limited to a small sample of individuals. The limited time frame to complete the study meant that I did not have time to find additional participants who may have brought forward different views.

Some of the strengths of this study include that the questions asked during the interview were open-ended, which allowed participants to expand on their replies without constraints, and to address more issues. Additionally, this research examined an individual's perspective unique to their experience, and provided participants with the space to speak from their own perspective, in their own voice.

Chapter 7: Implications for Social Work

As professionals holding social work roles, we often work with individuals and their families. I think it is important to understand families and family dynamics in working with these individuals. There is more at play than just what we see from individuals. We must examine their life through their individual and collective experience. Systems outside of the individual, such as school, work, friends, family, social norms, and community, can overlook the fact that each person is unique and each of their perspectives is different.

Larry Golden (2009) mentions that when counseling children we must work with their families. He states that he wants to be aware of how ethnicity, race, social class and gender affect the experience of every individual within the family unit. In resistance to the notion of cultural competence, he states that he does not want to presume that all members of a minority group share familiar characteristics. As current and future social workers, we must understand that each individual and each family is unique. Although common themes did emerge from the study, we must acknowledge that not all individuals who share a culture with similar values and norms will view the world the same way. Each perspective is based on their own families and interactions.

In advocating for clients, we often believe that all group struggles are similar within the same group; this can perpetuate oppression for some individuals. Policy advocating creates policies that view the experience of individuals as a collective rather than individual based. This can create policy that sometimes benefits some individuals, yet in doing so, further oppresses others. This demonstrates that all individuals are different and

their experiences are their own. It is therefore important to ask the individual about their experience without making assumptions, recognizing that these can reproduce prejudice, oppression and racism. When working with individuals and their families, it is important to remember our own privilege and provide services using an anti-oppressive approach (Curry-Stevens, 2011). As social workers, we can sometimes use a lens that limits our views of families. For example, a social worker may think that they were able to educate themselves, and a client can also, but they are lazy. Instead, professionals need to work with the family and person to understand why they are unable to achieve their goals, connect them to services in the community that might be helpful, and consider how they have been impacted in their life by oppression. An anti-oppressive framework examines how families are impacted by racism, classism, sexism, ableism, and other forms of oppression. Social workers need to be critical in their practice and interactions with the family.

Although others may not read this study, this has been a great learning tool for me. In particular, I learned a lot about my community. As part of my future practice, I hope to carry these new understandings with me, to provide individuals and their families with the knowledge that all individuals are different and valuable. I hope to give my clients/service users acknowledgement of their perspective, by making space for getting their own story.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The aim of my research has been to determine whether identity and social construction of ideologies influence family dynamics. Identity is based on the individual and is unique to them. Their identity is formed through relationships between family and society. Families appear to be a support for each other's identity.

All individuals are unique and their perceptions and perspectives belong to them. Generalizing about perspectives and making assumptions regarding groups perpetuates the oppression and biases that society creates. The results of this study tell us that when working with families, it is important to understand that all individuals are different, and to work with them collaboratively keeping their unique experiences in mind.

I hope that in the future, there is further research completed to address the different perspectives that emerge within various ethnic groups. This will be helpful in expanding the knowledge and skills necessary for practitioners to navigate through a multicultural society.

In conclusion, this research examined South Asian first-generation and second-generation perspectives and views about their lives. All individuals had their own experiences based on their family, but there were common themes that emerged in the narrative conversations. Families and individuals are important to the work of a social worker. It is important to create strong relationships with all families and understand their unique perspectives. Understanding the dynamics of first and second generation

immigrants is critical to ensuring social workers are engaging in anti-oppressive practice

when working with immigrant South Asian families.

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