BALANCING LEISURE, COMMUNITY AND CULTURAL TRADITIONS:

SOUTH ASIAN ADOLESCENTS IN CANADA

By

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Balancing Leisure, Community and Cultural Traditions: South Asian Adolescents in Canada

As young people enter their teen years, attitudes and behaviors are shaped by the variety and complexity of their daily lives. For teens from families in which the parents did not originate in Canada, the complexities of life are further complicated. Leisure researchers have not focused their efforts on the leisure of minority ethnic populations in Canada and have yet to develop an understanding of how the notion of leisure impacts on their lives. The purpose of this study was to explore leisure in the lives of teens and young adults who live in families that have their ethnic roots outside of Canada, specifically in South Asia. It explored the ways in which leisure as it is known in the dominant culture, impacted the lives of the participants. It also explored how aspects of life such as religion, family and cultural traditions impacted their leisure. Critical social theory, the structural-functional perspective of Van Dyke (1972) and social-psychological perspectives often used to define leisure all contributed to the analysis and interpretation of the data. Purposive sampling was used to identify 15 study participants. Reflexivity on the part of the researcher and study participants allowed for the collective and individual reflection and reconsideration of the interpretation of the results. The results of this study indicate that as individuals within the minority ethnic culture move from their traditional "small community" toward the "greater society" of the dominant culture, dissonance and conflict emerge. While family remained a valued and central aspect of their lives, conflict often resulted within families as the participants attempted to balance their involvement in aspects of their traditional community with leisure that is typically important to young adults within the mainstream, greater society. This study contributes to the development of theory related to the significance of leisure for this group. It also provides practitioners with a deeper understanding of the transition and additional challenges faced by teens of minority cultures, as they seek to establish their individuality and self-identity in the context of the greater society while valuing the continuity afforded by leisure of the small community.

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For Elizabeth and Danny

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Chapter One   Introduction

1.1   Statement of the problem

As young people enter their teenage years, attitudes and behaviours are shaped by the variety and complexity of their daily lives. For teens from families in which the parents did not originate in Canada, the complexities of life are further complicated. Ethnic teens cannot help but be affected by the same issues faced by all teens, but also by the expectations placed on them within their families. Expectations faced by ethnic teens may be culturally distinct and are less likely to affect the lives of teens whose families have a longer history in Canada. This study examined the issues, problems and the challenges faced by one group of ethnic teenagers in Canada, particularly as they were related to leisure.

Bibby and Posterski (1992) refer to the teen years as a "time of multidimensional emergence". Teens are no longer treated as dependent young children, and they have not yet attained adulthood. Therefore, the teen years involve a process of evolution which is profoundly affected by peers, the family, the education system, the media, religion and other adults with whom teens are in contact (Bibby and Posterski, 1992). Studies like Bibby and Posterski's Teen Trends: A Nation in Motion (1992) provide us with information about the social environment in which teens are living in the 1990s. From this study we have a general overview of what teens think about relationships, values, marriage and parenting, sexuality and religion as well as some idea of what teens hope for the future. However, the Bibby and Posterski study tends to focus on teens who are primarily from the dominant cultural groups in Canada. Little systematic information has been gathered to examine the specific experiences of teens from ethnic families, especially regarding their leisure.

Canada is a nation whose members are diverse having arrived during various waves of immigration. It is a nation of increasingly diverse ethno-cultural, racial and religious groups (Chave Herberg, 1993). Whether a Canadian identifies with Canada's First Nation's people, or with European, Asian or other ancestry, Canadians have some degree of ethnic and racial identity (Burnet and Palmer, 1988). Burnet and Palmer (1988) indicate that some individuals have a much keener sense of ethnic origin or identity than others. For the purpose of this study, people who did not identify with Canada's First Nation's people or the British and French, (that is, those Burnet and Palmer (1988) refer to as the people who were the first to take possession of the land in Canada), were identified as people of minority ethnic heritage or background.

This study focused on people who were the adolescent and young adult children of immigrants from India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, generally referred to in the study as South Asians. Immigration of

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people from South Asia to Canada first began in 1905. As of the early 1990s, people from that area were the second largest group of immigrants to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994). However, this ethnic group was still proportionately very small within Canada, and had to a certain extent maintained its very unique cultural and religious practices.

Since their families maintained some aspects of their traditional culture such as clothing, language, food and religion, it is likely that the adolescents and young adults who lived in immigrant and ethnic minority families had experienced life in ways that were different from most Canadian teens. Values ascribed to marriage, parenting, family, and to one's sense of modesty and morality impact on the lives of immigrants and shape their behaviours and beliefs in ways that are different from those of most teens from the dominant cultural or ethnic groups (Afshar, 1994; Allison, 1988). For instance, teens from India and Pakistan will likely have experienced multigenerational households; arranged marriages; and social control mechanisms used by elders over the younger generation (Westwood, 1984).

Research pertaining to teens in Canada has yet to explore issues that impact on the lives of minority ethnic teens. Leisure research has also been ethnocentric in that it has tended to focus on white, middle-class, North American cultures (Allison, 1988; Tirone and Shaw, 1997). Some research has looked at leisure in the lives of minority ethnic populations in Britain and the United States (Allison and Geiger, 1993; Dewar, 1993; Carrington, Chivers and Williams, 1987) but in Canada we have yet to develop an understanding of how the notion of leisure impacts their lives. For instance, since many values are known to be different for people who identify with minority ethnic populations (Afshar, 1994; Chave Herberg, 1993), is their leisure also different, or is their leisure affected by the different values held by the minority group? Are the minority ethnic group teens able to experience leisure in the same ways as do teens from the dominant cultural groups or is the leisure of the dominant culture something that is alien to the minority group teens and their families? If leisure is not understood by minority group families or not appreciated as it is in families of the dominant cultural groups, does leisure cause conflicts or problems for adolescents in minority ethnic families?

Another aspect of leisure that we know little about, is the extent to which the cultural group provides leisure. We know little about the importance that teens place on their involvement with cultural activities that may take place within their families and their ethnic communities.

Leisure is known to be important for teens in Canada especially because it often provides opportunities for social interaction outside of the family. Leisure is the context within which most dating and social experiences occur in the teen years (Kelly, 1982). These experiences are considered to be important for the development of personal identity, for testing new roles that will lead to success in

adulthood and for developing a sense of personal identity (Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1984; Kelly, 1982; Kleiber and Rickards, 1985). We do not know if teens in minority ethnic group families have the same opportunities for socialisation outside of the family, and if not, do they want to have opportunities such as dating, socialising with friends, participating in sports activities and other activities that are typical of teens from the dominant cultural groups.

Leisure researchers have developed literature pertaining to the constraints faced by people in their pursuit of leisure. Crawford, Jackson and Godbey (1991) have identified three different kinds of constraints: intrapersonal, referring to factors which affect preferences such as, the influence of family or the disapproval of others; interpersonal constraints, which refer to personal relationships and the need for others to be involved in leisure in order for it to occur; and structural constraints which refer to intervening factors such as lack of transportation or money that prevent a person from experiencing leisure. We do not know if this same discussion of constraints applies to minority ethnic group teens or if they experience constraints in the same ways as do teens from the dominant cultural groups.

We do not know if leisure creates conditions for conflict in the lives of minority group teens, either due to family commitments that may impose limits on their activity with peers or because they may not have the support of parents for their leisure. Also, we know little of how they might be affected by issues of racism, discrimination or by other factors they face as a result of living within minority group families and in an ethnocentric and racist society.

This study aims to contribute to our understanding of the experience of leisure in the lives of Canadian teens and young adults who identify with one particular minority ethnic group.

1.2   Purpose of the Study
This study explores the lives of teens who lived in families that have their ethnic roots outside Canada. The fifteen teens and young adults participating in this study were the children of people who had immigrated to Canada from India, Bangladesh and Pakistan and therefore do not identify with Anglo, French or First Nations people in Canada. The teenagers themselves were for the most part raised in Canada. Four of the fifteen participants had been born outside Canada. Two of these participants immigrated as young children and two arrived four years prior to this study. The other eleven were born in Canada. All participants had attended Canadian high schools and some were at the time of the study attending Canadian universities. They all had experienced leisure through their schools, with their friends and families and through their own individual leisure pursuits. For these teens who have grown up in families with ties to ethnic groups from outside Canada, many aspects of their lived experiences were

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unique. Their leisure was especially unique and at times problematic and challenging as well as rewarding.

The purpose of the study, then, was to focus on two aspects of the leisure experiences of the participants. First, it explored how leisure impacts their daily activities, their sense of identity and the opportunities they have for involvement with peers and in the community. For example, the study looked at the leisure experiences of this group of teens and what benefits or constraints they experienced in relation to their leisure. The second purpose was to look at how other factors in their lives impacted their leisure. It explored how aspects of their lives, such as the behaviours of peers from the dominant cultural groups and behaviours, values and beliefs of their own family members, impacted the leisure experience of the teens whose ethnic roots are Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani. This study also considered whether leisure offered an opportunity for social integration and full participation in Canadian society or whether it was a concept that tended to be alien and a source of conflict for the teens and their families. The challenges faced by teens due to skin colour, and distinct clothing such as turbans worn by some males and the hijab and saris worn by some females were also considered as part of the discussions.

1.3   The research population: Canadians of Indian and Pakistani origin

In previous research I explored leisure in the lives of women who had immigrated from India and Pakistan (Tirone and Shaw, 1997). From that work it was evident that leisure as it is understood by the dominant cultural groups in Canada is not something that the women pursued because it was not something they valued. In North America and throughout the western world, leisure tends to be highly regarded because of the positive benefits it provides, in terms of opportunity to explore one's potential or to develop personal identity (Csikszentmihalyi & Kleiber, 1991), or it is thought to be related to activity that is freely chosen and pursued for its own sake (Neulinger, 1981). Shaw (1985) describes the sense of enjoyment, relaxation, intrinsic motivation and lack of evaluation derived from leisure experiences. Those who have studied women's leisure explain that women, and especially mothers, pursue a time and place away from the obligations of family, in order to experience leisure (Wearing, 1990).

In my study the immigrant women centred their lives around their families and their homes. Many of them had been raised in joint families, meaning that their immediate families shared their homes with extended family members like aunts, uncles and especially grandparents. They derived their sense of satisfaction, fulfilment, enjoyment and relaxation from their involvement with their children, husbands and extended family members. The leisure of the immigrant women, if they did in fact have such a concept in their lives, involved their families, and often other relatives and

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friends, who visited in their homes and shared dinners, picnics and other social activities (Tirone and Shaw, 1997). This often meant that the women had little free time of their own, and that they were responsible for housekeeping, cooking and entertaining which many regarded as work and not leisure (Deem, 1986; Bella, 1992).

The women discussed the North American concept of 'private time', which they view as selfish. When left on their own, the women said they experienced feelings of loneliness and sometimes even depression. Although large family and friendship activities involved a great deal of work for the women, they derived satisfaction and fulfilment from this social activity, benefits typically derived from the leisure experience of North American women (Tirone and Shaw, 1997).

The immigrant women also had many comments about the way in which they hope their children will live their lives. Some of the women planned to arrange the marriages of their children, others planned to live with their children once the children are married. They hoped their children would be respectful of their elders and that they would not develop habits of North American children related to wanting 'private time' in order to pursue leisure, which they considered to be selfish (Tirone and Shaw, 1997). Having learned that the notion of leisure was not appreciated or valued highly by this group of immigrant women, I felt it would be helpful to explore the experience of leisure in the lives of children of this immigrant group. Therefore the children of immigrants from the South Asian countries of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were the focus of this study.

1.4   History of South Asians in Canada

The first immigrants from India arrived in Vancouver in 1903 and in spite of severe restrictions placed on them in the form of taxes, and overt discrimination which restricted their ability to obtain jobs and housing, Indian immigrants continued to pursue a life in Canada (Buchignani, Indra and Srivastiva, 1985). In order to support one another, South Asians formed their first Canadian cultural organisation in 1907 (Buchignani et al 1985). This association called the Khalsa Diwan Society of Vancouver, was established in order to develop Sikh religious institutions. It soon became the vehicle used for dealing with issues such as the legal restrictions which affected all South Asians in terms of denying them the vote in Vancouver, and preventing them from being employed in certain jobs, holding public office and serving on juries (Buchignani et al 1985).

In 1913, the largest number of immigrants ever recorded came to Canada, but those from Central and Southern European countries and from countries outside of Europe were considered inferior by those who had immigrated from Northern Europe. Many faced major struggles in their efforts to

achieve citizenship and equity with other Canadians (Elliott and Fleras, 1993). It was not until 1947 that South Asians were granted the right to vote provincially in the Province of British Columbia and following this event the Federal Government also granted them the vote in Federal elections (Buchignani et al., 1985). Census data indicate that in 1961 there were 6,771 South Asians in Canada, in 1971 67,860 (Buchignani et al., 1985) and in 1986 267,000 (Kalbach, 1993). Census data indicate that South Asians make up 1.5 percent of the population of Ontario (Kalbach, 1993). In 1993 immigrants from India were the second largest group of immigrants from a single country, next to those from Hong Kong (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994). That year 20,298 people immigrated from India representing a 60.1% increase from the previous year. In 1993, 17,081 immigrants entered Canada as family class immigrants which means they were sponsored by Canadian residents, 452 immigrants arrived as independents, 351 arrived as assisted relatives and none are reported to have entered Canada as refugees. While the figures provided by Immigration Canada do not add up to the total of 20,298 it is likely that the remaining immigrants arrived as business class immigrants.

Issues related to the immigration to North America by people from Europe and other parts of the world have been studied by sociologists and social anthropologists for at least two centuries. De Toqueville, published his last edition of <u>Democracy in America</u> in 1848, based on his travels in America in the early 1880s and his observations of the development of the new American society. This work aimed to document the creation of a new society which had emerged in America and had succeeded in not reproducing the oppressive aspects of the aristocracy which existed in Europe at that time. De Toqueville concerned himself with many aspects of society and government in America, including the prejudice of the white European settlers against the 'Negro slaves'. Glazer (1970) suggests that although issues related to slavery have been evident in literature pertaining to immigration for many years, early discussions about Italian, German, Polish and other European immigrants to America were not extensive.

Since the early twentieth century two perspectives have dominated the discussions relating to immigration. First, the 'melting pot' perspective was introduced in 1906 as the title of a play which portrayed how immigrants were to shed their original characteristics and adopt new ones which would combine the best of the old to form a better nation (Glazer, 1970). The second major perspective evident in the early literature is that of 'cultural pluralism' introduced by Kallen in 1915 (Glazer, 1970). This perspective supports the preservation of diverse cultures or the idea of nations within a nation (Glazer, 1970). These ideas have continued to be central to contemporary discussions about immigration policy and multiculturalism in Canada.

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Immigration to Canada will continue into the twenty first century with strong emphasis being placed on the potential for economic growth which therefore will be of advantage to immigrants who have strong business backgrounds, who are job-ready upon arrival in Canada, and those who have the resources and skill to fill market demands. Those who wish to sponsor family members to come to Canada will be required to comply with sponsorship obligations and fewer refugees will be accepted (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994). It is likely that a large number of immigrants from India and Pakistan will continue to come to Canada, since many people in those countries meet the language and economic requirements and they value very highly the notion of reunification with family members who have already immigrated.

Since immigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh represent a large percentage of new immigrants to Canada, I believe it is of paramount importance that we learn to understand the needs of this group in terms of social support and of leisure. For example, we do not know how leisure service providers can meet the needs of this group in terms of social support for children, families and elderly and disabled people from this community. We also do not know if the issues related to assimilation and integration, to the 'melting pot' perspective and the cultural pluralism perspective' impact minority ethnic groups in Canada today and the leisure services delivery system. Also I believe we need to enhance our understanding of those supports that are necessary for Indo Canadians and Pakistani Canadians to realise full participation in Canadian Society. This understanding includes improving our knowledge of the leisure needs of this group. Therefore I initiated this study about leisure in the lives of adolescents and young adults who identify with families of Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin.

The issues with which this study is concerned relate to race and ethnicity. Within this study race is considered to be a social construct which is controversial in as much as it is not scientific but rather, is a way of classifying people into population groups (Li, 1990). According to Li (1990) racial characteristics are used by dominant groups which have the power to define a subordinate group using physical and social characteristics which ultimately come to form stereotypes and influence attitude formation. Ethnicity, as it is used throughout this study, refers to people who have a common heritage and who often share a common experience and origin (Li, 1990).

1.5 The Research Questions

This project aimed to address the following research questions:

a) What opportunities, issues, problems, and challenges related to leisure are experienced by teens whose parents were born in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh and who are being raised in Canada?

b) Does the leisure of the dominant culture offer an opportunity for facilitating involvement in community, peer relationships and social supports necessary for development of positive identity and self-concepts?

c) Is leisure as it is known to the dominant culture an aspect of life that is alien to some newcomers to Canada and as such does leisure become a source of conflict for adolescents and their families?

d) If so, what are the aspects of leisure that are a source of conflict or challenge for teens whose families identify with minority ethnic cultural groups and whose children are being raised in Canada?

e)   Does the minority ethnic group offer opportunities for leisure, social support and friendships for teens and do these opportunities provide a sense of satisfaction, fulfilment, enjoyment and relaxation?

Chapter Two   The Research Process

2.1   Introduction

While essentially inductive in nature, this qualitative study aimed to build on the themes
and theory that emerged from previous research I conducted to explore leisure in the lives of
immigrant women from India and Pakistan. Therefore, in order to begin discussing the dimensions
of leisure in the lives of the young participants, I presented them with data from the first study on
immigrant women. My previous study suggested that the immigrant women found greatest
satisfaction, fulfillment, enjoyment and relaxation within the realm of their families and their homes
(Tirone and Shaw, 1997). Some aspects of the Indian and Pakistani culture continued to be very
important in the lives of the women now that they were living in Canada. Indian foods; some
aspects of their religions; commitment to and respect for relatives, especially for those who were
elderly; and some interaction with the Indian and Pakistani community in Canada were important
in the lives of the women immigrants. While the women continued to enjoy some aspects of their
Indian and Pakistani culture, they also began to learn and appreciate some aspects of life in
Canada. For example, the women liked the amount of freedom they were able to experience
regarding behaviors and customs that would have been far more restrictive in India.

Leisure, as it affects the lives of the dominant cultural groups in Canada, was one aspect
of life that the women did not appreciate in its entirety. North Americans value private time, or
time on one's own, that allows for independence, individual fulfillment of goals, and self
actualization (Kelly, 1987). Private time away from family and home, was viewed by the women as
selfish and from their perspective might result in loneliness and isolation. Instead, leisure for the
women from India and Pakistan often involved large gatherings of relatives and friends, dinners
and parties with both Indian and non-Indian friends, and family activities. With many visitors to
their homes the women valued the opportunities they had for conversation and discussions with
relatives and friends, over issues related to politics, to religion and other topics of interest to them.

In approaching the notion of leisure in the lives of the participants in the current study, I
reviewed with them the results of the study of leisure in the lives of the women who were
immigrants from India and Pakistan. Quotations from some of the immigrant women in the first
study were shown to the participants in order to prompt discussion about whether or not leisure for
the second generation has changed or if they experienced aspects of leisure similar to those of the

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women from the first study. In some cases they agreed that aspects of their lives or their parents' lives were like those of the women in the first study. In other cases there was disagreement or at least discussion about how the lives of the young participants who were either born in Canada, or were being raised here, were different from the women who were immigrants. Chapter three is my attempt to let the participants tell their own stories about their lives and leisure.

2.2   Reaching the participants

This study explored the experience of leisure for adolescents whose parents were immigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The sample was purposive, aiming to represent teens from Indo Canadian and Pakistani Canadian families, and to include young women and men. According to Patton (1990) the strength of purposive sampling for qualitative research, lies in how it allows the researcher to select participants because they are "information-rich cases" or most likely to provide detailed, extensive description about the research topic (p.169). The sample in this study was recruited using a snowball sampling method. The participants were reached via personal university contacts, campus associations that were well known to the Indo Canadian and Pakistani Canadian young adults attending university, and from a local multicultural centre. Participants were able to describe what their leisure was like, how it impacted other areas of their lives and how their leisure was impacted by other factors, in terms of barriers and opportunities they experienced as a result of their lifestyle within Indo Canadian, Pakistani Canadian and Bangladeshi Canadian families.

There were fifteen participants in the study, 5 males and 10 females, ranging in age from 15 to 22 years of age. Eleven of the participants lived in the Kitchener-Waterloo and Cambridge areas of Southern Ontario. One person had been raised in Hamilton and three others were born and raised in the Greater Toronto area. Five participants attend high school at four different locations. Nine participants attended university at two different universities. One person had dropped out of high school six months prior to the study.

Participants were involved in a number of stages of data collection: first, several focus groups were held; second, most of the focus group members participated in individual interviews; and finally, several study participants were involved in discussions with me to assist in reviewing the analysis of our discussions and interpretation of the information that had been gathered in the focus groups and individual interviews. Figure 1 provides information on who was involved in each of these stages. A detailed description of each participant follows. For the purpose of

confidentiality, the person's real name, their place of residence or home town and the school or university that each person attended, has not been disclosed.

Figure 1: The Data Collection Process

Phase 1: Focus Group Meetings

Group One	**Group Two**	**Group Three**	**Group Four**
Rani		Manjit	Bibi
Nashina	No Focus	Kaila	Karim
Janice	Group	Anisha	
Ali		Priya	

Phase 2: Individual Interviews

Group One	**Group Two**	**Group Three**	**Group Four**
Rani	Amee	No individual	Hassan
Nashina	Rekha	meetings	
Janice	Beena		
Steven			

Phase 3: Review of analysis and interpretation

Group One	**Group Two**	**Group Three**	**Group Four**
Rani	Rekha	Kaila	Bibi
(Individual)	Beena	Priya	(Individual)
	(as Group)	Anisha	
		(as Group)	

The first group came from a local university and were contacted through the Muslim Student Association and the Indian Student Association of the university. These associations were contacted through their Internet addresses and were asked to distribute information about the study, inviting their members to participate. Interested participants contacted me directly. The first focus group was held with four people. One of the participants was not able to continue his participation in the study after the first group meeting, but another individual from the same university, who was unable to attend the first group meeting, participated in a personal interview. The other three participants from this group were interviewed personally and one person from the group participated in a third interview in order to review of the analysis of the study and to provide her comments. All of the meeting with this group of participants were held at a university campus.

The following people were members of this first group of participants:

Group 1

Rani, age 22 was the eldest of the participants in this study. Rani was very committed to her Hindu religion. She was a third year university student, studying history at the time of the interviews. She was born in India and arrived in Canada as an infant. Her mother was employed in the garment industry and her father was an engineer in a large steel company. She had one younger brother. Her parents were both born and raised in Calcutta, India. She lived in university housing, during the university academic year.

Nashina, a Muslim university student, was 19 years old at the time of the interviews. She was born in Canada and lived with her parents and sisters aged 21 and 17 and her brother aged 15. She was a second year science student at the time of the interviews. Both of her parents were born and raised in Pakistan. They came to Canada at the time of their marriage. Nashina's father was on sick leave from his job as a factory worker at the time of the interviews and her mother was a full time homemaker. Nashina wore the traditional clothing of her religion and culture which consisted of hijab or a covering which she wore to cover her head and neck. She also wore a dress called a camise worn over long pants or lenghas.

Ali, aged 19 at the time of the interviews was a second year university student. He was studying engineering and lived in university housing during the academic year. He was born in Canada, and both of his parents were born and raised in Pakistan. The family participated in the Ismali religion, which is a Muslim sect. He had a younger brother and a younger sister. Ali participated only in one focus group

discussion. Since he had a very heavy course load, he was unable to participate in an individual interview.

Janice, who was Roman Catholic, was a first year kinesiology student at the time of the interviews and she lived in university housing during the school year. Janice was born in Canada and both of her parents were born in Pakistan. She was 19 at the time of the interviews and had one older sister. Her mother was an administrator with a provincial housing department and her father was an accountant.

Steven was a first year computer science student who lived in university housing during the academic year. He had a younger brother and a younger sister. Steven, aged 19, was a Roman Catholic and was born in Canada. His mother was a legal secretary and his father was a media analyst for a bank. His mother was born in Bangladesh and his father was born in Calcutta.

Group 2

The second group of participants knew one another through their parents, who were professional colleagues. They were contacted through the Kitchener Waterloo Multicultural Center, where one of the mothers was known to be a contact person for the Indian community. In this group were three high school age females. They were not able to meet together for an initial group interview, but participated in personal interviews, and two of them met together with me for a second interview to review the analysis of the data.

The members of the second group were:

Beena, who turned 17 just after her first interview, attended a public high school and lived with her parents who were both physicians. Beena had an older brother who was living away from home in order to attend university. She was Hindu and both of her parents were born in Gujarat, India. Beena was born in Canada.

Amee, was also a high school student. She attended a private school and was 15 at the time of the interviews. She was born in Canada and lived with her parents and older brother. Her mother was a full time home-maker and her father was a physician. Both of her parents were born in the Kerala region of South India and the family was Roman Catholic.

The third participant in this group was Rekha, aged 16. She attended a private, Christian high school and lived with her parents and younger brother. She also had an older sister who lived away from home in order to attend university. Rekha's mother and father were both physicians. The family was Christian, attending the United Church. Her parents were born in Kerala, India and she was born in

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Canada. The individual interviews with each of these participants were held in their homes. The second meeting with Rekha and Beena was held at a donut shop in order for them to review and comment on the analysis of the data.

Group 3

The third group of participants, all Sikhs, had been friends since birth and were now in attendance at two universities. They were recruited through the Sikh Student Association at one university. They first met as a group with the researcher and provided information about their lives and their leisure. A subsequent group meeting was held with three of them, to review of the analysis of the data. No personal interviews were conducted with this group of participants since the information derived from the first focus group interview provided tremendous range of in-depth data. All four of the participants were all born in Canada and had grown up together. All of their parents were born and raised in the Punjab area of North India.

Anisha, the first person in this group, was 19 at the time of the interviews. She attended university and lived with her parents and her older brother. She was a first year science student at the time of the interviews. Anisha's mother worked for a small company and her father was a lawyer.

Priya was also 19 at the time of the interviews. Her mother was a full time homemaker, who occasionally helped with the family business. Her father was a mechanical engineer who had his own manufacturing business. She lived with her parents and older brother. She was in her first year of a psychology program at university.

Kaila, aged 20, was a second year university student who lived with her parents and younger brother. She had an older sister who was married and lived in the United States. Her parents were both factory workers. Her mother worked in the garment industry and her father worked in the automotive industry.

Manjit, aged 19, was Kaila's cousin. Their fathers were brothers. Kaila's family immigrated to Canada before Manjit's family arrived. When Manjit's parents arrived in Canada, they lived with Kaila's family until they were able to establish their own home. Both participants remember living in the large extended household. Manjit's mother was also a factory worker and his father was a manager in a factory. He lived with his parents and younger sister and was a first year Chemistry student.

Both interviews with this group were held at a meeting room on campus at one of the universities attended by these participants.

Group 4

The fourth group of participants were the children of two Muslim families whose fathers worked together in a restaurant owned by one of the fathers. One of the teens, who works in the restaurant, was told of the study by a personal contact, and he agreed to participate in the study. During that first interview, I was told about his "cousin" who had immigrated to Canada four years prior to the interview. When contacted, she also agreed to participate, as did her brother. The three people in this group did not meet together. Interviews were held with the first participant on his own, with the brother and sister participants together and a subsequent interview was held with the sister to review the analysis of the data.

Bibi and Karim were the brother and sister participants in this study. Bibi was 19 at the time of the interviews and Karim was 17. They were both born in Bangladesh and arrived in Canada three and a half years prior to the time of the interviews. They lived with their parents and a younger brother. They both attended a public high school. Their mother who had been a health care worker in Bangladesh, had recently completed her high school credits in Canada. Here, she had been a full time home-maker and hoped to enter the work force now that she had completed her Canadian high school diploma. Their father, who worked as a waiter in his friend's restaurant, taught high school in Bangladesh. Bibi and her mother both wear the traditional clothing of their religion and culture including hijab, which for them is a scarf covering their hair and is worn only when they are out of the house. Bibi and her brother, Karim were interviewed in their home for each interview.

Hassan, was age 18 at the time of the interviews. His father and Bibi and Karim's father were close friends. He lived with his parents and three younger brothers. His family owned the restaurant where he worked when he was not in school. He had left high school six months prior to the interview but said that he planned to return to his studies. He was born in England and came to Canada when he was a baby, first living in Montreal and then moving to Southern Ontario. Hassan's father was a restaurateur and his mother was a full time homemaker. He was interviewed in the family's restaurant where he worked.

2.3   Information gathering

In earlier research, I conducted interviews with women who had immigrated from India, as noted in Section 1.4. In that study, some information was gathered about the expectations the participants had for their children relative to life in Canada. For the current study excerpts from the interviews with those women were used as sensitising concepts to focus the discussions and to help

inform the research process. Sensitizing concepts are topics or issues raised by the researcher in order to highlight the importance of some events, activities, or behaviors that may have importance in the context of the study (Patton, 1990).

The first contact I had with participants was either in a focus group or in individual interviews. In both situations, the questions asked followed a similar guideline. People were first told about the previous research I had conducted with the women immigrants from India and Pakistan. The interpretative nature of this study was explained and they were told about the importance of studying leisure as an aspect of their lives that was likely different in some ways from the leisure of people from the dominant cultural groups in Canada.

Next, the participants were asked about their leisure. The participants were asked about their friendships and the kinds of activities and leisure experiences they enjoyed with their friends. They were asked about their involvement with their families and their ethnic or cultural group and how these experiences related to their leisure. The participants were asked about their schools and what roles they played in the leisure experience, in terms of providing opportunities or inhibiting the experience of leisure. All of these topics were evident throughout the literature reviewed for this study, as important factors in the lives of adolescents. Therefore the participants were asked to comment on them in relation to their own lives and their leisure.

Since the participants all identified with a minority racial group, they were asked whether they had experienced racism or intolerance related to their skin colour or their clothing. This discussion focused on the racism experienced both in leisure and in other circumstances such as within schools, and in the community.

In my first study, the women had many comments about the way in which they hoped to raise their children and about their families which were central to their sense of satisfaction, enjoyment, relaxation and fulfilment in life. The women hoped that their children would appreciate the centrality of family that they enjoyed and several women planned to arrange the marriages of their children and to live with their children once the children were married. The women also found Canadians to be selfish for wanting time alone for the pursuit of leisure activities. I felt that these ideas would likely be problematic for some adolescents and young adults who are the children of South Asian Canadian parents. Therefore in this study, the participants were shown quotes made by the women participants from my previous research study and were asked to comment about the statements made by the women from the earlier study regarding arranged marriages, the importance and centrality of the family, the notion of private time and the opportunity for and importance of socialisation outside of family and kinship groups. These

ideas were used to prompt the participants in the focus group and the individual interviews and to explore how important these factors were in the lives of children of immigrants.

The list of questions was modified following each interview to incorporate questions about new topics or issues that emerged during the interviews. Those people who took part in a personal interview following their participation in a focus group were asked to elaborate on the things they said in the focus groups in order to obtain as much depth of discussion as was possible.

Finally, the participants were asked to meet with me to review my analysis of the data. Seven participants met with me for this phase of the study. Two people participated in individual interviews, two participated in a joint interview and three participated in a group interview. For these discussions, the participants were shown the figures I had developed to describe my interpretation of the findings. They were asked to comment about the way I had interpreted the study and to discuss any aspects that they found interesting or those with which they disagreed. The figures were refined and adjusted to incorporate the suggestions and comments of the participants. The figures and models which are the result of these discussions appear in Chapters Four and Five.

(See Appendix B for interview guides).

During all of the meetings people were encouraged to discuss what they felt were the important ideas in terms of their lives and their leisure. When the discussion became spontaneous between participants, people were encouraged to discuss topics they found interesting and significant. The focus group interviews and the meetings involving more than one participant, required little guidance and prompting from me since people found it very easy to discuss leisure as a topic of importance in their lives. Some discussions became quite lengthy, with the longest meeting lasting two and a half hours. The shorter meetings lasting approximately an hour.

The focus groups and individual interviews took place between October 30, 1996 and February 13, 1997. Follow-up interviews were held in order to have the participants review the analysis of the data and to ensure their validation of the interpretation. These took place during March and April, 1997.

2.3.1   Analysis and interpretation

All of the interviews, both with the groups and with the individual participants were audio taped and transcribed. Following the initial phase of data collection using the group and individual interviews, the transcripts were read in order to develop some initial categories of data to begin the analysis. Once it became evident that several large categories had emerged from the data, the NUD*IST software program was used to help sort the data. Small segments of the data were placed into categories on an

organisational schema referred to in NUD*IST as a tree. During this phase of the study, the constant comparison method was used to compare and contrast the data and to ensure that the data were saturated (Glaser and Straus, 1967). This was accomplished by repeated reading of all of the transcripts and comparing phrases, sentences and paragraphs of text provided by all participants. By grouping data according to similar patterns of thoughts, several large categories of data emerged, I proceeded to examine the data, and I found certain commonalties among the data.

Figure 2 depicts the categories that emerged from the data as the analysis proceeded.

Figure 2: Categories used for data analysis

Family	Community	Personal Development

- Father
- Mother
- Siblings
- Extended family
- Family Values

- Friends, dating
- Jobs
- School
- Leisure Activities
- Cultural traditions
- TV
- Arranged marriages

- Personality
- Goals
- Freedom
- Appearance
- Defiance
- Intolerance
- Choices

- Freedom
- Privacy
- Missing Out
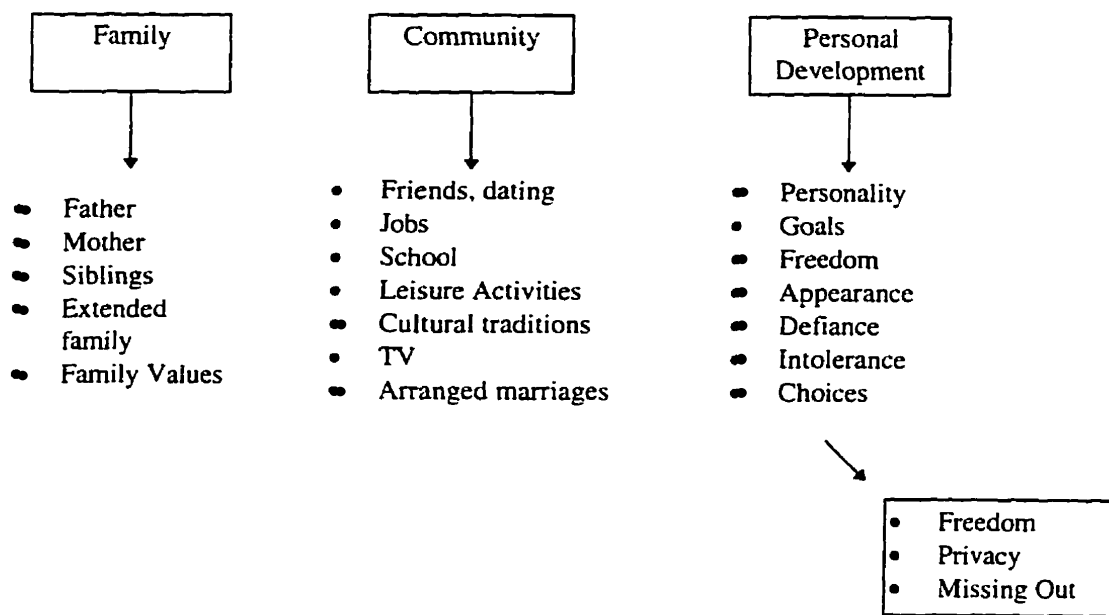
The three main categories of data, 'Family", 'Community' and 'Personal Development' are shown in the boxes at the top of Figure 2. From these three categories, many smaller themes emerged as the transcripts were read and compared to one another. These themes or patterns are shown below the main categories. The last theme, below the category, 'Personal Development', was called 'Choices'. As data began to be grouped into this category, several sub-categories became evident, as listed below 'Choices'.

2.4   Three guiding perspectives

There were three different theoretical perspectives that guided and shaped the analysis and interpretation of data in this study. First, a social psychological perspective of leisure, often used to define the experience of leisure in the North American context; second, a critical social theory and third, Van Dyke (1972) whose work takes a structural/functional perspective all helped to guide and shape the way the study evolved and the analysis and interpretation of the results.

2.4.1   Social psychological theory of leisure

Leisure is often defined from a social psychological perspective. This perspective deals with the idea that people perceive some aspects of time or behaviour as being free or discretionary (Mannell and Kleiber, 1997). A social psychological perspective also looks at the choices people make for filling or using discretionary time, why they make these choices and the implications of their choices in terms of their level of satisfaction and personal development (Mannell and Kleiber, 1997). Neulinger (1981) and Iso-Ahola (1980) provided the basis for the way in which many leisure researchers have conceptualised the notion of leisure. The social psychological perspective primarily concerns itself with the positive benefits of leisure and with the notion of choice and freedom. These concepts may be problematic for people who identify with minority ethnic populations, for those who do not share the values of the dominant cultural groups, and for people who may not experience leisure as a beneficial aspect of life. Therefore another approach for conceptualising leisure in the context of this study was influential in interpreting the data and gaining an understanding of the participants' experiences.

2.4.2   Critical social theory

Critical social theory (Horkheimer, 1972; Habermas, 1971; Calhoun, 1995) provided a second perspective guiding the development of this study and the analysis and interpretation of the results. This method aims to allow the researcher to ask new questions about existing theories, it aids thinking through changing circumstances and developing new possibilities for change, and is sensitive to the cultural and historic basis for existing social conditions (Calhoun, 1995). Critical theory aims to disclose factors which are repressive or dominant and the source of unacceptable quality of life for human beings (Habermas, 1971; Horkheimer, 1972). It also insists on self-reflection, the absence of which Habermas believed to be the reason for the reproduction of "lawlike social regularities" which are repressive, exploitative and alienating (Habermas, 1971).

In their discussion of the use of a critical approach to research practice, Schrantz & Walker (1995) argue that research tends to be "the currency of institutional power" (p. 11). In this sense, research has had a tendency to reinforce existing institutions. In leisure research, methods have in the past tended to reinforce the positive nature of leisure experience and the sense that leisure involves the experience of freedom, choice and self-actualisation. I believe that leisure is not always able to provide these positive aspects in people's lives and that leisure may be experienced in ways that are very different for people who are not part of the dominant cultural group in Canada. Also, leisure may need a different and new definition when used in the context of the lives of people who experience life from outside the main, dominant cultural groups in our society.

Kincheloe & McLaren (1994) discuss the problems inherent in traditional research methods which apply rigorous sets of objective procedures and set the researcher apart from the people being researched.

> To be meaningful, the argument goes, social inquiry must be rigorous. The pursuit of rigor thus becomes the shortest path to validity. Rigor is a commitment to the established rules for conducting inquiry. Traditional modernist researcher has focused on rigor to the neglect of the dynamics of the lived experience—not to mention the pursuit of justice in the lived world . . . Thus social research has focused on reducing human beings to taken-for-granted social outcomes. (Kincheloe & McLaren, p. 151).

In this study I have looked at leisure as an aspect of life that may be problematic for those who are not part of the dominant culture in Canada. As suggested by Kincheloe & McLaren (1994) this critical approach to research aims to confront the traditional definitions of leisure which have failed to consider the lived experiences of those who are not part of the dominant cultural. For example, Csikszentmihalyi & Larson (1984) explain how every experience in life can challenge adolescents and stimulate growth as well as present obstacles to growth. However, discrimination and intolerance are potential obstacles which prevent or limit growth, but may also initiate growth experience. Researchers have not looked at how issues of intolerance and discrimination have impacted the lives of minority group adolescents in Canada. How teens from diverse ethnic backgrounds cope with the challenges they face in leisure, and whether or not leisure emancipates them from the negative experiences related to discrimination or intolerance, is not well known.

Where researchers have looked at the leisure patterns of those in other cultures, they often use a western framework for comparing activities or use of time in what North Americans view as leisure without examining the implications of class, gender, ethnicity, race and age. For example, Ibrahim

(1991) discusses community festivals that are reported in literature about the Islamic Empire. While the activities described may have been leisure entertainment for nobility, those unveiled women performing dances and other street performers were most likely slaves or foreigners, who had little choice in what they were doing. Taylor (1992) wrote about ethnic leisure pursuits, but identified only activities she believes to be leisure, and failed to ask the study participants whether or not they agreed that the four activities discussed were in fact leisure, from their personal perspective. From the results of these studies and others, we are left with little information that provides an understanding of what leisure means to people who live in North America and who have roots in cultures unlike the mainstream dominant culture.

Leisure researchers have recently begun to look at ways of exploring leisure that allow us to look beyond the existing framework, and to circumstances in which leisure may not be a realm of choice, freedom and self-actualisation. Feminist leisure researchers have used this approach to contribute to our understanding of the unique nature of leisure in the lives of women (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw and Freysinger, 1996; Deem, 1985; Bella, 1992 and others). These and other feminist leisure researchers have demonstrated that women's experience of leisure is impacted by the amount of time they have available for leisure; by their socio-economic status; by their need to juggle the many expectations they face regarding jobs, homes, children and family responsibilities; and by gender roles which affect what women do in all aspects of their lives, including in their leisure (Henderson et al, 1996). Issues related to gender and family roles have recently been explored in the leisure literature, exploring how leisure may reproduce ideology of the dominant groups in society and thereby limit or constrain the leisure experience for some people (Shaw, 1997; Messner, 1992). Therefore, from the critical feminist leisure research we know that women's leisure is different than it is for men.

Efforts have been made to explore how leisure may reproduce race and class distinctions and thereby preventing equal access to leisure (Rojek, 1995). Recent efforts in Britain that have attempted to promote the concepts of multiculturalism, which aim to provide support and funding for activities of interest to ethnic and racial minority groups (Rojek, 1995). However, Rojek also explains that these are considered to be merely token efforts, and that ethnic minority people are still more likely to live in poverty, and as a result have less access to leisure opportunities than the white, dominant cultural groups. Canada, one of the first countries to pass a multicultural policy through federal legislation, has officially encouraged all Canadians to celebrate diversity (Elliott and Fleras, 1990). How this has been incorporated into leisure service, programs, policy and research has not been explored. We do not have a good understanding of whether or not leisure reinforces racism.

Other work is needed in order to develop a way of seeing the leisure experience for people who do not share the same values and beliefs systems as those who are from the dominant cultural groups in North America, and for whom leisure may have a different meaning. Using a critical theory perspective, leisure would be explored in terms of how it might be oppressive, in terms of preventing people from experiencing choice or freedom which are often used to define the leisure experience.

Self-reflection is an essential element in the process of conducting "critically grounded qualitative research" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994). Researchers use critical theory to explore their place within their research and social theory becomes a "vehicle for resistance, a means of social transformation through collective participation" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994, p. 147). Through this study I have attempted to demonstrate the problems faced by a particular group of people in their leisure. I have also attempted to demonstrate that the participants worked with me to analyse and interpret the findings of the study. Through the research process, the participants were able to explain the nature of their leisure experiences, both positive and negative. They were also able to help identify ways in which leisure may contribute to a sense of freedom, choice and self-actualisation that are known to be the benefits of leisure typically realised by adolescents from the dominant cultural groups. Likewise the participants explained that in some cases, leisure opportunity may not exist in their lives. For Kincheloe & McLaren (1994) critical researchers are satisfied, only when the "constructs are plausible to those who constructed them" (p. 151). I believe that this study makes sense to the participants and that some of them will benefit from having participated in the study and sharing with me the interpretation of the findings.

2.4.3   The work of Edward Van Dyke

I knew of Van Dyke's work as a trainer, who prepared government workers to enter native and isolated religious communities in order to deliver government services like education, health and recreation. Van Dyke had studied the experience of an Old Colony Mennonite community in Alberta as they attempted to survive economically within the greater community and at the same time, persist as a unique socio-cultural sect (Van Dyke, 1972). The inductive nature of the present study meant that the participants, through their thoughts and insights, channelled me to Van Dyke's work. Van Dyke's theory helped guide my analysis for this study.

Van Dyke (1972) investigated the impact of North American society on an Old Colony Mennonite community in rural Alberta. The small, isolated farm community had been established in order for the Mennonites to sustain their culture, language, religion, values and belief system. He

described the conflict which occurred as the members of the Old Colony attempted to survive economically and to maintain their unique culture. To do so, they had to interact with the dominant cultural group in order to sell their produce and to purchase the goods they could not produce themselves. Some members of the Old Colony began to assimilate into the dominant culture as they adopted labor saving devices that improved farming and production. Other members of the Colony remained committed to a lifestyle that involved little interaction with people from the dominant culture. They believed the encroachment of the dominant group on the Old Colony would destroy the values and belief systems of their group. Using Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance, Van Dyke discussed the dissonance that emerged within the Old Colony as the greater or dominant society encroached on the small, isolated, collective community. As a result of the increased level of dissonance, the Old Colony Mennonites attempted to reduce or eliminate stress. The Old Colony, facing sectarian division, left the Mennonites with two choices: to assimilate into the larger society, or to further entrench into an isolated enclave that could sustain the values and beliefs of the little community.

In a later study, Van Dyke (1982) used this notion of the small community and the greater society to explain the cultural differences that exist between native communities in Canada and the dominant cultural group. In several discussion papers he prepared for training government workers he used the following diagram (**Figure 3**) to describe the two, distinctly different communities.

FIGURE 3: Van Dyke's Small Community and the Greater Society

Small
Community

Greater Society

* Large Population
* Small Population   * Impersonal Relationships
* Informal   * Formal
* Conservative   * Liberal
* Traditional   Value Differences * Secular
* Slow Paced   * Fast Paced
* Simple Technology   * Complex Technology
* Generalization   * Specialization
* Homogeneous   * Heterogeneous
* Social Isolation   * Social Integration
* Subordinate   * Dominant

Van Dyke described a continuum with the small community on one end and the large or greater society on the other end. His small community is described as having a small population where relationships between people are personal and informal. It is conservative, traditional and the pace of life is slow. Technology in the little community is simple and most people have multiple skills, or what Van Dyke refers to as generalized skills, for doing all of the tasks required for the survival of their families. The population in the small community is homogeneous in terms of the cultural and religious backgrounds of the members of the community. They are socially isolated and subordinate to the greater society.

The greater society is at the opposite end of the continuum. Characteristically the greater society is larger in terms of geographic size and population. Relationships between its people are impersonal, formal and the people have liberal viewpoints. The greater society is secular, fast paced and relies on complex technology for its survival and prosperity. The people in the greater

society are heterogeneous in their cultures and religious backgrounds and are socially integrated. This is the dominant cultural group.

Van Dyke's work uses a structural functionalist perspective. In that approach a social system, like the small community or the greater society, is viewed as an integrated and interdependent complete systems. All of the components of the system, function to support the equilibrium of the whole system or society (Dickinson, 1993). So for those individuals who chose to move away from the small community, or to change the way they related to the greater society, there was the potential to upset the equilibrium of the small community. this perspective was used in relation to the lives of the South Asian people in my study.

Following my initial analysis and once I had developed my initial impressions of the findings, the participants were asked to reconvene in order to review and reflect on my perceptions of the information gathered from study participants. This hermeneutic or interpretative aspect of this study granted the participants some control of the theory building, which became incorporated into the analysis of the data. (Fuchs, 1993).

2.5   My place as researcher in the research process

An important aspect of qualitative research is the involvement of the researcher as a part of the process. The subjective nature of this research meant that I was involved, as researcher and as subject throughout the study. Therefore, an explanation of my place in the research process is essential.

I am a white, middle-class female PhD student. I am a single parent, who grew up within a very traditional Italian/Sicilian family in Southern Ontario. I realised tremendous benefits from my very large, extended family. I also realise the intrusive nature of some aspects of my family regarding marriage and divorce, the rearing of children, religion, education and the place of women in the Italian community.

My first attempt to study ethnicity and leisure occurred during my Master's degree program. As I have mentioned, that study looked at leisure in the lives of women who were immigrants to Canada from India and Pakistan. Through that work, I met women who had experienced tremendous benefits in their lives as a result of their culture, their religions, their families and their ties with their countries of birth. Some of the women explained that in their lives, their arranged marriages had succeeded and were viewed as very beneficial to the sustenance of their culture and their family. However, many of the participants in that study were glad that they did not have to face the constraint of living in a small Indian community in which every knew each other's daily business and had something to say about each other.

I went into this second study of ethnicity and leisure, from the perspective of knowing first hand the positive benefits of a traditional family as well as from the perspective of some Indo Canadian women. I also had the sense that some aspects of the cultures of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh may impact some people's lives negatively. Through the data collection, analysis and interpretation phases of this study, I have attempted to be open to the perspective of the participants regarding their own circumstances. I have heard them describe both the positive and negative aspects of their lives. I have tried to present these aspects clearly, as they were told to me. However, I realise that as a participant in their study, I have made some value judgements based on my views of the South Asian culture and from the perspective of my own life and what I value.

I participated in this study from the position of leisure researcher. While I have attempted to reconstruct the perspective of the participants, using their voices and their interpretations of the data, I realise that I am present in this study and I accept that many of my biases and values are present as well.

I ask the readers of this study to try to see leisure and other aspects of the lives of the participants from their perspective. The reader may benefit from realising that independence from family is one of the least important aspects of life for the participants. They do not value notions related to freedom from obligation that have pervaded North American culture. This understanding may help the reader to listen to what was said, without feeling sorry for the participants or thinking that they live with insurmountable constraints. I believe that the participants in this study had lives that offered them a great deal of opportunity, that in important ways is sadly absent in the lives of many North American teenagers. I do not see them as victims of a culture that constrains their ability to achieve their greatest potential. Instead, for those who have attained a sense of balance, or the ability to live within two cultures, I believe they have the potential for far greater fulfilment than many teens who do not have the support and encouragement from their families and community and the experience of rich cultural traditions.

Further reflections on the process of conducting this study are found in the Appendix A where I have written a chronology of the process undertaken for this study

Chapter Three: The Findings

3.1   The Dynamics of Family Interactions

In this presentation of the research I am attempting to let the participants tell their own stories about their lives and their leisure. With each participant I started our discussion with the idea of family and centrality of family, because that was the most salient issue in the study I had conducted with the immigrant women from India. The participants in this study commented about their families and then went on to discuss the importance of friends, school and individual pursuits. In many cases the participants told me about the goals and wishes for their future. I have attempted to let their voices be heard.

3.1.1   Centrality of family

Centrality of family was an aspect of life that influenced the lives of the women who had immigrated from India and were the participants in my first study. When asked about their families, the young adults and teens in this study confirmed that centrality of family was an aspect of life that impacted their lives as well. The parents of the participants were a lot like the women who participated in my first study in that they too were born and raised in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. They had immigrated to Canada and were raising their children here.

A strong and central theme that emerged from both studies was the centrality of family in the lives of the participants in both studies. The participants agreed that family togetherness was important to them and their parents:

> Bibi:: First of all, my family comes and then my friends. Yes, then if I think about outside, my friends come.

> Amee: I have noticed the difference between my family and other families. Like my friend had her birthday on January 1st...She said she was going to invite me but she knew I would be doing something with my family. Whereas her other friends. She knows they are not that much into being with family at New Year's. So she invited them over. Because I would automatically say no. I heard as you get older family is less important at New Year's. Right now, I think that being with your family is most important.

> Beena: I have noticed with my brother when he comes home (from university). He doesn't come home often. Because of the amount of work he has to do. And I understand that. But instead of my Mom going to the Temple with us on Sunday, she will stay home with him. Even though he is usually never home anyways. He will usually go out. Whenever he is home, he usually hangs out with his friends from high school. But she will stay home.

Other participants said that their parents preferred to go out as a family and one participant described how her parents refused to go out without their two children who were 22 and 16 years of age:

> Rani: Even now, my parents don't like leaving us at home. Like one example. Last New Year's Eve. My parents were going to a friend's house. And we didn't know anybody there. Like my brother and I. There would be not kids our age. So we would have just sat down and did nothing. So we told our parents, "Why don't you go. The two of us are home. You are coming back in a few hours. You know you can call us, we will call you. You know, it's not a big deal." And they would not leave. They ended up not going and staying home with us.

Steven described how his mother and father have made the family their purpose in life:

> Steven: I often tell my Mom. Because she always spends time with us. I say, "You and Dad need time alone." And I keep stressing that. Go for a walk, go to a movie. And she says, "No. Right now, you guys are my life." That is what they live for. It's family.

Many North Americans would feel stifled by the intensity of the involvement these young people have with their families. For the participants in my study, family was an extremely important and central aspect in their lives and as was evident throughout the study, family was a source of leisure for the participants as well.

3.1.2 Seeking privacy

Having an opportunity for privacy was valued by the participants, just as it is for many North American teens. They explained that they wanted and actively pursued time and opportunities to be alone, and to do things that they wanted to do, without being observed or controlled by their parents. For some participants the issue of having time to oneself was frowned upon by parents. When asked about having time for themselves Rani and Janice said:

> Rani: That is a big issue between my parents and I. Like even with my brother, too. Because we don't tell them anything. They are like, "You don't tell us anything."
> Janice: Yea, mine too. Not only that. The whole door on your bedroom. They just want to tear it down. Because you shouldn't be in there too long.
> Rani: It should never be shut. It should always be open. They think that you are keeping something from them. Like, my parents think that, if your door is shut.
> Janice: That you are doing something wrong.
> Rani: Or you are talking about them.

Several of the university age participants have resolved the issue of having time that they can control for their own purposes. Once the young adults were living away from home they had more freedom to spend their time as they wished:

> Ali: I have always been a private person at home. Now that I am obviously away (at university) from my family, I talk a lot more with my family. But when I was growing up I was very private. I had the door closed, you know. I did a lot of things by myself. They minded. And they used to tell me, "Why don't you come down?" or "Why do I have to call you all the time?" But I was just a very private person Because I didn't get any freedom and that is why I sort of resented them.

Although still living in his parents' home, Hassan had some time for his own activities once he reached his late teens:

> Hassan: Canadian kids have a lot of privacy. Sometimes I think too much. Like Indian parents think you can have too much privacy. Because you can do so many things behind your parent's back. That it is unbelievable. We don't. Because we don't have privacy. Well a little. I do have a little bit more now. But not when I was younger, I didn't.

Others did not have a problem in finding time to be by themselves or time and opportunity for their own pursuits. Bibi, who had only been in Canada for three and half years said she had plenty of opportunities for privacy. Beena described what she understood her parents' viewpoint to be:

> Beena: When they were growing up they have large, large families. Even my parents had I don't know how many brothers and sisters. So you are never alone.
> Susan: Do they let you have your own space and time to do what you like?
> Beena: Yea. I think I have kind of told them, "Leave me alone." I went through my phase of identity crisis. Who am I and where do I want to be? And I went through the whole thing of dressing in black. Head to toe in black. And I just told them, "Leave me alone. Don't even ask me anything. Don't worry, I am not doing drugs. I am not smoking. I just need time to figure out what I am doing."
> Susan: So would they have preferred if you were with them a lot more in the household?
> Beena: Oh, probably they would have preferred if I would have talked to them about what I was going through. But I think they knew it was just a phase and I would get over it.

Another person also had little trouble finding time for her own activities:

> Rekha: I think that privacy is seen (in my family) as something that we all should have. Because if allows you to be with yourself. And to discover who you are. Or whatever . . . I like it both ways. I like to be alone, or on my own. But I love to be with people too. In our family if has never really been questioned. We all have our privacy and I think that it is assumed by my parents, if we are up in our rooms, that what we are doing is studying or reading. So it's not even an issue.

Susan: Now that you have your own place (in university housing) do you like the privacy that you have?

Rani: Yea, I like it a lot. I was always a very private person. I like to have time to myself. To think about things. whenever I am home they just hover around me constantly. I don't like it at all. I like my space. And sometimes I will just get away from everyone just to be by myself. I like that independence. Having my own space around. It is really nice right now. I just shut my door if I want to. That's it. That's all I have to do. No one will bother me. My parents won't be knocking every five minutes to see what I am up to. To tell me to keep my door open.

Some participants experienced the pressure to be with their families as much as possible. For others, it was not a matter of pressure, but valuing the closeness of their families and not wanting to have time away from their parents, brothers sisters and extended family.

3.1.3   Parental involvement in the lives of the participants.

The parents of the South Asian participants were often involved in the daily lives of their teenage children. The close family units described by the participants in this study, meant that for most people, decision making about behaviors, values and beliefs were family decisions. Parents often played an active role in the decisions of the children regarding courses at school, activities they engaged in and friends.

Anisha: I think that in the Indian culture everything is a family decision. You don't really keep to yourself. The parents always kind of want to know what is going on. They are nosy that way.

The participants grew up knowing that their parents would be involved in most decisions they made. Many accepted this as part of their lives. For example Bibi who was in her last year of high school and was hoping to be accepted at university described her limitations regarding what university she would be able to attend:

Bibi: In my country it is different. You know your country's people. And then if you want to move for education it is allowed.

Susan: So do you plan to go to University?

Bibi: Yes, I applied to (two universities near her home).

Susan: Did you apply to (universities not near her home)?

Bibi: No, because if I had to move the whole family has to move.

This participant did not view her family as limiting her choices for university. Instead she, like others in the study, saw them as supportive and essential for her well being. When asked to

comment about a quote from a woman in the first study who believed North American culture to be selfish Kaila and Anisha said:

> Kaila: It's definitely true. There is more of a collective culture (with Sikhism). And this is totally individualistic. But I think slowly our parents haven't become individualistic. But they have blended the two. Whereas, the kids tend to be individualistic like everybody else.
> Anisha: I think you get a little bit of both because you are raised in that kind of a house. We get a little bit of everything. Like, yea. You just become mixed. Certain parts of you are really individualistic. But then you are not as individualistic as North American kids, but you are not as collective as Indian.
> Kaila: I think they have more respect for the parents. Well, I can't really say. Because the white friends I do have, they have respect for their parents too. So I can't really say.

Many of the participants mentioned that they have a trust relationship with their parents in regard to their freedom to go out and to have some time on their own.

> Amee: In terms of rules? Don't drink. But we don't really talk about that because my relationship with my parents is on a trust system. And I know if I break it, I probably won't be let out again. But, you know when we go to the movies, if we go to the Mall, don't go by yourself. Go in a group of three or four. Things like that. And I also have band trips to the States. We actually went to New Orleans last year. And that is supposed to be the state with the highest rate for kidnappings and things like that. I said, "OH great. Now my parents aren't going to send me." (laughs).

Amee and several other participants have developed this sense of trust with their parents and as a result, they have some freedom to go out with their friends for their leisure. However, they know that if they lose the trust relationship they will be denied the opportunity for the freedom they have gained.

3.1.4 The value of open communication with family and friends

The women in the first study talked about the importance of conversation in their lives. Their homes were often visited by relatives and friends. For many, relatives outside of the nuclear family lived in the home. For the young people in this study, the same conditions existed in their homes and therefore conversation, discussion and exchange of ideas were also an important aspect of life:

> Kaila: With my family it is pretty prevalent. You know. There is [sic] usually people dropping in. Like with most Indian families you don't have to call first. You just sort of come. Show up. And then Yea. We talk. Or I talk to my parents at home almost every day.

> Susan: What kind of things do you do with your family?
> Steven: Watch movies. Talk. Mainly talk. Communication is very important in our family. Dinner. Like simple things. My parents have always stressed simplicity of life. They don't try to be flashy or anything like that. They stress fundamental values. Those kind of things.

Like going out to dinner . . . We often have relatives come over. Every so often. Every two weeks or so. We will have someone over.

Rani: They come down (to university) every three weeks. They call me like three times or four times a day.
Janice: Sometimes you get too much privacy (at university living in dorm) It gets really quiet in the room. If my roommate is not there. It does, you get alone. You feel really alone. I use the phone a lot here. So at least it is not too bad. I can call home whenever . . . I talk to them (parents) everyday. Pretty much everyday. Even friends. I pretty much talk to one friend a night.

As the participants explained, they experienced conversation within their homes, and some felt that this was something unique and not experienced by many of their Canadian friends. Steven said:

Steven: I think I am one of the few people who can honestly sit down and talk with my mother and have serious deep conversation. With my father it is harder. Because he has always been the introverted type. But I can still have a conversation. But with my mother it has always been very open. Like I can talk to her about a girl I am going out with for example. Most guys wouldn't do that. They wouldn't even mention that to their mother. But I don't have a problem. Which is great.

Not all of the participants were as interested or able to talk with their parents. When asked if she talks to her parents about her problems, Beena described her experience:

Beena: I probably could but I wouldn't want to. Because they would look at it from a parent. Whereas my friends are looking at it as follow your heart. Do what you think is best. They are not looking at a parent point of view . . . They are not very biased in any way. And that is why I usually go talk to them.

In a subsequent interview Rehka and Beena said:

Beena: I talk to my mother once a day on the phone and she is asking me to make dinner.
Rekha: I talk to my mother. I just find it difficult because I don't want to take on their burdens and I don't want them to have to deal with mine
Beena: Yea, yea! . . . I don't think I would ever be comfortable discussing my personal life with them. The extent of the conversation is; education, the external world, and can I have the car tonight?
Rekha: Yea, like we talk about things like politics or what's going on in the world. Or stuff like that. But we have different values. Like even homosexuality. Like certain issues, where they have a different view. I think my Dad is actually more open. Or they are both pretty open to other beliefs, but they are still set.
Beena: Set in the traditional.
Rekha: Yea. Whereas even when I am trying to write, or trying to expose my views to them, they will accept it but I don't feel comfortable. Because you can't get a really good conversation going.

Beena: You can't. Because you know they will refuse to budge because it's not the way they were brought up. They were brought up in a strict Indian society. This is how it was supposed to be.

So for Beena, Rekha and several of the participants, their most personal problems and concerns were not shared with their parents.

Anisha: I have never asked them. Well, I think that when it comes to like the Caucasian families. They have less taboo . . . They can kind of really say whatever they want as well. But actually , I would think that in Indian families or Asian families, there would be more some things that you can't bring up. I think they would be more restricted in Indian families.

Priya: Same thing (in my family). Like we never had a special time taken out in the week just to talk. But whenever if we see anything on TV or if a discussion comes up or it is just talking. If you are there you just add in what you feel about it and you just listen to and where you don't know. Yea, I always end up, whenever I disagree with some one, they say I am arguing. To stop arguing. It is no good to argue all the time. I always have to remind them that I am not arguing. I just have a different opinion. You know, I am not arguing.

Anisha: My Dad's like me though. He likes to give his opinion, and I do too. So it is just fun for us. You know. If I start raising my voice, they get upset. Because that is disrespect to your elders. You can't ever really talk back to them. So they get upset at that. But otherwise, my Dad likes that. My Mom, not so much. But my Dad likes that.

For these participants and for others, taking and sharing ideas was an important part of their lives with their families. However, the idea of taboo did prevent them from discussing some issues that they were dealing with in school and with their friends. One person mentioned that her parents were upset about a paper she was writing about homosexuality and another person's parents objected to a paper she was writing on suicide.

Beena: Usually if you try to bring up something, they are like, "No that's wrong. Don't even talk about it." And you get scolded.

Discussion and exchange of ideas occurs often among the Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani adolescents and their families. However, a few participants in this study indicated that in their families there are limits placed on what is acceptable in terms of the content of those discussions.

3.1.5   Respect and care within the family

The participants valued the close family ties that existed within their families. The young participants appreciated the benefits they derived from the closeness of family. For example Janice who recently entered university and was living away from home for the first time said:

Janice: I get scared that, that (selfishness) is happening to me. Like, sometimes you feel that, oh, they (parents) are in your face too much. So you don't want to think about them

too much. And then you feel, oh, I am just not thinking or just not caring too much about them. Am I only thinking about myself? I find myself doing that. But I know from my Mom. My Mom will do everything and anything for her parents, for me, for my sister, for my Dad. I hope I can be like that. Like I think that now that I am away. I miss them more. And I want to be there for them, as much as they have been there for me.

Several participants described the support they derive from their families relative to their friends from the dominant cultural groups.

> Rekha: Actually one big difference I find between Asian parents and non-Asian parents, is that first of all education is very important. It's always been pushed and you want to do the best you can. And also, after high school, like at the age of 18, a lot of my friends are on their own. Or not my friends, but their siblings are on their own once they are passed 18. They have to support themselves. Whereas, my parents will support us through university. They will pay the tuition fees. Or whatever. Because they feel it is their duty. You know bringing up kids and that kind of thing.

> Bibi: If a (Canadian) girl or boy like me, they get a job. and they will do whatever they want. They won't put their money back to the family, or their parents, in here, in Canada. But in my country it is different.
> Karim: Here, they make the kids pay for their own houses. Like for rent. We don't do that stuff.

Not all of the participants agreed with the notion that Asian families are closer and more supportive of the teens and young adults within the families than are Canadian families from the dominant cultural groups. Some people saw their Canadian friends as having as much support from their own families. However, the participants did agree that the close family units they have been raised within have instilled in them a tremendous respect for elders and for the well-being of the family unit.

> Hassan: (Indian families) are a lot closer than Canadian people. I don't see how my friends' families are close when their parents are divorced. Not close at all. Like half my friends' parents are not together . . . They are not close at all, they don't even spend much time at home. With their family. They are like always out. They won't even talk to their parents . . . I think it is better to be closer to your family. Friends are not always there for you. If you have a rainy day or something, family will be there for you. But friends can't always be there for you all the time. So, it is better to be close to your family.

Hassan also raised the issue of showing respect for parents. He believed that some of his Canadian peers were disrespectful in the way they treat their parents:

> Hassan: We can go out. We have to ask about, we can't just go. I know my friends just go. they don't bother asking. One minute they are in the house. And their parents turn around and they are gone. I say, "I am going out tonight" . . . I will tell them. But my Canadian

friends, they just go. Which is disrespectful. To not tell your parents. They are the ones who raised you.

Many participants had experienced the life of an extended or joint family here in Canada. Cousins Manjit and Kaila lived in the same house as young children when Manjit's family first arrived from India. For them and their friends, the respect for elders, both within the family and within the Indian community, was an important aspect of their lives.

> Kaila: I knew a girl and she used to just swear, saying the most profane things. I was shocked. I mean if I just said 'you are stupid', that would be it.
> Anisha: I called my brother an 'idiot' once. And my Mom was ready to throw me out of the house . . . This is true. It's no exaggeration. Because he is my elder and you are supposed to respect your elders. You never say 'shut up' to my Mom. Never call her 'stupid' or anything like that. That would just be it.
> Manjit: Yea, don't even dare.
> Anisha: I know brothers and sisters in one family, they have to call each other the Punjabi terms for brother and sister. They never say their name . . . It is different in every family. But I think in general too, between brothers and sisters there is more respect.

In another discussion with this same group of participants they said:

> Priya: When you know someone for a long time, you integrate. They become like I call her (Anisha's) parents auntiji and uncleji. You don't call them Mister or Misses.
> Anisha: Yes, in my culture everyone is your aunt and uncle. When you meet them for the first time, you have to call them uncle and aunt. Their kids are like your brothers and sisters.
> Manjit: I don't think there is a word for cousin (in Punjabi). You are just brothers and sisters.

Other participants discussed the inclusion of grandparents, aunts, and uncles in their homes. Once South Asian families are established in Canada, it is customary for them to welcome relatives and close family friends into their homes, in order to assist them to get settled in Canada. The participants were familiar with many such arrangements which may last for many years as the newcomers adjusted to their new lives in Canada. One participant explained that for relatives and family friends, the young people have a respectful relationship:

> Anisha: It is just like a cultural thing. The first thing that I do when I step into either of their houses is that I go greet their parents, and I hug both parents. And they hug me back. That is always the way it is. Like everyone hugs when they greet. But, yea, they won't necessarily share in-depth things. Just a cultural part. Just like the French and Italians. They kiss when they first see each other. So we just hug.

The extended family familiar to most participants, is still a very common aspect of life for South Asian families. When asked if the inclusion of elderly people may become a burden to families now that they are living in North America Beena said:

> Beena: It is more like an honor. You see it with Indian families in Kitchener. When the grandfather is sitting at home, it is like you are paying them back for everything that they have done for you. So you don't see it as a burden. But more like, "I am glad he has come."

Most of the participants grew up knowing the close ties between the members of their immediate families, their friends and within the South Asian community. They respect the relationships they have with family members and recognize that the extended family and friendship networks are an important aspect of their lives.

3.1.6   The care of elderly, ill and disabled relatives

One tradition, that many people will incorporate into their lives is the care of elderly and ill parents. However, they experience a sense of ambivalence over this issue, knowing that they will lose some of their freedom to experience their lives as they wish, and that they cannot live with themselves if the parents are not cared for by a family member.

> Rani: Both my parents have (health) problems. And they automatically assume. They say, "Oh yea, we can come live with you." They are already saying about that.

> Anisha: Generally in our culture, your parents usually come and live with the youngest son or something like that. They are not usually put in housing. That is not the way it is done. Because I know with my parents. They would be just mortified if I ever even brought that idea home.
> Kaila: Yea. My grandmother, she has like three, no, four sons here. And she is always living with them. She doesn't even know English. So she wouldn't be able to survive.

> Anisha: The culture is different. The reason for having so many kids is because they are going to take care of you when you are older. Like they are not big on the concept of just being dropped, put in a house.

For those who accept the responsibility for caring for their parents when they are ill or elderly, there will be a sense of having fulfilled a traditional role. However, the participants know that that role may result in the loss of some autonomy. Some participants believe that women's lives will be impacted more than their male counterparts, because women are the traditional care providers.

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Kaila: Yea, it will be pretty disruptive for us. You know. It will be like, yea, living independently then all of a sudden. But I think that is for everybody. Even the mainstream culture. But they can send them to a nursing home. I think I would feel guilty. Because I know they don't want to be there at all. So then I would have to take care of them. Because I could not live with that kind of guilt.

3.1.7   Siblings and differential treatment of girls and boys

All of the participants agreed that although they have close relationships within their families and that family members respect one another a great deal, boys are treated differently from girls.

Steven: My mother has told my sister in advance, "You are staying here when you go to university." I think she was joking . . . I don't know if it runs through all families, but my mother is very protective of my sister . . . When I was that age for example, I was allowed to ride my bike on the street. She is not allowed to. I was allowed to walk home after school, which is maybe a kilometer walk. She is not. I tell her, "Mom, isn't that kind of sexist?" She says, "Well when you have a daughter, you will understand." That is what she says. My Dad says the same thing.

Another participant complained that her parents did not require her brother to help out with the house work as much as she and her sisters were required to help out:

Nashina: This is something that bothers me about my brother. They don't expect him to do it. They keep saying that he is too young, he is too young. He is sixteen. When I was sixteen I used to do almost everything. I knew how to do everything. So that is something that bothers me. It doesn't have to do so much with his age. Even if he was the oldest. It's the fact that he is a boy.

Rani: Because I was a girl and because of our culture. My friends would go out and stay as late as they wanted or go to the bar or club. But I wouldn't be allowed to go. I would have to sit at home. Because my parents think that girls can get into more trouble. You don't know the world and stuff, like that. And then in our culture girls are supposed to stay close to their parents until they are married. So that is how they see it.

Kaila explained the reason for parents wanting to shelter or protect girls in South Asian families:

Kaila: I think a lot of it is reputation. Indian parents are really concerned about what the community thinks. Especially for girls. It is really hypocritical sometimes. You will say, "Who cares? Because we were born here. We are more individualistic. Who cares what they think?" But they will think, "You are right." But it is still always there . . . They don't want their girl to be known, like she drinks or smokes and she goes out with guys. It is like a shame to the family.

The differential treatment of male and female siblings within the families of the participants did not seem to have affected the relationships between brothers and sisters. All of the participants seemed to have a genuine respect for their siblings. There might have been some resentment of how the parents treated other siblings, but even that was not evident from the interviews. The participants were, it seems, able to accept the way their parents treat them, and many understood that this is an aspect of their culture that was often not questioned. Those who did question the differential treatment of sisters and brothers did so, knowing that they could do little to change their parents' views.

For the most part siblings defended one another within the family even though just about everyone who participated in this study indicated that the male children in Indian families are treated more leniently than females. However, Anisha described how her older brother had assumed a very traditional perspective toward the freedom their parents allowed her for socializing with her friends:

> Anisha: Even my brother. He is always arguing with my parents because they let me go. He gets mad at them. He doesn't want me going out and he wants me to stay home. He will argue with my Mom. He will say, "You let her go out too much" and things like that.
> Susan: You would think that brothers and sisters will stick together.
> Anisha: He is like an older Indian brother. And they want their sisters to stay innocent and good. And not mix up with those other Indian guys. And things like that.
> Priya: I have an older brother. He is only about four years older. I haven't sensed that, in that much extent, that they treat him differently. They are just as much about him going out as they are about me going out. Like when he started going out, when I reached that age, I started going out, they started allowing me to do things. And they never really made male and female an issue. That is just about my parents. I hear other stories about how brothers or guys are allowed to do everything and their parents don't really care. But when it comes to girls, they are tense about it.

3.1.8 Leisure in the Family

As was evident with the women immigrants from India and Pakistan, leisure for many of the young participants in this study often involved family activities, picnics, dinners, outings to the movies or to a park, or just spending time together as a family. This aspect of leisure was very important for most of the participants. Some of the specific aspects of family were discussed by the participants as follows.

When asked about leisure within their families the participants often spoke of family involvement in sports clubs that were organized and run by the Indian cultural groups. For many participants involvement in this form of family leisure was very important. Amee explained that

she enjoyed attending a program with her parents and brother each week at a gym rented by the Indian community in her home town:

> Amee: We do have the gym on Friday. Where we do recreational sports and things like that . . . The Friday gym is a big thing. Because you go together.
> Susan: Both of your parents and your brother go as well?
> Amee: Yes

Indian and Pakistani families have at times organized picnics, dinners and other social activities for all members of the family. Most of the participants have very fond memories of these events and some still attend the functions whenever they are able to do so. However, some participants explained that they often prefer to be with friends for their leisure:

> Janice: Tomorrow I am going back (to parents home) with hockey and stuff. So I am sure Sunday or Saturday night, my Mom will likely cook or we will go out to dinner or whatever. But we do a lot as a family. Like my Mom wanted us to all go see Evita. But me and my sister got out of it over the Christmas break. (laughs). I don't know. I would kind of like to see that movie with my friends.

Amee talked about the picnics and dinners that groups of Indian families organize, especially during the summer. Along with some of their Indian friends, her parents have occasionally rented a lodge in Northern Ontario for summer holidays. As a group, the Indian families vacationed at the resort. To her, these activities were a very important part of her leisure. She found that some of the children in other Indian families do not participate in the activities like the resort holidays as much as they did during their younger years:

> Amee: But I have noticed a lot of the older kids, even when it's going to people's houses for dinner. They are not home. Because they go out, they are with their friends. It seems like it is not as important to them. But I don't know. When I get older I think there should be time for your friends.

> Kaila: Culturally, I think that a lot of the things that families do is they just go to each others' houses a lot. Even if they are not invited. Or they will have dinners parties where you will invite five or six other families and they will come over. That's like the main social activity of our parents. And picnics. It's not like they actually go out anywhere.

For some participants involvement in activities related to the home as well as to religion were an important part of leisure. Although deeply committed to his religion, Ali had this to say:

> Ali: Like, when I was living at home obviously my leisure was a lot more restricted. You know. I tended to do a lot more home activities. Like helping my brother and sister with their school work. Or watching TV. Or going to Mosque. Or whatever. Very boring, I guess.

Nashina, who is also Muslim, challenged Ali's reference to the Mosque as boring. She enjoyed her participation in religion as an important aspect of her leisure. As a member of the Muslim student association at her university, Nashina described her leisure involvement in some of the activities of that group:

> Susan: What are the leisure activities you do? You know, the kinds of activities that you do outside of school work or the work you have to do at home?
> Nashina: Again, it is religion. It's such a big part of my life. The Muslim Student Association is a really big part of what I do outside of school work. It's not just religion. You sit there reading the Koran all the time. It's a lot of other activities that we do. But they are all tied in with religion.
> Susan: Like what kinds of activities?
> Nashina: There are study groups and then there's fun stuff. Like tomorrow is Halloween. And a lot of parents disagree that kids should go out trick or treating, or dressing up. It's not that part of it that they object to so much. But how Halloween originally was and stuff like that. So we plan this kids party at the Mosque. It's kind of like the church. Stuff like that. We don't do studying all the time, like religion. We do a lot of fun things like that.

For some participants like Priya, there was conflict between herself and her parents as they tried to resolve the extent to which the family could accept her wish to participate in leisure activity and to socialize with her friends.

> Priya: I think it was time that really healed a lot of things. Like, when I was younger, it wasn't always this good. I had to fight more and they had to resist more and then it came to bending. Then it was more of a flow. It kind of worked like that. Like we both kind of had to work like that a little bit. I bended more actually. And then it worked like that. And now it is a flow. Like we are moving together. They are accepting things now.

Priya and her parents have worked out some of their differences regarding leisure and she has some freedom to participate in activities outside of the home.

3.2   Religion and cultural traditions

The young adult and teenage participants in this study tended to be interested and even committed to their cultures and religions. Those who responded to my request for assistance with this study, which was described as being about South Asian youth and leisure, were obviously interested in their culture. I did not expect, nor did I receive any interest from people of South Asia descent who were not interested in their culture. Since all participants were very interested in their cultures and were committed to cultural sustainability, this study provided an opportunity to

discuss with them, the role that culture and religion plays in their lives, and how important culture and religion were in the lives of other young people who identify with South Asian cultures and religions.

Participants enjoyed many other aspects of their South Asian culture. Beena studied the Gujarati language and was interested in playing tabla, an Indian drum-like instrument which tends to be played by men in India. She was also very devoted to Hinduism as she explained:

> Beena: I speak Gujarati . . . Like I went to school on Saturdays. I took a heritage language class for two years. And I got my grade 11 and my OAC credit in Gujarati . . . You have to work for it. But yea, you can get it. And I hope to stick with my music, hopefully. And I will always do my morning puja (prayers). Always. Because I realize that if I don't do it in the morning I have a bad day. A totally bad day. So I will always do that. And I will always try to go to my Temple as often as possible. But if I can't do that at least I have my puja in the morning.

In another discussion she said:

> Beena: I don't want to be like everybody else. I am glad that I have another language (Gujarati) besides French and English that I can communicate to people in. I am proud of that. And I am also glad that I have another religion other than Christianity, or whatever, which is the norm in Canada. It puts me apart from everyone else.

Later Beena described how classical Indian music has been an important aspect of her leisure:

> Beena: Well I have to say in the case of sticking to Indian classical music, because my Dad played harmonium. And he sings. And my Mom tends to sing sometimes. And I kind of wanted to pick up some Indian history. But I didn't want to do the singing, vocal thing. Because I wanted to be different. So I said, "I want to play tabla." "You are a girl." I said "Oh yea. I am serious about this. I want to learn how to play." . . . My Dad said, "We can find a teacher and we can learn. And I will brush up on harmonium skills. And playing in cords" . . . No, I want to stick to some Indian roots. And tabla has always interested me. Because I never understood how they can just sit there and hit it and get five thousand different notes. And usually back in grade nine we used to sit down every night and practise for an hour. And that was kind of our family time. The three of us. My brother is obviously at university. But the three of us would sit down and we would help each other out with timing. We don't have that kind of time anymore. That was probably their biggest influence (on my leisure).

Traditional clothing was worn by many of the participants in this study. The Muslim women participants wore traditional clothing on a daily basis, which consists of a dress worn over long pants and hijab, or head scarf and other clothing that covers the head and arms. This traditional outfit is often not worn within the home. Rani, who was a classical Indian dancer, spoke

about her clothing and how she loved to wear Indian saris and Nashina spoke about her traditional Islamic clothing:

> Rani: (I wear saris) to all the religious festivals. Like I love Indian clothing. And I am proud of them. And I even wore, like a traditional outfit to my graduation and to my athletic banquet and stuff. Like I don't prefer dresses. I hate to wear dresses. I have all these Indian outfits and that's what I prefer to wear. I wore them at university and just when I was hanging out at the house. And I wear it to the store and stuff. And I have had people come up and say, "That's so beautiful. You look so nice. It's good that you are wearing that."
> Susan: So you have had a lot of positive reactions to your clothing?
> Rani: Yea. But then you get some people staring at you and saying "What is she wearing?" And stuff like that. I think that when I was younger I had a lot of problems As I grew older it got better.
> Nashina: Yea, when I was younger I had problems with the hijab. But the other clothing, Like I wanted my jeans. I wanted all that. And then as I grew older, I found that clothing wasn't as important to me. Like conforming or whatever, wasn't. In fact, I found it easier to not have to deal with that. Like to keep up with the trends and deciding what to wear tomorrow. I threw that out. It made it not important to me.

For the Sikh participants, the wearing of traditional clothing has changed since 1984. Kaila, Anisha and Manjit explained the reason for this change:

> Kaila: You know why it changed? It changed when in 1984, the Golden Temple was attacked. I know a lot of ladies, stopped wearing saris, because the sari sort of has a Hindu association. And the communities, were divided and it wasn't an acceptable thing, to wear a sari. Then a lot of guys started to keep their hair long and wear a turban like he does (her cousin). Before that my Mom used to wear a sari. My Dad, he became really religious after that. He used to have shaven hair. He used to drink.
> Anisha: But I have started to notice, they are starting to wear it more and more. Like when you go to weddings they are wearing saris and stuff. So it is coming back.
> Manjit: It's one of those fashion things. Bell bottoms are back too. Same thing. Because I remember seeing those photos too. They would have saris on. And your Dads would have bell bottoms on. (All laugh).
> Susan: Manjit, you wear a turban. Did you always wear it?
> Manjit: No. Grade four. Actually I had it when I was a kid, and then I didn't have it and I cut it (hair).
> Kaila: Yea, his conversion happened around the same time. Like a couple of years after. Like a lot of young guys, especially.
> Susan: Is it your choice?
> Manjit: Yea. It's my choice.

The Sikh participants described how their community was shaken by the bombing of their holy shrine, the Golden Temple at Amritsar, India in 1984. Many of the activities enjoyed by members of that community were discontinued after the tragedy:

Kaila: Like we used to have that (family dinners, picnics). It was usually centered around the field hockey team. Like there were always some shows and like, big picnics and outings and parties. And I think everything sort of changed when that thing happened in '84. After that happened it was never the same. The whole socializing aspect. Everything just got emphasized on what is happening in the Sikh struggle.

Anisha: I remember that when I was a kid there was always something going on. Like now I notice there is nothing. Even picnics. They are gone now. We haven't done them.

Kaila: I guess it is sort of like they feel guilty. I mean they are from Indian. I mean my parents have family back there. So they probably feel their energy should be put there. They shouldn't be doing fun things.

Traditions relating to clothing are important to the participants as was described by Bibi:

Bibi: When I was in my country , I was into the sports stuff, too. I was a good sports. I did do lots of sports activities in our country. And I was a good sports person. But in here I have to wear the shorts. My religion doesn't allow me to do that. And I can't do that in this. So I don't participate here.

Susan: I think there is swimming for Muslim women at some of the pools here in Waterloo.

Bibi: I know, but you have to wear tights (bathiing suit). I don't do that. But some Muslim people. They do.

Susan:. So did you want to participate in sports here?

Bibi: Ya. But then when I think about wearing those pants, I said no. Because I love my religion. I wouldn't do anything against it.

Although Bibi missed the sports she used to do in her home country, she was not willing to change her clothing in order to participate.

Most participants were very proud of their Indian heritage and identified strongly with their parents' countries of origin or their religion.

Rani: Culturally I will tell people I am Indian. And I am very proud of that. And I am proud of my country and things like that. I am a bit more on the religious side than kids normally are at my age. And my Indian background is very, very important to me. and it is a big chunk of my life. And if anyone wants to be my friend or get close to me, they will have to have to accept it or they just won't get the essence of who I am. But on the other hand I am a very open minded person and I always like hearing about other cultures and what other people do. Like Christmas traditions and things like that. And I will experience it too. And because I grew up with so many different types of people, I know a little bit about everyone's culture. I don't say that this one is best. I like to be considerate in that way.

Nashina and Ali, both Muslim university students and participants in this study, explained some of the limits they faced as a result of their adherence to the teachings of their religion:

Ali: Yes, that's what I have noticed. Like some of my friends they go out to bars and parties, and all that. I had had to stay away from that, because of my religion. I'm not allowed to drink or smoke or whatever. So, I do go to dance clubs, but I just stay away from that. It's like I am

missing something because, you see those guys drunk and having a good time, and I'm just sober and dancing. But I make sure I know where the line is. I don't mind having fun, but if it crosses my religion, or whatever, then I just stay away.

However, for Nashina, who was a strong adherent of her Muslim religious practices, it was the culture of her parents' native Pakistan, that left a great deal to be desired:

> Nashina: The Pakistani culture. I hate the Pakistani culture. It is so different from my religion. And sometimes it really conflicts with it. And sometimes when I was younger I didn't know the difference. And when I was younger I would start to question my faith sometimes. But now I realize that there are mix-ups. Not mix-ups, but I mean in Pakistan, what they tend to do is just take out parts of the religion that suited mostly the men. And then leave the parts out that were women's rights and all that kind of thing. So I never really liked my culture to begin with.
> Susan: Ali, you are nodding. What is your cultural background?
> Ali: My parents are from Pakistan. So, you know. I have been to Pakistan three times. And I have had a great time. I love the culture there. But obviously, I would not want to live there.
> Nashina: I like the culture as far as, like the events.
> Ali: And the food.
> Nashina: And the food. And all that kind of stuff. But I mean, day to day living. The social system and that kind of thing. Like I wouldn't like to live there, but it is fun to visit.

Janice's parents have emphasized the importance they place on religion and that they hoped she would continue to attend Catholic Mass whenever she could:

> Susan: You are Roman Catholic. Is religion a big part of your life?
> Janice: Yes. Probably not as much as my parents would like it to be. A lot of it for me is more personal. A lot of it that they don't know. Like I am sure even when I came to (university), they are like, "Make sure you go to church every week." If it was up to me I would. I don't really need them telling me that. Like unless if I had a game, then that would be hard for me to go. And I would try to make up, go for evening Mass. But I would make an effort. They would probably like me to pray everyday. And I don't, but, I don't know. It gets busy and I don't like using that as an excuse. But I do. And a lot of times it bothers me. I was wish I was more. But I think I was more. But I think I am more than a lot of people can say they are.

Another participant whose family practiced Christianity had this to say about her aspirations for her own family:

> Susan: So if you have your own children someday, would you like them to learn about Indian culture?
> Rekha: Oh, yes, of course. Definitely.
> Susan: And what parts of the culture would you like to keep?
> Rekha: Oh everything. It's an incredible culture. I think religion.
> Susan: Any particular religion? Because few parts of India are Christian.

Rekha: About three percent. Hinduism I think is really important. Muslim. Sikhs. I think it's just my mother growing up, especially my mother. Her friends, some of her closest friends were Hindu. And so it was really great for her because she would go their Hindu festivals, then she would invite them over to her Christian things. And I often find that, especially going through Christian schools, we often go through with this mindset. Or that people go through with a mindset that this religion is, and this is a bit blunt or strong. But this religion is wrong. Like I found that in my old elementary school. Which was a great school. They often, were a bit judgmental. About other religions. I think it is so, so important to learn about the other religions and to understand what is going on. I don't even know what I believe. I guess I consider myself Christian and I go to a Christian church but I couldn't set out my faith for you. I couldn't tell you what it is I believe in. But I definitely think that Hinduism is not wrong or that they are going to hell because of what they believe in. I think we have to be much more open minded than that.

Travel to India was part of leisure as well as an obligation for many Canadian families to maintained ties with family and friends in the "Old Country". Most of the participants had been to India and several had been many times.

Susan: You said you went to India last summer with your father. What kinds of things did you do there?
Amee: Well that's like the fifth time I have been to India. So we go there. We visit our grandparents. And actually my Dad took me up to Bangalor. It's where he went to medical school. So that was really fun. Because he showed me his school and I got to see the dissection department and things like that. He said, "Oh I used to be here. I used to do this." So that was really. Like I said my Dad and I make a good pair. To go to India. And my brother and my Mom went back to Winnipeg to visit family. We don't really do things together. It's more of a visit. More than a leisure visit. We have got to get things done. Like my grandparents are there, so we have to look after them. And things like that. We do visit relatives and things like that.

Another participant enjoyed his visits to Pakistan, but very clearly did not want to live there:

Ali: I have a lot of family there and they always welcome me and all that. But when you have too much family, conflicts arise. So I am glad I'm kind of on the outside here in North America.

An important aspect of the Sikh religion involves parents taking their children to see the Golden Temple in the Punjab area of India. The Sikh participants explained that their parents were concerned that the children did not understand enough about their religion and culture, and that they themselves, may be losing the close relationships they would like to have with their children. Recently there has been an attempt by the Sikhs in Southern Ontario to re-establish their social club, specifically because they believe this will contribute to the well-being of the community and allow the parents an opportunity to remain involved in activity with their children:

Anisha: They are realizing there is a need so you don't have problems. Because there have been a lot of problems. You know, like you said. Indian families are bringing up their kids in a totally different society. And they have seen that. I guess they want to reduce that and they want to have a way where they can still keep in contact with their kids and keep that bond.

Kaila: Yea. Especially at the meetings we have had. They are realizing that they still want to be part of our lives. They still want to be part of something. But they realize they are going to have to talk it out and make new mechanisms for doing it.

3.2.1   The tradition of arranged meetings and arranged marriages

The cultural tradition that probably had the most profound affect on the young people who participated in this study is dating and the adherence by many of the parents to the notion of arranged meetings or at least a preference that they eventually marry another Indian or Pakistani person. Nashina described the marriage of her older sister to a man from Pakistan:

Nashina: Well I'm not the oldest, I have an older sister. But..
Susan: Is she out of the home now that she is married?
Nashina: No. Cause her husband is in Pakistan. He should be here in a couple of months.
Susan: So they got married there?
Nashina: Over the telephone. They had seen each other before. Then she came back here. Actually we are going to have a party and a wedding again when he comes here. A lot of people, scholars say that even a wedding over the phone is not proper. So they are going to do everything over again. But just in terms of the paper work and stuff, to say legally that they are married, they had to do it like that. Over the telephone. The vows.
Susan: So they are legally married here in Canada?
Nashina: Yea.

Other participants also said that their relatives have suggested that they agree to arranged meetings with people who still live in India or Pakistan. Many of the young participants in this study are skeptical of the idea of marrying someone from the "Old Country".

Nashina: Culturally, marriage is just two people coming together for the kids. I am not an incredibly romantic person, but I would like to see it more as a partnership. Someone I could talk to about everything. A friend. That's what I would like. Someone that can be a friend. Not just someone that I am married to. It is so different here, and culturally there. What a husband and wife relationship is. I am not asking for exactly what it is here. I am not asking to go out and date and be totally in love with him when I marry him. But I would like to have some sort of understanding. There is no way I am going to go for an arranged marriage. Like totally arranged. The way some of them are. They don't even know each other. They haven't even met. And they just go ahead and do it. So, basically friendship, that is really important to me.
Susan: Do you think that you would like to work when you are married?
Nashina: Yea. I would like to be independent.
Susan: So obviously your partner will have to be someone who understands and agrees with that.
Nashina: Yea, that is why I am reluctant to marry someone from there (Pakistan). Because often they have a lot of that culture in them. Like the wife has to be this and this and this.

Several of the participants expected that their parents will arrange meetings for them when it is time to select a marriage partner. They explained that it is no longer common for a man and woman to be brought into an arranged marriage, without having met prior to the wedding day, although this practice had occurred for the marriages of several for their parents. In many cases, parents who now live in Canada, have realized the necessity of changing with the times as was explained by Anisha and Manjit:

> Anisha: It depend on the mentality. See my parents have a very different mentality. Like on so may different issues. Like arranged marriages. From the time we were born, they never, planned on giving us an arranged marriage. They are really just open minded people, in general. Even as far as interracial. Like they see no problem with Indian kids marrying Indian, Sikh kids marrying other races or religions. They just in general have been more open minded.
> Susan: How about you Manjit? When do they want you to get married?
> Manjit: I don't know. Maybe in about eight years or so. I want to be out of university first. They are like, they would rather I got an arranged marriage. But, like they also, have to be open to me. And the arranged marriages are different than before. Before it was sort of you two are getting married. But now, we are sort of allowed to go out.

The issue of dating was the most difficult aspect of leisure faced by the second generation Indian and Pakistani teens. Since none of the parents of the participants had opportunities for dating, and most had arranged marriages, they were reluctant to agree to their children participating in the dating culture of North America.. Dating will be discussed further in Section 3.4.2.

3.3   Education: The pursuit of the best possible life

Parents of all of the South Asian participants in this study placed very high importance on school and education. They saw education as the way for their children to make a good life for themselves in Canada. A good education was expected to lead to a good job for a son or daughter, and the future sustenance and well-being of the whole family. Therefore, education was highly valued and Indian parents saw it as their duty to provide the best possible education for their children:

> Anisha: My parents would kill me if I ever got married before like twenty four. Because education is number one. Get your foot in the door.

> Susan: Is education something that is very important in your family?
> Hassan: Yes, yes it is. I haven't followed education much. That is why I am going back to school.

Susan: You said you have been off school for six months?
Hassan: Yes.
Susan: So would your parents like you to go on to university?
Hassan: Yes, they would. That's all they wish for. For me to finish.

Many of the participants explained that their parents used the educational achievement of the children, as a means for raising the status of themselves and the family in the eyes of their friends. Many of the participants felt their parents were being competitive by trying to out do one another over the academic accomplishments of their children. For example the following discussion occurred between one group of participants:

Manjit: Education-wise, they do (compare their children). You hear about the brilliant kid and they are like, "Why aren't you like him?" Like for example, (name of friend). You know him (to Kaila). He gets one hundred in stuff. And they (the other Indian parents) see he's brown and he's getting these wicked marks and they are like, "You should be like that too."
Kaila: It's mainly education that they compare you with.
Manjit: Unless you are really good at a sport. They want you to have something that you are really good at.
Kaila: Cause that's the way they see us making it here. You know what I mean. So it's like they are sort of proud of it. If their kids are smart.
Manjit: I guess that's like with any parents.

In a different group, a similar discussion took place. These young people have found that their parents have become too competitive and in one southern Ontario Indian community, this has been destructive to the young people and to the community as a whole:

Janice: My parents are from Pakistan. Yea, with that group everyone knows everything and it's a big, big gossip centre. It's totally ironic, it's just a big race. Everyone is trying to beat the other person. People try to do something good, just by saying, "Oh my daughter is at (University)", and then all of a sudden a kid will come up to you and say, "Thanks for your parents telling my parents that you are at (University). Now my parents are saying how come I am here at college and you're at (University). And my parents have thrown things like that into my face. And I don't know if it is the whole Asian community, or something. They just love to compare, and I think that pisses me off totally. They will compare you and you are totally different.
Rani: One thing about that too is that it breaks up the kids. You know, I always tell my parents this. You want us to keep with or culture when we are older, but the parents have broken up everybody. Like the kids are in so much competition with one another.
Janice: Everyone's jealous
Rani: Yea, you start resenting one another. Because you are like, your parents think you are better than me and my parents think I am better than you so I can't talk to you.
Janice: Exactly. And everyone has their little snobbish attitude.
Rani: And they will even lie to get themselves higher than you. Or they will talk bad about you behind your back and stuff.
Janice: And the thing is we should be supporting each other.
Rani: Yes

Providing a good education for their children, which was evident from the acceptance of the children at universities, seemed to elevate the status of the family within the Indian community. However, for some participants, the emphasis placed on education by their parents had detrimental effects on their lives. The competition among Indian parents divided their children and prevented some of them from becoming friends. In other cases, participants had little opportunity for experiences outside of their homes other than education during their high school years.

> Priya: I even wrote in my diary. This is what my parent think of my life. Study, eat, sleep, eat, study, sleep. It's just study, eat, sleep. That's all they want me to do. Studying would be the number one thing. And no social life. See in my family, social life was like not important. It wasn't important at all. Studying was more important. They felt that if I started to become social, I would become what they saw on the news, and on television from outside. Like they saw other Indian girls on the street, smoking or whatever and they have heard stories. And that was the worst thing.

Other participants, experienced pressure from their parents to study in an area that would lead to professional employment opportunities:

> Amee: . . . Like they have told us there are certain jobs out there. Try to get into a profession. That is the main thing. You know, if you can do that you should be OK. But I think that they have got to the point where they have pushed us enough and it's up to us whether or not we want to learn and go on to university.

> Rehka: Like in school we are studying about career choices and how your work has to be of who you are. You have to do what makes you happy as well as where there is a need. But with my parents, I find that I mean they want you to do what you want to do, but for them, they still want you to go into the sciences. Go to medicine.
> Beena: Either go into medicine or go into engineering.

Many of the participants had been raised in homes that were characteristic of the homes the parents had known in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. In those traditional homes, families often imposed strict rules on their children. However, for the parents, education was the way in which their children would gain opportunities for a good life and possibly a better life than they had been able to achieve for themselves.

For instance Rani, who also had a very strict and traditional upbringing, did not have much difficulty persuading her parents to let her attend the university program of her own choice:

> Rani: I think that right from the beginning my parents knew that I would probably go away for university only because I didn't really like any of the programs at (university in her home town). And the reason I got to come here is that I got accepted in a special program called applied studies. And when I applied to (University in home town) I wasn't really interested in any of the programs there. I just applied because my parents told me I had to.

And I applied to (University). And the reason why I got to come (University) instead of (University) is just because of this special program. ·

Susan: Did you have to negotiate around a whole bunch of things to get them to agree to this?

Rani: No, because it is school related. If it is school related then it didn't matter. Even if I got accepted to some school in the States, they wouldn't have said nothing. Because it is school related. They come down every three weeks they call me like three or four times a day. So that's the deal. Because it is school, there is no question about it. Like if it was just for fun, then no. Because it is school, then they don't say anything.

For Bibi, her connection to her family was very strong and she would not attempt to lose that tie by going to a university away from home. The parents of another participant also would not allow their daughter to go far away from home in order to attend university:

Nashina: My parents were always big on education. But I never felt forced to come here. It was something I wanted to do, too . . . I never even thought about going far away. Probably because I knew there was no way I would be allowed. Plus, there are a lot of good schools around here. I think this is a good school. So I never even thought about it. But I imagine that if I did say I wanted to go far away, there would be a lot of problems.

Susan: What if you thought you wanted to go to grad school at someplace like Harvard?

Nashina: I don't know. Like for education they are so different, than if it was something recreational. Like if I said OK, I want to go camping. Then it is definitely, definitely, no. I don't know how it would be for education. I have thought of that before. Like what if I thought I would like to go here or there for educational purposes. Religiously it is fine. But sometimes my Dad's personal opinions over-ride his religion. Which bothers me a lot. Like this whole thing with my brother. Religiously, he should do the same. There are no gender roles that way. So, I don't know, it never came up, if I was to go away. I am sure there would be some problems.

Education was highly valued by the participants in the study. They all agreed that it was important to be well educated because they wanted good jobs. However they also experienced problems with some aspects of the education system.

The participants in this study have learned to value education. Those who participated appreciated the emphasis their parents place on education. However, many of the participants have experienced situations within the school system that were related to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds and which challenged their ability to benefit or thrive within the system.

Rekha: . . . You know there are times like you know when you are in school and you are studying countries. I remember in grade 5 studying India. And I have always taken the other point of view from whatever anyone was saying. Because I wanted to show you know both ways. I remember just being, like I was always tense when we were studying about India, because generally I do agree, with some people that the white community has, or not the white community, but people here have this biased kind of view of India. And maybe not so much any more, but when you think of India you think of a poor country with beggars and third world. And you never go beyond that really. Cause that's the image

that has been portrayed, so much. And so I have always been, when you are studying about India, you are, "like, no, that's not the way it is". Just then that's when I felt different.

Many of the participants had been going to India to visit relatives from a very early age. They love India and had a very different view of their parents' homeland from what they have found is taught in the schools in Canada. Several participants experienced problems with people, including teachers, having high expectations of South Asians, based on race. For example several people said that teachers think they are particularly bright because they are Indian.

> Beena: Yea. I think it is important to most parents. Indian or not. Because they want the best for their children. Right? And a lot of people think that I am just smart. Because I am Indian. But it's not like that. I work for my marks. And I do have strong points and I have weak points. You ask me anything about English and I will look at you like this, "What are you talking about?" Because I don't know, I find now that I have taken my two language courses and getting my credits, I think in both languages. And I remember in French when I had to take it in Grade ten. She would ask me a question, my teacher, and I would think of it in English. And then translate it. But I would translate it to Gujarati and then I would translate back to French. So I dropped French after that. (laughs).

Another person, speaking about his cousin, said:

> Hassan: So it is a factor in the schools. In schools, a lot of the Indian students are good in school. Very good. And the teachers. Like my cousin, my Dad was telling you about. One teacher goes up to her and says, "How do you do all this so good. How can you learn so fast? You just come here and you learn so fast?" She was so jealous of her. Because she was learning so fast. She was getting good marks. The first day she came here. She was jealous. So that shows some racism there.

3.4   Beyond the family: A growing awareness of leisure opportunities

Within the school curriculum and through extra curricular activities, the participants had opportunities for involvement in sports, music, drama, volunteer work, and many other leisure activities that most Canadian teens experience through school. Some of the participants were able to participate in these activities, with parental approval. For many, the parents approved of the activity because it was school related, as Ali noted:

> Ali: If it was educational then it was allowed. If it was not, then I would have to stay home. Like musical instruments. I played the trumpet in the concerts, junior and senior band. I also went on various school trips. Like to Quebec, to Ottawa and to Switzerland, or whatever. But it just had to be educationally based. It could not be just "let's hang out at the mall." Like you know my parent wouldn't buy that . . . If it was sports related, yea, fine.

Some parents enforced rather strict rules on their children regarding participation in activities even if they were related to school. Nashina described the constraints she faced during high school:

> Nashina: It's mostly my Dad. He is mostly very untrusting of other people. And he's the better-safe-than-sorry kind of person. Never put all your eggs in one basket, kind of a thing. He didn't like giving up that control. Like say, for instance, in grade seven we were going the Metro Toronto Zoo. He said, "I will take you. Don't go in the bus. I don't know, there are so many kids and only a couple of teachers. What if somebody runs here or there?" He always gets into the ifs and buts. Like, "What if this happened or what if that happened?" So he is that kind of a person. That was his concern. What if this happened, what if that happened. He would rather him go with us.
> Susan: So did you miss the trip?
> Nashina: Yea. A lot of times I would, yea. I think the only time that I went was stuff like the Science Centre. Stuff that seemed more school related. His final reason for not letting us go would be, what do you need to go to the zoo for. What does that have to do with school?

The teenagers and young adults in this study were encouraged to excel in their studies. However, along with academic experiences they encountered at school, the teens were exposed to opportunities for social interaction with friends and for leisure activities such as sport, music, and other organized extra curricular activities. All of the participants had activities that they participated in, outside of their normal school activities. Their parents had little control over the fact that the teens were involved in these activities and in many cases the parents disapproved of the idea of their children becoming involved in activity that was not academically based.

> Rani: I think that in the case of Pakistani and East Indian families too, I think those type of things are kind of looked down upon, also. Like sports or whatever. Like when you look at it as a whole. Say you are a really good athlete. Like my brother. Actually myself too when I was younger. We had the chance of going on and becoming, like for me, in swimming. And my brother in whatever sport. And our parents said, no. Once they found out we were good at something they took us out of it right away. Like they didn't want us, and they still say this. They don't want us to put our mind to sports and not to school. They wanted 90% school and 10% sports. That's how they want it. And if it is even 50/50, no. Like I notice that with a lot of other families, too. Like, OK, you can play sports. That's fine. But make sure it is just for fun.

Some people said that their parents had problems dealing with the broad range of ideas that the children were exposed to through school and within their social lives:

> Beena: Actually I had to write a few page paper on suicide. But it was for my philosophy class. My Mom walks into my room and said, "What are you doing?" "Writing an essay, Mother." "Oh, on what?" "On suicide." "What are you writing that for?"
> Rekha: Exactly. I did a project on homosexuality. And not my Dad, my Mom is like, "What is this. What are you doing?" I am like, "Homosexuality. It's OK. It is a project for school." They don't have a problem with it. They just have certain beliefs, I guess.

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The participants attended schools and universities and as a result of this attendance, they were introduced to many activities that their parents considered to be non-academic and as such they were considered to be outside of the objectives of the school system. Most of the participants were able to take music lessons, participate in drama clubs, go on school trips, do sports and other activities that the schools sponsored. The parents, however, were generally concerned that the activities should not interfere with academic achievement. The aspect of school life that was of most concern to the parents of the participants was the social and dating activity that is typically part of the leisure of most Canadian teens.

3.4.1   Developing social networks: An important aspect of the leisure experience

Social interactions with friends and dating are an important part of the leisure experience for most Canadian teens and young adults. However, for the participants in this study socialization outside of the family was not something that all of the participants' parents supported. The parents' lives had been structured primarily around the nuclear family, the extended family and friendship or kinship groups from India and Pakistan. All of the participants placed very high value on their involvement with family. However, they attended Canadian schools and had a much wider social group than their parents had when they were growing up. So the young adults and teens developed social networks that caused concern for some of their parents. Rani explained the reaction she got when she tried to stop her parents from monitoring her phone calls during high school:

> Rani: I tried to say something to them, but they would bring up things, like, "They are not your real friends. We are your real friends. You should listen to us. And you talk about nothing anyways." The big thing was that it was cutting into your school time. Your homework time. That was their big worry. Which it wasn't but they brought that up.

Even though many participants had many opportunities for discussing their ideas with their parents and other family members, some found that their parents were not able or willing to discuss some of the things that the young people were interested in. When asked if she can talk to her parents about the things that interest her, Rani said:

> Rani: No, not at all. And it was almost like talking to a rock, no ears at all. I guess here, the opportunities for exchange of ideas, like I do see that in a lot of Indian communities. But we are from West Bengal. And the Bengal community is just so, I don't know any other word except, warped. I guess because we are the smallest group of Indians that came from India. We don't have a very big community as it is and I guess there is not a group there really to exchange ideas. I do see it when we go to other temples. I see that there. I

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see that in other Indian communities or Muslim communities but I don't see it in our own. Only because if we had more people I think we would see it.

Others had difficulties negotiating for the activities they wanted to do while they were in high school. Priya said:

> Priya: When I was in high school, they said, "Be home by ten thirty." And I would be, "Like Mom." I started crying. "Well all my friends, they are allowed to come home at twelve or one. And I have to be in at ten thirty. What is the point of going anywhere." Then they would say, "Don't go then. You have to be home at ten thirty." So I would have to leave where ever I was . . . Usually I would call up my friends. Because my parents wouldn't let me go out much. So they were always tense about me going out to places late. And usually things started late. The only social things I could do were before the sun went down. So after that I would be on the phone and then it was kind of hard because I didn't want my parents picking up the other line.

Later in the discussion Priya said:

> Priya: I needed that social thing. Like I still do. I am more social than my family. More than my brother too. Maybe because I am the youngest too. But I was always the type to be social. Just have fun and laugh. Like these guys, when they got together, all I would do is laugh. Because the littlest thing made me laugh. I would just laugh and I couldn't stop. Do you guys remember? You remember, right?

Although her parents had several Sikh families in their community, and the families were very close friends, her parents would not allow Priya to go out as much as the other teens from the Sikh families. So for her, having a social life was important and not easily obtainable.

When asked if he would like to go out after school with his friends more than he does already Hassan said:

> Hassan: Of course. Why not. I will not lie to you.
> Bibi: He says, "I am not a woman. Why should I stay home all the time." So he goes some where.
> Hassan: I get bored when I stay at home. Nothing to do. You do your homework everyday and then watch TV. Every day, same thing.

For some participants the parents saw aspects of leisure from the dominant culture as a waste of time. Nashina explained the views her father has about television and some other activities:

> Nashina: Oh, I don't know. Probably there would be problems with that. He is very practical. He is also the kind of person, who thinks that every hour of the day should be spent improving yourself or doing something useful. Like praying or reading. Like sometimes, it's a Friday and we are just sitting there watching television, wasting our time, basically.

Other participants said that the parents could not tolerate the idea of kids just "hanging out" with their friends. Hanging out was perceived to be aimless activity and therefore unacceptable to the parents. One person solved the problem after studying the Gujarati language and finding a word that she says corresponds with the idea of "hanging out":

> Beena: I would try to explain it to them (parents). It's just hanging out. That's all that came out. I am hanging out. "Well, what is hanging out?" You just sit together with your friend and do nothing. Basically. Or do whatever you are doing. It's not defined. It's fairly open. And then I would try to find a Gujarati word that would fit it. And I could never find one. (laughs).
> Susan: So what about the word leisure? Would there be anything in Gujarati?
> Beena: (laughs). Well, they have a word, rakhardvu and that kind of just means to hang out. I finally found that out going to class.
> Susan: And would it correspond with our word for leisure?
> Beena: Kind of. It depends in the context you use it in. But now my parents understand. (Laughs). "Where you going"? "Rakhardvu. Yea, I'm going out." Yea, even my Mom didn't know what it meant. When I first started saying it. She said "What does that mean?" "It means to hang out." So she says, "Oh OK."

Some of the teens felt constrained as they attempted to establish what most Canadians would see as normal friendships. The most important issue here was the reaction of parents to the dating culture of Canadian teens, especially as it is presented through the media. Participants felt that many of the ideas that their parents have about dating in North America were the result of television programs. The parents, who were all raised in India, never had dating. The depiction of teenager friendships and dates as portrayed on TV and in the movies causes great concern for the parents and dating is clearly discouraged and for some, forbidden:

> Kaila: The thing in Indian society is you can't just go out with someone unless it is a secret. You can only tell your parents if you have the intention of marrying someone. They are going to be like, "Marry them or drop them." You are not allowed to date them.
> Anisha: It is really hard because dating is not something that they can relate to. It is really hard for them to accept. It is really the hardest thing for our parents to accept. Dating.
> Kaila: It's not part of the culture. I mean but everyone does it. They all date now.
> Anisha: And the big comment is that they relate it to sex.
> Manjit: Yes, there is the Television factor, 90210.
> Anisha: Those shows don't help us out at all!

Some participants, like their parents, continued to place their family, including siblings and extended family at the center of their lives. Others had developed a larger social network of friends beyond their families. Since their parents did not have social networks in India, which went beyond their own family and immediate community, the parents were often not supportive of the extended

friendship networks. For Rani and for others, this led to a sense of having missed out on some of the important social experiences of adolescence.

> Susan: So, those friends especially and the friends you are meeting now, have had a lot of different opportunities because they didn't have the restrictions on the phone and that kind of thing. How does that affect you, or does it affect you in any way?
> Rani: It does because I hear what they (new friends at university) did when they were younger and how much fun they had. Or they would do this and that. And I feel that I missed out a big portion of my life.
> Susan: What kinds of things come to mind?
> Rani: Like I guess, this might seem kind of petty, but telling your parents I am going out to so and so's house and I will be back in a couple of hours. Just something that easy. Or, I am going to the Mall, or they are going to concerts and things like that. Or staying over at friends' houses. I think the big thing was staying over at a friend's house. Staying over night. Having slumber parties. I missed completely out on that.

Priya had similar thoughts:

> Priya: Like when I look back, sometimes I just feel, it is an emotional state, because I feel a lot of my childhood wasn't really happy. Like when I look back in high school, it wasn't really the happy typical girl type of thing that you would have wanted. When you were starting grade nine. All the things that were, the preconceptions of what high school should have been. The typical thing of going to someone's house. Like I said, most of my friends weren't Indian. So it was even harder for me. It is no problem for me to go to her house (Sikh friend). Sure, our families know each other. But my parents didn't really know my friends' parents. Because they were other cultures or whatever. So it was harder for me to go out. And a little thing like going to my friend's house was like, "What, where, what's the phone number? Why, what are you going to do? What is the agenda?"
> Manjit: Yea. Homework.
> Anisha: Study group.
> Susan: That seems to be the excuse that gets most people out to their friends' houses.
> Kaila: Anything related to school, they are for it.
> Priya: Slumber parties, I wasn't allowed. To go to any sleep-overs, at all. Because my parents were afraid that something would happen to me. You know some of the news stories. Like someone was kidnapped.

For one participant whose family is Muslim, entering university provided an opportunity to meet more Muslim students than she had known prior to this time.

> Nashina: I think I had one Pakistani friend (in high school). Most of them were not Muslim. Not until here (at University). I guess it's because there are more Muslims here, too. So it didn't come up so much back them either. Because now I think as I get older my friends, non-Muslim friends' interests are a lot different. Like dating, that takes up a lot of their life. I understand that. So, the discussions, that is something that is important for them to discuss. But I can't get involved in it. Like sometimes they will ask me, "Oh what should I do?" I think that religiously I shouldn't encourage them, but then, it is difficult that way. So that is another reason why I am a little farther away from them. I still maintain contact with some of my closer friends. There are a lot other things to discuss, but on the most part they are a little farther than we used to be.

For Nashina, the other Muslim women at her university and especially those who wear hijab, are an important aspect of her social life because they have a great deal in common with her. The sense of solidarity and support people gleaned from their social networks was clearly an important aspect of their leisure experiences.

3.4.2 Dating: An important aspect of leisure

Dating, for many Canadian and North American teens, is an important part of leisure. Many of the South Asian participants faced some objections from their parents to the idea of dating. As discussed earlier, the parents often preferred the children to enter into marriages after the parents had introduced them to suitable partners from their own culture. To many Canadians, the restrictions faced by the Indian and Pakistani participants may seem very unreasonable. However, as explained, many of the participants and their families continued to adhere to some, if not most, of the cultural traditions of the parents' homelands. The traditions related to marriage were likely the most enduring and pervasive of all traditions. Also, these traditions had the most impact on the lives of the teens and young adults in this study. The idea of their children and especially the female children dating people who are not part of the Indian community was difficult for some parents to tolerate.

During this discussion Anisha's friend described her situation:

Priya: All I know is I wasn't supposed to be like talking with boys and I didn't understand why until I got older. And now, like now I talk to my parents about arranged marriages and I think they have accepted that. I will not, I can't allow it. It just won't fit into my lifestyle or my personality. I won't be able to do that. So they understand. They think there is a time and a place, so when I get older and ready to settle down or get married or whatever. I can start searching.
Susan: And you can do it yourself?
Priya: Yes. Well, I mean, my Mom, says, "If I see a nice boy?"
Kaila: They will make a suggestion.
Manjit: Yea.
Priya: If I see a nice boy then you have to just consider him.
Anisha: They will always keep an eye out.
Manjit: My Mom's aunt was going, like, "Isn't your son ready to get married now? There is a girl over here (in India)." Everyone is always like, "there is a girl over here."
Priya: I know. My aunt was going to get me married just a year ago. NO. With this boy from India who was going to be like a doctor. And he was like really smart. He is coming to America. And oh you should marry him. I was only 18. And I am like, Auntie, I don't think I can do this. There is no way. I still have to study and I want to be independent first. And I want to have something going for my life. There is not way I am going to get married. Besides he's not really that attractive. (All laugh).

Although participants complained that their parents prefer them to marry Indian or Pakistani partners, some of the parents have realized that since the teens are being raised in Canada, this may not happen.

> Anisha: It depends on the mentality. See my parents have very different mentality. Like on so may different issues. Like arranged marriages. From the time we were born, they never, planned on giving us an arranged marriage. They are really just open minded people, in general. Even as far as interracial. Like they see no problem with Indian kids marrying Indian, Sikh kids marrying other races or religions. They just in general have been more open minded.

Even though the parents of most of the participants have assimilated into their communities and within their workplaces, their commitment to their culture is most evident in their views toward the marriage of their children.

> Beena: My brother is dating a white girl and it is my Mom who is against it. I wouldn't say against it, but you know, the conversation we had, "It is OK for now, but when it comes time for marriage, an Indian girl." And both of us just looked at her and said, "I can't believe you said that."

Kaila explained what she believes is part of the perspective held by Indian parents toward dating:

> Kaila: I think a lot of it is reputation. Indian parents are really concerned about what the community thinks. Especially for a girl. It is really hypocritical sometimes. You will say, well who cares. Because we were born here. We are more individualistic. Who cares what they think. But they will think, you are right, but it is still always there.
> That's the thing. They don't want their girl to be known, like she drinks and she goes out with guys. It is like a shame to the family.

The parents of the participants often held to their traditional beliefs and values with regard to dating and marriage. Dating was something that they did not do. Most of the participants' parents had arranged marriages and although all of the parents do not expect their children to have arranged marriages, they still had problems with the notion of dating, especially as it is portrayed on TV. As Kaila said above, the parents were worried about the reputation of their daughters and were concerned about the ability of their daughters to get a good husband. Since parents in traditional Indian families live with their adult children, it is important that the children marry partners who will be good providers for the parents in their later years. So the parents who were traditional in their beliefs and behaviors, tried to persuade their children to marry the best possible partners. Rani explained the pressure she had from her parents:

> Rani: But my parents always wanted me to marry a professional. Always. That is the first thing. If he is not a professional they won't even look at him. If he is not a Doctor or a

lawyer or a PhD in something, they won't even look at him. So that is going to be a big, big thing. Cause she is ambitious and they just say, "Don't marry a bum." (laughs).
Susan: That means anyone who is not a Doctor?
Rani: Or a university graduate.
Susan: If your parents said we have found someone for you, what would you say?
Rani: Well before we talked about it. Before I met my boyfriend. We talked about it. And I said I don't mind meeting someone. It is just like being set up by a friend. As long as there is no pressure from either side that you have to get married or you have to try to make it work. As long as there is no pressure, I don't mind being set with someone. Fine I will go out to dinner with someone.

Rani explained the process of arranging a marriage in Canada.

Rani: Because it is different to see someone's resume than finding out who they are. And they won't give me enough time to find out who they are. They will want an answer within a couple of weeks.
Susan: Would they actually have a resume?
Rani: Oh yea. Or like you see newspaper thing. They don't say, like here how it says, nice, caring person. It would be like: lawyer, has worked ten years, make this much money, this degree and height. I think that is it. The first thing they put down is a job. It's funny. Like sometimes my parents get the Indian newspaper. I will just sit there and read it and laugh. It's so funny. (laughs).

Several of the participants said they expected that their parents will arrange for them to

meet marriage partners and some of them will enter marriages as a result of the meetings.

Ali: Yea, like I have a different view about arranged marriages. Like if they choose a woman and I won't just go there and marry. I plan to meet her and I plan to go on at least one date with her where I can talk to her one on one. I don't know if her parents would approve, but that's what I would do. I will not marry a total stranger.

The following is another discussion about dating and marriage which took place during one of the

focus group meetings:

Susan: Could you date, like in the North American sense? Like if a man phoned you and said let's go to a show?
Nashina: No.
Rani: You could be like set up by your parents. And then two of you could get to know each other.
Nashina: Or you could say, "There is this someone that I kind of like" and your parents can say, I think it always involves parents because the final intention of dating is marriage. It is not an extracurricular activity. That's the only reason why you would, whatever. And the dates, if you had a date, like some parents don't agree with dates. But if you had a date, it would be chaperoned. Supervised.
Ali: My parents are telling me to go for it. Like if I find a girl that I liked they would by happy.
Susan. They don't want to have to approve the situation. You can just go out with someone?
Ali: Oh well, no. They would like to know the female. But my Dad is less strict on that. He says, "no problem". But my Mom, she says "Make sure she is Ismaili."

Nashina: With the final intention of marriage though, right?
Ali: She would prefer Pakistani, but she has to be Ismaili. It has to be the same religion.
Susan: So even if you had a friendship with a woman who is white?
Ali: If it's a friendship, it's no problem. But my Mom wouldn't approve of it. But that doesn't mean I wouldn't do it. If I liked a white woman or person who was not my religion, I would still go for it. I wouldn't sacrifice love for my parents

Ali and Nashina expected that their parents would be involved in some kind of arrangement in which they will be introduced to their future marriage partners. They and other study participants accepted this tradition and had few problems with it. They will most likely accept the wishes of their parents when to comes to marriage.

In traditional Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi families, parents depend on living with their children when the children reach adulthood. As was evident in the study of immigrant women, several of the participants planned to live with their children when the children were grown. Therefore it is important that the parents get along well with their future daughters-in-law and sons-in-law. When arranging marriages or meetings of prospective marriage partners, the idea of the joint or extended family is an important consideration for both the marriage couple and their parents. Some of the participants' parents also plan to live with their children. Even if they do not live with the children, the parents would likely want to be involved in the upbringing of the grandchildren to a great extent. Rani explained that her life will change substantially if her parents come to live with her as they plan to do quite soon because of ill health:

> Rani: I know my parents always say that. I don't know. I guess it depends on my life then. Like I know they are a big part of my life up to now. I know it sounds kind of selfish, I don't know if I could handle them being in my house. Because they will expect to move in with you. Not just come over every day just to check. They will want to move in with you. Be a complete part of raising your children. Being a part of your life. Telling you what to do. This and that still.

The following discussion helps to explain the traditional views held by many South Asians about care of older adults and the elderly:

> Anisha: The culture is different. The reason for having so many kids is because they are going to take care of you when you are older. Like they are not big on the concept of just being dropped, put in a house.
> Priya: Mine (parents) dread that. I sometimes just joke about it. I will put you in a nursing home. Like Dad, you better be nice.
> Anisha: My parents would just die. My Dad has said, he would rather be dead than to like, live there.
> Susan: So if an elderly grandparent or parent needs health care, who would provide that?
> Kaila: Primarily the female. That is like in all cultures right. So the mother, is usually the person that will provide her with meals and help do what ever needs to be done. And then I

think that also, the grandchildren are expected to. Because it is just the thing, you have to do stuff for your elders.

Anisha: Yea. There is that respect.

Kaila: So just like you would serve your parents, you would serve the grandparents too. But the men. I don't know if it is in all cultures. The men don't do as much.

Anisha: With the grandparents, usually it is in our culture. If they are going to come to live with the kids, it is the son that they will live with.

Kaila: They will live with the son, and his wife will have to do it.

Anisha: Yea, it is unheard of, for him to live with his daughter. If he has got a son.

The traditional culture of South Asian families is based on the notion of collectivism. This means that families and communities function closely together, especially regarding the care and well-being of family members. However, this involvement will be difficult for many of the participants who have been raised in Canada and have different ideas about how they want their lives to be.

All of the participants have experienced the Canadian high school system. Therefore, they have been exposed to their friends and peers who may have had considerably different rules and may have been allowed considerably more freedom to participate in dating and other activities than has been the case for the study participants. Several participants said that their parents, had grown accustomed to the tradition of dating in Canada and did not mind if their children dated. However, in most of these families the parents preferred that their children dated Indian friends. Only four participants said that they dated. Two of these people said that their parents did not mind who they dated, in terms of race or religion. Two others said they had dated white friends without their parents knowing about it. Other participants said their parents preferred that they go out with friends in groups. Some of the young people agreed with their parents' wishes and did not date. Others felt constrained by the traditional views held by their parents and expressed a considerable degree of regret about having missed out on activities and experiences that they saw teens doing on TV programs and which they saw their friends doing.

3.5   Television and its impact on life and leisure

Television has had an impact on the lives and leisure of the participants in several ways. Their parents watched television and from the news programs, movies and other programs, they derived information, which in turn influenced the amount of freedom they allowed their children.

Steven: My Mom is very influenced by the news, I think. For example there is a rapist in our area. They took tons of precautions. I think rightfully so. Previous to that she will hear of a teenager being shot. And she will say, see Steven, that's why I don't want you going outside. That's why (his sister) is staying inside.

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Susan: And where was the shooting?

Steven: Somewhere downtown. And if you read into the story they were probably at a nightclub or something like that. But my Mom is very influenced by the news. I think at times. But she can still see beyond that. She used to be but she is getting to be less influenced by it.

Other participants believed that their parents cannot see beyond the news reports and the portrayal of North American lifestyles, especially teenage lifestyles, on TV.

Rani: For them, they don't have any hobbies, they hardly ever go out, so they relax all the time. (laughs). But what they do is just sit there and the TV influences them a lot. Because, like I said they have not hobbies, they don't really talk on the phone. They don't go out. Like my Mom and Dad would never go out somewhere together. Well , they will go to like religious events together. If we are not there. Only because they should. But they wouldn't go out to dinner together. Or go on vacation together. So for them they just sit there and watch TV all day. And whatever they see on TV they think happens in real life. So, they are so influenced by that. It starts coming into our lives. Like, once they had curfews in Detroit because there were fires and vandalism. So they were like, "You can't go out after six." Because of something happening in Detroit, they think it is going to happen in (here). Or if my brother goes out, my Dad thinks he will get arrested because they see (on TV) a bunch of kids milling around and because my brother is colored they will just go and arrest him for no reason. They think that will happen here. Yea, they get influenced by it. So they don't really relax. They think about these things over and over. But other than that they don't really do anything.

Some of the parents of the participants had a relatively small circle of friends and acquaintances, most of whom were members of the same India community. Therefore, TV was a source of information for them about society beyond their small ethnic community and as such has had an affect on how the parents viewed the lives of North American teens.

Anisha: Yea, they think it is like what things are like on TV. So when we go out, they think we are doing what the people on TV are doing.

Priya: Because that is the only thing they are exposed to. They are not really into, they don't have, like my parents have friends from other cultures as well but not as much as it would be their own. So they aren't really into it.

Susan: So who are their main friends?

Priya: It would be Punjabi people. So through television it's their only way to see what their kids are doing. They are not really into it. So if they see, like "Look Priya, this girl went out and she got into a car accident."

Susan: And what about the news?

Priya: Oh, the news, that is where they get their facts from. That's their facts.

This group felt that their parents watch an excess of TV and that they were affected by the violence that is portrayed on programs like the news, and current affairs programs. Also the parents were

offended by programs that portray people involved in sexual activities. These issues were not unlike the impact of television on the parents of most North American teens.

> Anisha: If anything, the only thing parents object to, is like when they have a lot of sex scenes. They say, "Oh, how come they put this on. This is not good for our kids." And like you know.
> Kaila: It always happens. You don't even mention those words.
> Anisha: I can just feel the heat rising on their faces
> Manjit: Or you pick up the paper and start reading.
> Anisha: Or I start asking them questions to divert their attention. (all laughing)
> Susan: So can you rent the kind of videos that you want.
> Manjit: Yes.
> Kaila:. Yea we can. They always walk down.
> Anisha: It's like they have sixth sense. They always come down. Everything will be like a Disney movie until the second they come down. It gets really bad. The second they get down.
> Manjit: Every time

Television affected the lives of the participants and their families. Although the parents often tried to adhere to traditions that they knew as children in India, their lives and the lives of their children were impacted by a very different set of rules and behaviors encountered through school, university, on the news, through movies and television and in the community.

3.6   Leisure in spite of constraints

Participation in the leisure of the greater community is very attractive and desirable for many Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi youth. However, as has been described in this chapter, many parents are not supportive of the desires of their children to have leisure outside of the home, especially if it resembles the popular culture that they see portrayed on TV. One participant explained how some teens experience leisure by going to great lengths to resist the constraints imposed by their parents:

> Rani: (The parents) don't want the kids to stay after school to play sports. They want them to come home after school and study. The kids skip out of school. During school and they go to dances. Like, they will rent out a hall during school time. Because they can't go out at night. So they will rent it out during the day. Get their own DJ. And the kids will come out of school without their parents knowing, then back to school when it ends. And then they will go home. It is part of leisure, but everything has to be done behind the scenes.

This scenario indicates the attempt made by some teens, to be like other teens in North America.

> Rani: It is harder when you are a teen. Than it is now. I am speaking from my perspective. I found it harder being a teenager. I know some girls that were Muslim and they didn't wear the head piece though. But what they would do is their parents would drop them off

at school and pick them up. But when they would drop them off, they would drop them off a bit earlier than school and they would run to the washroom, change their clothes put on makeup. Total change over. Go to school all day. Run back to the washroom, wash it off, change their clothes, and get back in the car and have their parents drive them home.

The following is an explanation of how a Muslim woman and her friends experience the leisure of the dominant cultural groups:

> Nashina: Well if you went through my closet you would find a section with customary (traditional Muslim clothes) clothes. And then a section with my jeans and all that kind of thing that I wear around the house. So, like sometimes me and my sisters and all of our friends will all get together, once every month or every other month. We will have this huge party. We will dress up like we are going to the Prom. It is just girls. You know. Because you like to do that kind of thing. We will go over and get our hair done. There is one lady (hairdresser) who has a place in (name of town). She has this room in the back. Private. We can go and get our hair done in there. We will do all that stuff that they do on TV, every so often. There's just not the male interaction part. The dating part. So, you are affected by it. You still want to do that part of it. We will get our music on, we will dance, we will do all that.

Most of the participants were respectful of their parents' wishes while they lived at home. However, as discussed earlier, university provided the opportunity for many participants to live more freely and to experience more things than they would have had the opportunity to experience while living in their parents' homes.

> Rani: (In her culture) There is nothing against dancing or smoking or anything like that, there is nothing against that. I don't have any constrictions that way. Just what are your parents going to think. But that was in my mind when I first went to university. About after the first few months, I thought they aren't here. There is nobody here to go home and tell my parents. I should go out and have a good time. So then after that, I just did whatever. This is the only place I can have fun. I may as well have as much fun as possible.

Leisure was an important aspect of life for the South Asian young adults in this study. Also of great importance to the participants was their involvement in their culture, religion and ethnic heritage. Those who participated in the study were very dedicated to their families and their culture, but they also mentioned brothers, sisters and friends who did not share their enthusiasm for this continued involvement. For some, participation if the lifestyle of the greater community offered the opportunity to get away from the constraints they experienced as a result of their families values and beliefs.

> Rekha: I have an older sister and she would never talk to my parents, she would never let us talk to my parents about any relationship she has had. Ever. I would never do it unless it was serious. Because I wouldn't think it was worth it . . . You need the blessing . . . That's why (my sister) doesn't even talk to my parents. She would never mention relationships with my parents. She goes out with friends all the time. They know she like,

goes to bars and out with friends. And all that stuff. But that is something that she will say anyway. There is nothing they can do about her. So they can't make a big deal about it.

For this woman's sister, who felt that the culture is being forced upon her, conflict within the family was occurring. It was related to her social life, so all of the siblings in the family decided to not discuss her behaviors with their parents. This is not unlike the behavior of many teens from the dominant cultural groups, but the idea of not discussing your life with parents within South Asian families is a departure from the norm.

Priya discussed the situation of a young man she knew, who refused to abide by the wishes of his parents with regard to his social life and consequently they threw him out of the house:

> Priya: I know one fellow. Actually his parents said that if you continue doing this, like going out partying, or whatever, we don't want you here then. So he actually left home. And now he has his own place. And he was wearing a turban and he cut his hair. And he got earrings.
> Susan: Does he have anything to do with his family?
> Priya: Um, at the beginning it was really rough. When they didn't want to have anything to do with him. And they said it is either this or, it's all or nothing. Now he still lives on his own. He tried to move back home again. Like they said, OK, son, you are my son. I love you. You can come back home. And so when he did come back home. He still wanted to go out. So it was hard for him. So they said fine. So he said I am taking off. So now he has his own place. And he still goes out for dinner at his house and visits his family. But it is pretty much like the independent individual.
> Susan: And would he be fairly unique?
> Priya: Well it is not too common. Like not that many people. Through my experience, I would say it exists, but it is not all too common. Like to just forget about your family and even your parents kicking you out. That is almost unheard of.

3.7   Missing out on leisure

As has been suggested, several of the participants in this study expressed a sense of loss or having missed out on important aspects of life and leisure. Most of the participants who experienced a sense of having missed out were those whose families were very strict in their adherence to traditional values, beliefs and customs. The teens who seemed to feel they had missed out on activities were those who had adopted or wanted to adopt more Canadian behaviors and values than their parents had adopted. Some participants did not have a sense of missing out because although their parents are strict, they agreed with or accepted the limits that have been imposed on them, or at least did not attempt to change or challenge the restrictions.

Rani experienced a sense of having missed out on things, after she had entered university and learned from her friends the things they were allowed to do as high school students:

Rani: You just think of your childhood and you think I wish I could have done this or you see them doing this and you are like. Like to this day I have never been to a concert or anything like that. And I think about those things. Or when someone comes and all your friends are going (to a concert) and I wish I could have went. It was different for me because I felt it on the inside that I wanted to do it, but I couldn't on the outside. But some of my friends feel that they don't care on the inside, whether they do it or not. They are more homebody-ish.

Susan: Did you have any friends who were really defiant and they would do stuff if their parents forbade it?

Rani: Yea, Actually I have. I can say myself I have done the same things myself sometimes. Not sneaking out. But lie to your parents.

Susan: Would the consequences be really big if you got caught?

Rani: Yea, they would be. Like REALLY, really big. We never got grounded, only because we never went anywhere. If they ground us, what's the difference, right? (laughs). And it is not like we use the phone hardly. It was more like they would yell and scream at you. That's what the main thing was. You would get a lecture for three of four hours and then they would be mad at you. I didn't do it very often. A couple of times I did.

Susan: What did you do?

Rani: I never snuck out. But I would say to my parents, I am going to the library and then go to a friend's house. I never went to a bar until I came to university.

Rani's family adhered to traditions. Her parents had little social interaction with people outside of their own Hindu community. Other participants whose families were Christian, Muslim and Sikh, also tended to have strict rules by which they conducted their social lives and their leisure. The following discussion occurred between the participants in a focus group where all the members of the group were Sikh:

Manjit: My sister is allowed to go to that kind of stuff (slumber parties).

Priya: My cousin is allowed too.

Kaila: I went to slumber parties.

Anisha: I still go to slumber parties.

Priya: I remember you guys did and I told my Mom and said, "Well Anisha and Kaila and the cousins." And I felt so left out. And I said, "Well their parents let them." And they said, "Well they are not your parents. We are not them." So I experienced all that.

Susan: Is there anything that you think you missed out on? Kaila, Manjit?

Kaila and Manjit: No

Manjit: Not really. Except the parties. But we are catching up now.

One participant suggested that those from India who are Christian have an easier time in assimilating into Canadian culture because Canada is primarily a Christian country. However, the Christian participants did not necessarily have much more freedom in their social lives. In many aspects of life they still adhered to customs that were relatively more similar to Indian culture than to the traditions of North America. Amee's family was Roman Catholic and although she had little

concern about missing out on anything she wanted to do, she did recognize that her parents had some restrictions about some of the activities she participated in with friends:

> Amee: There are certain kids that say I can't sleep over because my parents don't approve of it. And my parents are like that too. But not as strict. And I have noticed that usually if the parents are strict the kid is also very up tight. He's like, "Don't do this don't do that. We will get in trouble". And then for me, my parents trust me. Just as long as I don't get in trouble. For them they are so afraid they won't do anything. So then I tend to break off with those kinds of people. Because they are not like me. Like I said. I can relate to some people, and I can't relate to some other people.

Another participant explained that the restrictions she experienced bothered her more when she was younger. Like others who had reached their late teens or early twenties, she is not as concerned or constrained by the limits her parents placed on her leisure involvement:

> Nashina: The fact that they do that? I guess when I was younger sometimes I would wish that I could do that. Like, not to that extreme, but sometimes go out to the movies with them, just hang out later in the day when I know I wouldn't be allowed. But as I got older I guess I understand a bit more why. I understand now completely why, and if I had kids I would treat them the same way. Because I understand it is better for them.

Several of the male participants in this study had some sense of missing out from some activities. Karim wished he could go out more. When asked if he feels like he is missing out on some things that his friends get to do for leisure Hassan said simply:

> Hassan: No, not really. I have a limit. I am not missing out.

Another participant has entered university and has more opportunity to do the leisure activities he likes:

> Ali: Yes, I would say it is. Like when I was living at home, obviously my leisure was a lot more restricted. You know, I tended to do a lot more home activities, like helping my brother and sister with their school work. Or watching TV. Or going to Mosque. Or whatever. Very boring I guess. And here, I go out to dance clubs, I am a lot more free. I go out to parties.

In general the male participants had more freedom as was discussed in Section 3.1.7. This meant that they had more opportunities to go out with friends and their social lives were not as scrutinised by parents as were the females.

3.8   Racial intolerance

All of the participants in this study described examples of racist remarks or incidences that they had experienced at some point in their lives. For many of the participants, these incidences happened during recreation or leisure activities. For example:

> Rekha: I have just had a few experiences that I can remember. Like when I went to a local YMCA camp. I remember, when I was, I don't remember how old I was. I was young. I remember going and this is one of the only times I can really remember something racist being said to me. And children are really cruel I guess. The boy, I came in a bit late. It was just at a park behind our house. And I walked in to the park, and I remember the boy yelling, not talking to me, but so I could hear. He said, "Oh no. It's another brown kid". I don't remember how I reacted. But I just felt terrible. But that's the only time I can remember that I can actually remember feeling really different or feeling really out of things.

Later this participant talked about summer camp and how she did not feel comfortable there:

> Rekha: I never had, in my times when I did go to camp which isn't very often. I haven't had good experiences. Or nothing that stands out. Like I had a good time. I think actually being Indian was a bit different there . . . I guess going to those camps, or going even to anything, like tennis lessons that we used to take. And I like refused to go. When was it. Last year or two years ago. Just because I felt so uncomfortable. Because all the kids knew each other. And it's like get into partners and they are all in groups. And there I am standing there. And it used to be. I don't know if so much any more. That like I felt different because of my skin color. And it just . . . It was difficult so I refused to go. Because I hated it so much.

Many of the incidents described by those in the study, had to do with name calling, and often these incidents occurred during early school years. However, for some people, these experiences continue to occur:

> Rekha: I don't get so much racism. I get a lot more ignorance. Like just people will say stupid things all the time.
> Beena: You always get that whole Paki thing. I am like, "You don't even know what one is. So don't even use the word."

Two other participants discussed their experiences with name calling and the effect that it had on their self esteem:

> Anisha: Like most of mine, When I was a kid growing up I had a lot of problems. Like I had really low self esteem because everywhere I went it was always, "What are you looking at Paki? Paki this, Paki that." I was called it all the time. 'Cause I was really much the minority too. Because I was in French immersion, pretty much everyone was white. I had a lot of problems growing up. And I think the reason why was that when I was young, I really rejected the culture. My religion, everything. I didn't want to have anything to do with it. Because I guess I wanted to be more assimilated. To fit in more. So I kind of felt

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ashamed. But by the time I had gone to junior high, I actually, like I moved into a different area. Again, people were more predominantly white, but, that's when they actually started to make me feel better about myself. Like I saw an attitude difference. I don't know if it was just a different location. I don't know what it was. But the attitude was just a lot different. I actually started feeling better about myself. They never had any negative comments. And even in high school. My high school was predominantly white. Now I know there is a lot more racial mixing going on. But at the time it was, I had no problems with my high school.

Priya: My problems were just elementary (school). You know, "Oh Paki" and stuff like that. And then in high school it kind of stopped because there was more racial integration I guess. It was just elementary school. You know, that person is different.

These participants found that once the schools began to hold multicultural days and once the greater community began to be introduced to different cultural groups through community multicultural shows, the situation changed for the better. They felt that the visibility of different racial and ethnic groups through these shows has helped to improve the acceptance of their culture by the greater community.

Several other participants mentioned that they too find the dominant culture in Canada to be intolerant of other cultures, by not recognizing the cultural and religious festivals of the minority groups.

Nashina: Yea. Which is something that I often feel is missing here. Like, Christmas time feels so special even for me. You see the lights, people are nicer, the music and everything. And Eid comes along and you know one year we actually missed it. We were so involved in what we were doing. Because it goes by the moon. There are two of them. One has a month fasting before. That one you know. You count the days down to when Eid will be. The other one, I think happens two full moons after that. And so that one we missed. We were home after school and people started calling to say, sort of like Happy Christmas. Eid Mobaraque. And we were like, "What are you talking about?" They said, "We didn't see you at the prayer this morning." We felt really bad. And that was the year after I came back from Pakistan. And I spent two whole months there. And I spent the Eid before that, there. It was, Oh, amazing . . . Just like how Christmas is around here. Months, weeks before hand you are preparing for new clothes and what are we going to do that day, parties and all that thing. It was wonderful. So that is something I often miss here.

Rani explained that her father missed out on promotions through his employer and she believes that his reluctance to participate in the social aspects of the job had a lot to do with it:

Rani: I think my Dad did. Quite a bit. He dealt with it but more in an aggressive way. Not so much now. But when he first started. Like getting promotions and things like that. Like you know, like playing golf, or going out later for a drink. My Dad never did that sort of thing.

Susan: He wasn't included?

Rani: No. He could have been included. But because in our culture that is not something that you would do. You don't go out to a bar after work. You go home to your family.

That's what you mostly do. More like, they have different social ideas. Like all the guys would get together at someone's house and watch the football game. Well my Dad wouldn't do that. In that way, just because the social activities were different, he found it a bit like that. And then people would think that he couldn't speak English properly.

Sports participation is an important aspect of leisure in Canada, not only in the example of Rani's father, but also for the participants themselves. Most of the participants enjoyed sports to a certain extent. However, several people described incidents that they have experienced which prevent them from enjoying the sport experience as much as they otherwise might. Janice played sports at the elite level and was a member of a provincial team:

> Janice: See I have been lucky. Like whenever I have played whether it was soccer or baseball, I guess a lot of it is, you have to prove yourself. Once you prove yourself, you are fine. If you don't prove yourself, like if (someone) is playing tennis and she is really just learning for the first time. And she can't even hit the ball, well that is like a double wammy for her. But if she can smash that ball down the end line, they will look at her in a different light.
> Susan: But does she have to be even better than normal, because she is not white?
> Janice: Yes. So that is where the racism comes in. So I have been lucky because when people have seen me play, I guess I'm pretty quick. And I guess that would be a big point of it. And once, I remember the first time I scored. Then they started like, "Hey, Janice". It would be a lot easier. But, I don't really think of that a lot. But I have been lucky. Like I said, I have been able to hold my end in those positions. I think the only part now, is because I feel at times that I can't hold my end with the Ontario Team.

Although she admits that sometimes she doesn't go out of her way to get to know the team members on the Ontario team, Janice also knows that the other team members made little effort to get to know her, until she proved her expertise as a star player. Similarly, Bibi and her friend, who were both Muslim and wore traditional clothing which includes hijab, also experienced the intolerance of their peers when they joined in a recreational badminton tournament at their high school:

> Bibi: Yea. It happened when I came here first. In gym class. And you know, I told you, my best friend who moved to Toronto. And she and me, were playing badminton. We were really good at it. And the other girls they didn't know. Before that, before that game, they would just tease us. "Hey you are a bla, bla bla. You know nothing." And after that when we won the game we became the first in the class. They say, "Hey you are pretty good in badminton."
> Susan: And that was just based on the way you looked?
> Bibi: Yea, yea. It is hard, when you come to a different country and first thing is like you don't know. You feel like weak in yourself. Oh, I know nothing. And they know a lot. It makes difference. You feel different from others.

The distinctive clothing and appearance of some Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi people is targeted by some people of the dominant cultural groups and caused great discomfort for participants. Amee, who attended a private school described a conversation among some of her peers at school:

> Amee: Well, there have been incidents where I have been offended. For example, I don't know if I really want to talk about this. But do you know how the Indian women wear a dot here. (points to middle of her forehead). They call it different kinds of things. In different places. Like in Mulial, it is called a portaa. In Hindi it would be something different. And kids were making fun of it at school. And you know there is the racial name, quote, Paki. They would wonder about it and I don't say anything because if I am offended I would sit there. Then I would say, "Shut up. What are you talking about. This is a waste of time."

The Sikh participants have experienced the racist remarks and are often victims of ridicule as a result of the turbans worn by many Sikh males. Manjit and his cousin Kaila discussed how some people they know of in the Sikh community have responded, with violence to the racist treatment they have experienced:

> Manjit: It's my choice. They were actually, when I was growing my hair. They said, "If we hear too many complaints from you, we will take you to the barber." Because back then, it wasn't as big a community. And there were was like a problem. Now like, well if someone is bugging you, they will just get beat up. (laughter). And that is really serious. They will get their butt kicked.
> Susan: So is it an issue. Have you ever been treated in a way you didn't like, just because you wear a turban?
> Manjit: Well everyone thinks I am older. It might be because of the beard, too. But not now. Before there was a difference. But now like there are a lot of Sikhs around.
> Kaila: People know it more now. They have seen it.
> Manjit: Plus there are all these other cultures too.
> Kaila: When we were really young. It is hard for a lot of kids in elementary school. Because that is when you really get picked on, if you do. But then I know some kids who have had a real problem with it and they have cut their hair just cause they can't take the teasing. But the older people I don't think it is that big of a deal when you are older.

Some of the participants believed that problems they faced in the education system were related in part to racism. Although most of the racism they faced was not overt, they were often victims of remarks, name calling and insensitivity that made school unpleasant and sometimes hostile, as suggested by Rani and Hassan:

> Rani: Yea, even then. Well I guess that up to grade three or so. I don't think there was that problem. But after that it was a bit more. Because I was in a predominantly white school . I remember people saying a lot of racial things to me. Making me very upset. Once I had to go to the principal's office with another boy in my class, for something he said to me. Because I started crying. I never told my parents anything like that because they would

say, "Just brush it off", or something like that. So I think that was when it really started. Because I couldn't really talk to them about that.

Hassan: Name calling. I mean I know I am Indian. So they would have so many different name callings for us. You know, name calling stays forever. This guy, if someone called me a name and I hit them or something. That would only stay for a few days. And it's gone. But to call me a name, that stays for the rest of my life. It is a scar for life. But these people don't understand nothing. They don't understand. Because if they were in the position I was, they would understand. And they would look at it differently. But they don't. Even in schools. Teachers, principals. They don't look at it differently . . . I have had experiences that way.
Susan: With teachers?
Hassan: Yes. With principals. VP's. That kind of thing.
Susan: And they have actually used a derogatory name or word? Or just not intervened?
Hassan: They haven't done anything about the situation. I was the one who got in trouble. But not them. Not the person who called me the name. That was like. It stays for life. And I am a minority and you are a majority here. So it is a factor in the schools.

Many of the participants found that the problems they had with racist remarks and intolerance in school happened most often when they were in grade school. Some people found that the teachers did not intervene and that the teachers themselves held very intolerant and sometimes racist views toward the minority group students. Some people explained that the multicultural programs and efforts made by the high schools have had an impact on the improved level of tolerance and acceptance of non-white students in the high schools. Beena explained how she found things had improved when she went from a public grade school to a large, public high school that had a very mixed multicultural student body:

Beena: You always get the racial remarks. But you just kind of put it back. Like what are you going to do. You are not going start a big revolt and then get your law changed. Well it's just ignorance. And I think if you can't get passed as simple thing like then, you shouldn't be here.
Susan: So, has it been OK in high school?
Beena: Oh high school is totally different. I mean, I come to high school and I see people of my color and I am like, "Wicked". Not that I am going to go talk to them specially. But at least there is someone who could possibly speak the same language or that could relate to my every day life.

Janice also attended a multicultural high school prior to university. She explained that the friendship group she belonged to, included students of many varied ethnic backgrounds:

Janice: My closest friends, a lot of them were Indian background. A lot of them were Filipino. I guess that was just the mix of my school. I don't know. Ethnically? Our group was never confined. Actually, we had a couple of black people, there were I know, even to this day we still talk. These two white girls, who would never leave each other's side. But

they were always part of us. It was good. Actually our grade was one of the weird ones. We had a huge group of friends, that were very ethnically mixed. When you would look down you would see two sides of the caf (cafeteria), or tables. Our table was never like that. It was good. It was even good, I remember, for international day. One year, I never really got involved in these things. Maybe I would bring some food, but I would never get involved in the dances and things on stage. And our Filipino friend, she joined the Indian pavilion. So she was on stage dancing and she was trying to tell me that she was more Indian than I was (laughs). To that extreme we were always willing to try new things. Like you know. If we went to someone who is Filipino, we would be ready to eat their food. They would come over to our place, ready to eat our food. It was great. Like you didn't have that like, "Oh my God. I am not eating that Filipino food." Everyone was willing. It was good.

Many of the schools attended by the participants had made efforts to hold multicultural days or international days and some participants found this contributed to the acceptance of non-white students into the student body as a whole.

3.9 Issue of violence and its impact on South Asian youth

The issue of violence within the Indian community was raised in the context of the Sikh community where some young people, described as "loosers" by Kaila, have formed gangs, which claim to provide protection for Sikh teens who experience racist remarks:

Manjit: See with us, it wouldn't be that we had problems with name calling and stuff. Actually you know what happened was the whole gang thing. You might have heard of it being brought up. But now like, people know that there are like, in Toronto, basically. That's where it first started. Or a group of guys will get together and if anyone picked on anyone, all would go and beat the other group up.
Susan: Does that happen here?
Manjit: Yea. It happens here too. It used to be a really, really huge issue before.
Priya: Like the PM
Manjit: Yea, the PM. Punjab Mafia.

Rani explained that India is broken up into many different groups, which are in competition and conflict with one another. The conflicts have surfaced in Canada among the young South Asians and are evident through the fights that occur at youth dances in many communities in Southern Ontario.

Rani: Even in our Temple, sometimes like after the festival. At the night, they will have dances for the kids. You know a little dance, very innocent, for the kids. They can't do that any more. They can't because they have to call the cops. Like within the small Bengali community there is fighting over someone looked at someone weird. This and that. This guy I know, he goes to school (university). He is Christian Indian. He said, this one guy comes around and say he wants to have a fight with you or something. He will open your

hand up and put a bullet in your hand and shut it and walk away. So you have to be careful when you leave, because him and his little gang will come and beat you up. And that is his way of saying it. He said it is so dangerous there that I don't even want to go. He is on the committee. That is the only reason he goes. But he has stopped going. He said it is too dangerous, now.

The violence that occurred during dances and parties held by Indian youth groups has offended many Indian young people and will prevent them from participating in these events. Unfortunately, the events that cause trouble are often the ones that the media publicizes and consequently this has a detrimental effect on the whole Indian community and especially for those from the Indian community who attempt to participate as much as possible in the dominant culture. These incidences add fuel to the racism and intolerance of some members of the dominant cultural groups, making it more difficult for the South Asian teens and young adults to gain acceptance within that culture.

3.10 Pursuing a sense of personal identity

The teenage and young adult participants wanted to have opportunities to be with their friends. From their friends, their schools, the media and their experiences outside of the home, and despite some obvious struggles, the participants have learned to appreciate many aspects of the dominant culture. The participants had started to adopt many more aspects of the greater society than their parents had adopted. In several discussions, the young participants mentioned that although they respected their parents' wishes and their restrictions, they expected to have the freedom to conduct their adult lives as they wished. Several people talked about how they think they will treat their own children:

> Nashina: I guess when I was younger sometimes I would wish that I could do that (more activity with friends). Like, not to that extreme, but sometimes go out to the movies with them, just hang out later in the day when I know I wouldn't be allowed. But as I got older I guess I understand a bit more why. I understand now completely why, and if I had kids I would treat them the same way. Because I understand it is better for them.
> Susan: It is better for them not to do those activities?
> Z. Ya, Like you can still have fun and enjoy yourself, in an Islamically proper way (laughs). Actually I think my parents are a little more strict than I would be. On some of the things.

When asked if she would like to live close to her parents once she has completed university and is out working Rani said:

> Rani: No. Only because, they would be too much involved in my life. Especially if I have a family. They would be over like 24 hours a day.
> Susan: So would they expect to participate in raising your kids?

Rani: Yea. Like they are already thinking that they would. Right now they already think that they are going to. Like I don't mind them seeing them, but it is just that their beliefs are so different from my own, I don't want my children to be influenced by some of the things they would say.

Some people compared their lives with those of their cousins in India and were very thankful that their parents did not continue to have the kinds of expectations that would be placed on children in traditional families in South Asia:

Ali: When I said you (North Americans) are selfish then that means I am selfish. Because I have been raised in this North American culture. So I think there is a big difference. When I go to Pakistan and I see my cousins down there. They are just so different. They are always doing something for their parents. Like even ironing their clothes and everything. And I would never do that. Or my parents would never ask me to do that. So I notice a big difference between the two societies.

Several people talked about the issue of parents who are narrow minded and rigid in their thinking:

Steven: I have some Indian friends whose parents are very closed minded. And my boss for example is Hindi. And we were having a conversation one day. And this is a very intelligent man. First class education. And he was telling me that his son was not going to marry anyone who isn't Hindi. And I said, "Don't you think that is a little restrictive." And my Dad was telling me that when it comes to religion, and he grew up with these people, that to a lot of them it is a closed book. That's the way they were brought up and that's the way their parents were brought up, etc., etc. You are not going to change them. Don't argue with them. NO amount of rationale will appeal to them. That's the way it is. That's what my Dad was telling me. And I am very fortunate that my parents are not like that.

Other participants were adamant that things must change especially regarding the traditions related to arranged meetings and arranged marriages:

Rani: People are getting sick and tired of parents intervening all the time. And you don't want to marry someone from India. Especially if you are a woman. Because I don't want to be treated like my Mom's treated by my father. Or someone else. So like you grew up differently. It's easier for a boy to marry a girl from India, than for a girl, westernised to marry a boy from India. It just doesn't click.

Nashina: I would like to be independent with my husband. I guess, see with my parents and all of my relatives, relationships have scarred me a little bit. I am a little bit pessimistic about marriage. I don't expect a lot. My friends are just such idealistics. Like they say, Oh no you have got to be happy and all this stuff. I want to be happy, but theirs is like you see it on movies and stuff. And I believe that could happen, but I'm not going to wait for that.

Beena: I don't know where I will be down the road. I can't predict the future. But hopefully it will be more equal. I am not saying that everything has to be equal like spending money and cleaning and all that. But in the cooking, especially in the cooking. If I

came home late. I don't want to sit there and have to make dinner at nine o'clock. That's crazy. It's something they can do at least. Whoever I choose to spend the rest of my life with.

In many aspects of life the participants knew which traditions they liked and those that they did not like from each end of the continuum. They were often very clear about the aspects of life that they did not want to have imposed on their lives. They functioned within the small community and the greater society and hope to develop the ability to move between the two worlds according to how they feel most comfortable. Rekha and Beena discussed the idea of assimilation and said:

> Rekha: Actually it is not that you want to be more like your friends. It is not that at all. It is just that you want to be independent when you are with your friends.
> Beena: You don't have to be bound by traditions. You can go have fun with your friends.

All of the participants in this study were very committed to cultural sustainability. They had developed tremendous interest in many aspects of their culture as a result of the traditions they learned from their parents and family, and as a result of their own experiences related to travel to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

> Rekha: I want to learn more about the Indian culture. And to take part in other religions. I find religion fascinating. And to learn other religious festivities and that kind of thing. So I definitely think it is really important is to know your past. But in doing that I don't think you should segregate yourself. And say that this is how it has to be.

As mentioned earlier, many people planned to involve their own children in learning some aspects of their culture. However, they will not be as insistent as some of their parents have been about the need to adhere to the aspects of the culture that the participants find so constraining. In some cases they experienced that the parents have alienated the children by their insistence that traditions be strictly followed.

> Janice: I think that for me growing up and going to those (cultural events) things. Even if I was part of the (Indian association) I think it is good. Like it is not good if you are totally involved and you are only involved in that. But I was lucky because I saw both sides of the picture. And I think I would like my kids to be involved but I know I can't force it on them. Because I know my sister, she doesn't like them at all. Whereas, I am different. I kind of like to go to them. Because, maybe I know more people. But I think it just depends. I would like them to, but I wouldn't force them to.

Rani explained that she had to learn a lot of the history of her culture and religion from books because her mother did not explain things to her. She believed that her parents' generation has not succeeded in helping their children to learn about the culture and their religion:

> Rani: And I asked (my Mother) How come you don't know all these things. And she said "We are not supposed to ask those questions." You are supposed to go and sit quietly, because your parents tell you to. And that's it. No questions asked. And I see these kids and they are not going to keep their culture when they get older. Because either: a, they were brought there against there against their will or; b, they were there for only social reasons. And I always thought that I got to love my culture because I had a special interest in it. I see my brother. He doesn't know anything. and he doesn't care to know. So I thought that when I have kids, I'll expose it to them and if they ask questions I will tell them but I am not going to force them to do anything. And it is going to be up to them . I think that if they like it, that's great. If they don't, that's up to them. Because they will love it more if they have their own interest in it, rather than if I forced it on them.

In many respects the participants were able to move beyond their families if they wanted to do so and some people had developed a strong sense of self, independent of their families. They had opportunities for education, socialisation and leisure that exposed them to far more aspects of the dominant culture than most of their parents had been exposed to. They were very open minded about the world as result of their exposure to the aspects of both their traditional culture and the culture of the dominant society. The participants were quite accustomed to interacting with people of cultures unlike their own and saw the very real possibility of inter-racial marriages that their parents still had difficulty accepting. They believed it was very important for people from the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities to interact with the greater society and to avoid total isolation. Rani, who believed her parents were far too isolated due to interacting socially with people from their Hindu community said:

> Rani: I am not saying don't be part of your community. I think you should be and I think you should play a big role in it. But on the other hand don't block off everybody else. And don't be not willing to listen to other people's ideas and not willing to experience other cultures. And experience other people's ideas also. I think if you are willing to do that, I think you can. But I think for someone to have a power position, a political power position, it has to come from the second generation, or the third generation . . . Yea and I think there is this lady too. Thobani. She has made such an impact. But then she is the type of person to listen to others. She is kind of integrated. And she is first generation too, which I think is like, great.

The participants had for the most part, succeeded in developing friendships, which were known to be so important for personal development, with people of all different cultural backgrounds. Their friends, respected their cultures and the uniqueness of them as individuals.

> Rani: Yea, only because like I said they were there when I needed them for a major portion of my life. Like say I was having trouble at school. I couldn't even tell my parents that.

Otherwise they would get mad at me. So, like they were there for even those things. I have always had good friends who understood that I couldn't go out with them all the time. And they couldn't call me at certain hours.

Hassan: Well some friends are and some friends aren't. Depending on how close we are. How much respect I get from them. It is all up to the respect, I guess. I am not friends with those who don't have much respect. And others have a lot of respect. They treat me like their own brother. Which is something I like. Friends are important.

Beena: Usually my friend and I, we have been friends since, gee she was in my grade one class. So, we talk about big moral issues. Cause in my high school career so many things have happened to me. I couldn't believe it. Just so many different things. And it's really opened my mind and the only person I could talk to, because the only person I trusted was (my friend). So she kind of helped me through every thing. And so we will just have big speeches about what's new in the world. I think it is really narrow minded of people to do this and that. But back in Junior high we were so ignorant to everything. You know, like for instance, I remember all the time, everyone would say, "Oh she is wearing pink". Oh that's so gay. And people would always use "gay" and "faggot" out of context. And now I think about it, well that's so "gay"? That's so happy? That's so homosexual? No. Wait a minute. And I probably used to say that all the time. I didn't realize it. And I think that now that I am actually exposed to that. I have friends who are gay. I am more aware of what's going on. That's actually been a good thing. I have really opened my mind and I learned to accept people for who they are. More so than I did back then.

Most participants were pleased that they had been able to establish friendships with people who respect them and their ideas. The friendships have for many people been an important aspect of their social development and their sense of individual identity development which for many is not constrained by traditions.

3.11   The struggle to sustain cultural continuity

The participants in this study hoped to be able to develop their sense of autonomy and freedom in their lives, along with maintaining strong ties with their families and with their cultural roots. Some feared that the opportunities they had struggled for may be restricted as a result of cultural traditions and expectations. The effort to live within two cultures caused conflict for some participants and their families.

For example, some participants and their siblings and parents experienced a great deal of conflict over the importance their parents place on them to marry Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi partners. Kaila described the situation in her home when her sister told their parents that she was going to marry a white man:

Kaila: What happened was, she told them. And my Dad he didn't say anything. He just sat there. But my Mom, she started asking questions, like "What does he do?" You know,

"What is he?" And Mom accepted it. She was like, "Well, OK, if that's what you want." For quite a while, maybe about a month, he was pretty upset. But all our relative knew, because we eventually told the relatives, like you always do in Indian families. And then, eventually he accepted it. Because, I mean what can they do. She is twenty six. She was twenty five when she got married. They can't, not. They had an Indian wedding. And see, like in everything, he is perfect to Indian standards. He's tall, he's a computer scientist, he's got a good job and all that. The only think was that he wasn't Indian. And they prefer that you marry someone from your own community.

Other participants talked about the conflict that have seen with friends who are also restricted by parents who forbid socialization with people from the dominant cultural groups:

Beena: Oh, my Indian friends yes. I know a few girls at my Temple can't have guys call their house. Can't associate with guys. And I am thinking to myself, that's ridiculous. How are you going to meet people if you can't. You know. It's not that every guy friend that you are going to have is going to be sexual or anything. No it's not like that at all. They are just guy friends. But some parents just don't understand that. Or they don't want to jump into that phase. They don't want to move on. They want to stay traditional.

Beena explained later that she believes her friends are to blame for not standing up to the parents on issues that are important to them, like dating, and having friends from the dominant cultural groups:

Beena: But they (her friends) are very restricted to what they can do. And what they can do in their future. And I feel sorry for them. . . . That's unfortunate. I feel really bad for them. Really bad. And the thing is they won't stand up to it. They won't even try to reason with their parents. And that's kind of their fault too. You have to at least tell them that.
Susan: Are some of your friends accepting of the traditions?
Beena: I know some of my friends' parents are very, very strict. And even to contest them would mean your death. (laughs). Not literally. But you would get a pretty good verbal talk. And they just don't bother going through it again. Because they think they can't win. But it's not that you have to win. It's just to let them know. And part of it, like my Temple friends, they all hang out with each other and they don't expose themselves to anyone else. Well they have their school friends. Whoever is still in school. They have their school friends, but other than that. Even when they hang out like go to a party or go watch a movie, they will go with their Indian friends. And you don't get enough exposure to the rest of the world.

All of the young participants face the prospect of caring for elderly parents, which will place considerable strain on them and their spouses and will likely limit their ability to live autonomous lives.

Rani: Yes. And especially if you are not married to an Indian guy, either. I think that is going to pose a lot of problems. Because, how many families here, European or what, that their parents live with them when they get older. It's different say they have their own section of the house. But Indian parents are very much, they want to be part of your life, a

lot. And they also want to be part of their grandchildren's life. And they tell you what to do still. It is a big, big part. And that is not fair to your spouse. And to their family either.

The lives of most of the participants in this study were very different from the lives led by their parents. In some cases they talked about efforts being made by their parents to maintain close ties with their cultural groups. The parents have organized sports groups, picnics, dances, clubs and other social activities, as well as churches for the purpose of cultural sustainability. Some participants have had very positive experiences from having been part of the collective nature of their ethnic and cultural communities. Hassan described what he believes is a strong aspect of his family and something that is missing from the Canadian families he knows:

> Hassan: But for the Canadian families here, I think they are not getting any closer. Because they have money problems. Or they can't get this, they can't get that. They need money. They are going to go out from the family. Go out and try to make money themselves. This is not good. I mean if you stay in the family, make money separately, but stay in the family together. Put all the money in one place. Which is better because with more money you can do more things. But people on your own, you can't do much. You can't do much these days in Canada.

Although this participant realized some very positive benefits from the collective nature of the Muslim community, others have not had such a positive experience. Rani saw the ethnic enclave that her parents functioned within as being very competitive and unsupportive of its members. This group, she believed, became too competitive and had destroyed its ability to sustain itself. She felt this would be a sad loss for the coming generations:

> Rani: (When we were younger) Everyone talked and everyone was together. But I think that as everyone started entering high school, it became from a collective society totally to an individual. It was so drastic. From one extreme to the other extreme. It got to the point where it's like, "Who is the best in Math, who is the best in this, who is the best in that." That is all they cared about. They didn't care about how are you. What did you do. Anything. First thing they asked was how are your marks . . . Very competitive. And then people started getting jealous and greedy and this and that. All behind your back. Nothing up front. And then when that happened, it pulled the kids away from each other. So while we were kids we all hung out together. We all did this, we took part in our cultural festivals and everything. Once we were in high school and now, no one talks to anyone. Because the parents pulled the kids apart in such a way that they are like brainwashed. Like you are the best, number one in everything. So you can't talk to so and so over there because they don't do dancing, they are no good at school. They don't do this. Then some of the kids started believing that themselves. How can you not when your parents are constantly telling you this. I mean that is what started happening. So there was no collective group any more.

For Rani, the conflicts within her Hindu community, contributed to its demise. She believed the community will not exist into the next generation because of the fighting and competition among members.

> Rani: No. Like I tell my Mom all the time, you guys really ruined it. Like I am not saying my parents ruined it. But I am just saying their generation ruined it so much that I feel, I know my brother doesn't feel it. But I am just saying, how can we even put on this festival, because none of the kids want to talk to one another. We are not going to. That is the way it has become. You have put so much of a block between each of the kids, and then you start resenting one another because, you know, my Mom constantly talks about how well you are doing at school and because I can't do as good, I am constantly getting this and that. There is not going to be any community after you guys. Actually there isn't one now. Like that is how it has become. People have said they don't want it any more.

Rani, who was very committed to her cultural roots and her family, feels that the next generation will lose out by not having a close Hindu community in their city. Although all participants were committed to some involvement in their ethnic community, some spoke of the ambivalence they experienced over the question of how much involvement they wanted to have with their culture in the future.

> Rekha: I think it is important. See I have differing views on this kind of thing. I think it is important to be involved with your community and your, whatever you would call it. To be with these cultural kind of things. But I don't like the idea of, this probably isn't answering the question. But I don't like the idea of segregating yourself. And being only with them, this cultural community. And that's always been a big thing. Especially with my sister. Like I don't know if she was being rebellious, or if it was a rebellion. She thinks that my parents push it too much. To be with these cultural things. I don't feel that it's true. But she does.
> Susan: So when she is asked or expected to go to something, she doesn't care for it?
> Rekha: Generally no. I don't even know what it is. Like I think it's important and I enjoy the functions. But it's not like if I was to give up something in my life that would stay.

Other participants talked about the oppressive nature of some traditions and that many young people have moved away from the culture to avoid the impact of these in their own lives. Again the traditions surrounding marriage within the cultures of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh caused concern and conflict for the participants. Several participants mentioned that they believe their mothers were treated in a manner that they would not accept in their own lives and therefore would hesitate to marry a partner, especially if that person came directly from India. Nashina discussed her mother's situation and the idea that she will not tolerate being treated the way her mother is treated:

> Nashina: Yea, it was really hard. And, it wasn't until I was about ten that my parents got religious. Before that my Dad, was I can say, he was a very hard person to be with. Like me and

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my sisters, we think back. like if I was in my mother's situation. I would have left a long time ago.

Beena: Well my Mom still won't totally stand up to my Dad. I guess it's understandable because no Indian wife will ever stand up to their husbands. But whoever I marry, be it penguin or boy, whatever (laughs) I will be very bold. I won't have this, "this is what I want. You do it and you are going to do it." No. I am independent, can stick up for myself. I have done it all my life.

The participants, like their Canadian friends who identify with dominant cultural groups, hoped to have a sense of autonomy in their lives. They were exposed to aspects of both their traditional cultures and the dominant society. Although they valued some aspects of their traditional cultures, the participants hope to not be constrained by them. Within the greater society the concept of individualism is highly valued and many of the participants want to have the kinds of opportunities their Canadian friends have to develop themselves as individuals.

3.12   The best of both worlds

The parents of the participants were concerned about cultural sustainability and, for the most part, so were the young adults and teens who took part in this study. Through clubs, family gatherings and organized events like sports groups, some of the participants and their families have had very positive experiences related to their cultural groups in Canada. Many parents and their children were concerned about the continued sustenance of the culture. Some parents developed sports clubs and picnics not only for the enjoyment of cultural activities but also to ensure that the children have the opportunity to meet other South Asians.

Janice: Like I don't participate in a lot of them. As much as I used to. They (Goan Association) used to have picnics in Kingston. At the Thousand Islands. It is half way between Montreal and Toronto. So both sets of Associations would come together. And that would be a really good thing. I can remember every year back except for the last two or three years now. And that is was good because it was just like something you did, every Civic Day weekend. You would be up there. And you would meet everyone. So that was good. Now it is dying.

Janice explained that the local Goan Association has started some sports leagues for children and this means that many of the children are getting involved in the events with their parents. The Sikh community in one city plans to develop some type of association that will have similar appeal for the young people.

The issues related to collectivism and individualism were very important for the participants and their parents and communities. The parents of all of the participants were immigrants and therefore experienced a great deal of change in their lives. With the rapid degree of globalization the lifestyles in both Canada and India are also rapidly changing and this further complicates the whole issue of cultural sustainability.

The participants talked about how their parents and community have their roots in the traditions of India which tends to be collective in nature. They are now living and working in Canada which they see as being very individualistic in nature:

> Kaila: It's definitely true. There it is more of a collectivist culture (in India). And this is totally individualistic. But I think slowly our parents have, they haven't totally become individualistic. But they have sort of blended the two. Where as the kids tend to be individualistic like every body else.
> Anisha: I think you get a little bit of both because you are raised in that kind of house, that kind of home. We kind of get a little bit of everything. Like, yea, you just become mixed. Certain parts of you are really individualistic. but then you are really not as individualistic as North American kids, but you really are not as collectivist as Indian.

The participants described North American culture in terms of the focus people have on themselves and it is this focus that they called individualism. For the participants there was clearly a sense of wanting to move away from some of the more constraining aspects of the collective community. They also wanted an opportunity to develop personal identity that was not constrained or controlled by their family, community or culture.

As in the Old Colony Mennonite community in Alberta which was the focus of Van Dyke's study, some of the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi parents had the desire to sustain their culture. In some cases, as with the Sikh group, there were efforts to establish clubs and organizations that will keep the community members in touch with one another. However, the participants indicated that those parents who cling to traditions from their old country are not aware that India has changed too:

> Manjit: But actually, India is changing too. Because I went there two years ago. And it is way different than when I went there as a kid. When I was a kid, it would be a different kind of perspective. But even some of the things that I remember then that should be there. It's not the same.
> Kaila: That's another thing. Our parents they still have views from when they came. Like over twenty five years ago. And they don't know that India is so Westernized now. But they have the old views. So they are trying to raise us with those old views.
> Manjit: I know, they actually date over there too.
> Kaila: They date more than we do here. In the cities especially. Bombay and Delhi. (laughing)

Manjit: Yea they remember the village.
Kaila: Yea, they all came from villages. So even that is totally different.
Anisha: Yea, I know my parents when they came back. They were so surprised. They a
have a toilet now. They have this and that.

Beena: For sure. I was watching South Asian Newsweek and India has a Leather
Company. They are pumping out the leather jackets and the leather jeans.
Rekha: Yea, custom made everything there. Everything you can get here you can get in
India. And more.
Beena: Coke, Pepsi, Calvin Klein Jeans.
Rekha: Everything. Oh for sure, everything. And actually, my cousins in Bombay have the
best of both worlds. They have everything you can get here and plus they have all the
culture there. They have the best of everything.

Anisha: Like I hear now it is different. I hear they are further along than we are. Because
our parents have been gone since about twenty or thirty years. So they've got these ideas.
Whereas in India they have actually moved on. But they haven't seen that. I was talking to
someone the other day and she went to India and she said, like her cousins will look at her
and say, "You are so conservative." She said you should have seen them.

Nashina: But I found that now, like when I went and visited, I found that my cousins were a lot
more like the North American culture, too. With the satellite and all and clothes, they prefer,
especially guys, they prefer the jeans and stuff and I don't see them wearing the older stuff. Do I
agree that North Americans are selfish? I can't say that they are selfish, but they are not as
giving as they are there. And sometimes I think that is too much, that they do over there, that's
too much. Sometimes, I think there is something in the middle that would be best.

So the traditions that the parents were trying to hold on to likely do not exist in India at
this point in time because India is changing. As the parents tried to recreate their culture in Canada
and make it something that the young people will accept, it will likely be different from what
actually existed at any point in time in India.

In Canada, the culture of India is emerging in new ways through music, television, fashion
and food. One group gave an example of the emergence of popular music like Banghura music
which is a combination of Indian, Reggae and Rock music. Although the songs are sung in Indian
languages, it has a heavy beat and is becoming popular in North America as dance music at
mainstream dances. Also, Indian and Pakistani people are often seen on television programs in
Canada, such as YTV, giving them exposure that they never had before. However, the portrayal of
South Asians and their culture in these forms of popular culture are unlike the traditions the
parents of the participants knew in India.

The participants have experienced both positive and the negative aspects of their culture and the culture of Canada. They knew the small community and the greater society. Therefore, they hoped that their futures will allow them to experience the best aspects of both worlds. However they also knew that the greater society does not liberate them from some of the constraints they face. In fact the racism and intolerance they faced in the greater society imposed a new kind of constraint.

None of the participants wanted total assimilation into Canadian society and most of them realized that that in any event, this would not be possible.

> Rani: I think so. I don't think you can ever totally assimilate. Especially when your family hasn't and when you have ties with our family. I mean there is always going to be people like. Especially if you have a different color skin or a different eye shape or whatever. That is always going to stand out. You can't change that whatever you do. But as long as your family has that very tight cultural background. Plus I don't think it is desirable either.

Many of the parents have realized that their children will have lives that are different from their own because the children live between two worlds:

> Kaila: Did I tell you what our parents call us? Coconuts. Brown on the outside and white on the inside.

Some like the Sikh parents have started to make an effort to bridge the distance between themselves and their children:

> Anisha: That group that we were telling you about, that our parents want to create, I think is actually because they want to create that balance. You know where there isn't that dichotomy between the two groups. They want to bring the two groups together. It's like a balance between them. So you aren't kind of one way or the other. I think that is what they really want to work towards.

Some of the participants have reached a realization that assimilation is not possible nor is it desirable. They know that movement toward the greater society will not liberate them. As discussed, they will face intolerance and racism from some people from the dominant cultural groups. Also, assimilation is not attractive to some, because they think that Canadian culture is not as rich or as interesting as their own. It was evident, the participants valued their culture and planned to continue their involvement in it.

> Amee: I know that when I get older I hope to wear a sari. Like I would like to wear a sari to my wedding or my wedding reception. Because roots are important.

> Rekha: That's a big thing that I like about Indian food, is that I am proud of it. Like I am proud of my mother's cooking. Like my friends love my Mother's cooking. They come to my house simply to eat. Like they love it.
> Beena: And the stuff that they find spicy is like everyday food.
> Rekha: I am proud of India and I am proud that I have gone to India. It is a beautiful country.
> Beena: It has a rich history. People don't realize that.
> Rekha: Yea, they always think third world. Even though it was populated much before anything here. Still we are more advanced and they don't realize all that is involved in India.

Many of the participants were critical of the notion that Canadians do not understand or appreciate aspects of a culture as rich and as diverse as their own.

> Anisha: A lot of Caucasians who are born here, they don't even know what there background is, like their heritage. They don't know if they are German or Italian. And I think a lot of them do regret that. Because all they have is the Canadian culture. They don't have a culture. All it is hockey games and beer. Hockey is the religion. A lot of people don't know. I remember someone in grade eleven. And she was like asking us what religion we were and some people were like, "Couldn't tell you. Sorry." I have noticed. Because I have even helped out, back in high school. I was part of a cultural thing. They had like a show and things like that. And we would have so many visible minorities come out to do this. But you would rarely have a lot of Caucasians. Because I guess they just didn't have that background.

Many people who participated in this study experienced many conflicts as they progressed through their teen years and early adulthood. They function in two worlds and most of them would change nothing about their lives:

> Kaila: I don't think so. I actually see myself as being in a lucky position. Being able to see, and experience both cultures. Like it is sort of a unique position to be in. So to me I see more positives than negatives. For sure. But I know that is not everyone's experience.

The issues, challenges and conflicts faced by the participants in this study were not unlike many of those typically faced by Canadian teens and young adults as they attempt to gain independence from their families and establish their own lives and identities. However, there are important differences. Some of the young adult and teenage participants in this study have realized a sense of balance in their lives. By this I mean that many of the participants were able to participate in their cultural activities to the extent that interested them. In many cases, they were not pressured by parents to do more cultural and religious activities than they felt they want to do.

Also, many of the participants were able to enjoy leisure, much the same as would those young people who identify with the dominant cultural groups in Canada.

However, some major factors have impacted the lives of the participants and consequently their leisure experience was somewhat different from the leisure typical of most Canadian teens. For example their sense of community and family was based on collectivism which means that the participants had all experienced life as part of families that place high regard on the extended family and the best interests of the group rather than the individual. In their families, the pursuit of personal goals was not highly regarded. They were, and will continue to be affected by the emphasis placed on individualism in Canada.

Leisure was an important aspect of life for the participants. However, family leisure played a far more important part in their lives than it does for most teens and young adults from the dominant cultural groups in Canada. They derived tremendous benefits and a sense of well being from their involvement with their families. While many North American teens are encouraged to seek social acceptance with friends which is considered to be important for in the development of self-esteem and identity (Kelly, 1987), the participants in this study often sought time with their families for leisure, and in many cases describe relationships with friends as being of secondary importance in their lives, next to their families.

Gender issues affected the participants in that the males had more freedom and therefore more opportunities for leisure than the females had. Also, the female participants realize that they will be more limited in terms of their freedom than their brothers and male peers, when they have children, and if and when they provide care for aging parents or in-laws. Age was also a factor which affected leisure in that the participants tended to have more difficulties accessing leisure when they were young and in high school than when they entered university.

The participants valued their cultural traditions and their families as well as opportunities for leisure that took them into the community. They all pursued a balance between their traditional cultures and the traditions of the dominant groups. However, not everyone was able to achieve this balance.

In the next chapter, I will discuss how the data were interpreted by me with assistance from seven people who participated in discussions regarding my interpretation and analysis. The experiences of the participants will be explained within the context of the two cultures in which they lived, 'the small community' and 'the greater society'.

Chapter Four: Analysis and Interpretation: The Small Community and The Greater Society

4.1   Finding Balance

The young adults and teens who were participants in this study have been exposed to two cultures: the traditional cultures that their parents grew up with in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and the culture of Canada where most of them had been born and all are now living. So for some participants, the two cultures they know are important and they have a sense that they can participate in aspects of both cultures in their daily lives and in their leisure. Some of the participants are content with the degree to which they and their families are able to enjoy both cultures while living in Canada.

In this chapter I will explain the notion of how the participants lived within two cultures. For my interpretation and analysis I have drawn on the work of Van Dyke (1972) as was explained in Chapter 2. For the purpose of this study Van Dyke's notion of the small community and the greater society is used to help organize the themes and patterns that were evident in the experience of the participants. The theory building that develops from this study, uses the notion of the small community and the greater society as described by Van Dyke (**Figure 3,** Chapter 2).

The evidence from this study suggests there is indeed a continuum that the young adults and their families have traveled along as they have grown accustomed to the traditions of the greater society in Canada. When they first arrived in Canada, the parents of the participants would have been relatively unfamiliar with the traditions of the greater society. Within the group of participants in this study it was evident that there were differences between individuals which were related to the degree of assimilation they and their parents had experienced. Some of the families had assistance from other Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi families when they first arrived in Canada and as they settled into their homes and adjusted to life in Canada, while others had few colleagues, friends or relatives from their homeland to assist the settlement process. Some of the families and teenage and young adult children in these families have remained very close to their religious and ethnic communities here in Canada. Others have, over the years, functioned in the greater society for their work and in other aspects of their lives such as for religious purposes and for leisure. For these people, interaction with the greater society is quite comfortable. However, all of the participants and their families continue to place a great deal of significance in and derive satisfaction in their lives from their involvement with their cultural group, its traditions, religion, values and beliefs.

The process of settlement and assimilation for immigrants may be seen as a continuum wherein the people pursue a sense of balance. **Figure 4** describes the process of assimilation that the families experienced after they had settled in Canada and began to make a life for themselves. The notion of balance is used to describe the conditions that exist for most of the participants, but not for everyone in this study. For many, the families and their teenage and young adult children have assimilated or learned and adapted to many aspects of life that exist in the greater society. They have also continued to practise or to adhere to traditions that they value from their country of origin. The word 'balance' is used to describe that for many of the young participants life is quite satisfactory. Their parents do not impose cultural or religious traditions that they do not agree with. The traditions that the parents value are acceptable to their children. The families and their young adult children have few disagreements related to the experience of living at some point on the continuum, between two cultures.

At one end of the continuum is the traditional family unit, with the greater society on the opposite end. Some of the study participants' families moved away from their traditional community groups and into the greater society as they experienced aspects of the greater society such as the work place, the education system and the media in their daily lives. They became accustomed to the values and beliefs of the greater society, even if they did not accept and adopt them as their own. If the family and the teens moved along the continuum together, they realized a sense of balance in their lives.

Figure 4: Pursuing a Sense of Balance

Dissonance Level		Dissonance Level
	Adolescent	
Small Community	Family Balance	Greater Society
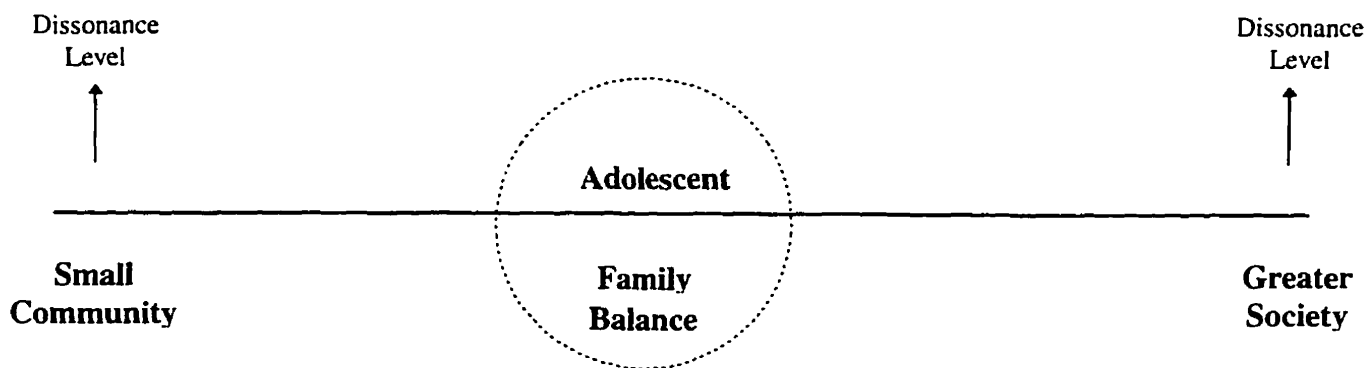
This sense of balance within the family was possible at any place along the continuum provided all members of the family move together along the continuum. For example, the family and their adolescent children may be quite happy maintaining their traditional lifestyle. This was the case for some of the Muslim participants who continue to wear traditional clothing and adhere to other customs of their religion. Other families are more comfortable at a point further along the continuum where they have adopted some of the customs and traditions of the greater society at the same time as continuing to adhere to some of the practices of their traditional culture. Therefore the circle depicting the family and adolescent could be shown at any point on the continuum depending on the amount and degree of involvement and assimilation they have with the greater society. The diagram is meant to be dynamic in nature and will change with time and according to the goals of each individual and their family.

Pursuit of education fuels the movement along the continuum since education is seen as the means by which the children of the immigrant families will be able to make a good life for themselves in Canada. Age, length of time in Canada, education level, type of employment are all aspects of life that might affect the desire of a person or family to move along the continuum or may not. Once the family group has established a sense of balance in their lives, factors which pull them to either end of the continuum will cause increased dissonance, as indicated by the upward pointing arrows in the diagram, **Figure 4**. Factors such as demands or pressures from relatives to live a more traditional lifestyle, or illness and disability and need for someone to care for a family member, may cause pull toward the small community. Factors such as job demands and pursuit of educational opportunities may pull family toward the greater society end of the continuum. These are all factors which may upset the balance that some families have achieved in the assimilation process, and cause increased dissonance.

Dissonance occurs when people act in a way which at some level they and others feel is wrong and which could be done differently, such as placing personal economic benefit ahead of cooperation with other members of the community as occurred within the Old Colony Mennonite community (Van Dyke, 1972). Festinger (1957) develop the theory of cognitive dissonance which explains that the presence of dissonance gives rise to pressures to alter or change behaviours so as to reduce that dissonance. Dissonance was experienced by participants in instances when they were pulled toward either the small community or the greater society in ways that upset the balance they had achieved in their lives. For example, one participant faced an urgent need to arrange health

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care for her mother. In her traditional culture that care would be provided in the home of the eldest son and by that son's wife. The provision of care in the home of a child, affords the parents continuity of their traditional, small community lifeways. This participant was the eldest child in the family and her only sibling was too young to be married and therefore was not able to provide care for their mother. The parents were depending on this woman, who attended university and lived in a university residence, to provide the necessary health care which would involve living in her home. They pressed her to marry as soon as possible so that she would be able to provide a home for the parents. The prospect of living with her parents had a significant impact on the way dissonance was experienced by this woman. She expected that her parents would control or interfere in many aspects of her life if they were to live in her home. She also had a boyfriend who was not South Asian and although he was supportive of the needs of her parents, she was worried about the involvement of her parents in their lives. This prospective arrangement pulled the participant toward the small community. The situation increased the level of dissonance she experienced since she was accustomed to aspects of the greater society where the provision of care by formal home and health care agencies is acceptable.

The process of assimilation is dynamic in nature. As time progresses the families and their children will encounter further complications in their lives which may challenge their ability to maintain the balance that they have achieved in their lives. Some participants have already experienced tremendous challenges and conflicts as they have attempted to assimilate within Canadian society.

4.1.1   Literature on adolescents and family

From other research on teenagers, we know a great deal about the relationships between teens and their families. To examine this in relation to the present study the following discussion addresses some aspects of the literature on teens and how they relate to their families in the context of the North American, middle-class family.

Although teens in the dominant cultural groups place great importance on their relationships with their friends, guidance and support of family members continues to play an important part in the healthy development of teenagers. Adolescents view parents as an important source of affection, reliable alliance, enhancement of worth and instrumental aid (Clark-Lempers, Lempers and Ho, 1991). Studies also indicate that adolescents turn to their families rather than to friends for a wider range of supports both in emergency situations and on an everyday basis (Frey and Rothlisberger, 1996). However,

families in North America emphasise individual success, happiness and accomplishments, and family togetherness tends to happen only to the extent that it meets the needs of the individual family members (Chave Herberg, 1993).

Adolescents in families that have well developed social networks tend to express higher levels of satisfaction with family roles than those teens in families which do not have well established social networks (Benson, Curtner-Smith, Collins and Keith, 1995). This family orientation toward socialising affords adolescents with the means for developing independence from family at the same time as adjusting and developing new roles which emphasise independence within the family.

Some literature indicates that there are differences in the way in which teens relate to mothers and fathers. Both males and females tend to remain stable in terms of the quality of their interactions with their mothers and both male and female adolescents seek their mothers more than their fathers in support seeking situations (Paterson, Field and Pryor, 1994). Scabini and Galimberti (1995) studied Italian teens and their families and found that there is a decrease in intergenerational conflict between fathers and children as a child's age increases, along with a tendency for mothers to continue to experience conflict and stress with their children. This is probably the result of greater ongoing interpersonal contact between mothers and their children. In the United States and probably throughout North America, fathers have had little impact on the development of adolescents due to their low level of ongoing involvement with their children (Hardesty, Wenk, and Morgan, 1995). Along with the positive interactions that occur, mothers and their adolescent children also experience negative aspects of interactions more so than do fathers.

Research offers some conflicting findings regarding comparisons of male and female adolescents' interactions and relationships with parents. Clark-Lempers et al. (1991) found that females are closer to their mothers than males in terms of companionship, intimacy, reliability and conflict and in none of the categories explored in this study did males report higher levels of closeness to mothers than did females. Females are reported to utilise support (defined as seeking support from a trusted person about a positive or negative event) and proximity (defined as seeking closeness to a trusted person under conditions of vulnerability and requiring minimal verbal interaction) from mothers more often as their age increases and males utilised their mothers less with age (Paterson et al, 1994). Frey and Rothlisberger (1996) report that adolescent boys appear to be more attached to their parents than are girls and they tended to turn to their mothers for emotional support but also utilised their fathers for instrumental support and financial aid.

In relationships with fathers it has been found that, younger adolescents report higher levels of closeness than did teens in their later years (Clark-Lempers et al, 1991). Females do not report having as close a relationship with fathers as do males in terms of companionship, nurturance, instrumental aid, and intimacy as did males (Clark-Lempers et al, 1991). Paterson et al (1994) found that both males and females reportedly use fathers less for support and proximity as they age and both reported lower levels of closeness to fathers than to mothers. Fathers are more often turned to for assistance with "technical crisis management" or instrumental help (Frey and Rothlisberger, 1996).

Overall, teens experience decreased involvement with both parents as they progress through their teens years (Clark-Lempers et al, 1991). This results from the social and cognitive changes which allow the adolescent to learn new skills, and which result in a change in perception of the parents upon whom the adolescent is less dependent. In late adolescence, teens begin to view parents as "more or less likeable and competent individuals" (Clark-Lempers, et al. 1991).

Kelly (1983) found that although family no longer occupies as central a position as it did during childhood, it still remains important for the adolescent. He views the many demands teens face related to their leisure, school, and work as potential sources of conflict for parents and other family members. This is because family members are required to provide money and transportation for the teens' activities and to accommodate demanding time schedules. Positive relationships between teens and parents are known to be especially important in emergency situations in that parental support acts as a stress buffer for teens (Frey and Rothlisberger, 1996).

Relationships between adolescents and their siblings are very important. They provide practice in social interaction and can help buffer against major crises (Frey and Rothlisberger, 1996). Although sibling relationships often involve conflict, they also tend to be close and provide an important source of social support for the adolescent (Clark-Lempers, et al, 1991). Grandparents do not feature very prominently in the research about interaction of adolescents with family members. Frey and Rothlisberger (1996) suggest that this reflects the small family structure most adolescents know today. However, for those who do discuss their grandparents and other relatives, these relationships provide an important source of support (Frey and Rothlisberger, 1996).

Relationships that adolescents have with their parents, brothers and sisters and with other relatives provide support even though generally relationships with family are not as central as they were in childhood. These relationships may provide an important source of encouragement and guidance for adolescents who are experimenting with adult social roles.

For minority ethnic adolescents, the prospect of living in close proximity to parents, siblings and extended family members is very likely to occur (Chave Herberg, 1993). In many western and non-western traditional cultures, family needs take precedence over individual needs and it may be expected that as a result of this adolescent life for ethnic teens will be affected. Little research has been done to explain the interactions of teens within minority ethnic families (Clark-Lempers, et al, 1991).

Leaving home has been a critical aspect of life to most North Americans (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler and Tipton, 1985). The development of personal characteristics that will lead to independence and self-reliance are valued highly in western society but are not encouraged for those adolescents who live in high context families which place importance on obligation to others in the family, and unquestioned belief in old world traditions (Chave Herberg, 1993: Ogilvy, 1990). Italian teens and their families experience stress prior to the actual transitions teens experience for entry into post-secondary education or before they enter the workforce. Scabini and Galimberti (1995) suggest that at this stage there is a decrease in satisfaction with the existing equilibrium in the family and an urgent desire to change it. Ogilvy (1990) found that children in Asian families in Scotland did not perform in school as well as did children from Scottish families, and attributed this to the lack of opportunities they had for independence and individual initiative.

Peers and family both contribute to adolescent identity development. While research shows that ethnic and racial minority adolescents benefit from strong family and minority ethnic group supports, there is also evidence that intolerance, prejudice and discrimination impact on their self esteem (Martinez and Duke, 1991). As minority ethnic adolescents strive to fit in with their peers and to maintain positive supports from their family and cultural group, they face many challenges.

For the participants in this study, many aspects of the research that has been written, falls short of explaining the experience of teens and young adults who identify with minority ethnic groups. For example, the literature is mainly based on the dominant, middle class perspective of the greater society in which value is given for independence from family, individual decision making and pursuit of one's own goals. The notion that teens will and should move away from their families as they mature and prepare to enter adulthood is central in the literature pertaining to adolescent development (Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1984; Kelly, 1983; Erikson, 1963). For the participants in this study, value is placed on the collective nature of their families and community. For them, it is not expected that they will move away from family as they prepare to enter adulthood. In fact, in the South Asian context of family, those who leave the family to live independently, would do so only in a crisis situation. The participants viewed their North American

friends from the dominant cultural groups as disadvantaged because they are often expected to move out of the family home after high school completion. All of the participants in this study shared this view and felt themselves to be privileged to have their parents' support both emotional and financial through all of their education.

The literature explains that for teens from the dominant cultural groups, families tend to be an important source of support for crises situations, but parental support is not sought on a routine basis (Frey and Rothlisberger, 1996). In the small community, family is the source of support, encouragement on an ongoing daily basis. Many participants had lengthy discussions with their parents on a daily basis. For some who attended university, there were daily phone calls to parents and weekly visits to the family home. The participants did not view this contact as problematic, or the result of controlling, coercive families. They saw their parents as a source of support and that it was respectful to maintain very close and frequent communications with the parents, siblings, extended family members and even members of the community.

Decreased involvement with family is viewed as positive as teens move toward adulthood (Erikson, 1963). The participants in this study experienced positive benefits from wider social networks as they interacted with peers from all cultures during teen years. However, they tended to expect increased involvement with family as they entered adulthood. This would occur as many participants marry and have children. They expected their parents to be highly involved in the raising of their children. Also, as parents age, the teens expected to be involved in their care and many expected that their parents or the parents of a future partner if they marry an Indian spouse, will live in their homes.

Conflict emerges in North American families as a result of demands faced by teens in relation to their activities which are external to the family and, in turn, the demands they place on family for money, transportation and scheduling of activities (Manning, 1990; Scambini and Galimberti, 1995). In South Asian families in this study, activities were family based. Parents participated with their children in many activities such as family gatherings, sports events, picnics and vacation travel. Also, the parents seemed to be willing to drive their children to events when asked and they are the financiers of their children's activity if and when they agree to it. However, the nature of approved activity meant that some participants had more opportunities to interact with peers than others. Those whose families adhered to small community values, were more restricted in their ability to interact with peers.

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The literature on adolescents and teens in North America is based on the value system of the western world. For the teens in this study, whose value system is not western, the literature fails to explain their experience. For example, Ogilvy (1990) studied school achievement of South Asian teens in Scotland and determined that the South Asians had lower school achievement levels than teens from Scottish families. The conclusion was that these children had fewer opportunities for independence from family, which is highly valued in the context of North America and European cultures. Also that children, like those in the Scottish comparison group, had more flexible structure in their homes than did the South Asian children who were all from Muslim families. However, the study paid little attention to the class structure of the community and to the fact that all of the South Asian children came from working class homes, that one third of the Scottish children came from middle class homes, and the apparent poverty level of the South Asian children and their families, which probably had a significant impact on their health and overall ability to achieve academically.

Research indicates the importance of family social networks because of the positive influence they have on the lives of adolescents (Benson, Curtner-Smith, Collins and Keith, 1995). However, teens from the dominant cultural groups do not always have opportunities for interaction with extended friendship groups as part of their family's social networks. In the context of the family of South Asian adolescents, extended families and large social networks in the community are prevalent and are an integral part of life for these teens. Participants in this study who had achieved a sense of balance in their lives, had ongoing and supportive relationships with their immediate family members, as well as with extended family members and people from their ethnic community. They realized benefits from these extended family ties and recognize the cultural group as an important aspect of their lives. For many participants, the experience of large family friendship groups is superior to the existence they see their friends living where families and individuals are isolated from the family group in their pursuit of individual goals. Coontz (1992) suggests that Anglo-Americans view the notion of dependence on others as "immature, weak, shameful or uniquely feminine" (p. 45). Whereas in other cultures, like the South Asian culture of the participants in this study, interdependence with family and community is essential to well-being and survival of all. Bellah et al (1985) explain the notion of community in the context of American society:

> Whereas a community attempts to be an inclusive whole, celebrating the interdependence of public and private life and of the callings of all, lifestyle is fundamentally segmented

and celebrates the narcissism of similarity. It usually explicitly involves a contrast with others who "do not share one's lifestyle." (p. 72)

Later, they discuss the notion of communities of memory, a real community, that does not forget its past. Bellah et al (1985) view the ethnic communities that have survived in the United States as communities of memory, in which the "collective history and exemplary individuals are an important part of the traditions" (p. 153). These authors argue that for most Americans the pursuit of self-reliance and the high value placed on the notion of freedom from commitment and obligation, leaves many people who may wish to connect with others, may in fact be unable to do so. However, the connection among people in the community of which the participants are members, is very strong and enduring. They will always have a collective history and exemplary people considered central to their community.

4.2   Leisure: The small community and in the greater society.

4.2.1   The leisure literature

Research has resulted in a wealth of information about leisure and the leisure experience in what I have called the greater society. From the literature we have a good sense about what contributes to a person defining an experience as leisure. Freedom of choice is believed to be a concept that is central to the leisure experience (Neulinger, 1974; Iso-Ahola, 1979; Kelly, 1987 and 1983: Shaw 1985). Those who have studied women's leisure have found that women look to their leisure in order to realise a sense of autonomy and self determination (Samuel, 1992; Freysinger & Flannery, 1992). Shaw (1985) and Samdahl (1988) have identified enjoyment, relaxation, intrinsic motivation, lack of evaluation, lack of constraints, sense of involvement, and self expression, as factors that North Americans find to be important components of their leisure. Beard and Ragheb (1980) developed a method for measuring the concept of leisure satisfaction. Wearing (1990) found that women, and particularly women who are mothers, actively seek time and space for themselves in order to pursue their own leisure. Mobily (1989) found that adolescents define leisure and recreation in somewhat different terms. For adolescents, leisure was defined as pleasurable experience that was most likely to be passive activity and recreation was defined as pleasurable experience that was more likely to be considered as active sports (Mobily, 1989). However, little information exists that explains how leisure and recreation are viewed or understood by people who are not part of the dominant culture of North America.

The literature indicates different ethnic groups hold distinct orientations towards such concepts as time and space, general life values and competition and co-operation (Hughes, Seidman & Williams,

1993), toward the notion of leadership and the enactment of leadership (Camino, 1995). In my previous study about the lives and leisure of immigrant women, the women explained that for them the concept of 'private time' was a problem. The women used the term 'private time' to describe the desire of most North American women to have time alone or away from their families and homes, in order to do things that they enjoyed. The women from India and Pakistan did not seek time alone, nor did they value it. The women centred their lives around their families and their homes. Many of them had been raised in joint families, meaning that their immediate families shared their homes with extended family members like aunts, uncles and especially grandparents. The women discussed their view of the North American concept of 'private time', which they believed to be selfish, because in their lives they derive satisfaction, fulfilment, enjoyment and relaxation from their involvement with their children, husbands and extended family members. For North American women, 'private time', or time away from the pressures of everyday life and one's family, is an essential part of leisure. For the immigrant women, 'private time' often resulted in feelings of loneliness and sometimes even depression. The leisure of the immigrant women, if they did in fact have such a concept in their lives, involved their families, and often other relatives and friends, who visited in their homes and shared dinners, picnics and other social activities (Tirone & Shaw, 1997).

As children reach their adolescent years school becomes increasingly important for evaluating and competence testing, but activity that occurs outside of the formal structured classroom setting provides them with an opportunity to develop friendships, support systems and to experiment with adult roles with their peers (Kelly, 1983). The development of personal identity is more likely to be tied to free time activity than to work or school work (Shaw, Kleiber and Caldwell, 1995).

The theoretical literature that has focused on leisure and personal development indicates leisure plays an important role in development, and some activities may be more beneficial to development than others (Shaw, Kleiber and Caldwell, 1995). Leisure activities that occur within the school system, such as sports events, dances and informal social interactions provide the opportunity for teens to realise their acceptance by peers and to develop their own definition of competence. The results of these opportunities endure, contributing to sense of identity in adulthood (Kelly, 1983). Play and leisure provide opportunities for learning, for exploring social roles and developing a sense of community, and for developing social, productive, sexual and personal identities. Adolescents experience a broadening of social interactions which draws them away from intimate contacts they previously had with family and close friends and provides opportunity to learn to cope with the multiple identities needed to negotiate

their world. Leisure provides the most common setting for social development. In leisure settings teens experience friendships and eventually begin courtship; leisure provides the context within which teens begin to explore adult social roles and learn what is valued by peer groups in terms of appearance, vocabulary, music, behaviours and social trends; in leisure teens learn to prepare for productive roles by playing on teams and accepting responsibility for their participation in activities (Kelly, 1983).

Shaw, Kleiber and Caldwell (1995) found that gender is an important factor which must be accounted for when studying the relationship between leisure and identity development. For example, they found males were more likely than females to report an image of themselves as physically active and more likely to consider this to be important than were females; self esteem scores were higher for males than for females; for females, participation in sports was positively associated with identity development, but not for males: and females were less likely to identify themselves as being physically active. This study also found that television watching was negatively associated with identity development for males but not for females (Shaw et al., 1995).

Adolescents do not always engage in leisure pursuits that provide positive and meaningful benefits. Yardley, McCaul, Baker, Hornibrook and Christian (1996) used several measurement scales to assess recreation behaviour and substance use of Canadian high school aged adolescents. Their study determined that a negative correlation exists between involvement in individual and team sports, and the use of alcohol, tobacco, and marijuana. Also, the relationship between recreation activities like clubs, organisations, volunteer work, family recreation, hobbies and church activities and the use of these same harmful substances were also negatively correlated. From this study there seems to be an indication that participation in team and individual activities, and in organised recreation activities are part of a healthy lifestyle for teens. This study also found positive correlation's between the use of alcohol, tobacco and marijuana and social activities, dating, gambling and sexual behaviours (Yardley, et al., 1996) This study indicates that some leisure activities are linked to positive lifestyle habits while others are not.

Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1984) use the concept of flow to explain how adolescents benefit from experiences that provide a gradual increase in complexity of a person's skill. They describe the benefits derived by those who have the capacity to create meaning by relating bits of information to one another and to one's goals. Teen's cannot avoid psychic entropy or disorder by just playing a sport or participating in music lessons. They need to find meaning in the events that create disorder, and which cause boredom, rage or despair. With this understanding, they will be able to relate events to their own goals, and to develop a life theme to guide the growth process (Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1984).

As has been explained previously, extracurricular activities at school and activities in the community provide adolescents with important and even crucial opportunities for identity development, for social support, and to experiment with adult roles. These activities as well as other leisure opportunities contribute positively to personal development but our understanding of what opportunities exist for leisure for minority ethnic youth is limited.

Yu and Berryman (1995) studied recreation activity participation with immigrant Chinese adolescents in New York City. Their study found that recreation activity patterns were guided by the values of the Chinese culture and that the adolescents participated mostly in home based recreational activities, and preferred to do activities with Chinese rather than non-Chinese adolescents. Language and cultural barriers prevented greater involvement with non-Chinese participants, and for those immigrant adolescents in low-income families, barriers were greater than for those in middle to upper income families (Yu and Berryman, 1995).

The literature on leisure constraints, as mentioned earlier in Section 1.1, has attempted to provide a framework for exploring how some factors in people's lives limits or negatively affects their leisure (Crawford, Jackson & Godbey, 1991). For example some factors such as the presence of young children in families of the dominant cultural groups, constrains parents from some activities they may like to do. Crawford, Jackson and Godbey (1991) looked at three kinds of constraints; intrapersonal or those affecting a person's preference for certain activity, interpersonal or those factors relating to the need for others to be present in order to experience leisure, and structural constraints, referring to those factors such as lack of money or transportation which constrain leisure. For those people who experience life as part of the dominant cultural groups, the constraint model is useful for discussing challenges they face in their leisure, but it is not necessarily helpful with ethnic minority people, who do not necessarily share the same value placed on leisure as do the dominant cultural groups.

To understand leisure for participants in this study, the constraints literature is helpful in some instances but not in others. For example for many, choices made regarding use of free or discretionary time involved parents, siblings and other family members. Some people had few if any friends outside of their family and kinship group. For the participant known as Bibi within this study, family and religion were important and central to her experience of leisure. She explained that some sport activity that she had enjoyed in her early life in Bangladesh were no longer possible because in Canada she was required to wear shorts for some activity, or a bathing suit for swimming. This clothing was not permitted as part of her religion and she therefore chose to not participate in the activities. The issue of constraints is complicated by the aspect of choice. I believe Bibi chose to participate in her religion rather than in

sports activities. She explained that religion was extremely important to her and any behaviour or activity that interfered with her religion would cause her tremendous dissonance. I do not believe that it is possible to suggest that this person is constrained by her choice to be true to her religion. To do so imposes a western viewpoint on this woman's experience and tends to impose an ethnocentric view of what leisure should be. For the participant known as Steven, family was also central to his experience of leisure. He had friends outside of his family but they were secondary to the importance he placed on his involvement with his family. Again his choices regarding leisure often involved spending time with his parents and sister and not in activity with his peer group. To suggest that his leisure was constrained, imposes a set of western values on this person, who did not identify closely with the values of the dominant culture in Canada. For him those values related to leisure activity that takes place outside of the home and has little meaning.

Adolescents from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds will likely view leisure as an important aspect of their lives, as do most adolescents from the dominant culture. As well, they may attempt to pursue leisure activities that cause conflicts with their parents. In their pursuit of leisure opportunities, they will also likely face challenges or constraints as a result of systemic racism, prejudice and discrimination or simply as a result of parental disapproval or control exerted over their activities.

4.2.2   Leisure in the small community and the greater society

Little has been written in the leisure literature about leisure and ethnicity or cultural variations. Where North American researchers have looked at the leisure in both the context of the dominant cultures of North America and within minority ethnic cultures, they often use a western framework for comparing activities or use of time in what North Americans view as leisure without examining the implications of class, gender, ethnicity, race and age. Van Dyke's (1972) notion of a continuum between the small community and the greater society helps to explain some different aspects of leisure for the young adults and teenage participants in this study and their families.

Using the findings of this and my earlier research I have constructed a comparison between the little community and the greater society in terms of leisure.

Figure 5: Leisure in the Small Community and the Greater Society

Small Community

- Collectivism

- Personal Relationships

- Private time may be peripheral to satisfaction, relaxation, enjoyment and fulfillment

- Family and home centered leisure

- Opportunities exist for the exchange of ideas, feedback

- Socialization among homogeneous group

- Media, esp. TV is a source of information about greater society, as well as entertainment

- Avoidance of emulation of TV images and leisure pursuits of the greater

Greater Society

- Individualist

- Relationships are impersonal

- Private time is highly valued aspect of

- Many choices for leisure pursuits

- Leisure is centered both in and out of home

- Few opportunities exist for exchange of ideas

- Social group is large, often not family or kinship group,

- Media and TV are source of entertainment, emulation of TV images, fashion, values, behaviors including leisure behavior

On the left side of **Figure 5** are the characteristics of leisure in the small community. Here leisure, like other aspects of life as described by Van Dyke, is based on people functioning as a collective and the personal relationships between people. As with the women immigrants from India, 'private time' may be peripheral to their sense of satisfaction, enjoyment, relaxation and fulfillment which are all aspects of the leisure experience for many North Americans in the greater society. In contrast, in the small community, leisure is centered in the home and occurs most often within the family.

Based on intense family and community ties there is opportunity in the small community for the exchange of ideas and for people to receive feedback from their family members and from their community. The exchange of ideas is not always positive. On this aspect of leisure, two of the participants who reviewed the analysis disagreed that discussion and exchange of ideas with parents and extended family members is or ever was a part of their lives. They find their parents to be closed minded and they do not want to share their personal concerns with them. However, these two participants and their families were very assimilated into the greater society. Therefore the notion of discussion with parents is no longer an important aspect of their family leisure. Their parents were medical practitioners and functioned primarily within the dominant culture for their work. The parents also seemed to permit these two participants far more freedom and autonomy than the other participants were able to experience. This was evident in their freedom to use the family car to go out with friends, and to have considerable amounts of time by themselves while the parents worked long hours. A contrast to this is the mother of the brother and sister participants. This woman was also a medical practitioner in Bangladesh and is not willing to do similar work here if it means she cannot be home when her children are home from school.

Socialization occurs among members of the small community who tend to be homogeneous in terms of cultural and religious background. The last aspect of life, is the influence of the media on the leisure of the small community. For the families of the participants in this study, the media, and especially television and movies, impacts their lives as a form of entertainment and a major source of information about the greater society. Most of the time, the strong adherents of the small community avoid emulation of the ideas portrayed in the media and find them to be disruptive when they believe their children are trying to adopt aspects of the TV world into their lives.

On the opposite side of **Figure 5** is my description of leisure that is typical within the greater society which is based on both Van Dyke (1972) and the description of leisure provided by

the participants in this study. Here, leisure is valued as an individualistic pursuit and often occurs among people who do not tend to have close ties with one another. Private time is very highly valued as an aspect of life that allows leisure to occur. People in the greater society can take advantage of many choices of activity for their leisure, and leisure is centered both in the home and in the greater community. There are few opportunities for feedback about one's ideas in the greater community and social groups are large and heterogeneous, involving people of various cultural and religious backgrounds.

The media is an important aspect of life and leisure in the greater society. Advertising, television programming, movies, and other forms of mass media introduce consumer goods, values and behaviors to the dominant community. Television and other forms of media, supply images that are often far removed from real life, but the consumer often believes the images provide a sense of knowing how others live which creates "consumer expectations, satisfaction, motivation and desire" (O'Guinn & Shrum, 1997, p. 291). Rojek (1995) suggests that the media "dreamworlds of consumption" provide "fantasy escape routes which make ordinary life possible." (pp. 88-89). The media images, for the dominant culture, are used to structure one's everyday life as it relates to fashion, behaviors, and even values (Postman, 1985).

As outlined in **Figure 5,** some aspects of leisure are distinctly different between the two social groups on the continuum. As such, many of the concepts that tend to be used to describe or define leisure in North America require some change or adjustment if we are to try to determine what aspects of life are leisure for the people who are the focus of this study and possibly for others who identify with minority ethnic cultures in Canada.

Further, some aspects of the lifestyle of those who identify with minority ethnic groups are problematic. For some participants, life and leisure in the small community does not offer a sense of satisfaction, fulfillment, enjoyment and relaxation that people desire, especially once they have been exposed to life and leisure in the greater community.

4.2.3   A critical review of leisure in the context of this study

As described in **Figure 5,** leisure in the small community is different from that in the greater society. The literature that looks at leisure is primarily about greater society and the aspects of life that people value in their leisure. The literature that looks at leisure for ethnic minority groups, draws on the leisure literature from the dominant groups, to define leisure for the minority groups. For example, the concept of leisure is a western perspective which uses the notion of

freedom of choice, autonomy and self-determination to define itself. In this study, the notions of freedom of choice, autonomy and self-determination are not highly valued aspects of life for parents who had remained entrenched in the small community. However, for some of the children in the small community, these aspects of leisure were highly valued. In the context of life for those in traditional families, all aspects of life are based on the notion of the collective. Individual pursuit of goals is not valued and is clearly discouraged.

Social networks outside of the home are highly valued, especially for teens in the dominant cultural groups (Kinney, 1993). These are seen as normal, healthy and important for contributing to individual identity development. Social networks that often develop through leisure, are viewed positively for their contribution to the maturation process and to the notion that as adults, people will need to live independently. They will require skills, often learned through leisure, for self-reliance and to be able to pursue and realize individual goals.

In the small community, social networks are family and kinship networks. These have provided guidance, and support to the teens and will continue to do so as the teens mature and enter adulthood. In the small community, extended family and community members provide care for children of working parents and for elderly, ill and disabled people, they may be a source of job opportunities for teens and young adults, and they provide constant companionship.

As discussed in the context of **Figure 4**, many families and their teen and young adult children have not remained within the small community structure. Some families have moved along the continuum, toward the greater society. In these situations, families and their teen and young adult children have achieved balance between the small community and the greater society in terms of how much of each social group they wish to incorporate into their lives. For some families, the constant companionship and support of the close family and community of the small community has outlived its usefulness. More satisfaction in life, for some, is derived from the greater society and the independence it offers. These families have opted to include some aspects of the small community in their lives, but not all. They have avoided practicing some traditions to the extent that would be expected if they were to remain truly grounded in the traditions of the small, traditional community. Therefore, in **Figure 4**, they are shown as having moved somewhere between the two cultures and in fact many of the teens in this study described their lives as encompassing aspects of two cultures, without being burdened by either one.

However, not all families have moved together along the continuum as a family group. The next section will explain how some teens and young adults have moved along the continuum and

away from their families. For these young people, the families have remained grounded in the small community, which no longer has enough meaning or significance to provide the young people with what they desire in terms of life satisfaction, jobs and leisure.

4.3   Beyond the family: Leisure and conflict

In Chapter 3 some study participants described attempts to move along the continuum, and beyond the small community without the support of their families. For many, parents remained committed to their traditional beliefs in some, if not all aspects of their lives. When the participants tried to move away from these traditions, as was the case with aspects of the leisure experience, the participants were challenged by their parents to remain true to what were seen as traditional values and behaviors. In some cases this resulted in conflict between the participants and their parents.

Movement along the continuum from the small community to the greater society was fueled by the high value placed on education by the parents of the participants. The parents see education as the means by which their children will get a good job, or have the best life possible. Also, a good job for children will contribute to the well-being of the whole family, especially for those families in which all family members share the resources of a family business or a joint family home. However, school attendance caused the adolescents to be in contact with the greater society. As a result of attending Canadian schools, the participants experienced life in ways that were quite different from the lives of many of their parents. Leisure was one of the main aspects of life in the greater society that was different.

Some of the participants actively sought contact with friends in the greater society. When the parents of these people also interacted with the greater society, there was little tension or stress experienced by anyone. Everyone enjoyed aspects of both the small community and the greater society as explained. However, in some cases the participants were not able to fully enjoy their leisure experience. This section will discuss the conditions that existed for some participants who experienced conflict related to their leisure. In some cases, the teens traveled toward the greater society, but their parents did not. As the teens began to pursue a life that was more inclined to value the pursuit of individual goals, which of course had not been chosen by their parents, the level of dissonance in the family increased. The level of dissonance for the participants often decreased when they were able to experience aspects of the greater society, but tensions existed between them and their parents. For others, there was little movement along the continuum and the

participants remained entrenched in the values of their traditional family and the small community. However, some of these participants experienced dissonance. The conflict for them related to the idea of wanting to have the leisure experiences they saw their friends involved in, but being prevented from participating, due to the strict rules of the family and the small community. Both of these situations, that is, seeking and avoiding leisure in the greater society, caused conflict for some participants. Each will be discussed in the following section.

4.3.1 The conditions for conflict in leisure

The conflict that emanated from the desire of some adolescents and young adults to move beyond the restrictions and constraints they experienced within their family and within their small community is depicted in **Figure 6**.
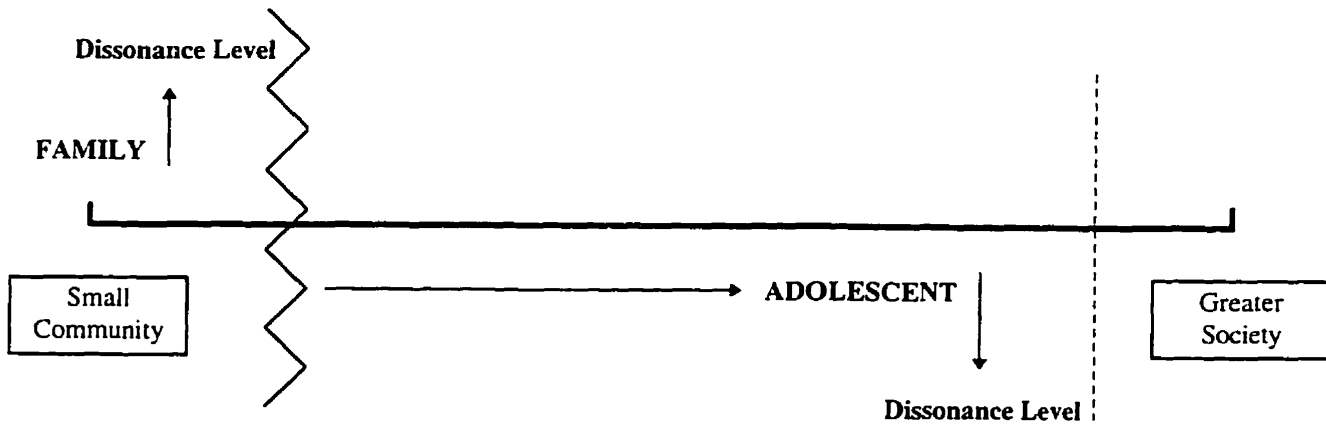

Figure 6: Assimilation and conflict

Along with the education and academic training that most of the participants' parents consider to be very good in Canadian schools, the teens are exposed to friends, the media and other aspects of the greater society that introduce them to a different set of values and behaviors. Leisure and social behaviors of the greater society inevitably are attractive to the South Asian teens as they

realize the potential for self actualization, for freedom, for choice and other aspects of the leisure experience that they learn to value. However, movement away from the family and toward the greater society may not be acceptable to some of the parents.

As some teens and young adults become increasingly comfortable with the values and behaviors of the greater society, some of the parents remain grounded in their traditional communities, with their traditional beliefs and values. That is, as the young people move along the continuum, some parents do not move and experience dissonance as a result of their children moving away from them. Many examples were provided from the data which described how reluctant the parents were to allow their children to enter the greater society through socialization with teens from the greater community. Many times the participants said that education related activity was permitted, but if anything caused them to be distracted from their studies, they were restricted from that activity.

For the teens who want to fit into the greater society and want opportunities to choose the things they want to do and what they want to be, their level of dissonance decreases as they move along the continuum. Evidence of this was very pronounced as the teens discussed their desire for time for themselves and the freedom some realized as they entered university and began living away from home for the first time.

As the teens and young adults moved away from the traditional values of their families, parental and family dissonance level increased as indicated by the jagged line on **Figure 6**. Simultaneously the dissonance levels for teens decreased as they moved toward the greater society. However, many teens and young adults were hampered in their efforts to move toward the greater society by the intolerance and racism that exists among some members of the greater society. As study participants described, people were exposed to racist remarks, and incidents of intolerance that prevented them from feeling comfortable within the greater society. The barrier to full assimilation is indicated in **Figure 6** by the dotted lined. Also of interest here is the fact that many of the participants do not want full immersion or full assimilation into the dominant culture. Some teens have not opted to challenge the constraints imposed on them by their families. They function within a vast set of limits that correspond with what the parents remember about India, Pakistan or Bangladesh. In some cases these were understood to be part of the family heritage or culture, but at times, the limits seemed very unreasonable to the participants. There was a sense of having missed out on important aspects of the greater society, including leisure. For some, this realization occurred when participants had moved away from home and learned that their friends had

experienced many thing that they were not allowed to do done during their younger years. Other people knew as teenagers that they were missing out on many of the opportunities that their friends were able to experience.

The experience of those who felt they had missed out on leisure is depicted in **Figure 7**. This shows the situation of those who are unable to negotiate with their parents in order to experience as much of the greater society as they might like. For them, many aspects of life in the greater society are beyond reach. For those who are not able to move beyond the confines of traditional families, there is a sense of missing out on leisure experience. In these cases, the dissonance level of the teens and young adults may be quite high, as they are constrained by their cultural background. However, as long as the teens do not challenge the rules, the parents maintain a relatively low dissonance level. The dissonance levels of the parents and children in this situation are indicated by the arrows on the left hand side of the diagram.
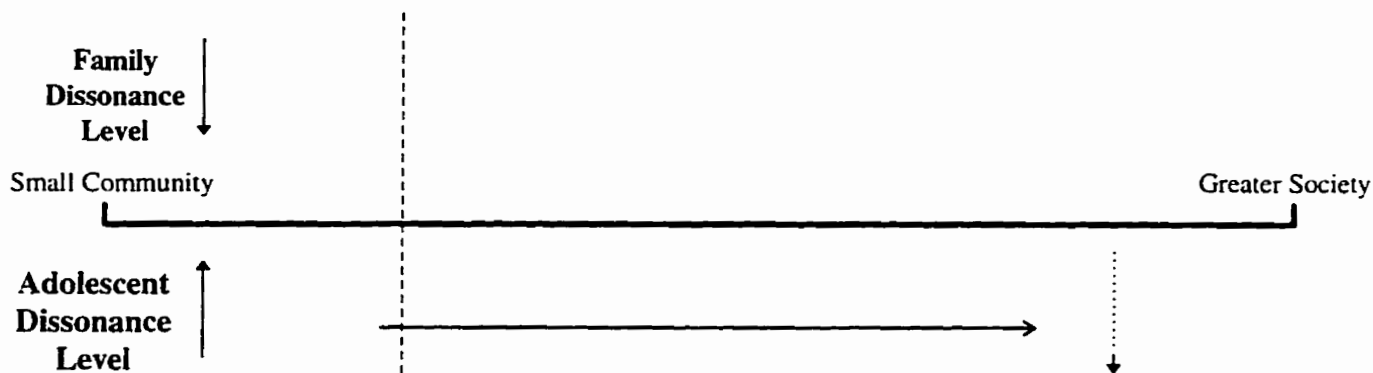
Figure 7: Commitment to family and culture: Missing out on leisure

For those participants who were able to move toward the greater society, dissonance decreased as indicated by the dotted arrow on the right-hand side of the diagram. Others simply tried to cope with the notion of missing out on leisure opportunities.

Age and gender were factors that impacted the ability of some participants to move beyond the family and the small community. As the participants explained, males had far more

opportunities to choose the activities they liked and to go beyond the family and into the greater society for leisure. Females also expect that they will face further limitations to their leisure when they have children and if and when they enter into situations where their parents or in-laws live with them and require health or personal care supports.

Age is another factor that affected the leisure opportunities of the participants. Many people explained that they during early school years and in high school, they experienced factors such as disapproval by parents or racism which prevented them from enjoying leisure. However, often as people entered their late teens and early twenties, they had reached agreements with parents which provided them with more freedom in their lives and leisure. They were also less bothered by racist remarks and incidents of intolerance that they continue to face in leisure as well as in other aspects of their lives.

Leisure may play a significant role in the assimilation process, in that it may provide an opportunity for some minority teens to realize new skills and other benefits from leisure. However, it can also present challenges to cultural continuity and sustainability as the parents and their children struggle with just how much assimilation may be permitted in order for all members of the family to be satisfied with their lives.

4.3.2   Community, ethnicity and adolescence: A literature review

Aside from interactions with friends and family, adolescent development is affected by the extent to which teens have access to other opportunities within the community. Schools, the workplace, organisations that provide leisure opportunities, churches and other institutions afford adolescents important opportunities for self-directed learning and the chance to experiment with adult roles (Zeldin and Price, 1995; Blyth and Leffert, 1995).

In the past, survival depended on interdependence within one's family and community (Coontz, 1992). It used to be that people were expected to get married, stay married and have children, and society emphasised working hard and loyalty to community, family and employers (Bibby, 1990). Now, the focus has shifted to the individual and our well-being is measured in terms closely related to personal and material possessions (Bibby, 1990; Schor, 1992). Schor (1992) believes that in placing priorities on spending and consumer consumption, Americans have exchanged free time for making more money. The free time that may have once been available for family, home and community is now spent at work and a collective sense of belonging to one's community may no longer be a reality for many.

Adolescents are affected by these trends. The following is an overview of how some aspects of community affect adolescent development. The community as an association or geographical location will be discussed along with school, jobs and religions.

The teenage years are a time of transition, growth and emergence during which teens experiment with various social roles and begin to make decisions about their future lives. The research on teens who identify with the dominant cultural groups tells us that above all else, teens value the relationships they have with their friends (Bibby and Posterski, 1992; Frey and Rothlisberger, 1996; Kinney, 1993). Peer relationships have a profound influence on the process of development experienced by teens. A supportive adolescent peer group is the primary social arena in which adolescents develop a healthy sense of their own identity (Kinney, 1993). In fact, the main reason that teens have for liking school seems to be because that is where they find their friends (Kleiber and Rickards, 1985). Research has shown that peer relationships, popularity, appearance and physical strength are more important to adolescents than academic achievements (Tashakkori, 1993).

Eder and Kinney (1995) in their study of the self esteem in teenagers, found that popularity and peer status stem from being known by your classmates, and that participation in male athletic events, which were the main cultural events of school, afforded high visibility and high prestige. Therefore, male athletes were potential members of the elite peer groups. Elite group membership was not automatic but depended on verbal and other interactional skills as well as athletic ability. Similar levels of visibility and status were afforded to females who participated in the male athletic events as cheerleaders and as friends of the cheerleaders (Eder and Kinney, 1995). Physical prowess, toughness and competition characterise the most highly esteemed male activities while physical attractiveness, poise and support of male achievement afford esteem to females (Eder and Kinney, 1995). In early adolescence, concerns and self-concepts emerge. During this time males report being concerned about being successful and their self-concepts are related to achievement. For females in the United States, concerns relate to being well liked and self-concepts reflect and emphasis on interpersonal relationships and attractiveness (Eder and Kinney, 1995).

Although teens place great importance on their relationships with their friends, guidance and support of family members continue to play an important part in the healthy development of teenagers who identify with the dominant cultural groups. Adolescents view parents as an important source of affection, reliable alliance, enhancement of worth and instrumental aid (Clark-Lempers, Lempers and Ho, 1991). Studies also indicate that adolescents turn to their families rather than to friends for a wider range of supports both in emergency situations and on an everyday basis (Frey and Rothlisberger, 1996).

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However, families in North America emphasise individual success, happiness and accomplishments, and family togetherness tends to happen only to the extent that it meets the needs of the individual family members (Chave Herberg, 1993).

Relatively little is known about the influence school authorities have on peer relationships, friendships and issues that concern students at the high school level (Eder and Kinney, 1995). However, there is significant evidence indicating that schools do not provide equal opportunity for all teens to develop academically, socially and emotionally.

Journalist Myrna Kostash (1987) interviewed about fifty teenage girls in three major Canadian cities and found that many traditional myths which compare the abilities of girls unfavourably to the abilities of boys, still guide school academic and extracurricular activities. She found that girls are not encouraged to take math and sciences, thus eliminating them from opportunities for post secondary education in fields like engineering, science and math. Also, there are differences drawn along gender lines as to how students are treated in the classroom. Boys are praised more by teachers, given more academic help and are louder and more talkative whereas, girls are rewarded with praise for being neat, polite, and studious (Kostash, 1987). Further, Baker (1985) found that school authorities tended to channel students of working class backgrounds into non-academic streams regardless of whether or not they had demonstrated intellectual ability.

Participation in athletics is known to enhance the status of males in high school, and male athletic events are highly valued by school officials as well as by the community. Female athletic events tend to be less well supported, even though they may occur as frequently as do male athletic events (Eder and Kinney, 1995). Eder and Kinney (1995) also found that female coaches often experience criticism from male coaches as they try to promote or garner support for female athletics at the high school level. Females who participate in athletics are assessed by peers according to traditional beliefs about feminine, ladylike behaviour (Kane, 1988). School sponsored activities tend to support traditional gender roles, where toughness, competition and physical strength are valued highly for males and where physical attractiveness, poise and support of male achievement are activities that typically afford high visibility and status to females (Eder and Kinney, 1995; Kane, 1988).

Since school authorities control the extracurricular activities that are offered in high schools, they have a tremendous influence over both the opportunities available for teens to develop friendships and the values ascribed to the activities that are favoured by the schools.

School sponsored activities, which tend to be quite diversified at the high school level, contribute to some adolescents placing less concern on their popularity than they did prior to entering high school

(Kinney, 1993). Kinney (1993) found that those students who were unpopular, or who were labelled as nerds in middle-school, had more opportunities for involvements in diverse activities in high school, which contributed to increased self esteem, and a positive sense of identity within the social system. The increased number of specialised activities at the high school level offered opportunities for meeting others with similar interests and for the development of friendships based on these interests. Activities like chess club, yearbook, music, theatre, science and language clubs, offered students opportunities for involvement that did not exist before high school. Furthermore, when opportunities for participation arose in high school teens found they contributed to their increased feelings of self confidence and they became less concerned with how others viewed them (Kinney, 1993).

Less than half of the teenagers surveyed by Bibby and Posterski (1992) reported that they enjoyed their experience in school, and more than seventy-five percent find school to be very stressful. Stress faced by teens in school is likely the result of many complex factors. Kostash (1987) found that many teens face a growing problem of crime within the schools ranging from weapons being made in shop class to drug traffickers targeting teens in downtown city schools. She reports that the "school cop" is a fixture in Edmonton, Alberta inner-city schools. Bibby and Posterski (1992) found that schools provide governments with an institution for dealing with many social issues and they now offer sex education, drug and AIDS education, which in the past may have happened in the family or did not happen at all.

Since employers want an employment ready workforce, schools have to provide job training especially for new technologies. Teens are affected by the pressure to be job ready and by the high expectation their parents place on achievement. Fifty percent of adolescents say they expect to graduate from high school and go on to post secondary education, but only 15% actually go to university and only half of those who hope to attend colleges actually do (Bibby and Posterski, 1992).

Research indicates support for increased involvement of teens in activities outside of school. Phillips and Sandstrom (1990) found that youth are isolated in schools where they have little contact with adults and with real life situations. Contact with the community in both the formal workforce and as volunteers is thought to be a beneficial aspect of teen development. Shumer (1994) studied a program of community based learning in which high school students spent two days each week in community settings in order to learn how basic skills and knowledge are applied in practical instances. The program was characterised by individualised instruction, small group work, counselling, student initiated learning and a high level of teacher involvement. The program had significant impact on grades and attendance

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which were attributed to the increased amount of choice students had in the program, personal attention, and interaction and contact with adults (Shumer, 1994).

The involvement of teens in community is believed to have a positive impact on their development (Blyth & Leffert, 1995). However, there is evidence that teens do not have equitable access to opportunities in the community, like jobs and training opportunities and even when they do, some are still disadvantaged when they venture out to find permanent jobs.

For many teens, school is just one institution placing demands upon their time and energy. In both the United States and Canada at least half of all teens face the demands of the double shift in that they are employed as part time workers as well as attending high school (Bibby and Posterski, 1992; Manning, 1990; Schor, 1992). Other studies indicate that some teens work as much as forty hours each week or more while attempting to attend school full time (Schor, 1992). However, the access that teens have to the workplace and the extent by which they benefit from work are not equitable.

Youth work is a middle class phenomenon (Mortimer, Finch, Owens and Shanahan, 1990; Manning, 1990; Phillips and Sandstrom, 1990; Hamilton and Powers, 1990). Research has shown that adolescents from white families with higher incomes are more likely to be employed and are more likely to enter the work force at earlier ages than non-white teens and those from families in lower socio-economic groups (Keithly and Deseran, 1995; Mortimer, et al., 1990). Phillips and Sandstrom (1990) found that the more affluent parents of teens in their study tended to have higher aspirations for their children's education and they also tended to want their children working at earlier ages. Since educational achievements are usually thought to be a means to achieve and maintain high social status, one might expect that parents would place a higher priority on school than work. This study showed that most white, middle-class parents, in fact, approved of youth work and they attributed work to greater independence, improved self-esteem, better work habits, and to improved communication within the family and improved attitudes toward school (Phillips and Sandstrom, 1990; Mortimer and Shanahan, 1994). Parents in another study reported that youth employment tended to increase the likelihood of conflict within families over such issues as staying out late, smoking, drinking and drugs, money, school and getting along within the family (Manning, 1990).

Kostash (1987) and others have found that teens from families in the lower socio-economic groups were less likely to be working part time while attending school than middle-class kids. She believes this is partly due to the demand placed on the teens to fit the corporate image of the service sector employee and in part on the access teens have to contacts in the work force who may be potential employers. Keithly and Desiran (1995) found that teens in higher income households had advantages for

accessing jobs due to the number of contacts family members have in the workplace. Other research by Hamilton and Powers (1990) indicates that for girls from working class backgrounds, no matter how much work experience they had and regardless of the amount of planning that went into finding a job, they were still unlikely to find jobs after high school completion.

Even though teens from the well off families have some advantages in finding employment, they still tend to be employed in low-wage, service sector jobs. Teens provide a ready and willing workforce for the growing number of low-wage service sector employers (Schor, 1992). For most teens, work not only affords them with income of their own, but is also recognised as an important context for socialisation and leads to greater independence (Manning, 1990; Kostash, 1987). Many teens work simply to satisfy their own desire for consumer goods (Kostash, 1987; Schor, 1992). Kostash (1987) found that teens have acquired expensive tastes for "drugs, imported vodka, designer jeans, fifty-dollar haircuts" (p.207).

Other studies have provided evidence of what the teens themselves view to be the advantages of work. Teens believe that jobs contribute to improved sense of personal and social responsibility, that work will make them more employable after completing school and that it will contribute to their knowledge and skill that will be necessary in adulthood (Hamilton and Powers, 1990; Mortimer and Shanahan, 1994). Mortimer et al (1990) found that girls have higher aspirations than do boys, in that girls aspire to combine work, marriage and parenthood roles. This same study found that girls who tend to be employed in private households as baby-sitters and doing office work and restaurant work, found their jobs allowed more opportunities for innovative thinking, variety, and for the development of job skills than did boys and that boys, who worked outdoors and did heavy labour, received higher wages for their jobs than did girls (Mortimer, et al, 1990).

Although the benefits of social interaction are well recognised, the participation of teens in the work force presents many problems. Manning (1990) found that parents of working teens are unhappy with their diminished control over the teens' hours away from home and over spending. Also, teachers have indicated that those who work long hours and attend school full time tend to fall asleep in class, get low grades and are unable to participate in extracurricular activities (Schor, 1992). Another problem especially prevalent among female teens who work full time and do not attend school, is that they face jobs that are low in status, badly paid, offer little opportunity for advancement and provide few if any benefits (Kostash, 1987).

Schor (1992) reports that in large, urban American centres, poor immigrant girls as young as twelve years of age have been found working full time day jobs in what she describes as "nineteenth

century sweatshops" and children of much younger ages are part of the migrant farm labour force. These children have little opportunity for school as they must contribute to the economy of the family if the family is to survive (Schor, 1992).

Only about one third of working teens find their jobs to be highly enjoyable (Bibby and Posterski, 1992) which is quite understandable if one considers the conditions teens face in the workplace. Kostash (1987) found that teens working in fast food restaurants often bought their own expensive leather shoes because of the danger of hot oil spills. She also found that teens experienced stress due to not knowing when a plain clothes inspector might come in and therefore the job had to always be done perfectly, while others in the service sector had to contend with drunk or disruptive customers and sexual harassment from their employers.

Jobs that are available to young workers have little to teach after the initial period of initiation (Hamilton and Powers, 1990). For teens from working class backgrounds who leave school and hope to support themselves and possibly a family, the prospects for finding a good job are grim. Gender, race and limited academic skills will continue to be barriers for large numbers of teen aged workers (Hamilton and Powers, 1990).

In the past, churches have made a significant contribution to Canada but many were authoritarian and oppressive (Bibby, 1990). Now, most churches offer something for everyone in the form of worship, choir, youth groups and other activities (Bibby, 1990). However few teens today place much value on involvement in organised religion (Bibby and Posterski, 1992).

Communities have become increasingly fragmented over the past forty years (Newborough, 1995). As an institution, churches have suffered a decline in support as a result of this. Canadians in general believe that governments are responsible for caring for people who have problems (Bibby, 1990). Therefore, teens have few adult role models who support organised religion and promote it as an aspect of community that teens will value as part of their lives.

According to John McKnight community is believed to be the "space where citizens prevail" (CBC Radio Works, 1994, p2) but any definition of community is complicated by many factors. The multidimensional nature of the term community is reflected in the following definitions often used to explain the notion of community: community may be considered to be an administrative or geopolitical location, such as a school district or polling district; it may be an association of people who share common norms or values, like a religious organisation; or it may be a geographical area corresponding to where people live, like a town or a neighbourhood. (Blyth and Leffert, 1995; Gaetz, 1992).

Communities in their fullest sense include more than goods and services in terms of housing, and roads and the infrastructure necessary for people to live, but also those things that provide a sense of humanity (Hasler, 1995; Whalen and Wynn, 1995). Hasler (1995) elaborates on this point by explaining that people need to have opportunities for conversation, opportunities to explore the limits and degree of their freedom and to develop friendships and companions. Community is also considered to be an important source of support for children, youth and families, through which values and norms are transmitted, and for the development of knowledge and competencies (Whalen and Wynn, 1995).

Involvement in community contributes to adolescent development by offering opportunities for the development of relationships beyond the home and school; for participation in groups which may lead to contributing to the welfare of others; for opportunities to widen personal support networks and for access to facilities, events and services (Blyth and Leffert, 1995). Community involvement contributes to both the notion of belonging and relationships one has with others, and to the notion of becoming or human development (Hasler, 1995).

Research on the contribution of healthy communities to the development of youth conducted by Blyth and Leffert (1995) indicates that youth in healthier communities were more likely to attend religious services, to feel that their schools and school personnel cared about them, they were more likely to be involved in structured leisure activity both within and outside of school, and were more likely to remain committed to their own learning. This study also indicates that youths with fewer personal assets benefited from living in a healthy community, which provided resources and opportunities to participate in activities and organisations.

Society is very clear about the necessity for teens to avoid behaviours that are detrimental to healthy development, such as drug and alcohol use, violence, sexual activity and pregnancy but there is a less clear idea of what society wants adolescents to achieve in a positive sense (Zeldin and Price, 1995). Whalen and Wynn (1995) discuss the valuable contribution to youth development made by youth serving organisations at the community level. They found that youth serving groups like religious organisations, sports groups, arts groups and other recreation organisations are characterised by flexibility, intentionality, responsibility and connectedness which contribute to the opportunities available for youth to experiment with various adult roles and promote community membership (Whalen and Wynn, 1995).

However, the delivery of youth services at the community level may be complicated by what Gaetz (1992) refers to as a lack of homogeneity in the concepts of youth and community. In his study of youth in Cork, Ireland, Gaetz found that communities often fail to determine collective consumption demands when planning and delivering youth services. All youth do not have the same needs, and their

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parents do not impose the same demands on community. Also, those families who tend to be more advantaged in terms of opportunities within the community, will participate more in the political and community development processes and are more likely to have their consumption needs met than those who are less advantaged but often more in need (Gaetz, 1992).

Pedlar (1996) explains that recreation and leisure have an important role to play in improving community life. She suggests that communities are not responsive to the needs of some people in society; specifically those who are socially and economically disadvantaged, if concerns are based on the pursuit of individual goals. She says that the true community is a place where the welfare of people as individuals are linked to the well-being of the collective. Recreation and leisure practitioners have the potential to contribute to the well-being of the community by engaging all members of the community in efforts that aim to improve everyone's quality of life.

Adolescents in families of diverse ethnic backgrounds will likely have a very different sense of community than those who are members of the dominant culture. Adolescents who are members of ethnic and racial minority groups attend schools, have jobs and participate in community activities. However, little is known about the constraints and opportunities they experience in their traditional community. Some research has been done in this area which provides us with a glimpse at what the community holds for this group.

Munsch and Wampler (1993) studied school stress and its impact on African American, Mexican American and Anglo American adolescents. They found that in comparison with Anglo-American teens, the minority group teens were disciplined more often, they experienced more school related stress, and were less likely to be chosen for school related activities. The authors suggest that as a result of this, minority youth may fail to form bonds within the school environment. However, the study also showed that the minority group adolescents had more problem solving supports and were more likely to involve relatives in their support networks than were Anglo-American adolescents (Munsch and Wampler, 1993).

Immigrant parents are not as inclined as native born American parents to want their children to work outside of the home (Phillips and Sandstrom, 1990). Chave Herberg (1993) describes the high regard that non-western families have for obligations to others in the household, the role of the breadwinner, and other aspects of old world traditions. She claims that these values tend to limit the extent to which young people would be encouraged to work outside of the home (Chave Herberg, 1993).

Undoubtedly, minority ethnic adolescents have opportunities for identity development, for developing friendships, for experimenting with adults roles, and for pursuing goals related to education

and future jobs. However, their community may be quite different from the community of the dominant culture. In living and associating with those in the small community as experienced by the participants in this study, adolescents and young adults will likely hold a set of values that are quite different from those of the greater society. The literature indicates that adolescents begin to lose some of their sense of ethnic identity as they adapt aspects of the host culture (Chave Herberg, 1993). However, as they adjust and redefine their identity in relation to the new culture, they will likely face many challenges, some of which will be related to struggles they will have with their parents as they establish their self-identity and develop their lifestyle. Such factors as church participation, eating habits, clothing, values and morals are likely to be the source of conflict for many adolescents (Chave Herberg, 1993).

Leisure, is another aspect of their life that is not necessarily the same for teens who identify with ethnic minority cultures as it is for most teens who identify with the dominant cultural groups in Canada. The following discussion critically examines the literature about adolescents and community with regard to this study and the leisure of the participants in this study.

4.3.3   A critical review of the literature pertaining to adolescents and community

As already discussed, for teens and young adults in the context of the greater society, life beyond the family is very important. In the dominant culture, the community is viewed as being external to the family. For teens who are part of the greater society, entry into the community, and out of the family unit, is viewed as a natural, healthy aspect of the maturation process. For the participants in this study, moving along the continuum toward the greater society means leaving the small community. Their community has two facets; the small collective ethnic community and the greater society. Sometimes the families of the participants do not move beyond their small community group and the young adults receive little support when they move along the continuum. Conflict and high levels of stress are experienced by some families as their children move toward the greater society which they view negatively. For many parents, people of the greater society are considered to be selfish because of their emphasis on pursuit of individual goals and their failure to place the family at the center of their lives.

Those participants who experienced the strong, collective nature of their ethnic cultural community, have a sense of the benefits of community described by Pedlar (1996). In those small communities, people may not have privacy, but they do have the support and encouragement of their families, extended families and neighbors and family friends. Adolescents in these situations

know the benefits of families who care for their ill, disabled and elderly relatives and are honored to do so. They know the benefits of a society where, when possible, families provide jobs for one another in order to ensure the economic survival of everyone. The participants, in many ways, have experienced far more benefits from their community than can be realized by those who live within the dominant cultural groups.

School is the aspect for the greater society of which the parents are most accepting because of the potential for good jobs that should result from a good education. However, the parents who remain in the small community are not always supportive of extracurricular activities which might distract their children from their studies. The schools, on the other hand, continue to place high value on success in sports and sport related activity, thereby creating the conditions whereby only a few students may gain status in the eyes of their peers, for their achievements. For South Asian youth, like some of the participants in this study, who often were discouraged from participating in sports and other extracurricular activity, raising one's status would not be possible. Also, within the schools, authorities have failed to deal sufficiently with issues related to racism and intolerance faced by many of the participants and thereby preventing them from benefiting fully from the experience of academic and extracurricular activity that school should provide.

The literature suggests that parents from the ethnic minority group are not inclined to want their children to work at jobs as much as parents from the dominant culture. However, as this study indicates, teens in families that own their own businesses may be required to work in order to contribute to the ongoing maintenance of the business which sustains the family. Also, several participants indicated the difference in values that they have noticed between their families and those of friends from the dominant cultural groups. These teens feel that their friends from the dominant cultural groups lack the extent of familial support that exists in South Asian families, because many of them must work to help support themselves before they have completed their education and often they leave the family home when they turn eighteen. This makes it very difficult for a young person to continue his or her education. The participants explained that in South Asian families, the parents see it as their responsibility to support their children through school, and the children most often live in the family home or are supported while they live away from home until they have completed their university education.

Leisure, which allows opportunity for socialisation outside of the family unit, and opportunities for activity such as sports, dances, travel, movies, music, and dating is very attractive to many teens from who participated in this study. Some, whose parents did not move away from the small

community, experienced tremendous conflict as they pursued leisure. The adolescents realised the benefits of socialising with peers, of activity, and the whole leisure experience. However, for many of their families, this type of leisure is not valued and is viewed as disruptive to the sustenance of the family and the culture. The adolescents in this study were raised with the notion of a collective community. In the collective community, high regard is placed on the sense that the whole family, extended family and community will benefit from the success of the individual. As everyone works together, in pooling money and other resources, everyone benefits. When the participants move toward the greater society, they are faced with a society that places value on the pursuit of individual goals, self sufficiency, and autonomy. In the greater society, freedom from obligation to others is highly regarded; reliance on others is viewed as a weakness (Coontz, 1992). So, the South Asian adolescent of a traditional family upbringing is faced with a dilemma related to the collective values of home and the sense of self valued by the greater society.

This problem is reflected in leisure and in the leisure literature. Leisure tends to be valued for providing opportunities for freedom, choice and self-determination. In leisure, the greater society values freedom from obligation to others and the pursuit of personal goals. However, these values are contrary to the sense of well-being and what is essential for the sustenance of the small community. So then leisure as it is known to the dominant cultural groups, is likely not valued by those parents who identify with the small community as described in this study. Their children often do value leisure and the potential fun and freedom it offers.

For those children of immigrants who leave the small community and move toward the greater society without their parents' support, there is likely to be conflict over the notion of leisure. As explained by the participants in Chapter 3, leisure as it is known to the dominant cultural groups was desirable to the adolescents. The parents, however, had difficulty accepting the notion of friends from beyond the family and kinship group and the notion of activity, such as extracurricular activity. The adolescents may benefit from their leisure experiences from socializing with peers, developing skills and experimenting with adult roles, but they will do so without the support or encouragement of parents in many cases.

Hemmingway (1996) argues that leisure when defined in terms of the notion of freedom, is problematic. He questions if contemporary leisure is freely chosen and as such does it actually "emancipate human capacities" (p. 113). In this study, most of the participants wanted to experience leisure in the same ways as their friends from the dominant cultural groups experienced leisure. However, racial intolerance was an issue for all of the participants. In many cases the

incidents of intolerance occurred during their leisure. I concur with Hemmingway's skepticism regarding the emancipatory nature of the leisure experience. Leisure has failed to provide opportunities which ensure that people are able to realize their greatest potential.

With regard to those who remain entrenched in the small community, there was for some a sense of missing out on leisure opportunities, as explained earlier. Again Hemmigway's discussion of leisure in terms of its emancipating capabilities is useful. Within the small community there are certain leisure opportunities. However, some participants wished to experience the leisure of the greater community but could not do so because of the restrictions of the small community. Rojek (1995) describes leisure as "one of the social functions that must be fulfilled if society is to remain in good order." He continues, "If leisure activity contributes to the disorder of society it follows that this type of activity must be corrected since it disturbs the harmony of the social system" (Rojek, 1995, p. 37). Leisure of the greater society is viewed as disruptive to the social harmony of the small community and is therefore clearly discouraged, by the parents of some participants. The teens and young adults might still want leisure opportunities that they see their friends experiencing, and will therefore have a sense of missing out. For these participants, leisure does not offer emancipating potential. It is beyond their reach.

As has been mentioned earlier in this Chapter, leisure researchers have used the notion of leisure constraints in their discussions of factors which negatively affect the leisure experience of people from the dominant cultural groups (Crawford, Jackson and Godbey, 1991, Henderson et al, 1996 and others). To some extent the constraint literature is helpful for explaining the limits faced by some participants in this study. In this study several people wished they could have had more opportunities for leisure than they were able to experience, but could not pursue them because of parental disapproval or because of religious or cultural restrictions. In some cases the idea that these people were constrained by their families or their religion may be applicable. However, the application of the constraints model may be problematic in some ways. It may reinforce the ideas of the dominant culture and in so doing imposes on the minority ethnic group the values of the dominant group.

For example, one participant said she would not do sports in Canada because that activity required that she had to wear shorts which is something that her religion does not permit. This person has made a commitment to her religion and experiences a sense of well-being as a result of this commitment. Her well-being would be disturbed if she were to change her clothing in order to accommodate the fashion of the dominant culture. Further, changing her clothing would not be her choice, and as such the experience lost its appeal. Therefore, although she does not participate in

one of the leisure experiences she likes, I do not believe she is constrained because other aspects of her life were more important to her than conforming to the traditions of the dominant cultural group.

The application of the constraints literature may be helpful when we think of people who would prefer to experience leisure, but are unable to do so for various reasons. However, some people have made choices to restrict their participation in certain leisure activities or experiences because of their commitment to their religion or culture which may, for example, forbid the drinking of alcohol or the wearing of certain western clothing. I do not consider these people to be constrained in their leisure, since they appear to have freely chosen a lifestyle and leisure that they prefer.

4.4   Living in two worlds

The participants and their families were functioning within two worlds: the small community and the greater society. As has been discussed, the idea of a continuum helps to describe the process of assimilation that seems to occur as the participants and their families attempted to balance the aspects they will adopt from the greater society with the traditional aspects of the small community that they will maintain. Some people function toward one end of the continuum and others function toward the other end. However, the lives of all of the participants and their families are impacted by both worlds.

In some cases where the participants move beyond the family, the initial conflict experienced between the individual and his or her family which remains grounded in the small community, may give way to a much stronger family which is able to live between two world, like those families who have achieved a sense of balance (as depicted earlier in **Figure 3**). Individuals who move toward the greater society, still have a strong attachment to the small community.

> Rani: . . . I don't think it is desirable to be one hundred percent assimilated into the greater society. And like you said, I don't think it is possible, either. No matter how much you try, you will never be completely like them. Because you still have your family. Even though, no matter how much of a break off you have from your family, there is still something inside of you that is going to be tied to your family. And their cultural and religious beliefs. But I think there should be a happy medium in between. I mean you are not going to be one hundred percent from the old country beliefs. Even if you are totally in with them. You are still not going to be one hundred percent. Like I believe that everyone should try to understand one another. Like I said I don't believe say 30% assimilation into one side or the other side. I don't believe that.

As Rani explained, some second generation South Asians will want to maintain their connection with their families and small community. However, they will also develop the coping mechanisms for functioning with those from the greater society. I expect that those who cope with both communities, will facilitate the movement of their families and others from the small community along the continuum.
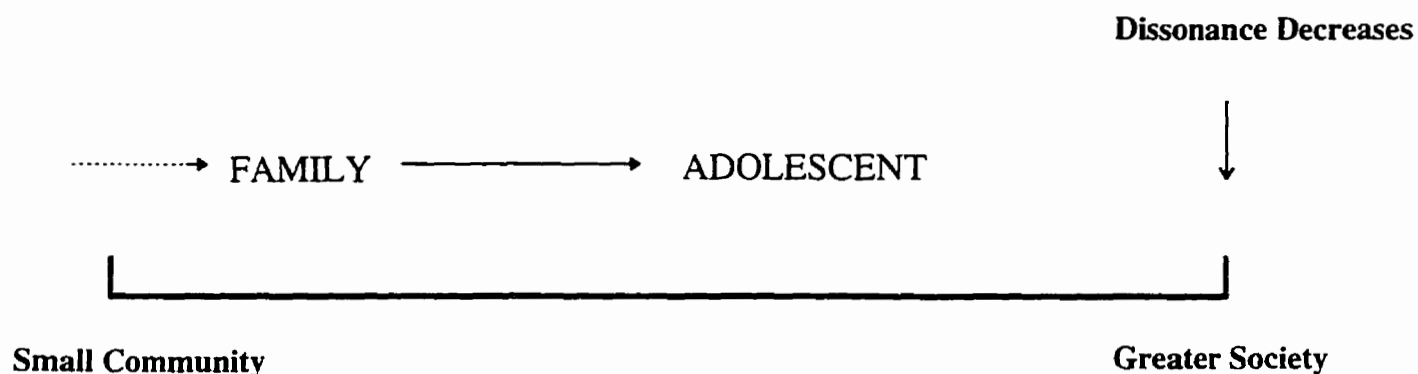
Dissonance Decreases

$$\downarrow$$

·············→ FAMILY ─────────→ ADOLESCENT ↓

Small Community   **Greater Society**

Figure 8: Teens and young adults facilitate move along continuum toward the greater society

Figure 8 depicts this phase which I anticipate will occur within some of the families of the participants. In **Figure 8** we see the adolescent moving toward the greater society, initially without the family members. As families age or require involvement with the greater society for issues related to health care, social services, jobs, advanced education and other assistance available in the greater society, the adolescent will be able to facilitate the movement of the family along the continuum in order to receive services. This facilitation will also occur as members of the minority

group obtain jobs within the greater society and as a result will be the contacts for those who remain grounded in the small community.

4.5   Summary

As was evident in this study, the lives of minority ethnic group young adults and adolescents are impacted by peers, by the priorities established by their schools, by leisure and by their families. The participants in this study were being raised in Canada. Most were in schools where the majority of other students were white. A few attended schools that they described as being multicultural where many of the other students also identified with minority cultural groups. Their lives were impacted by many of the same things that impact the lives of teens from the dominant cultural groups but they also identified with a different racial and ethnic minority group and hence experienced additional pressures and contradictions in their lives. Also, within the group of participants it was evident that the leisure of each individual was affected differently by his or her circumstances.

There were 10 female and 5 male participants in this study. All participants agreed that males have more freedom and autonomy than females in South Asian cultures. This meant that the male participants often had fewer restrictions related to going out of the home for leisure, for staying out later at night than the females and greater freedom to choose leisure activities that they desired.

Age also affected the leisure of the participants. Those who had reached their late teens and early twenties, had more choices and said they were bothered less by the restrictions they faced from their parents. In fact, most of those who were older, had fewer restrictions placed on them by their parents. Several participants who were in their late teens and early twenties said that leisure was a problem when they were younger. During their early high school years they faced parental disapproval over many of the social activities they wanted to do, such as going to dances and clubs with friends and staying out late at night. However, most of these people had successfully negotiated with their parents in order that their needs for socialization and leisure would be satisfied.

Most of the younger teenage participants in this study said they were happy with their leisure even though much of their time and activities were with their parents and other family members. They said they placed priority on being with their families and had little problem with this. However one of the younger participants was not happy with the amount of control he faced

within his family. The person identified as Karim was clearly unhappy with the limits placed on his leisure by his family. This teenager complained that he spent most of his free time at home watching television when he would have preferred to by out with his friends playing sports. He was allowed to participant in one after school sport each term and he was permitted little time with his friends to play informal games of basketball and baseball in the neighbourhood park. He would have preferred to be far more involved in athletic activity than his parents allowed. However, Karim was not willing to challenge the authority of his parents and therefore he spent much of his time being very bored at home with his mother, sister and younger brother and feeling that he missed out on leisure opportunities enjoyed by many of his friends. Others had experienced similar situations but none of the other participants complained about being denied the leisure that they would have preferred.

Karim's family was the least affluent of all of those in this study. His parents hoped to send all of their children to university even though it would likely be financially difficult to do so since his father worked in a restaurant and his mother was unemployed. Socioeconomic status likely limited Karim's ability to participate in leisure since leisure was not highly valued by his family and resources were being channeled toward higher education. Other participants did not seem to be as frustrated as Karim in their pursuit of leisure.

As a result of their exposure to the greater society through education, jobs and leisure, the desire to pursue individual goals was clearly evident in the findings. Sometimes the pursuit of these goals creates the conditions for conflict that were so evident in the data presented in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, pursuit of individualism and the desire to live their lives without the constraints typically imposed by their parents and their cultural group was important to most of the participants in this study.

In Chapter 4, I have developed my explanation of how the lives of the participants are impacted by the leisure of the greater society and how their leisure is impacted by their culture and families. In Chapter 5, I will explain my theoretical perspective regarding leisure in the lives of the participants and although it is unique to this group and it may have important implications for others who live on the margins of the greater society.

Chapter 5:   Conclusions and Implications

5.1   Addressing the Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to look at how leisure, as it is typically known in the dominant culture of Canada, impacts the lives of this particular group of minority ethnic teens and young adults. The second purpose of the study was to look at factors in the lives of the participants such as culture and ethnic heritage and how these impact their leisure.

The participants, all children of immigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, had derived benefits from their close traditional families and many of these were benefits to their leisure. The process in which the families settled in Canada and adapted to life here is explained in this study in terms of a comparison or a continuum of assimilation in which people moved from their lives in the small community toward the greater society. Some participants had moved away from the traditional family in their pursuit of education and in their leisure. This movement away from family created the conditions for conflict within some families. Other families were able to move along the continuum with their children and had incorporated into their lives, aspects of both the greater society and the small community in ways that suited all members of the family group.

Leisure is an important aspect of our lives. Driver, Brown and Peterson (1991) argue that leisure is the context of most of our significant relationships with others, and that through our leisure we have opportunities for self expression and enjoyment which may be absent in other aspects of our lives. They also suggest that leisure contributes significantly to overall life quality. For the participants in this study, leisure is as significant as it is for people who identify with the dominant cultural groups. However, their leisure was different depending on their relationships with family members and friends and with the small community and the greater society as described throughout this study.

As part of the theory building to emerge from this study, I have developed a model to help illustrate leisure in the lives of the young adults who participated in this exploration.
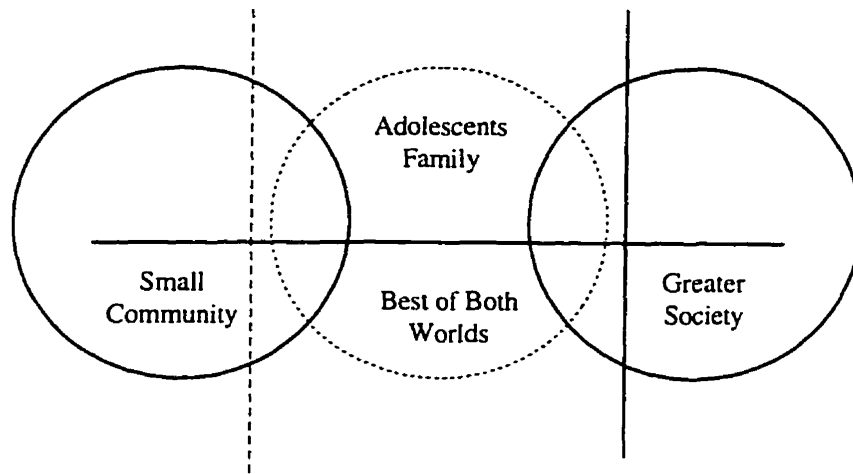
Model 1: Leisure in their lives: South Asian adolescents and young adults

Model 1 shows three overlapping circles, with the adolescents and their families placed in the center circle. This indicates that in order to function well in Canada, life experience needs to encompass both the small community and the greater society. Many of the participants indicated that they and their families had moved along the continuum and although the adjustment to some aspects of the greater society may have been difficult initially, they had moved along the continuum and lived quite comfortably.

The vertical line to the left of the middle circle indicates that those in the middle circle, would be uncomfortable if they were required to retrench into the small community. This line also depicts a barrier faced by those who were not willing or not able to move beyond the small community, as was the case for some participants and their families who adhered to strict guidelines of the religions and their culture. Those individuals and their families who adhered to the values, beliefs and behaviors of the small community will not be happy moving along the continuum toward the greater society. However, as they enter their late teen years and in early adulthood, the children in the families that remain entrenched in the small, traditional community may experience frustration related to missing out on opportunities in the greater society, especially those related to leisure.

The line to the right of the middle circle indicates that, although some aspects of the greater society were available and acceptable to those in the middle circle, others were not. The barrier is one of racial intolerance that affected the lives of each and every participant in this study. It is associated with political and social structures which prevent those who are not of the dominant cultures from entering the realm of decision making, leadership and power. Also, this line indicates that some participants did not want to move farther toward the greater society. They had friends from the greater society who did not understand the collective nature of the South Asian community. As a result of this lack of understanding the participants were sometimes considered to be disadvantaged by the close, collective nature of the relationships they had with their families and cultural group. The participants also gained tremendous benefits from their cultures and religions which contributed to enriching their leisure and as well as other aspects of their lives. Entering the greater society would mean loss of the richness of their cultural experiences.

The line on the right hand side is also indicative of the reluctance of the greater society to look toward those in the middle circle for guidance regarding their lifestyle, their cultures, religions, values, beliefs and behaviors. Although the greater society would benefit from developing such an understanding, there is a reluctance to do so and as a result issues of intolerance, racism and discrimination persist. In leisure, for instance, the greater society has made little effort to resolve issues related to racism.

The results of this study indicate that those who experience life from the perspective of the middle circle, do not want to move toward either end of the continuum. They cannot, nor do they want to move further toward the greater society, and will not likely move back toward the small community. However, from their position, which encompasses aspects of both worlds, they also have a sense of experiencing the best of both worlds.

From the many discussions I conducted with the study participants, I have come to believe that all of them sought this sense of balance in their lives and many had achieved it. For some, balance was the result of years of negotiating with their parents for some opportunities to be with their friends and to do leisure activities that took them out of their homes and into a social world that encompassed aspects of the greater society. Those who had negotiated this freedom, still placed tremendous value on their involvement in family activities. They were able to experience aspects of leisure from both the greater society as well as from their small community.

However, not everyone had achieved this sense of balancing aspects of both the small community and the greater society in terms of leisure experience. Some participants experienced

life at the left end of the continuum where most of their leisure occurred within the small community and they were very happy to do so. They had few opportunities to experience the leisure of the greater society and some had little desire for this experience. In research involving the dominant cultural groups, the constraints literature is often used to describe or explore the impact of situations that prevent people from experiencing leisure (Crawford, Jackson & Godbey, 1991). This literature is not helpful in explaining the situation faced by the participants whose lives tended to be oriented toward the left end of the continuum or the small community. These participants had opportunities for choice. Some chose to wear traditional clothing or to practise their religions which restricted certain activities or behaviors such as wearing shorts for sports activity. They derived a sense of well-being from their religion and their culture and would experience higher levels of dissonance if they were to discontinue these practices. Therefore, I do not believe that their leisure opportunities were constrained. In fact, to apply the constraints model to their lives would impose the values of the dominant culture on this group which clearly does not always identify with those values. In other words, we cannot "blame" this group for not having leisure that is like the leisure of the dominant culture. They have rich, cultural experiences of their own and do not pursue leisure as it exists in the dominant culture. To do so would be perpetuate a view that the leisure of the dominant culture is supreme, which is an ethnocentric view of leisure and fails to recognize the experience of leisure for this group.

Some participants were of the opinion that their parents would always remain entrenched in the small community and if the children wanted to pursue leisure in the greater society, they faced disapproval and objection from their parents. The pursuit of leisure in the dominant culture often took the participants away from the family and out of the home which involved adopting aspects of the greater society such as music, clothing, and behaviors such as dating. If the children remained grounded in the small community some may have experienced the frustration of knowing that their peers had leisure that they could not access. Leisure for these people, caused increased levels of dissonance within their families.
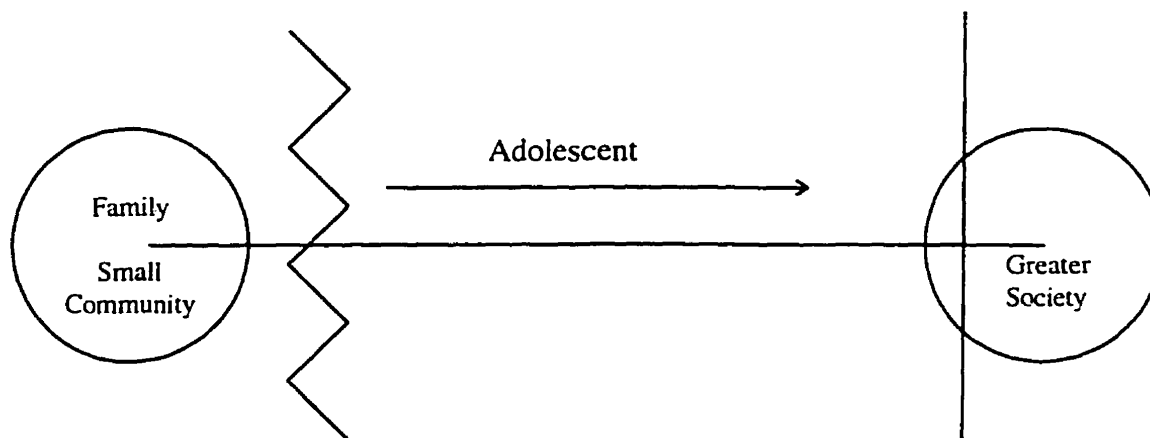
Model 2: Conflict with the leisure experience

Model 2 depicts the idea that some people move along the continuum from the small community toward the greater society while family members remain entrenched in the small community. In this model adolescents moved along the continuum alone as they pursued leisure in the greater society. As a result of this movement, they experienced the disapproval of their family and the small community. However, these individuals felt that the small community was too intrusive for them and they desired the freedom, especially for leisure, that was afforded by the greater society. Dissonance resulted from situations where the participants pursued leisure that they knew offended or disturbed their families, but ultimately they wanted to fit into their community of peers within the greater society and leisure often afforded them this opportunity. These individuals also experienced dissonance from not being able to move toward the greater society to the extent they would have liked, as depicted by the vertical line on the right side of Model 2. This barrier was the result of racial intolerance.

In leisure, all of the participants endured racist comments and the reluctance of educators and leisure service providers from the dominant culture to understand and accommodate their diverse cultures. Racism and intolerance prevented some people from enjoying their leisure. Within leisure, the ideology of the dominant cultural groups was reinforced by the reluctance or refusal of some people from the dominant culture to accept the participants into leisure activity because of the color of their skin, their clothing, their religious practices and their ethnicity. Acceptance into leisure of the greater society was more likely achieved by those participants who could look and

behave like those in the dominant, white cultural groups. For example, those who dressed in both popular and expensive clothing were likely to fit in with their peers from the dominant white culture more easily than those who did not dress in the trendy styles. For those who wore traditional clothing, such as the Muslim women participants who wore a head scarf and hijab, acceptance into the dominant group was difficult especially during high school years when physical appearance was very important for membership into social groups. Consequently some types of leisure activity were not positive or were unobtainable.

All of the figures and models used to depict the leisure and lifestyle of the participants in this study have a dynamic nature. Situations will change with time for all participants. Many of the struggles related to leisure, to family, and to intolerance and racism, were more difficult for people in their early teens and while they were in their early school years. With maturity, people were more likely to have freedom of choice and opportunity for leisure that may have been restricted while they were younger. Also, as they matured, the participants were more likely to accept and understand the benefits of the collective community. The participants also realized that as they grew older, their lives would continue to change as a result of starting their own families and the eventual responsibility they may have for caring for elderly parents and in-laws. These situations will impact their lives and their leisure.

The participants identified with South Asian cultures which expect a certain degree of conformity to the values and behaviors of the group. For example, those who belonged to families which are grounded in the small community were expected to wear traditional clothing and to place the interests and well-being of the family at the center of their lives. For most participants this idea of conformity or respect for the values and behaviors of their ethnic group was not only tolerable but more importantly it was the source of positive leisure experiences.

A critical social theoretical perspective aims to confront injustice in the lives of the participants (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994; Calhoun, 1995). From my discussions and interviews with the participants in this study, I found that some injustices are experienced within the participants' lives related to leisure. However, I have attempted to be faithful to the participants and to what they told me about their leisure. I believe that they have accurately explained to me a great deal about their lives and their leisure. For many of them, their experience of leisure, which often involves adherence to family and cultural traditions and to the well-being of their minority ethnic group, is a positive one, that affords aspects of both their traditional cultures and the dominant white, culture of Canada.

Several participants explained that they do not desire a life that affords them more access to the greater society and to the notion of leisure as a realm of freedom and choice. Several participants did experience aspects of the leisure of the dominant culture, but they also experienced leisure within their own group. These leisure experiences had both positive and negative impacts, but many participants said they did not desire more immersion into the dominant culture for their leisure. I believe that those who said this, did so knowingly and that they have derived positive benefits from their close association with their minority ethnic cultures. No one in this study was prepared to give up or reduce their involvement with their minority ethnic group, although several participants said they knew South Asian people who had done just that. I also believe that for some people, movement toward the greater society and the leisure it affords would lead to increased dissonance for themselves and their families and less satisfaction with leisure experiences. Therefore, I cannot explain leisure in the lives of the all of the participants of this study in terms of oppression or false consciousness that are associated with a critical social theoretical perspective (Calhoun, 1994; Morrow and Brown, 1994).

Having chosen to interpret the data as it was presented to me by the participants I realize that I may have limited my ability to distance myself from the circumstances of the participants. In so doing, I may not have provided as much of a critical social perspective as may have been possible (Morrow and Brown, 1994). However, I believe that this study has captured the voices of the participants and these have shaped my analysis of their leisure.

The research questions were answered as follows:

a) What opportunities, issues, problems and challenges related to leisure are experienced by teens whose parents were born in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh?

The participants experienced leisure from a position that had to accommodate aspects of life from both the small community and the greater society. As explained in Chapter 4, leisure is different in the context of these two social groups. For the participants, leisure was not perceived as problematic if the families moved with them along the continuum. Also, some participants were very happy with remaining with their families, close to the small community. Their leisure reflected their close family ties and their home centered interests. However, for those who experienced conflict related to their movement away from the small community and toward the greater society,

leisure was one of their biggest problems and a challenge, as they attempted to experience the leisure of the greater society in the same ways as their white peers experience leisure.

b) Does the leisure for the dominant culture offer an opportunity for facilitating involvement in the community, peer relationships and social supports necessary for the development of positive identity and self-concepts?

In some instances, leisure was an aspect of life that facilitated involvement with peers, and in the greater society and provided opportunities for the development of positive identity and self concepts especially when leisure provided opportunities for socialization. It was most likely to happen once the teens had entered high school and many of the participants spoke of issues related to their adjustment in school and in leisure during their early school years. However, the leisure experience was not always positive. Incidents of intolerance, racism and discrimination were experienced by all participants at some point in their lives. The fact that many of these incidents occurred during leisure activity indicates the failure of the leisure service delivery system to address the issue and the necessity that issues related to racial and religious intolerance and discrimination be addressed. The leisure delivery system and leisure researchers should develop strategies for implementing measures consistent with the tenets of multiculturalism, which recognize the diverse and multicultural mix of people of Canada. Such a plan should involve improving the awareness of leisure service providers about some uniqueness of cultures and the challenges faced especially by young people in relation to their cultural and religious practices and how these impact their leisure.

In many instances, the participants explained that when they experienced incidents of intolerance or racism, the teachers or leaders who were present did little to assist them in resolving the issues. The leisure delivery system needs to define racism and intolerance for those who work in this field and develop mechanisms for resolving conflict related to these issues, as well as mechanisms for disciplining offenders. According to some participants, the schools in Ontario have made gains in terms of accommodating the needs of students from diverse and multicultural backgrounds. To my knowledge, the leisure delivery system has made little, if any effort in this area.

In many cases, leisure provided the same sense of satisfaction, enjoyment, relaxation and fulfillment as is realized by most North Americans through leisure experience. However, for many

people in this study, those aspects of life were often realized through involvement with family and with the ethnic community and not through activity that took people away from their home and families. Involvement in family and the small, ethnic community is an important aspect of leisure for many of the participants and efforts need to be made to ensure that the small community is able to sustain itself. Leisure service providers must recognize the unique benefits derived by people who identify with ethnic minority groups from their involvement in family and ethnic community events and activities. These benefits extend beyond leisure and include a wide range of supports for people who may have needs relative to jobs and financial support of family and community members, care of elderly, ill and disabled community members and social support.

> *c) Is leisure as it is known to the dominant culture an aspect of life that is alien to some newcomers to Canada and as such, does leisure become a source of conflict for the adolescents and their families?*
> *d) If so, what are the aspects of leisure that are a source of conflict or challenge for these teens*

Again, the answer to these questions seems best explained in relation to the continuum used to explain the difference between the small community and the greater society. For those families and teens who identified strongly with the small community, leisure of the greater society was an alien concept. For those families that experienced conflict as their children moved along the continuum and away from the small community, leisure was a primary source of distress. Leisure of the greater society was viewed by the parents in the small community as selfish and self serving, a concept that clashed with the notion of the collective family unit of the small community.

> *e) Does the minority ethnic group offer opportunities for leisure, social support and friendship for teens and do these opportunities provide a sense of satisfaction, fulfillment, enjoyment and relaxation?*

The minority ethnic group does provide an opportunity for the teens and young adults in this study in terms of social support, friendship and leisure. Many participants valued their involvement with their cultural community as an important aspect of leisure. For many participants the minority ethnic group provided leisure as well as many other aspects of life related to support

and the notion of the collective well-being. For many of the participants, the leisure and lifestyle of their ethnic community provided what they believe to be a far richer experience than was experienced by their friends from the dominant cultural groups. They felt that many young Canadians are missing out on the experience of attachment to an ethnic community in which members have a sense of belonging and rich traditions associated with their families, and their leisure. The participants valued their ethnic food, dances, music, language, religion, clothing as well as their connection to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh where many participants visit often. For most participants in this study, the minority ethnic group is a source of very rich and highly valued leisure experience.

However, for some, the minority ethnic group was viewed as intrusive and even a destructive element, which created divisions between the young people of the community due to the competition between parents to prove that each one had the smartest, most successful children. Children in these families sought leisure of the greater society as a welcome alternative to the negative aspects of their own cultural experience. So the ethnic group can be viewed as contributing to the leisure experience, but that experience has both positive and negative aspects to it.

5.2   Limitations of the study

Several limitations are evident throughout this study. One of the main limitations relates to who responded to my request for participants for the study. In all of the material used to recruit participants the study was described as being about South Asian youth and leisure. All of the people who responded to my call for participants were interested in the South Asian culture from the perspective of having been raised in South Asian families. None of those who agreed to help recruit participants had the slightest disregard for their cultural heritage. In fact, all who assisted in recruiting the participants and all participants had experienced very positive benefits as a result of being raised in South Asian families. However, they explained many times that their experiences were not the same for everyone. I did not have first hand data from anyone who has little regard for the South Asian cultures that they grew up in. This is a limitation of the study.

My lack of first hand knowledge of the cultures of India has limited my ability to raise issues related to some aspects of religion and other traditions familiar to the participants. I had to rely on the participants to raise issues related to their religion, family, community and their leisure. I may have missed some aspects of the culture which I could have raised to prompt responses.

I am writing this dissertation from the perspective of a white, middle-class woman, who has not experienced life from within the culture of a South Asian family. While this is somewhat of a limitation, I believe it is important work. My work will be accessible to academics in the leisure studies field and to practitioners in the leisure delivery system. I believe that although the study may be limited to my perspective, it may be helpful for those who are interested in understanding the cultures of South Asia, because it has been written in the context that is familiar to the mainstream leisure academics and service deliverers. They may otherwise not have access to information about the leisure of immigrants from South Asia.

5.3   Implications of the study

This study focused on factors which impact the leisure experience of teens who identify with cultures, religions and ethnic backgrounds that are different from the mainstream dominant culture. I believe the results of this study will contribute to the theoretical understanding of the significance of leisure for this group. It will be of value to the academic community since little research at this time has focused on the leisure experience of teens who identify with ethnic minority groups. It suggests further research is needed to consider the significance and relevance of leisure as experienced by young people who identify with other ethnic minority groups. It will also provide practitioners with an understanding of issues faced by these teens. Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi teens in Canada will benefit from this information, as they participate in this exploration of the issues, problems, challenges and opportunities they face in their daily lives and specifically in relation to their leisure.

I believe that the results of this study have implications for others who are marginalized as a result of poverty, unemployment or under employment, homelessness, unstable home environments, mental health and disabling conditions, race, gender, age and sexual orientation. For these people, leisure, when defined from a middle class western perspective, is also likely to be problematic. Many people who experience these and other adverse social conditions, are unlikely to share the resources of the working, middle class in North America, and as a result, the notion of leisure as a realm of choice, freedom and autonomy, may be beyond their reach. However, we cannot assume that these groups do not experience leisure. They may experience very fulfilling and rewarding leisure as a result of their involvement with family and community. It may be helpful to look at the opportunities that do exist for people to experience a sense of satisfaction, fulfillment, enjoyment and pleasure, which are often considered to be aspects of the leisure experience. By

focusing on lived experience in this way, we may be able to understand new dimensions of the concept of leisure.

This study and its findings also have implications for the providers of health and social services. Where these are provided by the greater society to people who identify with minority ethnic groups, or the small community, services that emphasize independence from family will likely not meet the needs of the individual or their family. Where the greater society values independence from family and personal autonomy and achievement, those from the small community do not. Attempts to use social service and models of health care that emphasize these values, may be seen as isolating the individual from the very supports they need. Services are more likely to succeed if they incorporate the values of the small community, especially if that is the value orientation of the individual and their family.

It would be useful to re-visit this group in ten years time in order to re-examine their leisure and to determine if they have chosen and been able to sustain the aspects of their culture that were important to them. Also, at that time, it would be possible to study the ways in which the greater society either assisted or hindered their ability to sustain their culture.

I believe that the traditional families in this study have a great deal to offer the greater society in terms of the collective nature of their relationships with family members and their ethnic community. Although some people who have moved away or would like to move away from the small community may experience constraints and may feel over-burdened by a sense of obligation which exists due to the collective nature of the small community, others may like the close ties between people that exist there. The families and communities in which many of the participants grew up, may be the models we need to help communities in the greater society to develop mechanisms for developing supports which can respond to the social needs of people in the greater society. I believe these communities should be encouraged to sustain themselves.

The participants contributed not just data, but also their own reflections on what that meant in terms of their lives and their leisure. They also shared and discussed my ideas that led to the interpretation of the study findings. This process strengthened the study and contributed to its relevance to the study participants as well as for the reader. As researcher, my reflections were also part of the process. As discussed by Pedlar (1996) the reflective researcher or practitioner is involved as a participant in her work, and in so doing, is able to "incorporate the values and beliefs of the community" in the process of the work (p. 16). Future research that aims to reach

participants who are marginalized will benefit from this process of reflection on the part of the researcher and participants alike.

I believe that it is important for leisure researchers to focus on exploring leisure in the lives of people who, like those in my studies, do not identify with the dominant cultural groups in our urban environments. For the participants in my research studies, leisure when defined as a realm of choice and freedom may not be attainable or it may not be the only type of leisure that is desirable due to cultural values and beliefs. For these individuals, leisure is not explained or fully understood within the social psychological perspectives. It may be more fully explained using critical social theory. Also, family and culture are an integral and central part of the leisure experience for the teens in my study. It cannot be easily forgotten.

Appendix A   An account of this study

This account is meant to provide the reader with my subjective experiences in relation to this study.

This study evolved from my previous research on the lives of women who were immigrants from India and Pakistan. The process of the research began when I arrived at Waterloo to begin my studies for this degree. Through 1994 and 1995, as my studies progressed, I collected articles and read media accounts about immigrants, ethnicity, multiculturalism and other topics that I thought might be related to this topic.

From early in my degree I thought I would like to look at the lives of children of immigrants. Having looked at the lives of immigrant women, I thought that many aspects of their lives and what they valued would impact their children's lives. In 1996, I began to develop the proposal for this study. In the Spring of 1996, I met with Nabil Rehman, who was the President of the Muslim Student Association at University of Waterloo. Nabil and I talked about some of the issues faced by his friends with regard to their religion, culture and the notion of having been raised within very traditional families, in Canada. Having gained the encouragement and enthusiasm of Nabil, as well as his assurance that he would assist in recruiting participants for the study, I proceeded with developing the proposal for the project. My aim was to look at the issues of leisure in the lives of teens who were the children of immigrants from Indian and Pakistan.

To enter the community of teens, I was assisted by Nabil and several other people who were involved in student organizations at the University of Waterloo. Nabil, Pradeep Nair, of the Indian Students Association, and Manjit Singh of the Sikh Student Association, all passed my recruitment letters and email messages on to their members. Gradually, I was contacted by enough people to begin the first group interview.

My initial intention was to hold three focus group meetings in close succession. Following those meetings, I planned to interview all of the participants individually and then reconvene the focus groups once I had my analysis written. However, the process of data collection did not proceed exactly as planned.

Near the end of October, 1996, I had three people who met the criteria for participating in the study and I decided to start the first meeting with them. I had hoped that each meeting would have at least four participants. The day before the meeting was to take place, a graduate student offered to pass on the information about my study and my request for participants to a friend on

campus. As the meeting began, on October 31ˢᵗ, this participant arrived, giving the group its fourth and very articulate member.

Initially I had hoped to work just with teenagers. However, it was difficult to make contact with teens, aside from the 19 year old first year university students I met on campus. However, the first group of participants proved to be far more informative than I had anticipated. They had the perspective of having attended high schools in Ontario as well as having recently entered university which, for some, meant moving away from home. Their experiences, insights and willingness to contribute their very personal views, resulted in tremendous depth and additional topics such as, the issue of violence within the South Asian community, that I had not anticipated would emerge from this study.

Having met with this group, I tried to get the second and third groups to meet. As the term progressed and the second group was not able to meet, I decided to meet with the individual participants of the first group before the term ended. These interviews occurred in November, December and early January.

While I was setting up the individual interviews for group one, I found that I was unable to meet the second group of high school students together as a group. With the assistance of Dr. Susan George, the contact for the Kitchener-Waterloo Indo Canadian Association, I was able to contact three teenagers. The interviews with this group occurred throughout December, 1997. In January, I was able to reach the Sikh Student Association and that group meeting was held in February.

An additional contact with a participant was made through my academic advisor Dr. Alison Pedlar. During the meeting and interview I conducted with that participant, he told me about his cousin, who also became a participant. This person was a new immigrant to Canada and as such did not fit the initial criteria of the study. However, I interviewed her because she was a teenager and attended high school. She had a teenage brother who also participated in an interview and provided rich data about leisure and other aspects of life for teens who adhere to very traditional family values.

Following the focus group and individual interviews, I proceeded to sort the data by reading the transcripts and developing a sense of similar categories of data. I used the NUD*IST software program to sort the data into groups or topic areas. Very early in this process, I saw some similarities between the patterns I was seeing in the data and the work of Edward Van Dyke. Van Dyke is a cultural anthropologist who trained provincial workers in Alberta to enter native and

religious communities in their attempts to deliver services. I attended several training sessions taught by Van Dyke during the years I spent with the Alberta Department of Recreation and Parks.

Although I had several articles written by Van Dyke for the training sessions, I was advised to try find his dissertation or a publication, to which I could make reference. I was able to locate Van Dyke's doctoral dissertation and it proved to be of tremendous help in developing the analysis for this study.

Once the analysis was taking shape, I asked the participants to reconvene to discus the findings and the analysis. I was able to meet with seven people, with representation from all four groups, to discuss the analysis. All participants agreed with the analysis and the use of the notion of the small community and greater society to describe leisure in the lives of the participants.

During the discussion of the analysis with the Sikh participants, the group members mentioned that they thought their parents should hear the results of the study. They had experienced problems related to their social lives and their leisure. They had been able to work things out with their parents and were quite happy with the way their lives had evolved. However, they had friends who were not happy with the strict rules parents had enforced. The participants felt that the Sikh parents were trying to establish ways to maintain contact with their children. The parents knew that efforts were required for adults and children to come together to preserve their heritage and to learn to cope with the greater society and how it impacts their lives. The participant identified as Kaila contacted me and arranged for me to speak to the parents and teenagers from the Sikh community.

On June 1st, 1997, I attended a meeting of Sikh families in Kitchener, Ontario to present the findings and analysis of my study. The meeting was attended by approximately 50 people, who hope to establish a Sikh community association in the Kitchener Waterloo area, which will meet on a regular basis and will provide a means for parents and their children to sustain their culture.

The people in attendance at the meeting were very supportive of my study. Their concerns were related to the stress experienced by South Asian teens and young adults in the community. The parents asked several questions regarding how I view the Sikh community in comparison with Muslims, Hindus and Christians as a result of this study. The parents were concerned with providing opportunities for their children that would not alienate the children from the family. They asked how the young people felt about their traditional religion, and other aspects of the Sikh culture such as food and clothing. The Sikh parents also asked for my impressions of how their

community compares with the way in which other immigrant groups to Canada have coped with issues related to discrimination and acceptance throughout the past century.

Following the formal presentation, one person asked me if the young people will have an easier time with acceptance by the greater society. I responded with my concerns about the economic and political climate that exists in Canada. I explained that I believe it will not necessarily be easier for young people to be accepted into power positions, since there seems to be a growing backlash in Canada, related to all immigrants who are often viewed by some people in the greater society to take jobs from 'Canadians' or to draw on the social welfare system. There is no evidence in Canada, that people of the South Asian community have done either of these things.

None of the young people in attendance at the meeting of the Sikh community, asked questions about the study. I did not feel that I could approach any of the young people during the coffee break after my presentation. Many of the parents approached me to ask questions about the research, and their children may have viewed the presentation in terms of being for their parents benefit.

This study has had an impact on me and my life. I have learned a great deal about the lives and leisure of the participants. In addition to this I have also developed a tremendous respect for the participants and their parents who experience life in a way that I will never know. These Canadians experience a culture which includes religions, food, dance, language, music and family, aspects of life that are foreign to many Canadians of the dominant cultures. The aspects of their lives which are of such richness are often looked upon with aversion by people of the dominant groups. I have come to be very sensitive to this issue. To me, there is no reason why a Hindu woman should not wear a Bindi (the dot on her forehead), or why Sikh's should not wear turbans as part of their uniforms in the RCMP or into the Canadian legions.

I am often ashamed of people I know from the dominant cultural groups, who often are not aware of my research interests, when they make comments that show intolerance toward the people I have come to know, respect and admire for their adherence to their cultures. Since people do not know of my work, I often hear comments about how people of South Asia have attempted to thrust their culture on others in Canada. Through my two studies, I have not experienced anyone trying to persuade me to adopt customs of South Asia. What I did experience was the enthusiasm of many people who were pleased to have taken part in my study. They valued the opportunity to participate in this work which may help others to understand some aspects of the South Asian cultures.

I hope that this study will in fact provide an opportunity for some people from the dominant cultural groups to see the South Asian culture for its richness. I believe that we have much to learn from the participants in this study. Of primary importance from my perspective is the way in which the participants value their connection with their communities and their families. This is something that many Canadians will never have the opportunity to experience. in part, as a result of their pursuit of individualistic goals.

Appendix B

University of Waterloo

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
N2L 3G1

Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
519/885-1211

Fax: 519/746-6776
Telex: 069-55259

A Study of Leisure Experiences of Second Generation Adolescents

During the Fall of 1996, I will be conducting a research study about the leisure experiences of teenagers, ages 15 to 18 years of age, who live in families that have their ethnic roots outside of Canada. Specifically, the teens will have parents who were born in India and Pakistan and the teens will have been raised in Canada. This study is being conducted as part of my Doctoral Program through the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I am looking for participants for this study and I hope that you will consider participating in it.

This project developed out of an earlier study I conducted in 1992 with South Asian immigrant women who are living in Eastern Canada. The present study will be conducted in three phases. First, participants will be asked to take part in a small group discussion with 6-8 teens in order for the participants to help to develop a list a questions about leisure for the second phase of the study. In the second phase, the participants will be interviewed personally about their leisure experiences and how these are affected by their cultural values, and the values held by family members. The participants will also be asked about how the leisure experiences of their peers who may be from the dominant cultural groups, affect their own leisure.

The third phase of the research study will involve a second meeting of the small groups in order for the participants to hear how I have interpreted the results of the interviews and to allow the participants to provide their own interpretation of the information provided. Each of the three meetings are expected to be approximately 90 minutes in length.

This study has been reviewed and was approved by the University of Waterloo Office of Human Research. If you are interested in participating in this study, or if you know someone else who may be interested, please contact me at 885-1211, Ext. 3894 or by email at sctirone@healthy.uwaterloo.ca. Please leave me a message if you are unable to reach me.

Thank you for your interest in this study.

Yours Truly

Susan Tirone

Susan Tirone

Information Letter to Participants and Their Parents

Dear_____

I am a Doctoral student at the University of Waterloo and am conducting research about leisure experience, and how leisure impacts the lives of teenagers who are the sons and daughters of people who have immigrated from India and Pakistan. I am also interested in learning how life experience impacts or influences leisure. This study has evolved from my Master's degree, in which I interviewed women who had immigrated from India and Pakistan in order to learn about their lives and their leisure. From that study I learned that the women found some aspects of Canadian society to be unacceptable for themselves and their families. Most important to them was their families and they found the need for privacy within Canadian culture to be selfish and unacceptable. For this study I plan to continue to explore the place of leisure in the lives of people who are not from the dominant Euro Canadian cultural groups. I am hoping that you will agree to be a participant in this study.

The study will involve a three phase process. First, I will meet with the participants in small groups of between six and eight participants to discuss the study and the role of leisure in the lives of the participants. During this phase, participants will identify aspects of their lives that they feel should be discussed in Phase Two.

The second phase will involve a personal interview with each group member. This will be held at a location convenient for you and will take approximately one hour. During the personal interview I would like to discuss your leisure in relation to the topics that were identified in the group discussions.

After the individual interviews, I will invite the groups to get together again to consider the information that has been gathered from everyone and to assist me in confirming or revising my interpretation of the information received from the interviews. At this meeting, participants will be shown a summary of the findings and they will be asked to give me their impressions in order to help explain the results of the study. No individual names will be attached to any of the findings so that the identity of the participants is not included in my write up or in the discussion of the information. I would like to use a tape recorder to audio tape our conversations and these will be destroyed once the material has been brought together for the purposes of this thesis. During the discussions and in writing up these discussions, everything that people discuss will be treated confidentially. All interviews are

expected to be approximately 90 minutes in length. You are quite free to choose not to take part in this study, now or later on, and once the discussions get underway you may withdraw your participation at any time.

If you agree to participate and if your parents also consent to your being involved in this study, I ask that you please sign the enclosed agreement to participate. I will also request that a similar form be signed by your parents.

At the university, we have an office called the Office of Human Research which looks over studies like this to ensure that research involving people and procedures used meet the University guidelines. If you have any concerns or questions about this study, you can call that office and speak to the Director, Dr. Susan Sykes, at 519-885-1211, Ext.6005. You may also reach me at 519- 885-1211, Ext. 3894 , at my email address: sctirone@healthy.uwaterloo.ca, or by mail at the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo, N2L 3G1.

Thanks for taking time to contact me and for your interest in this study.

Yours Truly,

Susan Tirone

Agreement to Participate

I have read the letter describing the purpose and the process of the research being conducted by Susan Tirone on the impact of leisure on the lives of adolescents who are in families of Indian and Pakistani origin. I understand that the study will also look at aspects of the lives of the adolescents that impact their leisure. As a participant I realise that my son/daughter will be asked to take part in a discussion group, a personal interview and a summary meeting. Each of these will be audio taped and will take approximately one hour. I further understand that all information I provide will be held in confidence and neither I or my child will be identified in any way in the final report. I acknowledge that I or my son/daughter may withdraw consent to participate at any time.

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through the Office of Human Research at the University of Waterloo. This office will receive any complaints or concerns with regard to your involvement in the study.

Having read the description of the study in the Information Letter, I hereby give permission for my son/daughter (name) _____ to participate in Susan Tirone's study.

Signature_____

Date_____

I agree to participate in Susan Tirone's study

Signature_____

Date_____

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University of Waterloo

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
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Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
519/885-1211

Fax: 519/746-6776
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June 24, 1997

Dear

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for participating in the study I conducted for my Ph.D. research on how leisure impacts the lives of teens and young adults who are the sons and daughters of immigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Your input has helped leisure researchers to gain an understanding of leisure in the lives of one group of Canadians who do not identify with the dominant cultural groups.

A copy of an article that summarizes the main findings of the study is enclosed with this letter. Should you wish further information about the study, please feel free to contact me at 886-7134 or through the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo at 885-1211, ext. 3894. Again, I thank you for your participation and your contribution to the success of my study.

Yours truly

Susan Tirone

encl.

Interview guide for Phase one focus groups and interviews

Preliminary remarks
Participants need to sign the consent forms. Parents need not give their approval.

Introduction of the study
       1. Previous research
       2. This study, what it aims to do

This study is about teens and young university students and their leisure. It is specifically aimed at teens who are living in families that are not part of the dominant, white, western or European cultural groups.

       3. Research Method

Focus Groups

This meeting is a focus group. It is a meeting in which you are being asked your ideas, and also we will be able to discuss those ideas as a group. So other people have a chance to give their own ideas about your thoughts.

The purpose of this meeting is to help me to develop the questions for the in-depth interviews in phase two of the project.

Leisure and teens

Let's look at some things that we know about the leisure of teens in Canada and North America. This is information that comes from research about teens.

Friends
1.   Friendships are a very important aspect of teens lives. Several researchers have said that the reason teens like school is that it is where their friends are.

Is that true for you?
Who are your friends?
Have you had opportunities to make lots of friends?
Are friends an important aspect of leisure for you?
Do you have friends who are not of Indian and Pakistani descent?
Are these friends different in any way from you? Do they have restrictions placed on them by their families that you do not face, or do you face more restrictions?
What do you like to do with your friends for leisure?
Is dating a part of your leisure?
If not, is it something you feel you are missing out on?
If yes, is it like your white friends or those from the dominant cultural groups?

One researcher says that the leisure of teen aged girls is in their bedrooms and on the phone. That is because the girls in that study spent so much time talking to their friends on the phone? Some researchers believe that girls are much more introspective than boys and have less fun than boys do in their teens years. Is that true for you and your friends?

If not what is different?

For boys, it seems that boys in their teens are much more active than girls. They spend less time agonising over what everyone else is saying doing and thinking; and they get out and do fun stuff.

Is that rue for you and your male friends?

If not, what is different?

Do you watch TV?

What do you think of North American TV, media, music industry?

What do your parents think of it?

Some people have said that Indian parents see thing on TV, like the depiction of casual sex, and drinking, and that it has frightened the parents. Some parents see things like gang violence on the news and then forbid their children from going out.

Does TV or the media affect your life in any way?

Your families?

Explain

Do you have your money for leisure?

Do your parents control your money in any way?

Do you think that you are missing out on things that other kids get to do?

FAMILIES

2.   The research literature says that parents and families remain important in the lives of teens but as the teens get older, like your age, parents are less important than friends.

Is that true for you?

Do you tend to be closer to one parent than the other?

What about siblings?

Are you closer to one than another?

Are males treated different from females in your family?

Explain

What things are important to your parents?

It seems that for some Indian families, parents worry about how others see their children and the family. It is important to work hard, to go to school, to dress a certain way.

Is that true of your community?

Is it any different than it is for other Indians? North Americans?

In some Indian and Pakistani families, fathers are the head of the household and responsible for working to support he family.

What is it like in your households?

Are women in the work force, often?

If your mothers work, what are their lives like?

Fathers lives?

When you are older and possibly married or in the work force, is there anything that you hope will be different in your lives than it is for your parents?

Is there divorce in your culture and religion?

Cultural group

3.   The research seems to show that minority ethnic teens benefit a lot from having strong ties with their cultural group. The group provides guidance when dealing with conflicts that they may face, and a strong sense of identity.

Do you have close or supportive relationships with your cultural group?

What kinds of activities do you do within your cultural group?

Is that important for your leisure?

Is connection to your cultural group of great importance to you?

Is it important to your parents?

Who are the friends of your parents?

Some of the students in the first group said that they find the Indian community is very competitive. For example, many of them complained that the parents compete with one another over the accomplishments of their children. This tends to affect the kids, and some kids feel that they don't want to have the same ties with the ethnic community when they get older.

One student said that her cultural community is not a good support for her family, because it is too competitive and the parents spend too much time gossiping.

What is it like in your community?

What is it like for you?

Does your culture constrain you in any way from having the opportunities for leisure that your friends from the dominant mainstream cultures have?

Should your cultural community survive in Canada?

What aspects of it should survive?

EDUCATION

4. Is education a big thing in your culture/ family?

Is it a sing of status for your family that you are at university?

Is Waterloo higher in status than other universities?

Did your parents have any say in what courses you are taking at university?

Do you live in residence

Do you have lots of contact with your parents while you are here at university?

APPEARANCE

5. For teens physical appearance is very important. We know that people judge or prejudge one another based on appearance all the time. Some Indian and Pakistani people wear distinctive clothing like hijab, and turbans.

What is it like for you to wear traditional clothing?

Does it affect the way you are able to make friends or enjoy your leisure?

Has it ever affected the way others have accepted you?

In School?

In sports?

In other leisure?

Do the women in your culture wear traditional clothing?

What is that like?

Do you wear it?

Is it important that I ask teens about their identity?

Almost all of the other participants have had situations where they have experienced intolerance.

Is racial intolerance an issue for you?

Explain

5.   When I spoke with the women in my first study they had many things to say about their own ideas of satisfaction, fulfilment, relaxation and enjoyment. They also made some comments about their children and the hopes and dreams they have for their children.

Lets look at a few things the women said:

Quotes from women in the Master's study of immigrant women.

6.   Is there anything I have missed about leisure in your lives?
If there was something you could change about your life, what would it be?

Thank you for participating in my first group. May I contact you later to give you the results of the study?

Return Interview to Review analysis With Participants

Present The Models
Review the continuum of assimilation
Do they agree

Questions
Many people from the dominant cultural groups believe the greater society is ideal. This is the basis of Canada immigration policy. IE we need people who blend in well and quickly.

Is the dominant culture ideal from your standpoint?

Do you identify with being Canadian at all?

I have the sense that most participants value having a duel identity. Many believe they have the best of both worlds, Indian culture and Canadian culture.
Some believe that there is little if any culture in Canada.
How can Indians or people of other minority groups continue to enjoy their cultures in Canada?
Does anything need to change in order for ethnic groups to endure?
Should they endure?

Is it important for you to be Canadian?
What do you value about being Canadian?
Are there aspects of Canadian culture that you do not like?
What are they?

There was some mention of marginal behaviors
IE Drinking, homosexual behavior, gangs and violence,
What should be said about this?

Is family history important to you?
History of your cultural group?
Should others know about your cultural history?
What could be done to promote understanding of your history?

Disability and the care provider role

I have been asked to write something about providing care in ethnic families. Several people have experienced illness, disability and care of elderly relatives in their families. So I have a few questions about the traditional role of care providers and how things will change as people assimilate in Canadian society.

Who is responsible for care of elderly and disabled people in South Asian families?
Is there a role for institutional care?

For those with physical disabilities?
Mental disabilities?
Mental health problems?

What will happen in your family? Will you bear any responsibility for caring for a relative?
If a parent becomes ill?
If someone is disabled?

Will the second generation have the same sense of responsibility as would immigrants, for the care of elderly relatives?
What would happen to your leisure if you had to care for an elderly relative or someone who is disabled?

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