Resilient Resistance:

Understanding the Construction of Positive Ethnocultural Identity in Visible Minority Youth

by

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Abstract

Visible minority youth face racism daily at micro, mezzo and macro-levels and yet there is a gap in academic research that examines how these students can combat racism, as they experience it at the micro-level, in order to develop pride toward their minority culture and race. As such, this dissertation explores how visible minority youth, who are living within a dominant culture environment where all levels of racism exist to encourage their assimilation, are able to express positive ethnocultural identity. In doing so, this dissertation seeks to answer the question of: *How do visible minority youth build positive personal ethnocultural identity?* with the corresponding question of: *How do visible minority students externally express ethnocultural identity?* Using case study methodology within two schools in the province of Alberta, visible minority adolescent students were interviewed and data were analyzed to gain insight into the various strategies that junior high school (grades 7, 8 and 9) students use to express their ethnocultural identity. I learned that students build ethnocultural identity by: 1. seeking and embracing cultural knowledge; 2. accepting feelings of difference; 3. dealing with stereotypes and racism; and 4.) bridging cultures and race. Using Rozas and Miller's (2009) web of resistance as a conceptual framework assisted to break the strategies used by the students in each story line down into a dichotomy of internal and external strategies, which represented the students need to consider and personalize the events they experienced in order to enact resilient resistance against racism and develop positive personal ethnocultural identity with or without conscious understanding of micro, mezzo and macro-levels of racism. This study highlights the importance of student experience, deliberation and agency in the construction of positive ethnocultural identity in visible minority youth.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Elizabeth Shen. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "The Colour Distinction: Understanding Adolescent Ethnocultural Identity Development", Pro00053520, June 10, 2015. Ethics was renewed on May 29, 2016; May 25, 2017; and May 8, 2018.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my daughters, Mikaela 初 霞 and Isabela 媛. You inspired me to do this and through it I hope for a world where you can proudly be Chinese-Canadian.

Love recognizes no barriers.

It jumps hurdles, leaps fences, penetrates walls

to arrive at its destination full of hope.

~ Maya Angelou

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The Research Context

As one of his final works, John Ogbu (2008, originally published in 2004), used the phrase "the burden of acting White" (p. 30) to describe certain behaviours of Black Americans before and after their emancipation from slavery in the United States. He argued that Blacks now still had to "cope" with the demand to work within the confines of "White-controlled situations" (p. 49); that is, within the confines of institutional racism. Ogbu identified these coping strategies being used as "assimilation or emulation of Whites" (p. 49) which was the consistent maintenance of White attitudes and behaviours; "accommodation without assimilation" (p. 50) which involved maintaining Black attitudes and behaviours within the Black community while using White frames of reference within the White community; "ambivalence" (p. 51) where Black behaviour was maintained because it was not believed to affect levels of success; "resistance or opposition" (p. 51) which was the purposeful maintenance of Black identity by opposing White values; and "encapsulation" (p. 51) where maintenance of Black identity was not necessarily out of opposition to White norms but likely due to a lack of exposure to White culture.

The problem that Ogbu identified in his work was that there was a historically created dominant culture based on the White attitudes, beliefs and values of the North American colonizers. This dominant culture remained currently intact and continued to oppress the ethnoculturally diverse population, specifically Black Americans, and forced them to navigate "White-controlled situations" by relinquishing their own culture or maintaining their own culture while risking decreased socioeconomic gain. Other researchers have supported Ogbu's claims (Baker & Benjamin, 1997; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011; Swidinsky & Swidinsky, 2002)

indicating that differentials between minority and White earnings vary in both the United States and Canada.

To provide further context, research similar to Ogbu's had been conducted with Latin American minority groups (Alvarado & Ricard, 2013; Quintana et al. 2010) which had also demonstrated the influence of the dominant culture over minority culture in ethnic identity development. Quintana, Herrara and Nelson (2010) described six categories, reasonably comparable to Ogbu's, in which Mexican Americans were characterized when describing factors surrounding personal ethnic identity. These categories were "ethnic identity" (p. 15) where students self-identified and experienced pride as associated with the specific culture; "socialization" (p. 17) which involved implicit and explicit teachings about the specific culture by family, peers and community in order to garner positive identity; "intraethnic support and challenge" (p. 18) where ethnic identity was both supported and/or challenged by members of the same ethnocultural group; "interethnic relations and attitudes" (p. 18) in which students felt isolated and/or discriminated against by other ethnic groups; "ethnic transcendence" (p. 19) involving the pressure to assimilate or take on colour-blind attitudes; and "ethnic differences" where ethnic differences were associated with a difference in social capital (p. 20). Three of the six categories involved struggles that Latin Americans encountered due to issues of race involving the dominant culture. Quintana, Herrara and Nelson contended that for Mexican Americans, ethnic identity consisted of a "cultural self" that was fostered by heritage, values and socialization by family and community; a "transcending self" that balanced bridging or assimilating with the Anglo community; and a "minority self" that internalized stereotypes and racism. Positive or negative ethnic identity formation then was dependent on which self was able to exert the strongest influence. The work of Ogbu and Quintana, Herrara and Nelson

demonstrated that visible minority students experienced many challenges with ethnocultural identity development.

In an attempt to explain and educate people about the aforementioned issues, Miller and Garran (2007) argued that a “web of institutional racism” was prevalent and persistently acting negatively upon individual and group identity and yet was often denied by those with race privilege. Within this web, institutional racism was systemic and comprehensive; functioned at macro, mezzo and micro-levels; existed within formal policy and informal practice; was historically based and cumulative in its discriminatory effects; and existed as power to control social, political and economic discourse thus controlling beliefs about the existence or non-existence of the web of institutional racism (p. 31). Rozas and Miller (2009) then argued that the road to achieving equality was for White students to take part in dismantling racism by engaging in a “web of resistance” (p. 33) whereby “internal strategies”, which focused on individual capacity to resist institutional racism, and “external strategies”, which involved ongoing collective action to eradicate forms of racism, were used in conjunction with each other to attain “hope, resilience, and the collective power that can be used to dismantle the stronghold of racism” (p. 33).

The problem that Rozas and Miller identified was “the prevalence of racism and its denial by many White people” (p. 26). The web of racism, they argued, could be used as a conceptual framework to help White students to understand the complexity and invasiveness of racism and could help them understand how hope and opportunity can be limited through racism while remaining virtually undetectable. The authors then offered the “web of resistance” as a means by which students could resist racism by working individually and in tandem through “informed action” (p. 33). The authors used both the web of racism and the web of resistance as a means by which to teach social justice and focused these teachings on White students.

Despite a plethora of similar research conducted across Canada, the United States and Britain regarding the negative effects of institutional racism on ethnoculturally diverse people (Asbridge et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2014; Gillborn, 1995, 2008; Le & Johansen, 2011; Quintana et al., 2010; Schumann et al., 2013) and White resistance to racism and anti-racism education (Denevi & Pastan, 2006; Gillborn, 1996, 2005, 2008; Heinze & DeCandia, 2011; Segall & Garrett, 2013; Sue, 2011), it appeared the web of resistance, as lived and experienced by ethnoculturally diverse students had not been explored. Furthermore, research surrounding expressions of ethnocultural identity for Black and Latin American subjects was current and relatively abundant, but research of this nature involving other ethnocultural minority groups was markedly less ample. This research within the Canadian context was also sparser than American research. Given the differences between the United States' unofficial assimilation ideals and Canada's official multicultural policy, it was difficult to predict the transferability of Ogbu's and Quintana et al.'s research results.

This transferability was called further into question with the 2016 election of Donald Trump as American president. Since his election there has been more targeted action in the United States against visible minorities such as attempts to ban Muslim travel (Trump's executive order 13768 categorically refusing entry visas for travelers from Chad, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Syria, and Yemen, approximately 98% of the countries' populations being Muslim), attempts to repeal the Obama executive order for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA – for children of undocumented immigrants, affecting mostly Latin Americans), the removal of Temporary Protected Status for people suffering from disasters (affecting hundreds of thousands of people from El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua but also from Nepal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen), and other attempts at reducing visible minority access to the United States such as executive order 13767 to build the border wall with Mexico, executive

order 13802 increasing wait times for refugees, and executive order 13788 only allowing for highly skilled immigrants to receive visas. In the meantime, Canada continued to accept immigrants and refugees from across the world, including the United States. These two changing national political climates emphasized the need for distinctive cultural research affecting ethnocultural identity development.

In addition to this, research regarding how ethnocultural minorities developed positive ethnocultural identity, apart from through heritage language learning, appeared to be lacking in much of the existing literature. In what did exist, there was the assumption that positive ethnocultural identity formation required conscious resistance to racism (Agyepong, 2010; Bedard, 2000; Boykin, 1986; Calliste & Dei, 2000; Dei, 1996b; Gillborn, 1995, 1996). Several questions arose. Was active resistance towards racism required in order to build a positive ethnocultural identity? Could a person construct positive ethnocultural identity without explicit knowledge of institutional racism? Was the understanding of the web of racism (Miller and Garran, 2008) required for students to develop positive ethnocultural identity? Could the web of resistance (Rozas and Miller, 2009) be used to assist in positive ethnocultural identity development?

It was the combination and intersection of how visible minority students expressed their ethnocultural identity and the web of resistance that I wished to examine through my research within the Canadian context. As a means by which to further understand the perspectives of diverse students within school and Canadian society, I sought a more detailed understanding of how these students were consciously or unconsciously choosing to cultivate and maintain their cultural diversity within existing societal structures. More specifically, I was seeking a more detailed understanding of how positive ethnocultural identity was constructed and what forms of

resistance, if any, visible minority students were incorporating to preserve and/or build their ethnocultural diversity.

The Research Problem

In 1971 Canada became the first country in the world to have an official multiculturalism policy, and in 1988 the Canadian Multiculturalism Act affirmed the importance of the rights of minority cultures, ensuring "that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity" (Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1998, Section 3.1.e). But while policy provided discourse that supported ethnocultural equity, the history books did not change. Overt assimilative actions ceded to the concept of cultural integration, yet society still upheld British and French practices and values. Residential and segregated schools disappeared, however the role of mass education to create a monocultural concept of a productive Canadian citizen remained (Day, 2000; Fleras & Nelson, 2005; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1997). And thus, to this day, there remains an "etharchy" (Mullard, 1988), a hierarchy of ethnicities which "regulates the relations between dominant and dominated ethnic and racial groups" (p. 360). Gandhi (Singh, 2007) referred to it as the "colour distinction" (p.343), where dominated people would not be allowed privilege no matter what the person's skills or qualifications were simply because of the colour their skin. This "etharchy" or "colour distinction" existed and exists throughout various societies and is reproduced in schools today.

Much research has been completed regarding the effects of etharchy in schools. There is significant evidence to argue that a disproportionate number of ethnoculturally diverse students academically and socially achieve below that of their dominant culture counterparts (Ferguson et al., 2005; Fleras & Nelson, 2005; James & Taylor, 2010). Studies have also revealed that ethnoculturally diverse students and educational staff have felt marginalized and silenced within

the Canadian education system (Carr & Klassen, 1997a; Sleeter, 2004). Furthermore, multicultural education has remained celebratory of diversity, rather than critical of power imbalances that promoted multiple levels of racism (Fleras & Nelson, 2005; Race et al., 2012). Many studies have also been completed regarding the acculturation and assimilation of minority persons (Alvarado & Ricard, 2013; Ogbu, 2008; Quintana et al, 2010). Two blossoming fields of research that have incorporated the effects of etharchy are mental and physical health risks as linked to ethnocultural minorities (Asbridge et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2014; Le & Johansen, 2001; Schumann et al., 2013); and heritage language learning as linked to increased positive ethnocultural identity (Lee, 2008; Pigott & Kalbach, 2005; Trofimovich et al., 2013).

Apart from heritage language research, what appeared to be lacking in academic literature was an expanding understanding of how adolescents in ethnocultural minority cultures were able to maintain or potentially increase their positive ethnocultural minority identity while immersed in the dominant Canadian culture. Therefore, I chose to conduct research that would assist adolescent students and their educators to better understand how ethnocultural identity was expressed and more importantly, how ethnocultural identity could be positively augmented. The overarching research question was: *How do visible minority students develop positive personal ethnocultural identity?* A corresponding question was: *How do visible minority students externally express ethnocultural identity?* Because I wanted to identify specific individual strategies that visible minority students used to express and develop their positive personal ethnocultural identity, I explored the research questions through a case study approach, using observation and interviews as the main sources of data collection.

My Ethnocultural Journey

My father was born and raised in the French Jesuit Quarter of Shanghai, China, a tenth generation Catholic. He learned to speak Mandarin, Shanghainese, some French and Japanese, and English. He escaped from China just before the Communist Revolution, settling in the Philippines. He earned his Bachelor of Education and Master of Psychology at an English language university, working as a teacher until moving on to Chile, then to the United States to work until he was guided to Alberta where he eventually earned his PhD in Educational Psychology from the University of Alberta. He also completed post-doctoral work in psychodrama at the Moreno Institute, New York, based on the research of its founder Jacob Levy Moreno, who was considered the originator of psychodrama, and the leading pioneer of group psychotherapy. My father believes that all his success is based in his deep faith in God and the Catholic religion that was introduced to his family hundreds of years ago. He admits that he has been "westernized" since birth so adapting to other countries from China has been easy for him.

My mother was born and raised in the surroundings of Manila, Philippines. She is ethnically Chinese and speaks the Fukien and Amoy dialects but was also raised speaking English and Tagalog. While it still has numerous unique cultures, the Philippines was heavily influenced by China, Japan, Malaysia and India, until Spanish colonization (1565-1898), a brief period of British rule (1762-1764), and the American occupation (1898-1946). Despite this, my maternal grandfather was the traditional controlling Chinese family patriarch and my maternal grandmother was the very traditional Chinese wife, a submissive yet passively aggressive second concubine's daughter. In contrast, my mother completely ignored her traditional upbringing and took on the lifestyle of the island's colonizers. At the age of 11, she chose to become Catholic. As a young adult, she received her Bachelor of Education and taught briefly in the Philippines before moving to the United States in the early 1960s to pursue her Master's Degree in English

Speech Language Pathology at a Catholic University in Washington DC. My parents were married in upstate New York, worked in Milwaukee and finally settled in Alberta.

I view each of these events in my parents' lives as pivotal to mine. If my parents had not been exposed to Catholicism, if they had not easily adapted to western values, if they had not chosen to move from Asia, if they had not pursued higher education, if they had not moved to Canada, certainly my life would have been immeasurably different. Certainly the struggle of being an assimilated visible minority would not have existed.

I am a second-generation Chinese Canadian female, born and raised in urban Alberta during the 1970s and 1980s. We lived in a middle class White neighbourhood, with little exposure to Indigenous people or other visible minorities, and learned only the English language despite my parents' multilingual skills. Our value and belief system, essentially based on Roman Catholic teachings, allowed us to quickly adapt to our immediate environment. Given that my parents practiced western lifestyles long before ever arriving in Canada, my family chose to assimilate into the Canadian environment and because of this, experienced great success on many fronts. It would be logical then to assume I easily assimilated into my White middle class environment. I spoke clear, fluent English. I understood dominant value systems. I experienced success in school. My parents were financially and emotionally stable. I appeared to have it all; but as the cliché goes, appearances can be deceiving.

Although I was not a shy child, I never said much in school. I did not know how to respond to comments such as, "You speak so well for someone with an accent," or "Glad to see you working hard to prepare for your TOEFL (English language equivalency) exam". I did not know how to ask why I was getting 70 and 80 percent in Chemistry when I did not understand a thing while I was getting 50 and 60 percent in English. I remember wanting to hide, hoping that the teacher would not ask me any questions when the class was studying about China. And culture

days … I hated culture days at my school. Everyone always wanted me to bring sweet and sour chicken balls for food, but I had never actually eaten such a thing and instead brought the tea eggs my mom would prepare. No one liked my tea eggs! Despite “having it all”, I grew up a very quiet child, greatly lacking in cultural self-confidence, self-loathing of my Chinese features. I wished I could have plastic surgery so that I looked the way I wanted to feel, just like everyone else around me … White. I wanted to grow up and marry a White man so I could change my last name and have mixed babies that could physically blend into society as I knew and understood it. I wanted to achieve something that no visible minority person could ever achieve, complete and total assimilation.

Somehow into my adult life I began to understand racism’s effects on me. I was able to see that the colonial experiences in my parents’ early lives had denied me any sense of belonging within my Chinese ancestry and that the denial of my Asian qualities, because of the structure of racism that exerted itself upon my family, was the source of my lack of ethnocultural self-confidence and my own self-loathing. My parents’ Catholicism, so long believed to be the saving grace that gave us such success, was in fact the double-edged sword that demanded hegemony and societal racism manipulate my mind in exchange for the opportunity to climb the socioeconomic ladder. My parents’ higher education, which further pulled them into a hegemonic and racist world, would lead me to my own higher education that would finally free me from my debilitated ethnocultural identity and inspire me to seek the knowledge and skills needed to reduce the need for transcendence or assimilation within my ethnocultural identity.

As an adult much more secure in and desiring to celebrate my ethnocultural identity (but still without my heritage language), I adopted two girls from China. I wanted to ensure that my daughters, and other children of visible minorities, had the opportunity to learn how to proudly balance their diversity with societal norms for diversity, which regulate socioeconomic success.

However, as a student and educator, I still saw many barriers, both individual and institutional, that stood in their way. Therefore, it was my desire to study how visible minority students developed positive personal ethnocultural identity, apart from heritage language, in order to form self-assured identities and increase the understanding of constructing resiliency against racism despite continued obstacles.

Autobiographical Reflection.

When I began this study in 2015, there were times I felt almost guilty for focusing on visible minority students. As a Chinese person, I was well aware that on the “Vertical Mosaic” (Porter, 1965) I was ‘above’ most other cultures and races. In fact, I had the cognizance to take advantage of this in some job hiring situations. As a person on one of the higher echelons of the cultural and social hierarchy, I felt that there were other marginalized groups of people that required more support, more research, and more social change. But I also knew that I had been on the receiving end of racist behaviours. As a school principal, there were numerous times that I felt silenced and belittled due to a combination of ‘isms’, most definitely including racism. I wanted to believe that people’s reactions to me were based on *my* inexperience as an administrator rather than admitting that they were responsible for their own reactions that were based on biases they had against me. As my awareness of the racism surrounding me grew, I chose to study visible minority ethnocultural identity to ensure my daughters would be far more aware and confident to take on a racist world.

But the world has changed greatly in the three years since I started this journey. Other marginalized groups have rightfully been gaining traction. Alberta Education now has guidelines, legislation and policy requirements that support students with diverse sexual orientations, gender identities or gender expressions. Availability of Gay-Straight Alliances in

schools is mandatory and members of the GSAs cannot be outed. Alberta curricula have increasing amounts of First Nations, Métis and Inuit content with more to come in an upcoming curricula change. Perhaps more importantly, Alberta Education is in process of updated its Teacher Quality Standard as well as its School Leader Standard both of which will require that teachers and teacher leaders be able to apply foundational knowledge about First Nations, Métis and Inuit in order to maintain an Alberta Teaching Certificate. In the meantime, Donald Trump was elected President in the United States and his opinions and actions have allowed racist attitudes to be once again touted in the mainstream not only in the US but in Canada and across the world. Many Canadians are calling for tougher immigration laws and visible minorities are being scapegoated for violent acts and terrorism. In and out of schools, I continue to experience "isms". More pressing, my teenage daughter has been subject to and has made comments about varying standards of beauty and social acceptance as she perceives them as a visible minority and through race inequality. Within the process of this research, casual conversations with interview site school staff members revealed continued fallacies in regards to multicultural students all needing to be treated equally rather than equitably. It would appear that this research remains ever so important.

Ontological assumptions.

Despite my personal experiences as a child and young adult, struggling to come to terms with my ethnocultural identity and finally reaching a point of pride surrounding my Chinese ancestry, my awareness of the invasive effects of institutional racism remained limited and naïve. It was not until I engaged in critical graduate studies that I came to realize the ways in which racism exerted and continues to exert itself upon me. My angst and confusion regarding my ethnocultural identity was generated by my conscious and subconscious interpretations of the

actions and behaviours of others, which were being influenced by structural mechanisms. While I could not externally understand or articulate the observable actions as being discriminatory, internally my subconscious mind was able to recognize that these actions demonstrated deference for my diversity, which was being imperceptibly imposed upon me. This created doubt and despair about all that made me different. That is, my negative ethnocultural identity was being constructed by what I was experiencing on a personal level. These experiences were grounded in the etharchy that was being exerted upon me and the structures (formerly unknown to me) that existed to create and perpetuate the power hierarchy.

A critical realist ontology assists to elucidate the complexity of ethnocultural identity formation. Critical realism places a strong emphasis on ontology and maintains that reality is stratified into three domains: the empirical, the actual, and the real (Bhaskar, 1975, 1998). The empirical domain consists of events that are observed and experienced. The empirical is used to generate knowledge but because knowledge is based on events that are observed and experienced within a specific time, place and circumstance, knowledge is considered a social construction. That is, facts and theories are developed but are subject to interpretation and therefore knowledge is subjective and fallible (Bhaskar, 1975, 1998; Danermark et al., 2002; Zachariadis et al., 2013).

The production of knowledge about racism is based on the observable and the experienced which is often limited to events between individuals or groups of individuals who chose to express a lack of tolerance for differences that exist between them. Hence, policy and practice to address racism is habitually limited to these observable events. However, institutional racism which often is not directly observed nor often knowingly experienced is left in place because of its invisibility. Hence, ethnocultural identity would be an individual construction that might be

unconsciously developed but is certainly highly influenced by the etharchy that exists within institutional racism.

Reality, on the other hand, exists independent of our own knowledge and interpretation. Reality includes structures that are able to exert power that create mechanisms which influence events in the actual and empirical domains. This power may not be directly observable; however, research based in critical realism uses empirical events to locate causal mechanisms that induce those events (Archer, 1998; Bhaskar, 1975; Danermark et al., 2002). As such, racism is seen as an effect of generative mechanisms and the conditions that trigger these mechanisms to exert themselves (Frauley, 2004; Zachariadis et al., 2013). Positive or negative ethnocultural identity development would also be an effect of these mechanisms.

The use of critical realism in the social sciences has generally focused on macro-level research involving organizations, economics, structure, and issues of inequality. O'Mahoney (2011, p. 124) asserts that the use of critical realism for micro-level research involving individuals is lacking but that the use of critical realism as an ontology for research on individual identity is valid because it can act as a "bridge" between correlational studies often used in psychology-based identity studies with constructivist analysis often used to explain social systems. Critical realism allows for research analyses to connect different individual levels to different societal levels producing a greater understanding regarding the complexity of identity formation.

Epistemological assumptions.

Within critical realism, knowledge is created based on an event which is discovered and experienced. Knowledge can be created without an awareness of the causal mechanisms that exist within the real domain which influence the events upon which knowledge is being created.

The creation of knowledge, under these circumstances, by individuals or groups of individuals explains why people have or observe the same experience but relate to it in contrasting ways. It also explains why people can dominate or be dominated but relate to it in ways that ignore, or unknowingly dismiss, issues of power and equity. This is what Bhaskar (1975) presented as the transitive dimension, where knowledge is developed and changes based on context. Bhaskar also presented the intransitive dimension where causal mechanism exist in the real domain, and act separately from human construction. As such, a goal of research based on critical realism is to understand how knowledge is produced by ascertaining and/or explaining the mechanisms that precipitate the phenomena that cause the empirical effects (Danermark et al, 2002). The analytical dualism that exists between structure and agency is key to this.

Within my specific research, the macro-level structure I assumed to exist was institutional racism. Agency was assumed to influence how specific people understood and created knowledge surrounding institutional racism, with or without conscious knowledge of institutional racism. This included the development of positive ethnocultural identity based on personal experiences within the construction of knowledge surrounding power and equity. A critical realist epistemology then assisted to explain the divergent manners in which ethnocultural identity was developed.

Definition of Terms

Two key phrases need to be defined to ensure common understandings for terms that may carry different or ambivalent meanings outside of this context. These terms are: ethnocultural identity and visible minority.

Ethnocultural identity is defined in many ways in the reviewed literature. It is sometimes considered to be a component of an individual's social identity derived from participation in a

larger ethnocultural group (Tajfel, 1981). Some researchers present that ethnocultural identity encompasses attitudes towards one's own ethnic group (Parham & Helms, 1981); others argue ethnocultural identity requires feelings of belonging and commitment to the ethnic group (Singh, 1977). Others suggest that ethnocultural identity requires individuals to be active participants in ethnocultural identity formation that must be achieved rather than taught (Hogg et al., 1987). For the purposes of my research, ethnocultural identity, referred to as ethnic or cultural identity in some literature but referred to as ethnocultural identity in Canadian documentation (e.g. Statistic Canada), is defined as a combination of the above. Ethnocultural identity was researched from the perspective that it is a component of an individual's larger identity; inclusive of attitudes towards one's own ethnic group; a feeling of belonging and commitment to one's own ethnic group; and achieved rather than taught.

The use of the term "visible minority" aligns with the definition used by the Canadian Employment Equity Act (1995), which has been adopted by all Canadian government institutions. "Members of visible minorities means persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour" (Section 3).

Delimitations

This research was delimited to ethnocultural identity formation for visible minority students only. The use of the term "visible minority" aligns with the definition used by the Canadian Employment Equity Act (1995). While this was done in part to limit the scope of this research, the decision was more to focus on the specific struggles of visible minority students. While assimilation was identified as a form of ethnocultural identity expression in this research, visible minority students were incapable of opting for complete assimilation, given that their appearance limited their ability to do so. In addition, their appearance had externally indicated

ethnocultural difference and thus visible minority students had unique strategies for dealing with the constant visual reminder of ethnocultural diversity. This delimitation was not to negate the struggle of ethnocultural minority Whites. Given their visual sameness, it is possible they have a similar, or an even more complicated struggle to maintain positive ethnocultural identity.

Research indicated that time since migration was a significant factor in levels of acculturation or assimilation (Kobayashi, 2014, Walters et al., 2006, 2007). Therefore, when speaking of visible minority students, this research delimited respondents to first generation visible minority students, that is immigrant offspring whether they were immigrants themselves or born to immigrant parents. This in itself provided a broad range of student experiences from those who had never been completely surrounded within their ethnocultural environment, to those who immigrated at various ages from their ethnocultural environment. This provided enough breadth to the data while providing a boundary that made the data quantity manageable. These delimitations allowed me to garner a deeper understanding of how visible minority students construct positive personal ethnocultural identity.

Limitations

A meaningful limitation was identified during the recruitment phase of my research: the population size of visible minority students available to participate in the research was significantly lower than was expected based on initial conversations and statistical data. This was in part due to the delimitation of visible minority students which did not include interviewing indigenous students. In general, leadership at the district and school levels did not realize that visible minority students were separate from indigenous students and when originally contacted, felt there would be ample students to interview when they presumed indigenous students would be included in their counts. This was evident when I was directed to contact specific schools due

to their higher indigenous student populations. However, it was also in part due to a lack of attention having been paid towards the number of visible minority students within the schools. As an example, one school administrator had used a school yearbook to count and identify the number of visible minority students within the school. This administrator admitted to being surprised by the low number of students available to contact. At another school, a staff member stated that he paid little attention to seeing students differently and certainly had not counted them, because he treated everyone the same.

Of the three schools that were eventually contacted, twenty students were spoken to about participating in the research. These twenty students represented only 1.87% of their total school populations. This was considerably lower than expected as the two population centers were expected to have an average of approximately 6.2% visible minority populations (Statistics Canada, 2017). Nine of these twenty students, in conjunction with their parents, agreed to participate representing only 0.84% of the total student populations. However, while there was a low number of visible minority students identified and a smaller than desired sample size involved with the interviews, these nine students also represented 45% of the total visible minority population within these three schools; this being an ample representation of the population that existed. To compensate for the limitation of a smaller number of students available for interviews, each student was interviewed several times in order to gain a fuller understanding of their experiences as a visible minority student living within a dominant culture.

As an additional limitation, in the analysis of the data, my own critical realist position limited my interpretation of the research to this position. However, given that critical realist research at micro-levels is lacking, this research provided a new paradigm in which to consider ethnocultural identity formation. Taking this position assisted to enhance and augment understanding of the issue.

Significance

The lower than expected visible minority population size within non-urban regions of Alberta was a limitation in regards to the number of research participants, however it was also significant to my research because it highlighted the existence of dominant culture environments, the misunderstandings surrounding the identification of visible minority students, and attitudes that existed towards visible minority students. This in turn supported the need for my research which was intended to increase not only student but staff understanding of visible minority students and their positive ethnocultural identity development.

Research on identity, multiculturalism and ethnocultural equity have been ongoing around the world since before Canada adopted an official multiculturalism policy in the early 1970s. Researchers in England and the United States have been most prolific in engaging in research that helps educators to better understand the complexities that visible minority students face. In Canada, researchers in Ontario have been at the forefront of this research providing data in multiple ethnocultural equity areas including immigrant achievement, English language learning, and regarding the implementation of a province-wide mandated equity education program in schools.

With its increasing immigrant population, Alberta was a suitable case for further studies in minority identity literature and for this research. Its location was significant and timely given the quickly changing demographics of Alberta's landscape and the increasing needs of Alberta's students. More specifically, doing this research within this location helped to fill in a gap in the literature concerning positive development of ethnocultural identity and the role of internal and external resistance within identity formation for minority students. By better understanding positive ethnocultural identity development from a critical realist perspective, my aim was to support educational stakeholders with insights from another theoretical framework upon which

ethnocultural identity development could be cognized. Its intent was to also provide visible minority students with ways to build and balance positive personal ethnocultural identity while navigating the dominant culture in Canada. Using this research, teachers can increase awareness of ethnocultural identity struggles and positive strategies for identity creation in order to construct practical, effective learning environments. School administrators can develop a better understanding of how to build positive personal ethnocultural identity and ethnocultural resilience in their students in order to create and enact effective school policies and build ethnoculturally safe and caring school environments.

Organization of Dissertation

In this chapter, I have addressed the purpose of this study, the context of this study and its significance. The key research questions, the researcher's background and paradigmatic assumptions have also been addressed. Chapter two will expand on the context by looking at the literature informing this study. Chapter three will outline the study design and will explain methodological approaches and methods employed in order to answer the overarching questions. Chapter four will discuss the findings uncovered through the research. The final chapter will look at the meaning behind, the implications of, and the applications that can be drawn from the data and will explain how this research has added to the dearth of research regarding visible minority students and their positive personal ethnocultural identity development.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In order to situate my research question of *how do visible minority students develop positive personal ethnocultural identity?* this chapter reviews several strands of literature as it pertains to ethnocultural identity and the factors that influence its development. It examines existing research on institutional racism and its effects on minority persons, particularly its micro-level effects and what is known about micro-level resistance to institutional racism. It also reviews literature pertaining to models and stages of ethnic identity development and researched strategies that have influenced personal ethnocultural identity development. Chapter two also discusses the conceptual framework that was used to synthesize and present the data collected from this research. This conceptual framework was based off of the research of Rozas and Miller's (2009) "web of resistance" (p. 34).

Institutional Racism

Mullard (1988) was first to describe the term "etharchy", a form of institutional racism where ethnicity is used as one means by which relationships between dominant and dominated ethnic groups are structured and regulated. Etharchy is a result of the existence of "ethnicism … the explicit cultural hierarchy through structurally anchored expression of racism" (p. 360). Etharchy requires assimilated integration of ethnocultural minorities if the minority seeks to attain socioeconomic success.

Nimako and Small (2009) further elaborated on Mullard's concept of etharchy through their research of Black Europe and the existence of "nativism". Nativism occurs when those who consider themselves to be native Europeans consciously and unconsciously defend

privileges that were derived from history and therefore colour. "Nativism is the structural and ideological attempt by individuals and/or groups to enforce subordination by emphasizing difference and ethnic hierarchy or *etharchy* (authors' emphasis) where biology-informed racism, culture-informed ethnicism, and legal-informed citizenship for the same has failed" (p. 223).

The concept of etharchy is very much supported under the greater concept of domination, hegemony, as presented by Antonio Gramsci (Gramsci & Forgacs, 2000). Gramsci used the idea of cultural hegemony to argue that the dominant cultural norms of any society were established by the ruling class. However, members of the ruling class and the working class should not and could not allow this to happen; to do so would result in continued social class domination whereby economic liberation of the working class would be impossible.

Apple (2013) argued that hegemony is the result of an unequal distribution of economic and cultural power. This imbalance of power manifests by allowing the dominant ideologies to be understood and experienced as normal. These prevailing ideologies exist both structurally through economics, status and power, and culturally through values and beliefs. As such, ideology and thus hegemony as explained by Gramsci (Gramsci & Forgacs, 2000) and Apple (2013) serve to maintain the status quo of unequal power distribution resulting in the hierarchy of power as determined by culture; that is, etharchy.

There is much academic literature about the existence yet denial of cultural hegemony and etharchy, under the larger designation of institutional racism (Bedard, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Carr & Klassen, 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Dei, 1996a, 1996b; Fleras & Nelson, 2005; James, 1999; James & Taylor, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Miller & Garran, 2008; Mittelman, 2009; Rozas & Miller, 2009; Schick, 2010; Sleeter, 2004; Troyna & Carrington, 1990). However, this research tends to focus on the enormity of the issue and often remains trapped in macro-level

theory. While understanding this background is relevant and is extremely useful to the context of my research, it has not served to change the problem. As a macro-level challenge, it has been approached in a reactionary manner and with efforts to address it using macro-level solutions. These solutions rely on systemic changes and depend a great deal on large cohorts of people to move concurrently together with informed action.

For example, anti-racist education is grounded within a critical anti-racist epistemology (Dei, 1996a, 1996b; Fleras, 2010) which examines the ways in which racism is entrenched within institutional structures and society in general. As such, it has been defined as "an action-oriented strategy for institutional, systemic change to address racism and the interlocking systems of social oppression (Dei, 1996b, p. 25). Anti-racist education is not only a study of race relations but a study of history and the struggle against numerous forms of domination in which lessons for social change are incorporated.

Anti-racist education aims to provide students with inclusive schooling which encompasses five processes (Dei, 1996b): a critical insight to the multiple axes of oppression that students experience; an explicit understanding that race and social difference are issues of power and equity; a deconstruction of current school practices in order to uncover how schools facilitate monoculturalism and inequities; the replacement of Eurocentric knowledge by incorporating minority perspectives into curricula, teaching and learning; and a challenge to the status quo through political and social activism. In other words, anti-racist education calls for the educated to make changes to the system. This would require government, boards, central administrators, school administrators, teachers, parents, and a throng of other educational stakeholders to collectively agree on how to deconstruct current practices and resources, examine pervasive racism, and then reconstruct curriculum, methodologies, resources and copious other matters to include multiple perspectives.

An anti-racist education agenda has the potential to encourage transformative learning for social change. However, given the complexity of anti-racist education and its clear objective to topple the status quo, it is not surprising that educators are hesitant to engage in teaching to challenge that which is universal around them. As such, Schick (2010) argued that anti-racist education occurs as approximations of anti-racist education or it is displaced. By approximations of anti-racist education, Schick was referring to programs that support students but are not critical of the status quo. This may include social supports and inclusive education for the marginalized. This, she argued, positions students as being in need which causes them to be seen as in deficit rather than as a benefit to society as a whole. Often approximations of anti-racist education are reduced to multicultural activities where cultural practices may support students but are not a solution to a lack of success within school or society.

Carr and Klassen (1997b) presented five institutional barriers that discourage the implementation of anti-racism education in schools. The first is that there is no unified long-term commitment from school boards. Constantly changing personnel leads to a lack of vision for change. The second barrier is the decentralization of the school system. Significant power has been assigned to principals but they have too many demands and little time for implementation. The third barrier is a lack of minorities in key positions. Minorities remain under represented within classrooms and in leadership roles (Carr & Klassen, 1996, 1997b; Goddard & Hart, 2006; McGee Banks, 2001). The fourth institutional barrier is the fact that interest groups tend to compartmentalize their causes. Rather than working in tandem to attain equity for all marginalized people, groups of disenfranchised tend to work to advance their own cause creating smaller and potentially less effective collectives such as individualized cultural groups, Aboriginal groups, gay-straight alliances (GSAs), etc. The final institutional barrier is an

informal resistance, both conscious and unconscious, to racial equality particularly from those who benefit from actively participating in the dominant norms of Canadian society.

Macro-level research faces great challenges and a lack of support for efforts to resist institutional racism. It is not easily implemented nor willingly accepted. It requires macro- to mezzo-levels of acceptance and implementation which can and has been achieved in isolated pockets (Gillborn, 1995, 1996) but has not been widely realized (Carr & Klassen, 1996, 1997b; Fleras & Nelson, 2005; Schick, 2010). While institutional racism is macro in size, it must be remembered that the effects of institutional racism are consistently experienced at the micro-level. But micro-level solutions remain understudied.

Micro-level Effects of Institutional Racism

Research has occurred to describe the negative effects that institutional racism exerts on minority students in schools. Goddard and Hart (2007) conducted a study in Calgary, Alberta that presented institutional racism within student-teacher relationships. They contended:

> The public education system is constructed according to the values and belief systems of the dominant cultural and linguistic class. In Alberta, this dominant class is white, English speaking and politically conservative. The underlying assumption of the education system seems to be that if only children would arrive at school 'ready to learn', then they would be successful. Ready to learn implies that the children will arrive daily, on time, well fed, attentive, fluent in the language of instruction, and obedient to the teacher and the rules of the school (p. 18).

As such, the everyday lives outside of these dominant expectations are negated and/or marginalized. Culture (particularly in regards to varying behavioural attitudes and expectations), first languages, lack of English fluency, poverty, and other non-dominant considerations greatly

influence student success and yet, “(t)hese children are … treated exactly the same as everyone else (p. 18).

Fonseca (2010, also see Carr and Klassen, 1996; Dei et al., 1997; Ferguson et al., 2005; Ruck & Wortley, 2002; Youdell, 2003) further argued that there is a substantial body of research that reveals the unequal application of discipline on visible minority students. Because culture can often determine how students express themselves, students from non-White cultures may not understand and/or follow the behavioural expectations of Canadian school teachers. Likewise, Canadian school teachers may not understand behaviour determining factors in student lives (James & Taylor, 2010). Behaviour, not necessarily academics, tends to be the focus for teachers and when teachers misunderstand the motivation behind certain behaviours the results tend to manifest in four ways: a student or a student’s cultural group intelligence is underestimated; student-teacher rapport and communication is diminished; student language abilities are misjudged; and the ability for the student to express learning in creative ways is reduced to traditional written standards (Hilliard, 1989; also see Youdell, 2003). As such, the visible minority student is marginalized and is likely to encounter one of two outcomes: poor academic outcomes, and/or disengagement from school as a whole.

Research indicates that there are a disproportionate number of visible minority students that are streamed into non-academic courses as a result of teacher perceived negative behaviour and low levels of academic success (James & Taylor, 2010). Students from certain visible minority groups, particularly Black and Hispanic students, are considered to be “at-risk” requiring remedial type courses. Any deficiency is viewed as being student based rather than being the result of teacher pedagogy and/or methodology, or curriculum shortfall (Ladson-Billings, 1998). This in turn results in student disengagement and a disproportionate number of

school drop outs of ethnoculturally diverse students (Agyepong, R., 2010; Anisef et al., 2010; Dei et al. 1997; Ferguson et al., 2005).

Canadian multiculturalism is often celebrated in an essentialistic manner. It oversimplifies cultural diversity and the numerous intersections of identity construction (Gosine, 2002). Black History Month (February), Asian Heritage Month (May), Aboriginal Awareness week (third week of May), and National Indigenous Peoples Day (June 21) are just some examples of the way in which Canadians cluster numerous cultural groups together into singular populations that are then interpreted to share numerous commonalities rather than the highly distinct characteristics that they comprise in reality. Vast cultures are placed into generalized, homogenized categories and it is then that these collective identities that are applied to individual students who may or may not exhibit decidedly divergent qualities. Students may become trapped in an "externally imposed racial label" (Gosine, 2002, p. 88) and, if unable to fight the hegemonic limitations this label imposes on them, fall victim to the positive and/or negative attributes attached to the label.

Existing micro-level research on ethnocultural identity has tended to focus on the negative effects of institutional racism. Given the negative effects that institutional racism exerts onto minority students, the need for research that provides new and/or deeper knowledge about counteracting these effects has been required. My research has added to the literature regarding resistance to institutional racism by examining positive personal ethnocultural development. This micro-level research has built an understanding of how students can increase their ethnocultural identity and can provide students and educators knowledge with which to help visible minority students reduce the damaging impacts of etharchy.

Micro-level Resistance to Institutional Racism

Micro-level means of resistance to institutional racism have been researched. Gayle (2011) presented a personal narrative as research on the importance of Black spirituality as a form of resistance and action:

> Generations of Black women such as my mother and countless others who continue to work in their communities and the academy constantly struggle to keep their spirit afloat and intact. It is important to maintain our roots and listen to the wisdom of our ancestors because that's what keeps us grounded and connected to our identity … spirituality has always been present ... embedded within the ways in which we … resist the oppression that we encounter in our experiences. (p. 119)

Pyatak and Muccitelli (2011) argued that “rap music constitutes a resistive occupation, employed by marginalized Black American youth to communicate thoughts and concerns that are often discounted by the dominant culture, and in doing so makes a significant contribution to Black American identities” (p. 48). Rap music has become an explicit means by which youth have shared their experiences and perspectives about street life, challenged dominant discourse, and stepped into mainstream venues particularly in the entertainment industry. It offers a means of resistance and form of cultural expression.

Given the existence of institutional racism and the negative effects it exerts upon minority students, and the inability of more macro and mezzo-level anti-racist education opportunities to affect change, research on understanding how students build and enact resistance and develop positive personal ethnocultural identity through more individualized means such as spirituality and/or music becomes an important addition to the research literature. However, research regarding understanding specific examples of micro-level resistance appears to be based on an explicit understanding of the effects of institutional racism which many adolescents may not

have. My research on the formation of positive ethnocultural identity did not make the assumption that students knew and understood the detrimental effects of institutional racism. I was looking to research positive ethnocultural identity construction that occurred in spite of institutional racism or the knowledge of it. Therefore my research focused on personal resistance associated with building positive ethnocultural identity, and sought to understand any form by which personal ethnocultural identity was positively developed. My aim was to build the body of research regarding micro-level opportunities that can affect change on ethnocultural identity.

Models of Ethnocultural Identity Development

In their article, "Mexican American High School Students' Ethnic Self-Concepts and Identity", Quintana, Herrara and Nelson (2010) proposed that the formation of Mexican American (ethnically Mexican but born and raised in the southwest United States) adolescent ethnocultural identity is a result of the relationship between three aspects of ethnic self-concept (see figure 1, p. 30). These self-concepts represent the internalization of messages that youth receive through various interactions with their social environment. The cultural self receives input from two main sources of socialization: the family and the Mexican American community. Experiencing this cultural interaction allows the youth to connect with their ethnic group and synthesize information about their ethnicity, which may or may not lead to the formation of a positive ethnocultural identity. The transcending self receives input from two main sources of socialization: the family and the Anglo-American community. The family provides "intraethnic" (p. 18) support to the youth to cultivate ethnic self-concept. However, the Anglo-American community, encountered daily at school, provides "interethnic" (p. 18) influences that can cause youth to feel pressure to transcend ethnic difference. The authors argued that "there were few

times (in their research) when ethnic transcendence involved positive forms of bridging cultural difference” (p. 19) and that the primary strategy used to bridge cultural difference was assimilation.

The minority self receives input from two main sources of socialization: the Mexican American community and the Anglo-American community. While influence from the Mexican American community can cultivate ethnic self-concept, it can also serve as an “intraethnic challenge” (p. 20) whereby ethnic self-concept is confronted by the idea of a stigmatized minority. The Anglo-American community, frequented regularly at school, contributes to the challenge with interethnic socialization that expresses attitudes and actions that further marginalize the youths’ ethnic self-concept resulting in a negative ethnocultural identity.

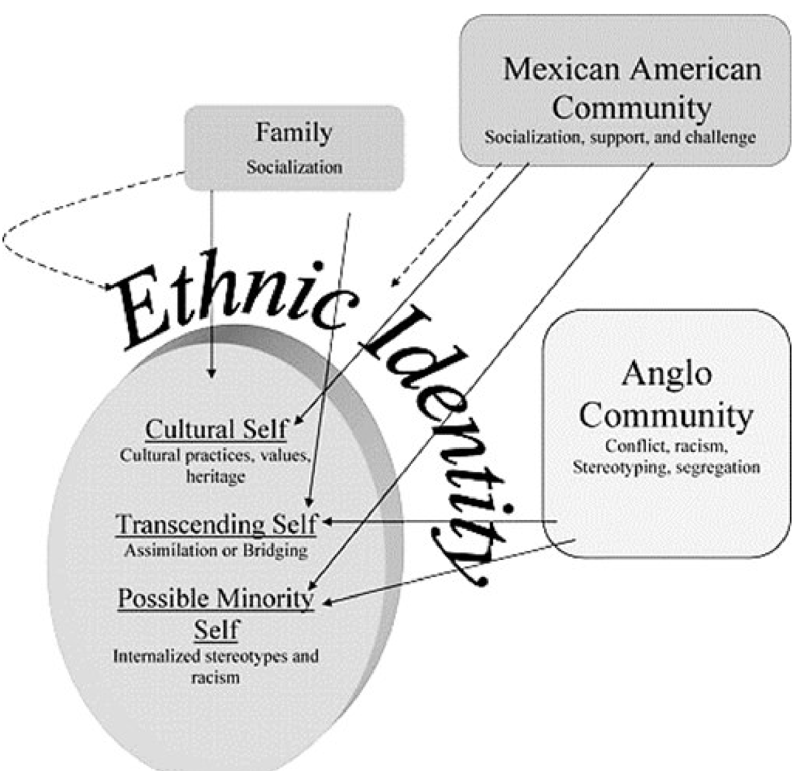

Figure 1: Model of Mexican American adolescent’s ethnic self-concepts and identity. (Quintana et al., 2010, p. 21).

Other studies have yielded similar descriptions of intrapersonal relationships involved in ethnocultural identity development and formation. Boykin (1986) presented a “triple quandary” which reasoned that African American children have to live and balance between three realms as a part of their schooling experience: the mainstream realm where they are pressured to conform to dominant Eurocentric world views; the minority realm where they experience oppression, resistance, and “mental colonization” (p. 75); and the cultural realm in which they learn values and develop a worldview apart from the majority. African American children are socialized in all three realms and must sort out conflicting messages received from each of the realms in order to develop their ethnocultural identity as a part of their greater self-concept.

In a study that focused on Hmong (a minority group from Asia) American boys, Lee (2004) also identified three similar aspects within ethnic masculine identity formation: traditional masculinity, ideal masculinity and counter-hegemonic masculinity. Traditional masculinity is described as when the Hmong boys distance themselves from White students as well as “more Americanized” Hmong students through social isolation. This is done because the “old fashioned” Hmong students are criticized for maintaining strong cultural values and yet have full intention of sustaining them. Often social isolation occurs because the traditional Hmong students are unable to negotiate the cultural and language gap between the Hmong culture and the majority culture, resulting in them being relegated to the periphery.

The ideal masculinity is titled as such because it is gradually becoming the new ideal concept of masculinity among Hmong boys. Within this model, Hmong boys reduce their social contact with other Hmong boys and participate more in mainstream activities with White students. It is often a conscious decision made with the intention of increasing social mobility, educational success and economic capital. While this is a departure from traditional culture, it is also considered to be a means by which to continue the tradition of providing for one’s family.

In counter-hegemonic masculinity, Hmong boys tended to express themselves through hypermasculinity whereby being considered tough, resisting authority and increasing consumerism are emphasized. Frequently associated with gang membership, counter-hegemonic masculinity is often aligned by teachers and parents with poor behavior and effort resulting in poor academic performance. Lee (2004) argued that this may actually be a cultural issue whereby some Hmong boys are unable to bridge the cultural gap between traditional masculinity and school culture. In particular, female teachers might be considered a threat to their concept of masculinity contributing to poor academic results and increased resistance to the educational environment. The population of Hmong boys practicing counter-hegemonic masculinity is outnumbering the population of traditional and ideal masculinities.

Lee (2004), Boykin (1986) and Quintana et al. (2010) all similarly concluded that the creation of ethnocultural identity requires balancing three aspects that influence identity formation: the cultural (ethnic), the majority (hegemonic) and the minority (marginalized). More specifically, these three research studies identified the challenges that ethnocultural minority students encounter within the school environment and demonstrated how difficult and complex positive personal ethnocultural identity formation, and resistance development, can be. Lee (2004) in particular noted that Hmong boys were not maintaining traditional ethnocultural identities, or even assimilating, but were more likely to develop ethnocultural identities that created further socioeconomic disparity from both their Hmong culture and the dominant culture. Quintana et al. (2010) found very few examples of positive ethnic transcendence or positive “bridging of ethnic group boundaries” (p. 19), where persons of one ethnic group participated in the activities of another group without negating their own ethnicity. The few examples that were apparently encountered were not explained within the research and there is no evidence that they were the subject of further study.

While the work of these researchers greatly added to the literature regarding personal ethnocultural identity development, their research, as was the case with much of the ethnocultural identity research, was founded on a deficit model. That is, the challenges that minority students faced were the foci of their work. The presented models identified the challenges and then focused on reporting on the negative outcomes that resulted from the imbalance between the cultural spheres of influence. Research that focused on positive personal ethnocultural identity development appeared to be lacking. Despite the challenges that existed for minority students, how they developed positive personal ethnocultural identity remained understudied. Focusing my research on positive personal ethnocultural identity development assisted in filling in the gap within this area of research.

Stages of Ethnic Identity Development

Several researchers have suggested there are stages to ethnocultural identity formation (Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989, 1990; Tafjel, 1978). Marcia (1980) operationalized Erickson's (1968) theory of ego identity development by creating a four-state paradigm for use in studying overall identity development in adolescents which potentially includes developing a personal understanding of ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, career path, life plan and so forth. Marcia's first state, entitled Identity Diffusion, occurs when an adolescent has not engaged in exploration, experimentation or commitment to any particular aspect of his/her own identity. Active, self-aware participation in identity formation is not occurring and the adolescent has not committed to any particular aspect of his/her identity. In the second phase entitled Foreclosure, the adolescent has decided upon aspects of his/her identity, however this has been completed without much exploration and is largely based on what others have decided should be meaningful to the adolescent. In essence, the adolescent is blindly following the will and wishes

of those that influence him or her. If the adolescent believes that he or she is happy about this, then identity formation might remain in state two. If not, the adolescent might enter into the third state of Moratorium. Here, a decision about identity has not been established but the adolescent is actively seeking information and experiences upon which to base a decision. As state two involved believing an identity had been established and phase three involves a recognition that this identity may not actually exist or is dissatisfactory, the search for a “new” identity is often thought of as an identity crisis. In the fourth state, Identity Formation, the adolescent has gone through the phase of Moratorium and has emerged with a clear commitment towards certain aspects of his or her identity. While the adolescent may still continue with active exploration and experimentation within this identity decision, he or she has strongly committed to the decision and is firm in the choice.

Phinney (1989) then applied Marcia’s states of identity development directly to ethnocultural identity formation. In the Identity Diffusion stage (Phinney referred to them as stages rather than states), adolescents have no clear understanding of ethnicity or issues that result from ethnicity likely due to little or no exploration of one’s own ethnicity. Adolescents in this stage possibly do not consider ethnicity to be an important part of their identity and have given the topic little thought. Phinney argued that Diffusion is not necessarily the first stage for adolescent ethnic identity development (Phinney uses ‘ethnic’ rather than ethnocultural) but rather Foreclosure, or perhaps Diffusion-Foreclosure, is the stage that minority youth might first occupy due to constant exposure to minority and/or majority culture through social interactions. Foreclosure within ethnic identity might have youth taking on values of minority or majority cultures without questioning these beliefs. Attitudes and feelings towards one’s ethnicity may be positive or negative, or a combination of both, but are acted out without having completed any active self-reflection or research, or without achieving any understanding of the topic and issues.

Phinney presented the work of numerous other researchers including Ogbu (1987) in which external strategies used to demonstrate Foreclosure might include assimilation, living according to dominant culture norms without questioning or understanding this choice, or ambivalence, whereby dominant culture norms are not adopted because of a lack of awareness about the socioeconomic ramifications of this choice.

In Moratorium, adolescents begin to explore ethnicity. It is marked by the active exploration for information regarding ethnicity and the personal implications of this ethnicity. This might include speaking to family members, attending cultural events, reading books, online searches and much personal reflection. Because diverse ethnicities surround the adolescent, most prominently the dominant culture, Moratorium is the stage in which adolescents begin to understand prejudices and racism that exists and interferes with socioeconomic success. As such, confusion about one's own identity is likely to occur as well as feelings of anger or frustration towards the dominant culture. Often adolescents will experience shame or embarrassment regarding their own culture or regarding their own previous lack of knowledge and understanding of their own culture.

In the final stage of Identity Achievement, adolescents actively explore and engage in cultural activities and attain a "clear, secure understanding and acceptance of one's own ethnicity" (Phinney, 1989, p. 38). The adolescent is able to develop a greater sense of belonging with those who have chosen similar ethnocultural identities and as such become more confident. This stage also requires the resolution of any identity conflicts, an understanding of existing race and ethnicity issues, and an acceptance of other diverse cultures. However, Phinney once again points to the work of other researchers such as Ogbu (1987) in which a negative form of Identity Achievement might be attained based on failed efforts to deal with ethnic turmoil and identity conflict. In his research on Black Americans, Ogbu (1987) argued that resistance or opposition

to dominant culture norms has been enacted by Blacks however, some youth in particular chose an "oppositional identity" (p. 166) in which they not only choose not to act White but seek to contrast against White culture by potentially engaging in activities, often criminal, that are not accepted by Black culture either.

What is important to note within this widely accepted view of the stages of ethnic identity formation is the need for active exploration of one's own identity in order to attain a level of Identity Achievement within identity formation. Also of importance is the recognition that these steps, while sequential, are divergent in time. That is, some may move through the four stages quickly while others may never reach stages three or four. Marcia (1980) and Phinney (1988) were specifically studying adolescents and witnessed all four stages of identity development within the small age span of research participants. As children, these participants would have been in different stages of ethnocultural identity formation, as well as into and throughout adulthood.

Phinney's work has been solidly expanded from the previous efforts of noted identity development researchers Eric Erickson (1968) and James Marcia (1980) and has been used in Phinney's more recent works (Ong et al., 2010; Phinney et al., 2001; Phinney, 2006; Phinney et al. 2007; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Roberts et al., 1999). It has also been well accepted and supported by other ethnic identity researchers (Avery et al., 2007; Holley et al., 2006; Robinson, 2012). Because of the trustworthiness associated with Phinney's work, it was highly relevant for my research. Elements of Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992; 2010), a scale created to measure the developmental, cognitive and affective components of ethnocultural identity, was used in my research to assist in identifying students who have attained positive personal ethnocultural identity. However, it was not the attainment of Identity Achievement that was the focus of my study, but rather how students developed positive

personal ethnocultural identity. While Phinney's work generally focused on the stages of ethnic identity development, it appeared to lack description regarding how adolescents might move from one stage to the next or be encouraged to move from the beginning stages into Identity Achievement. As such, my research extended Phinney's work by analyzing aspects of the process of visible minority students' positive personal ethnocultural identity development.

Resilient Resistance

Miller and Garran (2008) described the "web of institutional racism" (p. 37; see figure 2, p. 38) in an attempt to reduce institutional racism into macro, mezzo and micro-levels. The web of institutional racism consists of five key aspects. The first is that the web is systematic and comprehensive. By this, the authors emphasized that racism is not a residual effect of history, nor does it exist in isolation. It is ingrained in all aspects of society. As such, it exists at macro, mezzo and micro-levels which is the second key aspect. Within education, an example of how racism exists at the macro-level is the general use of equal funding ideologies rather than equity based funding. At the mezzo level, racism manifests as the percentage of minority educators is not proportional to the percentage of minority students. At the micro-level, students experience racism at the hand of other students and with teachers. The third key aspect combines formal and informal practices with overt and covert, conscious and unconscious action. Formal practices within education include policy that addresses racism as an individual issue rather than a societal issue while informal practices would include the streaming of minority students based on academic outputs versus academic ability. The fourth key aspect of the web of institutional racism argues that the effects of racism are cumulative. Contemporary racism is the result of values and beliefs that have been in existence and practiced for hundreds of years. The resulting oppression and disempowerment has been experienced from one generation to the next, making

emancipation increasingly difficult to achieve. The final aspect of the web is that it represents power. This power normalizes and maintains institutional racism through laws and policies and by shaping public discourse to deny the existence of institutional racism.

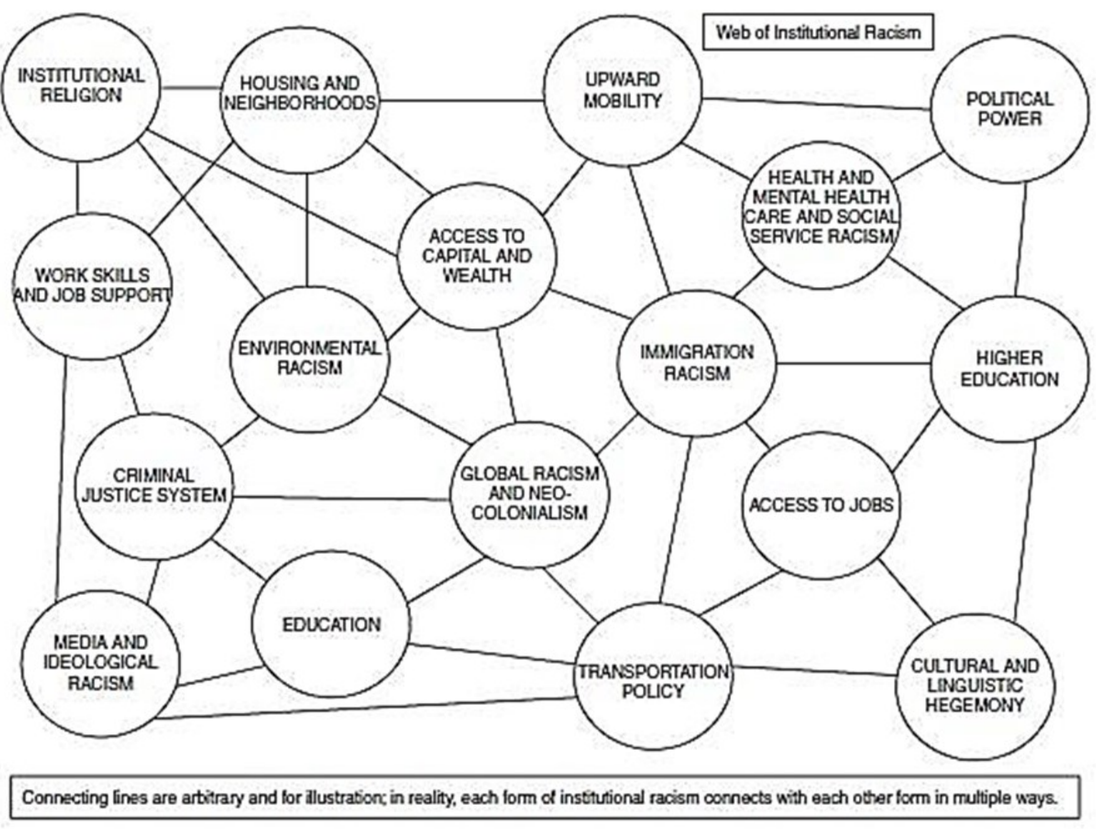

Figure 2: The web of institutional racism.
(Miller & Garran, 2007, p. 37)

Rozas and Miller (2009) used the web of institutional racism to facilitate understanding of its existence and the deleterious effects of institutional racism. They combined the web of institutional racism (Miller & Garran, 2007) with the “web of resistance” (p. 34; see figure 3, p. 40) as a means to counteract institutional racism and provide balance, with the purpose of building hope in order to inspire change. Rozas and Miller contended that the web of resistance was meant to facilitate an antiracism culture through the development of critically conscious

individuals as described by Freire (Freire, 1970; Rozas & Miller, 2009). The critical dimensions of repeated reflection and then action create the process of informed action.

Within the web of resistance, the two main components of internal strategies and external strategies are representative of informed action. The internal strategies require individuals to reflect and develop "inner capacity to engage in resisting racism" (p. 33). It requires active participation in the process of self-reflection in order to confront, recognize and understand one's own regular participation in the web of institutional racism. The external strategies are action-oriented and aimed at dismantling various forms of racism. They are intended to address two of three phases in the cycle of liberation as described by Harro (Harro, 2000; Rozas & Miller, 2009). In the first phase of liberation, introspection, is the reflective, internal strategies of the web of resistance. The second phase, referred to as "reaching out" (Rozas & Miller, 2009, p. 35), occurs when the individual is ready to interact with other individuals who have the same attitudes and values towards racism and now recognize the need to act against racism. The third phase, "coalescing" (Rozas & Miller, 2009, p. 35), occurs when group action strategies are developed and activism against racism begins.

Rozas and Miller (2009) are cognizant of the fact that the web of resistance is far from being encompassing of all forms of resistance. Rather, it is meant to assist in working against racism at micro, mezzo and macro-levels; requires the combination of internal and external strategies; is the result of a long history of anti-racist activists; and represents hope based on ongoing individual and collective efforts that struggle against institutional racism. As such, the web of resistance itself is evolving.

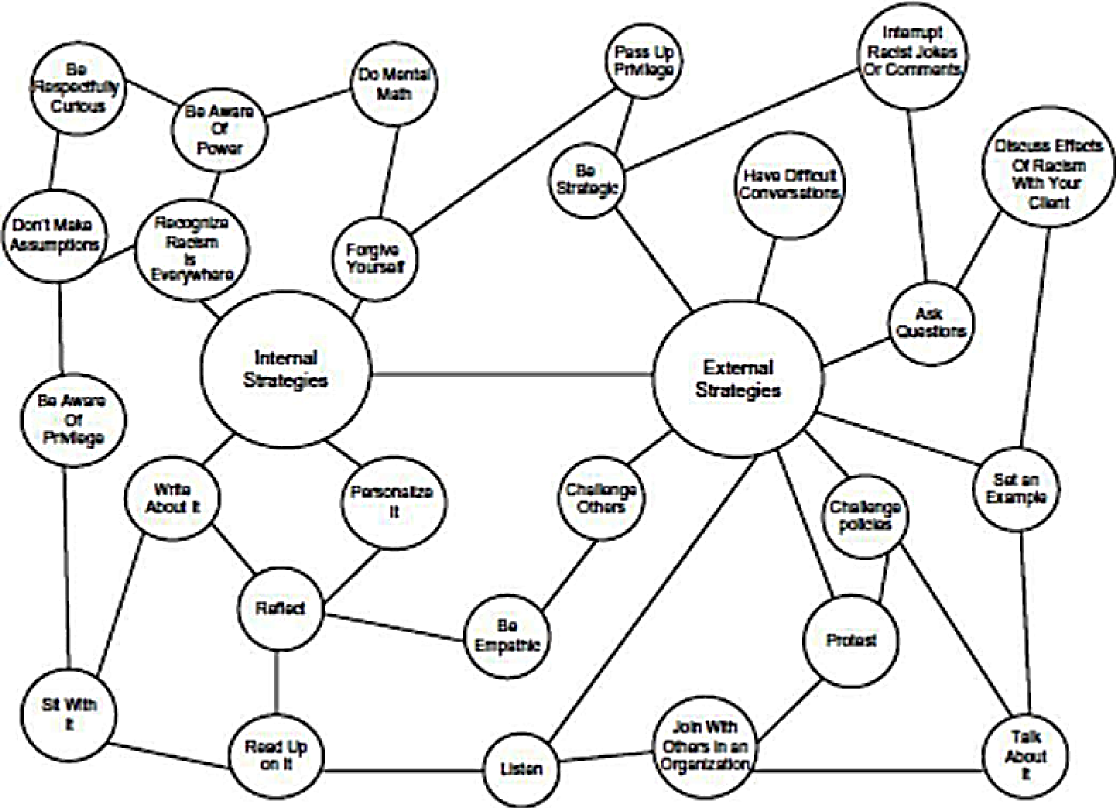

Figure 3: The web of resistance.
(Rozas & Miller, 2009, p. 34)

Lacking in Rozas and Miller's research is the application of the web of resistance framework to anti-racism strategies as enacted by ethnocultural minority persons. If the web of resistance is indeed based on the work of Freire, it must be noted that *conscientização* was specifically used by Freire (1970) in teaching the oppressed members of Brazilian society and *praxis* was the informed action by which freedom from oppression would occur. The web of resistance was designed for use by dominant culture members. Indeed, oppression as described by Freire was and still is a mutual act between the oppressor and the oppressed and requires the dominant culture to be engaged in the application of the web of resistance if a culture of anti-racism is to occur. However, the enactment of the web of resistance by visible minority persons, what one might term resilient resistance, had not been studied in their research.

Within visible minority enactment of the web of resistance, the need for ethnocultural minority students to be conscious of the power imbalance and resulting oppression remains in question. Innately, students are able to sense unfairness and injustice. They are able to "write about it", "sit with it", "reflect", "talk about it", or "ask questions" as per strategies identified in the web of resistance (p. 34), but does this require a conscious understanding of institutional racism? The web of resistance as used by Rozas and Miller (2009) works in tandem with the web of institutional racism and requires that the White students being taught about it face and challenge institutional racism. My research focused on the intersection of the web of resistance and visible minority students. It was not about bringing conscious knowledge about institutional racism to visible minority students but how they constructed positive personal ethnocultural identity potentially using strategies identified within the web of resistance. Specific to the web of resistance, my research queried if it could be enacted with or without conscious knowledge of institutional racism and if visible minority students with positive ethnocultural identity engaged in resilient resistance against the influence of the dominant culture without necessarily knowingly resisting institutional racism.

Positive Ethnocultural Identity Formation

While a large amount of research continues to focus on the detrimental effects of institutional racism on ethnoculturally diverse students (Alvarado & Ricard, 2013; Asbridge et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2014; Carr & Klassen, 1997a; Ferguson et al., 2005; Fleras & Nelson, 2005; James & Taylor, 2010; Le & Johansen, 2001; Ogbu, 2008; Quintana et al, 2010; Race et al., 2012; Sleeter, 2004; Schumann et al., 2013), there is an increasing field of research regarding the formation of positive ethnocultural identity. The majority of this research is centered on ethnic language learning, much within the Canadian context.

Lee (2008) completed research on the effect of ethnic identity and bilingual confidence on Chinese youth self-esteem in Western Canada. Looking at private and public domains of self-esteem, Lee noted that little research explored the multi-faceted aspects of self-esteem within ethnic groups, particularly as affected by proficiency in both the mainstream and ethnic language. Her research surveyed one hundred and ten Chinese youth attending Chinese language school to examine the intersection between ethnic identity and bilingual confidence and their effects on global, academic and social self-esteem. She noted three significant conclusions from her research. The first was that there is significant correlation between academic success and global and academic self-esteem; the second was that there is a significant correlation between English proficiency and all three aspects of self-esteem; and the third was that there is no significant relationship between self-esteem and self-confidence with Chinese language proficiency however bilingual proficiency is considered a critical factor in influencing all three spheres of self-esteem. Mastering English is considered to be necessary to achieve educational and social success, while mastering Chinese offers a tool for ethnic identity, social-cultural involvement and greater economic opportunities. Lee concluded that bilingual competence increases positive ethnic identity development which in turn constructively effects global, academic and social self-esteem in both private and public domains.

Pigott and Kalbach (2005) sought to determine if there was a correlation between language spoken at and outside the home and identification of ethnicity within statistical data. In their review of the literature they argued that there is a corresponding link between linguistic assimilation and ethnic identity whereby individuals tend to identify themselves as Canadian, rather than by their ethnic background, when cultural ties including language are diminished. They also presented research stating that the ability to speak or understand an ethnic language is

directly related to ethnic identity retention. Through the use of a large scale survey of 3 363 university students from five universities, the authors concluded that individuals who speak the dominant language (for this study, English or French, depending on university location) are more likely to identify as Canadian than those individuals who regularly speak their ethnic language. The authors presented that despite the Canadian Multiculturalism Act which encourages ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity, not being obliged to assimilate versus consistent exposure to dominant languages (particularly over generations) is resulting in a loss of personal identification of ethnic identity. Identity, not family ancestry, is motivating identification of ethnic identity and that "ethnic identity is intrinsically connected with language" (p. 15).

Trofimovich, Turuševa and Gatbonton (2013) investigated the role of ethnic group identity in second language learning by completing a study of second language English learners in Quebec, Canada (59 subjects) using a questionnaire with a rating scale. Four aspects of ethnic group affiliation were linked to second language proficiency: strength of identification with one's ethnic group; degree of pride and loyalty towards one's ethnic group; the importance of language as an indicator of group identity; and one's degree of support for the sociopolitical objectives of the ethnic group. Second language learners who had a strong sense of ethnic identity coupled with a positive orientation towards the English community were most proficient in second language English proficiency. Second language learners who felt strong support for the sociopolitical objectives of the ethnic group generally achieved lowest levels of second language English proficiency. Findings suggested that ethnic group affiliation have both positive and negative effects on second language learning. The authors then compared the Quebec findings with similar research conducted on second language Russian learners in Latvia (119 subjects). They drew the broad conclusion that strong ethnic identity, particularly when

language is considered to be an integral part of ethnic identity, is linked to lower proficiency in second language learning.

Of the few research studies completed on positive ethnocultural identity without a language focus, Carranza (2007) presented a study of resilience and resistance against racism among Salvadorian female youth in Canada. Using grounded theory to study patterns of behavior, the researcher interviewed sixteen Salvadorian immigrant mother-daughter sets (32 in-depth individual interviews). The study focused on the effective strategies that Salvadorian mothers used to build adolescent daughters' ability to resist and be resilient against incidences of discrimination and racism. These strategies included mothers teaching their daughters about their indigenous roots; about their history of poverty and oppression as resisted by the Salvadorian people; about the mothers' own pride and desire to be a role model to their daughters by being vocal about their previously marginalized voices; and teaching their daughters to speak Spanish in order to maintain their mothers' tongue as an important part of their heritage and to keep strong familial connections. As a result, daughters gained a strong sense of belonging to the Salvadorian community. Strong cultural self-esteem and sense of pride allowed them to develop agency as they struggled to fit into Canadian society. One adult daughter provided illustration of how she resisted learnings from her mother because of the influence of her White peer group. Because she felt disconnected to her family but also marginalized by her White peers, she turned to self-destructive behavior which included dropping out of school. Her parents sent her back to El Salvador to live with family and eventually she was able to return to Canada without the desire to assimilate, rather, confident in her ethnic roots and sense of self.

Phinney and Nakayama (1991) completed a study that began with a survey of 417 ethnic American high school students (Asian-American, Black and Hispanic) that determined levels of

ethnic identity. Sixty students were then selected as having high levels of ethnic identity or low levels of ethnic identity. These students and one parent per student were then interviewed to determine factors that might affect levels of ethnic identity. Similar to Carranza's (2007) research, the researchers found that parents of high ethnic identity students had placed emphasis on preparing their children for living in a diverse society by regularly talking about culture (most practiced by Asian parents), speaking directly about discrimination and not ignoring discrimination when it happens (most prevalent among Black parents), and practicing traditions associated with their culture (most performed by Hispanic parents).

While ample research exists regarding the presence of institutional racism and etharchy; the negative effects of institutional racism and etharchy on visible minority students; and the resistance of dominant culture persons to understanding institutional racism and enacting anti-racism, research is significantly less abundant regarding specific strategies that youth use to build positive ethnocultural identity, apart from ethnic language learning. Ethnocultural identity formation and the manifestations of one's ethnocultural identity have very much been defined negatively by existing research and tend to focus on assimilation and negative forms of acculturation. Positive ethnocultural identity formation research has indicated the importance of parental influence, heritage language knowledge, and positive self-esteem on the maintenance of high levels of ethnocultural identity. There has not been an emphasis on understanding a spectrum of strategies by which visible minority youth might develop and express positive ethnocultural identity, with or without conscious knowledge of institutional racism.

Summary

In this chapter, I summarized research literature as it pertains to ethnocultural identity development. It addressed the historical development and current existence of etharchy, the

construction of ethnocultural identity, and the means by which ethnocultural identity is demonstrated. I also identified current research in positive ethnocultural identity formation and the gap in this literature. In essence, chapter two provided the theoretical background which supported the need for further research regarding the strategies used by ethnoculturally diverse students to form positive ethnocultural identity. In chapter three, I will outline the study design and methodological approaches and methods that were employed in order to examine positive ethnocultural identity development.

Chapter 3: Research Design

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to seek understanding about how visible minority students build positive ethnocultural minority identity while immersed in the dominant Canadian culture. In this chapter, I describe the research design used to examine this. I review the research paradigm and the methodology, conceptual framework, ethics, research site and participants, data collection, and data analysis.

Paradigm

Psychology-based correlational studies have been widely used in identity studies. Critical realism as a paradigmatic framework for research on individual identity has been suggested as a means to bridge the gap between macro and micro-identity studies (O'Mahoney, 2011) however, the use of critical realism for micro-level research involving individuals has been lacking. "There is considerable work to be done in establishing a tradition of critical realist analyses of the self, not simply in empirical analyses but also in methodological accounts" (O'Mahoney, p. 127). That is, correlational approaches often associated with logical positivism have been used to better understand macro-issues of class, structure and inequality and their effects on identity. The use of constructivism in identity has focused on micro-issues particularly the construction of one's own knowledge based on individual experience. Approaching identity research from a critical realist perspective allowed for my research analyses to connect different individual levels to different societal levels, through analytical dualism, producing a greater understanding regarding the complexity of identity formation (Archer, 1995), particularly as related to agency (O'Mahoney, 2011).

My research then was not only based on observation of empirical evidence but sought to combine the existence of underlying mechanisms in the real domain and their effects on the actual and empirical domains for the students. It required research of ontic depth encompassing all three domains in order to understand the students' use of agency and their construction of knowledge. The students' knowledge construction then was used as specific cases or "contingent generalizations" (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 12) rather than for theory or universal law creation. Large scale quantitative data would not have assisted to explain individual knowledge construction just as singular research subjects would not have assisted to support generalizations. Therefore, a multi-method (interviews, questionnaire and observations) case study research design was used. This qualitative approach was used as a means to observe and examine human behaviour. My research question called for explanatory research that could speak to data trends related to the complexities of ethnocultural identity development; this depth was attainable only through qualitative research.

Methodology

Wynn and Williams (2012) argued that the case study should be the "primary research design" (p. 803) within the critical realist paradigm. Their first argument for such a claim was that the epistemology of critical realism requires research questions that seek to understand factors that influenced empirical effects of a phenomenon. As such, explanatory research that focuses on answering questions of "how" or "why" would use a variety of data sources and methods of analysis in order to better understand the event(s) being researched (Yin, 2003). Case study not only allows but encourages multiple methods of data collection and analysis.

Secondly, according to Wynn and Williams (2012), case study allows research to focus on mechanisms that may prompt particular events to occur in the empirical domain. These

mechanisms require specific structures and contexts in order to generate specific events. Case study allows for a small number of cases to be studied in order to attain in-depth, detailed, context specific explanations. Quantitative research methods do not provide data of ontic depth.

Thirdly, Wynn and Williams (2012) argued universal law was not the focus of critical realist research, generalizability was. However, the concern was not about generalizability through broad statistical inferences in order to predict future outcomes. Rather the generalizability served to explain and validate the interplay between mechanisms and context, structure and agency. Generalization within critical realism attempts to forge generalization to theory, rather than use generalization of theory (Yin, 2003).

Stake (1978) argued that case studies will "often be the preferred method of research because they may be epistemologically in harmony with the reader's experience and thus to that person a natural basis for generalization" (p. 5). As such, Stake (1995) described the role of the researcher as that of an interpreter. In line with a critical realist paradigm, the research is not completed as a means to discover external reality but rather to understand the case being studied through description of the interplay between structure and agency, and the explanations and interpretations of the conditions and context.

While key case study researchers Yin (1981, 2003, 2009) and Stake (1978, 1995, 2000, 2006) both validated the importance of this methodology within qualitative research and "are in agreement on the fundamentals of case study" (Brown, 2008, p. 9), Yin tends towards a more structured design approach that places a greater emphasis on the methods and techniques that are used throughout the case study. Stake tends towards a more interpretive approach in which the emphasis is placed on the objects of the case study. It was this more interpretive approach that I used for my research. Specifically, I completed an "instrumental" case study as described by Stake (1995, 2000). I focused on understanding how visible minority students constructed

positive personal ethnocultural identity and potentially built resilient resistance which was a specific case found within the wider phenomena of resistance to institutional racism. By gaining greater understanding of this case, this research contributes to the research on positive personal ethnocultural identity development and to the research on resistance to institutional racism.

This research followed Stake's (2000, p. 448) six "major conceptual responsibilities" for case study researchers. The first was "bounding the case", whereby the object of study, in this situation, positive ethnocultural identity development, was defined within identified confines making it as specific and unique as possible. The second was correctly "selecting the phenomena" and research questions that were used to emphasize the issue being studied. The third was "seeking patterns of data" that assisted in understanding and developing the issues. The fourth was "triangulating key observations" generally understood as "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verify the repeatability of an observation or interpretation … (and/or clarifying) meaning by identifying different ways the phenomena is being seen" (pp. 443-444). The fifth was "selecting alternative interpretations" which was an important part of expanding interpretations of the data and of addressing researcher bias. Divergent themes were examined. The last was "developing assertions or generalizations about the case". Stake (1995) specifically spoke to "naturalistic generalizations" (p. 85) whereby study conclusions were created through a case being so explicitly described and interpreted that the reader felt as though they experienced it themselves. "Propositional generalizations" or "assertions" (p. 86) were also necessary. Finding balance between naturalistic and proportional generalizations was "an important strategic choice" (p. 86).

Stake (1995) presented that the case study must be holistic, empirical, interpretive and emphatic. As such, this research focused on the specific case being studied and was not compared to other cases from other research. However the data were not used in complete

isolation from other sources of data in order to avoid reductionism of the research. The data were based on the observable and grounded on a naturalistic and non-interventionistic approach. The interpretation of the data was vigorous and sought to understand the subjects' frames of reference in order to find and describe emic meaning.

Diefenbach (2008) presented several limitations, or methodological weaknesses, of case study method. He placed these weaknesses into five categories: research design, data collection, internal validity, external validity, and research implications (p. 876). Within research design, Diefenbach was particularly critical of subjectivity and bias. He argued that there was no specific means to investigate the research question leading to a lack of rigor. This particular argument however was opposable through a forthright declaration of methodology, as well as the ontology and epistemology that this research analysis followed. Bias exists within any research and so it was necessary to understand the nature of the bias in this research since it could not simply be removed.

Within data collection, Diefenbach (2008) argued that case study was methodologically weak because data sources were problematic and also biased. "Interviewees are not a reliable source for information because of conscious and deliberate attempts to mislead the interviewer" (p. 881). While this may have been the case for some interviewees within this research, it must be remembered that "Truth" was not always what was being sought, but rather it was the bias and context that was of more importance in the research. Bias existed within the interviewee data. It was mitigated through the use of triangulation to augment the main data source. This was reinforced within the case study methodology as described by Stake (1978, 1995, 2000) and Yin (1981, 2003, 2009).

Diefenbach argued that internal validity was insufficient because there was a lack of data and no objective criteria for subject selection resulting in data that cannot mirror reality. In terms

of external validity, Diefenbach argued that findings from the data could not be used to generalize theory and could not be reproduced. Diefenbach's validity arguments appeared to be based in his own biases regarding the nature of research, in that research had to be representative and reproducible in order to be valid. A lack of data is not *no* data. Any of the collected data in this research mirrored reality for someone because the data were someone's reality. Generalizable theory does not automatically lead to understanding. Generalizable theory cannot be generalized to everyone.

Lastly Diefenbach argued that "(c)ase studies do not place and explain the data in a historical and structural context, there is a lack of critical and constructive contribution to social practice" (p. 891). On the contrary, a single case study that contradicts a generalizable theory is far more critical than a generalizable theory that contradicts a single case study. A deep understanding regarding a phenomenon that is formulated through the work of case study research takes into account the history of the research subjects and the context in which the subjects exist. This depth of research is likely to bring far more questions that must be asked of society and our social practices, providing both a critical and constructive lens to all research.

Conceptual Framework

Rozas and Miller's web of resistance (2009) evoked many questions about how resisting institutional racism and positive ethnocultural identity might intersect. Would the strategies used to build positive ethnocultural identity be similar to those used to resist institutional racism? In looking to understand how visible minority students were developing positive ethnocultural identity, would the simplistic dichotomy of internal and external strategies assist to analyze the strategies being used by the students? Could researching how visible minority students consciously and unconsciously navigated ethnocultural identity development using Rozas and

Miller's web of resistance as a conceptual framework assist to locate strategies that students were using to construct positive personal ethnocultural identity? Would adolescent visible minority students consciously know about institutional racism and therefore be able to enact the strategies of the web of resistance, or would students be able to enact the web of resistance without conscious knowledge of institutional racism?

As a conceptual framework, the dichotomy of internal and external strategies might appear simple, however the interconnected web and its ambiguous descriptions of strategies is complex. To provide an example of this complexity, one might attempt to dichotomize existing research regarding resistance to institutional racism. Agosto and Karanxha (2012), Gayle (2011) and Parker (2006) argued that spirituality was a form of resistance and action. Rozas and Miller might categorize this as internal if speaking of individual spirituality or external if speaking of organized spiritual group activity. Similar to this, Hill (2009), Seddon (2010) and Shah (2012) presented religion and theology mostly as an external form of resistance; however internal conviction for religion would certainly be elemental to religion as an external articulation of resistance. Deyhle (1998), Pégram (2011), Pyatak and Muccitelli (2011) argued certain music was a form of resistance but speak both to the individual creation of the music as well as its social effects. None of the cited articles referred to resistance as being internal nor external as the web of resistance proposes. Conversely spirituality, religion and music do not appear specifically on web of resistance but might be categorized under internal strategies such as "forgive yourself", "reflect", or "recognize racism is everywhere" or under external strategies such as "join with others in an organization", "have difficult conversations" or "talk about it". Therefore, the complexity of categorizing combined with the simplicity of its dichotomy made the web of resistance a comprehensive conceptual framework for this research.

Ethics

As my research examined ethnocultural identity development in adolescent students, there were ethical considerations to take into account because youth who are not of majority age are considered a vulnerable population. Participant selection and research only began with full ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board. Permission to conduct the research was attained from the school districts, by meeting with both district and school leadership to ensure full understanding of the study. Within the schools, students of the target population were invited to participate in the research project by providing full disclosure to both students and parents. This was achieved using a lengthy consent form and was confirmed not only through the signing of the consent form but also using email and personal contact when setting up initial interview times through the parents. Voluntary, informed, ongoing consent was required by both the students and the students' parents or guardians before data collection began and throughout the collection process (Appendix B, p. 152). Parents were invited to contact me directly at any time with any questions or concerns and if parents were dropping of or picking up students from the interviews, I always waited with the student to ask the parents if they had any questions or concerns.

Although this data collection was considered to be low risk, a qualified counselor was available to students, at the researcher's cost, if discomfort or distress arose. The students were reminded of the availability of the counselor at each interview session. While some students did cry during the interview process, none chose to access the counselor and no parents indicated student distress. To reduce stress for participants, students were assured that both anonymity and confidentiality would be maintained at the highest levels possible. Pseudonyms were used and interviews were completed in a low-traffic, private location within the school or in a low traffic area of a public library. The students determined where the meetings were to take place. This

allowed for both familiarity of location and privacy. Throughout the data collection process, all research subjects were provided their research data and given the opportunity to amend it. Only two students provided amended information, one time each. Once all the interviews were completed and interview data were returned to them, the participants were all informed of the final date to change information or withdraw from the study. No students chose to withdraw from the study or limit their data.

Research Sites and Participants

Based on 2016 data, Statistics Canada (2017) reported that the visible minority population across Canada was approximately 22.3%. South Asian, Chinese and Black were the three top visible minority groups. Visible minority populations were denser in larger urban population centers. In order to study the development of ethnocultural identity within environments where dominant culture values existed, a dominant culture based on the British Protestant values of Western Canada's European founders was a requirement of this research. As such, locations away from major cities were the target locations for this research where visible ethnocultural populations were less diverse allowing for the dominant White Eurocentric culture to persist. The first school district I approached was considered to be suburban, a medium population centre located approximately 20 minutes drive outside of a major city. Its population was approximately 36 000 people with a visible minority population of approximately 5.8% (Statistics Canada, 2017). The second school district that was approached was located in a small population centre, a town with a population of approximately 9500 people (Statistics Canada 2017). It had a vast rural surrounding and was 90 minutes drive from a major city. This location had a visible minority population of 7.7% (Statistics Canada, 2017). Both of these public school systems were located in Alberta.

I specifically sought to work with adolescent students in junior high school (grades seven, eight and nine; ages 12, 13, 14). Erikson (1968) presented that a "crisis" of identity occurred during early to middle adolescence (generally between ages twelve to seventeen) when adolescents struggled to develop a unique personal identity while fitting into their peer groups. As this then appeared to be the ideal time to assist students to develop positive ethnocultural identity, it was the target age group to research with a more specific focus on early adolescence.

As previously indicated, immigrant offspring that were first generation children of immigrants, whether they were immigrants themselves or born to immigrant parents, was the target population. This provided a range of visible minority student experiences and enough breadth to the data while setting a boundary to make the data quantity manageable. The analysis of this data would allow for a deeper understanding of how visible minority students might construct positive personal ethnocultural identity.

Following the protocol approved by the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, I first met directly with the superintendent of the suburban school district to explain the purpose of the research and answer questions in order to gain district support for the research. I then met with the school principal of a target school and an assistant superintendent in a similar manner in order to obtain school support. During this meeting, it was determined that the interviews would be planned for outside of instructional time (mornings, lunch and afterschool) and as such, the principal felt it was unnecessary to meet directly with staff although this was a step indicated in the ethics review. The principal then went through his school register of junior high school students and determined there were only nine visible minority students within the school. The nine students represented only 2.7% of their population. Due to such a low number, the principal determined that it was not necessary for public notification of the study which was also indicated in the ethics review. The nine students were invited to an informational session. At that time, I

determined that they all met the criteria for the study and spoke to them about the study and provided them with the letter of introduction, letter of consent, and first interview schedule (Appendices A, B, C, pp. 147-165). Of those nine students, six students returned their parental consent forms to the office indicating interest in participating in the study and parental consent for them to do so.

Schreier (2018) argued that a guideline for sample size in qualitative research is difficult to establish, and that data saturation is one criterion on which sample size should be selected. I initially aimed to create a sample size of approximately ten to twelve students as an estimated number to achieve saturation (Frank et al., 2010; Guest et al., 2006). With only six confirmed participants, it was determined that a second school should be included in the study. Another school within the suburban, medium population centre school district was approached in the same manner. The second school's participation was cleared through the superintendent and central administration team. The principal was also approached and agreed to have students from the school be invited to participate. After also going through the school's roster, only five visible minority students were located in the correct age range. This represented less than 1% of their school population. Because of the low population, the staff consultation and public notification were determined as unnecessary and I met with the five students. All five were determined to meet the criteria of the study, however none of the students returned their consent forms.

Due to the low recruitment rates, it was necessary to approach a second school district. In accordance with the ethics review, the superintendent of a rural school district was contacted and gave approval for the study to proceed. A school located in a small population centre within the rural district was approached with the information regarding the study and the principal agreed to host the study. A school coordinator checked the student register and located six visible minority students, once again representing less than 1% of their population. Notification of the staff and

general public was again deemed as unnecessary. The six students were provided with the information as well as the letter of invitation, letter of consent and the first interview schedule. Three of the six students returned their consent forms.

A total of nine participants were recruited for the study, six from the medium population centre and 3 from the small population centre. While ten to twelve was the originally identified number, locating and getting consent for this number of students proved to be more challenging than anticipated. Locations outside of large urban population centres appeared to have less ethnocultural diversity than expected, providing even more validation for the need for this research. Schreier (2018) indicated that sample size can be limited by external constraints; in this case visible minority population size was limited. "Purposeful sampling" (Schreier, 2018, p. 91 was used as a means to compensate and achieve "information richness" (Schreier, 2018, p. 92).

Data Collection

Within this case study, interviews, observations, and a survey measure was used to attain data at an ontic depth level, and to explain how positive personal ethnocultural identity was developed. Individual semi-structured interviews (Yin, 2009) were the chief data source (Appendix C, pp. 154-165). This method was selected because it allowed me to guide conversations that gave respondents opportunity to provide both fact and opinion about events in their lives that had influence on their ethnocultural identity development. Each respondent participated in four interview schedules so that there was opportunity for students to reflect on the conversations and more deeply understand their own ethnocultural identity, thereby providing greater depth to the data at each progressive interview session. The use of the interview as the main method of data collection provided targeted, insightful and rich data regarding student experiences within ethnocultural identity development.

Concerns associated with using interview data such as bias and reflexivity (Tellis, 1997) were reduced through the planning process (question development) as well as discussed with the students during each interview. They were regularly reminded that there were no wrong or right answers and that anything that they shared would be valid to the data collection process. After each interview, I specifically examined the possibility of student bias and reflexivity in a reflection journal that I wrote in. The reflection journal was also used as a means to record observations, overall impressions and thoughts on the interviews and respondents.

As a part of the first interview, students were asked to bring an artifact that they considered to be important. The purpose of this was to have the students come with something familiar to them in order to assist them to be more comfortable within the interview and to speak as freely as possible. It also served to be a starting point for discussion about themselves and things that are important to them. If students forgot to bring something, they were asked to think of something they might have brought in order to accomplish the same outcome. The students were left to talk spontaneously about their artifact but prompted with questions like “Why is it important to you?” “What feelings do you have about the object?” and/or “Is it linked to your personal identity?” if they were struggling to express descriptions and emotions about it.

As a final question to the first interview schedule, a student survey measure (Appendix D, pp. 162-165) was completed by the interviewees. An adaptation of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) created by Phinney (1992) was selected as it was designed to consider two factors of interest in my research: ethnic identity search which measured participation in knowledge-based components of ethnic identity development; and affirmation, belonging and commitment which measured levels of affective components of ethnocultural identity. Knowledge-based components included participation in research or activities associated with the students’ cultures. Affective components included emotions associated with the students’

cultures. The students responded to twelve statements on the MEIM using a four point scale (4 – strongly agree, 3 – agree, 2 – disagree, 1 – strongly disagree). Their scores were then averaged to provide them with an overall score out of four, representing strong (4) to weak (1) levels of ethnic identity search (five questions) or strong to weak levels of affirmation, belonging and commitment (seven questions). Using the MEIM assisted to learn about the ethnocultural background and practices perceived and occurring within the students' life and initial levels of ethnocultural identity status. Statistical data were not being sought. The information garnered from the questionnaire was intended to augment individual interview data, not as a conglomeration of data to be used for theory formation.

In addition to the MEIM, interview data were augmented with detailed observations of the students' non-verbal communication within the interviews. This was not a full body movement analysis based on the academic research of body language and movement experts (Bartenieff & Lewis, 1980; Masuda et. al., 2008) but rather it was a consideration of how the students' movement corresponded or did not correspond to their answers, as learned through professional development opportunities and professional practice in my role as an educator. On several occasions, what students stated did not match the body language being demonstrated. Recognition of these discrepancies allowed for questions to deviate from the interview schedule to delve more deeply into what perhaps the student truly experienced versus what was willingly shared. Due to leadership in the suburban school district not wanting to have disruption of the students' academic day, observations outside of the interview process as indicated in the ethic review (for example, during class time or in the hallways) were not completed. For consistency, this was carried on to the rural school district. To replace this, student were asked about their behaviour and how it varied between locations such as school and home, and with friends of the same culture versus friends of the dominant culture.

The interviews were tape-recorded rather than video-taped to reduce participant anxiety. I completed the transcriptions from the tape recordings for nine of the interviews with the first three interviewed students. As a novice researcher, the process of transcribing the interviews was extremely beneficial to hone my interview skills. I was able to improve on my tone of voice, the unnecessary additional commentaries, and the clarity of vocabulary I used in order to more precisely ask the questions. Personally transcribing also assisted with question prompting for subsequent interviews. After transcribing, missing information and queries for new information guided the process in successive interviews. Notwithstanding the productivity of transcribing, to ensure the expediency of transcription completion and more importantly the speed at which transcripts were being returned to the students, a professional transcriber was used for the later interviews.

Data Analysis

Throughout the qualitative data collection, a qualitative data code book (Appendix E, pp. 154-174) was established and the process of coding the transcripts began using the work of Saldaña (2013). Attribute coding (p. 69) was used first, mostly to categorize the information provided by the students during the first interviews. Information like the students' age, place of birth, ethnocultural background, parent background, and other demographic information was organized.

While attribute coding was useful to consolidate some of the collected student data, descriptive coding (p.87) was quickly added to explore the emotions that accompanied the participants' experiences and actions as they relayed inter- and intra-personal relationships and the effects of these relationships on their ethnocultural identity development. It also allowed for a categorization of the data based on the participants' attitudes, values and beliefs that they

described in regards to their relationships, their ethnocultural identity development and incidents of racism. Given that ethnocultural identity development was defined as inclusive of attitudes towards one's own ethnic group; a feeling of belonging and commitment to one's own ethnic group; and achieved rather than taught, the coding of emotions, attitudes, values and beliefs was an important first step of the data collection and analysis.

Structural coding (Saldaña, p.84) was then used specifically to look at the internal and external strategies being used by students in their ethnocultural identity development in keeping with the conceptual framework of the web of resistance. All strategies used by students within their ethnocultural identity development were first divided into either internal or external strategies. Examples of internal codes that were identified included listening, having emotional experiences, wondering about aspects of culture, and reflecting on experiences. External codes included practicing religion, eating cultural foods, counteracting racism, and use of cultural language (Appendix E, pp. 154-174). As a second stage to structural coding, the students' internal and external strategies were placed into specific categories found within the web of resistance (Rozas & Miller, 2009) or new ones were developed to expand the web. After the coding process was completed, the conceptual framework was used to understand the transferability and applicability of the web of resistance to the individual efforts of visible minority students developing personal ethnocultural identity.

To gain more ontic depth from the data, pattern coding (Saldaña, 2013) was applied during a second cycle of coding "to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from … (the) First Cycle codes" (p. 207). Six larger categories emerged to group the information arising from the student interviews: 1. Positive and negative emotional experiences; 2. Questioning; 3. Societal influences; 4. Family and friends; 5. Ethnocultural identity formation; and 6. Cultural knowledge. These categories were developed based on the

quantity of incidents within the collected data that were associated with these thematic headings. And while each of these themes could be associated with each of the students, the data lacked the stories of each student. As an example, all students were able to speak to the influence of family and friends but the data did not explain how each of their experiences varied. That is, the process of coding was not leading to a strong understanding of the transitive dimension of epistemology within each context.

As such, an additional analysis style called Sort and Sift, Think and Shift (Fryer et al., 2015; Maietta, 2006) was used to capture more emic meaning. This approach to data analysis encouraged a cyclical process of analyzing smaller pieces of data in a phase called “Diving In” and then a second phase of “Stepping Back” to review the data, reflect upon it and re-strategize how to move forward (Maietta, 2006, p. 8). All the interviews were reread. Quotes that contained fuller, deeper meaning that resonated with me were highlighted. These quotes were kept in their entirety rather than being broken down into small phrases or sets of words that represented a specific code. The quotes were able to carry a more precise meaning and maintain the ontic depth to represent the students’ narratives.

Each of the quotes, as a complete statement, was then recorded and a description was written to explain the relevance of the quote. Once the entire interview transcript was completed, the process of creating “episode profiles” (Maietta, 2006, p. 12) occurred, whereby all the quotes were narrowed down and diagramed to tell the ‘story’ of the interview. Then approximately five transcripts were combined to find the key common narratives within the whole. The essential meanings of each of the groups of transcripts was used to organize themes within the data in a more organic, rather than quantitative or linear way. In the process of combining the data, I was able to reflect upon all the episode profiles and better understand how the students’ experiences,

attitudes, feelings, and efforts connected and interacted with positive ethnocultural identity development.

I spent four months coding, and then another two months using the Sort and Sift; Think and Shift technique. This, together with interpretation for the development of themes occurred over eight months. The analysis of my data incorporated direct interpretation and categorical aggregation. Direct interpretation was used to analyze individual interviews and data associated with an individual, while categorical aggregation was used to pull together the data from all the interviews and sources of data. This assisted in finding unique meaning within discrete occurrences while finding comparable meaning through the repetition of occurrences. Through "particularization, not generalization" (Stake, 1995, p. 8), I was able to contribute to understanding personal positive ethnocultural identity construction and resilient resistance to institutional racism as an expression of positive ethnocultural identity.

Conclusion

Ethics approval was received June 10, 2015 and received renewal status on May 29, 2016, May 25, 2017, and May 8, 2018. The process for district and school permission was followed and data collection occurred between December 16, 2015 and November 15, 2016. Each student completed four interview schedules and received their transcripts. Establishing trustworthiness within the qualitative data and analysis included "member checking" (Stake, 1995, p. 115) to ensure all interview participants had the opportunity to review their data and ensure it was an accurate reflection of their experiences. Multiple points of data collection, "methodological triangulation" (Stake, 1995, p. 112), were also used in the forms of a student questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and observations. In the following chapter, I will introduce the interviewees and present the analyzed data in its triangulated and thematic form.

Chapter 4: Presentation of Findings

Introduction

In this chapter I present the analyzed data collected through the completion of four interview schedules, observations and questionnaire with each of the nine students. As the way in which the data were examined focused on ensuring the students' narratives were not lost amongst the masses of information, an important part of the findings presentation will be the first section of this chapter, which is dedicated to getting to know each of the participants. This is followed by the presentation of the four story lines that commonly appeared in each of the students' narratives. The use of the label "story lines" is purposeful as it describes the themes in relation to the data as narratives. Divergent themes are also explored within the presentation of the findings.

The Students (in first interview order)

Abeni.

At the time of her interviews, Abeni was a grade nine student, the daughter of a Nigerian father and South African mother. She identified her ethnocultural group as African and her ethnicity as Black. Abeni was born in South Africa, although she only lived there for about 18 months before moving to Canada. She had two younger siblings both born in Canada. She had light to medium brown skin and shorter afro-textured hair. Abeni did not choose a pseudonym for herself, so I chose the name of Abeni, meaning 'girl prayed for' in Yoruba, out of respect for her father's Nigerian roots and their Catholic family religion.

Throughout the interviews, Abeni answered quietly, in short phrases, and appeared to be

introverted and/or shy. She did not bring an artifact to share with me nor did she know what she would have brought had she remembered or wanted to do so. She repeatedly commented about being proud of her ethnic and cultural background; however, she could not tell me anything specific about her culture of which she was proud. She did not speak to any specific examples regarding her cultural practices but did talk about loving the beach and warm weather. This led to confusion about whether Abeni had actual knowledge about her African culture or whether she simply loved the topography of Africa. I did not gather any evidence suggesting that she had strong knowledge regarding her African culture, but I did sense she liked the feeling of being unique. It appeared that individuality was very important to her, which she then associated with being African.

Juliana.

Juliana was a biracial girl with light brown skin and brown/blond afro-textured hair. At the time of the interviews, she was in grade nine. Juliana selected her own pseudonym; it was a name she liked and would consider naming her own daughter. She identified her ethnocultural group as African-Canadian and identified her ethnicity as White, Black, and Zimbabwean. Juliana felt a strong bond with other visible minorities and people of the same cultural background, that being other Africans. However, Juliana indicated she was often mistaken as being Hispanic as she did indeed have a skin tone and facial features that resembled people of Hispanic background. Juliana expressed displeasure about being mistaken as Hispanic; she stated that she did not like it when people made this, or any other, judgement on her.

Juliana brought a picture of her immediate family to the first interview and spoke incredibly fondly of her entire family, especially her father's family in Africa. She identified her Gogo (paternal grandmother) as a person she clearly looked up to as a strong African role model.

Juliana was able to tell me a lot about her African culture particularly on the subjects of art, music and food. On the other hand, Juliana did not know much about her mother's side of the family. She knew they were of European background and said she thought her grandparents were of Russian and Irish descent.

Juliana was trying to find a balance between fitting in with the dominant White culture of where she was living without having to change her strong affiliation with Africa. She experienced some success at maintaining this balance due to the support of her parents who regularly spoke to her about and clearly taught her about many aspects of her African culture, including teaching her about a standard of beauty that excluded the constant straightening of her hair. But despite the support Juliana received, she did still struggle with feeling different from others and felt the need to find balance between being part African and living in a predominantly White community.

Jimmie.

Jimmie was a biracial girl with medium to light brown skin and brown afro-textured hair. Originally, she had given herself the self-selected pseudonym of Tapiwa meaning 'gift' in Shona but then changed it to Jimmie, a favorite movie character. She identified her ethnocultural group as African-Canadian and her ethnicity as Black and Canadian. She was Juliana's younger sister and was in grade seven at the time of the interviews. There was less than two years difference between them. They had no other siblings. Jimmie's skin tone was darker than that of Juliana's and her facial features were more African than Caucasian; Jimmie did not get mistaken as being Hispanic. Jimmie cited being darker than her sister on a few occasions during our interviews and always attached this statement to having a different school experience from her sister. By different, she meant negative.

Like Juliana, Jimmie also spoke very highly of her paternal family and physically got animated when speaking about her family and her African background. Jimmie brought a carved wooden turtle artifact to one of our interviews. She clearly treasured the carving as was seen in the way she gently handled it and felt its smooth edges. She spoke of it fondly and warmly described how it came to be in her possession at a flea market in Africa. She explicitly demonstrated her emotional thoughts through her actions. For example, Jimmie slouched and her tone of voice changed to a slower, quieter sound when she talked about being different. Jimmie recognized that she was different, not only in skin colour but energy level (high energy) and recognized that people did not necessarily like her because of these differences although she carefully tried not to indicate racism as a cause for people treating her differently. Like her sister, Jimmie did not appear to know about or reference the ethnocultural background of her maternal family.

Kevin.

Kevin Smith was a grade seven biracial male with a mother of European ancestry and a father, born in Kenya, raised in Rwanda. He identified his ethnocultural group as African and his ethnicity as Black and White. Kevin had medium brown skin and afro-textured hair. He selected his own pseudonym; his real name was more culturally based. Kevin considered himself to be short and athletic. He talked about his basketball as an artifact because it represented his love of the sport but also a link to his family as he enjoyed playing it with his older brother and father. He also stated that basketball was a way for him to reduce stress, citing a case of repeated racial harassment and going home afterwards to shoot hoops as a way to decompress.

Kevin appeared to speak about his family and culture with confidence and ease. However, when asked about his culture, he was not able to provide specific examples of what

Kenyan or Rwandese culture might entail. He was able to speak to the topography of the land and to some of the foods he tried when he visited. Kevin had the opportunity to participate in numerous cultural events but indicated he preferred to stay home to watch a good basketball game. Kevin loved basketball and said he was known as the sporty kid. He felt he fit in with his school peers because of his sports successes. When he talked about not needing to change in order to fit in, he referenced his confidence with sports and this positive connection with success in sports influenced his perception of his whole identity.

Angel.

Angel, who selected her own pseudonym as her real name means Angel in an African language, was Kevin's twin sister. She had light to medium brown skin and afro-textured hair in which she took great pride. She wore it in a natural style. The roots were naturally dark with the ends more blond. Angel identified her ethnocultural group as Rwandese and her ethnicity as Black and White. Angel and Kevin had different understandings about their mother's side of the family. Kevin indicated his maternal family was German and Polish while Angel stated Scottish. Both indicated that they did not practice any of their mother's family culture.

Angel explicitly presented her ethnocultural identity development in a linear fashion that bore resemblance to several of the other interviewees' narratives. She cited experiencing embarrassment as a youngster and dealing with these experiences by staying silent. Almost all the students spoke about an event in their childhood that silenced them and made them feel different and embarrassed. Angel then indicated she met Jimmie, they developed confidence together, gave each other support, and she became comfortable about her difference and then began to embrace it.

Maya.

Maya was a dynamic, energetic grade eight girl born in Canada to Nigerian parents. She identified her ethnocultural group as African-Canadian and her ethnicity as Black. She fondly used the term “going all African” in reference to herself and viewed this as being high energy, crazy and animatedly sharing her opinions with people. Maya did not bring an artifact to the interview; however when I asked she came up with the answer, “I'm wearing a totally authentic African shirt!” (Interview 1, January 6, 2016) which was a button up shirt with a collar and an African decorative pattern on it. She used the shirt as a point of reference regarding not needing to dress like the other students because she did not need to fit in. Of all the interviewed students, it was Maya who presented most externally confident about her ethnocultural background. Maya was able to talk about African music being a means of expressing her cultural self and also referenced Black activists who served as her mentors. She called all her African friends “cousins” and their parents “aunties and uncles”. These include Juliana, Jimmie, Angel, and Kevin.

Maya did experience negative, racist childhood experiences in elementary school. She went through a phase of needing to fit in with the dominant culture children around her. However, her constant connection with her culture and support from her mother, who was an active member of the local African community, helped her go through a phase of self-realization earlier (grade three or four) than perhaps other students. Coming to the understanding that fitting in did not help or change the way people acted toward her, helped her make a conscious decision to change her attitude and actions about being African.

Maya had selected the pseudonym ‘Cryptic Illusions’, a potential future pen name. While there was definitely an element of Maya’s vibrant personality in this pseudonym, I decided to use Maya which in Hindi is connected to the word ‘illusion’ but also to associate Maya, the

interviewee, to the great author and activist, Maya Angelou. In her interviews, Maya spoke about how she wrote lyrics and music that carried important meanings and how she aspired to become a lawyer in order to help people deal with unjust situations.

Aarif.

Aarif was a grade seven Pakistani boy with medium brown skin. He identified his ethnocultural group as Ismaili and his ethnicity as South Asian and West Asian. He spent a large amount of time during the interviews speaking to his religion and the practices of his religion and not specifically to Pakistani culture. His only reference to Pakistani culture was the use of Urdu at home although he did say he also ate Pakistani-based food at home. He was very knowledgeable about the Ismaili religion and therefore his ethnocultural identity descriptions were more based on religion than culture. While aspects of the Ismaili religion likely contain aspects of culture, Aarif was not able to distinguish between the two. Despite this conflation, Aarif's interviews provided insights into the way activities might be forced onto individuals, and how this might influence identity, religious or cultural, development. I gave Aarif his pseudonym, a relatively common Muslim name, meaning knowledgeable in Arabic.

Although Aarif seemed to not enjoy the thought of missing out on other more "Canadian" activities, he did indicate that he enjoy his time engaged in his religion. He also expressed comfort in being around others of the same background, likely more of a religious background than cultural background. He did express a love for his family and a joy in making them happy. The artifact that Aarif brought to share was a piece of pottery that he and his mother had painted. He expressed that the article reminded him of a great time with his mom and that he was proud of the artistic accomplishment. Now this artifact was being used to hold offerings brought back from their religious hall. Aarif had painted a religious symbol on its side.

Steven.

Steven was a grade seven Vietnamese boy, with one Chinese great grandparent, who appeared quite nervous about the interviews. He stumbled over his answers and repeatedly apologized for not immediately knowing what he should say. He presented himself as a very clean cut, humble young man, wearing a dressy sweater rather than a T-shirt or other typical teenager wear. Steven identified his ethnocultural group as Asian and his ethnicity as Chinese and South Asian. Steven selected his own pseudonym; his real name was Vietnamese in origin.

Though succinct in his responses, Steven provided ample information about his culture and home life. He could not speak about many particular explicit Vietnamese traditions or cultural practices that he and his family followed, although he did speak to some of the practices of Buddhism. Steven followed Buddhist tradition quite closely, once demonstrated when I came with TimBit snacks which he politely refused to eat due to the Buddhist vegan practice. Steven's family ran the local Vietnamese restaurant which consumed his parents' time and resulted in a lack of family interaction which Steven stated he desired. Yet, Steven indicated he felt a great deal of pressure to achieve and do well for his family despite a lack of family interaction. He did not make a connection to the hard work ethic of his parents and family expectations to do well and represent the family well as cultural practices.

Ao.

Ao (奥, Pinyin: Ào) was a grade seven student of full Chinese decent. She identified her ethnocultural group as Asian Chinese and her ethnicity as Chinese. Ao was a girl of few words, providing short, succinct answers and always trying to infuse humour. It was somewhat like she was trying to add shock value to everything she said. An example of this was her self-selected pseudonym of Email. This being an odd pseudonym, I have gone with Ao which could stand for

mysterious or profound in Mandarin. These words seem to match her demeanor and tone which was difficult to interpret.

Unlike the other participants, Ao verbalized an understanding of the day to day impact of being surrounded by White people, providing statements that indicated a grasp of White normalization. She wanted to stand out amongst her White friends, and made statements that indicated she harbored some negative emotions towards them. At the same time she also stated a preference to live in her predominantly White town rather than with extended family in Calgary even though she stated that she felt very comfortable with them, perhaps more so than within her home environment. She cited being Chinese and being different as being a good thing. However, she often spoke about difference using racist jokes and sarcasm. Ao could not share any expressions of her culture except through associating it to having "stuff" and getting money envelopes.

The Story Lines

In an attempt to find a more detailed understanding of how students were consciously or unconsciously choosing to cultivate their cultural diversity within existing societal structures, four key themes, or story lines, emerged from the data. The students' narratives all told stories of seeking and embracing a cultural knowledge base; accepting feelings of difference; dealing with stereotypes and racism; and bridging cultures and race. While these four distinct themes existed, none of these story lines occurred distinctly from each other; rather they continuously intersected and influenced one another. However, to better understand the data, I present each of the story lines separately and include discussion regarding their influences upon each other.

Seeking and embracing cultural knowledge.

All nine of the interviewed students had been exposed to aspects their ethnocultural background. Each was able to speak about aspects of their lives that allowed them to recognize there was a difference between the culture they experienced during their day to day lives at school versus when they were at home and/or amongst other members of their same ethnocultural grouping. This exposure to cultural knowledge was highly externally dependent, meaning that while students could find and obtain information on their own, this research demonstrated that the students depended on their families to introduce them to varying amounts of cultural ideologies and activities. From there, the students themselves had to choose to seek out and embrace the knowledge; that is, they needed to use their agency to learn more about and positively embrace their culture.

To assist in the initial data collection regarding the students' ethnocultural identity, a variation of Phinney's (1989) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was administered to the students (Appendix D, pp. 162-165). Five of the MEIM questions focused on asking the students about their own levels of involvement, or perhaps their own perception of their involvement, in learning about their ethnic identity. It was not about the level of parent involvement or exposure but about how the students thought about and used agency to engage in and internalize the knowledge that was available to them. The following table (Table l, p. 76) demonstrates the varying levels of personalized activity in the students' search for ethnocultural identity based on their own perceptions of their thoughts and actions.

While using the MEIM added a minor piece of quantitative data to this study, the story behind these numbers, uncovered through the student interviews, was far more revealing. Understanding the agency behind students choosing to accept and/or take advantage of the opportunities to gain cultural knowledge not only led to a better understanding of positive

ethnocultural identity development but also a better understanding of how students managed the remaining three story lines of accepting of feelings of difference, dealing with stereotypes and racism, and bridging cultures and race.

Table 1: Student MEIM Ethnocultural Identity Search Scores.

Student Name	Ethnocultural Identity Search Score /4
Kevin	1.6
Ao	1.8
Angel	2.6
Steven	2.6
Juliana	3.0
Abeni	3.2
Aarif	3.3
Jimmie	3.6
Maya	3.6

As a part of building positive ethnocultural identity, students demonstrated a wide variance within their cultural knowledge development: from simply listening to information, to active consideration and exploration of opportunities, to exuberant observance of traditions and enthusiastic participation in cultural activities. Some students indicated that they were willing to consume information about their ethnocultural background and there was consideration for why they were open to the information and/or for how this information might be integrated and internalized into their identity. Some students actively partook in experiential opportunities when the opportunities were provided to them, while others went further and sought out these activities themselves. The knowledge of or the desire to learn cultural languages was also a common

characteristic for students with positive ethnocultural identity.

As evidence of the variance in seeking and embracing cultural knowledge, Abeni liked to talk about her family in South Africa and indicated an interest in learning more about them and their culture. “I speak mostly English. I am in French Immersion. I want to learn Afrikaans and Yoruba …” (Interview 2, January 11, 2016). Abeni’s parents were both fluent in Afrikaans but had not taught Abeni. She, on the other hand, had not asked them to teach her despite stating she had a desire to learn it. Her desire to learn Afrikaans supported that she sought to learn more about her culture; however, she had not gotten to the point of using her agency to seek out this knowledge for herself. The same situation was evidenced with Kevin where he wanted to learn how to speak Swahili but did not ask his fluent father to teach him.

More engaged in seeking and embracing culture, some students were able to explicitly demonstrate that they possessed cultural knowledge and enacted it, but were not necessarily prepared to embrace it as a daily aspect of their lives. They were still in the process of considering its integration into their lives. A strong example of this was Aarif. While Aarif could not tell me anything specific about being Pakistani except for the fact that he spoke relatively fluent Urdu at home, he did have regular opportunities to explore aspects of his religion which likely intersected with his culture on many levels. Aarif traveled from a small population centre to a major city to formally partake in his religion; however, he did so with some resentment. Essentially his religious knowledge was being forced upon him. He did not appreciate missing out on being able to play soccer or watch sports with friends on the weekends, but the choice was not there. The entire family engaged in these regular trips as there were very few other Ismailis, if any, in town.

However, once Aarif arrived at their religious hall, he did happily engage in the activities. “It's sometimes frustrating because we … go like, three times a month to (name of

city) on the weekends … I don't really like going there, but um, when I go there it's actually a lot of fun" (Interview 1, November 14, 2016). Therefore, despite being forced to go, Aarif was able to make the choice to partake in and enjoy the activities. "When we go to the religious hall, it actually feels quite nice and peaceful … we sit on the ground and sing prayers. It's not just relaxing and peaceful when we're there … it does feel different" (Interview 1, November 14, 2016).

Aarif knew much about Ismaili life. He was able to answer in great detail all my curiosity questions about being Muslim and the varying Muslim religions, giving me a respectable religious lesson about the Prophet and the religious divide amongst the two main Muslim groups based on the beliefs centered on the Iman and the Caliph. He spoke about his prayers, Duhr, at home and at Jamaat Khana. Aarif was genuinely eager to share this information with me. But, all this information was in conflict with his day to day life, particularly at school where he did not speak about any of his religion or Asian based life. Therefore, despite Aarif's vast cultural and religious knowledge base that was well integrated into his weekend life, he was still considering its integration into his overall life.

Somewhat opposite to Aarif's situation, Steven was highly accepting of any cultural knowledge provided to him but did not have active opportunities and did not make the opportunities to explore his culture. "Since we live in such a small town, a lot of the things we need to do are in the city and we don't have ... the time to go there and do all the things we need to do for, like, my culture" (Interview 1, November 14, 2016). Part of what Steven did not know was that he had more exposure to his culture than he realized. He spoke fluent Vietnamese and knew some details about life in Vietnam; he carefully practiced Buddhism despite only rare interactions with other Buddhists; and most noticeably he spoke and demonstrated the tradition of family honour. Despite what Steven believed was a lack of cultural knowledge, he was proud

of being Vietnamese. “Even though I don't have much connection, it doesn't mean I can't be, like, positive about my race” (Interview 4, November 15, 2016). Steven did score lower on his MEIM ethnic identity search but his interviews demonstrated that this was more likely due to a lack of access than desire. That said, Steven did not personally pursue finding cultural knowledge through various sources like the internet. Nonetheless, Steven had insightful perceptions of the dominant environment around him and yet chose to maintain his cultural background.

Students who demonstrated strong levels of seeking and embracing their culture were active in trying to further deepen their cultural knowledge. This knowledge was then integrated into their identity, and aspects of their culture were deftly observed as a part of their daily lives. Here, the progression ranged from voluntary attendance and participation in cultural events to in-depth research about culture and societal influences. The distinguishing factor however was the ability for the students to speak not only about the tangible aspects of culture, but the feelings emoted from belonging to the culture. These students understood and could express what it meant to be from their culture.

The strongest example of this was Maya. She and her family had twice visited Africa, including her parents’ homeland of Nigeria, as well as Kenya for her aunt’s birthday. In addition to this, Maya’s mother was highly involved in a local Nigerian association, representing their Igbo culture. The entire family was involved in African dance and they spoke Igbo on a regular basis. Maya indicated that she had full comprehension of Igbo but experienced more difficulties when speaking it. She was able to explain the difference between “central” and “village” Igbo which she spoke. She also explained how Igbo was situated culturally and geographically within Yoruba, Agusa, and Swahili languages and regions. There was also some recounting of Christianity in Africa as well as traditional religions.

Maya understood that her ethnocultural identity included aspects of Black history and the

struggle for Black rights and freedoms. Much of this was based on the music her family listened to regularly:

> I like the African beat. Honestly, it's the one thing I like to listen to … It's like calling for freedom and liberty … I like music that has soul, not the superficial music we have nowadays … I like songs that tell me stories, like Nina Simone … because they were speaking of things that have happened. (Interview 1, January 6, 2016)

This motivated Maya and she wrote her own music based on her own life experiences and wanted her music to have a moral to it. But Maya's day to day life was also infused with other aspects of her ethnocultural identity without concern for the negative interpretations others might have on her. She referred to this as "going all African":

> I do act it, like I'm very proud of it … I go out on a lot of things, and sometimes it can make some people uncomfortable about some kinds of stuff, or sometimes I speak out my mind too much. But I have it (positive ethnocultural identity) because it just makes me feel like I'm bringing something out to people. (Interview 2, February 17, 2016)

Maya's agency to accept and gain an in-depth cultural knowledge base allowed her to engage in strategies to assist in her positive ethnocultural identity development. She reflected on her knowledge, personalized it, and wrote about it. Then her agency allowed this knowledge to expand to outwards whereby she talked about it, challenged others, interrupted racist jokes and set an example for others.

As stated in Chapter 1, ethnocultural identity was being researched from the perspective that it is a component of an individual's larger identity; inclusive of attitudes towards one's own ethnic group; a feeling of belonging and commitment to one's own ethnic group; and achieved rather than taught. With this in mind, having or not having cultural knowledge did not necessarily directly affect the development of positive ethnocultural identity. However, having or

not having cultural knowledge was a result of agency which affected attitudes and actions towards gaining that knowledge. Students with positive ethnocultural identity were still exploring and/or attempting to further understand how their cultural selves fit into their everyday lives, but they all commonly experienced cultural events and emotions which they positively accepted. This acceptance assisted to augment their journey towards a positive ethnocultural identity.

Divergent theme: Rejecting cultural knowledge.

All the interviewed students were subjected to some degree of forced knowledge when they were young however it was student agency that determined the overall continuum of acceptance and integration of the knowledge and the passion with which they shared that knowledge. Conversely, some students did not demonstrate that acceptance and in fact rejected this knowledge. As such, the divergent theme of rejecting cultural knowledge was observed in students who were not consistently demonstrating positive ethnocultural development.

Ao resisted the cultural knowledge to which she had access. First, she indicated that she was in fact proud of her cultural background. However, she was unable to provide specific examples of what she was proud. When asked about cultural practices that made her proud, she only indicated that she enjoyed being unique because she was the only Chinese girl in her peer group and school. When pressed to discuss actions and events beyond her physical appearance that demonstrated that she was Chinese, Ao spoke about the commonly known Chinese practice of receiving money in envelopes for special occasions, but focused on the monetary aspect of it and not the deep tradition behind it. She did not refer to it as a red envelope, lai see (Cantonese) or hongbao (Mandarin), but simply “money in an envelope”. Superficial markers such as good food and fantastic shopping were her only other references.

Language learning was also not a high priority. Ao indicated that both her parents were fluent in Cantonese and Mandarin and that she did have some knowledge of Cantonese language but only used it sometimes, preferring to communicate in English. She also stated that she had absolutely no desire to learn Mandarin even though her parents, and family in China, used it regularly. She expressed deep embarrassment for her mother's heavily accented English.

Ao had significant access to gaining cultural knowledge but chose not to engage in it directly. She had visited China three times, the most recent visit being within a year of the interviews. As she was questioned about her travel experiences, Ao demonstrated a low level of interest for the historical and cultural aspects of the trip. "Last year we went to the Great Wall, and stuff, but, and it was just really, really boring" (Interview 1, November 14, 2016). She complained about the pollution, being confused when visiting family because she did not understand Mandarin, and having to visit old places like a religious temple. The only time Ao demonstrated some animation about her travels was when she was once again talking about shopping in China.

Kevin was not clearly a divergent voice in seeking and embracing culture but demonstrated aspects of both accepting and rejecting cultural knowledge. At first Kevin indicated he participated in and enjoyed cultural encounters. "It's not really like usual for me because even though my dad is African, we aren't very cultural at home and so it's like different, but I find it really cool" (Interview 1, May 19, 2016). However, as the interviews progressed, he began to indicate that he did not want to always participate in them. "Sometimes they're fun but there have been a couple of times where they weren't fun, and I was like I don't know if I want to go. I don't know" (Interview 3, May 31, 2016). Kevin certainly did not appreciate being told to go to these events. "I have the responsibility of well, like, going to those parties that I talked about last time. My mom is always like, 'You should go. You should go'. And White people

don't usually have to go" (Interview 3, May 31, 2016). Instead, Kevin preferred to stay home and play basketball or watch basketball games on television. He did not present the same depth of disparagement that Ao did when she spoke about her experiences but he did use his agency in the same manner by sometimes refusing to participate in cultural activities.

Like Ao, Kevin stated he was proud of being part African but beyond speaking about and eating ostrich in Africa and liking the beat of African music, Kevin did not reference any cultural practices even regarding the most obvious ones of food, dance, and clothing. Rather, Kevin associated playing basketball with the opportunity to interact with his family and this was a great source of joy and pride. As for language, Kevin indicated interest in Swahili, but said he did not know any words. His sister, Angel, on the other hand indicated that she had learned some Swahili from her father and could understand some basic conversation. She also wanted to learn Kinyarwanda, her father's other language, which he only used when they were in Africa. Kevin made no mention of Kinyarwanda.

Some students indicated that they were proud of their ethnocultural background and even possessed a positive attitude towards the idea of being from a certain culture and ethnic group. However, if the pride and attitude were not supported by actions or the commitment to learn about their culture, then positive ethnocultural identity was not effectively developed because it was being based on something other than culture, such as feelings of uniqueness or other aspects of identity such as sports success. Having and accepting cultural knowledge was a stepping stone to achieving positive ethnocultural identity. Seeking or embracing the cultural knowledge, or for that matter rejecting it, was based on agency.

Accepting feelings of difference.

As the students engaged in the interviews and had opportunity to reflect on the questions,

the complexity of feelings and understanding of their ethnocultural differences resulted in a full range of emotional states and intellectual understandings. Many spoke about feeling more comfortable when they were with other people of the same culture and all the students made some sort of explicit reference to feeling awkward or unique because of their visible differences, most notably in their daily environment of school. Some students explicitly declared their difference while most spoke about how people treated them differently, and about the resulting feelings from being labeled as different based on the way they looked. A few students struggled to understand on what precisely their difference was focused; that is, were they being treated differently just because of their appearance or were there other reasons as well? Overall, it was not so much looking or being different that influenced the students' ethnocultural identity development; it was how they internalized the feelings that were evoked from this difference that influenced their positive ethnocultural identity development. Those that were able to accept their differences, and perhaps even celebrate their differences, were once again using their agency to positively build their ethnocultural identity. Some students used the agency in other ways to deal with their feelings of difference. The internalization of these feelings was then demonstrated by the students in three general categories of behaviour: the minimization of difference; the examination of why they were considered or felt different; and endorsement, including the explicit expression of being different.

"It wasn't a very big deal to me".

Seven out of the nine interviewed students demonstrated minimization of feeling different at some point during their interviews. This minimization occurred when students would make light of incidents that highlighted their differences, downplaying any emotions that might have been stirred. The most common example of this was when students talked about a racist

event in their past, such as name calling associated with skin colour. When asked about how such an incident made them feel, the interviewees would often respond with statements that excused the behaviour like, “It wasn’t a very big deal to me” (Kevin Interview 4, May 31, 2016) and attributed it to kids just being silly. Some of the students admitted that it was easier to dismiss the topic and feelings associated with the racist incident than to directly confront them. When questioned further, some students were able to expand their understandings and acceptance of feeling different. However two students continued to consistently demonstrate behaviours that underrated or avoided how they felt about being a visible minority.

When speaking about her culture, Ao talked about materialism, stereotypes about Asians, and engaging in exchanges of racist jokes with her White peers. In her second interview (November 14, 2016), Ao gave some insight to how she was internalizing her feelings of difference:

> Me: Do you feel it (Canadian multiculturalism) is a positive or a negative thing?
>
> Ao: Positive.
>
> Me: OK and why is that?
>
> Ao: Ah, it's, just like, I don't think about it as much, I guess, 'cuz there are lots of people with different cultures.
>
> Me: How about here in (name of town)? Because in Canada, in certain cities in particular, there are lots of different cultures, not here in (name of town).
>
> Ao: Well, like, when I'm in Calgary … I absolutely hate it there. It's like I'm used to being … in a small town. It's, like, mostly White people. In Calgary, there is, like … Indians. There's lots of Filipinos, Chinese, and it's like, there's, like, one White girl I hate so much. [laughs]. Yeah.
>
> Me: So you actually prefer smaller towns then, or the environment of a town?

Ao: Yeah, I like them better. I like being, sort of, unique, here. Yeah.

Ao indicated that she had positive feelings attached to her ethnocultural group but did not enjoy and avoided contact with them. She indicated feeling good about her cultural background but did not have any knowledge about it and did not engage in searching for knowledge. She did not present statements about positive aspects of being Chinese except to mention good Chinese food and that Chinese people make a lot of things. She chose not to share any aspects of her culture of which she was aware. When others pointed out her difference using racist jokes, she retorted with further racist jokes. Her responses to interview questions deflected off the topic of difference and she did not answer questions about how she felt except with curt answers such as, "OK" or "Fine". Ao also conflated her difference with being unique in that she was willing to be Chinese when it was associated with individuality but not if it required her to further engage in her culture. Ao admitted to being unique because she was Chinese and as such recognized that this made her different. However, being unique was the only difference that Ao positively expressed. She minimized any other differences and more significantly, she minimized her feelings of differences by avoiding or deflecting of the topic.

Kevin also demonstrated minimization of his feelings regarding difference; however, unlike Ao who demonstrated this as a generalized behaviour, Kevin tended to only demonstrate this during racist incidents when his differences were negatively pointed out to him. Kevin was able to express positive feelings towards his culture, despite having placed modest effort into his search for cultural knowledge. He did desire to return to Africa to see his family and experience more of the continent. When it came to participating in cultural activities in Canada, Kevin did not appreciate being forced to go but also did not minimize his feelings about this. However, whenever racist incidents occurred, usually when other students called him inappropriate names, Kevin was quick to indicate that these incidents did not bother him and he just ignored the other

students. However, Kevin also contradicted this by saying these occurrences made him angry but that he felt it was not a big enough deal to involve his parents. Involving his parents was something that Kevin wished to avoid given the number of times he repeated this. He was particularly concerned about his father, a police officer, being involved stating he could make things worse. As such, Kevin expressed both positive and negative feelings towards his culture and feelings of difference but minimized his feelings when it came to others pointing out his differences in a racist manner.

In some way, both Ao and Kevin were able to understand they were different because of their ethnocultural background and race. In some way, both were able to internalize these feelings as being positive, even if by only associating it with individuality. However, both students also chose to minimize their feelings of difference by not directly addressing the negative feelings they had but rather downplaying them, making light of them, or avoiding them altogether.

"Why are there so many types of Asians?"

Some students were actively engaged in the internalization and/or examination of feeling different. This internalization often involved recollecting past experiences when they were singled out as being different. It also involved interpreting feelings of isolation and attempting to incorporate both the feelings and experiences into their current perceptions of their ethnocultural identity.

As an example, Steven said he came across feelings of isolation regularly citing that there were not a lot of Asians with whom to identify in his town. He examined this and pondered the need for such specific cultural divisions. "Why are there are so many types of Asians? There's … Chinese, Indian … Russian, all the people in Asia. Like, why can't there just be one type?"

(Interview 3, November 15, 2016) However, his lamentations regarding a preference for a giant category of Asians did not change Steven's positive perception of his ethnocultural identity. "It (being Vietnamese) makes me feel good. It's something I can do and be proud of, that I just know … (what) all those people before me were learning" (Interview 3, November 15, 2016).

Despite proud feelings about being Vietnamese, Steven was still exploring his differences, particularly as they applied to balancing being Vietnamese living in a predominantly White community. This affected his daily interactions. "I have to act differently; I have to follow things, be different than what I am … like (with) Asians, you can get them on a different level, because they understand what's going on." (Interview 2, November 14, 2016). Steven, as well as other students, was able to verbalize that in order for them to balance feeling different, they needed to change the way they acted in specific environments.

In another example of examination of feeling different, Juliana stated, "I recognize that I'm different. I recognize that, like, everybody has different opinions … and I guess I think that it's OK" (Interview 3, February 10, 2016). She stated she was proud of her differences, visual or otherwise, but also stated that she was not yet willing to have her differences, beyond the visual, become a part of her daily interactions. This became further evident when Juliana expressed feelings associated with isolation that she felt were created by others rather than her situation. Juliana had her sister, Jimmy, as well as a small community of other African-Canadians with her at school and outside of school. Despite having more regular access to her culture and people of the same culture, Juliana's feelings around being a visible minority were associated with what she felt people perceived of her. "I try to stay positive … but … being kind of singled out and just assumptions made (based on visible difference) are kind of, like, kind of make me feel awkward … not that I am really looking for their acceptance … but … I just don't like feeling too, separated, I guess" (Interview 3, May 20, 2016). Juliana's examination of feeling different

did not leave her to feel she had to change herself in order to live in the dominant culture, but they were strong enough for her not to explicitly embrace her differences within her day to day life.

The process of examining feeling different resulted in very insightful comments from the interviewed students. Not only Steven and Juliana, but also Aarif, Abeni, Angel and Kevin were able to make statements that reflected they recognized that the dominant culture imposed judgment on them and that social success might require the modification and balance of their own culture. Student agency was necessary to achieve this depth of thought and would be required for students to overcome any hesitation in order to move from minimizing their feelings of difference to understanding and accepting these difficult feelings. Certainly the examination of why visible minority students are considered to be different or why they feel different is a necessary, important understanding for positive ethnocultural identity development.

"I'm different … I'm way different".

The endorsement of feeling different was clearly marked by students who were willing to not only accept their differences but positively identify with being different and explicitly express this pride. The behavioural result of this was that each of these students was willing to externally express aspects of their culture as a part of their daily lives. Three students who clearly demonstrated endorsement of their culture were Angel, Jimmie and Maya, all of whom described similar experiences as they grew to embrace their differences.

A major first step in this process was the acceptance of their physical differences. Angel loved her afro-textured hair, wearing it in volumous styles each time I interviewed her. "My hair is a big part of it ... I like to do different things with my hair but a lot of people notice my hair and everybody just loves my hair so I just love to … show people" (Interview 2, May 19, 2016).

Similarly Maya spoke about how everything about her is African, from her clothes to her hair (Interview 2, February 17, 2016). She then expressed, “I'm different ... I'm *way* different, and I have way different ideas, and I have different people who I adore.” Maya viewed this as being very positive.

Much like Maya, Jimmy spoke to her pride about her differences and surmised why she thought she had it and others did not:

> I think the reason I'm so proud about my culture is because I know a lot about it, and I love my culture and there's so many different experiences that I've had in there. And I think the reason why some people are negative about it is because they don't know that much about it. And I feel like if they looked deeper into it, they'd realize how cool their culture is and stuff, and then they'd realize that it's good to be your culture and that they should be proud of who they are. (Interview 2, February 3, 2016)

As a result of their positive conviction towards their differences, these students had enough confidence to explicitly act in instances when their differences were negatively pointed out to them. That is, their confidence allowed them to use their agency to act resiliently against racism. Angel verbalized the importance of standing up for herself and others. When the topic of repeated racial bullying came up, targeting her brother Kevin, she indicated, “I think it's better to address because people can grow up believing it's OK to do those things” (Interview 4, May 31, 2016). Angel stated that Kevin had been bullied on several occasions and she was the one who stood up for him. She also indicated that her older brother had been racially bullied, although not as much as Kevin, and that she stood up for him too even though he was older. Angel’s confidence in her ethnocultural background and her feelings of difference allowed her to act against others demonstrating negative behaviours towards her and her family’s cultural background.

Jimmie expressed that the feelings derived from being different had the potential to be positive or negative. Hence it was up to the individual to use their agency to choose how to use feelings of difference:

> Well, the negative comments, they could make you stronger because … you're like, "Yeah I'm different, but that's good because you're not like everyone else." … I feel like sometimes those negative things, they can make you feel worse. They could make you not want to show who you are ... so it depends on the person … I think that's why I feel so strong about it because when people you know … experience that kind of hard stuff, I think it kind of drives you to help other people … that makes you feel strong about it. (Interview 4, February 17, 2016)

Maya spoke about how she struggled through her ethnocultural identity journey to eventually use her agency to embrace her differences. As a younger child, she was one of only a few visible minority students in her school and did not have another visible minority classmate until grade four:

> I used to get in a lot of fights with some girls. There (were) some girls who would bully me because I looked at something or, like, I wore my hair … I was wearing these jumpsuits. I was like, "Mom, I don't want to wear this. Let me wear jeans!" … I was kind of the oddball kid because when I was, I was the only African kid ... I was always that kid who sharpened pencils instead of playing games. But then I realized that fitting in doesn't help you at all and also it's just not right. It's just good to be yourself. And then I started to change that attitude and stuff … I met my best friend (of African culture). She came in fourth grade, and I found out that there's someone who actually understands what I like, so then I kind of stopped trying to fit in. (Interview 1, February 17, 2016)

Maya's negative personal experiences from being different ultimately resulted in positive

feelings towards her difference and her ethnocultural background and identity. While this was likely in part due to her parents' influence and their strong involvement in African cultural activities throughout the local region, it was also due to Maya finding someone else in school with whom she could share her African background. This day to day, child to child, sharing of culture assisted Maya to understand that she was in fact different from everyone and gave her the extra support she needed to choose to accept her differences. As her choices from elementary school developed, changing herself and assimilating deeply into the dominant culture was no longer an option for her. In her fourth interview (May 20, 2016), Maya verbalized her desire to remain different. "What utterly scares me is … being like everyone else. I think it's … not being myself that scares me, that changing myself for something else, it scares me that I might do that".

How the students internalized feeling different varied greatly. In one student's case, she indicated joy in being different but difference as related to individuality rather than culture or race. For some students, being different caused confusion due a combination of positive and negative feelings. Because their cultures were not being denied but their differences were not being fully accepted, these contradictory experiences left their feelings of difference unresolved. However, even students who minimized feelings of difference verbalized the appreciation of being unique and therefore there was some sense of positive identity being experienced. Those who chose to openly participate in being different, were able to enjoy positive cultural experiences but were also able to build strength from negative experiences. As such, feeling different was to be appreciated and celebrated. These students also consistently engaged in acting against situations of racism. Despite the largely varying ways in which each of the students experienced and in particularly internalized feelings of difference, it was the commonality of feeling different that further contributed to the discussion of how these students were consciously

or unconsciously choosing to develop their cultural diversity within existing societal structures. Feeling different was a common fact for all of them and therefore was an experience that they all needed to internalize.

Dealing with stereotypes and racism.

The previous story line of accepting feelings of difference and this story line of dealing with stereotypes and racism were not fully distinct from each other. In fact, feelings of difference generally resulted not only from being visually different but also from the attitudes and stereotypes that others placed upon the students. However, the two themes were categorized as two distinct story lines due to the way in which students chose to deal with each situation. Because dealing with feelings of difference was personalized and specific to them, students needed to internalize their feelings and only some students were able to accept and act out their differences in their daily lives. However, when speaking about dealing with stereotypes and racism, the students were far more willing to be active in proving stereotypes wrong. This was due to the students' ability to recognize that stereotypes were not directed specifically at them as individuals but to their ethnocultural group as a whole.

Students easily listed off stereotypes for their own cultures and the cultures of others without being solicited:

"Asians can't drive." (Steven, Interview 4, November 15, 2016)

"Asians can't play sports." (Steven, Interview 4, November 15, 2016)

"Muslims are all terrorists." (Juliana, Interview 4, February 10, 2016)

"Black women should just stay home and have kids." (Juliana, Interview 4, February 10, 2016)

"Pakistani people are … stubborn." (Aarif, Interview 3, November 15, 2016)

"White people can't eat spicy food." (Ao, Interview 1, November 14, 2016)

"All Black people are bad people." (Kevin, Interview 4, May 31, 2016)

Examples and conversation about stereotypes usually came forward when the students were asked about discrimination, as they generally associated discrimination with racist micro-aggressions and people having stereotypes of them. No students connected stereotyping to racism and examples of racism, particularly institutional racism. However, stereotypes were a topic of conversation throughout many various parts of all the interviews. Their actions to prove stereotypes wrong ranged from ignoring and deflecting the stereotypes to acting and speaking out against them.

Deflecting and ignoring stereotypes did not represent that the students were indifferent to racism. Nor did it represent less effort being placed into actions and reactions towards those enacting the stereotypes. As an example of this, Ao dealt with stereotypes and other racist incidences by deflection through the use of negative cultural interactions. She provided an equal reaction to her perpetrators, defaulting to her use of sarcasm and racist jokes. "They say the Asian jokes. I say the White ones, 'cuz you know, they're White, so yeah" (Interview 1, November 14, 2016). Ao described these racist joke interactions as being fun between friends. Despite her cursory use of humour to deflect racist situations, Ao demonstrated that her understanding of racism was hardly superficial. "It's (being a visible minority) kind of awkward … like … I'm invisible dude, I belong here … it's weird that people actually think they came from here" (Interview 3, November 15, 2016). The "I" in the previous sentence was in reference to White people providing the norm against which minorities were compared. Similarly, when discussing the sharing of culture, Ao indicated that she shared food and racist jokes with her White friends and when asked if her friends shared their culture with her, Ao emphatically responded, "Every day, every damn day" (Interview 1, November 14, 2016). Without necessarily being able to fully explain it, what Ao was describing was the normalization of White culture.

White people belonged; she was different. Ao then used an equal level of retaliation to racism against her. “Make your own comebacks, so they make them, so you can make some too” (Interview 4, November 15, 2016). Her choice to perpetuate racism with racism aligned with her denial of cultural knowledge. There was no need for Ao to seek out knowledge about her culture if she did not need to use it in order to deal with racist situations. She also did not need to attain knowledge in order to affiliate with other Asians if there were no other Asians around. Ao’s response to racism then, did not demonstrate any indifference; she was in fact, quite active in her response. Also, the fact that she had an understanding of the assimilative powers being enacted on her showed that she had thought about her situation as a visible minority person living within a White dominant society. Her depth of thought, however, had not translated into a desire to education people about racism. Nonetheless, she was verbal and active in her retaliation and doing so gave her a sense of satisfaction, demonstrated through the smile on her face and the upright, confident body posture she assumed whenever she referenced racist jokes. She also linked racist jokes to being proud of being Chinese suggesting that she felt she had done something to counteract dominant behaviour and build her confidence in herself and her ethnocultural identity.

Another example of the use of deflection in response to dealing with stereotypes and racism was the downplaying and ignoring of micro-aggressions. Kevin’s narrative was most pronounced in this case. Kevin indicated that he had been called names and harassed several different times in several different situations by different people. In one of his most recent experiences, Kevin was targeted on a daily basis at the school bus transfer station. For what was described as “in the middle of the year until the end” (Interview 4, May 31, 2016), a larger White boy would walk up to Kevin, follow him around, calling him a “nigger” repeatedly. Kevin chose not to say anything to school or bus officials. He never discussed the situation with his parents.

"Like if I told my dad, I think he would have made a big deal about it but it wasn't a very big deal to me. Sometimes I would be like why is he doing this, like he never really bothered me to the point that I needed to tell my parents. Honestly I just ignored him" (Interview 4, May 31, 2016). And yet Kevin indicated that the situation made him angry. "In the first month I was angry and then I was just kind of like I know what's coming, just stay away from him, ignore him and avoid him". The repeated harassment ended when one of his friends stood up for him:

> I was hanging out with my friends at the transfer and I walk with my friends a lot and one of my friends … was like, "Don't say that to him, like that's really rude and really racist". I was like, "Thanks". He was like, "Yeah, it bothers me too". He's Pakistani, so being racist, he hates it. I think that's when that guy kind of stopped. (Interview 3, May 31, 2016)

This situation was representative of other incidents Kevin described whereby he chose to act on racism by ignoring it. Part of the reason for this was that Kevin equated talking back to others as being mean or racist too and any physical action, or even verbal action, would have been in direct contradiction to his father's advice to ignore and walk away from situations. Kevin emphasized the need to have peaceful resolutions. As such, he stated that racist incidents were not a big deal and did not allow himself to take action even though others around him, including his sister Angel, would do so. Therefore, Kevin's response to racism was to downplay and ignore it. This could be easily construed as a passive effort against stereotyping or racism, however, Kevin was making an active choice and viewed keeping the peace and following his father's instructions as most important. By doing this, Kevin felt he was making a responsible decision in regards to maintaining peer relationships, representing his culture and building his ethnocultural identity.

At first it also appeared that Jimmie passively reacted to stereotyping and racism. Jimmie

dealt with stereotypes by simply ignoring them. However, upon further conversation, Jimmie was able to indicate that she was choosing to ignore it based on the conscious internalization of her situation rather than to downplay its severity. “I never feel pressure, like I have to act this certain way just because I'm Black … I feel like the way I'm acting is good and that I don't have to do certain stuff” (Interview 3, February 3, 2016). Jimmie simply felt she did not need to bother to counteract stereotypes. This sense was highly attached to Jimmie’s confidence in her ethnocultural background. “When I think about being Black, I don't think of it being as a label or anything … I don't even worry about my skin color because I feel comfortable about my skin color” (Interview 3, February 3, 2016).

That said, Jimmie recognized the need to explicitly deal with racism although she had not already enacted this:

> I think I would say something because I have experienced it before and I didn't say something, and then afterward, it almost feels like they won. Then it's like they tore you down and they're just going to walk around like everything is OK and stuff, even though they just really offended you. I feel like they should know that they really just offended you right there ... so I think you need to say something ... if they know, then maybe next time they'd be more smart with their choosing of words. (Interview 4, February 17, 2016)

Jimmie was not assertive in dealing explicitly with racism but based on her descriptions of her actions, it seemed she practiced active strategies. Her empathetic nature was both a strong part of external resistance and internal ethnocultural identity development. “(I)t drives you to help other people who are in the same situations because … you feel pain when other people in your life experience that kind of stuff, … so that makes you feel strong about it”.

Despite Abeni’s lack of cultural knowledge, her desire to have a strong ethnocultural identity led her to feel a great amount of responsibility to represent all African people. She

readily admitted that as a visible minority she wanted to ensure that she represented all Black people well. She also felt affinity towards other visible minorities over the majority population and wanted to represent them well too. In discussing discrimination and racism, Abeni shared an incident in school where her teacher spoke about a trip she took to Atlanta. Over several school days, the class spoke about how the schools were populated by mostly Black students and had to have security at the doors and barbwire fencing around the perimeter. They also spoke about the many pregnant teenagers and the overall negative environment where these students lived. Abeni was offended by the discussions but did not approach her teacher or anyone else about the incident. Abeni did not act for fear of repercussions and her sense of responsibility to be good. “I have to act nicely, dress nicely, do good in school, stuff like that (otherwise) people would think badly of all Africans and they would just think that every Black person is like that” (Interview 3, January 18, 2016). Abeni’s deep sense of responsibility to counteract stereotypes was proportional to her desire to have others think well of Africans. She was actively trying to properly represent all Black people while also thinking about ways to be able to address situations, whether they were micro-aggressions specifically against her or grander racist incidents supported by institutional racism. Therefore, despite the appearance of inaction, Abeni stated that she was active in counteracting stereotypes. This gave her a sense that she was attempting to support and build her ethnocultural identity development.

Somewhat like Abeni, Juliana was zealously against stereotypes. She did not appreciate any assumptions made against her whether it was in regard to looking Hispanic or any other characteristic:

> It’s like I’m a bug under a microscope and they, I don’t know, it’s like they don’t really know what’s going on, but they’re still trying to dig and feel like they know me already. But they don’t. I guess, like, some people, when they look at you, they see who you are

> and possibly where you're from, and they start making assumptions. (Interview 3, February 10, 2016)

This led Juliana to feel pressure to prove the stereotypes wrong:

> There's lots of stereotypes, you know, around one person, so I feel like sometimes it's our responsibility to kind of prove society wrong … Not all of them are true. I mean, some, like, obviously the stereotype was formed somehow … there might be some truth to it, but I feel like if you don't really agree with it, then it's kind of your responsibility to kind of prove society wrong" (Interview 3, February 10, 2016).

Despite Juliana's irritated response about having assumptions made about her, addressing racism was linked to what Juliana consistently referred to as a "gray area", an uncertainty about how to balance her thoughts and actions. She indicated she was still searching for answers and trying to figure out how to explicitly deal with racism while still being able to represent herself well and maintain positive relationships. Part of Juliana's confusion was that she did have a sense of the "colour distinction", as described by Gandhi (Singh, 2007), although she did not necessarily care to openly speak to or admit this. She did indicate that her sister likely had different experiences than her due to her darker skin, in essence acknowledging that darker skin was less advantageous for Jimmie. However she did not outrightly state this or perhaps did not know how to state this without being offensive to her sister and other family members. Therefore, Juliana, like many of the other students continued to develop their ethnocultural identity through the internalization stereotypes and racism.

Like the others, Maya felt a great deal of pressure to succeed in proving stereotypes wrong. She felt she needed to act appropriately at all times, particularly academically. "I feel like if I don't work and I'm put as the lower graded kid, it sometimes reflects on all African people. I just feel it, the pressure" (Interview 3, May 20, 2016). Proving stereotypes wrong was one means

by which Maya continued to develop and demonstrated her positive ethnocultural identity.

> I think as an African, it (positive ethnocultural identity) can assist me with showing people that not everyone's the same, and not everyone's like this person or like that person. I also think it can extend to show people the world is different, and they should open their eyes to see it instead of just seeing that one hitting stereotype where they show that this person is like this person. (Interview 4, May 20, 2016)

This understanding helped Maya to move beyond dealing with micro-aggressions. She was the only student to be able to explicitly speak to macro-aggressions, the “vertical mosaic” (John Porter, 1965) or the “colour distinction” (Gandhi, in Singh, 2007) where she placed First Nations people lower than Africans and Asian people higher than Africans. She indicated that Asians were clearly considered to be intellectually more capable particularly in the areas of math and science. First Nations people on the other hand were “always up to get the bad things” (Interview 3, May 20, 2016). Maya spoke about how people judged First Nations people using incomplete information, not understanding their perspective on current and historical issues.

Maya was also the only student who indicated that stereotyping could be advantageous, again citing that Asians might do better in school because people expect them to do well. She was also the only student to knowingly provide a specific example of institutional racism, understanding that it was a higher level of racism than her other experiences. Maya spoke about how her social textbook had some information about the United Empire Loyalists. Curious to find out more information about the Loyalists, Maya did some personal research discovering that the Loyalists had brought slaves to Canada and supported slavery. Maya indicated she was shocked to discover this information that was not included as a part of Canadian history in her textbook and that this type of omission was “kind of messing up our beliefs” (Interview 4, May 20, 2016). Maya indicated that occurrences like this made her want to become a lawyer; she

wished to help others who might struggle because of negative beliefs that might exist to hinder people.

Maya dealt with racism using explicit action. “I will call them out very much, visibly call them out so everyone knows because when people don't know, they continue to do it as well. So I don't really act like I attack them or anything. I calmly, passively, aggressively get at them ... I caution them” (Interview 4, May 20, 2016). While she was contradictory with her words in describing how she addressed others, Maya provided examples of how she lectured people on the historical meaning for “nigger” and expressed her annoyance of the use of this word from people without that historical knowledge. Given Maya’s outgoing but friendly personality, she was likely quite assertive but not necessarily passive or aggressive in her encounters.

Steven did present some similar but also some unique aspects to his narrative. Steven, like the others, also felt a need to prove stereotypes wrong:

> You're proving, you're trying to make your parents proud, so like doing well in school … representing a visible minority there or, out somewhere in public … one person could make, it's a big difference on your opinion and the next person that comes along, like same minority as you, you influence what others think. (Interview 3, November 15, 2016)

Steven took his sense of duty not only to his family but to representing all Vietnamese and even all Asian people very seriously. Even within the interviews, Steven constantly apologized when he felt he was not representing himself well, whether it was because he felt he was unclear in what he was saying or having me wait as he walked from his classroom.

Most interesting though, was that Steven was the only student to readily admit he carried his own stereotypes about others. There were clear indications throughout his interviews that he placed the greatest trust in other people of Asian descent, citing on a few occasions that it was easier to relate to other Asians because they held the same values, this not limited to only

Vietnamese people or people who practiced Buddhism. There were several moments during the interviews where we laughed when we spoke about Asian people. He always pointed out that there was a deeper understanding that we shared. He also provided a forthright example of his own judgments of other people and cultures. “A person, a Black woman, could ask me (to use my) phone. I might have said yes or no. But if it was an Asian, I might have said yes ... because I know what they're going through” (Interview 3, November 15, 2016). This disclosure demonstrated Steven’s strong understanding of his own actions and experiences within his empirical domain. While he did not name it, it was an admission that he too had stereotypic ideas of others and was therefore also acting in a racist manner. He clearly had pride in his own culture, but also gave indications of greater trust towards people of his own culture as well. His positive ethnocultural identity then was based in a sense of ethnocentrism and racism; he believed the stereotypic knowledge of other cultures which raised his own culture above theirs.

One final aspect in the story line of dealing with stereotyping and racism was the common belief held by the students about the positive nature of Canadian multiculturalism:

> I think it's kind of a good thing because then you don't really think of Canada as one culture … There's this festival in Edmonton. We go every summer. It's called Heritage Days, and there's just a whole bunch of heritage tents … it's really interesting to see what they do and what they eat, and I think that's really cool, so to me, it's like everybody's accepted. (Jimmie, Interview 2, February 3, 2016)

Jimmie’s response was representative of the students’ overall impressions of Canada. They believed and conveyed the stereotype for Canada in that the country readily accepted people of all cultures and only had cause to celebrate its diversity. Even Ao, with her deepened sense of frustration with White normalization, indicated that Canadian multiculturalism was good because people could practice many cultures. The affirmation by all the students that Canadian

multiculturalism was positive also allowed them to view their diversity as good there hence contributing to their positive ethnocultural identity development. However this was a representation of what others thought the students should believe. It was not what they consciously truly believed.

Dealing with stereotypes and racism involved not only conscious and purposeful examination of stereotypes and racism but also purposeful action. While these purposeful actions were demonstrated in a large variety of ways, each of the students believed that their response was the correct way to deal with stereotyping, particularly in regards to proving stereotypes wrong. While some of the actions may seem counterintuitive to actually being effective in combating racism, such as ignoring or using racist jokes, the students as a whole were not concerned about enacting resilient resistance but rather counteracting stereotypes while maintaining positive peer relationships. The combination of being active in their attempts to counteract stereotypes and racism while maintaining peer relationships created a complex situation for the students to navigate which then contributed to their ethnocultural identity development.

Bridging cultures and race.

All the interviewed students in variant forms expressed the need to find a sense of balance between their race and minority culture and living within predominantly White communities. Those students who demonstrated strong ethnocultural identities in the other story lines had already gone through periods of trying to fit in while maintaining their cultural practices, while those students who did not demonstrate as strongly formed ethnocultural identities were still in the process of figuring out how to culturally represent themselves while successfully navigating the dominate culture. For all the students, escaping the necessity of

having to find balance between two cultures was made impossible by their race.

For Abeni, home was not filled with African tradition and culture. Both her parents grew up in urban centres in Africa and her father had gone to medical school in South Africa. Given South Africa's long history of European colonization, Abeni's parents were likely exposed to western customs and ideology long before coming to Canada. As such, her family had assumed a level of assimilation and Abeni did not explicitly speak to straddling two cultures. Abeni still did have experiences with straddling, not so much culture, but colour. Despite essentially being culturally very similar to her White friends, Abeni remained different based on her race. As a visible minority, Abeni struggled with fitting in simply because she did not look the same. She spoke about how fitting in was important to her and that she wanted to have straight hair like the White girls around her. She wanted to be proud, but she struggled:

> I am proud of being who I am but sometimes it really isn't a good thing to be the only visible minority in my class … There are times where I feel really bad, but I cope. Being Black I do often feel nervous for what people think of me. Sometimes I think that I'm not pretty enough or that I don't fit in." (Email interaction, March 10, 2017)

Despite being well assimilated into her majority environment, Abeni had not chosen to ignore or dismiss her culture. She could not do so because her colour would not allow for it. But she also consciously chose not to ignore being Black, engaging in trying to find further understanding and security in her ethnocultural identity. It was a difficult struggle for Abeni; one made further difficult by the fact that she did so individually without seeking assistance from others. She only engaged in conversations about race, culture or racism with her family on rare occasions and did not have a strong cohort of same race friends.

Steven presented the most candid conversation regarding finding balance between two cultures. His struggle to balance Canadian and Vietnamese culture was based in the fact that his

immediate family had quite strict Vietnamese norms particularly related to work ethic and family honour. This in contrast to Canadian norms and the fact Steven felt that Canadian families spent more time together.

> Whenever I go to a friend's house, their parents are always around. And ... they actually interact ... and I just feel like, uh, something I don't really get. But ... I know my parents absolutely, like absolutely love me. I don't need to worry about that. Whenever I ... want to go somewhere to, like, hangout or play (with friends), I always hear (my friends say) ... "oh, I'm sorry. I'm doing family stuff." And I'm just like, oh, there's a big difference. (Interview 1, November 14, 2016)

This left Steven trying to straddle his humble and work-oriented family lifestyle versus a lifestyle he indicated he desired where his family would have more time to spend with him. He was an introvert as well and struggled with enjoying a calm, quiet home life versus having to be more forthright and extrovert when in the company of his White friends.

This presented a second aspect of bridging cultures that Steven explicitly verbalized that other students did not; in order to not only fit in, but to be socially successful in Canadian society, he had to submit to personal cultural change. “(I)f I had to put it into words, I guess I would say here I have to act more … adventurous, more exciting, … because I feel like if I was just myself, I wouldn't be … I wouldn't have as many friends …” (Interview 1, November 14, 2016). As one of the final questions in the interview sets, the students were all asked what advice they might provide to other visible minority students. All the students in essence said, do not change; be yourself. Steven recognized and verbalized that, “of course you've got to change yourself to fit in … you're gonna have to follow a few rules … to make yourself, like, more … likeable, and better too, without getting … hurt” (Interview 4, November 15, 2016). This demonstrated Steven’s realistic perception of race and culture. Therefore, Steven achieved a

degree of balance in bridging his two cultures but continued to search for balance between assimilation into the dominant culture and maintenance of his Vietnamese cultural self.

With all her strong demonstrations of ethnocultural identity, Maya was not concerned about how to bridge being African and being Canadian. She had already gone through a period of trying to fit in and in the process chose to maintain her African culture. When confronted with situations that pit the two cultures against each other, Maya had no issue standing up for her culture, judging each situation individually in order to find the best appropriate response. She displayed confidence with demonstrating and defending her culture in the mainstream. One of the greatest differences between Maya's experiences and the experiences of the other students was the amount of time in which she engaged in not only learning about her culture but also speaking to her parents about it. Her parents were highly involved in the African community and engaged Maya in conversation about cultural practices, history and racism.

Ao's struggle between two cultures was apparent from her first interview. She verbalized pride for her culture but on many occasions approached her culture with embarrassment and hostility. Much of what she explicitly stated indicated negativity towards being Chinese. She felt deep shame when she listened to her mother speak in broken English in public. She participated in racist jokes, both in not refuting them and perpetrating them. She stated she preferred to live in White communities. She indicated she had a strong ethnocultural identity but knew very little about Chinese culture and was not interested in researching information to counteract negative stereotypes or to build her knowledge or sense of culture. On the other hand, Ao presented evidence that she had an understanding of White dominance. Some of her statements supported a distain for the daily normalization of White culture. Despite this, she practiced assimilation in her attempt to bridge the two cultures. This paradox of rejecting White dominance but preferring to live within it is not clearly explained or understood from Ao's interviews. However, Ao

clearly made conscious choices regarding some of her actions and some of her actions were also made unconsciously. Ao likely did not fully understand the depth of White dominance or fully internalize the knowledge she had and as such defaulted to the dominant culture and assimilation, not recognizing the contradictory nature of her choices.

All four of the biracial students (Juliana, Jimmy, Angel, and Kevin) specifically and explicitly brought up the topic of finding balance between their two cultures. However, that was where their commonality of being biracial ended. The fact that the four students were two sibling sets, and each set of siblings was obviously exposed to similar environments, the four students had different stories to tell and internalized their situations uniquely. The students' agency then created a great range in their understandings of bridging cultures and race.

Juliana and Jimmie's mother met their father in Africa. The sisters both indicated that their mom absolutely loved Africa and had greatly encouraged the girls to explore their African background. In the meantime, the family's maternal European background was negated and the sisters both indicated they did not know much, if anything, about their European culture. The balance for Juliana and Jimmie was not about balancing a paternal family background and a maternal family background, but a minority culture within a majority culture. Juliana verbalized it this way. "This side is Canada, this side is Africa, and these are my legs and one foot's here and one foot's here" (Interview 2, February 10, 2016). There was no mention of a European side. This straddle was perplexing to Juliana because there was purposeful effort being made to learn about their African roots; minimal effort required regarding the Canadian side; and no attention paid at all to the family's European heritage. Her African culture was clearly considered different and thus had to be managed and thoughtfully presented within the Canadian context. Juliana also felt there were situations where she had to choose, that is, use her agency, to be Canadian over African. This pushed her back into her "gray zone" where she tried to logic out how to fit with

her white friends without negating her African culture. Juliana was still very proud of her African ethnocultural background and did state that she was fortunate to be able to have both connections. As such, despite feeling the pressure to assimilate and sometimes choose to act more Canadian, Juliana was able to often demonstrate positive ethnocultural identity. This did however leave her working towards finding harmony between the two. Despite receiving vast amounts of knowledge and encouragement from her parents to develop her ethnocultural identity, Juliana worked through finding balance between the two cultures on her own.

Jimmie also spoke about balance between being African and being Canadian. However, because Jimmie had already used her agency to admit that she was different and that people did not necessarily like her because she was different, she no longer spent time thinking about how she fit in. She had already come to the realization that she did not fit in and had come to terms with this. Therefore, Jimmie did not feel the need to find balance. She did not care if her favorite African food smelled weird, she would still eat it at school. Jimmie even theorized why some people struggled. “I have my family here, my family in Africa, and those are both a part of my identity … I feel like I'm accepted in both places … I can understand why some people only say one of their sides because they're ashamed of the other side or maybe they're not proud of it” (Interview 3, Feburary 17, 2016).

Angel and Kevin’s mother was of a European background, to which they both named different countries, and their father was from Africa. However, their home was not regularly infused with African culture so the degree to which they assimilated was somewhat pre-determined by their parents. Both Angel and Kevin had indicated that they felt more Canadian than African. However, Angel felt like she was caught between two cultures in that she associated culture with the way in which her parents raised her. “Growing up, like personally me growing up with a white mom and an African dad was really hard because like the cultures are so

much more different and especially as a teenager, that's hard" (Interview 2, May 19, 2016). Angel indicated that her mom was more lenient and engaged, while her dad was very strict with high expectations. While this was difficult to determine as being cultural versus personality based, it would not be abnormal for the immigrant parent to have high expectations regarding educational and behavioural outcomes. Angel certainly felt that the way in which her mother raised her was more in line with how her White friends were being raised and she indicated that her mother also saw a cultural difference in the way her father raised the family. As such, despite Angel's use of agency to develop strong ethnocultural identity in the previous story lines, she was not able to use her agency to view her father's parental expectations as positive. Hence she experienced difficulty straddling the parental expectations of two cultures, viewing the minority culture expectations as being less affable.

Kevin questioned his parents about being biracial and how people reacted to their mixed race marriage. Some of his younger cousins and his friends had asked him questions about this which brought him to question it. Kevin indicated that it was confusing having two different cultures but only having to actually do activities associated with being African. This was already apparent when he expressed antagonism towards having to go to African parties. It was also evident given his contradictory information about the African parties first being "really cool" (Interview 1, May 19, 2016) because of the cultural food and dancing, and then being not fun because he did not do the dancing and preferred to stay home to play or watch basketball (Interview 2, May 31, 2016). This left Kevin struggling to strike a balance between being African and being Canadian.

As with the other story lines, bridging cultures resulted in a large range of behaviours amongst the students. Levels of assimilation played a large role within this category. While a higher level of assimilation did correlate with a lower level of positive ethnocultural identity, this

was mitigated by a student's understanding of why and when assimilation might be needed in order to find balance between two cultures. If students, like Steven, were able to understand that social success was linked to a certain amount of assimilation, they could navigate a balance between the two. For some students, like Maya, a high level of assimilation was not necessary because they had a high level of appreciation for their culture and had the confidence to share it openly. Students, like Abeni and Ao, were thrust into having to find balance because of their physical appearance. This caused confusion but still contributed to their ethnocultural identity development because without being of a different race, their culture would likely have been lost through assimilative practices.

Bridging cultures and race then had several underlying motivations: fitting in, global understanding, self-understanding, identity development, and ethnocultural identity development. These motivations were both affected and the result of the amount of privacy with which each student dealt with this balancing act. At best, students only sought assistance dealing with racist incidences and often, students did not request assistance even in these situations. There were few conversations to assist students to understand the feelings associated with the need to straddle two cultures and there were certainly no discussions regarding the power imbalance that exists causing students to feel that their minority culture requires active participation. Conscious understanding of how to find balance when bridging between two cultures had great potential to provide students with an in-depth understanding to deal with racism and build positive ethnocultural identity but instead most of the interviewed students struggled to find balance between their minority and the dominant cultures and races.

Summary

The purpose of this research was to answer the overarching question of: How do visible

minority students develop positive personal ethnocultural identity? and the corresponding question of: How do visible minority students externally express ethnocultural identity? The four story lines of the research demonstrated common areas of experience for all the students and described the ways in which the students internalized and then acted on these story lines. This then provided many examples of how visible minority students are externally expressing their ethnocultural identity which in turn leads to greater understanding of how visible minority students develop positive personal ethnocultural identity.

Within the story line of seeking and embracing cultural knowledge, students externally expressed their ethnocultural identity by not simply stating they had positive ethnocultural identity, but by demonstrating it through their actions. These actions most importantly supported an active search for more knowledge about their background. The interviewed students with positive ethnocultural identity enthusiastically shared what they already knew and what they wished to further learn. That said, there was a great range in the activity levels between the students, ranging from the passive, contented intake of information fed to the student to active searching for more. The more motivation students had towards seeking out the information and actively practicing their culture, the higher the students' level of positive ethnocultural identity. In regard to the students' pursuit of cultural knowledge, parents had a great deal of influence in the development of their knowledge base as well as their desire to learn the knowledge. The engaging nature and frequency of the activities and enthusiasm demonstrated by the parents of students certainly made the acquisition of knowledge more desirable. But the students' agency played an even more important role in the acceptance and integration of this knowledge into their daily lives. Not only did they engage in their own positive and active exploration and experimentation, they engaged in sharing it with others and took interest in learning more about other cultures. Positive ethnocultural identity was then developed as they became more

knowledgeable and confident about their own culture through exposure of their culture from others, personal agency and active experimentation.

Within the story line of accepting feelings of difference, the distinctive trait to externally expressing ethnocultural identity was that the students acknowledged that a difference existed. Some students were not yet at the point of celebrating their difference which left them to examine their difference and attempt to figure out a way to internalize this and feel comfortable and confident. If a level of assuredness with their differences had not been fully achieved, their emotions and actions ranged from being more comfortable with people of the same race, to contemplation about the need to change in order to feel and be less different. However with a greater level of confidence about their differences, students explored and embraced these differences which resulted in positive ethnocultural identity development. These students confidently engaged in their culture differences rather than ignoring it or being aloof about it.

In dealing with stereotypes and racism, the students felt a common sense of injustice which resulted in students explicitly demonstrating ethnocultural identity by trying to prove stereotypes wrong, or at least by feeling like they should act in ways to dispel them. All the students felt that racism was wrong and hurtful too, missing the realization that stereotyping was a form of racism. However many did not necessarily possess the cultural knowledge, skills or abilities to explicitly unpack racism. Despite a general lack of knowledge regarding the depth of how racism affected their daily lives, students were still able to explicitly demonstrate ethnocultural identity by consciously choosing ways in which to deal with racism. Students who were able to more deeply understand the severity associated with discrimination had a greater desire and ability to enact external action which more directly confronted the perpetrator. This knowledge then also gave the students the strength to be able to live their minority culture each day, feeling confident in both cultures, rather than having to choose one or the other.

In the story line of bridging cultures and race, the students explicitly demonstrated ethnocultural identity by actively seeking a comfortable balance between their own and the dominant culture. They were aware enough of the existence of a dominant culture into which they could chose to or not chose to assimilate. Some students had enough knowledge about their minority culture but did not have the confidence to defend it or choose it over the majority culture, most often demonstrated when fulfilling the need to fit in with peers. Other students more deeply understood the severity associated with discrimination resulting in a greater desire, ability and strength to enact their minority culture each day, feeling confident in both cultures, rather than having to choose one or the other. Positive ethnocultural identity then, developed as students were better able to attain the balance between demonstrating and living their own culture in balance with the dominant culture.

This study demonstrated that the students' ethnocultural identity development was influenced by their experiences within and between the four common story lines and mitigated by student agency. If students were not able to internalize their experiences in a manner that allowed them to view their ethnocultural identity as positive, then their ability to develop positive ethnocultural identity was impeded. Student agency was influenced by the amount of cultural knowledge to which they had been exposed and had willingly accepted. This in turn, influenced the students' ability to accept feelings of difference, deal with stereotypes and racism, and bridge differences in cultures and race. The ways in which students demonstrated ethnocultural identity within these story lines then allowed for the identification of how students develop positive ethnocultural identity. The following chapter examines these findings in relation to previous research and through the conceptual framework of Rozas and Miller's (2009) web of resistance. It analyzes how educational stakeholders can use this research to assist in building positive personal ethnocultural identity.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

The four story lines discussed in the previous chapter demonstrated common areas of experience for the visible minority students and described the ways in which the students internalized and then acted on these story lines. Rozas and Miller's (2009) web of resistance was used as a conceptual framework to create the story lines of students' experiences. These story lines were a rhetorical device for organizing their thoughts and actions into the internal and external strategies found on the web of resistance.

Phinney's (1989, 1990) stages of ethnic identity development also informed my analysis. This and other models of ethnocultural identity development (e.g. Lee, 2004; Boykin, 1986; Quintana et al., 2010) provided insights into these students' experiences. I sought various models in my review of literature after analyzing the data because the conceptual framework was valuable, but incomplete for understanding the complex nature and the intricacies of ethnocultural identity development during adolescence. While Rozas and Miller (2009) were my theoretical launch point, Phinney's and others' work are complements from time to time in the following discussion.

In this chapter, I discuss the data as it was framed through Rozas and Miller's (2009) web of resistance and reexamine the story lines by discussing the similarities and differences between this research and other ethnocultural identity development research. This discussion explores how these data develop a deeper understanding of visible minority students' experiences and both strengthen and complicate current ethnocultural development research. I also assess the practical and pedagogical implications of the data in order to provide greater applications for use of this research and provide ideas for further areas of research on this topic.

Applying the Conceptual Framework: The Web of Resistance

Rozas and Miller's web of resistance (2009) was originally designed for use by dominant culture members to develop critically conscious individuals who could facilitate an antiracist culture through repeated reflection about racism and informed action against racism. In this research, the web of resistance was used as a conceptual framework to analyze how visible minority students developed positive personal ethnocultural identity. Outlining the students' experiences using this framework provided insight into the students' personal ethnocultural identity expressions. The four story lines were generated by analyzing and organizing those expressions using the web of resistance. This resulted in a better understanding of the construction of positive ethnocultural identity and has the potential to deepen understanding of micro-level opportunities for educators to consider in order to influence visible minority students' ethnocultural identity development.

The web of resistance is divided into two main categories for resisting racism: internal and external strategies. Internal strategies are those that individuals could use to better understand and reflect on racism. External strategies are actions against racism in which individuals could participate. While racism was not an initial focal point in my study, the data indicated this formed part of the students' experiences. As such, I deemed the internal strategies within this study to be the approaches that individuals indicated assisted them to reflect upon and gain positive understanding of their ethnocultural identity, including gaining an understanding about racism. I then considered the external strategies to be actions the students used to demonstrate they were positive about their ethnocultural identity, including resilient actions against racism.

Through the application of the conceptual framework, I was able to provide evidence that

all the students who appeared to have positive ethnocultural identity repeatedly demonstrated internal strategies within the four story lines. They spoke about listening to those around them but more importantly, they talked about what they thought about the information they heard or the situations they experienced and through this arrived at a personalized understanding of their own culture. These intellectual and emotional actions assisted students in absorbing day to day cultural exposure from their family and daily environment, including the use of dominant and cultural language, listening to dominant and cultural music, partaking in dominant and cultural foods, experiencing dominant and cultural religion and values, and experiencing racism. Student reflections and personalized understandings about their ethnocultural identity were rarely all positive or all negative but rather situated somewhere in between.

Using Rozas and Miller's (2009) web of resistance as a conceptual framework spoke only to strategies that could be used to build resilient resistance but did not speak to the positive ethnocultural identity building process. The process of students developing positive ethnocultural identity is far more complex than simply enacting internal or external strategies. The four story lines generated from using the web of resistance as a conceptual framework indicated specific areas that students need to analyze and internalize as a part of the process of building positive ethnocultural identity. The four story lines also demonstrated that the process of developing positive ethnocultural identity is not a linear, nor necessarily a complete process. Understanding the process of using the internal and external strategies to build positive ethnocultural identity requires a more specific, ontic analysis of individual experiences.

The Process of Personalizing.

Internal and reflective experiences are necessary steps along the students' ethnocultural identity journey. Without going through the process of internalizing the experiences that can be

labelled as internal or external strategies, the journey to positive ethnocultural identity is thwarted. The most dramatic example of this was Ao in the story line of seeking and embracing cultural knowledge. Despite having been exposed to an immense amount of cultural knowledge and experiences, Ao had not *positively* internalized some, if not all, of them. The knowledge she did have, such as being able to understand and speak some Cantonese, had been forced upon her as a young child. Now as an adolescent she chose to communicate only in English despite having ample opportunity to learn both Cantonese and Mandarin. She also only spoke English despite her disdain for having to hear her mother's heavily accented and broken English. This emphasizes the extent to which avoidance of her ethnic background was at play. Steven, Aarif and Maya also had cultural language forced upon them but had normalized and/or internalized this to be positive, and therefore they were proud of their multi-lingual abilities. Their narratives spoke of the constant use of cultural language in the home with little choice or desire to speak English. Cultural language was then described by the students as a connection to their homeland and a source of pride.

Ao gave no evidence that she had engaged in self-reflection, exploration or personalization to understand her exposure to cultural knowledge and experiences. That is, she had not undergone a process by which to normalize or appreciate aspects of her culture. The complexity of ethnocultural identity development, being a subset of identity development, made it difficult to tease out whether this was a rejection of her culture or an effort to fit in to her peer group. However in either case, her choice was reactive rather than grounded in thoughtful reasoning to support her choice. This resulted in the divergent theme of rejecting the cultural knowledge to which she was exposed. Hence, it would appear that Ao's lack of engagement in forming a personalized understanding of her culture contributed to decreased positive ethnocultural identity development. Vice versa, the data suggest that the students who reflected

upon, internalized and personalized the four story lines (for example, Steven, Aarif and Maya with their language learning) experienced an increase in their ability to use their agency to develop positive ethnocultural identity.

Furthermore, students who appeared to have positive ethnocultural identity accepted how they were racially and ethnically different than their white peers, and openly acknowledged that racism existed. This internal strategy was expressed by Rozas and Miller as "recogni[zing] racism is everywhere" (p. 34.). While no students actually stated that they knew racism was everywhere, they all recognized that discrimination existed and that visible minority students were viewed differently. As such, the students who were able to examine their ethnic difference and the feelings of isolation these differences caused, had the agency to move past the racism which might have kept others from building a positive ethnocultural identity. Self-worth and pride separated some of these students from the other participants for whom isolation was more of a challenge to work through.

It was only after students had had the opportunity to positively engage in their cultural knowledge and feelings of difference that they were able to internalize the need to engage in dealing with stereotypes and racism by explicitly addressing the perpetrator. They were also then able to externally express aspects of their culture within the mainstream and proudly balance their own culture with that of the dominant culture. I was able to identify several external strategies related to the web of resistance that the students demonstrated, including talking about their cultures and differences; students asking questions about their cultures and the racism they experienced; and setting an example to other minority and majority students. Specifically, students spoke about engaging others in the appreciation of their race and culture including embracing natural hair texture, practicing their cultural language, participating in activities outside of the home, and day to day sharing of cultural viewpoints. These examples of how

students demonstrated their ethnocultural identity were micro-level opportunities they used to build their ethnocultural identity; hence also building their cultural knowledge base which could potentially assist them to deal with racism. Those students who were confident enough to act against stereotypes and racism engaged in having difficult conversations about racism; asking questions about discrimination; interrupting racist jokes or comments; setting an example; talking about differences and racism; listening to others; being empathetic; and challenging others. Specific examples that students demonstrated included displaying behaviours that would prove stereotypes wrong; contemplating how to deal with a racist situation and then enacting it; telling students committing micro-aggressions against others to stop their behaviours; teaching others why specific vocabulary is inappropriate to use; using empathy to help others experiencing the same situation; and talking about and questioning racism with those who perform micro-aggressions as well as with those who have experienced the micro-aggressions.

The application of Rozas and Miller's (2009) web of resistance to understand these students' ethnocultural identity development has elucidated the importance of visible minority students engaging in the use of internal strategies. It is necessary that students have the opportunity to internalize cultural experiences if they are to develop the agency required to move past barriers in order to develop positive ethnocultural identity. Resilient resistance then becomes a possibility for visible minority students whereby they would use internal strategies to repeatedly reflect on their culture and issues associated with culture, in order to engage in external strategies that assist to develop positive ethnocultural identity and combat racism.

The web of resistance provided conceptual insight into where students were with respect to, as well as the factors that contributed to, their ethnocultural identity development. Viewed through a critical realist ontology, the micro-level experiences of the students were able to be connected to different levels of influence, micro to macro, which affected ethnocultural identity

formation. This assists to elucidate the complexity of their experiences and particularly the complexity of how they internalized their experiences as linked to the transitive dimension of epistemology and the analytical dualism they demonstrated (Bhaskar, 1975). In the following paragraphs, I discuss the complexity of the individual's journey such as influential factors and how students weave in and out of current research on ethnocultural identity development. The intention of this is to create a deeper understanding of ethnocultural identity development and its dynamic, fluid, multidirectional progression.

The Importance of Agency

This research highlighted the relationship between structure and agency as integral in the ethnocultural identity development journey. Numerous structures, that is objects of knowledge uninfluenced by human perception (Bhaskar, 1975), existed which were then translated into student experiences. They were described by the students as having an effect on their ethnocultural identity. These influences included many previously researched areas such as cultural language (Lee, 2008; Pigott & Kaback, 2005; Trofimovich et al., 2013); parental influence (Carranza, 2007; Phinney & Nakayama, 1991); religion (Agosto & Karanxha, 2012; Hill, 2009; Seddon, 2010; Shah, 2012); and cultural music (Deyhle, 1998; Pégram, 2011; Pyatak & Muccitelli 2011). However, what existed commonly amongst the students who appeared to have positive ethnocultural identity was the students' ability to internalize and personalize these structures as being positive. Exposure to cultural language, parental influence, religion, or cultural music was not enough. While previous research indicated that exposure to these structures introduced students to aspects of their culture and gave them the means to express themselves and connect to their cultures, I learned that it was the students' agency to embrace the structure and believe it to be positive that was most necessary.

Without student agency, other structures impeded the students from perceiving cultural language, parental influence, religion, or music as being positive. While few students were able to identify institutional racism, micro-aggressions enacted against the students were inherent in their descriptions of their experiences. These created feelings of negativity towards the students' own racial and cultural differences which some, but not all, were able to overcome through the use of agency. As indicated in Chapter 2, the existence of institutional racism and its macro-level effects have been well researched. Research on its micro-level effects, and particularly overcoming these effects, has focused on the sources of influence rather than the student use of agency itself.

As an example of this, Quintana, Herrara and Nelson (2010) stated that the family, the Mexican American community and the Anglo community were the three cultural influences on Mexican American adolescents and their ethnic self-concepts and identity. If one source of influence was greater than the others, this had an effect on the adolescent's ethnic identity level. In my study, not all students had access to a cultural community and as such, they were exposed to only two of these three influences. Quintana et al. would argue here that the lack of the cultural community hindered the development of positive ethnocultural identity. On the surface, this viewpoint could be reinforced by my research. Of the nine interviewed students, three did not have regular access to others beyond their immediate families, and one was choosing not to regularly participate in the cultural community. None of these four students demonstrated aspects associated with strong and consistent positive ethnocultural identity. Of the five remaining students who did have regular access to their cultural communities, four of the five could have been considered to have high levels of seeking and accepting cultural knowledge.

Quintana et al. also emphasized the importance of family and particularly parents in the role of ethnocultural identity development. Again, the data from my research supported this.

Parents had a great deal of influence in the development of the students' knowledge base as well as the students' desire to learn the knowledge. The engaging nature and frequency of the activities and enthusiasm demonstrated by the parents of students with positive ethnocultural identity certainly made the acquisition of knowledge more desirable.

However, while surface data from this research might lend credence to current models of ethnocultural identity development, what the models did not address was the point at which student agency took over and became even more important than family, cultural community or Anglo community influence in the acceptance and integration of cultural knowledge into the students' daily lives or any other aspects of ethnocultural identity development. Use of their own agency was essential to engaging in their own positive and active exploration and experimentation, sharing it with others, and taking an interest in learning more about other cultures. Engaging in these activities allowed the students to more easily recognize and accept their differences and use their agency to externally deal with stereotypes and racism, and bridge cultures and races in public environments.

Quintana et al. (2010) did not oversimplify the three cultural influences by stating that the proper balance of the three would result in positive ethnocultural identity. In fact, exposure from the family and cultural community was presented as also being factors in choosing assimilation or developing a negative cultural self-image. Boykin's (1986) "triple quandary" and Lee's (2004) study on Hmong boys also focused on complex intrapersonal relationships as the key influence on ethnocultural identity development and identified that visible minority students needed to balance interaction between the cultural (ethnic), the majority (hegemonic) and the minority (marginalized). This three-way balancing act presented in all the models must now be examined in terms of the processes that adolescents go through as they interpret and personalize so that agency can be used to select their ethnic culture as a positive and active part of their day

to day lives. It is not the "triple quandary" or the interactions and/or balance occurring between them that influences positive ethnocultural development, but rather the student process of understanding what the triple quandary means to them and how they will choose to view and enact their ethnocultural identity based on this.

The four storylines I created do align with the previously described models in a topical manner. The comparison between those models and this research indicates shared aspects of ethnocultural identity development across national borders. Gaining cultural knowledge is a necessary part of building the cultural self. Dealing with feelings of difference and being from a different culture and race are a part of the majority self. Dealing with stereotypes and racism is the marginalized or minority self. However, the story lines are not neat categories. Rather they point to a range of necessary, and sometimes tension-laden, actions to build positive ethnocultural identity. Students must not simply experience their culture; they must learn to seek it out and embrace it. Students must not only recognize that they are different; they need to accept their feelings of difference and view it as positive. Visible minority students may all deal with stereotypes and racism, but it is the process of how they internalize the discrimination and then choose to deal with it in a manner that is resilient and empowering that will build ethnocultural identity. Bridging cultures and race requires that students are able to bring their ethnicity into the mainstream with confidence and pride, not fear or embarrassment. The key to building positive ethnocultural identity is these students' story lines must not only be experienced but thought about and be personalized in a manner that allows students to make a conscious choice about viewing their culture and race positively.

My study demonstrated the factors that influenced ethnocultural identity development were fraught with minute nuances that resulted in an expanse of varying effects on ethnocultural identity development. The same factors with different students created tremendously divergent

outcomes. This creates a convoluted and elaborate environment for students to navigate in order to develop positive ethnocultural identity that no particular ethnic identity model can accurately predict or capture.

Re-examining the Stages of Ethnocultural Identity Development

With a clearer understanding of the importance of agency in positive ethnocultural identity development, a re-examination of Phinney's research (1989) on the three stages of ethnic identity development (Diffusion-Foreclosure, Moratorium and Identity Achievement) is warranted. I consider Phinney's work in tandem with the concept of student agency as a key factor to positive ethnocultural identity development because it is a way to understand how to influence movement between the ethnic identity stages so that students can reach Identity Achievement. In seeking to answer the key research question of "How do visible minority students develop positive personal ethnocultural identity?" understanding the process of attaining of Identity Achievement is essential to the purpose of this study. In the next sections, I discuss the data in terms of Phinney's three stages.

Diffusion-Foreclosure.

Phinney (1989) indicated that students in the first ethnic identity stage of Diffusion-Foreclosure had decided upon aspects of their identity but without much exploration and largely based on what others thought should be meaningful. Those students in my study who demonstrated what appeared to be lower levels of positive ethnocultural identity bore similarities to Phinney's description of Diffusion-Foreclosure. This included some students who explicitly stated that they were proud of their culture and that they valued Canadian multiculturalism because, despite verbal statements that they were proud, they were not able to substantiate this

claim. These students were not able to identify the source of their ethnocultural pride and/or they did not fully appreciate their diversity because feeling different from others was generally viewed as negative. Hence Phinney would suggest that they only *thought* they were proud of their culture or that they valued Canadian multiculturalism because of external expectations on them to believe this. This also aligns with Gosine's (2002) concept of racial labels that are imposed on students who are unable to act against hegemonic expectations. My research supports this notion demonstrating that the students who were not proud, had not chosen to participate in a process of internalizing and personalizing their experiences in order to formulate their own opinions about their culture. That is, they did not use their agency to choose anything beyond following dominant culture norms. A pointed example of this is some of the students' choice of pseudonym. Some students, who bore culturally based names in real life, quickly chose dominant culture names or words for their pseudonym. This not only demonstrated conforming to the dominant culture but also a denial of their ethnic culture. This denial became more apparent when students demonstrated embarrassment and sometimes even hostility towards participating in cultural events. Not only were students who appeared to have low levels of ethnocultural identity using their agency to avoid cultural exploration, but they were also using their agency to reject their own culture.

As such, these students did demonstrate the use of agency to enact external strategies like "protest" or "challenge others" (Rozas and Miller, 1989, p. 34). However these external strategies were not performed in conjunction with or preceded by the internalization and personalization that would have allowed the students to appreciate aspects of their culture or offset what the dominant culture thought as meaningful. Protesting having to attend cultural events or challenging others by responding with racist jokes did not counteract dominant culture norms, but in fact contributed to perpetuating a power imbalance. The students took on the

values of the majority culture with little questioning of the dominant white norms. They assimilated.

In accordance with Phinney's description of Diffusion-Foreclosure, it might be argued that the students who appeared to have lower positive ethnocultural identity conflated their feelings of difference, thinking they were content about being different because others thought they should. But this lack of concerted exploration did not exclude the students from experiencing and having to deal with feelings that were associated with being different. Even if they tried to deny that they were different, confusion emerged because, consciously or unconsciously, they knew they were different. This confusion evoked feelings ranging from uncertainty to anger and might explain refusing to attend cultural events or participation in racist jokes. Therefore students who did not actively explore their culture still engaged with feelings of difference and with stereotypes and racism. They had encounters in the empirical realm and felt emotions which they could not necessarily ignore which caused them to engage in some element of reflection. Therefore to state that the students who appeared to have lower levels of positive ethnocultural identity did not engage in exploration would be inaccurate. They may not have explored aspects of their culture but had engaged in contemplating cultural issues. Therefore the students who appeared to have lower levels of positive ethnocultural identity did not solidly align with Phinney's description of Diffusion-Foreclosure. The visible minority students could not escape their visual difference in order to be able to do so. Therefore the concept of ethnocultural identity development should be understood as a very fluid process where experiences and internalization of their experiences weave across the descriptors of the stages of ethnic identity development.

Moratorium.

According to Phinney (1989), adolescents aligning with Moratorium seek information and experiences upon which to base a decision about their ethnocultural identity. Applying this to the data using the web of resistance, various strategies were evident but students demonstrated more internal strategies with fewer external strategies. Students took in the cultural knowledge being presented to them and then contemplated this knowledge and how they might accept and apply it to their daily lives. Several students explored it on a personal level but very few were ready to engage in their culture outside of safe areas like their homes. They were also not overly open to sharing their culture with others who were not of their culture. As such, Phinney's stage of Moratorium (1989) is useful to assist with understanding how the students used their agency to internalize their experiences and recognize some of the benefits of their ethnic culture. Experiencing the stage of Moratorium is extremely important to ethnocultural identity development, as it is during this time that students are engaged in developing a personalized understanding of their culture and culturally influenced experiences. It is impossible to achieve positive ethnocultural identity without the stage of Moratorium because the process of understanding the positive, or negative, impact of culture occurs during this time.

Significant internal examination was evident among the students who could be described as aligning with the stage of Moratorium. Levels of emotion were heightened as students acknowledged that they were being viewed as different. It was difficult for them to understand or justify why they would be considered different based on culture or skin tone. While none of these students were at a point of celebrating their difference, they were attempting to figure out ways to internalize and feel comfortable and confident with it. All of these students spoke about the injustice of having to dealing with stereotypes and racism. They felt pressure to prove stereotypes wrong by acting in ways to dispel them, yet because the students were still in the

phase of examining their differences, they were not prepared to engage in external strategies to effectively deal with racism in a resilient manner. Trying to balance cultures and race relied heavily on the students' internalizing and personalizing experiences to come to an understanding about how to appreciate and demonstrate their own race and culture within the dominant culture. This understanding had not been achieved. Several felt caught in the middle of two cultures. They were aware enough of the existence of a dominant culture that they did not want to fully assimilate, but they also did not wish to live by their cultural norms and expectations. They may have had sufficient knowledge about their minority culture but did not have the confidence to defend it or choose it, that is, enact external strategies over the majority culture.

Phinney's concept of Moratorium demonstrates that being different was not something these adolescents were prepared to openly declare, endorse, or live with. This may account for some of the contradictions between their statements and their behavior. For example, rejecting stereotypes but then downplaying other forms of racism demonstrated the students' inability to move toward strong ethnocultural identity. While some dealt with stereotypes and racism using internal strategies like ignoring micro-aggressions, bridging their ethnic culture with mainstream culture was a difficult balancing act that led many to default to assimilation when in school or other public spaces.

Just like in the stage of Diffusion-Foreclosure, the students in this research did not neatly fit into Moratorium. Some students had reached high levels of success when it came to seeking and accepting cultural knowledge but then had not had enough time and/or opportunity to internalize other culturally related experiences resulting in a hesitancy to engage in more explicit demonstrations of their culture. To do so would also have complicated the students' need to fit in with their peer group. This was representative of the complexity of ethnocultural identity development and how the students were not only dealing with ethnicity but aspects of overall

adolescent development. This in turn influenced how their experiences weaved through the stages of ethnic identity development, highlighting the fluidity of the process of ethnocultural identity development. It also highlights the development of student agency through the process of exploration.

Identity Achievement.

Phinney (1989) described adolescents in the ethnic identity stage of Identity Achievement as having attained a strong and secure sense of their ethnic identity whereby they continue active exploration of their culture, but have an established, complete acceptance of one's own ethnicity. In my study, students who appeared to have high levels of positive ethnocultural identity demonstrated their agency in not only reflecting upon and internalizing experiences as positive or learning experiences, but they were also able to use their agency to explicitly address positive and negative cultural situations. This cultural confidence allowed the students to not only use agency to engage in their own positive and active exploration and experimentation, but to engage in sharing it with others and take an interest in learning more about other cultures. This in turn allowed the students to more easily recognize and accept their differences. The students had the strength to use their agency to be able to live their minority culture each day, feeling confident in both cultures, rather than having to choose one or the other.

While several students in this research were close to Identity Achievement, Maya had most prominently reached this stage. The process to achieving her cultural confidence had not been simple and she had experienced times where school experiences had had assimilative effects on her. However, through the process of searching to understanding her need to fit in with her dominant culture peer group, Maya was able to recognize that there was minimal benefit to dressing the same or eating the same food as her peers. In her childhood and even youth, students

still teased her about being Black, but with the help of her family and a same race peer, the grade eight Maya spoke about doing research about her family in Africa, lectured peers who used racially inappropriate language, questioned the lack of negative cultural history in textbooks, and celebrated being African every day at home and at school.

Maya, and other students who might be associated with the stage of Identity Achievement, were able to more deeply understand the severity associated with discrimination. This included having an understanding of race and ethnicity issues in order to challenge others when dealing with stereotypes and racism. This depth of understanding resulted in a greater ability to enact resilient resistance, the repeated reflection about racism and informed action against racism.

Of great importance to note, this research demonstrated that being fully aware of the invasiveness of and power relationships involved in racism was not a requisite to developing positive ethnocultural identity. Few of these students demonstrated an understanding of racism located beyond their immediate environment. This is contrary to Rozas and Miller's (2009) assumption that the web of resistance would emerge and build hope after students understood the web of institutional racism (Miller & Garran, 2008) and its effects. Phinney (1989) also indicated that it was necessary for students to have an understanding of existing race and ethnicity issues in order to be in the stage of Identity Achievement. This research clarifies that it is not necessary that students have an in-depth understanding of institutional racism. An understanding of the micro-aggressions they experienced directly and the ability to internalize those experiences in order to understand racism at a micro-level was enough for students to enact resilient resistance; the enactment of resilient resistance was an external strategy and demonstration of positive ethnocultural identity.

Ethnocultural identity is clearly a complex phenomenon, and so it cannot simply be stated

that students had positive ethnocultural identity or did not. Rather, ethnocultural identity was fluid and contingent upon contextual factors, particularly student agency. These students, including those who appeared to have high levels of positive ethnocultural identity, described decidedly diverse experiences and levels of comprehension as they experienced and internalized their ethnicity. Understanding the complexity and fluidity of both ethnocultural identity development and the students' progressions through it is pivotal. Phinney's stages of ethnic identity development provide a strong foundation for grasping ethnocultural identity development, but a greater understanding of the function of student agency and explanation of how students might progress through the stages, using the four story lines, to reach Identity Achievement is necessary.

Conceptual Implication

The four story lines constitute an original contribution to the study of ethnocultural identity development, and may serve as a new framework through which visible minority youth ethnocultural identity development can be examined and understood. Visible minority students experience the stages of ethnic identity development, and in doing so employ internal and external strategies. The compilation of the strategies into the four story lines makes evident the complexity of the students' cultural experiences, whether or not they develop a strong ethnocultural identity, as they are influenced by the forces of culture, hegemony and marginalization. How the students are able to unpack their experiences - how they are able to use their agency to internalize and personalize cultural knowledge and issues associated with culture in a positive manner - determines their ethnocultural identity development. The value of the four storylines then, is that they serve as an analytical tool for gaining insights into the processes that students might use to positively internalize and personalize their culture. Importantly, with this

new conceptual understanding, I identify practical and pedagogical implications, which I discuss in the next two sections.

Practical Implications

Based on my study and conceptual implication, I see three practical implications affecting all levels of educational stakeholders. First, positive ethnocultural identity development was a function of students being exposed to a substantial amount of cultural knowledge that was presented in a fashion that the students were able to positively internalize. Parents had a great deal of influence in the development of the students' knowledge as well as their desire to learn the knowledge. This finding is convergent with other scholars who have identified parents as an important influence on their children's levels of ethnic identity (Carranza, 2007; Phinney & Nakayama, 1991). The engaging nature and frequency of the activities and enthusiasm demonstrated by the parents certainly made the acquisition of knowledge more desirable to choose. While the students' agency played an even more important role in the acceptance and integration of this knowledge into their daily lives, their agency was heavily influenced by the way in which the parents also engaged in and spoke to their children about their culture. Even exposure to a student's cultural homeland was not enough experience with culture if it lacked the appropriate framing from the parents and the opportunity for the students come to an understanding of what their cultural means to them. Therefore, parents must actively remain a part of their ethnocultural background, and appropriately expose this to and engage with their children if adolescents are going to successfully navigate positive ethnocultural identity development. It is the engagement with the students that will assist them to positively internalize cultural information. This needs to include having conversations about the benefits of maintaining culture and potentially other more difficult cultural issues. With this, students would

be supported as they develop their agency to build positive ethnocultural identity.

Related to the above, visible minority adolescents need multiple allies to assist in exposing students to their cultures and cultural perspective as they cannot escape their differences because of the constant visual reminder. Their differences cannot simply be ignored in hopes they will not be apparent to others. Therefore schools and school personnel need to promote positive opportunities for students to not only engage in cultural discussions and activities but to engage in the depth of meaning behind cultural activities. School efforts could be directed towards both families and students in regards to the importance of practicing and learning about culture as a part of positive identity development. Schools would need to expand their partnerships with parents. The importance of examining ethnocultural identity as a highly influential subset of overall identity means that schools must engage with parents to address ethnocultural identity as a part of meeting students' social-emotional needs. Much like teachers would engage parents if they were concerned about a student's emotional health and gross and fine motor development, the same should occur if there is concern for their cultural development. The complexity of culture would require that parents were involved and were provided with the opportunity to offer schools with information about their cultures so that stereotypes and misinformation were not created or spread.

Examples of positive opportunities for students with the help of their families might include enriching curricular outcomes to include comparisons between studied cultures and their own cultures; ensuring deep pre- and post- conversation activities for any cultural presentations that often come to schools as singular performances; expanding fine arts programs to include historical and international opportunities of study; and/or developing diverse school concert or assembly opportunities based on important cultural calendar events allowing all students, families, and staff to learn about and appreciate important dates beyond dominant culture events.

Secondly, positive ethnocultural identity development was also a function of students being able to positively internalize the other three story lines: accepting feelings of difference, dealing with stereotypes and racism, and bridging cultures and race. Therefore schools cannot only engage in cultural discussions and activities but must give students an explicit forum to discuss and understand the common occurrences of the four story lines. That is, knowing about culture is not enough; visible minority students must also engage in learning about cultural issues including racism, in order to have the ability to understand how these issues affect them on a personal level. All students must be provided with the safe space to learn and understand how culture can both help and hinder identity development. Students must be able to have the opportunity to understand the effects that their culture has on them and their own development, on a daily basis. If done with allies, adolescents may have the opportunity to recognize that they are not alone in their cultural experiences and navigating their experiences can be about building resistant resilience versus the potential development of negative ethnocultural identity.

Helping students to understanding the concept of agency is also important. Students must know they are making a choice, and that it is better to make an informed choice rather than an uninformed or potentially unconscious choice. With this in mind, it may be possible to employ Rozas and Miller's web of resistance as a tool to assist visible minority students to build positive ethnocultural identity by allowing them to explicitly understand the concept of using internal and external strategies to consciously build their ethnocultural identity. As an example, within this research, the story line of balancing cultures and race had great potential to provide students with an in-depth understanding to deal with racism and build positive ethnocultural identity but because students often dealt with these situations on their own rather than having the opportunity for explicit discussion, the opportunity for the students to gain a greater understanding about racism, and the means to combat it and build resistant resilience, were lost. Ideally, building a

strong cultural knowledge base should also be coupled with understanding the existence of a dominant culture and the concept of dominant cultural normalization which could be accomplished with the use of a tool like the web of resistance.

As suggested in the conceptual implication, the application of the four story lines from this research into educational settings could help adolescents to be able to move within the stages of ethnic identity development towards Identity Achievement more effectively. Schools need to consider introducing the four story lines and having meaningful conversation to assist students to develop the necessary awareness in order to positively advance their ethnocultural identity development. Specifically, if visible minority adolescents are taught that having greater cultural knowledge can assist to develop positive ethnocultural identity, this cognizance has the potential to greatly influence them to use their agency to seek more cultural knowledge. If visible minority students understood that they all experience feeling different due to their physical differences among other differences, feeling different could in fact become an experience that develops into a sense of belonging through this commonality with others. If visible minority adolescents develop an understanding that dealing with stereotypes and racism is again an area of commonality and that stereotypes and racism are not simply micro-aggressions, they can develop the necessary cognition to address the issue on a more explicit level. And, if visible minority students know that they do not have to choose between two cultures but can in fact embrace both their minority culture and the dominant culture in a way that provides the benefits of both, then the minority culture does not have to be sacrificed for social, academic or economic success. Hence, the introduction of and instruction on the four story lines can assist to ensure students have the optimal environment and gain the necessary skills to develop positive ethnocultural identity.

Thirdly, given that schools most often provide visible minority students a dominant

culture environment, it is necessary that government, district policy makers and school faculty create policies, opportunities and environments that allow these story lines to be addressed. There is a high level of Indigenous education being implemented into the Alberta school system through professional demands from the Alberta Teachers' Association and curriculum demands from Alberta Education. Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs) have become mandatory in Alberta Schools to provide support for students who are marginalized based on gender or sexuality. Opportunities for conversation and support for students who continue to be marginalized based on visible minority differences must also exist. Success for building positive ethnocultural identity is dependent on students being able to work through and embrace their differences, a task better achieved with explicit support at home and at school and with help from dominant culture allies. Students must be able to tell their stories. Their narratives provide an opportunity for healing and being heard allows for others to understand.

Pedagogical Implications

There are two key pedagogical implications for educational stakeholders that emerge from my study: the need for proper educator training and the need for strong policy development. These implications are rooted in the importance of ensuring that educational personnel have the necessary competencies, knowledge, skills, and attitudes in order to address ethnocultural identity development with adolescents. Current attitudes present a challenge. The attitudes and actions of President Donald Trump in the United States are not only allowing for right wing Americans to become more confident in expressing and demonstrating racism but are having a ripple effect across Canada and the world. Canada has hosted many news making examples of macro to micro racist events including the death of six Muslims due to a terrorist attack at a Quebec City mosque (January 29, 2017), a White supremacist rally in Vancouver (August 19,

2017), a Syrian family whose car was damaged and spray painted with hateful messages (Calgary, AB, April 6, 2017); and the woman who demanded a white doctor treat her son in hospital (Mississauga, ON, June 18, 2017) , just to name a few. The regression of our social climate needs to be stopped with schools being an ideal environment to do so.

Success at addressing current attitudes will require that more emphasis be placed on supporting teachers and other educational stakeholders with appropriate professional development opportunities. This is necessary to ensure that staff have, develop, and live supporting anti-racist attitudes based on knowledge about hegemony, and to arm staff to incorporate the right types of methodologies and materials to facilitate student ethnocultural growth and confidence. Education must focus in at the micro-level to give students the skills to interpret and internalize all aspects of culture. Within this, it is necessary that students have the opportunity to discuss and understand the issues of discrimination with appropriate guidance from school staff. Proper professional development could teach staff about racism and how to cover a concept like resilient resistance in order to introduce and provide not only visible minority students, but all students, with enough information in order to develop the skills to address issues involved in ethnocultural identity development.

Having students understand resilient resistance does not necessarily mean also teaching about the invasiveness of racism. This taught in schools is likely to be tenuous as it delves into issues expounded by anti-racism education which has been unsuccessful at creating the macro-level changes it desires (Carr & Klassen, 1996, 1997b; Fleras & Nelson, 2005; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2002; May, 2005; Schick, 2010). Given that this study has shown that Identity Achievement is attainable without full knowledge of the depth of racism, teaching resilient resistance would open the door to discussion, and then aspects of racism could be introduced in stages that were age appropriate; this to potentially be considered anti-racism or critical

multicultural education at a micro-level. Educational stakeholders can look to micro-level work, rather than macro-level attempts, to assist students to build ethnocultural identity, resilience and overall identity even at an early age. Discomfort will occur and must be taught in tandem with resilient resistance as a natural occurrence. As micro-level awareness increases, the ability to create macro-level change will improve.

Appropriate expectations and policies to address multiculturalism and racism will need to be developed with the intent to support students by supporting proper teacher development. The interviewed students for this study were located within two school districts, neither of which had policies or administrative regulations specific to multiculturalism. In fact, a cursory online search of the thirteen largest school districts within Alberta, with student populations ranging from approximately 10 000 to 110 000 (2016-2017 data, Alberta Schools and Authorities), revealed that only one district had a multiculturalism policy with administrative regulations to assist in guiding schools and their staffs with multicultural issues.

Strong policy will not be limited to addressing observable events of racism but will provide school administrators and school staffs an increased awareness of ethnocultural identity struggles and positive strategies for identity creation in order to construct inclusive, effective learning environments. This would need to take into account the importance of understanding the nature of knowledge production to ensure visible minority student perspective is a part of creating the safe environment. Strong policy will also assist to create a better understanding of how to build personal ethnocultural identity and ethnocultural resilience in their students in order to create and practice effective school policies. Again, much like the Alberta Education mandated GSA policies, the success of this policy development is that it be grounded in current educational research and be required for all schools and school districts and not limited to only those with high diversity populations. While this delves into the realm of mezzo to macro

courses of action, if the policy goals remain to provide support to students at the micro-level, then the high level policy will affect the students at the individual level, much like macro-level institutional racism affects students at the micro-level.

Future Research

Given that students having a strong cultural knowledge base were linked to students developing positive ethnocultural identity, further studies on how students can attain this strong knowledge base would be important. In particular, as experienced in this research, most students were introduced to their cultural information by their parents. As such, research including how parents influence student ethnocultural identity development is necessary. What do parents with students who have reached Identity Achievement do to assist their children develop positive ethnocultural identity? What aspects of their culture do they teach them and when? How are they able to provide an environment where cultural information is normalized? Gaining knowledge from culturally confident parents and their children has great potential to assist in understanding positive ethnocultural identity development.

Equally important future research involves gathering further understanding regarding how and why some students used their agency to accept cultural knowledge while others denied or rejected the opportunity. What factors influence the acceptance or denial of cultural knowledge? If adolescents are not exposed to culture in an engaging manner at home or are not exposed to culture at all, living in an assimilative environment, knowing how best to teach culture to students becomes a very important topic for study. Within this area of study, it would also be important to understand how to assist student to find the right balance in accepting their culture so that ethnocentrism and an adversarial view of the dominant culture does not become a factor in constructing cultural equity.

This research was conducted by interviewing visible minority students that were clearly subjected to a dominant culture environment, through their isolation of living within non-urban settings. To ensure the transferability of this data to all visible minority students, it would be a benefit to conduct similar research on visible minority students who live within urban settings. Given that urban settings would likely have higher populations of visible minority students, and these visible minority students might have more access to being around other students of similar cultures, understanding the urban visible minority student narrative is important.

The intersection of gender isolation and ethnocultural identity development is also an area for further study. Kevin did not neatly fit into rejecting cultural knowledge but also did not clearly fall into embracing and actively considering his culture despite his twin sister's success in a similar environment. Kevin did indicate that he did not have any other friends that were of an African background and also appeared to be the only boy of African descent in the school and local environment as well. Did this environmental situation have an effect on Kevin's agency and the choices he made?

The four biracial students in this study all indicated that they engaged in learning about their African background but not their European background. Their White background was normalized rather than viewed as another culture. This presents two areas for further research. The first is the different experiences that biracial students face and how this might affect their ethnocultural identity development in comparison to students with more distinct racial and ethnocultural backgrounds. The second is an examination of the ethnocultural identity of White students. Are White students developing positive ethnocultural identity? Are White students normalizing their cultures? How does their perspective affect their understanding of culture? How does their perspective affect their participation in resilient resistance or racism?

As previously mentioned, a quick cursory search for multicultural policy within the

largest school districts in Alberta yielded only one district with a multicultural education policy and administrative regulations to guide and assist schools and their staffs. This lack of multicultural policy is concerning. A more in-depth study of existing policies in public and private sectors, and the efficacies of the policies, would assist those who require policy creation or amendment. Without this, there is no direction or expectation that schools address multicultural issues beyond basic curricular requirements and the complexity of multiculturalism necessitates the need for a far greater understanding in order to help students achieve positive ethnocultural identity.

The concept of micro-level anti-racism or critical multicultural education was introduced as a form of educating visible minority, and all students. Multicultural and anti-racism education have focused changes at macro-levels resulting in multicultural education being accused of being too superficial, focusing on diversity rather than dismantling racism (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2002; May, 2005) while anti-racism education has been rejected due to its attempt to disrupt the status quo (Carr & Klassen, 1996, 1997b; Fleras & Nelson, 2005; Schick, 2010). The creation and study of a micro-level focused education program, that included students, staff and parents, to address the needs of all visible minority students and all their peers would be a necessary next step in the continuum of this research.

Final Reflections

Critical realism can be used as a framework for research analysis however within my research it was viewed as a paradigm, a meta-analysis, to provide a background understanding of how I understood and framed racism as a part of my research. As such issues of power such as the concept of institutional racism and hence etharchy were not examined from a critical realist perspective, nor was the research analyzed using critical realism as a framework. However, the

paradigm of critical realism and the transitive nature of knowledge production and the creation of perspective were always present in the analysis.

This research has focused on providing a productive understanding regarding the development of positive ethnocultural identity. As such, the underlying issues of racism and the contextual, historical basis of racism stemming from an issue of power and its distribution have not been discussed in depth. However, it has been a concern that was recognized throughout the completion of this research. Consistent attempts were made to ensure the interviewed students did not feel issues of power or dominance and this was also a constant consideration during the process of analyzing and documenting this work. Despite these efforts, I fully admit to carrying my own biases throughout the process and that these biases presented themselves despite efforts to mitigate them. One most obvious example of this was the decision to change the student chosen pseudonyms of Cryptic Illusions and Email. I chose to change these pseudonyms as they did not fit into my perception of what a pseudonym should be and I did not want the readers to be distracted by such unique names. However in hindsight, this was an exertion of my bias and my power over the students' choices. Rather than erase the evidence of this power imbalance, I have chosen to leave it in place and address it in this reflection as a means of demonstrating how pervasive and simple it is to be blind to the power domination that exists in our society.

Lastly I wish to acknowledge that there are structures within this research that contribute to the continued marginalization of visible minority students and the simplification of diversity issues, issues that this work seeks to dismantle. As examples, the mere use of the term "visible minority" and the description of the dominant culture being based on "British Protestant" values contribute to diverse peoples being viewed as "others" and a simplification of the colonial process and contribution of other cultures in the creation of present day Alberta. These terms are used for lack of other available terms and to assist in creating a common, albeit rudimentary,

understanding of the issues. Most terminology that seeks to define ethnocultural difference is essentialistic and is riddled with limitations. Official and colloquial terminology has failed to address the continued marginalization of groups of people. This issue of essentialism and continued "othering" is located within numerous structures which assist in maintaining the status quo of power distribution.

Conclusion

Despite the existence of official multiculturalism policy having existed in Canada for 47 years, supported by the Canadian Multiculturalism Act which has been in existence for 30 years, Canada has not succeeded in ensuring "that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity" (Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1998, Section 3.1.e). My research has given voice to visible minority youth who experience discrimination based on culture and race despite official macro-level policy that should protect them from being subjected to it. It has brought to light the specific yet common experiences that visible minority youth encounter as they attempt to develop positive ethnocultural identity and it has highlighted the need for further policy and action at the micro-level in order to protect and counteract visible minority students from the powerful effects of etharchy.

The challenges faced by visible minority youth remain complex, perhaps becoming even more complex, and many youth still struggle trying to balance ethnocultural uniqueness with and against dominant culture influence. It was intended that this study would help others, particularly parents and educators, to understand the complexity of developing a positive personal ethnocultural identity and that the exploration of how students construct positive personal ethnocultural identity would help students, parents and educators alike to assist students to reach

positive Identity Achievement. With increasing racial issues in society and growing diversity in classrooms, research in the area of cultural diversity must support explicit ways in which to increase positive ethnocultural identity. In this manner, all educational stakeholders will be able to attack a negative macro structure with positive micro efforts. With this essential understanding and deliberate action, diverse visible minority students will hopefully have greater opportunities for positive identity development and equity for future life success.

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Appendix A: Information Letter and Consent

The Colour Distinction: Understanding the construction of positive ethnocultural identity

Research Investigator:
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Background:
I am seeking to complete my research by interviewing visible minority junior high school students and as such, your school has mailed this package to you, without disclosing your contact information to me. You are being asked to participate in this study because you have been identified as a child of an immigrant. You may be an immigrant yourself or you may have been born in Canada.

This research is being conducted for the purpose of my doctoral work. The results of this study will be used in support of my thesis. My thesis is being completed solely for my personal gain. Research findings will only be used for academic purposes and no commercial gain.

Purpose:
While Canada is officially a multicultural nation that espouses the celebration of ethnocultural diversity, it is also a country founded on British and French beliefs and values. As such, elements remain entrenched within Canadian institutions that contribute to the marginalization of visible minority students. As an example, the successful socioeconomic integration of immigrants into Canadian society requires the acquisition of the English and/or French language. However, this immediately marginalizes heritage language which research indicates is one of the strongest means by which persons can maintain and develop strong ethnocultural identity. Immigrants then find themselves juggling their ancestral language and culture with the dominant Canadian languages and culture. As second and third generations are born in Canada, this balancing act becomes more tenuous.

Given the difficulty that exists for ethnoculturally diverse people to maintain their ancestral culture, the purpose of this research will be to examine the development of positive ethnocultural identity in visible minority students. More specifically, this study aims to identify the various forms in which visible minority students express their ethnocultural identity and then look at those strategies that assist in the construction of strong positive ethnocultural identity. Data are intended to help garner a greater understanding of how visible minority students are able to maintain or increase positive levels of ethnocultural identity. In essence, the research aims to identify actions that visible minority students use as a means of "resilient resistance" to assimilation into the dominant culture. Special attention will be focused on analyzing behaviours apart from heritage language learning that can assist in building positive ethnocultural identity.

Study Procedures:
Participants have been selected based on age (students who are in early to middle adolescents, from grade 7, 8 and 9), location (public school system with demographics that represent the demographics

found within Canadian statistics) and visible minority status (delimited to children of immigrants). Approximately 10 students meeting the described criteria will be selected to participate in the research. If I receive more than 10 to 12 respondents through recruitment activities including this mail out, 10 will be randomly selected. Within this case study, interview, observation, and questionnaire will be used to collect data. Participant responsibilities will include:

- *Individual semi-structured interviews:* You will be interviewed a minimum of three times for approximately 1 hour each time. There will be about a month of time between each interview. During each interview, there will be 10 questions to guide the conversation but the interviews are semi-structured, allowing for some deviation from the questions. Interviews will be conducted in a quiet location in the school unless interviews continue into the summer months, in which case interviews will be arranged to occur in a public venue like an office space at the public library.
- *Observations:* Between each of the three interviews a minimum of one observation will be scheduled, two observations minimum per participant. Observation times will be dependent on the activity being observed. For example, if you are being observed during the school lunch time, then the observations will last for the lunch period. If you are being observed during an extra-curricular activity that lasts several hours, the observation may last for the duration of the activity. You will assist in determining time and place of the observations. I will not interact with you during observation times and will remain as inconspicuous as possible. I will obtain any necessary permission for observations from the school and/or event organizers.
- *Survey:* You will complete a short survey that will assist me to determine the ethnocultural identity stage in which you are currently located. The survey will take approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete and will be provided to you before the first interview so that it may be remitted during the first interview. The survey results will assist me to determine future questions for interviews.
- *Personal records, documents or artifacts:* During the interviews, you will be asked if you have any personal records, documents or artifacts that you wish to share that you feel assist in your positive personal ethnocultural identity development. These items can be shared any time during the data collection process and will be photographed and immediately returned.

All interviews will be audio-recorded, not video-taped to reduce any anxiety you might experience. I will also make notes regarding interview impressions after the interview is completed. The audio-recordings and notes will be transcribed into written documents and these written documents will be shared with you before your next interview, likely through email or delivery of hard copies through the school. You will be able to review and provide changes and any other feedback you wish to share regarding interview data.

Observations will be informal in nature and will be hand recorded in notes. Initial observations may lead to more formalized observations should patterns of behaviour begin to emerge however this is not being anticipated and it is believed that observations will be used to illustrate data obtained in interviews. You will be provided with notes regarding observations and observations will likely be discussed during interviews. You will be able to review and provide changes and any other feedback you wish to share regarding observation notes.

The purpose behind the survey is to uncover the ethnocultural background and practices occurring within your life and an initial level of ethnocultural identity status. Statistical data are not being sought. The information garnered from the questionnaire will be used to augment individual interview data.

All participants will have the opportunity to verify data collection and observations about data several times before the withdrawal from study deadline.

Benefits:
There is no compensation (payment, honorarium) for your participation in this study. The benefit of participation in this study will potentially be an increased understanding of the complexities of positive ethnocultural identity development which may result in an increase in participant positive personal ethnocultural identity.

The intention of this study is to:
- provide visible minority students with ways to build and balance positive personal cultural identity while navigating the dominant culture in Canada,
- increase teacher awareness of ethnocultural identity struggles and positive strategies for identity creation in order to construct practical, effective learning environments,
- provide school administrators with a better understanding of how to build positive personal identity and cultural resilience in their students in order to build and practice effective school policies

This research is not funded and there are no anticipated costs or financial recompense for this research to me, the researcher.

Risk:
Although this data collection is considered to be low risk, a qualified counselor will be available to you, at the researcher's cost, should discomfort or distress arise. The counselor's contact information will be provided to student participants and parent/guardians at each interview session.

The only anticipated risk is the possibility that you may experience concern or confusion regarding your own personal ethnocultural identity development. The stages of ethnocultural identity development will be presented to you to assist in addressing these concerns.

There may be risks to being in this study that are not known. If I learn anything during the research that may affect your willingness to continue being in the study, I will inform you right away.

Voluntary Participation:
You are under no obligation to participate in this study. Participation is completely voluntary and you are not obliged to answer any specific questions even if participating in the study. Even if you agree to be in the study you can change your mind and withdraw at any time. If you withdraw, you may also withdraw the data that you have provided and it will not be included in the study. All audio and paper copies of the data will be shredded and there will be no mention of the provided data in the analysis. However, it is important that if you are considering withdrawal that you do so no later than the completion of your third interview. By the third interview, data from the first and second interviews and first and second observations will already be transcribed and preliminary data analysis will also have begun making it difficult to remove the integrated data.

Confidentiality & Anonymity:
Anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained at the highest levels possible. Only pseudonyms will be used during the data transcription and analysis process and interviews will be completed in a

low-traffic, private location within the school. This will allow for both familiarity of location and privacy. If interviews continue into the summer months, they will be located in a public environment such as the public library but will also be located in a low-traffic, private office.

All data will be kept confidential. Only I will have direct access to data that contains your personal information. If transcription services are required, transcribers will only receive audio data without full personal information.

Observations will be completed in an unobtrusive manner. Other participants in the activity being observed will not be made aware that I am specifically observing you. Unless you disclose this information, it will not be public knowledge.

The only exception to this promise of confidentiality is that I am legally obligated to report evidence of child abuse or neglect.

This research will be used to complete my PhD thesis at the University of Alberta. It may also be used for research articles or research conference presentations. Your anonymity will be maintained in these and all presentations of the data.

Data will be stored in a fireproof keyed safe for 5 years following the completion of my research project. It will be stored as electronic data and will be both password protected and encrypted. No paper copies will be retained. After 5 years, the data will be magnetized and physically destroyed to ensure privacy and confidentiality.

It is not anticipated that data from this study will be used in future research projects. However should this change, permission to use the data will need to be granted by a Research Ethics Board from the sponsoring post-secondary education institution.

If you wish to receive a copy of the dissertation in which these research findings will be discussed, please contact me by phone or email and I will arrange for you to receive a copy.

Further Information:

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact:

Elizabeth Shen

780.232.8659

eshen@ualberta.ca

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board 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 have read and understand the above explanation and conditions for participation in the research "The Colour Distinction: Understanding the construction of positive ethnocultural identity", and agree to participate in the study.

Print Student First and Last Name

Student Grade and Homeroom

Student Signature

Date

Print Parent/Guardian First and Last Name

Parent/Guardian Signature

Date

Contact Information:

Student Email

Student Phone Number

Parent/Guardian Email

Parent/Guardian Phone Number

Email will be the preferred method of contact so that parents can be copied on any communications.

Appendix B: Student Assent

The Colour Distinction: Understanding Adolescent Ethnocultural Identity Development

The researcher will read each of the information and explain it to you. Please ask any questions to clarify the information. Initial each of the boxes below to indicate you have read and understand the information.

Initials	Study Information
	Individual semi-structured interviews: • I will be participating in interviews. • Each interview will be about an hour long. • Each interview will have about 10 questions that I can look at before the interview. • I can go off topic from the interview questions. • I will participate in about 5 interviews over 3 months. • I will do something called an "identity measure". This will help to determine how I feel about my ethnocultural identity.
	Personal records, documents or artifacts: • During the interviews, I can bring items that are important to me like a picture, a story, something someone gave to me. These are called artifacts. • Any document or artifact I share will be photographed and immediately returned.
	Data Collection: • I understand that all interviews will be audio-recorded. The audio-recordings will be made into written documents. • I will review the data with you and I can change the data and provide any other feedback regarding the interview data.
	Benefits: • I will not receive anything for participating in these interviews except maybe a better understanding of what ethnocultural identity is.
	Risk: • A counselor is available, at no cost, if I feel uncomfortable or upset after an interview.
	Voluntary Participation: • I understand that I do not have to participate in this study. Participation is completely voluntary. • I can choose not to answer any questions I do not want to answer. • I can change my mind and withdraw at any time. If I withdraw, I can also withdraw any data I have already given. • If I am going to withdraw, I will let you know before you begin to use the data in your work. You will be giving me a date for this once we have started doing interviews.
	Confidentiality and Anonymity: • You will keep my personal identity a secret and will not let others know who I am. I will choose a fake name that will be used for the rest of the research. • I can choose where and when I want to be interviewed. It will be a safe place like the school or my house • **The only exception to this promise of confidentiality is that you are legally obligated to report evidence of child abuse or neglect.**

Further Information:

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact:
Elizabeth Shen

780.232.8659
eshen@ualberta.ca

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-0459.

Student Assent

The Colour Distinction: Understanding Adolescent Ethnocultural Identity Development

I have read and understand the above explanation and conditions for participation in the research and agree to participate in the study.

______________________________	______________________________
Print Student First and Last Name	Student Grade and Homeroom
______________________________	______________________________
Student Signature	Date
______________________________	______________________________
Student Email	Student Phone Number

Appendix C: Interview Schedules

First Interview Schedule

Previous to first interview, ask student to bring something that they consider important to them to the interview. Let them know that they will be asked to share it and explain why it is important to them.

1. Start with a personal introduction and the assent form, including counselor availability and withdrawal.

2. Share a picture of my family, describing each person a little including their personality and birthplace. Ask the student to talk a little about their family. Prompt for: Where were you born? How long have you (and your family) lived in Canada? Parents vs guardians?

3. Do you have any personal records, documents, or artifacts that you have brought with you that you are willing to share? Can you describe its significance? (If a student forgets to bring something, ask what they might have brought or ask them to bring it next time and go on to the next question if student is struggling for an answer.) Let student talk freely. Prompt for: Why is it important? What makes it special? What feelings are associated with the object? Is it linked to your personal identity? Is it linked to your ethnocultural identity? How?

4. What do you do in your free time? Why do you do it? How does it make you feel? Do you consider this to be a part of your identity? Do you consider this to be a part of your ethnocultural identity? Why or why not?

5. How do you express yourself? (art, sports, journal, etc.) How do you express your ethnocultural self? Is this a positive, negative or neutral expression?

6. Do you spend time with your family? What do you do with them? Do you do any cultural activities with them? How do you feel when you get to do you do this? Why do think you feel this way?

7. Do you have the opportunity to socialize with friends (and family) of your same culture? How do you feel when get to do you do this? Why do think you feel this way?

8. What ethnic group(s) are your closest friends from? If not the same, do you share your culture with them? Do you act differently around them then you do with friends from the same culture?

9. How important is fitting in? Do you ever feel the need to change your beliefs/values to be more like your friends? Why or why not? How?

10. To finish, I am just going to ask you a series of quick questions to help me understand you and your family a little better. (MEIM based on Phinney, 1992)

Student copy of first interview.

Please come to this first interview with something important to you. It can be a gift your parents gave you. It can be a favorite picture. It can be a story you have written. It can be your favorite musical instrument or piece of sports equipment. Bring something that means something to you and be prepared to share with me what it is and why it is important to you.

1. We will start the interview with an assent form so I can explain some aspects of the study to you. It will be a summary of the consent form you and your parents signed.

2. I will share a picture of my family and talk about them a bit. Then I will ask you to share some information about your family. Feel free to bring a picture too if you like.

3. What have you brought to share with me today? Why is it special to you?

4. What do you do in your free time? Why do you do it? How does it make you feel? Do you consider this to be a part of your identity? Do you consider this to be a part of your ethnocultural identity? Why or why not?

5. How do you express yourself? (art, sports, journal, etc.) How do you express your ethnocultural self? Is this a positive, negative or neutral expression?

6. Do you spend time with your family? What do you do with them? Do you do any cultural activities with them? How do you feel when you get to do you do this? Why do think you feel this way?

7. Do you have the opportunity to socialize with friends (and family) of your same culture? How do you feel when get to do you do this? Why do think you feel this way?

8. What ethnic group(s) are your closest friends from? If not the same, do you share your culture with them? Do you act differently around them then you do with friends from the same culture?

9. How important is fitting in? Do you ever feel the need to change your beliefs/values to be more like your friends? Why or why not? How?

10. To finish, I am just going to ask you a series of quick questions to help me understand you and your family a little better.

Second Interview Schedule

1. If you could live anywhere in the world, where would you live? Why?
   - Question the student again to see if their home country is a choice. If it does not, ask the student if they would choose to live there. Why or why not?

2. Canada is known for practicing multiculturalism. What does "multiculturalism" mean to you? Do you view it as a positive/negative thing?
   - If helpful to the student, break down the word to multi and culture.
   - If needed, ask the student to define culture.

3. What language(s) do you and your family speak at home? Is there a language(s) you would like to speak? Why?
   - If not English or French, is speaking this language important to you? Why or why not?
   - If the student does not speak a heritage language, why? Would they like to? Why or why not?

4. Do you practice a religion? If so, what religion? Do you consider religion to be a part of your culture? Why or why not?

5. What do you do to express or convey your culture (other than maybe language or religion)?

6. What makes you proud to be from your culture? Does anything not make you proud?

7. Do people make comments to you about your culture? What do they say? How do they act around you? How did this make you feel?

8. Is culture different than your ethnic identity? Why or why not?

9. How do you demonstrate your ethnocultural identity?
   - E.g. talking about it with others in or outside your culture, maintaining contact with people in your home country, joining ethnic groups, being confident
   - Listen and search for how they express or deny their ethnocultural identity.

10. Do you believe you have positive or negative ethnocultural identity? How do you know you have a positive or negative ethnocultural identity?
    - Might assist student to be more generic first, how do you know when someone has a positive or negative ethnocultural identity?

Student copy of second interview.

We will begin the interview by reviewing the main points that you shared with me in the first interview. You will have the opportunity to make any changes or add/delete any information you wish.

If you did not bring something important to you to the first interview, please bring it to this interview. Remember, it can be a gift your parents gave you. It can be a favorite picture. It can be a story you have written. It can be your favorite musical instrument or piece of sports equipment. Bring something that means something to you and be prepared to share with me what it is and why it is important to you.

Last interview, we spoke a lot about you. We talked about you, your friends and your family. Today we will talk a little bit more about you and about your life in Canada.

1. If you could live anywhere in the world, where would you live? Why?
2. Canada is known for practicing multiculturalism. What does "multiculturalism" mean to you? Do you view it as a positive/negative thing?
3. What language(s) do you and your family speak at home? Is there a language(s) you would like to speak? Why?
4. Do you practice a religion? If so, what religion? Do you consider religion to be a part of your culture? Why or why not?
5. What do you do to express or convey your culture (other than maybe language or religion)?
6. What makes you proud to be from your culture? Does anything not make you proud?
7. Do people make comments to you about your culture? What do they say? How do they act around you? How did this make you feel?
8. Is culture different than your ethnic identity? Why or why not?
9. How do you demonstrate your ethnocultural identity?
10. Do you believe you have positive or negative ethnocultural identity? How do you know you have a positive or negative ethnocultural identity?

Third Interview Schedule

1. When you think about being _____ (ethnicity/race/culture), what do you think about? What do you feel? Do you have questions about it? What questions?
   - Prompt for images, activities, characteristics, positive and negative emotions, active searching/ambivalence/disinterest
   - May need to look at this question with three different descriptors:
     - Ethnicity – African, Chinese, etc
     - Race – Black, Asian, etc
     - Culture – South African, Nigerian, Chinese, etc.

2. Have you ever heard of the term "visible minority" before? Can you describe what this term means to you?

3. How do you feel about the idea that you are someone who can be identified as a "visible minority"? Why?

4. How do you experience being a member of a visible minority? That is, can you describe events or incidences that you have experienced because you are a visible minority? How did this make you feel?

5. Have there been times where you feel that you have benefited from being a visible minority? Can you give me an example/some examples of when this happened?
   - Is this different than benefitting from being African, Chinese, etc?

6. Have there been times where you feel that being a visible minority is a disadvantage? Can you give me an example/some examples of when this happened?
   - Is this different than being disadvantaged being African, Chinese, etc?

7. Do you ever feel like you have extra responsibilities as a visible minority person? Why or why not? How does this make you feel?

8. Do you feel like you have to consciously work at representing visible minorities? Why or why not?
   - If so, how? What do you do?

   (Is there an assumption here that the interviewee is a positive representation of their culture?)

9. When you hear about other visible minority persons doing positive or negative things (e.g. in the news), how does this make you feel? Why?
   - Can you name positive/negative role models?

10. Do you think visible minorities that are different from you, have different advantages and/or disadvantages than you? Why or why not?
    - May need to provide a specific race/culture/ethnic identity to help with question (or perhaps different shades of darkness)

Student copy of third interview.

We will begin the interview by reviewing the main points that you shared with me in the second interview. You will have the opportunity to make any changes or add/delete any information you wish.

In our first interview, we spoke a lot about you. We talked about you, your friends and your family. In our second interview, we talked a little bit more about you and about your life in Canada You answered questions about multiculturalism, your culture and your identity. In our third interview, we are going to explore the idea of being a visible minority.

1. When you think about being _____ (ethnicity/race/culture), what do you think about? What do you feel? Do you have questions about it? What questions?

2. Have you ever heard of the term “visible minority” before? Can you describe what this term means to you?

3. How do you feel about the idea that you are someone who can be identified as a “visible minority”? Why?

4. How do you experience being a member of a visible minority? That is, can you describe events or incidences that you have experienced because you are a visible minority? How did this make you feel?

5. Have there been times where you feel that you have benefited from being a visible minority? Can you give me an example/some examples of when this happened?

6. Have there been times where you feel that being a visible minority is a disadvantage? Can you give me an example/some examples of when this happened?

7. Do you ever feel like you have extra responsibilities as a visible minority person? Why or why not? How does this make you feel?

8. Do you feel like you have to consciously work at representing visible minorities? Why or why not?

9. When you hear about other visible minority persons doing positive or negative things (e.g. in the news), how does this make you feel? Why?

10. Do you think visible minorities that are different from you, have different advantages and/or disadvantages than you? Why or why not?

Fourth Interview Schedule

1. Have you ever heard of the term "discrimination" before? Can you describe what this term means to you? Can you give some examples of what discrimination looks/sounds like?
   - Prompt for precision without influencing student definitions.
   - May consider asking for examples (personal or otherwise) to assist with defining.

2. Have you ever experienced discrimination? If so, what happened?

3. Have you ever heard of the term "racism" before? Can you describe what this term means to you? Can you give some examples of what racism looks/sounds like?
   - May consider asking for examples (personal or otherwise) to assist with defining.
   - Historical examples may also assist. Prompt for personal examples as experienced by family in order to elicit examples for self.

4. Have you ever experienced racism? If so, what happened?

5. Have you ever heard of the term "institutional racism" before? Can you describe what this term means to you? Can you give some examples of what institutional racism looks/sounds like?
   - If students have not heard of this or cannot define it, explain how the Canadian constitution was created and see if they are able to link this example to present day possibilities.

6. Have you ever experienced institutional racism? If so, what happened?
   - Prompt for examples in school.

7. The above questions have focused on negative things that can happen to a visible minority person like yourself. Is there something that you think you can do about these things that happen? Why or why not?

8. Can a visible minority adolescent like yourself develop positive personal ethnocultural identity when these things happen? Why or why not?

9. Does your ethnocultural identity assist you to be resilient against discrimination and racism? Why or why not?
   - Define/describe resilience.

10. If you were asked to give advice to other visible minority students about living in Alberta (or in this town, or in this school), what advice might you give them?
    - May need to provide areas of focus (e.g. in school, in sports, in church, etc.)

Student copy of the fourth interview.

We will begin the interview by reviewing the main points that you shared with me in previous interviews. You will have the opportunity to make any changes or add/delete any information you wish.

In our first interview, we spoke a lot about you. We talked about you, your friends and your family. In our second interview, we talked a little bit more about you and about your life in Canada. You answered questions about multiculturalism, your culture and your identity. In our third interview, we explored the idea of being a visible minority. Today we are going to talk about a difficult topic: discrimination and racism.

1. Have you ever heard of the term "discrimination" before? Can you describe what this term means to you? Can you give some examples of what discrimination looks/sounds like?

2. Have you ever experienced discrimination? If so, what happened?

3. Have you ever heard of the term "racism" before? Can you describe what this term means to you? Can you give some examples of what racism looks/sounds like?

4. Have you ever experienced racism? If so, what happened?

5. Have you ever heard of the term "institutional racism" before? Can you describe what this term means to you? Can you give some examples of what institutional racism looks/sounds like?

6. Have you ever experienced institutional racism? If so, what happened?

7. The above questions have focused on negative things that can happen to a visible minority person like yourself. Is there something that you think you can do about these things that happen? Why or why not?

8. Can a visible minority adolescent like yourself develop positive personal ethnocultural identity when these things happen? Why or why not?

9. Does your ethnocultural identity assist you to be resilient against discrimination and racism? Why or why not?

10. If you were asked to give advice to other visible minority students about living in Alberta (or in this town, or in this school), what advice might you give them?

This concludes our fourth interview. After I complete all the fourth interviews, I am likely to have more questions and contact you for a fifth interview. Thank you for your participation so far. I will be contacting you again in the near future.

Appendix D: Student Questionnaire

Adapted from The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)
www.calstatela.edu/sites/default/files/academic/psych/ftp/meim.doc

The MEIM was originally published in the following article:

Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research, (7),* 156-176.

It has been used in numerous studies and has shown good reliability (Phinney, N.D.). The measure considers two factors: an ethnic identity search and affirmation, belonging and commitment. The ethnic identity search addresses the developmental cognitive components of ethnocultural identity development, while affirmation, belong and commitment gauges the affective component of ethnocultural identity.

Ethnic identity search items are found within questions 1, 2, 4, 8, and 10 of the student questionnaire. Affirmation, belonging, and commitment items are questions 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12. Scoring requires the use of the mean of the item scores either overall, and/or within the two categories separately.

Phinney (N.D.) has provided permission for the MEIM to be used with modifications providing that summaries of papers or publications resulting from the study are forwarded to her at jphinne@calstatela.edu. The ethnic group names used on the adapted questionnaire were based on demographic information provided by Statistics Canada (2011).

Student Questionnaire

Adapted from The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)
www.calstatela.edu/sites/default/files/academic/psych/ftp/meim.doc

This survey is being conducted to gather information regarding ethnocultural identity. Ethnocultural identity refers to how a person thinks about his or her own culture, ethnicity and/or race. It is not necessarily about citizenship or nationality. For example, a girl whose great grandparents were Chinese, might be born in Canada but still considers herself to be Chinese. It is also possible that she no longer considers herself to be Chinese, but only Canadian. Or, she might consider herself Chinese-Canadian. Reflect on your own culture, ethnicity and/or race and answer the following questions. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnocultural group and how you feel about it or react to it.
Please fill in:

Student name or pseudonym: ___________________
In terms of ethnocultural group, I consider myself to be ____________________

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

1.	I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnocultural group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
2.	I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnocultural group.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
3.	I have a clear sense of my ethnocultural background and what it means for me.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
4.	I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnocultural group membership.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
5.	I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
6.	I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnocultural group.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
7.	I understand pretty well what my ethnocultural group membership means to me.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
8.	In order to learn more about my ethnocultural background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnocultural group.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
9.	I have a lot of pride in my ethnocultural group.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
10.	I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
11.	I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnocultural group.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
12.	I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**

<table>
<tr><td>13.</td><td>My ethnicity is (Check all that apply or provide your own response.)
White
Chinese
South Asian (for example, East Indian, Sri Lankan, etc.)
Black
Filipino
Latin American
Southeast Asian (for example, Vietnamese, Cambodian, etc.)
Arab
West Asian (for example, Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
Japanese
Korean
Aboriginal (for example, First Nations, Métis or Inuit)
Other. Please specify: ____________________________</td></tr>
<tr><td>14.</td><td>My father's ethnicity is (Check all that apply or provide your own response.)
White
Chinese
South Asian (for example, East Indian, Sri Lankan, etc.)
Black
Filipino
Latin American
Southeast Asian (for example, Vietnamese, Cambodian, etc.)
Arab
West Asian (for example, Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
Japanese
Korean
Aboriginal (for example, First Nations, Métis or Inuit)
Other. Please specify: ____________________________</td></tr>
<tr><td>15.</td><td>My mother's ethnicity is (Check all that apply or provide your own response.)
White
Chinese
South Asian (for example, East Indian, Sri Lankan, etc.)
Black
Filipino
Latin American
Southeast Asian (for example, Vietnamese, Cambodian, etc.)
Arab
West Asian (for example, Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
Japanese
Korean
Aboriginal (for example, First Nations, Métis or Inuit)
Other. Please specify: ____________________________</td></tr>
</table>

Please provide any comments that you would like to add about your ethnocultural identity. This could include any stories, artifacts, pictures, etc. that you would like to share regarding your ethnocultural identity.

Appendix E: Code Book

FAMILY and FRIENDS (begins as an external influence on ethnocultural identity, potentially moves to internal)			
Code:	Sub-Code	Descriptor:	Description:
IFI		Immediate Family Influence	
EFI		Extended family influence	
	EFH	Extended family help	assists with settlement
	EFL	Extended family location	lives close to relatives
SA-		Social access (negative)	either a lack of social access or negatively influenced by what social opportunities are available
SA+		Social access (positive)	friends involved in cultural practices (R) includes religion.
FA		Forced activity	parents require it be done
F-identity		Forced identity	taught to think in a specific way
Expectation		Expectations	levied on them by someone, not forced
	parental	Parental expectations	but not necessarily forced
	self	Self expectation	perhaps from generational expectations but self imposed
Distancing		Distancing	from the culture, not linking oneself to it
Time		Time	does not allow for cultural opportunities
Location		Location	limits access to opportunities
No exposure		No exposure	to other cultures (White normalization)
Immigration		Length of time since immigration	
Family support		In culturally difficult situations	

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE BASE (may begin as family influence, external to internal)		
Code:	Descriptor:	Description:
CK	Demonstrates cultural knowledge	can speak to cultural practices - food, clothing, customs, etc.
RK	Demonstrates religious knowledge	can speak about religion and religious practices
PR	Practices religion	
Trad+	Practices traditions	
Trad-	Practices/experiences negative traditions	perhaps stereotypical
CE	Cultural expression	expresses their culture through an external means e.g. Art, dance, etc.
Surface CE	Surface level cultural expression	surface level activities, not knowing/understanding deeper meaning
Innate CE	CE from within	student emanates this without effort
CE (null)	Cultural expression (null)	cultural expression (verbal or acted) is not present
CE-	Cultural expression (negative)	speaks to or addresses culture in a negative manner
C-exposure	Cultural exposure	e.g. Heritage days
L-expression	Language expression	e.g. Through art
L-	Language loss	or non-use
LU	Language use	able to speak or write or read
L-exposure	Language exposure	parents and/or extended family uses language and student has some familiarity
L-desire	Language desire	desires to learn more about and/or to speak their language
LICO	Lived in country of origin	and/or born
VCO	Visited country of origin	
Unrecognized	Unrecognized aspect of culture/identity	
Shares	Shares aspects of culture with those not of the same	
Hides	Does not share/hides differences in culture	
Historical ref	Historical reference to cultural and cultural issues	
KisP	Knowledge is power (as a form of resilience)	

EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE (internal influence)		
Code:	Descriptor:	Description:
E+	Emotional enjoyment/positive emotional experience	enjoys being involved
E-	Negative emotion	does not enjoy/appreciate something about their culture because ?
E?	Emotion, neither positive or negative	but associated with their culture
Avoids -	Avoidance	of negative situations or feelings in regards to own culture, eg. Unable to talk about racism
Regret	Regretful action, thought, emotion	about culture or an incident/thought linked to culture
Econ -	Negative economic impression	in regards to culture/home country
Pol-	Negative political impression	in regards to culture/home country
Impression-	Negative impression	in regards to culture/home country
MC+	Positive view of multiculturalism	
Embraces	Demonstrates embracing/pride in culture difference	
Pride	Produces feelings of culture pride	
Shame	Produces feelings of shame	associated with culture
Optimism	Demonstrates belief in change (+) in the future	
P exp	Personal experience evoking emotional response	
X response	Feel as though there are extra responsibilities	somewhat like being a visible minority can be a burden
Connect	A sense of connection	due to some sort of cultural understanding (e.g. both VM)/empathy towards others
6th Sense	Senses others perceptions/actions	of them are different based on race/culture
Cultural bond	Relationship developed based on common culture	
Racial bond	Relationship developed based on common race	
VM bond	Relationship developed based on visible difference	
"	Quotable statement that emphasizes the struggle	
Response+	Positive personal response from other people's comments	stated to them about their culture/race
Response-	Negative personal response from other people's comments	

QUESTIONING (internal influence)			
Code:	Sub-Code	Descriptor:	Description:
Q		Questioning	has explicit questions regarding aspects of his/her own culture
U2E		Unable to express	or struggles to express thoughts
DNK		Does not appear to know	non expression, does not know what/how to answer
NW2S		Not willing to share	either directly stated or get the sense they are not willing to talk about it
N2fit		Expresses a need to fit in to dominant culture	
Curiosity		General curiosity about culture (+ resilience?)	not equivalent to questioning one's one culture
Comparison	+	Compares cultures and views this positively	
	-	or negatively	
Contradiction		Provides contradictory information/sentiments	
Confusion		Experiences confusion surrounding cultural issues	

SOCIETAL INFLUENCE (external to internal)			
Code:	Sub-Code	Descriptor:	Description:
Aware	+	Aware of terms of difference	that this language exists where people view them differently
	≈	Has awareness	perhaps not full understanding
	-	Minimal understanding	
Unaware		Unaware of terms of difference	
Nul		Apparently not aware	of existing "invisible" forces working against ethnocultural development
Exp-		Negative experience	interviewee experiences negative incident due to ethnicity/culture
AStereo		Aligns with stereotypes	experiences that align societal stereotypes
	+	Positive alignment	views it as positive, likes it, agrees with it
	-	Negative alignment	views it as negative, dislikes it, disagrees with it
White as normal		Expresses white as being normal rather than a culture	particular applicable to the mixed race children/dismissive of white culture
WCN		experiences white culture normalization	negative effect on ECI
Assim		Assimilation	changes appearances, actions, etc. to be like others
Racism	innocent	Racist act perpetrated on interviewee based on	
	ignorant		
	purposeful		
Role model	Positive	Positive cultural role model	
	Negative	Role model who negates/diminishes cultural importance	

ETHNOCULTURAL IDENTITY FORMATION (internal, self-actualization)			
Code:	Sub-Code	Descriptor:	Description:
ECI		Ethnocultural identity	direct statement about his/her ethnocultural identity
Resilience	(stairs)	Positive resilience strategies	something done to counteract discrimination, racism, etc.
	(reverse stairs)	Questionable resilience strategies	
Neg. resilience	-	Negative to resilience	action that counteracts building resilience
	Unknown	Negative to resilience	perhaps unknowingly, not purposely done
Phinney	Identity diffusion	Not engaged in exploration	
	Foreclosure	identity with out exploration	
	Moratorium	seeking questioning	
	Identity formation	Identity based on experience, research	
DKW2D		Does not know what to do about situations	need for knowledge
Secret		Does not share information with others	e.g. Does not tell parents about something racist that happened
Dual		Dual identities	perhaps a daily identity versus a cultural identity enacted at a different time
Purebred		References being a distinct culture	rather than being multiple cultures mixed together
Unique	+	views being unique(VM) as positive	
	-	views being unique(VM) as negative	
Difference	+	difference as being positive	
	-	or negative	
Conscious choice		regarding actions/thoughts in regards to culture	or people's actions
KisP		Knowledge is power (as a form of resilience)	

Colour distinction		Demonstrates awareness of the colour distinction	i.e. Recognizes advantages and disadvantages associated with different visible minorities
Family support		Form of resilience	
Identity		Identity statement	versus a cultural statement, how identity is different from culture
No differentiation		Identity - culture, race, religion etc. viewed as the same	