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Latino Immigrant Parents in Canada:
Experiences and Adjustment to Raising Children
in the Absence of the Extended Family

by

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To my parents and my sister,
who have always been there for me despite being miles away.

To my children,
who are my inspiration and strength.

Abstract

The Latino population in Canada has been increasing during the past decade accounting for 11% of newcomers in 2011. One of the core values in Latino culture is *familism*, where the family is the main source of support and plays an important role in childrearing. This qualitative study focuses on the parenting experiences of Latinos in the absence of their extended family. Five couples from diverse backgrounds (Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Chile) and immigration status (permanent resident, refugee, temporary foreign worker, and student visa) were included in the sample. Data was analyzed using thematic analysis. Results highlighted that participants experienced feelings of loss, fear and increased responsibility after migration. However, families not only overcame the challenges but also focused on the "silver lining" such as increased mother and father involvement, increased family time, and nuclear family cohesion. Implications for cross-cultural counselling are discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Canada is a multicultural society, and "has been a plural society since

before its formal establishment as a nation state in 1867" (Noels & Berry, 2006, p.

274). In a plural society, people from diverse cultural and ethnical backgrounds

share the same social and political framework (Berry 2006a). The immigrant

population plays a significant role in a plural society, and has been rapidly

increasing during recent decades. The Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division of

Statistics Canada (2007) highlighted that in the 2006 Census, 19.8% of the

population in Canada was foreign-born; this is the highest proportion in 75 years.

The Latino Population in Canada

The Latino population, in particular, has contributed significantly to this

increase during the past decade, accounting for 8.5% of all newcomers in the year

2002 and 11% in 2011 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2011a). The

vast majority (40.4%) came as economic immigrants or skilled workers seeking

employment, 30.1% came under the Family Class immigration category involving

reunification with other family members already in Canada, 20.2% came as

refugees from war-torn regions, and 9.3% were listed as "Other Immigrants",

suggesting that their reasons for migration were varied. Main reasons for

migration of Latinos to Canada therefore reflect attempting to seek out better job

opportunities, be reunited with their families, and escape from violence and

persecution (CIC, 2011a). These percentages account for people who have been

granted the right to permanently settle in Canada. However, there are also a

significant number of temporary residents coming from Latin America,

particularly from Mexico. The second largest country of origin of Temporary Foreign Workers is Mexico, right after the United States (CIC, 2011b). Canada also attracts International Students who come with a Student Visa to pursue undergraduate and graduate studies at different Canadian universities. The vast majority of those students come from China. However, there is also a significant number who come from Mexico and Colombia (CIC, 2011c). Therefore, there is a great diversity in the Immigration Status of Latinos currently living in Canada.

According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC, 2011f), most Latino immigrants coming from Central and South America (50.6%) are between the ages of 25 and 44, followed by children zero to 14 years old (18.5%) and youth aged 15 to 24 (15.8%). The Latin American population migrating to Canada is well educated, with almost one third (29.2%) of immigrants aged 15 or older, having at least a bachelors degree; 18.2% have between 10 to 12 years of school (this includes youth that due to their age are expected to be in high school), and 11.5% have a non-university diploma (CIC, 2011e).

In the literature the terms Latino and Hispanic are used interchangeably. However people do not refer to themselves as Hispanics unless they are filling out official documents; people prefer to refer to themselves as Latinos, or by their country of origin, e.g., Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Chileans, etc. (Organista, 2007). Manning and Baruth (2004) include in the Hispanic American culture: Mexican Americans, Central and South Americans, Spanish Americans, Latin Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Guatemalans, and Salvadorans.

There is a great diversity among Latinos. The diversity comes not only from the variety of countries included in the Latino community, but also the cultural differences within each country. Manning and Baruth (2004) point out that they "share many values and goals but are different in many aspects (p.181). The term Latino includes a rich diversity of ethno-cultural groups but it can be considered as a single culture because there are some commonalities, shared values, and identification among members as part of the same cultural group (Baruth & Manning, 2012; Chun & Akutsu, 2003). Furthermore, people coming from these countries identify with each other as members of the same community.

The Centrality of Family in the Childrearing Process in Latino Culture

As is evident from the characteristics of the Latino immigrant population presented above, there is a large number of Latino immigrant parents currently raising their children in Canada. Latino immigrant parents bring with them their own culture, values, beliefs, child-rearing practices, family life and norms. There is richness in what they bring with them. However, raising children in a different culture also has many challenges. Parents pass through a process of acculturation, defined as a "process of cultural and psychological change that results from continuing contact between people of different cultural backgrounds" (Berry, 2006a, p. 27). They may need to adapt their parenting strategies, expectations, and roles to adjust to the new context.

In the shared Latino culture, the extended family plays an important role in child rearing, cultural identification, and maintaining cultural values (Organista, 2007). One of the main cultural values identified as characteristic of the Latino

culture in the literature is *familismo*, defined as the identification and attachment with nuclear and extended family members, involving feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Cortes, 1995; Marin & Gamba, 2003; Organista, 2007; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, VanOss Marin, and Perez-Stable, 1987). *Familismo* therefore encourages family members to maintain a close relationship with each other since the family serves as a guide for values and identity, and it is considered the most stable and important source of social support for its members. Social Support is defined as the perception and/or experience of being cared for, valued, esteemed by others, and part of a social network that provides mutual assistance and support (Wills, 1991 as cited in Taylor, 2011). In its application to childrearing, *familismo* often plays out in the direct utilization of immediate and extended family members in the child care and cultural socialization/transmission process, giving them roles with major responsibility and regard (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Organista, 2007). The implementation of the value of *familismo* may be challenged or disrupted by immigration under Canada's immigration system.

CIC's regulations for immigration under the Family Class only consider spouses and partners, dependent children, parents and grandparents[1] as eligible relatives for the purpose of immigration. Other family members such as brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and cousins are not eligible for immigration under the Family-Class. Furthermore, the only family members than can immigrate with an

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1 Since November 5, 2011, the sponsorship for parents and grandparents has been temporary "paused" due to a backlog. CIC has received more applications than they can process under this category. Parents and grandparents will be able to apply for a "parent and grandparent supervisa" that will allow them to visit their family for up to 24 months at a time without renewing their status (CIC, 2011d)

applicant are their spouse or partner, and their dependent children (CIC, 2011d).

Similarly, skilled worker immigrants under the economic class are only allowed

to bring their spouse and dependent children with them to Canada. Other family

members have to be left behind and can only be brought to Canada years later

after a sponsorship application is initiated and accepted, and this is limited to

parents/grandparents only. Refugees also have to leave multiple family members

behind in their escape from persecution, disrupting pre-migration social support

networks (CIC, 2011). It is clear from the circumstances of immigration of

Latinos in these immigration categories that most immigrants have to leave

behind their extended family. In a culture such as the Latino culture where the

role of the extended family is so important, raising children with the absence of

those family members may have a significant impact on their experiences and

adjustment to parenting in the new cultural context of Canada.

Purpose of the Study and Focus of Previous Research

This qualitative study focuses on the experiences and adjustment process

of Latino parents raising their children in Canada in the absence of their extended

family. Existing studies on Latino immigrant parents have been conducted mostly

in the United States. These studies have focused on acculturation and adherence to

cultural values (Chavez, 2009; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Vanoss Marin, &

Perez-Stable, 1987), child rearing values (Backstrom, 2004; Gonzales-Ramos,

Zayas & Cohen, 1998), parenting practices and parental control (Calzada &

Eyberg, 2002; Halgunseth, Ispa & Rudy, 2006; Parsai & Villar, 2010), and

differences in parent-adolescent acculturation (Davidson & Cardemil, 2009;

Denis, Basañez & Farahmand, 2010; Schofiel, Parke, Kim & Coltrane, 2008; Smokowski, Rose & Bacallao, 2008). This last topic has also been studied in Canada (Merali, 2002; Merali, 2005a; Merali, 2005b).

There is one qualitative study that has identified challenges and strengths of Latino immigrant parents with adolescent children (Perreira, Chapman & Stein, 2006). One of the challenges identified in the study was the loss of family connections and other forms of social support. In this study conducted in the United States, 83% of the parents interviewed were mothers, and 63% of participants were of Mexican origin. Therefore the findings may not be transferable to the Canadian context, or to fathers' parenting experiences.

The experience of immigration to the U.S. and Canada is unlikely to be the same. US immigration policies encourage assimilation, where a positive relationship with the new culture is valued, without the intent of retaining one's own culture, whereas in Canada, immigration policies encourage integration, where maintaining one's culture of origin is as valued as having positive relations with the dominant culture (Berry, 2003, 2006).

Furthermore, there are no studies that have looked at how losing those family connections and social support has affected parents of young children. Infants to elementary school age children usually require more time, attention, and support due to their unique developmental stage, perhaps making it more challenging to support their development in the absence of extended family for immigrants previously embedded in strong familial networks. Previous studies do not address the issue of how Latinos with young children living in Canada

experience parenting in the absence of extended family, and how their parenting roles and social support network may have changed after migration in response to the new context.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the parenting experiences and adjustment of an ethnically mixed sample of Latino immigrant mothers and fathers of children zero to ten years old who have immigrated to Canada without their extended family. The guiding research questions are: (a) How do Latino immigrants, parenting young children in a Canadian city, experience and adjust to the absence of extended family? (b) How do their parenting roles, strategies, and social support network change after migration in response to the absence of extended family members? And (c) What resources and strengths have they found useful in their process of acculturation in the Canadian context?

Findings from this research can contribute significantly to understanding the experiences and adjustment of Latino mothers and fathers parenting young children in the Canadian context. Counsellors working with newcomers can benefit from this knowledge to better support this population with issues related to losses of extended family due to migration, as well as the reinforcement and development of resources and strengths that contribute to a smoother and successful acculturation process.

Overview of Thesis

Chapter two of this thesis provides a literature review that facilitates an understanding of the main concepts of this study, as well as provides an overview

of what has been studied so far regarding the experiences of Latino immigrant families. It concludes with a section on the statement of the problem. In chapter three, a description of the study methodology is presented, starting with the research approach and followed by a detailed description of the research process from recruitment of participants to data analysis. Chapter four is the results chapter. This chapter outlines the themes that emerged from participants' interviews illustrated by extracts from the interviews in participants' own words. Finally, in chapter five the discussion and conclusions are presented, including an interpretation of the results based on the literature, implications for counselling, limitations of the study and future directions.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

History of Migration of Latinos

Historically, most people immigrating from Mexico and Central America have chosen the U.S. as the country of destination, whereas South Americans have chosen to emigrate mostly to Europe, in particular to Spain, Portugal and Italy. Forty-nine percent of the immigrant population in the U.S. comes from Latin America, and 57.5% of that population in 2006 came from Mexico (Durand & Massey, 2010). Prior to 1970, there was practically no Latino migration to Canada (Simmons, 1992). The first flow of immigrants coming from Chile arrived in the 70s and another flow of immigrants coming from El Salvador in the 80s. Most of these immigrants were fleeing from their countries due to civil war or dictatorial right-wing regimes. Changes in Canadian refugee and immigration policies facilitated these migration flows (Simmons, 1992).

Data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2011g) shows that among Latino immigrants there has been a shift in the category of migration. In the year 2000, 51.4% immigrated to Canada under the family class and 35% as economic immigrants, whereas in 2011, 30.1% belonged to family class, and 40.43% were economic immigrants. Family class immigrants are sponsored to come to Canada by immediate family members already residing in Canada who are citizens or permanent residents. Thus, they are being re-unified with family members they have been separated from through migration. In contrast, economic immigrants come as skilled workers seeking employment opportunities in Canada, and are admitted to Canada based on a combination of their credentials and previous work

experience. The above data suggests that there could be a shift in reasons for migration, having now more cases of economically-driven migrants. However, it is also possible that many of the cases of immigration under family class in the early 2000s were also related to economic reasons; for example, one family member migrated first and once established facilitated the migration of their family members in a staggered migration process.

A closer look at the immigration data on Latinos in Canada shows that during the years 2005 and 2006 there is a peak in the immigration of refugees, accounting for 31% of Latin American immigrants. Immigration under the "other immigrants" category has also increased (most cases under this category are Humanitarian and Compassionate cases). Immigration under this category jumped from 3.9% to 9.5% from 2002 to 2003, and accounted for 11.1% of the cases in 2009 (CIC, 2011g). From this information, it is clear that Latino immigration to Canada has steadily been increasing over the past several decades for a variety of reasons.

Immigration and Culture

In the process of migration, Latinos move to a country that it is not their own to resettle. People bring with them their own culture and ways of life to the new country. A closer look to what this means will help to understand the challenges and richness of the process of migration and its relationship with culture and acculturation processes among this mixed immigrant and refugee group.

Definition of Culture

Culture is an abstract concept. Culture is not directly observable; what we can observe are the different human behaviours that are manifestations of culture. Culture describes similarities within a group and differences between groups. This abstract concept of culture inferred by human behaviours has a life of its own. It feeds back onto those behaviours and reinforces our conception of those similarities and differences. However culture is also dynamic, it is not static. There is a dynamic relationship between behaviour and culture, and there will always be a level of discrepancy between them. This creates a tension in this relationship that often results in changes in culture (Matsumoto, 2000). Matsumoto (2000) defines culture as "a dynamic system of rules, explicit and implicit, established by groups in order to ensure their survival, involving attitudes, values, believes, norms, and behaviours, shared by a group but harboured differently by each specific unit within the group, communicated across generations, relatively stable but with the potential to change across time" (p.24).

Dimensions of Cultural Variability

Dimension of cultural variability refers to the aspects that can be observed to differentiate one culture from another. One of the most relevant dimensions, and the one used by most scholars in their studies is *Individualism vs Collectivism* (IC). This dimension refers to the degree a culture prioritizes individual needs and goals over collective ones, or the degree it encourages sacrifice of personal needs to benefit the group. Individualistic societies value independence, assertiveness, and autonomy, whereas collectivistic societies encourage loyalty, solidarity, and

interdependence. Members of individualistic cultures see themselves as individuals separated from others, whereas members of collectivistic societies see themselves as part of a group, connected to others (Matsumoto, 2000).

Other dimensions identified by Matsumoto (2000) based on previous research are (a) *Power distance* or *status differentiation* - which refers to the degree of power imbalance and stratification among the members of a cultural group and the degree to which they maintain such status differences; (b) *Uncertainty avoidance* - which refers to the degree cultures create rituals and institutions to reduce the anxiety created by ambiguity; (b) *Masculinity* - referring to the degree a culture encourages traditional gender roles and values or not; (c) *Tightness* - which refers to the degree of homogeneity within the culture; and (d) *Contextualization* - referring to the degree the culture encourages different behaviours according to the context.

Latino Culture and Values

The Latino culture includes a rich diversity of ethno-cultural groups. However the commonalities, shared values, and identification among members makes Latinos consider themselves as part of the same cultural community (Chun & Akutsu, 2003). Some of these commonalities are cultural values that have been found as predominant in several studies conducted with the Latino population.

Empirical literature on Latino families conveys some common core values such as: *familism* or *familismo, respeto* and *personalismo*. This does not mean that we can pigeonhole Latinos, it just means that in general they will relate to each of these values at a higher level than their Anglo-American or Anglo-Canadian

counterparts (Organista, 2007). Halgunseth, Ispa, and Rudy (2006) identify the value of moral education (*educación*) as one of the shared values among Latinos of all national origins, together with *familism* and *respeto*. Each of these core cultural values and related behaviours will be further described shortly.

Latino cultural values reflect a higher emphasis on collectivistic tendencies, rather than individualistic ones. For example, in a study with a convenience sample of 80 Puerto Rican low-income mothers living in the U.S., mothers indicated that the most important childrearing values for them were to be honest, be respectful and obedient, be responsible, be loyal to the family and affectionate. Other values identified as more Anglo-American such as be assertive and creative were ranked last (Gonzales-Ramos, Zayas, Cohen, 1998).

Familism. In the literature, the terms *familism, familialism* and *familialismo* are used interchangeably. *Familism* has been identified as one of the most important values in Latino culture. *Familism* is defined as the identification and attachment with nuclear and extended family members, involving feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Cortes, 1995; Marin & Gamba, 2003; Organista, 2007; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, VanOss Marin, and Perez-Stable,1987). *Familism* encourages close contact and a sense of self as part of family, and it serves as a guide for values and identity. *Familism* is consistent with a collectivist perspective, in contrast with Anglo-American norms that value more individualism, competition, independence, and individuation from family as an adult (Marin & Gamba, 2003; Organista, 2007). In this sense *familism* considers the family as the primary source of instrumental and emotional

support and the commitment to the family over the individual's needs and desires (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). *Familism* has three components identified by Sabogal et al. (1987): familial obligation, perceived support from family, and family as referents. Family as referents means that family members of greater authority and status (such as parents) are expected to be role models for other family members and that their behaviour is expected to guide and shape the behaviour of others in the family, as well as facilitate the transmission of the Latino cultural heritage over time.

Respeto. *Respeto* is the Spanish word for "respect". It refers to paying deference towards those who are perceived as having a higher status (e.g., social position, older age). *Respeto* is valued more than assertiveness or independence. Therefore, children are expected to obey their parents as a way to show respect towards them (Organista, 2007). This term also implies the respect of the roles of each member of the family. For example, Valdés (1996) explains how by age four children are taught the verbal and non-verbal rules of respect, such as the way they are supposed to greet elders, not interrupting conversations between adults, not contradicting or challenging an elder's point of view, and polite ways to interact with adults. These are all examples of ways to show *respeto*.

Educación. This core value of Latino culture refers to the moral education of children, including training in responsibility, morality and appropriate interpersonal relationships (Halgunseth et al. 2006). The term "*bien educado*" is often used, referring to children who have been raised properly and follow the codes of interpersonal protocol and traditional values, whereas "*malcriado*" refers

to the opposite, children who are not raised properly (Organista, 2007). Other researchers have also found this core value in their studies of Latino families, children that are "*bien educados*" behave in accordance with their roles as children, they have good manners, are polite, warm, honest, respectful and responsible (Reese, Kroesen, & Gallimore, 2000; Valdéz, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999).

Raising Children in a Different Culture

Immigrant parents face the challenge of raising their children in a different culture than the one they grew up in. An understanding of the process of acculturation, how that process is likely to occur in Canada and the implications of acculturation for family dynamics, is needed to understand the implications of raising children in a different culture for Latino immigrant parents.

Acculturation

Definition. Acculturation is "a process of cultural and psychological change that results from the continuing contact between people of different cultural backgrounds" (Berry, 2006a, p.27). The stress of acculturation would be greater when the cultural differences between the people in contact are greater (Berry, 2006a). In theory, two different cultural groups that enter in contact could influence each other in the process of acculturation. However, in reality one group is usually larger or more powerful than the other, therefore, it dominates the less powerful group. This inequity in the interaction increases the stress in the process of acculturation. The process of acculturation starts with a *contact* between two groups and the conditions under which these groups meet are important (e.g.,

voluntary immigration, refugee status, invasion). Once groups are in contact,

often the dominant group in society shapes and drives all host society institutions

and social systems, such as schools, health care services, etc., often leaving the

non-dominant groups in a state of conflict or tension. In order to reduce this

tension there is a process of accommodation that results in eventual adaptation to

one's new circumstances of living in intercultural contact. (Berry, 2003).

Types of acculturation. Minority groups have different ways of adapting

to a new culture. Berry (2006a) categorizes the type of acculturation according to

two main elements: the valuation and desire to maintain the culture of origin, and

the valuation and intention to establish positive relationships with the host culture.

Individuals or groups will adapt using an integration strategy of acculturation

when they attempt to maintain their culture of origin and they also desire to have

positive relations with the dominant culture. This is the type of acculturation

preferred by the majority of immigrants, and it reflects a stance of biculturalism.

People will adapt by use of an assimilation strategy when they value positive

relationships with the new culture, but do not intend to retain their own culture.

They perceive it as most advantageous to their adaptation to relinquish the culture

they have brought with them. Separation is a type of acculturation strategy that

reflects individuals making the decision to only interact with members of their

own culture and fully retain their heritage, while keeping a distance from the host

culture and its associated ways of life. The last type of acculturation strategy,

marginalization, reflects individuals or groups not fully identifying with their own

culture or the host or dominant culture, and not necessarily desiring to adopt or

maintain aspects of either. This stance may result from adverse experiences in both the country of origin and the receiving country, for example, being persecuted for one's group membership in the country of origin during war or ethnic conflict, and subsequently encountering racism and barriers to acceptance in Canada, leading to withdrawal from Canadian culture.

As becomes evident, the acculturation process does not depend solely on the immigrant person or group, it also depends on the openness of the host culture. Some cultures are more open to multiculturalism and will have the tendency to facilitate newcomer integration. For other cultures, the ideal process of acculturation is the melting pot, where immigrants have to adopt the ways of the host culture and leave behind their own ways, assimilating to the new culture. The dominant culture could demand and enforce separation, leading to segregation. Finally, if marginalization is imposed on a group it generates exclusion (Berry, 2006a). The research supports that integration is the most successful form of adaptation, and marginalization the least successful, even in societies that foster assimilation and are not supportive of multiculturalism (Berry, 2006b). Berry (2006b) characterizes Canadian society as one that has an official policy of multiculturalism, allowing incoming groups the freedom to integrate if they so choose.

Theoretical perspectives. There are two main theoretical perspectives regarding acculturation: "stress, coping and adaptation" (Berry 2006b), and "cultural learning" (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Acculturative stress "is a response by people to life events that are rooted in intercultural contact" (Berry, 2006,

p.43). Often, these responses include depression (due to feelings of cultural loss) and anxiety (related to feelings of uncertainty about how to behave in the new culture). From this perspective coping strategies can be developed to deal with the stress of acculturation leading to a form of adaptation (Berry, 2006b). The stress of acculturation is higher when the behavioural and cultural similarities between the two groups in contact are lower, and when the dominant group has a lower tolerance for cultural diversity (Berry, 2003). Countries with higher support of cultural and behavioural diversity, such as Canada, reduce acculturation stress by allowing minority groups to maintain their cultural practices (Organista, 2007).

The cultural learning approach to acculturation emphasizes adaptation as a process of learning the specific skills of the new culture to be able to "fit-in" or negotiate effective interactions in the new context. From this perspective, learning the language of the dominant culture is rather important, as it is through communication that interactions take place (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Therefore, acquisition of social skills and effective ways of interaction is the focus of this approach. This includes identifying cross-cultural differences in verbal and non-verbal language, norms, conventions and practices that can lead to misunderstanding. Principles of learning can then be applied (Masgored & Ward, 2006).

Acculturation in Canada. Societies that are supportive of cultural pluralism, such as Canada, facilitate settlement and adaptation of new immigrants, because they tend to encourage integration rather than enforce cultural loss or exclusion of immigrants. They are more likely to provide services and social

support that are culturally sensitive and help with integration to the larger society. However, even in pluralistic societies there might be a variability in the degree of acceptance of certain groups, therefore some groups with in a pluralistic society may suffer discrimination and rejection, leading to poor adaptation of that particular group (Berry, 2006b).

Canadian immigration policy seeks to: (a) increase inter-group harmony by fostering mutual acceptance and respect; (b) avoid assimilation, encouraging newcomers to maintain their own culture; (c) encourage intergroup contact and sharing; and (d) promote learning of official languages, in order to facilitate full participation in Canadian society (Noels & Berry, 2006). Canada's immigration policy bases its objectives on the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. The main objectives are to reunite families, support the economy with the contribution of immigrants, and provide asylum and protection to refugees, while at the same time protecting the health and safety of Canadians and denying access to persons that are criminals or represent a security risk. These objectives are reflected in the three main classes of immigrants: family-class (reunite families), economic-class (foster stronger economy), and refugees (humanitarian responsibilities). "In Canada, the integrationist perspective has become legislated in a multiculturalism policy that encourages and supports the maintenance of valued features of all cultures for those who would like to retain them, and at the same time supports full participation of all ethnocultural groups in the evolving institutions of the larger society" (Berry, 2003, p. 34).

Families and Acculturation. Not every immigrant or refugee acclimatizes to the new culture at the same rate or uses the same acculturation strategy. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) suggested three patterns of acculturation that may impact parent-child relationships: (a) Consonant acculturation: parents and children learn the language and culture of the host country at similar pace. This process is associated with family cohesion, specially in families with adolescent children; (b) Dissonant acculturation: children learn the host language and cultural values at a faster pace than their parents, leading to more family conflicts, decrease of parental authority and even a decrease of the value children perceive of their native culture; (c) Selective acculturation: children are considered bicultural, they learn the host culture language and values and they maintain significant elements of their culture of origin, thus not disrupting family dynamics.

Parenting Practices and Expectations of Latinos

Latino childrearing practices tend to reflect their family values. For example, children are expected to obey and respect the parents, related with the value of "*respeto*", being right and being assertive is secondary to respect for elders and obeying them without arguing (Organista, 2000). Similarly, children are expected to follow moral norms and good manners; they are expected to be "*well behaved*" or "*bien educados*" (Reese, Kroesen, & Gallimore, 2000; Organista, 2007; Valdéz, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999). Parental authority and control, and child discipline are used to achieve these expectations. Children that are well behaved are considered a reflection of good parenting. However, Halgunseth et al. (2006) found that some Latino parents decide to change traditional values and

childrearing goals when seen as no longer adaptive in their new host countries, incorporating new childrearing goals taken from the host culture (e.g., independence) as they are perceived as more adaptive or useful for the new context. This suggests that moving into a new country and culture may lead to some level of flexibility, change, or conscious adaptation on the part of Latino families.

Parental authority and control. Parsai, Nieri, and Villar (2010), in a study with Mexican immigrant parents in the U.S. reported that parents expressed a concern over the levels of freedom given to children in U.S. society. Parents considered themselves as authority figures, and therefore entitled to have power/control over their children. However, they found that children's freedom was highly valued in America conflicting with the recognition of their authority and *respeto* towards them. Moreover, parents reported feeling increased responsibility and a higher need for control because they no longer had their extended family and neighbours to share childrearing responsibility, as most Latino families typically have in their countries of origin. The individualism in American culture emphasizes the responsibility of parents and relying less on the support of the community, including the school system that may not respond to parent expectations of restricting children's behaviours. However, the findings of this study suggested that Latino parents preferred a community-based support network to help facilitate proper cultural transmission to their children (Parsai et al., 2010).

Hangulseth et al. (2006) reported on a series of studies related to parental

control in Latino families from various cultural subgroups and countries of origin.

Results of these studies suggest that Latino parents tend to be more protective

than their Anglo American counterparts, plus they tend to implement more rules

and extrafamilial control (e.g., stricter curfews). The rationale behind this appears

to be that Latino parents prefer their children to be at home so they can teach their

own cultural values because they no longer have the social institutions to rely on

to do this after immigration to the U.S. context. This could be assumed to be

similar in Canada as well. This is particularly because cultural values in the U.S.

are different and they do not reinforce values such as *familismo, respeto*, and

educación (Hangulseth et al., 2006). Hangulseth et al. (2006) caution to be aware

of the great diversity among the Latino population. They point out that the values

and behaviours may vary according to country of origin, reasons for migration,

SES, acculturation, child age and gender.

Family values. Research has found evidence suggesting that changes in

core values during the process of acculturation influence changes in behaviours

(Marin, VanOss Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Sabogal, Perez-Stable, 1989). Research

about changes in Latino core values with acculturation is however inconclusive

and inconsistent. Measures of acculturation vary depending on the study, for

example, Sabogal et al. (1987) used the S*hort Acculturation Scale for Hispanics*

developed by Marin et al. (1987) to study the relationship between acculturation

and familism, whereas Griffith and Villavicencio (1985) measure acculturation

according to the language used to respond the interview (Spanish or English) and

the generational distance from Mexico. Also some studies focus more on attitudinal values whereas others look at behavioural changes.

Sabogal et al.'s (1987) study on *familism* showed that acculturation did not affect the perceived support from family, but it did decrease the feeling of familial obligation and the power of family members as referents. However, despite this decrease in more acculturated Latinos, they are more family oriented that their non-Latino White counterparts. Other studies have also found that the importance of family and family values is maintained through generations even though individuals of a third generation may identify more with the culture of the host country rather than the Latino culture (Perez & Padilla, 2000). Given the critical emphasis on social support in the Latino culture and its core value system, we further consider social support and social support networks in the following section.

<div align="center">**Social Support Network**</div>

Definition

Social support is the perception and/or experience of being cared for, valued, esteemed by others, and part of a network that provides mutual assistance and support (Wills, 1991 as cited in Taylor, 2011). Heaney and Israel (2002) define social network as "the web of social relationships that surround individuals" (p.185) and social support as the "aid and assistance exchanged through social relationships and interpersonal transactions" (p.187). In this sense, social support happens within a social network but the web of relationships may or not be supportive or provide help. Social support network therefore refers to

the web of social relationships that provide social support. Social support may come from family members, partners, friends, coworkers, community helpers, members of religious groups or volunteer organizations, doctors, nurses, and/or social and community ties (Gurung, 2010; Taylor, 2011). Social support is intended to be helpful and is provided in a context of caring, trust, and respect (Heaney & Israel, 2002).

Types of Social Support

Social Support has been categorized into four broad types (Gurung, 2010; Heaney & Israel, 2002; Taylor, 2011):

- ⚐ *Emotional support* involves the provision of warmth, nurturing, empathy, caring, love, trust, and concern.

- ⚐ *Instrumental support* involves the provision of tangible direct assistance, such as services, specific aid, financial assistance and/or provision of goods to help a person in need.

- ⚐ *Informational support* involves the provision of information, advice, suggestions, and feedback, that can help the person in need to better understand a stressful situation or address a problem.

- ⚐ *Esteem/Appraisal support* involves the provision of constructive feedback, affirmation, and encouragement that helps the person in need to build self-confidence.

Social support is usually measured in terms of the structure of socially supportive networks, namely the number of social relationships an individual has and how well socially integrated the person is, or in terms of functional support, assessed in

terms of specific functions (emotional, instrumental, informational, esteem/appraisal) that a specific member of the support network may serve to an individual in the context of coping with particular life stressors (Taylor, 2011).

In the social support literature there has been a debate about the circumstances in which social support may be beneficial. One hypothesis is known as the Direct Effect hypothesis, this hypothesis states that social support is directly beneficial to mental and physical health during stressful and non-stressful times. The other hypothesis sustains that social support has a Buffering Effect and therefore it is beneficial for physical and mental health during stressful times, but it has minimal effect during non-stressful moments (Taylor, 2011). How social support affects wellbeing seems to depend on the situation being considered. For example, research focusing on social integration has found evidence of a direct effect of amount of social support on mental and physical health (Thoits, 1995). On the other hand, research focused on the perception of social support availability has been associated with both direct and buffering effects depending whether considering physical or mental health (Wethington & Kessler, 1986).

Immigration and Social Support Network

Immigration and the process of acculturation are often related to stress and the use of coping strategies to adapt (Berry, 2006b). In collectivistic cultures, such as the Latino culture, seeking social support from family, members of their ethnic group or others that have passed through similar situations, is an important coping strategy (Gurung, 2006). The immigration process requires adaptation. Some of the stressors associated with this process are the loss of family, home, and

country. Social support facilitates the capacity to cope with transitional

circumstances (Levit, Lane, & Levit, 2005; Young, 2001). Moreover, social

support "plays a particularly important role during major transition periods by

enhancing coping, moderating the impact of stressors and promoting health"

(Simich, Beiser, Steward, & Mwakarimba, 2005, p.259). Social support network

within the context of migration contributes to satisfy needs, helps with integration,

social participation, and adjustment to the new environment, plus it promotes

positive events that help to cope with the negative ones (Dominguez-Fuentes &

Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012). In their study of happiness and social support in

immigrant women in Spain, Dominguez-Fuentes and Hombrados-Mendieta

(2012) found that family was the most relevant source of emotional, instrumental,

and informational support. Friendships made in the host country are also an

important source of support, plus they help new immigrants to become part of

other networks, and aid in cultural understanding of the host society. In the same

study they found that for immigrant women the most valued types of support from

indigenous people and associations were instrumental and informational support.

Furthermore, the satisfaction with the quality of support was more important than

the frequency of support.

The stress related to migration increases the need for social support, at the

same time migration itself is likely to be responsible for the loss of pre-migration

sources of support such as family, friends and other members of the support

network in the country of origin (Levit, Lane, & Levit, 2005). Given the value of

familismo in the Latino culture and the reliance it may place on extended family

members in the childrearing process, parenting in the absence of critical familial supports may pose a significant challenge. Immigrant and refugee parents and children with higher availability of social support have been found to have lower stress and better adjustment (Levit, Lane, & Levit, 2005; Young, 2001).

Latino Immigrant Family Cultural Adaptation/Adjustment Process

Previous research on the cultural adaptation/adjustment process of Latino immigrant families has focused on topics such as acculturation and adherence to cultural values or parent-child acculturation gaps. Most of these studies have been conducted in the U.S. Also, there is an interesting study on challenges and strengths of Latino parents.

Acculturation and Adherence to Cultural Values

In the process of acculturation and adaptation to a new culture, immigrant families maintain some cultural values while they modify or adapt others. Sabogal et al. (1987) studied the interaction between *familism* and acculturation to identify what aspects of this core value changed and which ones did not. In a study with 452 Latinos/Hispanics from various subcultural groups and 227 White non-Hispanics; they found three basic dimension of *familism*: familial obligation, perceived support from the family, and family as referents. Their results showed that the perception of family support was high for all levels of acculturation. In other words, it didn't change. However, the familial obligation and the perception of family as reference point decreased as the level of acculturation increased. However, even those with higher levels of acculturation had more family-oriented attitudes than non-Hispanics.

Several studies have also explored childrearing values among the Latino population. Baclstrom (2004) examined 63 low-income Mexican-American fathers' child rearing values and their involvement with their pre-school children. Findings of the research showed that more acculturated fathers rated Western values such as "be independent" and "be creative" higher. Whereas less acculturated fathers rated as more important values such as "be loyal to the family", "be honest", "share with others", and "have a sense of what is wrong" that according with the literature adhere to traditional Latino values. In this sample, the results showed that fathers were involved in several areas of parenting such as disciplining, rule-setting, parenting chores, and play activities. Gonzales-Ramos, Zayas and Cohen (1998) found similar results in their study with a convenience sample of 80 Puerto Rican mothers with at least one child under the age of 6. Results of this study showed that mothers rated honesty, respect and obedience, responsibility and loyalty to the family as the most important values for them, and assertiveness and creativity as the least important. Fisher, Harvey, and Driscoll (2009) used a mixed sample of 98 Latino immigrant mothers of children between ages 1 and 12. These mothers spoke Spanish as their primary language and had been living in the U.S. for at least one year. Results of the study concluded that mothers still valued relational qualities, role modeling and firm parental control in their children, and aspired to rear their children using these ideas.

Parent-Adolescent Acculturation Gap

Latino immigrant families pass through a process of acculturation and adaptation. However, this process might not be the same for every member of the family. Researchers have looked at the differences in parent-adolescent acculturation processes. Smokowski, Rose and Bacallao (2008) used a sample of 402 Latino families across cultural subgroups to observe how these differences impacted family dynamics. Their results showed that families with greater parent-adolescent acculturation gaps had lower family cohesion, adaptability and *familism*. Dennis, Basañez and Farahmand (2010) found similar results with a sample of 331 Latino college students; they concluded that families with lower family cohesion and higher family control were more likely to perceive intergenerational conflicts related to acculturation. They also found that first and second generation Latino students reported more acculturation conflicts than third generation Latinos. Most of the students in the sample were females (70%), and the majority were of Mexican origin (70%). Schofiel, Parke, Kim and Coltrane (2008) studied the relationship between acculturation gaps and parent-child conflict with a sample of 132 Mexican American fifth graders and their parents. The results of the study suggested that acculturation gaps were related to increased father-child conflict. This was true only for fathers and only when the quality of father-child relationship was low.

The previous studies were all conducted in the U.S. Studies on acculturation gaps have also been conducted in Canada. Merali (2002) in a study with 50 Hispanic parent-adolescent dyads compared perceived versus actual

parent-adolescent assimilation disparity. Results indicated that the disparities were sometimes overestimated and sometimes underestimated. In a follow up study (Merali, 2005a) results showed that parents were better judges of family cultural views than their adolescent children. The poorer judgment of adolescents could generate family conflict when they applied school-learned behaviour at home. In a qualitative study Merali (2005b) analyzed 6 Hispanic refugee parent-adolescent dyads who had favourably judged the family's cultural transition process, meaning that their perception of acculturation gap was smaller than the actual difference. Findings revealed that these families had high cohesion, open communication and mutual respect regarding cultural transition process, and positive affect.

Challenges and Strengths of Latino Parents

There is one qualitative study that has identified challenges and strengths of Latino immigrant parents with adolescent children (Perreira, Chapman & Stein, 2006). In this study they interviewed 18 first generation Latino immigrant parents living in North Carolina. The majority of the sample consisted of mothers (83%) who were living with a partner (80%). The sample included parents from Colombia, Argentina, and El Salvador, but the majority (65%) were from Mexico. Parents identified challenges navigating the new social context, for example learning English, finding health care for their children, adjusting to the school system, and balancing work and family. They also identified the challenge of coping with the loss of the extended family connections given the critical role these play in family life and childrearing, and the changes in the family dynamics.

Participants reported feelings of grief for the loss of such family connections. Other challenges reported by participants in this study included fears such as children losing their cultural heritage, the need to be vigilant to ensure children were protected from possible dangers, and encountering racism. In response to these challenges participants in this study developed coping skills that helped them with adaptation. They increased parent-child communication, were empathetic with their children, and respected and admired their children's ability to adapt. Parents also sought out help and new sources of support, plus parents recognized that migration involved an adaptation process for themselves and were aware of their own acculturation process.

Statement of the Problem

Canadian immigration trends suggest an increasing number of Latinos migrating to Canada over the past decades, for reasons such as political unrest in their homelands, family reunification, and better economic and social opportunities. The culturally diverse Latino community brings with it after migration its core collectivist cultural values surrounding reliance on family members for social support in the childrearing process and throughout the life course, perceived familial obligation, and family members serving as the primary referents for each other's behaviours. As Latino families acculturate into North American society, they are faced with the need to adapt to the new culture around them with disparate cultural values. Some may change some of the values they foster in their children as previous research shows. Others may face rifts in parent-child relationships due to intergenerational gaps depending on whether

there are consonant or dissonant family member acculturation strategies, and some may fear culture loss on the part of their children in parenting in a new society. What the research suggests remains strong is the need for social support and the value of support from family and extended family.

Research on social support establishes its critical role in individual/family wellbeing. Existing research on Latino families in cultural transition has only begun to investigate the impact of social support network loss, with one study evaluating it's impact among a sample in the U.S. with adolescent children, and including primarily mothers of Mexican origin. Children of younger ages warrant higher levels of parental and familial care-taking, and the experience of social support network loss after migration may be particularly challenging for families from various Latino subgroups with younger children. Also, fathers' perspective on network loss needs to be further explored, as well as what changes in parenting Latino families of young children make to respond to their new environment. This study attempts to understand their experiences and adaptation process when parenting young children in Canada in the absence of extended family support networks. The main research questions are: (a) How do Latino immigrants, parenting young children in a Canadian city, experience and adjust to the absence of extended family?, (b) How do their parenting roles, strategies, and social support network change after migration in response to the absence of extended family members?, and (c) What resources and strengths have they found useful in their process of acculturation in the Canadian context? The next chapter describes the method of this research study.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research design was employed to better understand the experiences and adjustment of Latino immigrant parents raising their children in the absence of their extended families. Guided by the methodological approach of interpretive inquiry within the constructivist paradigm, participants were sampled through contacts with settlement agencies, a church that congregates the Spanish-speaking population and members of the Latino community at large. Data was collected through in-depth interviews, and data was analyzed using thematic analysis. This chapter describes the methodological framework utilized in this study, participant selection and recruitment, data collection procedures, ethical considerations, data analysis strategies, and considerations to evaluate the study.

Research Approach

Constructivist Paradigm

A paradigm is a model that shapes the researcher's understanding of reality and guides the research ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The constructivist paradigm assumes that there is no absolute truth to be discovered as in the positivist paradigm; in this sense it proposes an ontological relativism, rather than an ontological realism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Epistemologically and methodologically the constructivist paradigm assumes that knowledge is constructed based on the interaction between researchers and participants. Through this collaborative process researchers transform their understanding of the topic of inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Interactions occur within a cultural and social context; they are not isolated, and understanding of reality may be shared across groups and cultures (Crotty, 2003).

This paradigm is consistent with the researcher's approach to gain knowledge about Latino immigrant parents' experiences. It was assumed that parents in each family may experience and adjust to the loss of their premigration support network in ways that take into account their unique migration trajectories, their parenting experiences in their countries of origin, family dynamics, and beliefs about parenting and childrearing. It was surmised that their multiple realities could inform a shared construction of reality that is valid for them. Furthermore, this paradigm resonates with multiculturalism, recognizing multiple perspectives of reality. In this study participants' perspectives were considered legitimate forms of knowledge.

Interpretive Inquiry

Interpretive inquiry research is based on hermeneutics, in the sense that it is an attempt to make sense of and understand an object of study within the human context in which the topic of study or phenomenon is embedded (McLeod, 2001; Packer & Addison, 1989). Hermeneutics focus on the interpretation of texts; all texts are created in a cultural-historical context. The understanding of a text, language or event cannot be separated from the broader context it was produced in because it is a product of a specific personal history, culture, and historical context that shapes the lenses through which a person interprets the world (Ellis, 1998; McLeod, 2001). Ellis (2006) presents three key themes considered central in hermeneutics since Schleiermacher's work in 1819: interpretation as a creative

activity, the importance of working holistically looking at part-whole, micro-macro relationships, and the relevance of the role of language and history.

Interpretation is a creative process; the purpose of interpretation is to discover the meaning behind participants' expressions. To be able to gain this understanding of what participants mean by their expressions, the researcher needs to learn about the wholeness and complexity of participants' experiences (Crotty, 2003; Ellis, 2006). In this study the researcher asked follow up questions trying to uncover relationships between participants' life contexts and premigration and post-migration parenting experiences to gain a deeper understanding of participants' adaptation to the absence of their extended family in Canada. Interpretations hence tried to capture the complexity of participants' parenting experiences.

To fully understand participants' experiences from an interpretive inquiry perspective, the researcher must attend to the relationship between the parts and the whole. "To understand the whole, one must understand the parts; to understand a part, one must understand its role in relationship to the other parts and to the whole" (Ellis, 2006, p.116). This movement back-and-forth between the part and the whole is described by Smith (1991, p.190) as "the hermeneutics circle at work in all human understanding". Individual stories need to be interpreted within the larger stories of which they form a part in order to discover the conditions contributing to those individual stories (Ellis, 2006). In this research, the researcher inquired about each participant's individual story, the

context of those stories and compared individual stories from diverse members of the same cultural community.

Language is the third key element for interpretation because we construct understanding based on language (Ellis, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It is through language that we communicate meaning and understanding. Language and interpretation are closely linked, and they are both temporal because they reflect a specific time and place in history (McLeod, 2001). Researchers need to be careful to avoid introducing language that participants may easily take but does not represent their main experiences, ideas or everyday sense-making. Therefore, researchers should use open-ended questions that elicit a topic of discussion but do not provide a direction to the discussion (Ellis, 2006). Immigrant parents participating in this research came from different countries. There was also diversity in the level of education, immigration status, and occupation. Therefore, the language used to describe their experiences varied depending on their context of pre and post migration, the way they made sense of their experience and how they understood their new context.

Some participants were proficient in English whereas others were only Spanish speakers. All participants chose to be interviewed in Spanish rather than English, probably because the researcher's first language was also Spanish and they felt more comfortable expressing themselves in their mother tongue. Some participants used regional slang words that were unknown to the researcher. In such cases the researcher asked for clarification of the meaning to make sure she understood what the participants were expressing. Interpretation of the meaning in

Spanish language was carefully considered when translating to English. All transcripts were translated using meaning-based translation, as literal translation is not always the most accurate representation of contextual meaning (Larson, 1984). For example, when participants used popular sayings in Spanish, the researcher looked for equivalent sayings in English, rather than making a literal translation that would be meaningless in English. Meaning-based translation has been identified as the best approach for research studies with immigrant/refugee populations to ensure adequate encapsulation of their experiences and realities. In order to capture as much as possible the meaning in the language used by participants, the data analysis was conducted in Spanish and then translated into English. This was considered to be the approach that would best honour the participants' disclosures since all of them chose to be interviewed in Spanish, despite some of them having English proficiency.

The Role of the Researcher

In an interpretive inquiry, researchers need to clarify and make explicit their pre-understandings of the topic. This understanding is expanded as researchers interact with participants to capture the meaning they give to their experiences.

As a researcher I identify myself as an Insider because I am originally from Peru and I am raising my children in Canada. Despite the great diversity among countries and within countries, Latinos tend to identify with each other as part of the same cultural group. In my experience interviewing, all participants

perceived me as one of them. Some participants used phrases such as "in our countries" explicitly including me in the commonalities of our places of origin.

Latino culture is rich and diverse; it has its origins in a blend of Pre-Hispanic cultures and colonial Hispanic culture. Despite the great diversity, there are many commonalities that make Latinos perceive themselves as a cultural community. The language plays an important role in recognizing each other as part of the same group.

The culture of origin was not the only element that made me an insider. I am also a mother raising young children in Canada. During my first three years living in Canada I had no extended family to support me in my role as new mother. After three years I was lucky to discover that I had relatives living in Edmonton. As such my experience is different from that of my participants, but it also has many commonalities.

In order to separate my own experiences from the experiences of my participants, I wrote my pre-understandings based on my own experience as an immigrant mother. All my participants had the experience of having at least their first child in their country of origin. I did not have such experience as my first child was born in Canada. Therefore I wrote about my own experiences and about what I had expected to have as support from my extended family growing up.

For me, learning about the adaptation of others to parenting in Canada in the absence of their extended family is highly relevant. As a counsellor it can help to better understand and support families in their adaptation process, as my goal is to work as a counsellor with immigrant populations, and parenting and family life

is a central part of the cultural life of many immigrant communities. Learning from participants' experiences can help to shed light on the challenges and the gains of parenting young children while rebuilding your social support network in a new context.

Being an insider was an asset to the study because I could better understand the language of participants, their context, and their experiences with acculturation. Plus, as an insider, participants opened up with me, they seemed to trust me, and shared their stories as they would share with someone that can understand what they have experienced. It also helped in the recruitment of participants because I had many contacts in the Latino community that where willing to help me find participants for my research.

Participant Selection and Recruitment

Data was collected from a diverse sample of Latino parents of young children. This research study included 5 couples (5 mothers and 5 fathers). Participants in the study had different immigration status, levels of education and countries of origin, representing the diversity within the community as well as a variety of immigration trajectories.

Consistent with qualitative research designs, the cases were purposely selected to include diversity in the sample and information-rich cases from which we could learn the most (Merriam, 1998). The inclusion and exclusion criteria in the study were as follows: (a) Latino parents (mothers and fathers) who had immigrated with at least one child to Canada, (b) had been living in Canada for three to ten years, (c) had a child who was under the age of ten, (d) had not

sponsored their parents to come to Canada, or if they had, their parents were not yet in Canada, and (e) did not have any other family members living in the city they migrated to.

Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

  Having at least one child prior to migration. Parents included in the sample had immigrated with at least one child. This was a purposeful criterion because it would ensure that they had the experience of having the support of their extended family and their Social Support Network (SSN) when they first became parents. It was assumed that participants who had the experience of having that support in place prior to migration would be in the best position to contrast that experience with parenting in Canada without their support systems in place.

  Most studies on parenting have focused on the experiences of mothers. This study included both mothers and fathers because the impact of losing their SSN and adjusting to raising their children in Canada could be experienced differently depending on gender. The literature suggests that Latino fathers identify mainly with the role of provider for the family, but they have been increasing their involvement in childcare activities such as play, discipline, education, and bonding activities. (Behnke, Taylor, & Parra-Cardona, 2008; Fitzpatrick, Caldera, Pursley, & Wampler, 1999). The inclusion of both genders in the study allowed the inclusion of both perspectives.

  Time living in Canada. This study included participants that had been living in Canada for at least 3 years, but no more than 10 years. The rationale for excluding people who have been in Canada for less than 3 years is that the first

two and a half to three years after migration are focused on the basic settlement process. Only after this period of time do newcomers start reflecting on the impact of living in a new society and appreciating the reality of their new life (Prendes-Lintel, 2001). In order to have a broader range of participants and experiences, participants could have been living up to ten years in Canada. Participants included in the study had been living in Canada varying lengths of time, ranging from four to seven years.

Parenting young children. All participants had at least one young child at the time of the interview. Young children for the purpose of this study included infants to elementary school age children (zero to 10). The rationale to include parents with children in this range of age, was that children this age elicit more family engagement in childrearing, therefore it was surmised that not having the extended family's presence was likely to be more significant. Furthermore, legally in Canada children under 10 years of age cannot be left alone at home, therefore, parents of young children may face more practical challenges, such as finding childcare when they are not able to stay at home with their children. Plus, no study on this topic has looked specifically at parents with this age group of children, making this study unique.

Parenting in the absence of extended family. Finally, participants included in this study had not sponsored their parents or grandparents to come to Canada. Parents included in this study migrated only with their nuclear family and did not have any extended family members permanently living in the city. Temporary visits from family members were not exclusion criteria. This criterion

would ensure that families were in the position to have to respond to or make adjustments to deal with the absence of pre-migration extended family supports.

Recruitment Process

Participants were recruited through distribution of study descriptions or advertisements in Cultural Community Associations, Immigrant Serving Agencies, a Church with a high Latino representation in its congregation, and University student groups with Latino members in a mid-size Canadian city. See Appendix A for the Study Description/Advertisement. The study description included a sign-up sheet for interested potential participants to list their names and contact information. The researcher maintained regular communication with agency, association, church, and student group contact persons for the study to obtain the names and contact information of interested potential participants. Study contact persons at the various sites where asked to keep the sign-up sheets in locked filing cabinets in their offices after any one had signed up, and then to shred them once relaying interested potential participants' names and contact information to the researcher. The researcher initiated contact with potential participants by phone. All participants were informed that the contact person would not be informed whether or not they decided to take part in the study after receiving more verbal information over the phone. This clarification was made to avoid pressure to participate.

The researcher explained over the phone the nature and purpose of the study during the initial contact with potential participants, and questions/concerns about the study were addressed. An interview was scheduled with potential

participants who decided to take part in the study. The time and location of the interview was based on participants' convenience. At the beginning of the interview, the contents of the Informed Consent Form were fully reviewed in English and Spanish, and participants signed the form prior to the start of the interview questioning. See Appendix B for the Informed Consent Form.

Participant Introductions

Five couples participated in this study. There was a significant diversity among them in their immigration status (Permanent Resident, Student Visa, Refugee, and Temporary Foreign Worker), level of education (ranging from Grade 3 to post-doctoral), and countries of origin (Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Chile). Participants' backgrounds and sociodemographic profiles are presented in the paragraphs below, using pseudonyms in the place of their real names.

1st couple: Moises and Hersy. Moises and Hersy immigrated to Canada from Mexico four years prior to the study. At the moment of the interview, Hersy was 45 and Moises was 50 years old. They had 3 sons ages 10, 12, and 19. Moises and his family came to Canada with a job offer for him and a post-doc offer for Hersy. They immigrated under the Temporary Foreign Workers category. At the moment of the interview they had applied for permanent residency in Canada and were waiting for approval.

Moises and Hersy had both graduated with degrees in chemistry in their countries of origin, with Hersey achieving a doctorate in this field. At the time of the study, Moises held a research position in the local university and Hersy was a

full-time post doc in chemistry. Their main reason for migration was to look for better job opportunities and better opportunities for their children.

2ⁿᵈ couple: Elizabeth and Lucho. Elizabeth and Lucho came to Canada as Permanent Residents from Peru four years prior to the study. At the moment of the interview, Elizabeth was 34 and Lucho was 36 years old. They had two children, a daughter named Katy who was 7 years old, and a baby boy named Carlos who was 3 months old. Both of them are professionals and were working in their field before migration. Elizabeth studied business management and had 16 years of study. Lucho was a mechanical engineer and had 17 years of study. Their main reason for migration was to find better job opportunities, advance in their careers and provide better opportunities for their children. At the time of the interview Lucho was working as an engineer in his field, and Elizabeth was on maternity leave from her administrative job at a local university.

3ʳᵈ couple: Gabriela and Miguel. Gabriela and Miguel came to Canada as refugees from Columbia six years prior to the study. At the moment of the interview, Gabriela was 43 and Miguel 40 years old. They had four children: two boys ages 11 and 13, and two girls ages 3 and 17. Miguel had 3 years of study. He abandoned school at age nine and started to work. He worked with dairy products since he was a child and learned enough from the industry to be able to create his own business. He was a successful businessman before migration. Gabriela had 16 years of study. She had her bachelors degree in education. However, she was not working as a teacher before migration. Instead, she was involved in the family business.

At the moment of the interview they were both working as housekeepers cleaning offices at night. Miguel had previously worked in construction, but had a job injury that required surgery and prevented him from continuing on that job. Gabriela was dedicated to her house and children since they migrated to Canada until a year ago when she started working with her husband. Their main reason for migration was to escape from violence in their country.

4ᵗʰ couple: Claudia and Germán. Claudia and Germán came from Mexico five years prior to the study. At the moment of the interview she was 42 and he was 43 years old. Germán initially came as a Temporary Foreign Worker but had permanent resident status at the moment of the interview. Claudia had a Work Permit and was waiting for approval on her Permanent Residency papers. They had four children; two boys aged 18 and 5, and two girls aged 13 and 10. Claudia came to Canada when she was 5 months pregnant with her last child.

Claudia had 7 years of study and Germán had 9. Before migration he worked several jobs in construction, agriculture, and farming. At the moment of the interview he was working full time in construction. Claudia had dedicated herself to be a stay-at-home mother. Their main reason for migration was better job opportunities for Germán and because they wanted the children to learn English.

5ᵗʰ couple: José and Alicia. Alicia and José came to Canada from Chile 7 years before the study took place. He came to pursue his Master's degree at the local university in the province where they settled. After he finished, they stayed longer for him to continue with his PhD. She came as a student's spouse and had a

Work Permit. At the moment of the interview she was 38 and he was 40 years old. They had three children; a 13 year old boy, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 month-old baby girl.

Alicia had 18 years of study. She is a forest engineer, plus she has a diploma in business. Before migration she was a successful professional in management and business at a Chilean university. At the time of the interview, Alicia was staying at home to raise her youngest daughter.

Data Collection

In-Depth Interviews

In interpretive inquiry, interviews are the main tool for data collection. They are an opportunity for the researcher to engage with the participants, create rapport, and observe information and contexts related to topics of discussion.

Purpose of the interview. The goal of the interview goes beyond asking questions and receiving answers, the goal is to create a safe space where the participants can be authentic and truly share their experiences and/or meanings. The interview should help the researcher understand the participant as a whole, his/her stories as part of his/her bigger context. Preliminary informal conversation and introductions on the part of the researcher and participants can contribute to this purpose. The language used by the researcher during the interview is also a key element. The researcher should use open-ended questions that promote the discussion of a topic without directing the discussion (Ellis, 2006). Following these criteria, the researcher used the guiding questions outlined below to elicit

conversations about the research topic in a way that helped the interview flow as a natural conversation rather than an interrogation.

Interview process. Most interviews were conducted through home visitations, with the exception of one participant who chose to be interviewed at his workplace. Two couples (Moises & Hersy, and Claudia & Germán) were interviewed the same day in their preferred order, whereas the others were interviewed on two different dates and times, according with participants' preferences and availability. Each member of the couple was interviewed for approximately an hour. Participants were given the option to be interviewed in English or Spanish, as the first language of the researcher and the participants was Spanish. All participant chose to be interviewed in Spanish.

The initial moment of the interview involved exchanging greetings, introductions which is the normal flow of respectful interaction in Latino community interactions. Subsequently, the researcher briefly explained again the nature and purpose of the study, answered any question/concerns about the study and went over the consent form for participants' completion. After the consent forms were signed, the researcher proceeded with the interviews.

First, some demographic information was collected: Country of origin, self-reported ethnic identity, number of children, age and gender of each child, and mother and father background (age, first language, years of schooling, degrees, profession prior to migration, and present employment status). Second, participants were asked basic immigration information: Length of residence in Canada, category of immigration, ages at time of migration, and main reasons for

moving to Canada. Third, the researcher invited participants to start the conversation around the research topic using the following prompt: "Tell me about your experience raising your child/children in Canada and how it compares to your experience in your home country."

A list of follow-up questions was prepared to guide the conversation and make sure all important points were included in the interview:

- Who supported you in your parenting role before migration?

- Could you please give me some examples of how these people supported you in your role as a parent and what type of support or help they provided?

- How important was your extended family in supporting your parenting role and childrearing before you came to Canada?

- How did the involvement of other family members in your life affect your role as a mother/father before you immigrated?

- What about the role of your partner before immigration?

- How was it for you to parent your child/children here in the absence of your extended family members?

- What were some of the biggest challenges you faced related to not having your extended family with you?

- What were the practical consequences of not having your extended family in Canada?

- What were the emotional consequences of not having your extended family in Canada?

- What were the practical and emotional consequences for the children, and how did these impact each of you as parents?

- Who were the people who supported you in that first year after immigration, if any, and who supports you now? What role did these people play then and what role do the people play now?

- What types of support or help do any of the people in your life right now provide you in your parenting role? Please give me some examples.

- Considering what we have been talking about, what changes have you noticed in your social support network? (compare before migrating, during the first year and now)

- If your social support network increased since you first moved to Canada, What has helped you to enlarge your network?

- If not: What has stopped you from enlarging your social support network?

- What other resources/strengths do you draw on to help you adjust to life in Canada and to being a parent in a new country?

- What changes have you and your partner made in your parenting roles to help you adjust to parenting in Canada, if any?

- How have your parenting strategies with your child/children been affected by living in Canada and not having extended family members present?

- Has the experience of moving to Canada and being a parent here changed your expectations of yourselves as parents or of your child(ren)? If so, how?

- What has been the impact of any changes in your daily life?

- What do you think would help other immigrant parents like yourself to more easily adjust to parenting in Canada?

Ethical Considerations

In any research involving in-depth interviews with people some important ethical considerations have to be taken into account. Participants need to be informed of the nature and purpose of the study and give their consent; their participation has to be voluntary; their identity has to be protected; researchers need to inform participants of potential risks of participation and take action to mitigate these risks; and data has to be handled properly.

Informed consent and voluntary participation. The researcher explained to participants during the first phone conversation used to set-up a research interview, the nature and purpose of the research, a description of what would be expected from them, the voluntary nature of participation, and possible risks of participation. At the beginning of the interview the researcher explained again the nature and purpose of the research, and made it explicit that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw or stop their participation at any time without any questions, problems, or follow-up. Potential participants were also informed that the agency, church or community contact persons who distributed study descriptions to them will not be informed whether they participated in the study or not and will not be told what they disclose if they do participate, to prevent anyone from participating due to perceived obligations to specific organizations they are a part of.

Confidentiality/anonymity. All participants were asked to choose a pseudonym or false name at the beginning of the interview. To maintain confidentiality and anonymity, all identifying information was changed, and only the pseudonyms were used in all transcripts and in this thesis.

Recording and handling data. Interviews were digitally-recorded with authorization of participants. The researcher then transcribed the interviews verbatim. Only participants' false names were used in the transcripts with any citation of their words in this study. A master list with real and false name matching was kept in a separate locked cabinet in the researcher's private office until the end of the study. Transcripts were stored in a separate locked filling cabinet at the researcher's private office and will be kept there for 5 years in accordance with ethics procedures. Digital audio-recorded interviews have been saved in the researcher's personal computer in a file that is password secured.

Managing the minimal risk of participation. There was a slim chance that the process of contrasting pre-migration parenting experiences with supports in place with post-migration parenting experiences associated with a loss of previous support networks could elicit some distress for some Latino immigrant parents in the study. To plan for this minimal risk, prior to the study, the researcher identified local counselling agencies that provide free culturally-sensitive counselling services to which any participants reporting distress could be referred. No participants in the study ended up reporting experiences of distress in the process of study interviews.

Data Analysis

In a qualitative research study, data collection and data analysis are not two separate processes (Merriam, 2009). Therefore, data analysis started during the interview process and continued until completion of the study, following the hermeneutic circle of data collection and data analysis (Packer & Addison, 1989).

The researcher immersed herself in the data by listening to the audio-recorded interviews, transcribing the data verbatim into Spanish, and reading the transcripts. As all interviews were conducted in Spanish, the researcher decided to use the Spanish versions of the transcripts to better analyze the data capturing as much as possible the meaning in the language used by participants. As interpretive inquiry qualitative research studies are emergent designs where the researcher selects the data analysis strategy that best fits the information stemming from the participants' disclosures and that can best represent their experiences, the researcher selected thematic analysis. This was due to the fact that the emerging data suggested clear commonalities among Latino immigrant parents' experiences of parenting in the absence of their extended family, despite the diversity of their experiences. Thematic analysis would allow these shared experiences to be highlighted, while also allowing for the unique manifestations of shared experiences and adjustment strategies among the various immigrant couples to be presented in the context of family migration circumstances and life contexts. In thematic analysis, the researcher identifies, analyses and reports patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

First, each transcript was examined thoroughly to identify salient ideas. Those ideas were written in a separate document labelling each idea, using participants' own words when possible. A short description of the idea and extracts of direct quotes from the interview where included under each label. For this part of the process the researcher made a conscious effort to look at each interview as if it was the only one in order to avoid reading a transcript with the lenses of the previous interview. Once all transcripts were individually analysed, the first level of analysis was printed and colour coded by participant.

The researcher arranged follow-up meetings with each member of each Latino couple at their convenience for approximately an hour in length to convey to them the analysis for their individual interviews and her perception of themes emerging from their interviews. The purpose of these meetings was to assess whether her attempted co-construction of their experiences resonated with their perceived realities and was an accurate and genuine interpretation. In qualitative research, this process is referred to as member-checking. Each member of the couple had an opportunity to provide feedback and to modify any quotes drawn from their individual interviews to support emerging themes from their own experiences. All the participants communicated that the analysis of their individual interviews was an authentic representation of their interview disclosures.

Second, a cross-participant analysis of emerging themes was conducted: Results from the first level of analysis were sorted by labels and quotes. The researcher looked for commonalities to organize the information into themes and

subthemes that clustered across participants, and retained authentic labels reflecting the experiences from one or more participants who the theme applied to. This deeper level of analysis was done integrating all the data into themes and subthemes that clearly represented a co-construction of the researcher's interpretation of how Latino immigrant parents experience raising their children in the absence of their extended family, and how they have adjusted to the changes after migration with participants' own interview disclosures and interpretations of their adaptation process. Extracts from various participants' transcripts drawn from the individual interview analysis were used to illustrate themes and represent a clear picture of participants' parenting experiences using participants' voices as much as possible.

The third step in this process, involved a meaning-based translation of the initial Spanish language thematic analysis and all related participant quotes into English. The meaning-based translation process was explained earlier in this chapter. Literal translation was not used because it may not be the best representation of meaning. Participants used sayings and expressions that would lose their meaning if translated literally. The use of meaning-based translation has been supported cross-cultural research studies with different language groups (Dunnigan, McNall, & Mortimer, 1993). The researcher's supervisor served as an external data analysis auditor and provided very detailed feedback to guide further organization of the themes by combining some themes and quotes reflecting similar ideas into higher order categories and illustrating participant diversity using more subthemes, as well as in rethinking what types of experiences and

adjustments the Latino parents' quotes were actually reflecting and generating alternative theme labels when needed. Each iteration of the thematic analysis process was translated into English for supervisor input and feedback, along with the final iteration of the cross-participant thematic analysis that is presented in the following chapter of this thesis.

Evaluating the Study

 Confirmability. Confirmability is a key criterion for evaluating qualitative research studies and refers to interpretations being actual reflections of the data rather than reflections of a researcher's own biases, which can be a challenge after creating a strong rapport with participants (Merriam, 2009). For the purpose of this study the researcher kept a reflective journal, which started with her initial self-reflection on the topic, her own experiences, and ideas of possible outcomes. As the interview process started, the researcher made note of what she was learning from participants including unexpected outcomes that expanded her understanding of participants' experiences. She also regularly discussed her own thoughts about the research process and information emerging from participants' perspectives with her supervisor to ensure that the directions of the research reflected participants' voices more than her own.

 Credibility. Credibility is another key criterion in evaluating qualitative research. It is the congruence between participants' understanding of the world and the researcher's representation of it (Merriam, 2009). In this study the research supervisor was presented a significant amount of data including extracts from transcripts. This helped the research supervisor to examine findings for

credibility. Most importantly, the member-checking with the participants that was described above ensured that participants felt their disclosures were represented and interpreted authentically in a way that genuinely captured their experiences.

Dependability. Dependability, or consistency, refers to the replicability of the study (Merriam, 2009). In qualitative studies, Merriam (2009) suggests that if the themes generated by the study are consistent with the data collected, the study can be considered consistent. For the purpose of this research the researcher kept a detailed account of how data was collected and analyzed in a research journal (audit trail), in order to ensure the findings were consistent with the data.

Transferability. Transferability is the possibility to apply research findings to other situations (Merriam, 2009). The sample size of this study was 5 mother-father dyads who varied significantly in their immigration trajectories, countries of origin, educational and employment status and parenting experiences. The diversity among the participants reflected the diversity among Latino parents in the Canadian context, and could inform attempts to better understand the parenting process and supports needed by Latino parents with similar sociodemographic profiles as the participants, supporting transferability. However, qualitative studies are never expected to have samples that are representative of the general population from which they are drawn or to generalize to that population. The intent of a qualitative study is description and explanation to facilitate understanding rather than generalization. This study produced rich and thick descriptions of participants' parenting experiences in Canada, which will be shared in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Emerging Themes

In this chapter the emerging themes are described based on what

participants shared about their experiences of parenting in the absence of the

extended family and their adjustment process to rearing their children in Canada.

Experiences of Parenting in the Absence of the Extended Family

Participants in this study shared their experiences of parenting, reporting

feelings of loss, fears and increased responsibility, and ambivalence regarding

change. The themes below focus on the descriptions families in this study made

about their experiences, and supporting quotes are provided to illustrate them.

Feelings of Loss

All participants expressed feelings of loss in one way or another. Their

feelings of loss were mainly related to the absence of their pre-migration sources

of support and the consequent emotional and practical impact of such loss. Quotes

from the participants are provided to illuminate how they experienced the absence

of pre-migration instrumental and social/emotional supports.

Moises summarized the change in parenting in Canada shared by many of

the other participants by saying "you no longer have the supports you had before".

Participants expressed feeling the loss of their previous sources of support such as

their extended family members, the nanny/housekeeper[2], neighbours, and other

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[2] The nanny/housekeeper, as described by three of the couples interviewed is a person who takes
care of the children and helps with all the housekeeping chores. Interviewees called this person
different ways, some call her a nanny, others use a term closer to "maid" or "a person who is at
your service", and others describe her as "the lady who works at your house". For easiness of
reading we would use the term nanny/housekeeper, as it seems to better describe this person's
role.

people they trusted. All the participants who had family members living in the same city as them pointed out their extended family as the main source of support previous to migration. For example, Gabriela and Miguel explained that Miguel's mother was the main caregiver for their children while both of them went out to work. Gabriela said, "I use to give the responsibility to her". Miguel explained that his parents "were the ones who helped when my children were little, we would go out to work, they were there". However, Miguel said that once they migrated to Canada, "we didn't have anyone to leave our children with".

Alicia and Jose also reported having a significant support from their relatives in Chile. Alicia for example, shared how having this support allowed her to have time for herself after having her newborn baby, "I could be hours in the shower … doing women stuff such as depilate, makeup". Then she compared it with her experience in Canada: "I can't. I mean, in one minute I have to do my makeup and that's it. My hair I can never do it … I don't have that time anymore". Alicia was a working mother before coming to Canada and her mother was in charge of her son while she was working. Alicia explained how her family not only helped her with childrearing, but they also took care of her after the delivery. She shared, "in Chile it was way easier because I worked and my mom took care of my son… mmm… when he was born, everyone was with me… taking care of you, giving you a soup…". When she gave birth to her daughters in Canada, she did not have such support.

Elizabeth and Lucho shared missing the support of their family and the nanny/housekeeper. For example, Elizabeth commented how her grandmother

(who raised her) visited her for a few months to provide support when she had her first child, "the biggest support I had came from my grandma, who is my mother. She was with us during the first months". Then she added, "about the same time we had the nanny/housekeeper", after Elizabeth's grandmother went back to her hometown, "the nanny/housekeeper was the only one who was with us."

Both, Elizabeth and Lucho, mentioned the loss of these supports as an important challenge after migration. Lucho highlighted the absence of the nanny/housekeeper as "the main difference" between parenting in Peru and in Canada because "the housekeeper did everything at home … we had the support of the housekeeper and that support is a lot."

Moises expressed a deeper feeling of loss not only regarding specific individuals that were no longer with them in their daily lives, but in general, in terms of leaving connections that had been built over the years and for generations:

> You leave behind all the networks you had… bonds you had formed at all levels…you were born in a place, and your parents did a lot to put you in a certain position …And you took them for granted. Until they take you out of there and they tell you 'let's see, do it yourself again'…You have to rebuild everything.

"Uploading" instead of "downloading" child care and household responsibilities. One of the major practical impacts of losing their pre-migration sources of support participants identified was not having anyone to help with

childcare and other activities, limiting their possibilities to attend social and work events. Hersy explained this as follows:

> Especially at the beginning, while you rebuild your social network and everything,…it's like you can't do your activities, you can't do anything extra because you can't leave your children. …You can leave them, right? but not with someone you trust like before.

Following this idea of losing the presence of people you trust close to you, Moises commented that leaving his children with his family "was not only to get rid of the child to do your own things, but it was an opportunity. But now you don't have that anymore".

Gabriela and Miguel also commented on the challenges around child care. Miguel said that after migration "we didn't have anyone to leave our children with". Gabriela explained that in Colombia she could work "I was doing business, but I left my mother-in-law in charge of my children. My husband and I - we both worked." However in Canada, after losing that support "we made an agreement with my husband to not neglect the children, so I stayed home, and he kept working."

Claudia and German both mentioned that their neighbours were also a source of support they no longer had. Claudia talking about the people that use to help her back in Mexico said:

> There, when I still had my parents-in-law, they helped me a lot, poor them, God keep them in heaven both. My neighbours also supported me. Sometimes I paid them but… they helped me. And here no.

Later in the interview when she was talking about the differences of giving birth in Canada and in Mexico, she also shared that she had the support of her neighbours to help her with the house chores she couldn't do, whereas in Canada she didn't have that type of help, "there at least you can call the neighbour… when you are after delivery… hey come help me, yea? (…) to do laundry, anything, whatever I couldn't do."

Another practical implication of losing their sources of support was an increased amount of work at home. Some of the couples interviewed had the help of a nanny/housekeeper. As Hersy explained in Canada "housekeeping personnel is very expensive and all that, so… you have to get organized". Initially after migration for some of the participants it was overwhelming to get organized and assume all those tasks. Elizabeth explained the extent of the support she had from the nanny/housekeeper, "we trusted her with everything related to Katy (her daughter), she would take care of her, dress her, feed her." The she continued explaining "I would leave early and come back at night, and I didn't see my daughter all day, yea? I would come in time to bath her and put her in bed." After migration she had to find the way to assume all these responsibilities she had delegated before.

Missing, reminiscing, & feeling selfish. The loss of pre-migration sources of support also had a profound emotional impact on participants; moving to Canada leaving behind their extended family was challenging, among other reasons because they missed their relatives. They expressed thinking about their families often, and particularly feeling a sense of selfishness and failure in

meeting their family obligations, because they were not able to reciprocate the support their parents and other had provided them during times when their parents' or siblings' age and health status was changing and they really needed help.

Participants used the words "it's hard" or "it's difficult" to describe their initial experience coming to Canada leaving behind their relatives. All participants expressed this feeling that Miguel resumed by saying "the change is hard". Participants talked about different things that were "hard" or "difficult" for them. Independently of what they identified as being "hard", they all shared the feeling of being faced with something that was difficult for them. Gabriela for example said that it was "a constant battle, for us to adapt, because… we didn't adapt, with the children, and the language, it was hard an everything. It's difficult."

Alicia talking about her first year in Canada said that for her it had been "super difficult to adapt to such a big change." Some of the things she mentioned made the experience so difficult were that she "didn't know anybody", she had language barriers, and she missed her family. Jose focused on how loosing support from his family led him to assume a more active parenting role and the challenges of it. He shared, "it was really very difficult. It is complex to be able to… to be able to… be a good father, but also be a good student at the same time."

Finally Elizabeth shared that Lucho and her had "passed by very difficult moments". She said, "It is difficult to adapt to a new language, a new culture, new changes, and on top of that, be alone."

One of the hardest things for participants was that they missed their relatives. Lucho, Elizabeth, Jose, Alicia, and Miguel they all talked about the challenge of not having their extended family with them because they missed them. Elizabeth said, "a big disadvantage is that we don't have our family. We miss them." She added that she worried about not being able to provide support "if someone gets sick for example, you can't run and be there because well… they are a thousand millions away". Similarly, Lucho talking about his extended family said that he missed them and that he would like to have them close. As in the case of Elizabeth, his desire of having his parents in Canada with him was presented more as an opportunity to provide for them and the concern of not being there for them in case of need. He said, "they have provided for us all their life, and now that they are old, leaving them alone I think it's selfish." He then added that having his parents close by would be good for everyone because they could provide the support for his parents when needed and his parents could also help taking care for his children; for example, "the children wouldn't need to go to summer camps", they could stay with their grandparents.

Other participants also shared that it was hard to be far away from their family because they missed them, plus it was rather difficult not being there if their parents got sick or needed help. They were clearly reminiscing about their families in their homelands and not only the loss of support here, but the loss of the opportunity to reciprocate in supporting their families and parents due to being distant from them. Jose expressed that for him the biggest challenge related to migration had been being far away from his father when he got very ill. He

shared; "for me it was terrible to leave him knowing that he was going to die." Then he stressed that it had been "by far, by far the most complicated" of being away from the family "not being able to help my siblings to be with my mother during this difficult period."

Jose shared that he was able to visit his father one more time, and was with him when he passed away. However, he felt that it had been very hard for him not being able to be with his family the whole time. He reiterated this idea, "so you realize… how terribly sad is not being able to be there, be so far away" because "they need you, and you are not there".

Miguel added another challenging aspect of being far from their parents, that was, besides missing them, worrying about them, "you are always thinking about them, where are they? What are they eating? What are they doing? Because they were part of your family and they were with you all the time." Therefore, there was a concern about the family that stayed in Colombia.

Fears and Increased Responsibility

Besides feelings of loss in parenting in Canada in the absence of their extended family, participants shared feelings of fear and increased responsibility related to raising their children. Before migration they could share the responsibility of raising their children with their relatives, after migration the couple became the only people with such responsibility.

Fear: "I am not having a child in Canada". Alicia's testimony shed light on the challenges and fears, not only her, but other immigrant mothers may have about having a baby born in Canada in the absence of the extended family.

Initially Alicia though she was coming to Canada for a couple of years only. Therefore, she said to herself "I am not having a child in Canada. Once I go back to Chile, I would have them in Chile with all the support". Then she continued explaining that she felt very lonely during the first years, and was afraid of not having the supports she would need. She explained in more detail her reason not to have children in Canada as follows:

> I am not going to have children in Canada because… I wont be able to, it's going to be too difficult.…I would be very lonely… mmm… without the support of the family, and… and also the fear of…. If something happens to me. I don't know why, but I always think, if something happens to me, what would happen to my children?.

In this short statement Alicia shared the core of her fears and her desire of not having children in Canada when she first migrated. Elizabeth waited three years after migration before deciding to have her second child due to similar fears.

The core fear regarding having a baby in Canada were the lack of support, and the implications of not having such supports after delivery. Another fear reported by Claudia, Alicia and Gabriela was not being able to communicate fluently during the delivery because of language barriers. Gabriela shared:

> The experience was so difficult because without knowing English… I said to my self 'and if they ask me something'.. I understand English and I speak it, not perfect.…So, I said, what now? What if they don't understand me?

Gabriela continued explaining that it had been a relief for her to have the support of her daughter for translation. For Alicia on the other hand her support with translation was her husband. During her pregnancy she was afraid of not being able to ask for help in the absence of her husband. She shared, "how could I go out to ask for help, how could I make a phone call without mistakes… so that was my fear."

Increased Responsibility: "Here I have nobody". Another phrase that reflected how some participants felt was "here I have nobody". Alicia, Gabriela and Claudia they all used this phrase to express their feeling of increased parental responsibility due to the absence of their extended family. Gabriela for example expressed, "here it was difficult because I have nobody, only my family, my children and my husband.…You have nobody to count on."

Similarly, Claudia talked about the support she previously had comparing with her feeling of lack of support in Canada. She shared, "I had support from my brothers, my sisters, but they are all in the U.S., they helped me there (Mexico), and here nobody helps you." As an example she described her experience of giving birth to her last child in Canada. She had only been in Canada for four moths. Due to her recent migration and language barriers she didn't have a new social support network in place at the moment her son was born. Claudia shared, "the first days after I gave birth… the first days I cried because… there at least you can call the neighbour" for support with house chores. Then she compared with her experience in Canada, "and here there is no one."

For Jose, having the support of the extended family in Chile facilitated his job as a father, whereas in Canada he had to assume a bigger responsibility. He shared how having those family members around facilitated his job as father and he could relax because there was more help available:

> The closest family: my mother, my mother-in-law, my sister-in-law; where the ones who took my wife to the doctor for her check-ups, they took care of the girl (daughter), of… of making food for example, simple things like that… because my wife was with the baby, so someone had to cook. I was not at home, so they helped in this sense, they facilitated… the task. They took care of my other son as well… mmm… In this sense I think the experience is much more… you take it more… more relaxed when you have those elements of help, of support"

Elizabeth commented that right after migration she assumed full responsibility for her daughter, responsibility that was previously shared with the nanny/housekeeper. This was a challenging experience for her:

> When I felt I didn't have the support from the nanny/housekeeper for example, to help with Katy, I felt like… a burden… I assumed her (Katy) a hundred percent, something that I didn't do before. I felt like… no it is not really a burden. It was like… mmm… more like tiredness……I felt alone, I felt alone, I felt I needed someone to help me with her.

Even though some participants had successfully rebuilt a new Social Support Network (SSN) after few years of migration, they all felt an increased responsibility. For example, Elizabeth shared that she had made close friends in

Canada, "it's very nice, because you don't feel alone. You don't feel like you are

defenceless in a desert." However, she also said that she and her husband were

"the only ones responsible for them (children) and if something happens to them it

is our responsibility". Then she compared it with her experience in Peru "In Peru

it was not like that because… we had the grandparents, the parents, the uncles and

aunts" then she continued explaining, "we always had someone who could give us

a hand".

Ambivalence: To Change or Not to Change & "Finding a Middle Ground"

Parenting in a different culture, and in the absence of the extended family,

also seemed to have an impact on the way parents were raising their children. The

theme on the conflict between to change or not to change appeared. Some couples

such as Claudia and German tried to stay as close as possible to their style of

disciplining their children, the values they wanted to pass on, and their

expectations. However, other couples, such as Elizabeth and Lucho, and Alicia

and Jose seemed to give a greater importance to the ability of their children to fit

in the group. Therefore, they tried to find a new balance, a middle ground between

their cultural beliefs and the ways in Canada. This dilemma between to change or

not to change appeared on aspects such as discipline, child behaviour

expectations, values, and good manners.

Discipline and Child Behaviour Expectations. Not all participants talked

about discipline. However, the ones who did, considered that discipline and rules

in their home country were more strict. Elizabeth explained that when she was in

Peru "because of the fact that you have your parents or grandparents around you,

childrearing is more demanding" then she added "there is a lot of pressure". As an example she commented that "when you are eating at the table, in Peru you cannot stand up until everybody has finished eating", however in Canada her daughter "stands up a thousand times, and I tell her a thousand time not to do it….I am not so strict with those things." She finalized her comment by saying that the pressure will be back when they go to Peru for a visit and she was already preparing her daughter for that: "I am telling her, if her grandparents correct her, she will have remain quiet, and no talking back." On this example Elizabeth clearly showed how she became more flexible with the norms after migrating to Canada because the grandparents were not present. However, she anticipates that she will be stricter and follow the family expectations when she goes back for a visit.

For Claudia and German, and for Gabriela, not having the pre-migration sources of support seemed to impact their need for control over their children, because the responsibility was no longer shared with other significant adults.

Claudia, shared that she hadn't changed her discipline style, rules and behaviour expectations for her children. However, she noticed that her children "are getting more disobedient here (Canada) than there (Mexico)." She expressed that in Canada children are more "liberal" and "looser" meaning that parents tend to have less control over the children. Her husband German expressed concern about his children because "they go out and you don't know where they went. You have nobody to … to tell you if your child where he is or how is he". He said that in Mexico it was different because "you know their friends, you know

where they go, what they do" plus there were other people that could inform him about his son, but "here no… they go out and sometimes you don't know… you don't know where did he go or what did he do."

Gabriela also touched the theme of control from the perspective of protecting her children from what she considered potential risks. Since she perceived herself as the main caregiver, she said, "I have been on top of them like that. For them not to go out, for example, for me sleepovers… I've said no, I haven't allowed my children to go to sleepovers."

Another element regarding child discipline was the dilemma of to spank or not to spank. For couples such as Lucho and Elizabeth, and German and Claudia, spanking was a normal part of discipline in their childhood, and therefore a model they could potentially reproduce. Claudia and German expressed that they still consider spanking a valid form of disciplining the children. German said that he uses "the same type of discipline" he used in Mexico. Then he put emphasis on how important is for children to be obedient and respect their parents. He was aware that the social norms in Canada were different that in Mexico regarding spanking your children as a way to discipline them. However, he said, "I am not afraid of the police", adding, "I am the dad". Then he pointed out: "If they don't obey to me… I mean, what are you going to do? They have to obey to someone anyways, right?" A clear expectation for him was that children had to obey their parents. Children were expected to obey authority figures, and fulfil their duties.

Similarly, Claudia shared how her daughter challenged her about spanking. She said her daughter came one day from school and told her, "nana

nana boo boo, my friend told me that here you can't spank me because the police will take you if you do it." Claudia shared that she responded, "Let them take me, you are mine, and I will spank you if I want to", plus she said she added "I am going to take you to Mexico and I will give you a good spanking, I will discipline you and then bring you back". She showed no fear of the police by saying to her daughter "and if you tell the police, the police will take you to other parents, that are going to be Canadians and worst, worst than us, and we will no longer be your parents, they will put us in jail". She said that after that incident her daughter hasn't mentioned the topic anymore. Claudia shared that she talked to a friend about this incident, "I asked a friend, and… here you can't spank them." So, Claudia "looked for more information about Canadian norms" after the confrontation with her daughter, but finally she decided to maintain her ways of disciplining her children.

Lucho and Elizabeth, on the other hand, seemed to have incorporated more the idea that you shouldn't spank your children to discipline them. However, there was certain ambivalence regarding this issue. There was not a straight position; it seemed more like an issue that was in a process of change. For example, Lucho shared, "I never spank my children. If someone has to do it, it should be Elizabeth". Then he explained that the best way to correct the children was through talking and "you should always give them the reasons". However, he said, "sometimes you try to correct them, you tell them ten times and they don't understand, so they drive you… they drive you crazy" in those cases it was

unclear whether or not a physical punishment was okay, in any case from his perspective "physically Elizabeth can punish her, but not me."

Also, Lucho and Elizabeth both mentioned that their expectation regarding Katy's schooling had changed. They reported coming from a culture where children had to study a lot, and had lots of homework. They both found that the school system in Canada was not as demanding as they expected it to be, they said it was "more relaxed". Lucho said that if they were in Peru, "maybe we would have demanded more for her to study" Then he explain that they were not as demanding "because she would see that she is the only one, the only one who is studying like that." Similarly, Elizabeth clearly explained why they changed their expectations about her studying. She said that it was "because she is growing up in a different culture, where things are calmer and smoother and… but we can't be too flexible either, so we have to find the middle ground." Finding the "middle ground" was a key element on this process of change, and how that middle ground looked like could be very different for different parents.

Values and Good Manners. Participants reported changes in many aspects. However, they all reported their intention to maintain their values, "the values don't change" or "they are the same" were common phrases. Most participants integrated the concepts of "*values*" and "*good manners*". Elizabeth for example was naming what she considered important values, "be responsible, be honest, not to lie, be fair, be affectionate with your family … the value of greeting, right? Here for example many children don't greet you…" Then she continued explaining how important it was for her to teach her daughter to greet,

say please and thank you, which are examples of what can be called "*good manners*". Teaching good manners seemed to be a value as it related to the notion of children being *"well educated"*.

Gabriela reported that for her it was important to maintain what in her culture was considered as good manners and pass them to her children. This was one of the things she considered important not to change. Talking about the cultural differences she said; "We have to respect, but we have tried for our children to follow, I mean, to keep the moral and the… the manners, the good manners."

Participants expressed their desire to maintain their values. However, in case of conflict between their values/good manners, and the values/good manners of the society at large, the desire of being part of the new society could make things less clear in regards of what should be kept exactly the same way, and what could be modified. German explained this by saying, "you have your values installed. And those values nobody will make change them. …It doesn't matter where do you go." Then he added, "wherever you go you have to adapt to the culture, do what others do." When asked what would happen if his values were not the same as the ones in the new culture he said, "no, no, you will never forget them (your values), you will have them inside you, but sometimes you may not be able to use them all." Then, to stress his idea he stated, "you wont let them go, what you do is to try to adapt to the others, to their way of life."

The Adjustment Process in Canada

Participants reported that adjusting to the changes that come with migration can be "hard" and challenging. As part of their process of adaptation and adjustment to parenting in Canada, participants had to make some changes in their family roles and rebuild a new SSN. However, despite all the challenges or sometimes thanks to them participants also discovered that "every cloud has a silver lining" and talked about the gains. The themes below focus specifically on the nature of the adjustment process of the families in this study, and supporting quotes are provided to elucidate the changes they made.

Family Role Shifting

A major theme that emerged related to changes in family dynamics due to the absence of pre-migration supports. Mothers and fathers had to redefine their roles, assume new and/or different responsibilities, and in some cases the older siblings also had to adjust by taking on new roles within the family.

Gender role changes. Participants explained how in the absence of the pre-migration sources of support, there was a need for reorganization of the household and childcare responsibilities. In all cases, at least initially, the mothers assumed those responsibilities.

For Claudia this was not a change because it had always been her role in the family, as German said "I didn't expect a change" and change in this sense did not occur. However, for other participants such as Gabriela it was a significant change. In Colombia, she and her husband worked, and Miguel's mother assumed most of the childcare responsibilities. In Canada, Gabriela said "we made an

agreement with my husband, so we wouldn't neglect the children. I stayed home, and he went to work". She explained this decision by saying "I sacrificed myself because I would've studied English. But my children were more important." Then she showed pride by saying, "you talk to my children and you can see… You can see the education…the time I dedicated to them was not in vein." Gabriela reported that her husband had an injury that required surgery and he could no longer work in his previous job. Therefore, she decided that it was time for her to start working, she said, "I started to tell him that I needed to work, and I applied to work cleaning at the same place he was, and I am now working with him. It's been a year now."

In the cases of the other three couples it has been a process of change. Elizabeth for example commented that due to being raised with "old-fashion ideas" initially, "I automatically assumed that all that was mine, and I didn't let Lucho do anything." Plus she added that he didn't know how to do any of the chores because he was not use to it. However, progressive changes occurred, she stated, "the years have passed and after so much pushing and all that, at least now he helps out."

Similarly Hersy and Alicia shared how their partners progressively got more involved in helping with the household chores and in childcare. Hersy said that her "husband now helps more at home" and "before, not even think about it". Her husband Moises explained that he considered their roles as mother and father "complementary". As an example of what he meant he said, "I face more directly the environment to provide what is needed at home. And… my wife, well, once at

home she faces more closely the children to meet their basic needs, right? the food, the personal attention." However, he said that, "more and more in our circumstance and time we participate in each other's area".

This change in gender roles, as many other changes, might be challenging, in particular for the fathers. Lucho shed light over this issue by saying "I don't think that Elizabeth should do everything at home… but I was raised in a way that… I don't want to do those things." Then he recognized "it's wrong…but sometimes… it's complicated… it's complicated to change…it's not like you are going to change over night."

Immersion into the mothering role. Participants talked about some continuities and changes in their parenting roles. Some, like Hersy, stressed what had remained the same by saying that "being mom it's the same, wherever you are", pointing out that "the instinct is there"; whereas others, like Alicia and Elizabeth, put more stress on the differences. Both of them used to work full time and had help at home from the nanny/housekeeper. Both of them also shared that after migration they had dedicated more to their children. Alicia said, "in Chile I wouldn't have done it, because I would have continued with my professional career". Then she explained what professional women in Chile "see their daughters once they come from work, and of course, they cuddle them, they take care of them on weekends and go out, buy they are not moms 24/7".

Participants' descriptions of the mother's role were diverse. However, there was one same expression used by Alicia, Gabriela, Miguel, and Claudia, when describing one of the key characteristics of a mother: "*estar pendiente de*

los hijos", which unfortunately does not have an exact translation in English. The closest translation is *"to be attentive to the children's needs"*. However, the Spanish meaning of this phrase goes beyond being attentive, it implies a deeper involvement in their children's lives and being responsive to whatever they need.

Fortunately, participants gave examples of what it meant for them "*estar pendiente de los hijos"*. Claudia described it as "checking what they are doing, what time they come from school" and also "be attentive of their needs when they are sick… with the medicine, everything, everything, everything… with the… the food, breakfast, lunch, supper, the laundry…". Gabriela defined this part of her role as being "all the time with my children. I was attentive of their needs at school, taking them to school, picking them up…feeding them." Going beyond being attentive to their needs Gabriela said, "I am on top of my children", then she explained that when she was at home she was checking "what are they watching on TV, how is their room, if they took a shower, if they are doing their tasks, if they are doing them right, their personal hygiene." Alicia described "*estar pendiente*" as being "all day with my children, to dedicate myself a hundred percent to my children". Both Alicia and Gabriela had delegated a significant part of this role to their mother or mother-in-law previous to migration, and assumed it fully once they no longer had their previous supports. Similarly, Elizabeth and Hersy had the support of the nanny/housekeeper with some of the childcare tasks they took on after migration.

Increasing father involvement. All of the fathers interviewed mentioned, in one way or another, that part of the role as a father was to be the provider for

the family. This part of their role seemed to reflect continuity rather than a change. The challenge for many of them was to have job stability that would allow them to fulfill their role. For example, Lucho said, "it is my responsibility to economically support my family." Similarly, Claudia explained that the father was the one who worked, "he is the only one who works …the only one for all of us". Concordantly, German focused on his role as provider as his main responsibility, when asked about the activities he liked doing with his children he stated, "nothing, I come back very tired". He also said that he had "more responsibilities here. I mean, I have to take them places, translate, sign papers, I mean, because my wife doesn't speak English, I mean, I have more to do." Plus, Claudia added that as part of his role as a father he had to control the children by "checking with whom they are, what are they doing… what… what… how can I say it… what kind of friends they have."

For the other couples adjusting to the changes had bigger implications on the definition of the father's role. A major change had been an increase in father involvement in the parenting process. For example Jose explained that in Chile he was not as involved with childcare because there most of the basic needs of his children were covered by other family members. Jose shared some of the new tasks he had assumed as a father, "I change their diapers, I change them (clothes), I bath them". Alicia contrasted the role of the father in Chile, "In Chile the father is the one who works, comes home at night, kisses the kids, at most he reads them a story and goes to sleep, And that is it"; with the role in Canada, " he is the one

who helps" the mother to take care of the children, giving as examples some of the tasks described by Jose.

Similarly, Gabriela and Miguel both said that there had been a shift in the amount of time and dedication Miguel gave to his children. Gabriela said that in Canada he was more involved with his children, "there (in Colombia) he was all the time doing business", however she said that in Canada, he participated more actively in the lives of his children. "For example, he registered the kids in soccer, he drives them, picks them up, he takes them to their classroom". Then she added "he is *with* them".

Elizabeth and Lucho also talked about increased father involvement after migration. Elizabeth compared Lucho's involvement with his first child (Katy) born in Peru and his second child (Carlos) born in Canada, "now Lucho is … more involved in the development of Carlos… because he didn't… definitely with Katy he was not very involved." Then she continued her comparison by saying, "he wouldn't change her diaper, bath her, prepare her milk; he never did any of those things with Katy. Now he changes Carlos' diaper, he makes him sleep, he changes him, and things like that." Lucho also commented, "the important thing to me is to always spend… time with them, before I didn't do it so much, when I was in Peru."

Parentification of older children: Caregivers and translators. Another subtheme among family role changes after migration involved older children assuming new caregiving roles within the family, or acting as translators for the parents. In this way, children became part of the family's internal support

systems to compensate for the loss of extended family and extrafamilial sources of support. Gabriela, Miguel and Claudia, talked about the support received by their older children. The three of them have had help from their children to translate for them, and Miguel and Gabriela reported having the support of their older daughter to take care of her siblings while they are at work. Having the support of her older daughter allowed Gabriela to start working while leaving her children with someone she trusted. Gabriela explained it as follows:

> Now I work because my older daughter is already… she controls my children for me. She is almost 18. Because you have no one to count on, because people get tired, people… it is difficult, it is also difficult to find someone who would really take care of them. So my older daughter takes care of them.

Both Claudia and Gabriela have had their older daughters with them during the delivery of their youngest child, in order to translate for them. Gabriela shared that "it was a relief for me, because everything I felt, I told her, and she would tell the doctors…thanks to the girl (daughter) there was no problem, she translated for me."

Positive Reframing: "Every Cloud Has a Silver Lining"

A major theme related to the adjustment process in Canada, was the positives or perceived benefits that had come out of the challenges, and even the gratitude participants felt for the challenges posed by migration. Moises used the equivalent saying of "every cloud has a silver lining" to express this. Positive reframing seemed to be an important element in coping with the challenges and

adjusting to life in Canada. As Hersy expressed, "one always looks for the way to adapt to the circumstances and make the best of it". The benefits manifested in various ways, such as increased family cohesion. Quotes related to the positives associated with migration and parenting changes and different areas of impact are provided in the paragraphs below.

Another saying used by Moises that clearly illustrated this positive attitude was, "when you fall it's important to get up again". Then Moises added, "and pick up something from the floor, right?" This addition to the saying stressed the importance of going beyond overcoming a challenge, adding the gain of something from the experience. In his own words, "the experience helps you value what you have." These were Moises words, but they also reflect what other participants had expressed.

Nuclear family cohesion: "We are more united as a family". Participants reported as a major gain an increased family cohesion that was reflected in spending more time as a family, being more united, and greater father and mother involvement in family life.

One of the biggest challenges mentioned by participants were the limitations of the sources of support they found in Canada. Despite making friends they felt that they were the only ones responsible for their children, whereas in their country of origin they could share part of that responsibility with their extended family. However, the other side of the coin was that because of this, they got closer to each other and gained a greater sense of family unity, which was highly appreciated.

For example Elizabeth commented, "It's true that the family is a great support and company, but… not having it has made us to be more involved as parents." Then she continued by highlighting the positive side, "the biggest advantage is that it has united us as a family, and we have a closer relationship, stronger ties than before."

Similarly, Jose and Alicia, and Moises and Hersy, expressed that they are now more united as a family. Moises expressed it by saying, "despite the stress and … the adversity of… uncertainty, we now value more being together as a family, being with the children. And we have devoted to them time and energy that maybe we wouldn't have devoted back there."

Participants valued the gain that had come from the lost of the extended family support. However, they also recognized the challenge they encountered and they would prefer not to have had to pass through that struggle. Moises illustrated this feeling when he said, "this doesn't mean that you have to make families pass through this to… to keep them united, right? that would be cruel." He used the word "cruel" which represents the struggle and the difficulties involved in their experience. He wished for others to gain the family cohesion, but he would like to spare them from having to pass through the hard part of the experience.

Father involvement: "I am more involved with my children". With the exception of Claudia and German, all the other participants reported and increase in father involvement. For example Hersy said, " he (Moises) has integrated more with the kids here, than he was back there", and Alicia shared "dad is more

involved, even though he studies… and he is very busy with his assignments, with his assistantship, with everything, he is more present."

For some participants like Miguel being more involved included taking the children activities such as soccer. For others like Lucho and Jose, it implied getting more involved in chores such as changing diapers and bathing their babies.

Fathers valued this greater involvement. Jose indicated that he valued the bonding he had created with his daughters. He said, "it is a lot more work" but even though he was "dead tired at night", at the end "it is an advantage…from the emotional point of view". In his own words he shared what he considered the positive side of not having his extended family close:

> There is a positive side to all of that, it has allowed me to… how can I say it… have contact with them (his daughters) since they were little… allowed for them to smell me, for me to smell them, for them to recognize me, to look at me… those kind of things have no price! I mean, you realize after, when they grow up, and you say, "well I lost all of that"… and I lost it with my first son. …This has been a unique experience from an emotional/affective perspective because… how can I say it… I… I… I am super involved with them.

Jose commented, "in Chile I would have continued in the same dynamic of less time with the family, less time with my kids". Then he explained, "because I would have had my family, so I wouldn't have worried for that. I wouldn't have had a leading role like now."

Similarly Elizabeth shared "I see him more involved regarding communication with them. …I feel he is like more attached…and more responsible". Lucho confirmed this by saying, "I think that… that now I am more attached to her (daughter). I mean, I mean like… we have more family time." He also commented on his involvement changing diapers and doing things he had never done before migration he said, "now I see things differently". Then he added, "I know that the time I spend with my daughter, with Carlos is… very valuable for me."

Increase in maternal commitment and mother-child bonding: "Here I feel more of a mom". Not only the fathers reported feeling more involved with their children, but also the mothers; particularly the ones who recently had a baby. Elizabeth and Alicia both used that same phrase: "I feel more of a mom". This feeling seemed to be a major emotional gain. One more time, the difficulties of not having the previous supports in place had a positive side for participants. Thanks to the lack of extra support and having to do everything for their children 24/7 they gained this feeling of being "more of a mom" that was valued and rewarding for them.

Elizabeth shared, "when Katy was born in Peru, we had a housekeeper", who was in charge of all the house chores. "So, the integration between mother and daughter was not the same. It was not as close as it is with Carlos now, right? I mean, now who looks after him is me, since he was born." Then she concluded:

I feel I am more of a mother now than I was with Katy, something like that … It's like I feel more committed. It might be because I have no one to help me out with the daily chores.

Similarly Alicia shared, "despite all the difficulties, all the work, that maybe I am exhausted… with the three of them… mmm… it's so much nicer. I mean, I feel like… like I am more of a mom, something like that." Through that comment she spoke about those two sides of the coin, the challenge and the gain.

Also, Alicia shared how the relationship with her son had changed with migration. During the first years of her son's life, when they were still living in Chile she didn't spend as much time because she was working and the main caregiver was her mother. Alicia shared, "He (her son) saw me on weekends because I worked in Santiago. I traveled to the city where my parents lived with him… so… even though I knew him, I got to know him better when we came here." Then she continued explaining that after migration, "I was closer to him, I got involved in his stuff… I got to know better what he likes". Then she continued sharing, "I was with him day and night… we played more, and we read a book every day… and I helped him with all his school projects."

Alicia and Elizabeth, both associated the amount of time spent with their children with changes in the quality of the relationship with their child and how they perceived their role as a mother. They both expressed they valued the experience of being 24/7 with their newborn and Elizabeth even indicated, "if we could go back in time, I think I wouldn't have a nanny and… I mean, I would have taken care of everything."

The plus of having more family time. Participants also reported another perceived benefit of migration and the associated parenting changes: Having more family time, in part due to the job conditions in Canada and in part due to absence of their previous sources of support. For example, Miguel shared, "in Colombia I was slave of my business". In Canada on the other hand "I dedicated more time to my children".

Similarly Jose said that in comparison with Chile, in Canada "you have the possibility to go out to the park …because you came home at four or five in the afternoon, and not at nine in the evening like you usually do in our countries after working all day." Then he pointed out, "it is a matter of quality of life." Moises said that despite the stress of not having a permanent job, in Canada he could spend more time with his family, "I have had more time to be with them for other things, for example, the music, make them learn piano." He also commented that his younger son said, "what I like the most about the weekends is that we are together". Hersy added that losing their previous social support network made them realize how important was to spend quality time with the family, "so you start to value more the time spend with them. You say less TV, less TV and we better do this, or let's read."

Other participants also shared doing more activities with their children, spending more time with them and enjoying more the time together. For example, Miguel said, "I am at home, I am often with them, sometimes I lay in the floor to play with them, that's enjoying a child! In Colombia we didn't do it because… the job."

Rebuilding: Recreating a Social Support Network

The final theme relating to participants' adjustment to parenting in the Canadian context related to their active attempts to reconstruct a new social support network to compensate for their loss of their premigration supports. Participants searched for and found new sources of support such as new friends, support from the government, the education and health systems, and God. The different types of new supports they identified and perceived, and their unique ways of creating supports for themselves are addressed in the subthemes below.

"Friends are like family". The main new source of support mentioned by participants was friends. Most participants had been able to make new friends. In many cases they reported that those friends provided the support they previously had from their family members. For example, Miguel said that close friends "are like family", similarly Jose pointed out that close friends, "play the role of family".

Moises and Elizabeth shared how they had found support in friends that they could only find in their extended family previous to migration. Moises said, "you may not find this solidarity (from friends) in your own country…you find that support in your extended family." Elizabeth elaborated on this idea, "asking for favours in Peru is not very common, if you don't do it with your family, and, here it is rather common."

One of the major contributions of friends was with childcare. Almost all participants, with the exception of Claudia, reported receiving help from friends with babysitting or temporary care for their children. For example, Hersy shared:

The kids, for example, they can go and stay (at a friend's house) while you go out and do your activities, and vice versa …. So, I think that this is the way that has somehow compensated for not having parents or nannies.

Jose mentioned another type of support received from friends that compensated not having the family around. He said that his wife got support from other women because they could talk about personal issues, "they talk among women". And he stressed that this was very important because "as our family is not nearby, our friends become our family to a certain degree". To increase this sense of closeness Alicia shared that her children call her closest friends "aunties". She commented that her friends "love that my children call them aunties… and their children call me aunty." She explained furthermore by saying that this "feels like very, very close, so… we do it that way".

Elizabeth, Miguel, Jose, Alicia, Moises and Hersy shared how having children had helped them to make new friends. Moises, for example, talking about what had helped him to meet new friends said, "I think it is through the children, I mean, they (other adults) see you and maybe they don't even talk to you". He explained how by having children, other adults/parents were more likely to approach you, talk to you, and that is how many of his friendships had started. He continued "many of the families, the friendships we have, we have met them through our children".

Similarly, Miguel shared how he had met two of his closest friends at his son's soccer practices. He talked about Maria, a close friend, "I met her because one of my sons plays soccer". He continued explaining how important this

friendship had been for him in terms of support, "after my surgery this person came along and… wow… she has been our right-hand, she has helped us really much to keep going".

Alicia and Jose also mentioned having other Latino friends they had met thanks to their son "we started to be friends because they went to the same school." Alicia explained how other children's activities had also helped to make new friends. For example, "you go to the park, after school all the children stay in the playground …so, the moms go to pick up their children and they stay talking while the children play." Elizabeth also highlighted the idea that many friendships were built thanks to the children: "I believe that when you have children, you have more, more chances to befriend others, because of the relationship with the children."

Participants also shared that having one friend led to having more friends. For example German shared: "sometimes one (friend) introduces us to others … we like the… the person… we add it to our group of friends". Elizabeth, elaborating on the same idea explained, "you meet a group, and from that group you meet another group …and without noticing you have a social support network." Alicia shared an example of how she had been introduced to other Chileans. This example sheds light on a common practice among the Latino community. Her husband Jose had a Chilean friend who studied with him at university. Alicia shared:

> She was living here longer than us, and she had… like a network of
>
> Chilean friends, right? And through her I met another couple, Carla, who

was my best Chilean friend, because they told her "Some Chileans have arrived, they are new, I want you to meet them" and they invited us to their home for supper, and from there we became friends.

German, Alicia, Jose, Hersy and Elizabeth, they all mentioned during the interview, that they started friendships thanks to their job or the place of study. German very briefly talking about where has he made friends said "some at work". Elizabeth had both experiences, as a student, when she studied English, and as a worker. She shared, "when I studied English I met other Latinas from other countries…with two or three of them I am still in contact." Then she continued talking about her experience making friends at work, "with two of them we have a closer relationship…For example when Carlos was born, my friend Judith was there… she is from work."

Hersy mentioned meeting some friends at her workplace. She got closer to these particular people because they had more things in common, and they could relate to each other, "they have children, they work with you, and you share… or they advise you about activities (for the children) or things like that." She expressed gratitude that due to those friends, she found out about many of the activities and programs available for her children in the city.

Hersy, Moises and German mentioned the church as a place where they had made new friends. In particular they mentioned a church where they celebrate mass in Spanish. German very briefly said "some friends I met them at church". Hersy explained that one of the ways she met new friends was through church, because one can meet "people that have more or less the same circumstances as

you, that came here, that understand your situation, who have children, and that…

they help you."

Finally, Jose and Alicia mentioned that living in the Student Housing for

families had been very helpful in making new friends. Jose explained it as

follows:

> It is also important where do you live…because in this housing complex
> one or two blocks away there is a Mexican couple, one block away live
> some Colombians, so we are all close…and in general we send our
> children to the same schools.

Participants mentioned reciprocity and trust as two main elements in

helping their friendships to develop and be sustained over time. Reciprocity was

shown in providing childcare for friends. For example Jose explained that when

he needed to go out with his wife they would ask their friends to take care of his

children, "we leave them as babysitters …they ask us for the same, see? It's

reciprocal." Similarly, Moises mentioned, "sometimes the kids go to someone

else's house to play, or the other kids come here". Elizabeth also commented she

could ask friends to help her with her daughter, "close friends that you know are

going to support you, and it is also reciprocal, yea?, because you can also support

them".

Alicia went a step further. explaining how she fostered those relationships

by taking the initiative. She said that she would phone her friends, ask "how are

you" and offer, "if you have any problem and you need to leave your child with

someone, if you want, I am open to take care of him." She reported that offering support facilitated other people offering support to her in return.

For most of the participants this was a key element in friendship. However, for Claudia, this theme appeared in a different way because she complained about others not making favours for free but expecting something in exchange, "they expect that you give back, …it is not really a favour. You have to do a favour without expecting anything back." From all interviewees, Claudia was the one who reported having more struggle to rebuild her SSN and didn't feel she had made many close friends.

Alicia shed light on the issue of trust as an important element to rebuild her social support network. Form her perspective the more she opened up to her friends, the more "they started to open to you" as well. She shared that initially, when she thought she would only stay for a couple of years in Edmonton, she did not make many close friends because she thought, "What for? Why to waist time?" Then she continued explaining what happened after they decided to stay longer:

> However, once things changed, I said no, these friends… this group of friends I have… I am going to nurture them. Ok, what do I mean, I started inviting them to my place… I planed with them… "Hey lets do… I don't know… an Easter party for the kids" . Their children and mine at my home. "Ok, let's go camping to Jasper together". "Ok lets go together".

Supports from the *System*. From the five couples interviewed, four of them had a child born in Canada. Three of the mothers, Alicia, Gabriela, and

Claudia, talked about the support received by the healthcare system after delivery.

This type of support, particularly after delivery, was mostly noted by the mothers,

and not by the fathers. Having this support from the health care system

compensated for the lack of their previous sources of support.

Claudia noted that after her delivery no one came to visit her or support

her, except for the nurses, "they came here to see me, they saw the baby, …a

nurse came to check on him…see how he was doing. She checked him well. Very

nice all that, very cool!"

Alicia also described a positive experience receiving support from the

health system after her delivery. She said, "the nurses are the best of

Canada…they give an incredible support". She shared how she appreciated the

home visits and the concern about post-partum depression and all the helps

available if you need them. She said that she felt "lots of support form the

system". Talking about the nurses she expressed:

> (They are) always concerned, calling you, if you are ok, if you need
>
> something. The first days they come to visit you at home… mmm… if you
>
> have the problem of falling into depression, they provide help… very, very
>
> nice the system.…The system really supports you, I mean, in every sense.

When Gabriela talked about her experience having a baby in Canada, she

also mentioned all the supports she received from the healthcare system.

However, she did not refer to it as "help from the system" as the other

participants, but as "help from the government". Both Gabriela and Miguel, the

only refugee couple interviewed, made constant reference to the supports received

from the government, and attributed the support coming from nurses, social workers, and teachers as "the government".

Claudia and Gabriela also talked about the support received from the school system with the education of their children. Claudia highlighted that schools here are "very beautiful" and that "they keep an eye on the children, if they miss a class, they call you". In this sense for her the school system helped her feel that her children were safe, she felt they cared and looked after them. For her, this "compensated" for the lack of other sources of extended protection and control.

Miguel and Gabriela, who came to Canada as refugees, often mentioned the support form the government as a key element in their adaptation. For example, Gabriela shared that her son had learning difficulties and the school had helped him to overcome them; then she added, "It is the government, it's the government, because of the teachers, there are very good teachers".

Also, they both expressed gratitude towards the government for providing them with the supports needed after migration through social workers that spoke their own language. Gabriela reported, "when we arrived, we had a guide, and she was the one who did all our paperwork, she guided us, she talked to us, she kept us up to date". Miguel also made reference to his initial experience in Canada and receiving support from immigration workers "a lady that worked for immigration, she was very, very attentive/responsive …they also provided two people, interpreters, that were very responsive."

Over and over during the interview both of them mentioned that they have received lots of support "from the government" and "the social workers" whom them associate with the government. Gabriela said that the government helped through these social workers who "speak the language and provide you the support".

The support of God. Almost at the end of the interview, after a sense of trust had been created between the interviewer and the interviewee, Moises added that a key element in his process of adaptation had been God. After clarifying that he had never been a religious person, he stated, "it was God who brought us here, and it is God who has supported us". Then he continued explaining that there had been "many situation where we had no control over what was happening to us, however, we were supported". Moises expressed feeling that God had supported them to overcome challenges, and adjust to the new context because "at the end it has been God who put the people, the circumstances, the families at the right time and country…if someone has helped us, has taken care of us, and has welcomed us, it has been God."

Similarly, Hersy mentioned God as an important source of support after migration. She reported feeling welcomed and understood by people she had met at church, in particular from the Spanish speaking community. Gabriela, Claudia, Elizabeth and Miguel also mentioned God during their interview, but none of them attributed directly to God the supportive role as Hersy and Moises did.

Close but not quite: Limitations of the new SSN. Participant talked about rebuilding their social support network as a way to adjust to the new

context. However, the new SSN had its limitations, namely it did not include family members. Despite saying that "friends are like family", participants only reported trusting their friends with childcare support, they did not trust them with the role of co-educators, or people in-charge of raising their children as family members and other sources of support in their countries were. In Canada they, as parents, were the "only ones" responsible for their children.

German compared his pre and post migration sources of support by saying, "it will never be the same because basically in Mexico in your network there is lot of family, right? And here in your network there is no family". Then he continued explaining why it was never going to be the same:

> With family you feel more… more comfortable than when you are only with friends, I mean, you have to… you act differently. With your family you are more normal (…) and with people you have befriended here… you act differently, I mean, as we say in quotation marks, a little more "hypocrite".

For German there was a different level of closeness between family and friends, he shared that he only felt completely comfortable to be himself among family. In addition, German noted that you could always count on family, but with friends "you can't be… I mean… bothering them every day… I mean… you have to be aware that they have their own problems, I mean… their help is only occasional." Therefore, even though they may have some friends, those friends would never be totally "like family".

Miguel expressed that for him there was a higher level of trust in family. He reported feeling more confident in trusting his children under the care of family, "friends also but well… it is not the same to receive help from a family member, than a friend trying to help you." In his wording he made the difference between the family member actually helping, and the friend "trying" to help, offering the help, but not necessary actually giving it.

Beyond the absence of other family members, Moises explained how from his point of view a SSN was built over generations. Therefore, it was very difficult to rebuild it to the same extent of the pre-migration network. He shared, "after living in a country for generations, well, people get to an acceptable level of stability, right? And live with that. Here you never get to that level."

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the experiences and adjustment processes of Latino immigrant parents raising their children in the absence of their extended family. The study included an ethnically mixed sample of mothers and fathers with at least one child under 10 years old. The families had immigrated to Canada with at least one child, and had no extended family living in the same city as them. The goal was to answer the following questions: (a) How do Latino immigrants, parenting young children in a Canadian city, experience and adjust to the absence of extended family? (b) How do their parenting roles, strategies, and social support network change after migration in response to the absence of extended family members? And (c) What resources and strengths have they found useful in their process of acculturation and adaptation in the Canadian context? This chapter presents a synthesis of the themes that emerged from the study interviews with the existing literature. It also contains directions for future research, and applications for clinical practice with Latino families.

Experiences of Parenting in the Absence of Extended Family

Latino immigrant parents interviewed in this study characterized their experience by expressing feelings of loss, fears, increased responsibility, and ambivalence about change. Participants expressed feelings of loss of their pre-migration sources of support such as family members, nannies/housekeepers, and neighbours. All participants who lived in the same city as even totally distant relatives identified the extended family as their main source of support. This is not

surprising in a culture where *familism* is a core value (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Cortes, 1995; Marin & Gamba, 2003; Organista, 2007; Sabogal et al., 1987). It is also consistent with the findings of Perreira et al. (2006) who pointed out that one of the challenges identified by Latino immigrant parents in the U.S. was coping with the loss of the extended family connections and the feelings of grief related to such loss.

Familism, one of the most important values in Latino culture, refers to the attachment and identification people have with members of their nuclear and extended family. It involves feelings of loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Cortes, 1995; Marin & Gamba, 2003; Organista, 2007; Sabogal et al., 1987). The family is the primary source of instrumental and emotional support (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). Therefore, it was expected that Latino parents raising children in the absence of the extended family would experience challenges related to being away from their primary source of support. Results of this study suggested that this was true for the participants. At an instrumental level for example, participants reported challenges with childcare after migration, such as not having anyone to leave their children with when they had important meetings, appointments, or events, restricting their day to day lifestyles. After rebuilding a new social support network, participants found other people they could trust to take care of their children, recognizing that friends can be like family. However, even with very close friends they indicated a lack of trust in them for childrearing responsibilities that extended family members held in their countries of origin.

This led to feelings of increased responsibility and fear. Before migration participants could share their parental responsibilities with other family members, whereas they felt alone and overwhelmed as caregivers and parents in Canada. For example, one of the participants spoke about how her fears about a lack of support in the parenting process led her to post-pone the decision to have another child, because it would be too difficult for her to handle it without help. Participants expressed feeling all the responsibility on their shoulders. For some participants this led to an increased need for control. Parsai et al. (2010) found that Latino participants in their study also reported feelings of increased responsibility and a higher need for control because they no longer had their extended family and neighbours to share childrearing responsibilities.

Participants also reported a profound emotional impact, particularly in missing and grieving for their extended family members, and feeling a deep sense of obligation to them for everything they had done for them, even though they were now countries apart. Moreover, participants reported feelings of selfishness and failure to meet their family obligations because they were not able reciprocate the support they got from them, as one participant said "they have provided for us all their life, and now that they are old, leaving them alone I think it's selfish". As it is expected in a culture that values *familism*, reciprocity is important, and participants felt the challenge of being far away and not being able to give back. Participants in the study reported as a challenge not being able to fulfill this familial obligation because of the distance. Familial obligation is one of the main components of familism identified by Sabogal et al. (1987).

Parents in this study also experienced ambivalence towards change. On one hand they wanted they children to fit in and be part of the new society, on the other hand they wanted to preserve their values and ways of life. This is consistent with previous studies on Latino families and acculturation that have found that some values change with acculturation. For example, a more acculturated father will value more independence and creativity than less acculturated fathers (Baclstrom, 2004); whereas other values such as the perception of family support dimension of familism, do not change with acculturation (Sabogal et al., 1987).

In the literature *respeto* and *educación* are also mentioned as core values in the Latino culture (Halgunseth et al. 2006; Organista, 2007; Reeese et al. 2000; Valdés, 1996; Valenzuela 1999). Participants in this study reiterated the importance for their children to maintaining the "good manners" and being "well educated" or "well behaved". This is aligned with those core values. However, the expectations of child behaviour may also change. For example, one mother said that she was more flexible with child discipline in Canada because there was no pressure from the family for the children to behave in a certain way, self-reporting becoming less strict with her children. Also, this same mother mentioned that because her daughter was growing up in a different culture, it was important "to find the middle ground". So, even though participants in this study adhered to the main core values found in the literature, they also opened room for change in order to find the "middle ground" where children can feel part of Canadian

society and similar to other children their age, but at the same time maintain what they consider are important Latino values.

Participants in this study seemed to have different levels of acculturation and integration into Canadian society. However, when asked about the values they all stated their intention to maintain their values. The type of values they mentioned were consistent with what others studies have found to be important values in the Latino culture related to responsibility, honesty, and affection within families (Baclstrom, 2004; Fisher et al. 2009; Gonzales Ramos et al., 1998; Perez & Padilla, 2000).

The Adjustment Process in Canada

Participants reported changes in their social support network after migration. They lost the support from family members, the nanny/housekeeper, and neighbours. Therefore, they had to adapt to the new situation. The lack of the previous sources of support seemed to have generated shifting in family roles because someone had to assume their tasks and responsibilities.

All participants in the study reported that the mother assumed most of the childcare and household responsibilities, at least initially after migration. Four out of the five mothers interviewed were working mothers before migration, so for them this was a significant change in their role. Over time, most of the fathers interviewed had assumed more responsibilities in the house and were more involved with childrearing. One of the mothers explained that she assumed most of the work because she was raised with "old-fashion ideas", in her own words she said, "I automatically assumed that all that was mine", however, "the years

have passed and after so much pushing and all that, at least now he helps out".

This is a clear example, of how others have described the change in the family

dynamics. After migration people pass though a process of acculturation (Berry,

2006a). The contact with the host culture, Canadian culture, is likely to have

influenced a greater involvement of fathers in childcare and contribution with

house chores because, as participants reported, initially these tasks were assumed

by the women. The only couple that did not report major change in gender roles

were Claudia and Germán. In their case, she had always been a housewife and she

continued in this role. Claudia did not speak English and from all the participants

in the study, she was the most isolated one. As acculturation is a result of

continuing contact with people from different background (Berry, 2006a); it

would be safe to assume that she was less acculturated that the other participants

because she had less contact with the host culture. This could contribute to the

hypothesis that acculturation had a role in the gender role changes, not only

because there was a need for change due to the new circumstances, but because in

the contact with Canadian culture couples opened up to the idea that the father

could be more involved and assume more responsibilities in the house. Father and

mother's increased parental involvement and roles, despite feeling overwhelming,

appeared to be something the parents greatly valued and perceived to increase

family cohesion. Family cohesion is also a critical element of the Latino core

value of familism (Sabogal et al., 1987).

In the individualism vs. collectivism dimension of cultural variability,

Latino culture falls on the collectivist side (Matsumoto, 2000). Concurrently,

participants shared that their extended family had a significant role in childrearing. After migration, participants felt that the only people responsible for their children were themselves. This generated feelings of increased responsibility, but also helped to increase nuclear family cohesion, mother and father involvement. Participants in this study talked abut the challenges of losing their social support network, but they also made reference to the positive outcomes that came from those challenges, as one participant illustrated "every cloud has a silver lining". This positive reframing helped participants cope with the challenges by highlighting the benefits of migration and the changes that came with it.

Participants in this study identified as a major benefit the greater level of father involvement. Both mothers and fathers highlighted this. In a qualitative study with 28 Hispanic parents, researchers found similar results in the sense that parents did not only associate the father's role with being the provider, disciplinarian, role model and teacher as traditional father's role, but also the role of playmate, emotional support and spending time with children (Fitzpatrick, Caldera, Pursley, & Wampler, 1999). Participants in this study not only described a greater involvement of fathers in the family life, including dedicating more time to spend with their children, play with them and take care of them engaging in tasks such as changing diapers, but they evaluated this change as positive. As one of the fathers put it, "it's an advantage… from the emotional point of view". Mothers in the study also valued their increased involvement with their children. The two mothers who had infants at the moment of the interview said, "I feel

more of a mother", comparing their experience of having a baby in their country with having a baby in Canada. They both attributed the change to the lack of support from other family members. From the adversity of parenting in the absence of their extended family came the benefit of a closer relationship with their babies.

Based on the literature review I expected participants to speak about the challenges of parenting in the absence of the extended family, and share what had helped them to adjust to those challenges. It was a surprise to note that almost all participants highlighted the benefits of migration immediately after speaking about the challenges. For example, speaking about increased family cohesion, parental involvement, and family time that were possible due to the lack of previous supports. Also, participant mentioned other positive outcomes such as being able to provide better opportunities for their children. This last element is concurrent with many studies that have found that one of the main motivations for migration is to provide a better life for children (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Building a new social support network was a major factor in adapting and adjusting to life in Canada. Previous research suggests that in the context of migration there is a greater need for social support (Levit et al., 2005). A new social support network helps with integration, contributes to satisfy needs, and reduces stress, facilitating adjustment (Dominguez-Fuentes & Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012; Levit et al. 2005; Young, 2001). Participants in this study made active efforts to reconstruct a new social support network to compensate for the

loss of their previous sources of support. Parents in this study reported finding support in friends, the government, the education and health systems, and God. Friendships made in the host country are a main source of support, they help new immigrants to understand the new society and integrate to other networks (Dominguez-Fuentes & Hombrados-Mendieta, 2012). For parents in this study friends were a major source of support. Having lost the support from the extended family, friends become "like family". Friends were reported to provide instrumental and emotional support. Congruently with previous studies friends also helped with integration because they introduced participants to their own group of friends. Interestingly, in this study parents revealed that having children had helped them to make new friendships. For example, they made friends with parents of their children's schoolmates or they had met their friends thanks to their children's extracurricular activities.

The support provided by "the system" such as social workers, nurses, and teachers was mainly informational and instrumental support. Participants reported gratitude towards this type of support as it had helped them to reduce stress and to settle in the new context. This was not unexpected. However, an unanticipated finding related to parents identifying God as a source of support. Hirschman (2004) in his study about the role of religion in the adaptation of immigrants in the U.S. states that, "religious beliefs and practices can serve as a ballast for immigrants as they struggle to adapt to the new homeland" (p.1211). The rationale behind this affirmation is that immigrants have to adapt to many changes in their lives and habits, in this context religion offers continuity, something

stable, functioning as a bridge between the old and the new world. Plus, he adds

that in many cases the churches and other religion institutions serve as source of

support to solve some of the basic material needs of immigrants. In this study,

some participants mentioned the importance of the church as a place to socialize

and make new friends, in particular the church that congregates other Latinos.

However, in this study, some of the participants mentioning God as a source of

support made reference to a more personal spiritual relationship they had with the

divine rather than through the community support gained from participation in

organized religion. Therefore, God was seen as a source of spiritual and emotional

support even independently of Church attendance.

The support from God seemed to have this bridging aspect mentioned by

Hirschman because it was the one support they could bring with them after

immigration to facilitate their resiliency and positive adaptation to life in Canada.

Plus, the support from God seemed to play a key role in maintaining hope and a

positive attitude in the midst of the challenges of migration. In a qualitative study

with Latino men with prostate cancer, researchers found that men formed an

alliance of support that included God, doctors and self. This alliance helped them

build up the strength to manage the disease, hope in the future and new existential

meaning (Maliski, Husain, Connor & Litwin, 2012). Similarly, studies with

immigrant youth have also found the role of God as a source of social support

(Schulz, Holt, Caplan, Blake, Southward, Buckner & Lawrence, 2008; Suarez-

Orozco, Singh, Abo-Zena, Du & Roeser, 2012). Therefore, even though not all

participants mentioned God as a source of support, the literature suggests that in

other stressful situations God and spirituality may facilitate successful adaptation and resilience.

Study Limitations

This qualitative study was designed to explore in-depth how Latino parents included in the sample experienced and adjusted to parenting in the absence of their extended family. The sample included only 5 couples. Therefore, the results may reflect individual experiences and are not expected to be generalized to the Latino population in Canada. The purpose of the study was to thoroughly describe their experiences rather than generalize them. Adding to the importance and value of the descriptions, there was a great diversity among participants included in the sample in terms of their immigration status (Permanent Resident, Student Visa, Refugee, and Temporary Foreign Worker), their level of education (ranging from Grade 3 to post-doctoral), and their countries of origin (Mexico, Colombia, Peru, and Chile). Also, unlike most previous studies on parenting in general and parenting in Latino families, both mothers and fathers were included, providing a more comprehensive picture of the topic explored.

Another limitation of this study was that participants were interviewed individually but the data was integrated to look at the experiences of the couple and not only the individuals. Future studies could look at fathers and mothers separately. Previous studies mostly included mothers; there is a greater need to include fathers in studies about parenting.

Directions for Future Research

This study serves as an introduction to a better understanding of parenting experiences of Latino families in Canada, and several research directions could branch out from here. For example, this research showed that parents felt increased responsibility. A future study could look at the different ways parents deal with it. Results from such a study could help identify the successful strategies used by parents in order to help others going through similar processes. Similarly, future studies could deepen the identification of coping strategies for the loss of previous sources of support, in particular familial support. The identification of those strategies could guide counsellors to provide better services for families having trouble coping with this loss.

Similar studies could also be conducted with other immigrant/refugee populations. Other ethnic groups also come from more collectivistic cultures where the family plays a significant role in childrearing. It is possible that they would have similar experiences to Latino parents. If so, it would be interesting to explore if their ways to adapt to those experiences are also similar, or if different cultures have different adaptation strategies.

Another interesting finding in this research was the role of God as source of support after migration. Some research has been done with cancer patients and immigrant youth about the importance of God as support to go through a difficult experience (Maliski et al., 2012; Schulz et al., 2008; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2012). Future research could deepen the exploration of this topic and its role in facilitating adaptation.

Implications for Counselling

Previous research indicates that the immigrant and refugee populations tend to be reluctant to seek help from mainstream mental health systems (Bemak & Chung, 2008). The use of culturally competent practices in counselling can help to significantly reduce the barriers that may stop immigrants from accessing counselling services.

Culturally Competent Counselling

Multicultural counselling advocates have identified three main competencies that should be developed by practitioners in order to provide culturally competent services to clients: (a) cultural self-awareness, or counsellors' awareness of their own cultural beliefs and values; (b) awareness of client cultural identities, or counsellors' awareness of their client's worldviews; and (c) culturally sensitive working alliance and culturally appropriate intervention strategies (Collins & Arthur, 2010; Ivey, D'Andrea, Ivey, Simek-Morgan, 2007). For each competence there are distinct attitudes, knowledge, and skills required to display competence. As part of the working alliance the counsellor and the client agree on goals and tasks that would help facilitate the movement from where the client is in the present to where the client would like to be. Counsellor self-awareness and awareness of client's culture are essential to build a successful working relationship (Collins & Arthur, 2010).

Findings from this study contribute mainly to the increased awareness of client's culture by providing new information about the experiences of Latino immigrant and refugee parents, the way some of them adjust to the new context,

the strategies they use to integrate and rebuild their social support network, and some of the elements that help them cope with the loss of their extended family as support. Results of this study can also contribute to increase counsellors' self-awareness of their own cultural biases by comparing the findings with their own assumptions and worldviews. Based on this increased awareness counsellors can develop with their clients more culturally appropriate interventions.

For example, in my experience working with immigrants and refugees, and with frontline workers serving this population, there is a tendency to highlight the challenges and struggles they pass through after migration. In this study, participants revealed they missed their extended family and previous sources of support, but they focused on "the silver lining" of the situation. Participants highlighted that thanks to the challenges of having increased responsibility and being the only ones responsible for their children they had increased father and mother involvement, they had increased family cohesion and had more family time. All of these elements were highly valued by participants. Counsellors' increased awareness that clients may naturally do a positive reframing can help explore this area leading to culturally appropriate interventions. Plus, it may also change some previous assumptions about how Latinos families experience parenting in the absence of their extended family.

Another finding in this study was the importance that God and spirituality may play in their adaptation to the new context. Counsellors working with this population may want to explore if spirituality is relevant for their clients. This is important because, depending on the counsellor's own cultural biases, it may be

an area that is not often discussed in therapy, and incorporating client's worldviews increases therapeutic success.

Multilevel Model for Counselling Immigrants and Refugees

Bemak, Chung, and Pedersen (2003) proposed a Multilevel Model (MLM) of counselling and psychotherapy for working with refugees. This model was originally designed for counselling refugees but its general tenets can be adapted for the immigrant population as well (Arthur, Merali, & Djuraskovic, 2010). There are four levels in the model, each level contains it's own goals and strategies for counselling: (a) Level I: mental health education; (b) Level II: psychotherapy; (c) Level III: cultural empowerment; and (d) Level IV: integration of Western and indigenous healing methodologies (Bemak et al., 2003). These levels may be explored simultaneously to address the client's needs because they are not fixed or sequential.

Level I: Mental health education. The focus of this level is to provide information and education about the counselling process, clarifying the roles of counsellors, clients, and the helping process (Bemak et al., 2003). Participants in this study reported a positive experience with the health and education system, identifying them as a source of support. This could facilitate a positive approach to counselling. Counsellors could frame their interaction as another form of support that is available to facilitate client's process of adaptation to the new context.

Level II: psychotherapy. Level II is focused on applying individual, group and/or family therapy in culturally responsive ways. Counsellors should

assess clients' needs and cultural identities to determine the best approach for the client. Adaptations of the interventions may be used to increase congruence of client's perception of what causes the mental health problem and/or culturally appropriate healing strategies (Arthur et al., 2010). For example, "clients' religious or spiritual beliefs may be incorporated into the healing process" (Arthur et al., 2010, p.309). The literature suggests that clients coming from collectivistic cultures, such as the Latino culture, may benefit from group and/or family therapy because of the sense of interdependence embedded in those counselling modalities. Moreover, during the process of acculturation, group and family therapy can facilitate positive adaptation (Bemak et al., 2003; Arthur et al., 2010).

Group counselling with Latino parents could help generate coping strategies, normalize their experiences, learn from each other, facilitate sharing of positive reframing, gain support from others and develop strategies to rebuild their support system. Couple, family and/or group therapy could also help new Latino immigrant fathers to increase awareness of the gains of being more involved with their children. Participants in the study reported that initially after migration the mothers assumed most of the childcare and household responsibilities, and gradually fathers got more involved. Awareness of the benefits of getting more involved could help smooth acculturation processes and help couple relationships.

The literature also supports that family counselling provided a better setting to address systemic issues, strengthening the family unit by addressing cross-cultural difficulties. Counsellors need to have knowledge of cultural norms

in family relationships (Arthur et al., 2010) This study contributes to this knowledge and helps counsellors gain a better understanding of Latino families.

Level III: Cultural empowerment. The focus of this level is to help the client to access the services and supports they need and provide support with systemic issues (Bemak, 2003). "One of the key roles that counsellors can play is helping immigrants and refugees build support networks" (Arthur et al., 2010). Findings from this study confirm the importance it has for Latino parents to build a new social support network. They also shed light about the different strategies used by Latino families to build those support networks. This information can be very useful for counsellors working with immigrants. Also, counsellors may directly connect clients with sources of support such as that provided by "the system", immigrant serving agencies, the church, community groups, and/or other members of their community. Drawing on the findings of this study, counsellors could also suggest that clients consider forming friendships with parents of other children that their children attend school with or engage in activities with, an idea that the clients may not have previously considered.

Level IV: Integration of Western and indigenous healing methodologies. The focus of this level is to find complementary use of traditional Western therapeutic techniques and indigenous healing practices (Bemak, 2003). The Latino population is rather diverse so counsellors should not assume that all their clients coming from this cultural background will share the same beliefs about the origin of their problems nor that they share the same indigenous healing practices. Instead, counsellors should be open to explore and learn from the

clients how they perceive their problem and be open to consider incorporating traditional practices and indigenous healing as pertinent. The literature suggests that if the counsellor initiates the discussion about indigenous healing it may help clients to overcome the fear of disapproval (Arthur et al., 2010). For instance, one of the participants who identified God as a significant source of support only did so at the end of the interview when a relationship of trust had been created with the interviewer. It is possible that if such relationship had not been created, he wouldn't have mentioned it, even though it was rather relevant. Not all Latino clients will have the same religious beliefs, but the openness of the counsellor to explore such beliefs may be of benefit in the counselling process. For example, for clients who have a strong sense of spirituality, use of prayer, church attendance, or other personal connections with the divine may be very helpful adjuncts to the counselling process.

Conclusion

The immigrant population in Canada has been increasing during the last decade, accounting for almost 20% of the population. The Latino population has also been increasing representing 11% of the immigrant population in 2011 (CIC, 2011a). Many of the immigrants are families with young children. Parenting in a different culture without the previous sources of support may lead to feeling of loss, fear, and increased responsibility. However, families are resilient and they are able to not only overcome the challenges but highlight the "silver lining" that comes from the changes, such as increased father and mother involvement, more time to spend as a family and closer relationships with nuclear family members.

Counsellors can assist Latino families by proving individual, couple, and

group/family therapy in the context of understanding the emotional and practical

challenges of parenting in the absence of their extended family, and helping new

immigrants to connect with others and build new support networks.

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APPENDIX A: Research Description/Advertisement (English Version)

Study Description

<u>University Study on Latino Immigrant Parents Raising Young Children in Canada</u>

Mariel Ansion, a Master's student in Counselling Psychology at the University of Alberta, wants to study what it is like for Latinos to raise young children in Canada when they don't have the rest of their family members here to help. She is interested in learning about what changes parents make in their roles, expectations, parenting methods or in who they get help from in order to adjust to not having more family members around to help with child care. She imagines that raising children without other family members around may be a challenge, since family is so important in the Latino culture.

For this study, Mariel is looking for Latino couples (mothers and fathers) who had at least one child before immigrating to Canada and who immigrated without bringing their child or children's grandparents or other close family members with them. You are invited to take part in this study if:

- ⚔ You have a child who is under the age of 10

- ⚔ You have been living in Canada for 3 to 10 years

- ⚔ You have not sponsored your parents to come to Canada, or if you have, they are not yet in Canada

- ⚔ You do not have any other family members living in Edmonton, like your brothers or sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins, or nieces or nephews.

Taking part in the study will only take a few hours of your time. If you agree to take part, you and your partner will have a meeting with Mariel for about two hours to talk about how your experience raising your child in Canada compares to your experience being parents back home. You will also be asked about what has been hard for you about not having other members of your family here to help you and how you deal with this loss of support.

Before you and your partner talk to Mariel, you will be asked to write down names of the main people in your lives that have supported or helped you in your parenting role. If you have pictures of these people, you may want to organize them and bring them to show Mariel who they are when you talk to her. You will be asked to sort your list of names or the pictures you have into 3 groups: (a) people who helped you back home, (b) people who helped you in the beginning after you moved to Canada, and (c) people who help you now.

This study will help professionals who work with immigrants to better understand Latino parents' challenges and experiences so they know how to support the Latino community with parenting in Canada and can help them adapt to the change.

If you would like to take part in this study, or if you have any questions, please write your name and phone number down. Mariel will phone you to arrange a time to meet with you.

Mariel will explain all the details of the study. You will be free to withdraw from the study at any time if you change your mind.

<div align="center">SIGN-UP SHEET</div>

<u>Name</u>   <u>Phone Number</u>

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615

APPENDIX A: Research Description/Advertisement (Spanish Version)

Descripción de la Investigación

**<u>Investigación Sobre Padres Latinoamericanos con Hijos Pequeños en
Canadá</u>**

Mariel Ansion, estudiante de la Maestría en Consejería Psicológica de
la Universidad de Alberta, desea investigar las vivencias de los latinos en
Canadá que crían a sus hijos pequeños sin contar con la presencia de otros
familiares para apoyarlos en esta tarea. Mariel está interesada en saber qué
cambios ocurren con respecto a su rol como padre o madre, sus expectativas,
sus modos de crianza y quiénes los apoyan en ausencia de otros familiares.
Ella supone que, dada la importancia de la familia en la cultura
latinoamericana, no debe ser fácil criar a los hijos lejos de la familia
extendida.

Para realizar esta investigación, Mariel esta buscando parejas (madres
y padres) que hayan tenido por lo menos un hijo antes de venir a Canadá y
que han migrado sin los abuelos de sus hijos ni otros familiares. Se le invita a
participar en esta investigación si se encuentra en la siguiente situación:

- ⚐ Tiene un hijo o hija menor de 10 años.
- ⚐ Está viviendo en Canadá desde al menos 3 años y no más de 10 años.
- ⚐ Sus padres no viven en Canadá.
- ⚐ No tiene otros familiares viviendo en Edmonton (abuelos, hermanos,
  tíos, primos, sobrinos).

El participar en esta investigación solo le tomará unas cuantas horas. Si
decide participar, usted y su pareja se reunirán con Mariel por
aproximadamente 2 horas para hablar de sus experiencias en la crianza de
sus hijos en Canadá y cómo se compara con criarlos en su país. También
hablarán sobre las personas que han estado presentes para apoyarlo y/o
ayudarlo en su rol como padre/madre, cuáles han sido las dificultades al no
tener a sus familiares aquí para ayudarlo(a) y cómo ha enfrentado estas
dificultades.

Antes de que usted y su pareja se reúnan con Mariel, ella les va a pedir que
escriban los nombre de las personas que les han ayudado/apoyado en su rol
de padres. Si tienen fotos de estas personas pueden organizarlas para
enseñárselas a Mariel al momento de la entrevista. Ella les va a pedir que
dividan los nombres y/o fotos en tres grupos: (a) personas que le
ayudaron/apoyaron en su país antes de venir, (b) personas que le
ayudaron/apoyaron cuando recién llegó a Canadá, y (c) personas que le
ayudan/apoyan ahora.

Esta investigación ayudará a profesionales que trabajan con migrantes a entender mejor los retos y las experiencias de los padres latinoamericanos para así poder ayudar y apoyar mejor a la comunidad latinoamericana con asuntos relacionados a la crianza de los hijos y al proceso de adaptación. Lo que Mariel aprenda de sus experiencias será de gran importancia para facilitar el proceso de transición y adaptación de otros padres latinoamericanos que decidan venir a vivir a Canadá.

Si acepta participar en esta investigación, o si tiene alguna pregunta, por favor escriba su nombre y número de teléfono. Mariel le llamará para coordinar un momento en el que se puedan reunir.

Mariel le explicará todo los detalles de la investigación. Si cambia de opinión sobre su participación, usted es libre de retirarse de la investigación en cualquier momento.

Nombre   Numero telefónico

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

El plan de esta investigación ha sido revisado en conformidad con las pautas éticas y aprobado por el Research Ethics Board 1 de la Universidad de Alberta. Si tiene preguntas con respecto a sus derechos como participante y el comportamiento ético de la investigación, contacte al Research Ethics Office llamando al (780) 492-2615.

APPENDIX B: Consent Form (English Version)

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
Faculty of Graduate Studies
Department of Educational Psychology

Consent Form

Project Title: Parenting Experiences of Latino Immigrant Mothers and Fathers of
Young Children in the Absence of Extended Family

Principal Researcher: Mariel Ansion	**Research Supervisor:** Dr. Noorfarah Merali
E-mail: ansion@ualberta.ca	**E-mail:** noorfarah.merali@ualberta.ca
Phone Number: 780 450 2395	**Phone Number:** 780 492 1158

I, Mariel Ansion, a Master's student in Counselling Psychology at the University
of Alberta, want to study what it is like for Latinos to raise young children in
Canada when they don't have the rest of their family members here to help. I am
interested in learning about what changes parents make in their roles,
expectations, parenting methods or in who they get support from to adjust to not
having more family members around to help with child care. I imagine that
raising children without other family members around may be a challenge, since
family is so important in the Latino culture.

I will be inviting 5 different Latino couples to be interviewed for this
study. I will talk to each couple privately in their own homes or other private
places they prefer to talk. I will ask about how your experience of raising a child
in Canada compares to your experience being parents back home. I will also ask
about what has been hard for you about not having other members of your family
here to help, and how you have dealt with this loss of support. By signing this
form, you agree to take part in the study I am doing.

As a participant in this study, I understand that before the interview with
Mariel I will be asked to write down the names of the main people in my life that
have supported and/or helped me in my parenting role or to organize pictures of
these people to bring to Mariel when I talk to her. I will be asked to organize the
names or pictures into 3 groups: (a) people who helped me raise my child in my
home country, (b) people who helped me here in the beginning after I moved
here, and (c) people who help me now. I may choose to complete this activity or
not. I may choose to answer or not answer any questions that I am asked in the
interview.

I understand that my talk with Mariel will be tape recorded. This way
Mariel can listen to the tape and write down what I said to learn from my
experience. My name will be changed to another name so nobody will know that
is me talking. The false name will be put on the written notes as well. The tape

and notes will be kept private and secure in a locked filing cabinet or secure computer in Mariel's private office. Only Mariel and her supervisor at the University will ever hear the tapes or see the notes. After Mariel looks over the written notes, she will contact me to meet with her again in my home for 1 hour to make sure she has understood me correctly, and to give me a chance to change anything I said the first time we met.

I understand that I can choose to be interviewed in either English or Spanish. If I choose to be interviewed in Spanish, Mariel will translate our conversation to English when she types it out. That way she can include what I told her in her study report. I know that I am entitled to a copy of this final report and can ask Mariel for it.

Mariel will take the information from all the people who took part in the study and to try find some common experiences from what we said in our interviews. When writing her Master's thesis or other study reports or presentations using this information, she may use some of the words I said as examples. But nobody will know that the words are mine because she will not use my real name with my words.

If talking to Mariel makes me feel upset or sad about my experience of moving to Canada, or about not having other members of my family here with us, I know that I can get some help or support if I tell her what is happening.

If you have any more questions about this study, please contact Mariel Ansion at (780) 450 2395, ansion@ualberta.ca; or Dr. Farah Merali at (780) 492 1158, noorfarah.merali@ualberta.ca

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

I, _____ (name of participant), have read and/or had explained to me and understand the details of the study that will be conducted by Mariel Ansion, and I agree to take part in this study.

I know that it is up to me whether or not I want to take part in this study. Even if I sign this form, I can stop being in the study at any time without any questions or problems.

Signature _____ Date _____
Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX B: Consent Form (Spanish Version)

UNIVERSIDAD DE ALBERTA
Facultad de Estudios de Graduados
Departamento de Psicología Educacional

Formulario de Consentimiento Informado

Título del Proyecto: Experiencias de Madres y Padres Latinos que Están
Criando a sus Hijos en la Ausencia de su Familia Extendida

Investigadora Principal : Mariel Ansion **Supervisora de Investigación:** Dr. Noorfarah Merali
E-mail: ansion@ualberta.ca   **E-mail:** noorfarah.merali@ualberta.ca
Teléfono: 780 450 2395   **Teléfono:** 780 492 1158

Yo, Mariel Ansion, estudiante de la Maestría en Consejería Psicológica de la Universidad de Alberta, deseo investigar cuáles son las vivencias de los latinos en Canadá que están criando a sus hijos pequeños sin contar con la presencia de otros familiares que los puedan ayudar en esta tarea. Estoy interesada en saber qué cambios ocurren con respecto a su rol como padre o madre, sus expectativas, modos de crianza y con quienes cuentan como apoyo cuando no tienen a otros familiares presentes. Me imagino que con lo importante que es la familia en la cultura Latinoamericana, no debe ser fácil criar a los hijos lejos de la familia extendida.

Voy a invitar a 5 parejas Latinoamericanas a participar en este estudio mediante entrevistas. Hablaré con cada pareja, uno por uno, en la privacidad de su hogar u otro lugar de su preferencia. Les voy a hacer preguntas sobre cómo se compara su experiencia de criar a sus hijos aquí en Canadá con la experiencia de ser padres en su país de origen. También les voy a preguntar sobre como les ha afectado no tener la ayuda de sus familiares aquí y cómo han logrado superar las dificultades. Al firmar este formulario usted está aceptando formar parte de la investigación que estoy haciendo.

Como participante en la presente investigación, Entiendo que en preparación para la entrevista con Mariel, ella me va a pedir que escriba los nombres de las personas que me han ayudado y/o apoyado en mi rol como padre(madre), o si puedo que utilice fotos de estas personas y las organice en tres grupos: (a) personas que me ayudaron/apoyaron a criar a mis hijos en mi país, (b) personas que me ayudaron/apoyaron cuando recién llegué aquí, y (c) personas que me ayudan/apoyan ahora. Esta actividad es opcional y puedo decidir no hacerla. Igualmente puedo decidir contestar o no contestar cualquiera de las preguntas durante la entrevista.

Entiendo que la conversación con Mariel va a ser grabada para que ella pueda escuchar la grabación luego y escribir lo que le dije y aprender de mi experiencia. Mi nombre será cambiado por otro nombre de manera que nadie sepa que soy yo quien habla. El nombre falso también será utilizado en las transcripciones. La grabación y las transcripciones van a ser guardadas bajo llave en un archivador para mantener la privacidad de las entrevistas. Sólo Mariel y su supervisora tendrán acceso a las grabación de la entrevista y transcripciones. Luego de que Mariel revise las transcripciones, nos reuniremos nuevamente por una hora para asegurarnos de que entendió bien lo que quise decir y que yo tenga la oportunidad de cambiar cualquier cosa que haya dicho en la primera entrevista.

Entiendo que puedo escoger si quiero ser entrevistado(a) en inglés o en español. Si escojo ser entrevistado(a) en español, Mariel traducirá nuestra conversación cuando la escriba para poder utilizar lo que yo le he dicho en su reporte de investigación. Si deseo una copia del reporte final se la puedo pedir a Mariel.

Mariel va a juntar la información obtenida en todas las entrevistas que haga y va a buscar temas y experiencias comunes de acuerdo a lo que hemos dicho en las entrevistas. Cuando escriba su tesis o artículos en los que incluya esta información, puede incluir mis palabras como ejemplos, pero nadie sabrá que yo dije eso porque no va a utilizar mi verdadero nombre.

Si hablar de mis experiencias al venir a Canadá me hace sentir mal, triste, o estresado(a), le puedo decir esto a Mariel y ella me va a ayudar a tener el apoyo que necesito.

Si tiene alguna pregunta más sobre este estudio por favor no dude en contactar Mariel llamando al 780 450 2395 o escribiendo a ansion@ualberta.ca; o a la Dra. Farah Merali llamando al 780 492 1158 o escribiendo a noorfarah.merali@ualberta.ca

El plan de esta investigación ha sido revisado en conformidad con las pautas éticas y aprobado por el Research Ethics Board 1 de la Universidad de Alberta. Si tiene preguntas con respecto a sus derechos como participante y el comportamiento ético de la investigación, contacte al Research Ethics Office llamando al (780) 492-2615.

Yo, _____ (nombre del (de la) participante), he leído y comprendido los detalles de la investigación que Mariel Ansion está haciendo y estoy de acuerdo en participar en esta investigación.

Firma _____   Fecha _____
Firma de la investigadora _____   Fecha _____