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Media use and identity construction among Russian immigrants in Canada

by

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Abstract

The paper explores the role of media use (in both Russian and English) in the process of integration of middle-aged highly educated Russian immigrants in Canada. Five semi-structured interviews were conducted for this qualitative study and further analyzed using the Appraisal theory in order to reveal how the respondents evaluate their experience and how they position themselves in a new environment. The study combined a cross-cultural psychology model of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997) with a media type consumers' model (Adoni et al., 2006) to reveal the role of media consumption in the process of identity construction. The results of the study demonstrate that consumption of media is one of the factors that might affect the success of integration. However, other factors also need to be taken into account.

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Chapter 1: Immigration, integration and the role of media in it

Each year millions of people of different ages, backgrounds, ethnicities etc. leave their home countries for good in search for better life prospects. By crossing geographical boundaries and moving from one country to another they inevitably cross cultural boundaries as well. This, in turn, puts the newcomers in a rather difficult position when they have to adapt to a new environment by changing their behavior. Since the modern world is becoming more and more multicultural, it is no wonder that the questions of an individual's adaptation to a new environment, the challenges of co-existence of the members of ethnic groups and members of the host society, and immigration experience in general have become the focus of many studies in different disciplines.

Immigration is said to be an extremely stressful and challenging experience that might or might not result in an individual's integration into a new environment (Berry, 1997, 2001; Kim, 2001). The success of integration is said to depend on a number of macro- and micro-level factors. Macro-level factors include the society of origin (political and economic context, demographic situation), group acculturation (physical/ biological/ economic/ social/ cultural), and society of settlement (attitudes, social support). Micro-level factors that should also be considered are age, gender, education; status, migration motivation, expectations; cultural distance; personality (Berry, 1997, p. 15).

Among others, communication (both interpersonal and mass communication) is also claimed to be one of the crucial factors that is likely to predetermine one's successful adaptation. Interpersonal communication is essential since it is through such interactions that newcomers "observe and learn from native-born acquaintances and friends the standards of verbal and nonverbal communication practices, the underlying tacit assumptions, and the subtleties of the aesthetic and emotional sensibilities of the local people" (Kim, 2001, p. 122). Since this type of communication might be extremely stressful especially at the early stages of immigration due to language barriers as well as lack of knowledge of the social norms accepted in the host society, some individuals may try to avoid it. Mass communication, on the other hand, has a potential to at least partially fill in the gap in the host interpersonal communication by providing newcomers with "the broader range of host cultural elements...[such as] the culture's aspirations, traditions, history, myths, art, work, play, and humor, as well as current issues and events" (Kim, 2001, p. 131) in a less stressful manner than personal communication. Mass media are said to play a key role "in the social construction of multiple identities" and "enhancing social integration based on diversity" (Adoni et al., 2006, p. 20).

Research on immigration, integration and the role of media in it has received considerable attention from scholars adopting different approaches to the process of newcomers' adaptation to a new environment. This research has investigated issues of various scopes, and resulted in numerous findings. The next section provides an overview of previous research in the field of immigrants' integration into a new society and the role of mass media both in

the majority and minority languages in this process. Sociological and cross-cultural psychological approaches to the study of integration are outlined first (1.1). Close attention is given to the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches as related to the study's research question. Further on different factors that influence the success of integration are discussed with a special focus on media use (1.2). And finally, the research question is presented (1.3).

1.1. Social and psychological approaches to integration

Integration as a complex phenomenon has been studied in different academic disciplines. There appears to be numerous approaches, definitions and meanings attached to it. Some of the terms used instead of integration include acculturation (e.g., Dato-on, 2000), cross-cultural adaptation (e.g., Shah, 1991), cross-cultural adjustment (e.g., Jou and Fukada, 1996; Takeuchi et al., 2002), social and cultural adjustment (Elias, 2003). Esser (2000) argues that "the problem of finding a precise definition of integration in multicultural societies results from the fact that the position of minorities in these societies includes every possible mode of interaction between people and their social environment, such as conflict, segregation, adaptation of behavior of values, status acquisition, and so forth" (as cited in Adoni et al., 2006, p. 13). The complexity of the phenomenon also led to the fact that it has been studied mainly from the sociological and psychological approaches. They are outlined below.

Sociological approach

According to Adoni et al. (2006), the sociological approaches to the study of immigrants' integration into a new society and its consequences to modern societies today are based on Lockwood's (1964) concepts of system integration and social integration. System integration refers to the way different institutions function in a certain society independent of the individuals' motives. Social integration, on the other hand, focuses on the relationships between individuals in a certain society, ways of co-operation between different society members. In other words, it refers more to an individual's inclusiveness in society on a larger scale. Esser (2000) claimed that the minority group can be considered assimilated into the majority society «when the overall distributions of cognitive patterns, formal positions, social interactions, and identification motives are similar among minorities and majorities» (as cited in Adoni et al., 2006, p. 13).

The immigrants' command of the majority language also has a role to play in all aspects of social integration. Adoni et al. (2006) argue that the system integration that provides opportunities for the immigrants' participation in the educational system, job market as well as accessibility of media developed for the minority group plays an important role in facilitating language acquisition. Within this perspective, the success of minorities' social integration strongly depends on both the minority's integration as a group, i.e. structural assimilation, which allows access to the societal institutions, and an individual's integration,

i.e. a minority group member's status «in the society's socioeconomic and cultural structure» (p. 14). An individual's decision to assimilate or not to a new environment appears to be crucial as well. Given certain barriers on the way to socioeconomic inclusion, members of minority groups may often choose not to cross the boundaries of their ethno-cultural communities but rather stay within them and «invest their resources into advancing their social position within the minority group» (Adoni et al., 2006, p. 14) which leads to the society's «ethnic stratification» (p. 14).

While the sociological approach explains how various communities coexist in multicultural societies as well as emphasizes the role of socioeconomic factors in the process of integration, it completely ignores the cultural component. The latter matters insofar as a reduction of minorities' social integration to structural assimilation ignores “the inner dynamics of cultural transition, identity construction, and other integration modes” (Adoni et al., 2006, p. 14). It is the crucial role of communication in general and mass media in particular that is missing from this approach although it is essential in order to comprehend the complex relations between the members of different minority and majority groups.

Cross-cultural psychological approach and Berry's model of acculturation strategies (2001)

Cross-cultural psychology adds a new perspective to the question of an individual's integration into a new society by analyzing the links between the cultural context and the behavior of minority group members. Berry (2001) offered four possible strategies of acculturation a member of the minority group might choose or be forced to choose by society, namely, assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. The classification is based on two main principles: 1) the degree to which an immigrant agrees to participate in the host culture, in other terms, to develop majority identity, and 2) the degree to which he deems necessary to maintain his own culture, that is to preserve his cultural or minority identity.

Assimilation takes place when immigrants prefer not to maintain any cultural heritage but rather interact actively with other cultures on a daily basis; in other words they strive to give up their ethnic identity in favor of the majority identity. Separation, on the contrary, refers to the acculturation strategy when immigrants refuse to interact with others, but rather focus on preserving their own culture. In this case, it is the ethnic identity that is pursued. When a person is eager to do both, maintain the culture of origin and interact with others, then integration takes place; although cultural identity is maintained here to some extent, immigrants also make an effort to become an integral part of the majority society by participating in its life. In case of integration, a person succeeds in developing a new identity maintaining their ethnic identity as well. And finally, when a person neither seeks contact with the others nor strives to maintain their own culture, such strategy is defined as marginalization. In this case, a member of the minority community neither tries to maintain ethnic identity, nor develop

a majority one. Berry (1997) argues that of all the four, integration is considered to be the most successful in terms of immigrants' wellbeing and positive adaptation experience and marginalization the least, with assimilation and separation strategies taking an intermediate position.

A number of studies in cross-cultural psychology demonstrated that immigrants' ability "to find flexible ways to acquire new identities" (Adoni et al., 2006, p. 18) is crucial in the process of integration. Berry (1990) claimed that a lower level of acculturation stress and a higher level of self-esteem are directly related to a person's ability to develop flexible acculturation attitudes. Hall (1993) argued that the minority group members in modern pluralistic societies are faced with the necessity to develop hybrid identities, i.e. the one of the majority society and the one of their culture of origin. In other words, they have to learn to interact in at least two cultural languages and be able to negotiate between them. Adoni et al. (2006) suggest that development of such a dual identity does not necessarily follow the marginalization-acculturation-integration continuum that is characteristic of the societies with the «melting pot» ideology, «but rather creates a condition that allows for belonging simultaneously to the majority and to the minority» (p. 18).

Both sociological and cross-cultural psychological approaches add their own perspective to the study of integration. The sociological approach analyzes this phenomenon on a macro-level, focusing on the society at large, its institutions and whether minority groups have access to them and to what extent. The psychological approach, on the other hand, approaches integration on a micro-level, paying more attention to how a certain cultural context influences an individual's behavior and facilitates or hinders the process of adaptation to a new environment. In this study, the focus will be on identity construction among a specific group of Russian immigrants in Canada, and to this end, a cross-cultural approach in general and Berry's theory (1997, 2001) in particular are deemed preferable. Indeed this theoretical framework refers to the interplay between the development of a majority identity and maintenance of the minority one. In what follows, a closer look will be taken at a variety of factors that might influence the success of integration with a special focus on the role of media in the majority and minority languages in this process.

1.2. Factors influencing integration

In what follows, various factors that are said to influence the success of one's integration will be outlined (1.2.1.). Special attention will be given to media use in the majority and minority languages as one of the crucial factors that might facilitate integration (1.2.2.).

1.2.1. Kim's integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation (2001)

Although the problem of an individual's adaptation to a new environment has been thoroughly studied within different disciplines and

numerous factors that might hinder/facilitate the process have been pointed out, it appears that most of the studies lacked a solid cohesive framework that would encompass both macro- and micro-level factors leading to successful adaptation. Kim (2001) made an attempt to fill this gap and proposed an integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation. This theory appeared as a result of the researcher's "effort to see cross-cultural adaptation in its entity" (p. xi). Within this theory the following factors have been outlined: 1) personal communication (host communication competence), 2) social communication, 3) environment, and 4) predisposition.

Personal communication: host communication competence

Host communication competence refers to an individual's ability to effectively encode and decode information one receives in the host environment in accordance with the norms and rules accepted in this environment. Language knowledge, understanding of how the culture functions, one's ability to act in accordance with the norms accepted in the host society, adaptation motivation, identity flexibility, aesthetic co-orientation, - all of these are components of host communicative competence.

Knowledge of the host language has been pointed out by many researchers as one of the key components of successful integration. Command of the majority language inevitably has a strong influence on the success or failure of one's integration since it defines the extent to which a member of the minority group will be able to participate in the life of the majority community, use the socioeconomic opportunities offered by the host society as well as understand the symbolic environment created by the majority media (Adoni et al., 2006; Kim, 1977). It is both the linguistic knowledge (knowledge of the language rules) as well as the pragmatic one (knowledge about the actual use of the language in everyday life) that are pointed out as essential elements of host communication competence.

Apart from mastering the host language skills, getting a deep understanding "of the cultural and subcultural milieu that provides the context for specific situations" (Kim, 2001, p. 104) is also extremely important. This is a lifelong task, which requires an extra effort from an individual and willingness to understand the new environment he now lives in. The task is enormous since "a deeper –level understanding of the local culture involves knowledge of its historical, political, economic, religious, and educational institutions as well as its values, ideologies, arts, sciences, technologies, attitudes, beliefs, values, and reciprocal role requirements" (p. 104). In order to achieve this task one should be willing to adapt and acquire skills and knowledge necessary for successful adaptation to a new environment.

One's adaptation motivation – willingness to participate in the life of the host community – is a crucial factor that can facilitate adaptation. The stronger one's willingness to adapt, the easier the process will be. And vice versa, one's unwillingness to change is likely to slow down the process of integration resulting in distress and dissatisfaction with the immigration

experience in general. Adaptation motivation is closely linked with one's ability to exert and develop different identities necessary for successful functioning in the host society when interacting with the members of the host and ethnic communities. A number of researchers have emphasized the importance of developing what is called dual or hybrid identity (Adoni et al., 2006; Berry, 2001; Hall, 1993). It is the development of this identity that allows the newcomers to preserve their cultural heritage and at the same time develop the skills necessary for successful existence in the host culture.

Finally, for cross-cultural adaptation to be successful, it is important for an individual to find ways to satisfy his/her aesthetic needs in the host environment as well as develop an appreciation for the system of aesthetics existing in the host society. One's ability to enjoy the aesthetic world of the host culture is extremely important since it allows the newcomers to participate in a new culture and feel part of it.

Social communication

According to Kim (2001), "host communication competence is directly and reciprocally connected to participation in the interpersonal and mass communication activities in the host society" (p. 74). Social communication may take place on both the macro level through mass communication and micro level at schools, workplaces, neighborhoods etc. Whereas interpersonal communication provides opportunities for face-to-face interactions with "people in the immediate social environment" (p. 74), mass communication offers opportunities for communication through mediated communication channels.

Host social communication (both interpersonal and mass communication) is vital since it is through interactions with the native-born members of the host society and participation in their mass communication that a newcomer can not only build new personal and professional relationships but also receive essential information about cultural values and norms. Interpersonal communication with the native-born members of the host society might be problematic for some individuals especially at the early stages of transition from one society to the other due to language and psychological barriers. Mass communication, on the other hand, appears to be less stressful since it requires "little or no involvement in personalized relationships with specific individuals" (Kim, 2001, p. 76).

Ethnic social communication (both interpersonal and mass communication) also appears to play a role in the newcomers' success of adaptation. On the one hand, "ethnic communities provide strangers with access to their original cultural experience" (Kim, 2001, p. 76). In other words, they have the potential to provide the newcomers a less stressful environment especially at the beginning of immigration. Conversely an individual's preference for ethnic interpersonal communication is said to affect negatively the development of their host communication competence: the longer they refuse to participate in the activities offered by the host community, the longer it will take for them to develop the skills necessary for successful communication

with the native-born members of the host society. The same appears to be true as far as ethnic media use is concerned. Although it is said to perform a number of important functions, like informational, entertainment, educational etc., reliance on this media only might prevent the newcomers from using the host media. Despite the fact that some studies support this statement (e.g., Walker, 1999), more recent research revealed that this is not always true (see below).

Although Kim (2001) includes mass communication in her framework, the question of media use in the majority and minority languages in relation to identity development does not seem to get sufficient attention. Further on (see below) a closer look will be taken at theories/models that focus on media consumption in general and its role in integration in particular.

Environment

The host environment is claimed to be one of the factors that might help “shape the nature of the strangers’ adaptation process” (Kim, 2001, p. 78). Host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength are pointed out as the main components of this phenomenon.

Host receptivity refers to the extent to which the host society is ready to accept a certain minority group. Some ethnic groups might be more/less accepted in certain societies than others. A number of factors might explain this including but not limited to cultural proximity/difference, racial similarities/differences, perceived status of certain groups as opposed to others, the nature of relationships between the host country and that of newcomers’ birth etc. (p. 79).

Host conformity pressure is yet another factor to keep in mind. It is reflected in the degree to which the host environment forces the newcomers to accept the norms and values of the host society and its communication system. In the societies, which proffer assimilation as a desired outcome of one’s immigration experience, the host conformity pressure is inevitably higher than in the societies that welcome a pluralistic ideology. Similarly, Berry (2001) emphasizes that society’s acceptance of diversity/multiculturalism, “low levels of prejudice and discrimination, positive mutual attitudes among ethno-cultural groups, and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all individuals and groups“ (p. 619) are all important factors that have a role to play in the adaptation process.

The degree to which a certain host society forces receptivity and conformity pressure on the newcomers is closely linked with the strength of the immigrants’ ethnic group. It is claimed that strong ethnic groups are capable of providing strong ethnic communities and subcultures for its members. Similar with the conflict between intensive use of ethnic media and lack of media use in the host language, which was outlined earlier (see *Social communication* in 1.2.1), an individual’s active involvement with the ethnic community is said to impede the participation in the host community’s activities. This is claimed to be true in case ethnic groups are trying hard to pursue “political aspirations of building an identity separate from, or even in conflict with the identity of the

larger environment” (p. 81). Further research, however, revealed that this might not always be true (e.g., Adoni et al., 2006).

Predisposition

Although the external conditions described above do have a role to play in the success of one’s adaptation to a new environment, a number of internal factors should also be considered such as preparedness for change, ethnic proximity, and personal characteristics.

Each individual embarks on the immigration experience with different degrees of preparedness for change, which presupposes one’s readiness to learn about a new society and adapt to it. The amount of cultural learning done before relocating to a different country is claimed to have a positive effect on one’s success of integration. Research also shows that those individuals who received sufficient information prior to arrival about the host culture and society, are likely to set more realistic goals and as such be better prepared psychologically for the transition (Kim, 2001; Berry, 1997, 2001). Such factors as the amount of formal education, training received in the host society, previous cross-cultural experiences, - all affect the degree of individuals’ preparedness for change.

Not only do immigrants arrive with a different degree of preparedness for change, but also their ethnic characteristics are different and might affect the adaptation process. Ethnic proximity is defined as “the degree of stranger’s overall ethnic similarity and compatibility relative to the mainstream ethnicity of the natives” (Kim, 2001, p. 83). Physical attributes that make certain ethnicities stand out (skin color, facial features etc.) as well as cultural values that differ greatly from the ones accepted in the host society might all serve as obstacles the newcomers will have to face while adapting to a new environment.

And finally, different individuals possess different personal characteristics that might hinder or facilitate the process of adaptation. Openness, strength, and positivity are named among the characteristics that are crucial for an individual in order to succeed in adapting to the host society.

Openness is defined as “a dimension of personality that enables strangers to seek to acquire new knowledge, to participate in the communication processes of the new environment, and to expand the range of their aesthetic sensibilities and their repertoires of habitual behaviors” (Kim, 2001, p. 84). Strength refers mainly to an individual’s ability to resist the challenges from the environment and react in a way that allows him/her not to be seriously damaged by them. Strong individuals are known to be able to view challenges as stimuli for further actions, whereas low levels of strength may be revealed through shyness, distress when facing difficult situations. And finally, positivity is defined as a personal attribute that allows an individual to see the bright side of things as opposed to focusing on the problematic ones. It is the positive-minded individuals who are said to be more eager to be involved in the life of the host community and engage in different activities with the native-born members.

1.2.2. Media use

A number of researchers point out the crucial role of media use in the process of newcomers' integration into a new society. Some studies point out a core role of mass media in the process of constructing new identities and facilitating social integration in diverse societies thanks to "creating a social and political reality that provides general reference system for both majority and minority communities" (Adoni et al., 2006, p. 20). The research literature reveals that the role of media in both majority and minority languages in the process of immigrants' integration might often have a conflicting nature since, on the one hand, they have the potential to facilitate adjustment to a new society, but on the other hand they can also result in maintenance of one's cultural identity and as a result social alienation and segregation from the host society (Riggins, 1992).

Dual role of media in the majority language in identity construction

Research shows that immigrants' exposure to the host media is crucial in the immigrants' process of acquiring new knowledge about a new society and their place in it. Kim (2001) claims that it is through the use of mass media that immigrants acquire essential information about certain cultural values, traditions, different aspects of everyday life, current events etc. Host media's role lies in that it "allows[s] for the expression of legitimate manifestations of otherness and create[s] a symbolic environment that rests on mutual observation of groups and the acknowledgment of differences in interest and identity" (Adoni et al., 2006, p. 24). Hence greater consumption of the host media is often linked with a higher level of acculturation (Becker, 1998; Chaffee, Naas & Yang, 1990; Stilling, 1997). At the same time, the host media might often act as a powerful instrument for creating and nurturing negative stereotypes about members of minority groups (Elias, 2003) thus leading to their social isolation and alienation (Halloran, 1998; Keshishian, 2000).

Dual role of media in the minority language in identity construction

Similarly, media in the minority language often play a double role too: on the one hand, they help satisfy the immigrants' immediate needs, especially at the early stages of their integration into a new society by providing essential information in the immigrants' native language about the host society and ways of accommodating to it (Walker, 1999; Adoni et al., 2006) while encouraging cultural identity enhancement "in terms of the specific group's self-definition" (Adoni et al., 2006, p. 21). In other words, minority media help maintain the newcomers' cultural heritage and solidify their inter-group solidarity (Elias, 2003; Fathi, 1973; Goldlust & Richmond, 1974; Jeffres & Hur, 1983; Kim, 1980; Lum, 1991). On the other, exclusive reliance on ethnic media might slow down the process of immigrants' involvement with the host communication activities including the use of the host mass media. Although some studies reveal that predominant use of ethnic media might lead to immigrants' lack of

interest in the host media (Kim, 2001), others show that the newcomers may successfully use both ethnic and host media and benefit from both without jeopardizing either the development of the majority or maintenance of the minority identities (Adoni et al., 2006).

Exposure to the majority and minority media and its role in immigrants' integration

A number of studies tried to examine the effect of exposure to media in both the majority and minority languages on the immigrants' identity construction in the process of integration into a new society. One of the most comprehensive studies was conducted by Lee & Tse (1994) who studied immigrants from Hong-Kong to Canada. Their findings suggest that the degree of immigrants' acculturation to new social norms established in the host society is significantly related to the media exposure in both the minority and majority languages (ethnic and host media respectively). In particular, by applying a multiple regression model they found out that higher exposure to the host media in combination with lower exposure to ethnic media is significantly related to the degree of participants' adaptation to the host society's social norms when personal variables were controlled (Lee & Tse, 1994). On the contrary, higher exposure to the ethnic media accompanied by lower exposure to the host media were found to be significantly related to the maintenance of immigrant's culture of origin and lower level of acculturation.

Media content and its role in integration

Other studies (Johnson, 1996; Walker, 1999) also revealed another important aspect of media exposure as related to acculturation, namely specific media content appears to play an important role in the immigrants' integration. Johnson's (1996) findings regarding the habits of American television consumption among female Hispanic immigrants suggest that those immigrants who identified more with talk shows as well as used television for language learning purposes and information purposes (for instance, learning more about American women lifestyle) revealed the lowest levels of acculturation stress, whereas those who identified with comedies were reported to have higher acculturation stress. Kim's studies on Korean immigrants revealed similar results: information-oriented content was "associated with formation of host relational ties" (2001, p. 132) more than entertainment-oriented one.

In line with these findings, Walker's (1999) research on Haitian immigrants in Miami reveals that different media content immigrants are exposed to plays an important role in the immigrants' adaptation. Thus, Haitian local radio content appeared to have more adaptation value than did ethnic newspaper content due to the fact that it was the radio that provided more information about the life of the host society, whereas the newspaper content focused mostly on the political events happening in Haiti. Hence, immigrants exposed to the local radio in the minority language showed a higher level of

adaptation than those exposed more to the newspaper content in the minority language due to differences in the content.

It should be further noted that besides the factors mentioned earlier, immigrants' personal preferences, taste, and life circumstances are among factors that might influence media choice. As a result, media use can be extremely diverse for various immigrants with acculturation being only one of the many possible results of this process (Elias, 2003).

Mass communication theories explaining the role of media in integration

In order to explain the role media in the majority and minority languages play in the process of immigrants' integration into the host society a number of theories have been used.

According to the "Uses and Gratifications Theory" (Hwang & He, 1999; Yang et al., 2004), it is the immigrants' desire to fulfill certain needs (professional, leisure, information etc.) that might influence the choice of certain media. A number of studies have applied this theory. For instance Hwang & He (1999) in their comprehensive study on the Chinese immigrants' community in the Silicon Valley found out that there was a clear division between the use of certain media in both Chinese and English languages in order to fulfill immigrants' various needs. The findings suggest that host media was preferred in order to fulfill the need to integrate into an American society, whereas media in the native language that originated in China fulfilled the informative and entertainment needs, i.e. they were used to receive information about the home country as well as receive some kind of entertainment. The media in Chinese that originated in the U.S. fulfilled the integrative and cognitive needs as related to a new society as well as the needs for cultural maintenance. Similarly, Yang et al. (2004) in their study on Chinese students media use and acculturation in the United States claim that not only do individuals have different acculturation needs that influence the choice of particular kinds of media, but also that "various media outlets may play very different roles in fulfilling those needs" (p. 92).

Two other theories in the field of mass communication, the "Dependency Model of Mass Media Effects" and the "Knowledge Gap Theory", might also explain the roles media play in the integration process. According to the "Dependency Model", «the dependence on the mass media is affected by the structural characteristics of a given society, namely whether that society is stable or within a process of change» (Elias, 2003). Since immigration places the newcomers in an intensive process of change this theory might be applied to the study of immigrants (Ball-Rokeach & De-Fleur, 1976).

According to the "Knowledge Gap Theory", there are huge gaps of knowledge between different socio-economic strata in modern societies. This idea can be applied to the study of immigrants, especially in the first years of their stay in a new society which is characterized by their lack of knowledge of the majority language, their civil rights, socio-economic situation etc. Within this theory it is argued that it is the communication ability of media consumers

as well as their motivation and ability to gather any kind of information that will facilitate the reduction of these gaps (Elias, 2003) and help them to better integrate into a new society.

Adoni et al. (2006) introduced a model of media type consumers based on the amount of media consumed in the majority and minority languages by Russian and Arab immigrants in Israel. In this study on the use of media in relation to adaptation strategies they revealed that the amount of exposure to media in both majority and minority languages facilitated the development of the majority and minority identities respectively. They underline the crucial role of the language of the media since it is viewed as “the tool for the social construction of reality, because it connects individuals to the larger cultural context and to the political and social agenda of the community” (p. 18). The four types of immigrant media consumers are as follows: 1) dualists (high consumption of media in both languages), 2) adapters (high consumption of media in the majority language and lower of that in the minority language), 3) separatists (high consumption of media in the minority language and low consumption of that in the majority language), and 4) detached (low consumption of media in both languages).

This model adds a new perspective to Berry’s (2001) cross-cultural psychological model of acculturation strategies by looking at media consumption in both the majority and minority languages as a crucial factor that might facilitate/hinder the development of the majority and minority identities respectively. In particular, dualists would appear to adopt integration acculturation strategy resulting in the development of a hybrid identity, adapters an assimilation strategy, and separatists a separation strategy, and finally, detached users a marginalization acculturation strategy. Both models are used in this study in order to see whether their combined use will help reveal the role of media use in the process of integration of a specific group of immigrants.

It should be noted further, that within Adoni et al.’s model both macro- and micro-level factors are said to have an influence on the choice of media in either majority or minority language. On a macro-level it is the minority group's social status as well as the nature of the media available to them that play a role in the choice of media. On a micro-level a variety of personal factors such as age, gender, level of education and competence in the majority language might influence the choice of media.

Elias (2011) applied this model in her qualitative research on the media consumption trends of Russian immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel and claimed the importance of considering immigrants’ media uses as an integral part of their acculturation strategy rather than as a characteristic that exists independently «leading to acculturation (in the case of the host media) or to social isolation (in the case of the homeland media)” (p. 76). The findings of this extensive qualitative study suggest that media consumption patterns in both languages reflect the complexity and dynamics of immigrants' adaptation revealing at the same time development of a new identity and maintenance of the old one. In order to assess the respondents’ Israeli and Russian identities, immigrants’ preferences in media formats were analyzed with a special focus on

current events in the immigrants' country of origin as opposed to those aimed at Israel's public agenda. Patterns of trust towards the information sources from Russia and Israel were also assessed. Similarly, the identities of Russian, Israeli and Jewish minority group members were analyzed based on their preference for different media formats, including cultural and entertainment media targeted at the audiences from the respective cultures.

The findings of Elias's research suggest that although intensive media consumption in the minority language reveals a segregative trend among the Russian immigrants, media in Russian at the same time contribute to the immigrants' knowledge about Israeli society, current events, country's history etc. The findings thus refute previous conclusions that the media in the Russian (minority) language «preserve the closed boundaries of the Russian-speaking immigrant community, thus causing their isolation, alienation and lack of integration» (Elias, 2011, p. 78). The findings of the study suggest that on the one hand, high exposure to media content associated with the Russian language and culture served as a basis for identifying the cultural boundaries of the Former Soviet Union immigrants' ethnic community. On the other hand, however, consumption of media in Russian that was oriented towards the new society, its cultural values, events, political agendas etc. facilitated construction of a new identity and as a result, reconfiguration of these boundaries.

An overview of the topics studied in the area of immigrants' media use and integration

So far, the use of media among different minority groups as related to their acculturation strategies has received considerable attention from researchers in many disciplines. Among the minority groups studied are Chinese (Lum, 1991; Hwang and He, 1999; Yang et al., 2004), Korean (Kim, 1977), Brazilian (Reis, 2010), Venezuelan (Shumow, 2010), Spanish (Masgoret and Gardner, 2010), Haitian (Walker, 1999), and immigrants in Hawaii (Wang and Kincaid, 1982). Some of the issues studied include the relationships between media consumption in the majority and minority languages and the development of the majority identity and maintenance of cultural identity (Adoni et al., 2006), functions of media for minority groups (Adoni et al., 2006; Elias, 2011), the role of the Internet in the adaptation process of adolescent immigrants (Elias & Lemish, 2009) and older immigrants (Khvorostianov et al., 2012), economic and cultural assimilation and the role of media in this process (Lum, 1991), relations between language proficiency, acculturation strategies and well-being of the immigrants (Masgoret & Gardner, 2010), media use and interpersonal relationships in the process of adaptation (Walker, 1999), the role of media use in the development of immigrant communities (Shumow, 2010). To investigate the role of the minority group members' media use patterns as related to acculturation, some researchers focused on the study of structural factors, such as the country's integration policy, the majority's attitude towards immigration in general (Berry, 1997; Reis, 2010), while others analyzed the role of personal variables, such as age, gender, occupation, income etc. (Adoni et al., 2006;

Yang et al., 2004; Walker, 1999, Kim 1988; Parker, 1966). The findings suggest that there are common patterns of media use among different communities with each cultural context adding specific characteristics to media use habits (Becker, 1998; Lee & Tse, 1994; Walker, 1999).

1.3. Research question

As previous research shows, the role of media in the process of integration of immigrants into a new society has received considerable attention from scholars in different fields. Whereas some researchers focused on very specific factors that might play a role in integration (for instance, age, education, income, status etc.), others claimed the importance of using a unified framework that would include a wide range of factors for the study of integration. It appears that no framework has been developed for the study of identity construction as related to media use specifically. Berry's model of acculturation strategies (2001) and Adoni et al.'s model of media type consumers (2006) were specifically developed to investigate the process of immigrants' majority identity construction and minority identity maintenance and the role of media use in the majority and minority languages in this process. In this study they are combined in order to investigate the role of media use in a specific group of Russian immigrants' acculturation process. In particular, this study investigates whether the four acculturation strategies based on the degree of majority identity development and minority identity maintenance correspond to the types of media consumers defined by their use of media in the majority and minority languages.

As previous research shows, a number of different immigrant groups have received scholarly attention. However, it appears that highly educated middle-aged newcomers have been neglected. And yet, there are several reasons why this particular group deserves to be studied. Firstly, they seem to be at a disadvantage from the very early stages of immigration, since according to the *Citizenship and Immigration Canada*, it is not them, but rather "younger immigrants, who are more likely to acquire valuable Canadian experience, are better positioned to adapt to changing labor market conditions, and who will spend a greater number of years contributing to Canada's economy" (2012) that are the most welcomed group of immigrants to Canada today. Although this position is understandable since it is the younger immigrants who are likely to have less problems adapting to a new environment through learning the host language, acquiring new skills necessary for the life in a new society (for instance, socialization rules and norms), as well as getting education in the host society, immigrants who came to Canada at an older age also constitute a considerable part of the immigrant population and deserve attention.

Secondly, the group of immigrants under investigation has a strong potential to contribute to the host society's economic, cultural and intellectual development since they are highly educated: it enriches their cultural diversity with the benefits of its higher education. According to Berry (1997), "cultural diversity enhances society's adaptability: alternative ways of living are available

in a social system when attempting to meet changing circumstances, due to changes in society's ecological, or political, context" (p. 29). Failure to integrate due to different reasons would likely result in the loss of their professional skills acquired in the homeland, personal distress and an overall dissatisfaction with the experience. In other words, if such immigrants were not provided with opportunities for successful integration, both the host society and an individual would be at a disadvantage: the society as it could not benefit from the professional skills the newcomers already have, and the immigrants because of their inability to apply their skills and be better integrated into the host society. The study of this particular group of immigrants could highlight some potential challenges they face and the steps both the society of origin and the host one would need to take to make sure that they can adapt to a new environment in a beneficial way for both themselves and the host society.

Apart from investigating the integration process of a very specific group of newcomers and the role of media in it, this study also aims to demonstrate the usefulness of combining content and linguistics analyses by providing a systematic analysis of immigrants' language use when they speak about their media use habits in relation to acculturation strategies. The purpose of this combined approach is to reveal not only how this group of immigrants use media and the role it plays in their integration, but also their overall attitude towards their immigration experience. By doing so one would be able to get a deeper understanding of underlying motives that might govern immigrants' behavior, their un-/willingness to integrate, their choice of media and the overall process of their immigration experience.

To sum up, the study investigates the role of media use in the process of identity construction of a very specific group of immigrants by combining a sociological and a psychological theory of media use and identity construction. In particular, it aims at revealing whether there is a correspondence between types of media consumers and acculturation strategies. Finally, this is completed by the analysis of the respondents' language use in order to shed light onto the respondents' overall attitude towards their immigration experience, their media choice and their identity construction.

The following chapter will provide an overview of the theoretical framework used for this study, outline the data collection process as well as provide a detailed list of categories used for data coding and analysis.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the data collection process (2.1), outlines the main categories used for the content analysis of the data (2.2) as well as the categories used for the linguistic analysis of the data (2.3).

2.1. Data collection

In order to investigate the role of media use in English and Russian among a specific group of Russian immigrants to Canada in the process of their integration into the host society, five semi-structured interviews were conducted. As it has been stated earlier (section 1.3), the group under investigation consists of Russian immigrants who have lived in Canada for more than 10 years, are Canadian citizens, received their highest level of education (a PhD) in their home country and arrived in Canada in their 30s-40s when they still faced the necessity to develop their careers, apply their professional skills received in a different cultural environment to a new setting, settle down and raise up children in a new environment. The latter is important since the parents' strategy regarding preservation of the native language and culture among children at least to some extent might indicate the importance placed on preserving the minority identity.

The interview (Appendix 1) consisted of 11 pre-determined questions which were subdivided into three main categories: 1) demographic information (age, occupation, highest level of education, amount of years spent in Canada), 2) media use patterns (types of media use, reasons for using certain types of media, use of ethnic media etc.), 3) identity construction (adaptation strategies employed, degree of participation in host society, cultural identity maintenance etc.). The interviews were conducted in Russian.

The data was collected using a snowball sampling. It should be noted here that the data collection method might have influenced the results of the study to some extent. Since it is my supervisor who referred me to two respondents, they were aware of the fact that she would read the work, in other words, have access to the information they provided. This might have influenced what information they were eager to share and what not. These two respondents in turn referred me to two other respondents whom my supervisor might know as well. Since her name was on the ethics form the respondents were aware from the very beginning that she would have access to the data analyzed in this study. All of this might have a role to play in the information shared by the respondents. I directly contacted the fifth respondent who may also know my supervisor.

2.2. Content analysis of media consumption

In order to answer the research question, two models of integration and media use, namely Berry's model of acculturation strategies (2001) and Adoni et al.'s model of media type consumers (2006), are combined because of their

focus on the analysis of identity construction and the role of media use in this process.

In this study it is hypothesized that the four types of media consumers outlined in Adoni et al.'s model (2006) – dualists, adapters, separatists, and detached – correspond to the four acculturation strategies suggested by Berry, namely, integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (Table 1). Indeed, dualists appear to develop the majority identity and strengthen the minority one thanks to intensive use of media in both languages. The identity development pattern seems to correspond with the integration acculturation strategy. Adapters predominantly develop the majority identity by consuming mostly media in the majority language without strengthening the minority one. Thus, they seem to follow the assimilation acculturation strategy. Separatists, on the contrary, strengthen the minority identity by using media mostly in the minority language without developing the majority one. As such, they appear to follow the separation acculturation strategy. And finally, the detached media consumers do not develop either identity. By doing so they seem to follow the marginalization acculturation strategy.

While Adoni et al.'s study (2006) was quantitative, this study follows a qualitative approach, combining content and linguistic analyses. Furthermore, this study also differs from Adoni's by the respective characteristics of the Russian immigrant population (the minority group members' cultural background, demographics, conditions of immigration - political and economic) in Israel and in Canada. The qualitative approach adopted here allows for a more in-depth analysis of a very specific question.

Table 1: Acculturation strategies and media type consumers

Media consumption in		Type of media consumer	Type of identity strengthened by consumption	Hypothesized corresponding acculturation strategy
majority language	minority language			
Adoni, Cohen & Caspi (2006)				Berry (2001)
High	High	Dualists	Dual/hybrid identity	Integration (Both cultural maintenance and contact and participation are considered important)
High	Low	Adapters	Majority identity	Assimilation (Daily interactions with other cultures is more important than cultural maintenance)
Low	High	Separatists	Minority/ethnic identity	Separation (Cultural maintenance is more important; interaction with others is avoided)
Low	Low	Detached	N/A	Marginalization (Interest in neither cultural maintenance nor interactions with other cultures)

Based on the combined use of the two theories, three main categories have been defined for the content analysis of media consumption as related to identity construction: use of media in English and construction of the majority identity (2.2.1), use of media in Russian and construction of the minority identity (2.2.2), and finally, minority/majority language use (2.2.3). In what follows, a detailed description of each category will be presented. It should be noted here, that by providing a certain structure to the analysis of each interview, the categories outlined above limited it. However, as results will show, their use still allowed for questions to be raised and their potentials answers to go far beyond their definitions.

2.2.1. Use of media in English and construction of the majority identity

2.2.1.1. Consumption of media

Consumption of media in the majority language is said to be extremely important in the process of immigrants' adaptation to life in a new society (Adoni et al., 2006; Kim, 2001). Not only does it provide valuable information about different aspects of life of the host society, including but not limited to history, art, norms and values, current events and issues, but it is also a less stressful type of communication than personal interactions with the members of the host society. As such consumption of media has the potential to fill the gap in communication for those immigrants who are not eager to initiate personal contacts. The interviewer asked the respondents an open-ended question about the types of media they prefer using instead of asking specifically which, for instance, TV channels or newspapers they consumed. By doing so the interviewer allowed the respondents to talk freely about their preferred media instead of limiting them to a certain number of media chosen by the interviewer.

2.2.1.1.1. Consumption of media in English from North America

The data collected from the interviews was analyzed in terms of the respondents' media consumption habits in the majority language. Type of media used, frequency, amount and content consumed were taken into account in order to reveal the importance placed by the respondents on using media in the majority language (1).

(1) Когда я езжу, я слушаю радио. Причем, мы с сыном ездим, он у меня любит изучать radio stations в разных штатах, мы слушаем музыку, новости, там, политические. Cultural experience огромный слушать местные радио - это иногда просто поразительно, то, что ты слушаешь в Канзасе и в Калифорнии, – очень разные, очень интересно (Interview 1).

[When I travel, I listen to the radio. I travel with my son, he likes exploring radio stations in different states, and we listen to the music, news, say, political. Listening to local radio stations is a huge cultural

experience. Sometimes it's just amazing how much what you hear in Kansas differs from that in California, it's very interesting].

2.2.1.1.2. Consumption of other media in English

Apart from media from North America some newcomers might also be interested in consuming other media in English, for instance, for coverage of international news (2).

(2) *Я смотрю, иногда, если что-то связано с Ближним Востоком, я смотрю Аль-Джазира, English Al Jazeera, New York Times (Interview 5).*

[I sometimes watch Al Jazeera, New York Times if it's something about the Near East].

2.2.1.2 Construction of the majority identity

The term “majority identity” refers to an identity a newcomer might develop as a result of his/her attempt to find a better fit into the host culture by participating in the life of the host society through mass communication (consumption of media in the majority language) and interpersonal communication (face-to-face interactions with the native-born members of the host community). This definition is based on the two theories used in this study. The term “majority identity” is defined as such from the perspective of the host society. If an individual places more value on developing this kind of identity as opposed to the minority one (see section 2.2.), then an assimilation acculturation strategy is defined. Unwillingness to develop the majority identity combined with preserving the minority one might be indicative of a segregation acculturation strategy. Development of the majority identity combined with maintenance of the minority one reveals an integration acculturation strategy. And finally, neither development of the majority identity nor maintenance of the minority one signifies marginalization acculturation strategy (Berry, 1997, 2001).

2.2.1.2.1. Participation in the events organized by the host community

Berry (1997, 2001) claims that one's willingness to participate in the life of the host society is one of the predispositions of developing a majority identity. Since participation in the events organized by the host community is in no way a necessity, not something essential and crucial for the immigrant's survival in a new society (like having a job, a place to live etc.), but rather a voluntary experience that requires time and effort, it seems possible only when a person positively evaluates this experience as such and considers it to be important for his integration into a new environment (3).

(3) Я хожу на концерты, потом Heritage Festival – это ж канадцы организуют, прекрасное мероприятие, у них проводятся фестивали, зимой фестивали, т.е. они пытаются community делать, т.е. у них выставки, жизнь достаточно активная, галереи – это ж все канадская культура (Interview 1).

[I attend concerts, and also the Heritage Festival – it is Canadians who organize it, it's a wonderful event. They have festivals, winter festivals, I mean they are trying to do something for community, exhibitions, galleries, i.e. community life is very active. All this is Canadian culture].

2.2.1.2.2. Initiating contact with members of the host community

Initiating contact with the members of the host society is yet another important factor that is likely to facilitate the construction of the majority identity. Interaction in the majority language might not be an easy task especially at the early stages of immigration due to the language barrier and lack of knowledge about social and behavioral norms accepted in the host society. The success of communication is also largely dependent on the host society's general view of the immigrants as a minority group and its eagerness to accept them (Berry, 1997, pp. 10, 28).

Since individuals are different, it is obvious that different persons will have different levels of difficulty in the process of acculturation (Berry, 1997, pp. 12-13). Individual factors, of which personality characteristics are one example, play an important role in the success of communication. Apparently, some people are naturally more open and eager to come into contact than others. Since immigration in general is a rather stressful experience involving different challenges, one might expect that a person lacking communicative skills in the home society is not likely to easily acquire those skills once he/she changes the country of residence. On the contrary, developing communicative skills in a new environment might be even more difficult due to language and psychological barriers.

One's willingness to come into contact with members of other cultural groups might result in four acculturation strategies. Lack of interest in daily interaction with other cultural groups and interest in holding to one's own culture is likely to result in separation; lack of interest in maintaining one's cultural identity combined with daily interaction with other cultural groups might indicate assimilation; equal interest in interaction with members of both cultures is likely to result in integration; and lastly, lack of interest in interaction with the members of either culture might lead to marginalization (Berry, 1997, p. 9). In the following example (4), the respondent reveals the importance placed on communication with other members of the host society.

(4) Я, например, coffee shop есть рядом со мной, так меня там все знают, я когда прихожу, так они знают, какой кофе. Я там людей знаю, которые постоянно ходят, мы разговариваем,

общаемся. Во всех бизнесах, которые вокруг меня, я знаю людей. Пиццерия, Chinese place, coffee shop (Interview 1)

[I for one, I go to one coffee shop in my neighborhood. Well, everyone knows me there; they know which coffee I like. I know other regulars too; we talk, socialize. In all the businesses in the neighborhood like a pizza place, Chinese place, coffee shop, - I know everyone].

2.2.1.2.3. *Self-identification within the host culture*

Life in a new cultural environment inevitably brings changes in the way an individual positions himself towards members of the host society (native-born citizens, other immigrants, other members of the minority community) as well as towards those in the country of origin. Evidently, the question of self-identification might be clear-cut for some immigrants who know (or think they know) exactly where they belong whereas others might have a hard time defining their place in the world (5).

(5) Я не знаю, я не чувствую себя канадкой. Вот я тоже слышала от людей: “Ой, вы знаете, что вы от нее хотите, она стала такая канадка”. Для меня это непонятно, что это значит. Не знаю, вот так вот люди говорят о ком-то. Я не знаю к кому себя отнести, честно говоря, не знаю, я затрудняюсь ответить на этот вопрос (Interview 4).

[I don't know, I don't feel Canadian. Well, I've heard some people say: “What do you expect from her? She has become such a Canadian.” I do not really get what it means. I don't know, sometimes people would say about someone. I don't know, I have a hard time answering this question].

2.2.2. **Use of media in Russian and construction of the minority identity**

Berry (2001) claims that apart from the necessity to develop a majority identity, immigrants usually face another issue, the importance of maintaining the old one. Depending on the value placed on developing a new identity while preserving the old one, a newcomer's acculturation strategy is described as assimilation, integration, segregation or marginalization. Adoni et al. (2006) argue that it is the ethnic media (i.e. media in the minority language) that might play a crucial role for maintaining one's cultural identity especially at the early stages of immigration when the command of the majority language may still be an issue. The minority media are said to “comprise the major communication system for enhancing cultural identity in terms of specific group's self-definition” (p. 21). It is these media that are claimed to “help newcomers stay in touch with their old environment and establish ties to their new one” (p. 21). Similar with media in the majority language, the interviewer asked an open-ended question about the respondents' use of media in the minority language.

This, again, allowed the respondents to share their individual media use habits and identify the most/least preferred media, frequency, amount and content consumed, rather than limit their answers to the types of media chosen by the interviewer.

2.2.2.1. Consumption of media

2.2.2.1.1. Consumption of media in Russian from Russia

Media in Russian from Russia offer the newcomers an opportunity to be aware of the events happening in the country of origin. Thanks to the Internet getting access to a variety of media in Russian from Russia is no longer a problem. As such, the respondents' un-/willingness to use these media might be indicative of the overall importance they place on being informed about the life of the society of origin (6).

(6) - *Используете ли Вы какие-либо СМИ на русском, произведенные в России?*

Практически нет. Дело в том, что я устал от этого балагана всего советско-российского. То, что они там производят, слушать мне уже неинтересно (Interview 3).

[- Do you use any Russian media from Russia?

-Almost nothing. The thing is that I am fed up with this Soviet-Russian farce, I am no longer interested in what they produce there].

2.2.2.1.2. Consumption of media in Russian from Canada (ethnic media)

Adoni et al. (2006) claim that most minority communities have their own media that allow them to “create a symbolic community that is based on the feeling of belonging together on the basis of shared cultural values” (p. 20). Ethnic media are said to perform two functions: on the one hand they have the potential to facilitate immigrants' adaptation to the host society by providing necessary information about it in the native language, on the other hand, keep ties with the homeland (7).

(7) *Если говорить о самих газетах, даже старейших, “Русский курьер”, здесь Калашников ее выпускает, “Русский курьер” - это просто дайджест, т.е. там какие-то статьи, причем попытка играть на все уровни, куча мусора, рассчитанная на довольно низкий уровень, т.е. какие-то сплетни, какие-то идиотские истории, т.е. редко что-то хорошее (Interview 1).*

[If we talk about the newspapers, even the oldest ones, “Russian Courier” published by Kalashnikov, is just a digest, i.e. there are some articles there attempting to reach different audiences, lots of useless stuff aimed at a very low level, some gossips, idiotic stories. In other

words, you can rarely find something worth reading].

2.2.2.2. Construction of the minority identity

The term “minority identity” refers to one’s cultural identity, the one that defines a person as belonging to the culture of origin. One’s involvement in the life of the minority community within the host society through participation in the events organized by it and consuming media it produces, as well as preserving ties with the home culture by keeping in touch with friends/relatives who stayed in the home country and consuming media in Russian from Russia, - all these factors have a role to play in construction and maintenance of the minority identity. According to Kim (2001), an individual usually starts realizing the presence of this identity only when he moves to a different culture and has everyday encounters that make him/her reassess the norms and behaviors that were considered to be natural before and had never been questioned. Similar with the term “majority identity”, the term “minority identity” is also defined in relation to the host society’s perspective and is based on the two models used in this study.

The importance placed by an individual on preserving the minority identity in combination with the development of the majority one results in different acculturation strategies: 1) assimilation (unwillingness to preserve minority identity and willingness to develop the majority one), 2) integration (importance is placed on both preservation of the minority one and development of the majority identity), 3) segregation (willingness to preserve the minority identity and unwillingness to develop the majority one), 4) marginalization (unwillingness to either preserve the minority identity or develop the majority one).

2.2.2.2.1. Participation in events organized by the minority community

Similar with participation in the events organized by the host community, taking part in the activities organized by the minority one is in no way a necessity but rather a voluntary experience. A person’s un-/willingness to attend those events is noteworthy since it indicates the importance placed on mingling with the members of the minority community, the overall attitude towards those members and one’s desire to be associated with them (8).

(8) И еще один раз мы тоже ходили, когда было связано тоже с самодеятельной песней и тоже было очень хорошо, но там не было ничего этого, и люди были как то другие, что связано с этой самодеятельностью. Вот на это мы ходим (Interview 5).

[Another time we went, it was also about amateur singing, it was also pretty good. But there was no drinking involved, people were different. We attend such events].

2.2.2.2.2. Self-identification with the home culture

Self-identification with the home culture refers to the individual's willingness to be part of it, to keep in touch with friends/relatives who stayed there, to consume media in Russian from Russia in order to be aware of the events going on there. A low level of self-identification is shown by one's desire to shut down and forget that he/she has ever belonged there (9, 10).

(9) - Насколько для вас важно знать, что происходит на родине? Поддерживаете контакт с друзьями/родственниками? - Ну, откровенно говоря, у меня нет постоянного контакта с товарищами, которые там остались, кроме как родственники (Interview 3).

[- How important is it for you to know what is going on in the homeland? Do you keep in touch with friends/relatives? - Well, to be honest, I don't really keep in touch with my friends there on a regular basis, only with the relatives].

(10) Но даже тогда, когда я приезжал, я почувствовал, что уже разные обстоятельства, разные интересы жизни, разная жизнь, другая, и общаясь с ними, я понял, что им не интересна моя жизнь, а мне уже неинтересна их (Interview 3).

[When I came there I felt that life circumstances had already changed, people had different interests, so when I was talking to them I realized that they were no longer interested in my life, I was no longer interested in theirs].

2.2.2.2.3. Self-identification with the minority group in the host culture

Self-identification with the minority group in the host society refers to how an individual positions himself towards other members of the minority community. It reflects the individual's willingness to be associated with this community, to participate in its life, to be seen as its active member. A low level of self-identification is shown by one's dislike of the members of the minority community, lack of desire to take part in the activities organized by them and unwillingness to be associated with them (11).

(11) Вроде как соотечественники, но не мое. Причем, я многих знаю, ну, не хочу я напиваться, не хочу я, чтобы мне было все равно, что тут происходит. Поэтому я последний раз сходил и решил, что, чтоб самому не позориться и других не позорить, я решил что все, это не для меня. И даже близко не хожу (Interview 1).

[They are like my countrymen, but not really. Indeed, I know most of them, but I simply don't want to get drunk, I don't want not to care what is going on here. This is why the last time I went I decided that's it, this is not for me. I want neither to disgrace myself nor

disgrace others I won't even get close to it].

2.2.3. Minority/majority language use

Knowledge of the host language is one of the crucial factors that might facilitate the immigrants' adaptation to a new environment (Kim, 2001). Language knowledge does not simply mean the linguistic knowledge, that of phonetics, grammar, vocabulary etc., but also pragmatic knowledge of the actual language use in everyday communication. As the interviews' analysis shows it is the pragmatic knowledge of the majority language that most respondents find a problem, sometimes unsurpassable.

Kim (2001) argues that "the extent of strangers' knowledge of the host language corresponds to the extent of their new cultural learning and engagement in the new social processes" (p. 100). Thus, knowledge of the host language is crucial for successful interaction with the members of the host society and consequently for the development of the majority identity. Lack of this knowledge inevitably hinders communication and precludes establishment of new connections and support systems the newcomers need to feel secure and better fit into a new environment.

2.2.3.1. Majority/minority language use and media consumption in English/Russian

Consumption of media in the majority language is strongly dependent on the immigrants' knowledge of the language. Lack of it might obviously hinder participation in the communication channels and slow down the process of integration. At the early stages of immigration, especially when the language barrier is still a problem, media in the minority language can be used as a source of information about the host culture if it provides sufficient information about the new environment.

The importance placed by immigrants on using either the majority or minority language in everyday non-professional life is also important. One's un-/willingness to use the majority/minority language might be indicative of the value placed on developing the majority or preserving the minority identity respectively (12). One's strong desire to assimilate might result in one's predominant use of the majority language. It might also reveal one's desire to be associated mostly with the majority group at least on the basis of commonly shared language. On the contrary, one's resistance to use the majority language anywhere except the professional environment might reveal either one's lack of comfort when using a non-native language, or a strong desire to be viewed as a member of the ethnic community.

It should also be noted here that since this study focuses on the immigrants who immigrated at a later stage of their life, learning the host language might have been a rather challenging experience for them. Thus, one's preference for the native language over the host one might result from the fact that they simply feel more comfortable speaking the native language, rather than

reveal lack of desire to integrate (13). Another factor that may influence the choice of the minority language over the majority one is the presence of Russian-speaking family members.

(12) Общаться на русском, смотреть, слушать и читать медиа на английском, исключительно, потому что это имеет отношение к моей реальной, конкретной жизни здесь (Interview 2).

[To communicate in Russian, watch, listen to and read media in English only because it has a lot to do with my life here now].

*(13) - На каком языке вам удобнее общаться вне профессиональной сферы деятельности, на русском?
- Конечно, это очевидно (Interview 3).*

[- In which language is it more convenient for you to communicate outside of your professional circle, in Russian?

-Yes, of course. It's evident].

2.2.3.2. Media in English as a source of learning the majority language

Since most of the immigrants face the problem of a language barrier especially at the early stages of immigration, media in the majority language might serve as a valuable resource for learning the language. Media in English in North America offer a great number of different programs, which vary in content, genre and level of difficulty (from weather forecasts to analytical programs). As such, they might be used for learning the host language. Although some immigrants may use these media to their benefit (14), others might not (15).

(14) У меня дочь была маленькая, она смотрела мультфильмы, я с ней смотрела мультфильмы тогда. ...в связи с тем, что я осваивала английский язык, больше смотрела, у меня был большой скачок, когда я начала понимать радио, т.е. года через два после того, как я начала приезжать в Канаду, или через три, то я стала понимать радио. До этого я понимала так погоду, какие-то общие вещи (Interview 2).

[My daughter was small, she watched cartoons, I watched cartoons with her... since I was learning English, I watched a lot. I had a huge progress when I started understanding radio, i.e. around two or three years after I started visiting Canada, I started understanding radio. Before that I could just understand weather forecasts, some general stuff].

(15) Нет. Несмотря на то, что все говорят, надо смотреть, слушать, - абсолютно не помогает. Может быть, опять же, это чисто субъективно, кому то может быть помогает (Interview 3).

[No. Although everybody says that one should watch, listen, - it does not help at all. Well, it is simply subjective; it might help somebody else.]

2.2.3.3. Code-switching and identity construction

Frequent code-switching in the speech is yet another factor to keep in mind that might be indicative of identity construction because “a change in language use may signal a shift in identities under various social or cultural contexts” (Lo, 2007, p. 94). According to Milroy & Muysken (1995), when speakers choose one language over another during interactions they reveal the kind of identity they hope to communicate with others in the course of conversation. Romaine (2000) notes that speakers’ language choices in conversations indicate “acts of identity” (p. 35), choosing the groups with whom they wish to identify. Moreover, the use of different languages may also reveal some personal preferences as well as perceptions of an individual’s identity/-ies as related to different cultures (Lo, 2007).

At the same time code-switching might not always take place as a result of the speaker’s conscious decision. Sometimes it just happens simply because using a certain word in a foreign language is easier than finding an equivalent in one’s native language. This is especially true when the host culture does not have a phenomenon, which a foreign word denotes (16). Since a person always has a choice between using a foreign word or the one in the native language (or an equivalent that is more or less close in meaning to the original word), the choice one makes is important. It might reflect how one feels about using foreign words in their speech as well as the degree of comfort one has with a foreign language.

(16) *Моя самая большая связь с русским community – это магазин, где все равно почти весь товар украинский. (Interview 2).*

[My biggest connection with the Russian community is the store where most of the goods are nonetheless Ukrainian].

2.3. Linguistic analysis of Attitude in the Appraisal framework

In order to get a deeper understanding of how the respondents assess their experience, how they feel about their life situation in a new environment, whether they are dis-/pleased, dis-/satisfied, un-/happy etc. with it, how they position themselves towards the host culture and that of origin, the Appraisal theory was used for the linguistic analysis of the interviews. The Appraisal theory allows for the analysis of how emotions and attitudes are expressed in the text (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005). It originated within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1978), a framework for the analysis of language in use. Within SFL, language is viewed as “a resource for mapping ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning onto one another in virtually every

act of communication” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 7). Ideational resources construe experience, i.e. they refer to what is happening to whom, where, when and why, as well as how these experiences are logically related to each other. Interpersonal resources focus on how social relations are negotiated, i.e. how people communicate and which feelings they try to share during their interaction. Textual resources reveal the interconnections between the ideational and interpersonal resources.

Appraisal focuses on interpersonal meanings and consists of three layers of analysis of the speaker’s/writer’s inter-subjective stance, i.e. attitude, engagement, and graduation.

- *Attitude* involves both direct and indirect expression of emotional dispositions, ethical judgements and evaluations based on the aesthetical criteria (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION respectively);
- *Engagement* comprises those linguistic resources that allow speakers/writers to negotiate the arguability of their utterances; and
- *Graduation* allows to reveal speakers’/writers’ degree of intensity and involvement in the utterance.

Each category is further subdivided in subcategories. Since this study focuses on the analysis of the ways the respondents express their emotional and rational attitudes towards certain phenomena (media in English and Russian, identity construction etc.), the system of ATTITUDE as a “system of meaning” that allows for “mapping feelings as they are construed in English texts” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 42), is given sole attention. Since the theory is focused on lexis it can be applied to any language.

In Appraisal’s ATTITUDE system, Martin & White (2005) focus on three kinds of feeling based on three “semantic regions” traditionally referred to as emotion, ethics and aesthetics (p.2), which refer to AFFECT (2.3.1), JUDGEMENT (2.3.2) and APPRECIATION (2.3.3) respectively.

2.3.1 AFFECT

The emotive dimension of meaning is referred to as AFFECT within the Appraisal framework. AFFECT can be positive or negative (+/- AFF). Emotions are the expressive resources human beings are born with and it is natural that certain people, events, situations etc. can make us feel sad or happy, confident or nervous, interested or bored. This is especially true when human beings go through profound changes in their lives as immigration, for example. Being an extremely difficult and life changing experience, immigration inevitably influences how people start thinking and feeling about themselves and others in a new environment.

Three conceptual approaches are pointed out within cross-cultural psychology: behavioral shifts, acculturative stress and psychopathology (Berry, 1997, pp. 12-13). Within the first one, psychological changes are considered to be relatively easy not causing an individual a lot of stress. Deliberate or accidental loss of certain behaviors in order to better fit into a new environment

usually happens without much difficulty and the experience is appraised by an immigrant as non-problematic. If some culture conflict occurs resulting in an individual yielding to the behavioral norms of the majority group, assimilation will most likely occur.

When serious conflicts exist between the culture of origin and the host culture causing difficulties in developing a new identity while preserving the old one, culture shock or acculturative stress occurs. In this case the acculturative experience is evaluated as «problematic, but controllable and surmountable» (Berry, 1997, p. 19). An individual realizes that simply assimilating or adjusting to the problems that resulted from intergroup contact is not enough and will take more time and effort.

And finally, when an individual experiences major difficulties in the process of adaptation to a new environment and developing a new set of skills necessary to fit into the host society, then psychopathology approach becomes relevant. «In this case, there is little success in dealing with acculturation, sometimes resulting in withdrawal (separation), but sometimes involving culture shedding without culture learning» (Berry, 1997, p. 19).

When behavioral shifts have occurred without much difficulty, then stress as a «reaction to conditions of living» (Lazarus, 1990, p. 5) is likely to be minimal and «personal consequences are generally positive» (Berry, 1997, p. 20). If acculturative problems arise but are successfully overcome, stress will also be low and the immediate effects positive for an individual; or, in case those problems were not completely coped with stress is likely to be higher leading to more negative effects. Furthermore, when an individual faces acculturative problems that are overwhelming and were not successfully dealt with, then immediate effects will be extremely negative and stress levels high, «including personal crises, and commonly anxiety and depression» (p. 20).

Taking into account the above, it might be expected that talking about this experience might be a rather challenging task for the immigrants, involving all kinds of negative and positive emotions regarding how a person feels in a new environment, what makes him/her happy/sad in his new life, whether he/she feels in/secure when interacting with others etc. Depending on how intensive, emotional and even painful the process of integration turned out to be for a specific individual, one might think that some immigrants are likely to reveal a more positive stance towards it, others more negative with some people simply preferring not to talk about it at all in case it is still something very unpleasant they would rather avoid talking about. Thus, the analysis of AFFECT might shed light into how easy/difficult it was for certain immigrants to develop a new identity and maintain the old one, in other words to integrate into a new society. The interplay of negative and positive emotions expressed towards both a new society and its members and the culture of origin might indicate the immigrant's overall acculturation strategy.

One might think that abundance of negative evaluations of the host society and its members combined with mostly positive attitude towards the culture of origin might indicate difficulties an immigrant faced while developing the majority identity and sticking to the old one; hence, it might reveal an

individual's separatist acculturation strategy. Assimilation strategy, on the other hand, might be indicated by the opposite: an extremely positive account of new life and host society as opposed to negative evaluations of the old life.

Unlike JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION that will be discussed later, AFFECT refers to individual feelings and preferences as opposed to the ones institutionalized by society. As such, AFFECT is indicative of what human beings feel about something irrespective of whether this attitude is approved or disapproved within a certain social system. Analysis of AFFECT allows to shed light onto personal attitude towards certain phenomena thus revealing the extent to which a person has accepted/rejected his new life and everything it has to offer when talking about immigration. In the following example the respondent shares his rather negative feelings towards some cultural events organized by the Russian community and expresses his strong desire not to attend them again. Although the following excerpt (17) is an example of negative APPRECIATION (the respondent gives his opinion on certain behavior), the overall tone of it is more of negative AFFECT as indicated by the last sentence (in the original, i.e. "I won't even get close to it"), where the choice of words is very emotional, and corresponds with the respondent's facial expression and intonation.

(17) Поэтому я последний раз сходил и решил, что, чтобы самому не позориться и других не позорить [-APP], я решил что все, это не для меня. И даже близко не хожу [-AFF] (Interview 1).
 [This is why the last time I went I decided that's it, this is not for me. I won't even get close to it [-AFF]. I want neither to disgrace myself nor disgrace others [-APP].

It has been stated earlier that immigration might be a very painful experience. Berry (1997) argues that in order to deal with the experiences which individuals assess as problematic they might use a number of coping strategies: 1) problem-solving coping that allows to solve the problem or try to change something about it, 2) emotion-focused coping (an attempt to control and regulate the emotions associated with the problem), and 3) avoidance-oriented coping when the problem is avoided rather than attempted to be solved. One might think that one's openness and readiness to express one-self and discuss the experience of immigration may reveal the extent to which an individual has accepted a new environment, his/her role in it, which inevitably involves some limitations as well as benefits. One may also think that one's lack of desire to discuss the subject and un-/conscious attempt to avoid it, might reveal that the experience has been painful to the extent that an individual prefers not to deal with it at all.

2.3.2. JUDGEMENT

Attitudes towards people and their behavior as seen through the prism of admiration/criticism, or praise/condemn are represented by JUDGEMENT in the Appraisal theory. Martin & White (2005) note that generally speaking two kinds of JUDGEMENT can be distinguished, namely JUDGEMENTs of esteem that

have to do with ‘normality’ (how unusual someone is), capacity’ (how capable someone is) and ‘tenacity’ (how resolute they are); and JUDGEMENTs of sanction that deal with ‘veracity’ (how truthful someone is) and ‘propriety’ (how ethical someone is). While the primary domain of social esteem is that of oral culture (gossip, chat, jokes, stories etc.), social sanction on the contrary is more often encountered in writing in the form of rules, decrees, laws etc. Similarly with AFFECT, both positive and negative evaluations (+/- JUD) can be recognized reflecting characteristics one admires or condemns most. (18) Provides an example of negative JUDGEMENT of sanction:

(18) Но в Онтарио народ был ничего, но в Эдмонтоне, конечно, русская community - это что-то с чем-то [-JUD]... Поэтому русских обществ я больше не создаю, больше не участвую, потому что очень быстро люди начинают сражаться за власть или деньги, за гранты, потом начинают какие-то копейки делить, заводить склоки и это без исключения. И Эдмонтон notorious for this, т.е. я такого как здесь мало где видел [-JUD] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[In Ontario the community was ok, but here, in Edmonton, Russian community is one of its kind [-JUD]... That is why I no longer create Russian societies and I don't participate because in no time people start fighting for power or money, grants, then they fight for the spotlight, argue and that's inevitable. And Edmonton is notorious for this. I have hardly ever seen anything like this anywhere else [-JUD].

JUDGEMENT, as stated by Martin & White (2007), is most often realized either adjectivally (*unjust/fair-minded, skilled/incompetent*), or through nominalized forms (*best behavior, outstanding performance*) and prepositional phrases (*in order, in shape*).

JUDGEMENT as well as APPRECIATION that will be discussed later, refers to institutionalized feelings, the norms of behavior, the idea about what is right and what is wrong, which is learned from early childhood. As such it is most difficult to alter if a person wants to fit into a new environment that might have a different concept about the rules and regulations. Thus, expression of JUDGEMENT in the respondents' responses appears to be of special interest for the purpose of this study since it reveals their perception of what is right and what is wrong in the host society and perhaps even re-evaluation of the norms and regulations in the culture of origin. In other words, prevalence of this type of attitude is indicative of the degree to which the respondents managed to accept the social norms of a new society, i.e. develop the majority identity, as opposed to the system of norms they used to follow in their homeland.

An individual might appraise the degree of difficulty that is thought to exist during acculturation as ranging from non-problematic to extremely difficult. In this study we would like to see if the language the respondents use when talking about their experience will reflect whether they evaluate it as problematic or rather offering new opportunities. Special attention will be paid

to the analysis of negative and positive JUDGEMENTs of the host culture and the culture of origin since one might think that predominantly negative JUDGEMENT of the culture and country of origin combined with more positive JUDGEMENTs of the new society might be indicative of the assimilation strategy; that integration is likely to be revealed in the text if less negative JUDGEMENTs of both societies are provided or a relatively similar amount of positive and negative JUDGEMENTs of both cultures; that abundant negative JUDGEMENTs of the host society as opposed to mostly positive JUDGEMENTs of the country of origin is likely to indicate separation as the chosen acculturation strategy; and finally, that negative JUDGEMENT of both cultures might indicate marginalization.

2.3.3. APPRECIATION

APPRECIATION refers to the evaluations of natural and semiotic phenomena from the perspective of their value and worthiness in a certain field. APPRECIATION is divided into three main subtypes: 1) ‘reactions’ to something (whether they grab our attention, please us etc.), 2) their ‘composition’ (balance and complexity), and 3) their ‘value’ (degree of innovation, authenticity etc.). Both positive and negative APPRECIATION (+/- APP) can be recognized. Martin & White (2005) point out special relevance of valuation as a subtype since “the value of things depends so much on our institutional focus’ (p. 57). Like JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION is most often realized through either adjectives or nominalized phrases (*extremely beautiful/breathtaking beauty, challenging/challenge*).

Both JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION refer to institutionalized feelings, the ones that reveal “shared community values” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 45). Whereas JUDGEMENT indicates our beliefs about rules and regulations, i.e. how people should behave or not, what is considered to be acceptable and what is not in a given society, APPRECIATION on the other hand “reworks feelings as propositions about the value of things – what they are worth or not” (Martin & White, 2005, p.45). Since both JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are learned from the early stages of a child’s development, and as such are most difficult to change since it is those norms and rules as well as concepts of value and worthiness a person grows up with and learns to accept as unequivocal truth, it is their analysis in the text that is most revealing about the extent to which immigrants managed or failed to accept the norms and regulations of a different society and incorporate them into their everyday life. One’s ability to appreciate a certain cultural phenomenon that is different from the one a person is used to is indicative of the individual’s desire and ability to develop a better understanding of the host society, its system of values, and eventually accept it as valuable in itself. Labeling all that is different as not worthy, on the other hand, might reveal an individual’s resistance to accepting something new and different as also worthy and valuable which eventually hinders the development of a new identity.

The following examples illustrate both negative and positive evaluations of different types of media. In (19) the respondent shares his

positive impression about certain radio stations in English (in other words, provides his ‘reaction’ to it) as well as evaluates their significance as profound (in other words, assesses its value):

(19) *Когда я езжу, я слушаю радио. Причем, мы с сыном ездим, он у меня **любит изучать radio stations** [+AFF] в разных штатах, мы слушаем музыку, новости, там, политические. **Cultural experience огромный слушать местные радио** [+APP] - это иногда **просто поразительно** [+APP], то, что ты слушаешь в Канзасе и в Калифорнии, – **очень разные, очень интересно** [+APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[When I travel, I listen to the radio. I travel with my son, he likes exploring radio stations in different states [+AFF], and there we listen to the music, news, and politics. Listening to local radio stations is a huge cultural experience [+APP]. Sometimes it’s just amazing how much what you hear in Kansas differs from that in California, it’s very interesting [+APP].

An example of negative evaluation of a certain type of media is provided in (20):

(20) *“Русский курьер” - это просто дайджест, т.е. там какие-то статьи, причем попытка играть на все уровни, куча мусора, рассчитанная на довольно низкий уровень, т.е. какие-то сплетни, какие-то идиотские истории, т.е. редко что-то хорошее [-APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[“Russian Courier” is just a digest, i.e. there are some articles there that are attempting to reach different audiences, lots of useless stuff aimed at a very low level, some gossips, and idiotic stories. In other words, you can rarely find something worth reading [-APP].

The following chapter presents the analysis of the data based on the categories outlined above. The conceptual framework used for the analysis is summarized in Table 2. It presents the three theories (Adoni et al.’s model of media type consumers (2006); Berry’s model of acculturation strategies (2001); Martin & White’s Appraisal theory (2005) and their hypothesized congruence. The analysis not only reveals how differently the respondents use media in both languages, the majority and minority one, and construct their identities, but also sheds light onto different ways in which they view their experience. It is the Appraisal analysis that reveals how differently the respondents react to the world around them, how they feel about themselves and others in the host society and that of origin.

Table 2: Methodological framework

Media consumption in		Type of media consumer	Type of identity strengthened by consumption	Hypothesized corresponding acculturation strategy	Predominant attitude
majority language	minority language				
Adoni, Cohen & Caspi (2006)				Berry (2001)	Martin & White (2005)
High	High	Dualists	Dual/hybrid identity	Integration (Both cultural maintenance and contact and participation are considered important)	Positive AFFECT/JUDGEMENT/APPRECIATION of majority and minority cultures
High	Low	Adapters	Majority identity	Assimilation (Daily interactions with other cultures is more important than cultural maintenance)	Positive AFFECT/JUDGEMENT/APPRECIATION of majority culture Negative AFFECT/JUDGEMENT/APPRECIATION of minority culture
Low	High	Separatists	Minority/ethnic identity	Separation (Cultural maintenance is more important; interaction with others is avoided)	Negative AFFECT/JUDGEMENT/APPRECIATION of majority culture Positive AFFECT/JUDGEMENT/APPRECIATION of minority culture
Low	Low	Detached	N/A	Marginalization (Interest in neither cultural maintenance nor interactions with other cultures)	Negative AFFECT/JUDGEMENT/APPRECIATION of majority and minority cultures

Chapter 3: Data analysis

This chapter presents the analysis of the data obtained for the study using the conceptual framework presented in Table 2. In what follows, the analysis is given in the following order: use of media in English and construction of the majority identity (3.1), use of media in Russian and construction of the minority identity (3.2), and minority/majority language use (3.3). With the use of the ATTITUDE system in Appraisal, the data were analyzed in order to reveal how the respondents evaluate their experience, and this also allowed for better understanding of characteristics of their personality. This chapter presents the in-depth analysis of the first interview only for reasons of length. However, the Discussion and Conclusion Chapter contains detailed concluding remarks for all the five interviews outlining each respondent's acculturation strategy in relation to media use in English and Russian.

3.1. Use of media in English and construction of the majority identity

3.1.1 Consumption of media

3.1.1.1. Consumption of media in English from North America

Adoni et al. (2006) argue that the consumption of media in either the majority or minority languages facilitates the development of either the majority or minority identity respectively. The analysis of the first interview reveals that the respondent appears to be a heavy consumer of media in both languages, Russian and English, and is a regular user of both. The choice of media in the majority language is predetermined by a number of factors, namely, where the events took place, how quickly the news is updated, and most importantly, what is considered to be interesting at the moment. He not only reveals his openness to media in the host language, but also reveals his ability to recognize the diversity these media have to offer and their cultural significance (21).

*(21) Когда я езжу, я слушаю радио. Причем, мы с сыном ездим, он у меня любит изучать **radio stations** [+AFF] в разных штатах, мы слушаем музыку, новости, там, политические. **Cultural experience огромный слушать местные радио** [+APP] - это иногда **просто поразительно** [+APP], то, что ты слушаешь в Канзасе и в Калифорнии, – **очень разные, очень интересно** [+APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[When I travel, I listen to the radio. I travel with my son, he likes exploring radio stations in different states [+AFF], and we listen to the music, news, say, political. Listening to local radio stations is a huge cultural experience [+APP]. Sometimes it's just amazing how much what you hear in Kansas differs from that in California, it's very interesting [+APP].

The respondent seems to be interested in a wide range of news, from local to international. The choice of media in the majority language is predetermined by the nature of events/news covered. Canadian media prevail for the local and national news, whereas for international news preference is given to other media (BBC, Al Jazeera). Coverage of international news by the local media receives negative APPRECIATION and is evaluated as not good. Local news, however, receives positive APPRECIATION as “interesting”. CNN is a preferable channel for the coverage of (US) presidential elections and other big events (22).

*(22) Канадские, когда касается международных новостей – не очень [-APP], они больше на национальном уровне [+APP]. Я, например, их читаю, я за экономикой слежу, иногда дебаты смотрю, мне **политика, вообще-то, не интересна [-AFF]**, но **иногда бывают интересные вещи [+APP]**. Все зависит, где **интересно [+APP]** (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[Canadian news when they cover international affairs is not very good [-APP]. They cover national news much better [+APP]. For instance, I read their news, I follow political news, and sometimes I would watch debates. Honestly, I am not very much into politics [-AFF], but sometimes I find interesting stuff [+APP]. It all depends on what is interesting [+APP].

The use of different media to get information about different events is noteworthy since it reveals which media the respondent considers to be more trustworthy and reliable for the coverage of certain events. There is no single medium that he would use universally for all sorts of information. Media in general receive negative JUDGEMENT as non-objective and “reflecting the interests of those whom they were made for” (Interview 1). The respondent appears to be open to different media and the points of view, perspectives they have to offer. It is perhaps the exposure to a wide variety of media, an opportunity to compare the way certain news is covered from different perspectives that allowed him to conclude that no medium is completely objective (23):

*(23) Ну, по моему мнению, вообще **все СМИ контролируются, нет независимых СМИ, CNN не независимые, канадские новости не независимые [-JUD]**, они могут быть более **объективные [+APP]**, ну, они всегда, потому что они же борются не за всеобщую правду, **они отражают интересы тех, для кого они созданы [-JUD]**, поэтому они не могут идти против своей аудитории (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[Well, in my opinion, all the media are controlled; there is no such thing as independent media [-JUD]. Neither CNN, nor Canadian news is independent. They might be more objective [+APP], well, in any case they are not trying to reflect the universal truth, but rather reflect

the interests of those for whom they were created [-JUD] in the first place. So, they simply cannot go against their audience].

In general, the analysis of the interview provided abundant examples of both positive and negative evaluations of the host media (mostly APPRECIATION with a few instances of AFFECT and JUDGEMENT), revealing the respondent's ability to critically evaluate them – something that one might expect given the interviewee's level of education (a PhD)- thus making his value system more apparent. Prevalence of the examples of APPRECIATION: valuation (*“интересно”* [interesting]) is noteworthy since this subcategory relates to the values that refer to and stem from emotion. By using this type of APPRECIATION the respondent evaluates media according to social conventions from the point of view of their significance and worthiness and creates a positive reaction towards media in the majority language as something interesting and worth using.

3.1.1.2. Consumption of other media in English

Apart from consuming a lot of media in the majority language from North America, the respondent 1 also appeared to use other media in English, such as BBC, Al Jazeera, and French media since they provide interesting video materials and present the news in a way that differs from that provided by North American media. For instance, he notes the coverage of violence, which, in his opinion, is never covered by Canadian or American media (24).

(24) Если международные новости, то, надо сказать, Би-Би-Си более интересно освещают [+APP]. Видео новости самые интересные [+APP], конечно, либо французы показывают, либо Аль-Джазира, т.е. они тоже показывают. Потом, что хорошо [+APP], - они часто в новостях дают ссылки на видео ролики и можно посмотреть. В канадских этого никогда не покажут [-APP], даже в американских не покажут, там чтобы violent не было ничего, у них видео материалы не очень [-APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[Well, if we talk about international news, then I should say that BBC's coverage is most interesting [+APP]. French media or Al Jazeera show the most interesting video news [+APP], of course. What is also good [+APP] is that they often provide links for videos in the news and you can click on them and see it. Canadian news will never show this [-APP], even American ones won't. They don't show any violence, their video materials are not really good [-APP].

Similar with the use of different media sources from North America in order to get different perspectives of the news coverage, consumption of other media in English might also reveal the respondent's deep interest in a variety of events going on in the world as well as different points of view various media

have to offer. These media also receive critical evaluation from the respondent revealing again his position towards coverage of certain news and events.

3.1.2 Construction of the majority identity

3.1.2.1. Participation in the events organized by the host community

The interview analysis revealed that the respondent construes a positive attitude towards the host culture in general and some events organized by the host community in particular by means of positively evaluating the behavior of the members of the host society (JUDGEMENT) as well as passing positive judgments on the aesthetic quality of things done by them (APPRECIATION).

Similar with showing a genuine interest in what is going on in the host society at large through consuming lots of local and national media in English, the respondent appears to take an active part in different activities organized by the members of the majority group and expresses his positive APPRECIATION of those events (festivals, art exhibitions etc.). A number of times the respondent stresses his positive APPRECIATION of the events organized by the host society (“*интересно*“ [interesting], “*замечательно*“ [wonderful]). For instance, he acknowledges their attempt to diversify leisure activities. Although, he seems to like certain things more than others, his overall evaluation of this part of life of the host society is positive (25).

(25) *Я хожу на концерты, потом Heritage Festival – это ж канадцы организуют, прекрасное мероприятие [+APP], у них проводятся фестивали, зимой фестивали, т.е. они пытаются community делать [+JUD], т.е. у них выставки, жизнь достаточно активная [+APP], галереи – это ж все канадская культура. Я не могу сказать, что я очень люблю канадскую живопись [-AFF] потому что все, что они делают, - они рисуют лес, горы, т.е. там людей практически нет, я не большой поклонник этого [-AFF]. Они стараются, конечно, национальные парки, все trails прогулочные, - это удивительно хорошо, замечательно [+JUD], другие мероприятия. U of A – они, например, приглашают спикеров, интересно [+JUD]. Такие мероприятия - я участвую, парады. Изумительно [+JUD]. (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[I attend concerts, plus it is Canadians who organize the Heritage Festival, it's a wonderful event [+APP]. They have festivals, winter festivals, I mean they are trying to do something for community [+JUD], exhibitions, galleries, i.e. community life is very active [+APP]. All this is Canadian culture. I can't say I am a big fan of Canadian fine art – they mostly paint forests, mountains and no people. I do not really like that [-AFF]. But they try, of course. All these national parks, trails – it's amazing, great [+JUD], other

activities as well. U of A, for instance, invite speakers, it's interesting [+JUD]. I take part in such activities, parades as well. It's amazing [+JUD].

Throughout the interview the respondent stresses the importance of being open to what the host culture has to offer as well as underlines certain aspects of life of the host society that he considers to be most valuable (26, 27):

(26) *Т.е. таким вещам надо быть открытым [+JUD], не надо замыкаться, тут много интересного [+APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[It's important to be open to such things [+JUD]. Don't bottle up, there are so many interesting things here [+APP].

(27) *У них много вещей, которым можно поучиться [+JUD]. Элементы расизма. А где их нет? Любую страну возьми, но уважение к правам, роль женщин правильная [+JUD]. У них в этом смысле намного продвинутое [+JUD], я это вижу, что это воспитывают, что женщина должна быть независимой, ее мнение, girls rule (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[They have so many things one can learn from [+JUD]. Well, elements of racism. Which society does not have them? It's in any country. But respect for women's rights [+JUD], the role of women is right [+JUD]. In this respect their society is much more developed [+JUD]. I can totally see that. This is something they bring girls up with, that she must be independent, her opinion counts, girls rule].

Overall the interview analysis revealed quite a number of instances of positive JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION of the activities and events organized by the host community thus revealing an overall positive attitude of the respondent to the host culture.

3.1.2.2. Initiating contact with members of the host community

Throughout the interview the respondent emphasizes the importance to being open to the new, his willingness to come into contact with the members of the majority group and provides examples of how he achieves that (28):

(28) *Надо абсолютно смотреть по сторонам. Т.е. это вообще, если хочешь понять, еңіоу культуру, - бери вообще все, что она дает: газеты, новости, концерты, мероприятия, надо ходить, смотреть, интересоваться [+JUD]. Я, например, coffee shop есть рядом со мной, так меня там все знают, я когда прихожу, так они знают, какой кофе. Я там людей знаю, которые постоянно ходят, мы разговариваем, общаемся. Во всех*

бизнесах, которые вокруг меня, я знаю людей. Пиццерия, Chinese place, coffee shop (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[One should be open. If you want to understand, enjoy another culture – take everything it can give you: newspapers, news, concerts, and events. One should attend events, look around, and be interested in what's going on [+JUD]. I for one, go to one coffee shop in my neighborhood. Well, everyone knows me there; they know which coffee I like. I know other regulars too; we talk, socialize. In all the businesses in the neighborhood like a pizza place, Chinese place, coffee shop, - I know everyone].

Apparently, coming into contact with the members of the host community does not appear to be a problem for the respondent partially due to his easy-going personality, partially to a relatively fluent command of the majority language and partially to his willingness to interact. Other interviews, however, reveal quite different results.

3.1.2.3. Self-identification within the host culture

Throughout the interview, respondent 1 construes a position of simultaneously being and not being part of both the majority and minority societies. This, however, does not translate in a predominantly negative reaction of disappointment or unhappiness. Similar with previous examples, when the respondent talks about self-identification within the host society he again provides a critical evaluation of the situation in general pointing out both positive and negative aspects. Although claiming his liminal position (not being here and there) he at the same time emphasizes a wide range of opportunities the host society has to offer (29, 30, 31).

(29) *Уже чувствуется разница, **ты чувствуешь, что изменилось что-то. Уже ты ни там, ни там** [-AFF] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[I can feel the difference that something has changed. You are neither here, nor there anymore [-AFF].

(30) *То, что у тебя есть, - это у тебя есть, а вот, когда ты пытаешься понять другую культуру, понять точку зрения других, понять что же их сделало нацией, - вот тут, я считаю, **очень много интересного и это обязательно** [+APP], без этого шансов понять общество, принять общество, интегрироваться, совершенно невозможно, бесполезно. **Это информация, точки зрения, experience** [+APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[What you have will always stay with you, it is when you try to understand another culture, other points of view, understand what made them a nation – this is when you can find lots of interesting stuff

and it's absolutely essential [+APP]. If you don't do that, then there are no chances to understand the society, accept it, and integrate. It's simply not possible, it's useless. It's information, opinions, experience [+APP].

(31) У них много вещей, которым можно поучиться [+JUD]. Элементы расизма. А где их нет? Любую страну возьми, но уважение к правам, роль женщин правильная [+JUD]. У них в этом смысле намного продвинутое [+JUD], я это вижу, что это воспитывают, что женщина должна быть независимой, ее мнение, girls rule (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[They have so many things one can learn from [+JUD]. Well, elements of racism. Which society does not have them? It's in any country. But respect for women's rights [+JUD], the role of women is right [+JUD]. In this respect their society is much more developed [+JUD]. I can totally see that. This is something they bring girls up with, that she must be independent, her opinion counts, girls rule].

3.2. Use of media in Russian and construction of the minority identity

3.2.1. Consumption of media

3.2.1.1. Consumption of media in Russian from Russia/former Soviet Union republics

Similar with media in English, media from Russia appear to play an important role in the respondent's life and receive mostly positive evaluation with some instances of negative appraisal. It appears that Internet resources (particular Russian websites) are heavily used on a daily basis for the news from Russia as well as other news (for instance, international). One the criteria for choosing www.lenta.ru is that they update news very quickly. He uses the website not only to learn about the events happening in Russia but all over the world. He mentions that reading the news daily takes up a lot of time and emphasizes that this is what he likes doing (32, 33).

(32) В зависимости, где новости: если в России произошло, то я смотрю по интернету, я подписан просто на TV, там архив новостей, я могу за любое число посмотреть... Тогда я смотрю российские СМИ, опять же, выбираю Первый канал, НТВ в основном, слушаю, что они говорят (Interview 1).

[Depending on where the news took place: if something happened in Russia, then I watch news on the Internet, I am subscribed for TV, they have a news archive there so I can check news for any date... Then I watch Russian media, I choose mostly Perviy Kanal, NTV, and listen to what they say].

(33) Я утро начинаю, я включаю lenta.ru, надо сказать, они **очень быстро дают новости** [+APP] или livenews.com она **немного желтая** [-APP], но они **очень быстро новости дают** [+APP], там **быстро можно посмотреть** [+APP]; lenta.ru - там больше международных событий. Я обычно смотрю, не произошло ли что-то, потому что они **очень быстро печатают** [+APP]. Если произошло, я тогда, конечно, начинаю смотреть, где что произошло. Т.е. я, конечно, каждый день на новости очень много времени трачу, но **это то, что мне нравится** [+AFF] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[I start every morning by looking through lenta.ru; I should say that they update news really quick [+APP]. Also livenews.com, although it's a bit trashy [-APP] but they update news fast [+APP]. Lenta.ru mostly provides international news. I usually check if something happened because they update news real quick [+APP]. If something did happen, then of course I start checking what and when. I spend lots of time on news daily, but that's what I really like [+AFF].

Similar with media in the majority language, media in Russian receive critical evaluation from the respondent too. Although the respondent spends lots of time reading/watching the news in Russian, he clearly states that in his opinion, the main problem of Russian media is that they are trying hard to be accepted by the rest of the world and prove to be worthy (34). In other words, Russian media receive negative JUDGEMENT from the respondent.

(34) С русскими СМИ проблема в том, что, мое мнение, я пожил уже в двух странах, в трех странах в общем-то, и я это вижу, **проблема России заключается в том, что, ну ясно, что government control...** [-APP]. Проблема российских СМИ в том, что они как бы в роли обиженных, типа да мы же такие как вы, а вы нас не принимаете, это вот всегда звучит, мы такие как вы, а вы нас не принимаете, мы такие как вы, а вы нас не принимаете, и это мешает [-JUD]. Но, тем не менее, нужно отдать должное, что там, в российских СМИ, они некоторые вещи даже раньше сообщают, особенно вот интернет [+APP], я собственно каждый день утро начинаю с просмотра lenta.ru. (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[I've lived in two countries already, well, actually in three, and I see what the problem with Russian media is all about. For one thing, well, clearly there is government control...[-APP]. The problem with Russian media is that it's like they are victims, like they are saying that "we are just like you and you don't accept us, we are like you and you don't accept us" and it's very disturbing [-JUD]. However, I should admit that they often broadcast certain news even faster especially on the Internet. I start every day with looking through lenta.ru].

It is interesting that the respondent comments on how Russian media changed over time becoming more interesting to read (35).

(35) *Изменились СМИ, изменились журналисты. Язык другой, более живой, юмор. Сейчас намного интереснее читать [+APP]. Язык СМИ изменился, русских точно, русскоговорящих сайтов, газет, то совершенно как бы это стало более такое... они стараются общаться, рассуждать [+APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[Media changed, journalists changed. The language is different, more colloquial, humor. It's more interesting to read now [+APP]. The language of media changed, at least of Russian media, Russian websites, newspapers, it's like...they are trying to communicate, analyze [+APP].

In general, Russian media from Russia receive mostly positive evaluation (positive APPRECIATION, AFFECT and JUDGEMENT) with only a few instances of negative appraisal.

3.2.1.2. Consumption of media in Russian from Canada (ethnic media)

Unlike media in Russian from Russia, ethnic media (minority media in Russian produced in Canada) received mostly negative evaluations from respondent 1 similar to the members of the minority community and their activities. These media received highly negative evaluation and were characterized as a compellation of unrelated articles aimed at different audiences; the content was labeled as “idiotic”. The main critique was aimed at the content of these media, which the respondent evaluated as not worth reading since the articles published there are not a result of journalist creative work but rather bits and pieces of information translated from other sources. The only thing he positively evaluates is that some of the newspapers contain articles on the history of Edmonton and/or Alberta (36). In general the content of ethnic media is negatively judged as not worthy and not interesting (37).

(36) *А русские газеты, “Наш Эдмонтон”, “Russian news”, - они чуть получше, т.е. они, например там, довольно неплохая вещь [+APP], что статьи из истории Эдмонта или Альберты. Проблема заключается в том, что это все переводное, оригинального журналистского творчества в общем-то нет [-APP]. Т.е. очень часто, например, огромный кусок Википедии. Может быть переработано, но, в основном, ты можешь пойти на Википедию, по цепочке пойти и все тоже самое (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[Russian newspapers, “Our Edmonton”, “Russian News”, - they are a little bit better, for instance they have articles about the history of

Edmonton or Alberta, this is good [+APP]. The problem is that it's all translated; there is nothing original in there [-APP]. You can often find a translation of a huge chunk from Wikipedia. It might be modified but most times if you open Wikipedia you'll find the same stuff].

(37) *Если говорить о самих газетах, даже старейших, “Русский курьер”, здесь Калашников ее выпускает, “Русский курьер” - это просто дайджест, т.е. там какие-то статьи, причем попытка играть на все уровни, куча мусора, рассчитанная на довольно низкий уровень, т.е. какие-то сплетни, какие-то идиотские истории, т.е. редко что-то хорошее [-APP]*
(Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[If we talk about the newspapers, even the oldest ones, “Russian Courier” published by Kalashnikov, is just a digest, i.e. there are some articles there attempting to reach different audiences, lots of useless stuff aimed at a very low level, some gossips, idiotic stories. In other words, you can rarely find something worth reading [-APP].

It is obvious that ethnic media are in no way considered by the respondent a valuable source of information at this stage of immigration, nor were they considered valuable at the early stages of transition due to the reasons mentioned above (lack of content worth reading, lack of originality etc.).

3.2.2. Construction of the minority identity

3.2.2.1. Participation in events organized by the minority community

Although the respondent admitted to be a rather community person at the very beginning of immigration taking an active part in a number of events organized by it as well as initiating some of his own (for instance, concerts), it appears that there are only a few events left that he evaluates as worth attending (for example, a poetry club). It seems that one of the major reasons that led to the fact that he no longer wishes to organize such community related events is his rather negative attitude towards certain members of the Russian community who attempt to fight for funds and power within the minority group (38). This behavior is judged extremely negatively. By doing that he again sets himself in opposition to them and positions himself as not willing to be associated with either them or their activity (39). This is noteworthy especially compared with the JUDGEMENTS passed on the members of the host community, which are mostly positive.

(38) *Поэтому русских обществ я больше не создаю, больше не участвую, потому что очень быстро люди начинают сражаться за власть или деньги, за гранты, потом начинают какие-то копейки делить, заводить склоки и это без*

исключения. И Эдмонтон notorious for this, т.е. я такого как здесь мало где видел [-JUD] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[That is why I no longer create Russian societies and I don't participate because in no time people start fighting for power or money, grants, then they fight for the spotlight, argue and that's inevitable. And Edmonton is notorious for this. I have hardly ever seen anything like this anywhere else [-JUD].

(39) **Не люблю идиотскую музыку, слова dirty [-AFF]...**(Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[I don't like stupid music, dirty words [-AFF].

Throughout the interview he pointed out several times the importance of free choice for him as well as his reluctance to be forced to do something he does not approve of. It appears that what makes it interesting for him and worth going to some events is the fact that they offer him an opportunity to find his niche and not feel forced to behave in a certain way (40, 41, 42). And it is those events that receive positive APPRECIATION (*«хорошая вещь» [a good thing], «неплохое мероприятие» [a nice event]*).

(40) **Бардовское неплохое мероприятие [+APP], можно сходить, каждый ведет себя, как хочет, ты можешь найти группу, которая тебя интересует [+APP]. Кто интересуется поэтами, бардами, выпивкой, - у всех есть своя группа, и каждый живет мирно и не мешает друг другу** (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[The Bards' festival is a good event [+APP], it's worth going to, everyone does what they want, and you can find a group that interests you [+APP]. If you are interested in poets, singers, drinking, you can find a group that you fit in. Everyone co-exists peacefully with others].

(41) **Heritage Festival - хорошая вещь [+APP]...Это неплохое, хорошее мероприятие [+APP], нравится мне [+AFF]** (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[The Heritage festival is a good event [+APP]... It's a good, nice event [+APP]. I like it [+AFF].

(42) **[Poetry club] - вот это, я считаю, единственное хорошее свободное мероприятие, без всякой подоплеки [+APP]** (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[I consider [Poetry club] to be the only good, free event that does not have any double standards [+APP].

The excerpts presented above are yet another example of the respondent's ability to critically evaluate things, phenomena, processes etc. His

negative attitude towards some events and positive one to others arose after he actually attended them first before passing a JUDGEMENT. In that sense, he was not being critical and non-accepting (i.e. a position that would be characteristic of assimilationist acculturation strategy).

3.2.2.2. *Self-identification with the home culture*

The interview provides plenty of examples when the respondent sets himself apart from the ethnic minority group members. However, he neither fully associates himself with either Russians or Canadians. When asked about how he identifies himself, he said that he considers himself to be a Cossack and emphasizes his position as different from other Russians who are not Cossacks. He clearly distinguishes himself from Russians living in Russia by evaluating Moscow as a foreign state where he never felt he fit in the first place, and mentioning that he grew up in a very multicultural environment (43). He also points out that although culture wise and language wise he is definitely Russian, he at the same time states that he won't be able to fit into a modern Russian society either (44).

(43) А я казак-казак, я пытался проследить родословную, по отцу с Запорожской Сечи, там мои прапрадеды, с материнской линии начиная, с казаков на Волге, Степан Разин, у меня казачья родословная. По-казачьи я отношусь, так как в “Тихом Доне” говорят: “нам Москва и Киев не указ”. Да, у меня русская культура, но я всегда и в России я чувствовал, я приехал когда в Москву – это было как иностранное государство [-APP], юг - он другой, я южанин. Кем я себя чувствую? Я в России себя не до конца чувствовал русским или украинцем [-AFF], я вырос в исключительно многонациональном городе, я учился в армянской школе, у меня первый славянский друг появился, когда мне 17 лет было, у меня все остальные в семье, все друзья армяне и евреи, или смесь с русскими, там все, что угодно. Но чистых таких представителей славянских национальностей не было. Ни украинцев, ни русских (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[I am a Cossack-Cossack. I tried to track down my genealogy, on my father's side it starts from Zaporozhskaya Sech', on my mother's side it goes back to Stepan Razin, I have a Cossack genealogy. I have a Cossack attitude towards my identity: it's like in “Tihy Don”: “Moscow and Kiev are no authority to us”. Yes, I have Russian culture, but even in Russia... when I first came to Moscow it was like a foreign state to me [-APP], south is different, I am from the south. Where do I think I belong? Even in Russia I have never felt completely Russian or Ukrainian [-AFF]. I grew up in a very multicultural city, I went to an Armenian school, and I met my first Slavic friend when I turned 17. All other family members and friends are Armenian or Jews, or have some Russian roots, everything is

mixed up. But there were no purely Slavic people. Neither Ukrainians, nor Russians].

(44) А в Канаде я вот пожил, я приезжал (в Россию) 7 лет назад последний раз был. Уже чувствуется разница, или вот, кто вот недавно приехал, ты чувствуешь, что изменилось что-то. Уже ты ни там, ни там [-AFF]. Кем я себя чувствую? Конечно, язык, культура – она там, я оттуда, поэтому, конечно, в этом смысле я чувствую себя сильно русским. Но, с другой стороны, я знаю, что я там не смогу выстроить отношения (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[I've been in Canada for some time; the last time I've been (to Russia) was 7 years ago. You could feel the difference. Same with people who've just arrived here recently, you can tell something has changed. You are neither here, nor there [-AFF]. Where do I feel I belong? It goes without saying that language-wise, culture-wise I am from there, so in this respect I am definitely Russian. On the other hand, I know that I won't be able to build relationships there anymore].

The respondent's openness and willingness to consume media in both languages, participate in the life of the host community, come into contact with the members of the host society go in line with his open-mindedness towards his home culture. He neither appears to be an ardent patriot who criticizes everything else, nor is he willing to give up his culture altogether (45). Similar with critical evaluation of media in both languages, he again reveals an ability to see pros and cons as far as evaluating cultures is concerned and his place in them (46).

(45)...вот он стоит и начинает рассуждать: “великая российская культура” и так далее [-JUD]. Извините, а какая культура не великая? Может быть есть более признанная какая-то культура, есть определенные периоды в культуре, великие писатели, великие музыканты [+JUD], ну, например, у нас никогда не было великих ученых [-JUD], это правда. Мы, там, гордимся Яблочко и Жуковским, но это ж на фоне того, что немецкие ученые сделали или английские ученые сделали, капля в море [-APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[Well, one starts saying: “great Russian culture”. You know what, tell me which culture is not great after all? Some cultures might be more acknowledged than the others, there are periods in culture, great writers, great musicians [+JUD]. For instance, we've never had great scientists. That's true. We might be proud of Yablochko and Zhukovskiy, but compared to what German and English scientists did, this is nothing].

(46) Да, я принадлежу к российской культуре, хожу на концерты, люблю наши фильмы, но ведь у меня такого пан-национализма нету, а ведь это приводит к чему, что ты закрываешься, лишаешь себя возможности [-JUD], да ты посмотри, и в других культурах много хорошего [+APP] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[Yes, I belong to Russian culture, I attend concerts, I like our movies, but at the same time I do not have this pan-nationalism. And this is why people would bottle up, deprive themselves of opportunities [-JUD]. Well, look, other cultures have lots of good stuff too [+APP].

3.2.2.3. Self-identification with the minority group in the host culture

The respondent takes a similar negative stance towards the members of the minority group negatively evaluating most of their cultural activities as well as some behaviors and attitudes to the host culture in general. Throughout the interview he clearly expresses his negative JUDGEMENT of behavior of those Russian immigrants who refuse to be open to what the host culture offers them, in other words, not willing to develop the majority identity. He clearly labels this kind of behavior as wrong, pointing out that it is because of their rigidity and stubbornness that they eventually fail to fit into a new society and enjoy what another culture has to offer (47).

(47) Иногда стоит успокоиться и сказать себе: “а может мне лучше посмотреть и тогда многому можно научиться” [+APP]. А вот это то, что наши, к сожалению, не делают, упираются и начинают, что будет вот так [-JUD]. А это неправильно, они – этого просто не видят, они пытаются со своим уставом в чужой монастырь [-JUD]. А в результате что получается: они настаивают на своем, закрывают глаза, не хотят ничего видеть [-JUD], потому что “я был тот – тот, что мне этот медбрат может сказать, если я в России зав. отделением был?” И все, вот и труба, в результате человек никуда не двигается, он закрывается, поэтому у него не получается, потом начинает все общество винить, потому у него все канадцы виноваты, и поехало и пошло [-JUD]. Сплошь и рядом (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[Sometimes one should just calm down and realize that maybe it makes sense to observe and then you can learn a lot [+APP]. But unfortunately, this is something that our people don't do; they resist and insist on doing things their way [-JUD]. And this is wrong, they simply do not get it, they don't do like the Romans when in Rome [-JUD]. As a result they insist on their way of doing things, bottle up and refuse to see anything around them [-JUD] because “I was this and that, what does this nurse really know if I was the head of the clinic department in Russia?” And that's it, the person does not

develop, he bottles up, as a result of that he fails, blames the whole society, the Canadians in general, etc. [-JUD]. It happens quite often].

By providing such a negative JUDGEMENT and using the pronouns “они” (“they”) and “наши” (“we”) the respondent positions himself as simultaneously belonging and not belonging to the minority group at the same time. Further account of how he participates in the life of the host society reveals that he does not just label other immigrants’ lack of desire to participate as wrong, but he actually behaves in a way that shows that what he says and how he says it support each other.

The analysis of the interview revealed many other examples when he positions himself as different from other members of Russian diaspora, distancing himself from them as people he does not want to be associated with and expressing a rather negative attitude not only to the people themselves, their behavior, but also the media they produce and events they organize with the exception of just a few he appraises as worthy (48).

*(48) Вроде как соотечественники, но не мое [-JUD]. Причем, я многих знаю, ну, не хочу я напиваться, **не хочу я, чтобы мне было все равно, что тут происходит** [-AFF]. Поэтому я последний раз сходил и решил, что, **чтоб самому не позориться и других не позорить, я решил что все, это не для меня** [-AFF]. И даже близко не хожу (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). [They are like my countrymen, but not really [-JUD]. Indeed, I know most of them, but I simply don’t want to get drunk, I don’t want not to care what is going on here [-AFF]. This is why the last time I went I decided that’s it, this is not for me. I want neither to disgrace myself nor disgrace others I won’t even get close to it [-AFF].*

Consumption of media exclusively in Russian by some members of the Russian community is yet another subject that receives negative JUDGEMENT from the respondent. Again, he argues the importance of being open and ready to absorb what another culture has to offer as opposed to avoiding contacts with the host culture and isolating oneself from it, keeping mostly to the members of their family and other minority group members (49). In other words, it is the segregation acculturation strategy that he evaluates as extremely negative. It is interesting that he points out the importance of making a conscious effort to understand another culture even if at first it seems to be a hard thing to do rather than just criticize (50). Similarly with the previous example, his further account of his attempts to learn more about the culture and come into contact with its members reveals his conscious attempt to develop a majority identity and feel part of the host society.

(49) Если говорить о media, самую большую ошибку, которую делают иммигранты, - они немножко не понимают, делают, что привыкли, замыкаются либо на русскоговорящих сайтах,

либо на форумах. Этого нельзя делать. Надо абсолютно смотреть по сторонам [-JUD] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[If we talk about media, those immigrants who focus predominantly on the Russian language websites or forums are making the biggest mistake. They simply don't get it, they do what they are used to and this is wrong. One should be open to the new [-JUD].

(50) Не надо замыкаться в своем и ругать все, чего ты не понимаешь. Если ты не понимаешь – пойми. А не так, что, если не понял, - значит это плохо. Бывают приезжают семьями и замыкаются в этом мирке, несколько семей таких же как они, и из своей засады там сидят и всех критикуют [-JUD], кто мимо проходит. Можно и так, конечно (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[It's not right to bottle up and criticize everything that you don't get. If you don't get – get it, instead of saying that if you don't get it than it's wrong. Some families arrive and clam up in their small world together with some other families like this. All they do is criticize the others [-JUD]. Well, I guess it's ok for some people].

Berry (1997) claimed that for the minority group to successfully adapt in a new society it is not only the majority group members who should be ready to adapt their institutions to better accommodate the needs of the newcomers but also the immigrants themselves who should be ready to shed some of their culture and acquire new skills and identity necessary to fit into a new environment. It is the lack of the latter that is strongly criticized by the respondent (51, 52). Most negative JUDGEMENT receive those members of the Russian diaspora who refuse to make an attempt to understand another culture and adjust their behavior in a way different from what they are used to and not just expect the majority members to play according to their rules.

(51) Иногда самолюбие, тут столько раненых самолюбий среди иммигрантов [-JUD], потому что люди с разным backgroundом. Вот один говорит: “Вот я был врач, а теперь я медбрат”. Я ничего на эту тему не говорю, но некоторые нормально это понимают. Вещь же какая, тут же не в статусе дело. Иногда говорят: “Тебе легко говорить”, но у меня так получилось. Я же часто вижу, почему у людей не получается, я же вижу российскую вот эту угловатость, как упрется так ты хоть тресни [-JUD] ... (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[Sometimes it's one's ego, there are so many hurt egos here among immigrants [-JUD] because people have different backgrounds. One might say: "I used to be a doctor, now I am just a nurse". I don't say anything about that but some people get it right. The thing is that it's not about status. Sometimes I hear people say: "It's easy for you to say that". Well, yes, it worked out for me. I often see why some

people failed, I see their rigidity, they simply don't want to change at all [-JUD].

(52) *Я такой человек, я считаю, не то, что я навязываю, я считаю, что должно быть хорошо, правильно. Люди должны быть свободны, не должны навязывать свое какое-то мнение [+JUD], а доминировать можно на разных уровнях, например, можно говорить человеку: "Делай так", или свой взгляд настолько, что для взгляда других людей просто места нет: «Я хочу пошлятину говорить и все вы все умрите, хочу я матом говорить и все - принимайте меня таким, какой я есть» [-JUD] ... (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[I think that, not that I am trying to make everyone think this way, but I like it when everything is right and good. People should be free, they shouldn't force their points of view on others [+JUD]; one can dominate differently, for instance, one can say: "Do as I say", or force one's opinion to the extent that there is simply no room for anyone else's opinion: "I want to be vulgar, that's it, let me be; I want to swear and I will; accept me the way I am" [-JUD].

Although positioning himself most of the times as different from other members of the Russian community, he singles out one group of immigrants that receive positive JUDGEMENT, namely those people who succeed in developing the majority identity as opposed to those who end up either criticizing the host culture and/or trying to impose their own one (53):

(53) *Из всех иммигрантов, которых я видел, наиболее успешные - это те, которые новостями интересуются, в локальных вещах разбираются, причем всех возрастов, т.е. те, кто пытаются не критиковать или привнести свою культуру [-JUD] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[Of all the immigrants I know, it is the ones who are interested in news, are well informed about the local things, who are most successful. These are people of different ages, it's the ones who are not trying to criticize or promote their own culture [-JUD].

3.3. Minority/majority language use

3.3.1. Majority/minority language use and media consumption in English/Russian

The respondent did not claim to have any particular difficulties learning the majority language during the process of adaptation in a new society. His heavy consumption of media in English apparently reveals a certain degree of comfort with the majority language. He did not mention any stress related issues that he might have experienced when consuming media in English. As far

as everyday use of the majority and minority languages are concerned the analysis of his speech revealed quite a number of instances of code-switching and code mixing (this point will be discussed later) that again reveals his certain level of comfort using both languages. However, in everyday non-professional life it is the minority language that prevails in his speech (54).

(54) *Все смешалось, на русском, конечно. Легче и приятнее* [**+AFF**] (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[It's all mixed up now. But Russian, of course. It's easier and more enjoyable **+AFF**].

3.3.2. Media in English as a source of learning the majority language

The first respondent did not mention whether he used media in English as a source of learning the host language. Since he mentioned that before immigrating to Canada he also lived in the United States of America for a while, it is possible that by the time he arrived in Canada, he already knew English well enough to be using media as an additional source of learning.

3.3.3. Code-switching and identity construction

In this interview the respondent code-switches to denote culturally specific names/phenomena that may or may not have direct equivalents in Russian or providing them would take more time and effort for the speaker (e.g., Heritage festival, University of Alberta, community, girls rule etc.). Oftentimes, however, he would choose English words over Russian ones even when there is a ready available equivalent in his mother tongue (55-59):

(55) *Т.е. это вообще если хочешь понять **enjoy** культуру, бери вообще все что она дает...*

[It's like if you want to understand, enjoy another culture, take everything it can give...]

(56) *Но люди восстановили этот **poetry club**.*

[But people restored this poetry club].

(57) *И Эдмонтон **notorious for this**.*

[And Edmonton is notorious for this].

(58) *Я **flexible**, т.е. я могу подстраиваться под человека...*

[I am flexible, I can adapt to another person].

(59) *Это информация, точки зрения, **experience** (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[It's information, points of view, and experience].

It appears that he feels comfortable using both languages with the prevalence of Russian in everyday life when not forced to speak English. He freely incorporates some English words in his speech with some instances of Russianizing them when it seems appropriate. It is interesting that of all the respondents he uses code-switching more often with some instances of Russification of English words (60, 61) (i.e. code-mixing):

(60) *Иногда самолюбие, тут столько раненых самолюбий среди иммигрантов, потому что люди с разным **backgroundom** (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[Sometimes a person's ego, there are so many examples of hurt egos among immigrants, because people come from different backgrounds].

(61) *Они стараются, конечно, национальные парки, все **trails** прогулочные, - это удивительно хорошо, замечательно (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).*

[They try, of course. National parks, trails – it's all amazing and great].

If the use of the majority language was associated with an unpleasant and unwanted experience, it could be expected that very few if any code-switching would be present in his speech. Frequent code-switching, on the other hand, might be indicative of the respondent's willingness to communicate different identities, that of majority and minority, depending on the context.

The analysis of all five interviews revealed striking differences in the way the respondents construct their identities and the role of media consumption in both the majority and minority in the process of their adaptation to a new environment. The analysis also raised a number of questions regarding other factors (than media use) that might also have a role to play in one's integration into a new society. These questions will be addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Discussion and Conclusion

4.1 Discussion of the results

This section presents a discussion of the data analyzed in the previous chapter. I present a conclusion for each respondent outlining his/her media use habits in English and Russian, and the way/s they construct their identity/-ies. I also make links between media use and identity referring to the main theories used in this research (Berry's model of acculturation strategies (1997, 2001) and Adoni et al.'s (2006) model of media type consumers). Moreover, I refer to the Appraisal theory in order to reveal different ways in which the respondents position themselves in a new environment. Since I provide a separate conclusion for each respondent and use mainly two theories for all of them, some repetitions might occur whenever it appears necessary to relate the conclusions to theory.

4.1.1. Respondent 1: The culturally hybrid Cossack

According to Berry (1997, 2001), success of an individual's integration into a new society depends on his willingness to develop a majority identity through active participation in the life of the host community and at the same time maintain his/her minority identity, which is also essential for immigrants' wellbeing. Kim (2001) argues that communication (both personal and social) is essential for an immigrant's successful adaptation since it is through communication that new learning about the host society occurs. Being a challenging and often drastic experience, emigration requires from an individual to acquire new skills and knowledge to better fit into a new environment and be able to relate to "social environment and its culture, that is, the universe of information and operative linguistic and nonlinguistic communication rituals that gives coherence, continuity, and distinction to a communal way of life" (p.46).

Learning about a new culture is not an easy task since an individual absorbs culture from the moment he is born and carries this cultural baggage through his whole life without even realizing it is there until faced with a completely different cultural environment that forces him to reassess those cultural norms that were considered right till that moment. As Kim (2001) puts it, "life in a new culture presents situations that deviate from the familiar and assumed, and the newcomer is faced with things that do not follow his or her unconscious cultural "script" (p. 50). An individual's communicative abilities then become especially important since they allow a newcomer to make sense of the new environment, interpret verbal and nonverbal messages, realize certain patterns of behavior accepted in a given society and adjust his own behavior accordingly.

Both social communication of which mass communication is an example, and personal communication are said to play an essential role in the process of adaptation (Kim, 2001). Consumption of media that the host society

has to offer has the potential to facilitate immigrants' adaptation to a new environment and is a less stressful activity than face-to-face interactions with the native-born members of the host society since media consumption is "governed by little mutual obligation, effort, or responsibility on the part of the spectator" (Kim, 2001, p. 76). Adoni et al. (2006) argue that mass media might play an important role in facilitating the majority identity development and preserving of the minority one through the consumption of media in the majority and minority languages respectively.

The analysis of the first interview revealed that respondent 1 appears to be a heavy consumer of media in both languages, English and Russian. In terms of Adoni et al.'s (2006) classification of media type consumers the respondent clearly falls under the category of a dualist, i.e. a consumer of both media in the majority and minority languages. Not only do media in both languages play an important role in his life, but they also receive critical evaluation from the respondent – a quality that one might expect given his high level of education. Not only does he use different media in both languages, but also the content consumed differs greatly revealing the interviewee's wide range of interests, from local news to international ones, from politics to culture. Prevalence of the information-oriented content is important since it is said to facilitate "formation of host relational ties" than entertainment-oriented media content (Kim, 2001).

Kim (2001) mentions an individual's openness, "an internal posture that is receptive to new information...a dimension of personality that enables strangers to seek to acquire new knowledge, to participate in the communication processes of the new environment, and to expand the range of their aesthetic sensibilities and their repertoires of habitual behaviors" (p. 84) as one of the predispositions of successful integration. The interviewee's openness to different media, his willingness to be exposed to different points of views, perspectives and opinions, as well as his ability to provide critical evaluations of the content consumed as well as media channels providing this content as opposed to blindly agreeing with everything he sees or reads or criticizing it altogether, reveal the respondent's overall broadmindedness as well as his conscious attempt and genuine interest in being aware of what is going on in both societies, that of origin and current residence. Abundant examples of Appraisal throughout the interview reveal the respondent's capacity for providing both emotional and rational evaluations of human beings, things, phenomena, etc. His openness during the interview also reveals an easy-going disposition, which apparently helps him in the process of communication within the host society, facilitating establishment of new social networks and relationships.

Unlike mass communication, personal communication with the members of the host society is a more stressful experience especially at the early stages of immigration when a language barrier might still be an issue combined with lack of knowledge about social conventions, since it puts individuals in a situation when they are provided "with unsolicited and simultaneous feedback messages that subtly, yet powerfully, let the strangers recognize inadequacies in their behavior" (Kim, 2001, p. 132). In other words, face-to-face communication

might often be a stressful experience for the newcomers who do not have enough communicative competence.

Respondent 1 appears to feel rather comfortable coming into contact with the members of the host community and, most importantly, he eagerly initiates those contacts, which reflects his active position in life – a position that is said to be crucial for “successful management of adaptive stress” (Kim, 2001, p. 229). An individual’s overall positive attitude towards the host environment is said to be crucial for successful communication since “strangers who feel positive and respectful toward local people tend to maintain less psychological distance from them than do those who may resent or have little genuine interest in understanding them” (Kim, 2001, p. 108).

Similar with that the respondent also participates in different activities organized by the host community and highly appraises its attempts to improve recreational activities. A number of researchers (Kim, 2001; Berry, 1997, 2001) pointed out a newcomer’s willingness to participate in the life of the host community through personal contacts and participation in the events organized by it as one of the crucial factors facilitating the development of the majority identity and host communication competence. The interview analysis clearly reveals the respondent’s conscious attempt to be actively involved in the life of the host community.

Kim (2001) claims that affective competence - one’s ability to emotionally relate to a new environment, ability to appreciate local aesthetics – is yet another important factor that might facilitate immigrant’s integration by providing resources and tools that will allow “to appreciate and empathize with the emotional and aesthetic sensibilities of the natives” (p. 108). Respondent 1 stressed the importance of fulfilling one’s emotional needs in the host society, which might not be an easy task but is absolutely essential if one wants to feel comfortable in a new environment (61).

(61) ...надо найти свою струю, где хорошо, которая разные стороны твоей души может удовлетворить. Это довольно сложно строить, но не в коем случае нельзя прекращать этого. Потому что иначе очень тяжело (Interview 1).

[One should find his niche, where one fits and feels good, so that you can satisfy different sides of your personality. It’s rather difficult but one should not give up. Because otherwise it’s very hard].

An individual’s flexibility has also been noted as one of the crucial factors that facilitates development of a dual/hybrid identity (that of the majority and minority societies) resulting in successful integration (Berry, 2001; Kim, 2001; Adoni et al. (2005). Kim (2001) argues that “a rigid identity orientation engenders closed-mindedness and a defensive and critical posture” whereas “a flexible self/other orientation helps to engender greater openness and lessen unwarranted prejudicial cynicism toward new cultural experiences” (p. 111). Throughout the interview the respondent emphasizes the importance of being open to the new, be that different media offering different points of view on the

same matter, or interaction with different people, or taking part in different events. Interestingly enough, it is the immigrants who take an active stance in life and expose themselves to what the host culture has to offer that receive most positive JUDGEMENT from the respondent as opposed to those members of the minority community who prefer to stay rigid and critical of the new society.

Development of the hybrid identity is not an easy process. The identity is no way a rigid entity that a person acquires once and for good. On the contrary, construction of hybrid identity should be viewed as a process rather than a fixed matter since it presupposes continuous acquisition of new skills and knowledge about the majority culture (acculturation) as well as a certain degree of culture shedding (deculturation) which is inevitable especially the longer an individual stays in the host society and the longer he is exposed to its norms and values (Kim, 2001). In other words, this new identity is neither one's original cultural identity nor the one of the host society, but rather "a new, expanded identity" that "is not a fixed psychological state but a developmental continuum on which strangers travel" (Kim, 2001, p. 65). Respondent 1 clearly states his attempt to balance between the two identities, that of the majority and minority societies. At the same time, he points out certain boundaries and limits to this process, which he set for himself in order to provide a certain level of security and well being for himself as a human being (62).

(62) Я по натуре вообще человек общительный, мне нравится общаться, но с другой стороны, я много что видел в этой жизни. Я flexible, т.е. я могу подстраиваться под человека, но я не хочу себя ломать, я уже настолько от этого устал, что ты должен в обществе подстраиваться. Ну, а почему я должен меняться? Я не заставляю их меняться, но и не заставляйте меня меняться. Т.е. я пытаюсь соблюдать баланс (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).

[I am an easy-going person, I like communicating, but on the other hand, I've seen a lot in life. Well, I am flexible, I can adapt to another person, but I don't want to break myself. I am so tired of it that one has to adjust to society. Why should I change? I don't make them change but don't make me change either. I mean, I am trying to find the right balance.]

Adler (1982) argues that the development of a new identity "situates oneself neither totally a part of nor totally apart from a given culture" (as cited in Kim, 2001, p. 65). Throughout the interview the respondent positions himself as belonging to the minority group but at the same time being different. By identifying himself specifically as a Cossack and not Russian, by referring to the members of Russian community in collective terms (Russian community, Edmonton, countrymen) and distancing himself from them, by referring to them at some point as "наши" (we/us) and including himself in that group but at the same time criticizing "они" (them) later on, he clearly identifies his position as belonging but at the same time different. In other words, he simultaneously

belongs and does not at home, in the immigrant society, and in the Canadian society.

Respondent 1 appears to be utilizing an integration acculturation strategy (Berry, 2001) since he seems to have successfully developed a majority identity yet preserving the minority one. Media consumption in both languages appear to play an important role in this process and, according to Adoni et al.'s (2006) classification of media type consumers, the respondent can be placed under the category of dualists which clearly corresponds with the integration acculturation strategy.

4.1.2. Respondent 2: An unemotional 'idealist'

Respondent 2 constructed her identity in a rather different way compared to respondent 1. For one thing, throughout the interview the respondent did not appear to be willing to openly talk about her media use habits and identity related issues. The Appraisal analysis conducted for the interview clearly revealed scarce examples of explicit attitudinal positioning of the respondent, be that emotional (AFFECT) or rational (JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION) evaluations. Her unwillingness to express her position on the issues discussed was revealed not only through rather scarce content but also by rather unemotional language use. The results of the interview therefore might not necessarily reflect who the respondent truly is and thinks about media use and identity since the information she provided apparently lacked sincerity.

Lack of affectual language during the interview clearly reflects a rather different personality than respondent 1 and might reveal either the respondent's unwillingness to discuss certain issues which in turn may result from uncertainty and lack of clear personal stance towards her position in the host society, or the respondent's general personality type, that of reservation and emotional detachment. By choosing this manner of interaction she automatically created a distance with the interviewer. On a larger scale, it might also indicate an overall orientation towards the outside world, her attempt to set herself aside rather than create relationships of solidarity and empathy.

Twice did she mention that she would do certain things (interact with people, support bilingualism in the family etc.) because everybody else does so, as opposed to her thinking this way. Her media use habits as well as involvement in the host culture reveal that for her it is more a necessity, something she views the new life requires from her to better fit in as opposed to her personal intention or desire, something she would be genuinely interested in. In other words, she does not seem to be genuinely interested in developing a majority identity, but does certain things she thinks are necessary and right in her new life situation.

Her unwillingness to build new relationships with the members of both minority and majority communities and reliance on the old circle of friends from the homeland with only a few new contacts mostly in the workplace might indicate what Kim (2001) calls "a rigid identity orientation" (p. 111). Lack of contacts with the native-born members of the host community might be a result

of insufficient positive attitude towards the host environment and resent as well as “little genuine interest in understanding them” (Kim, 2001, p. 108). Involvement in the life of the host community is in no way initiated by the respondent but rather happens out of necessity – a strategy that Kim (2001) claims to be unsuccessful in terms of integrating into a new society since it is an individual’s desire to find a better fit into a new environment and personal effort put into achieving this goal that eventually results in successful integration.

Although the respondent claims to be interested in the life of the host community, scarce consumption of media in the majority language mostly limited to local news and a few media channels, combined with unwillingness to participate in the events organized by the host community as well as lack of initiative as far as contacts with the native-born majority members are concerned reveal the respondent’s overall very limited interest in the life of the host society. Kim (2001) argues that an individual’s affective competence is crucial in the process of adaptation to a new environment since it provides “an emotional and motivational capacity to deal with the various challenges of living in the host environment” (p. 108). By providing an almost unemotional account of the host community’s life as seen by the respondent, its members and their activities, the respondent demonstrates lack of ability “to appreciate and empathize with the emotional and aesthetic sensibilities of the natives” (p. 108).

Maintenance of the minority identity is yet another tricky question. Coming from a former USSR republic she clearly identifies herself as a citizen of that country. The analysis of her media habits, however, reveals that media in Russian and/or official language from the home country do not play a really important role in her life and are consumed on a non-regular basis. Media in Russian from Russia and Canada are used mostly for professional purposes and do not seem to facilitate the maintenance of the minority identity either. At the same time, her close ties with the old circle of friends from the home country and the importance placed on keeping in touch with them are clearly indicative of the value placed on preserving who she was before immigration.

Since the respondent uses media in both the majority and minority languages relatively equally she should be ascribed to the category of dualist media users based on Adoni et al.’s (2006) model. It should be noted though that since this is a qualitative study and not a quantitative one, and the degrees of media consumption in Adoni et al.’s model are simply described as “high” vs. “low”, within the present study it does not seem to be possible to clearly define which amount of media consumption should be considered as high and low. Bearing this in mind, ascription of each respondent to a category of dualist/ adapter/ separatist/ detached media consumer is based on the analysis of each interview individually and figuring out the prevailing media, rather than on a clear-cut definition of what is considered to be low vs. high consumption that is uniform for all the respondents.

Although the respondent appears to be using both types of media relatively equally, media consumption in no way translates into an integration strategy (Berry, 2001), as was the case with respondent 1. As it has been mentioned earlier, the interviewee’s involvement in the majority culture is

limited to what she deems necessary and sufficient for her to function well in a new environment with no personal interest or involvement in the process. At the same time, reliance on the old circle of friends from the homeland, predominant use of Russian with almost no instances of code-switching or code-mixing during the interview which might indicate a certain level of discomfort using the majority language, clear self-identification with the minority culture might indicate tremendous importance placed first and foremost on the maintenance of the minority identity.

The four acculturation strategies defined by Berry (1997, 2001) – assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization – are in no way clear cut concepts but should rather be seen as a continuum since the development of the majority identity and maintenance of the minority one are a continuous process in themselves, which undergo transformations during the course of time and result in some culture shedding as well as culture gain. Respondent 2 shows some interest in the majority culture but still places a lot of importance on preserving the minority one. As such, she might be technically said to utilize an integration strategy, following Berry's definition, which presupposes simultaneous development of the majority identity and preservation of the minority one. However, it seems more accurate to conclude that the segregative trends in her acculturation strategy are more evident than integrative ones.

4.1.3. Respondent 3: The 'world citizen'

It has been stated earlier that "communication lies at the heart of cross-cultural adaptation" (Kim, 2001, p. 72). Both interpersonal and social communication is essential for integration to happen. The success of interpersonal communication is strongly influenced by what Kim (2001) calls an adaptive personality, that is such traits of character as openness ("an internal posture that is receptive to new information" (Kim, 2001, p. 84), strength ("an internal capacity to absorb "shocks" from the environment and to bounce back without being seriously damaged by them" (Kim, 2001, pp. 84-85) and positivity ("an affirmative and optimistic outlook of mind, or the internal capacity to defy negative prediction" (Kim, 2001, p. 85). Although both social and personal communication are said to play an important role in facilitating an individual's adaptation to a new environment, it is face-to-face interactions that are more stressful due to language and psychological barriers and as such might be avoided by some newcomers especially at the early stages of immigration.

The respondent characterized himself as a not very communicative person. He neither expressed strong desire to keep in touch with friends/acquaintances from the homeland claiming lack of common interests due to changed life circumstances, nor does he eagerly come into contact with the members of the host environment. The latter partially results from the language barrier and perceived negative attitude the respondent ascribes to the native speakers towards someone whose English is not really good. Although native-born members of the host community receive extremely positive evaluation from the interviewee, he, at the same time, claims that he in no way searches for

these contacts but rather accepts them if they are deemed necessary. It seems that those contacts are mostly limited to the workplace. As Kim (2001) suggests, this strategy is not a road to success since it is by seeking opportunities for intercultural contact rather than waiting for them to come that a person increases his chances of developing host communicative competence necessary for successful integration. Lack of initiative as far as contacts with the members of the host community are concerned might be a result of an overall feeling of alienation and confusion since the respondent obviously feels marginal because of the sense of rejection by the native speakers on the basis of poor language knowledge (Kim, 2001).

Participation in the life of the host society through consumption of its media is less stressful though still an important experience that has a strong potential to facilitate cross-cultural adaptation (Kim, 2001). Although the respondent 3 does consume media in the majority language, it does not seem to constitute a very important part of his life. Throughout the interview the respondent mentions several times numerous problems he encountered while acquiring the majority language. This factor combined with insignificant value placed on integrating into a new society in general obviously influenced his media consumption habits (preference for TV as a medium that provides not only verbal but also visual information that facilitates understanding, lack of desire to spend additional time for reading/watching local and national news on the websites, preferences for entertainment content rather than analytic one etc.).

Media in the minority language does not receive much of his attention either. Media in Russian from Russia is strongly criticized and is avoided by the respondent being labeled as “all that Russian-Soviet farce” (Interview 3). Similarly ethnic media is evaluated rather negatively as being shallow, worthless and lacking interesting content. Communication with the members of the minority community is also not a priority for the interviewee. Not only does he express a very negative attitude towards the community in general, but he also has the same negative attitude towards the activities the community organizes. Interestingly enough holding such a negative attitude to the minority community in the host society as well as showing very little interest in being associated and keeping in touch with other Russians in Russia, the respondent does not identify with the minority identity. At the same time, he does not identify himself with the majority identity either. Instead, he calls himself a citizen of the world thus revealing his concept of himself as belonging neither to the majority nor the minority community. The respondent seems to feel neither that he fits in his homeland (about which he has mostly negative feelings with a few exceptions about the Soviet past), nor that he belongs in Canada.

Although consumption of media in both languages does not constitute a great part of the interviewee's life, he still seems to use them from time to time. According to Adoni et al. (2006) the respondent falls under the category of dualist media users. However, similar with respondent 2, consumption of media in both the majority and minority languages does not translate into the integration acculturation strategy. It appears that although the respondent does not identify himself in terms of the minority identity, it is the identity he seems

to have. It should be mentioned here that his unwillingness to be identified as Russian might result from his ethnic identity, that is Jewish, and a somewhat negative attitude this ethnic group might have received in Russia/former Soviet Union. Although there is a general tendency outside of Russia (or any other country) to identify everyone who comes from this country as Russian, within the country there are numerous minority groups differentiated on the basis of their ethnic origin (Jews, the Tatars etc.). Whereas some members of those groups might take pride in being identified as such, others might not feel like it and would rather prefer to be associated with the majority society. According to Simon (2004), it is the low status and disadvantaged position of certain minority groups in the majority society that might affect the minority group members' willingness to be associated with it.

Kim (2001) argues that an individual's "determination to succeed in the adaptive journey" (p. 82) is one of the crucial factors that might facilitate integration. The respondent clearly stated that integration has never been a priority for him; he also mentioned his age of immigration to Canada (early 50s) as one of the factors that made it difficult for him to learn a new language and resulted in communication problems. It is interesting that the respondent mentioned that during his first emigration experience at a much earlier age (early 40s), learning the majority language was not a problem. It is possible that his lack of enthusiasm about his second immigration and his unwillingness to integrate result from his disappointment in his first experience and lack of hope that the second one would be more successful.

Apparently, the development of a majority identity has never been a priority for him and is limited mostly to the requirements of his new environment: the amount of communication with the members of the host community, participation in the events organized by it and consumption of media in the majority language are accomplished to the extent that allows the respondent to feel more or less comfortable in the host society.

4.1.4. Respondent 4: A struggling optimist

Berry (1997) claims that unlike refugees or indigenous peoples who face the necessity to "experience acculturation without having sought it out", immigrants are the group that "entered into the acculturation process voluntarily". However, respondent 4 clearly states that her family's emigration was not that much a matter of choice but rather a necessity since, as she claims it, there was no other choice for them. This is her second immigration, the first one being in Israel, and it is the latter that she was extremely excited about at least at the beginning. It appears that the decision to change the country of residence was forced by certain circumstances. This initial negative stance towards moving into a new country might have a lot to do with her desire and willingness to integrate. Language barriers as well as her age of immigration appear to have a strong negative impact on her process of integration too.

Kim (2001) claims that "the extent of strangers' knowledge of the host language corresponds to the extent of their new cultural learning and

engagement in the new social processes” (p. 100). Not only did the respondent admit the considerable difficulties she faced while learning the host language, but she also mentioned the drastic consequences of inadequate language knowledge for her professional activity. It appears that her inability to teach in English automatically deprives her of any opportunities to be promoted and get the job that corresponds to her high level of education as opposed to holding a position that is way below her qualifications. Despite this rather disappointing life situation, she seems to try to see the bright side of things, stay positive and appreciate what she has (63).

(63) Нет, я не жалею, жалеть... слава Богу такая работа есть, все устраиваются более или менее, работу находят даже самые пассивные люди находят работу (Interview 4, emphasis is mine).

[No, I don't regret...thank God, I have the job. Everyone settles down more or less, even the most passive people get a job].

Lack of language skills might also explain her use of media predominantly in the minority language. Although media in the majority language is not totally excluded from the respondent's life, they definitely play a much lesser role than media in Russian. The respondent singled out several programs that are of particular interest for her and her family. This is noteworthy since it reveals her attempt to fulfill emotional needs in the host society and develop a feeling of APPRECIATION of at least some aspects of the host culture.

Involvement in the life of the majority community through participation in the events organized by it and personal contacts with its members does not seem to be an easy task for respondent 4 either. It appears that similar with respondent 3 those contacts are not sought on purpose but rather are accepted as a necessity since most of them are limited to the workplace environment. It is again the activities (for instance, parties) organized mostly in the workplace that the respondent attends most. Overall, she seems to be involved in the majority culture only to the extent required by her professional environment and the fact that she lives in a new country and as such has to be aware of what is going on there. Although she claimed the importance of being aware of the norms and rules accepted in the host society in order to better fit into it – an approach that goes in line with the integration acculturation strategy – it is her age of immigration that might influence the outcome of her process of learning. As Kim (2001) puts it “even when strangers are strongly motivated to learn about and to adapt to the host culture, many will find it difficult to do so because of old cultural habits etched into their psyches” (p. 175). The older the immigrants, the more difficult it is for them to have open personalities “due to the fact that their original cultural identities and communication patterns have become solidified” (Kim, 2001, p. 175), which inevitably makes the process of development of a new identity that eventually might result in integration, much harder.

Maintenance of the minority identity appears to be a more important task for her resulting in heavy consumption of media in Russian, willingness to preserve contacts with Russians in Russia and initiating contacts with the members of the minority community in the host society. It is interesting that unlike respondent 3 who expressed a very negative attitude towards the Russian community in the host society, respondent 4 appraised the people involved in the community's activity in very positive terms. This, however, did not translate into active participation of events organized by the community due to negative JUDGEMENT that behavior of certain members received from the respondent. Nor does she use ethnic media much due to the reasons outlined by respondents 1 and 3 earlier (lack of interesting content, its shallowness and incoherent character).

Overall, the interview analysis revealed that respondent's attempt to appreciate what she has in her life and try to focus on the bright side of things rather than criticize everything and everyone for not having what she might have wanted to (64).

(64) Ну, конечно, надо знать, чтобы быть не изгоем в этой новой стране, которая дала тебе убежище. Те законы жизни и уклад нам не противоречит, нашим представлениям о цивилизации (Interview 4, emphasis is mine).

[Well, of course, it's important to know what is going on in this new country that gave you shelter. We agree with these norms and rules of life, they correspond to our idea about civilization].

It appears that the development of the majority identity, necessary for eventually developing a hybrid one, is a rather difficult task for the respondent. Unlike respondent 3, she clearly stated that she in no way associates herself with the majority identity. In fact, she does not know exactly what it means to be Canadian. At the same time, she does not clearly identify with the minority identity claiming that it is hard for her to provide a clear definition in terms of self-identification (65).

(65) Я не знаю, я не чувствую себя канадкой. Вот я тоже слышала от людей: "Ой, вы знаете, что вы от нее хотите, она стала такая канадка". Для меня это непонятно, что это значит. Не знаю, вот так вот люди говорят о ком-то. Я не знаю к кому себя отнести, честно говоря. Не знаю, я затрудняюсь ответить на этот вопрос (Interview 4).

[I don't know, I don't feel Canadian. Well, I've heard some people say: "What do you expect from her? She has become such a Canadian." I do not really get what it means. I don't know, sometimes people would say about someone. I don't know, I have a hard time answering this question].

It is interesting that she mentions that in her opinion the host society does not force the newcomers to assimilate and stresses the fact that this is in no way what she tries to achieve (66). In other words, she does not view assimilation as an appropriate acculturation strategy for herself.

(66) Тут всех принимают, каждый имеет свою community, каждый принадлежит, так или иначе, никто не растворяется, во тут нет такого требования раствориться, ассимилировать, каждый сохраняет свою индивидуальность... все сохраняют свою индивидуальность, естественно. Мы не стремимся раствориться как-то совсем. Не то что мы сопротивляемся, просто как есть, так есть (Interview 4, emphasis is mine).

[Everyone is accepted here. Everyone has his community, everyone belongs somewhere more or less, no one assimilates, it's not a requirement here to dissolve, assimilate, and everyone preserves their individuality, of course. We are not trying to dissolve completely. It's not that we resist it, it's just the way it is].

Since the consumption of media in the minority language obviously prevails over the one in the majority language, the respondent falls under the category of separatist media consumers (Adoni et al., 2006). The acculturation strategy also reveals more separatist tendencies than those of integration, despite the fact that the respondent does make some attempts to adapt to a new environment through the participation in the life of the host society. However, it is mostly limited to the workplace environment and does not appear to be sufficient enough to integrate in a new society.

4.1.5. Respondent 5: A Canadian with a Russian soul

It appears that the respondent succeeded in the development of the majority identity by participating in the life of host society through the consumption of media in the majority language, participation in the events organized by the host community and coming into contact with the members of the host society. A number of researchers claimed the importance of consumption of media in the majority language for the development of the majority identity (Adoni et al., 2005; Kim, 2001). Kim (2001) suggests that «through participation in the mainstream host mass communication process...strangers learn about the broader range of host cultural elements – they are exposed to the culture's aspirations, traditions, history, myths, art, work, play, and humor, as well as current issues and events» (p. 131). The respondent's use of diverse range of media channels as well as their predominantly analytic content reveal her interest in the life of the host society and willingness to learn more about it. This is noteworthy since as Kim (2001) states, it is the information-oriented content as opposed to the entertainment one that has more potential to facilitate integration into the host society.

Although the respondent admitted to have had a language barrier at the beginning of her immigration, it did not lead to alienation and lack of contacts with the native-born members of the host society later on. By using media in the majority language (predominantly radio) not only did she manage to improve her language skills but also received considerable knowledge of the host culture. Although she did not claim to initiate contacts with other members of the host community a lot, she admitted to have a wide circle of friends among both English and Russian speaking population. Lack of any negative JUDGEMENT of the majority group members in general combined with a mostly positive attitude towards members of the minority community reveal her overall openness and affirmative approach to different kinds of people. Interestingly enough, she claimed to be using both the minority and majority language almost equally in everyday life, which reflects that she feels at ease using both languages as well as comes into contact with the members of both majority and minority communities on a regular basis.

Preservation of the minority identity also appears to be crucial for the interviewee. For one thing, keeping in touch with friends/family from her homeland is said to be extremely important. Not only does she use affectual terms when talking about her homeland, but also stresses her minority identity as something that she considers to be an integral part of herself that she in no way wants to discard. Heavy consumption of a variety of media channels in Russian also reveal the respondent's interest in what is going on in the homeland. While clearly identifying with the minority identity, she at the same time mentions that there is something Canadian about her, in other words, she admits to have developed a majority identity at least to a certain degree. This again goes in line with the idea that development of a hybrid/dual/intercultural identity is a dynamic process. According to Kim (2001), an individual is unlikely to change the core concepts imprinted in him/her by his/her culture of origin. This said, however, adapting one's behavior to a new environment, i.e. developing a new identity, is a highly realistic task.

It appears that respondent 5 follows the integration acculturation strategy since she reveals her involvement in both communities, the majority and minority one, shows interest in the events happening in both countries, that of origin and immigration, consumes media in both languages to stay aware of what is going on in both societies and maintains contacts with the members of both communities. This acculturation strategy seems to correspond to the type of media consumer the respondent appears to be - a dualist – as she consumes media in both languages relatively equally.

4.2. Final thoughts about identity construction, media use and the role of other factors in it.

4.2.1. The study overview.

This paper aimed at investigating the role of media consumption in the majority (English) and minority language (Russian) in the process of identity

construction of a very specific group of Russian immigrants in Canada, namely the ones who have lived in Canada for more than 10 years, are Canadian citizens, hold a PhD (from the home country), work in higher education institutions in Canada, and arrived in Canada at an age when they still faced the necessity to develop their careers (30s-40s), settle down and raise up children in a new environment. Berry's model of acculturation strategies (2001) and Adoni et al.'s model of media type consumers (2006) were used in order to see how this group of Russian immigrants to Canada constructed their identity/-ies in the course of their immigration experience as well as investigate the role of media consumption in both the majority and minority languages in this process. Appraisal theory was also used in order to reveal how the respondents evaluate this experience, whether they feel positive/negative about their life in a new environment, how they feel about different aspects of life in the host society, i.e. coming into contact with the members of the host society, participating in the events organized by them etc., which choices they make as far as development of the majority identity and maintenance of the minority one are concerned, whether they consider it necessary to integrate or think that doing just enough to feel more or less comfortable in a new environment is sufficient. The use of the Appraisal theory was relevant, useful and important since it allowed to better understand how the respondents position themselves in their new life situation including both positioning towards the host society and its members and that of origin. It also helped get a deeper understanding of the respondents' personalities and revealed that an overall positive stance towards the host culture and that of origin as opposed to an overall negative attitude might have a role to play in the success of one's integration.

According to Berry (1997, 2001), when coming into contact with the host society, an individual is likely to face the necessity to solve at least two major problems: decide on the importance of participating in the host society (through personal contacts, participation in the life of the host community etc.) as well as on the importance of maintaining one's original identity, that of the home culture. Depending on the interplay between the two, four possible acculturation strategies are suggested: assimilation (development of the majority identity with little interest in preserving the minority one), integration (development of the majority identity and maintenance of the minority one), segregation (maintenance of the minority identity and lack of interest in the development of the majority one) and marginalization (unwillingness to either develop the majority identity or preserve the minority one).

Adoni et al. (2006) added a new perspective to this model by suggesting that the amount of media consumption in the majority and minority languages affect the development of the majority identity and maintenance of the minority one respectively. They suggested four types of media consumers: adapters (high consumption of media in the majority language and low consumption of media in the minority language), dualists (high consumption of media in both languages), separatists (low consumption of media in the minority language and high consumption of media in the majority language), and detached (low consumption of media in both languages). Apparently, in this

model media consumption in the majority and minority languages is directly linked to strengthening of the majority and minority identities respectively. In Berry's model (1997) it is varying degrees of majority identity development versus minority identity maintenance that result in different acculturation strategies. Thus, I hypothesized that media consumption patterns and the type of media consumer might correspond with the acculturation strategy the respondents were using.

4.2.2. Media consumption and acculturation strategies: one does not always lead to the other.

The results of the research suggest that the amount of media consumption in both the majority and minority languages does not always translate into a corresponding acculturation strategy, as was hypothesized earlier. In their study on Arab and Russian immigrants in Israel Adoni et al. (2006) hypothesized that "more media consumption in the majority language would strengthen the development of a majority identity" and "more media consumption in the minority language would strengthen a minority identity" (pp. 85-86). They also stated that "one of the most important aspects of mass communication available to minority audiences was the media's language" (p. 145) and that "in the acculturation process of minorities, utilization of the host country's language comprises the single most crucial factor in the process of integration within dominant culture" (pp. 145-146). This research, however, reveals rather different results.

For respondents 1, 4 and 5 media consumption appeared to correspond to the acculturation strategy used. Respondents 1 and 5 are dualist media users (i.e. they consume media in both the majority and minority languages) and use an integration acculturation strategy (i.e. they succeeded in developing of the majority identity and maintaining of the minority one). Respondent 4 appears to be a separatist media consumer since she uses mostly media in the minority language and much less media in the majority language and uses a separatist acculturation strategy (i.e. she succeeded more in maintaining her minority identity; development of the majority one seems to be an issue). Respondent 2 and 3, however, did not reveal the same consistency. For them consumption of media in both the majority and minority languages did not result in the use of integration acculturation strategy but rather revealed more separatist trends in the way they constructed their identity. A number of factors might explain this.

Apparently, consumption of media in the majority language is not enough for the development of the majority identity. It seems that at least three questions need to be asked as far as media consumption is concerned in order to reveal its role in the process of identity construction, namely why individuals consume certain media, what they consume, and to what extent they are ready to accept its content. All the respondents have access to different kinds of media in both the majority and minority languages. Apparently, it is not only the availability of media and access to it but also an individual's readiness to accept the content that is important. An overall negative stance towards the host culture

is likely to result in an individual's negative attitude towards the media this society produces. Apparently, it is not the mere exposure to the culture's norms, values, events etc. that inevitably leads to the development of the majority identity; it is rather one's ability to accept the fact that the host society is different and to change one's behavior accordingly. For respondents 2 and 4, lack of communication with the native-born members of the host community also seems to play a role in their failure to develop a majority identity. The content of the media may also play a role in the success of integration. Respondent 3 mentioned that his favorite TV channel in the majority language is *National Geographic* as opposed to some analytic programs that would be more informative about the life of the host community.

4.2.3. Host language knowledge and integration.

In line with Adoni et al.'s research (2006) this study also demonstrates the crucial role of knowledge and use of the host society's language in the process of integration. Four out of the five respondents (2, 3, 4, 5) claimed to have very poor command of English prior to arrival. It is only respondent five who managed to learn it to the extent that allows her to freely communicate with the members of the host community and to consume a considerable amount of media in the host language. For respondents 3 and 4, however, the language barrier still appears to be a huge problem, which, combined with other problems (e.g., psychological barriers, personal characteristics), apparently influences the success of integration in a negative way. Respondent 2 claimed that although she still thinks she does not know English really well, she still manages to consume some media in the majority language. However, while she claims that she still does not know English well, she works in a Canadian university where the main language of professional communication is English, i.e. she has to use English at a high level on a daily basis. Thus, unwillingness to consume media in English does not seem to result from poor language knowledge but rather from her personal characteristics (for instance, lack of openness). The same seems to be true as far as interaction with the native-born members of the host community is concerned.

Overall, despite the fact that the respondents know the majority language to a different extent, they all seem to have language skills that are sufficient not only to get by in everyday life but also conduct their professional activities within a higher education institution where communication is carried out in the majority language. As such, it appears that it is not only the language knowledge that might influence their decision to consume media or not, in the majority language as well as participate or not participate in the life of the host community. Apparently, some other factors might have a role to play in this process.

4.2.4. Age of emigration as one of the crucial factors influencing the success of integration.

Adoni et al. (2006) claimed that although a number of demographic variables were taken into consideration in their study (gender, age, education, ability to speak and write the majority language) they “appeared to render little influence on the relationships between media consumption and identity” (p. 87). This research, however demonstrates that some of these factors might have a role to play in the process of immigrants’ adaptation in the new environment and as such should definitely be taken into account. Two out of five respondents (3, 4) claimed that it is their age at the time of emigration (i.e. late 40s-early 50s) that affected their immigration experience in general and language learning in particular. Respondent 3, for instance, claimed that he had a rather hard time acquiring spoken skills even at the early stages of emigration and that he still has a hard time understanding it. Respondent 4 also mentioned her struggles as far as language learning was concerned and stressed the detrimental effects it had on her professional career. Moreover, both of them claimed that it might be their old age that makes them a little bit rigid and not always eager to be open to something new. For both respondents 3 and 4 this is already a second emigration experience which was claimed to be more difficult as far as the host language learning is concerned due to their older age of emigration. Interestingly enough, Kim (2001) claims that the later in life immigration takes place, the more difficult it might be for an individual/s to absorb and accept a new culture since their system of values and norms may have already become too rigid to be easily changed. Apparently, “a whole life in one cultural setting cannot easily be ignored when one is attempting to live in a new setting” (Berry, 1997, p. 22). Respondent 1 never mentioned any difficulties he had acquiring the host language; however, it should be mentioned that his first emigration experience was to the United States, i.e. an English-speaking country. The second interviewee’s emigration experience differed from the others since she said to have been coming and going for 10 years in a row before finally settling down in Canada. It is during those continuous visits that she was gradually acquiring the host language. And finally, respondent 5 immigrated to Canada in her early thirties and did not claim that her age had any influence on her language learning.

4.2.5. High qualifications do not always mean a good job if you are an immigrant.

Berry (1997) argues that it is both “the interaction between the migrant and the institutions of the society of settlement” (p. 22) and one’s personal qualities that might facilitate the acculturation process that might help the newcomers secure a better economic position in the new environment. All the respondents have a high level of education (a PhD) and all of them work in higher education institutions. Higher education in general is said to be “a personal resource in itself: problem analysis and problem solving are usually instilled by formal education and likely contribute to adaptation” (Berry, 1997, p. 22). On the one hand, one might expect that such a high level of education should serve the respondents as a benefit in comparison with other newcomers

whose level of education is low. Being so highly educated, they might expect to get better jobs than those who are not. However, it is often a common situation that “one’s ‘departure status’ is frequently higher than one’s ‘entry status’; credentials (education and work experience) are frequently devalued on arrival” (Berry, 1997, p. 22). This is sometimes “due to real differences in qualifications, but it may also be due to ignorance and/or prejudice in the society of settlement” (Berry, 1997, p. 22).

This research reveals that although all the respondents managed to secure jobs in a higher educational institution, their positions differ and do not always reflect their level of education. Respondents 1, 3 and 4 hold positions that do not fully correspond to their level of education and the positions held in country of origin. This might explain why, for instance, respondent 3 is so much dissatisfied with his present situation at work. He clearly stated that prestige, wealth, and ability to provide for the family have always been a priority for him. Holding a position that is much lower than he could have given his qualifications and not being appreciated enough is apparently a source of distress for him. Unlike respondent 3, respondent 4 has a more positive attitude towards her life situation. Although she could only get a job of a lab technician – a position that does not even require a PhD and is far below the respondent’s qualifications, she still seems to be grateful to have this job. Respondent 1 did not share his feelings about his job satisfaction. It would have been interesting to ask him about that.

In terms of prestige and salary it is only respondent 2 who seems to benefit most from her present job. Similar with respondent 1, respondent 2 did not reveal her feelings about the position she holds. It would also have been interesting to ask her about them. And finally, the interview with the fifth respondent lacks information about her job satisfaction and correspondence with her formal education. It appears thus that in a further study, the interview should include specific questions about positions held in the home and host countries (level of education required, prestige, pay etc.) and levels of satisfaction derived from these positions.

4.2.6. It pays off to be open-minded and positive, after all.

The results of this study reveal that more open-minded and positive respondents (1 and 5) apparently succeeded more in adapting to a new environment and building new ties and relationships with the host culture than the ones who appeared to be close-minded, uneager to initiate contact with other members of the host community and who were generally more critically disposed towards the host society and/or that of origin (2 and 3). It is respondents 1 and 5 who demonstrated more satisfaction with their life circumstances. Respondents 3 and 4, on the other hand, not only clearly demonstrated difficulties in interpersonal communication with the members of the host society, but also revealed more dissatisfaction with their new life circumstances and the jobs they have. It should be mentioned, however, that although the fourth respondent occupies the least economically beneficial

position, she tries to be optimistic about her life in a new environment, unlike respondent 3 who is clearly unhappy about many things in his life. In this respect respondent 2 provides a striking example of someone who expressed almost no emotions (either positive or negative) about her present life in a new environment including dis-/satisfaction with her job despite the fact that in terms of job prestige and salary she should be the most pleased. Apparently, personal qualities come into play and affect the way individuals assess and evaluate their life situations.

4.2.7. Identity construction: different people –different stories.

Each respondent constructed his/her identity in the host society differently, revealing different personal characteristics, degrees of openness, positivity and strength, and as a result, different ways of positioning themselves as members of the minority and majority society to the outside world, to members of different communities within the host society and the ones in the homeland. Both respondents 1 and 5 appear to have successfully developed a majority identity while still preserving the minority one with the first respondent being a little bit more integrated than the fifth one. They both revealed open and positive personalities – qualities that Kim (2001) names as essential personal predispositions for successful adaptation. The first respondent appears to place more value on initiating contacts with the members of the host community than the fifth one. The latter, however, in no way avoids them and the interview analysis reveals that she has acquired a considerable circle of English speaking friends whom she eagerly comes into contact with. Both of them revealed genuine interest in the life of the host community by consuming different media in the majority language with the prevalence of analytic and information-oriented content, which, according to Kim (2001), facilitates development of host society ties. Although neither the first nor the fifth respondent explicitly identified themselves with the majority identity by claiming to be Canadians, their overall positive attitude towards the host culture, participation in both personal and social communication within the host community, eagerness to use the majority language reveal that they have managed to develop an identity that allows them to fit into a new society. The hybrid identity they developed allows them to simultaneously belong to two different societies and relate to the members of both.

Respondent 2 stands out not only due to her constant attempt throughout the interview to distance herself from the interviewer but also due to the lack of any signs of affectual and personal involvement in the life of both communities, that of majority and minority in the host society and in the home country. Perceived rigidity and close-mindedness during the interview might not only indicate an overall personality type but explain the interviewee's lack of genuine interest in feeling part of the host community and in making the steps necessary for this to happen. Her involvement in the life of both majority and minority communities appears to be limited to what she considers to be

sufficient for her as an immigrant to fit into a new environment rather than result from a personal interest in both cultures.

Both respondents 3 and 4 show signs of a separatist acculturation strategy. They are a married couple and it is interesting that although their media consumption patterns differ, they both follow the same acculturation strategy. The strategy fully corresponds with the fourth interviewee's media consumption habits that puts her under the category of a separatist media user unlike respondent 3, who should formally be placed under the category of dualist media users since he uses media in both languages relatively equally. For both of them the age of emigration and language barrier that is still unsurpassable now appear to have influenced their adaptation process. Similar with respondent 2, respondents' 3 and 4's contacts with the members of the host society seem to be limited to the workplace and are not easily initiated mostly due to the language barrier and perhaps some psychological barriers.

Unlike respondent 3, respondent 4 seems to try to preserve a positive approach to her present life situation and focus on the bright side of things. Not only does she positively evaluate the members of the minority community, as well as keeps in touch with an old circle of friends from the homeland, but also do the members of host society receive much positive evaluation from her. Respondent 3, on the contrary, not only appears to be rather critical about his homeland and the people whom he used to know there, but he also abundantly criticizes members of the minority community in the host society and their activities. Interestingly enough, both of them have a hard time clearly identifying themselves with either the minority or majority identity.

4.2.8. The value of the Appraisal theory for the study.

Appraisal theory used in this study for the interviews' analysis served as an additional tool that allowed to reveal even more about the respondents' personalities and what that had to do with the overall success/failure to integrate. Use of affectual language, prevalence of negative or positive evaluations in the respondents' speech was indicative of their overall emotional state, feelings about themselves and others both in the host society and that of origin. Apparently respondents with an overall more positive attitude towards both cultures, that of origin and the host one as well as the members of the host community (both native –born and those of the minority group) and members of the society of origin, appeared to be better integrated (1 and 5) than the ones whose overall attitude was somewhat skeptical and negative (2, 3 and 4). It seems that it is an overall positive/negative attitude that became clear through the interviews' analysis that predetermined the respondents' desire/lack of such to participate in the life of the host community and that of origin either through mass communication (media consumption in English/Russian) and/or interpersonal communication with the members of both communities.

Systems of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION clearly revealed whether the respondents succeeded or failed in accepting the systems of norms and values existing in the host society as well as preserving or ignoring the ones that

were pertinent to the culture of origin. In other words, it revealed how much importance was placed on the developing of a majority identity through a conscious attempt to learn as much as possible about the new society and eagerness to accept that (1 and 5) as opposed to some respondents' rigidity and unwillingness to do so and stick to the old system of values (2, 3 and 4).

Abundance of critical evaluations of people, things, state of affairs in general revealed the respondents' overall ability to reflect on and critically evaluate themselves, their place in the world in general, in the host society and that of origin in particular, as well as other people and situations. This ability is something we might expect from the respondents given their high level of education. Kim (2001) argues that "schooling, regardless of the specific cultural context, expands learners' overall cognitive capacity for new learning" (p. 166). Respondents 1, 3, 4 and 5 did reveal this ability to a different degree. Respondent 2, however, turned out to be the least explicitly expressive about her views and opinions.

4.2.9. What can be done to help immigrants to adapt more easily?

Berry (1997) suggests that for an integration to be successful, it is not only the migrants who must take an active stance and be ready to adapt, but also the host society that must be willing to adjust some of its institutions to help immigrants adapt more easily. When still in the country of origin, individuals might benefit from attending "pre-departure counseling and training" (p. 28) if those exist as well as try to set realistic goals in the country of migration. Respondents 2, 3, 4, 5 mentioned that emigration was not a spontaneous experience for them. They all claimed to have thoroughly prepared for it by reading information available about the host society as well as initiating contacts with other immigrants who were already in the country. Respondent 1 did not say anything about whether his emigration was planned or not. It would have been interesting to ask him about that.

When newcomers are already in the host society, some other steps can be taken for mutual accommodation. Berry (1997) states the importance of "institutional change, involving increased diversity in education, health, and social services" (p. 28) as well as the development of national policies that advocate multiculturalism. By contrast, assimilation, segregation and marginalization are not viewed as the strategies that the host society should encourage newcomers to pursue for the following reasons. Assimilation forces one to shed one's culture in favor of that of the majority; segregation is a direct result of ghettoization; and finally, marginalization might result from a combination of these two. On an individual level, the immigrants can be helped if provided information about the benefits and downsides of different acculturation strategies. This information can be disseminated through minority communities. Ethnic media seem to be an ideal place to disseminate this kind of information and provide help to the newcomers in dealing with different issues.

As this research shows, Russian media produced in Canada do not hold much credibility for the respondents due to their lack of informative and up-to-

date content. And yet, it is these media that can also play a crucial role in the minority group members' construction of a new identity "as well as provide the public space for negotiating their relationship with the dominant majority and the changes taking place in their identity" (Adoni et al., 2006, p.5). Apparently, a lot needs to be done for these media to become a valid source of information for newcomers about different aspects of life in the host society. It seems that interviewing members of the Russian community who are involved in creating ethnic media would be interesting in order to find out the rationale behind the content provided, outline challenges faced during the process of media creation and probably propose some steps that can be taken in order to improve the quality of these media. It might be useful to ask the members of the Russian community whether they consider ethnic media as a source of power that would enable them to stand out as a minority group in the majority society, propagate a positive image of this community, and negotiate their role and status in the host society. It seems interesting to ask them if they think that financial support from the local government might help develop these media better.

In order to lessen stress associated with assimilation, information about the benefits of minority identity maintenance might be useful for the newcomers. Indeed, information about "the benefits of seeking to participate in the national institutions (educational, work, judicial) to the extent desired can reduce the stresses associated with separation" (Berry, 1997, p. 28). Overall, mutual accommodation on the part of the majority and minority group members is required so that both parties could benefit from co-existence in one society. Apparently, only one out of five respondents (1) explicitly stated that he considers it extremely important to be exposed to both cultures, that of origin and the host one, through media consumption, personal contacts etc. and stressed the importance of an overall affirmative attitude towards other cultures in general. Responses of respondents 2, 3 and 4, however, demonstrate either their lack of knowledge about the detrimental consequences of a separatist strategy, or might simply reflect the little values they place on integration. It might be helpful for immigrants to be informed of different acculturation strategies and their respective merits. The results of the research clearly show that this group of immigrants might benefit from help on the part of the host community, minority community in the host society, as well as the society of origin. Information and counseling sessions provided by the majority and minority communities, pre-departure sessions, immigrants' initiative and willingness to learn as much as possible about the country they are planning to emigrate to, all seem to be important in facilitating the smoothness of emigration experience.

4.3.0. Concluding remarks and directions for further research.

Overall, the combined use of Berry's model of acculturation strategies (2001) and Adoni et al.'s (2006) model of media type consumers proved to be useful in understanding the integration process of a very specific group of Russian immigrants and the role of media in it, although media consumption

turned out to be just one of the factors that might affect the success of integration rather than being the solely important one. The data analysis yielded some interesting results and revealed how different people **with theoretically** similar characteristics at the beginning of emigration (age, level of education, time of arrival in the host country etc.) end up using available media in the majority and minority languages differently, as well as constructing their identities in a new environment in rather different ways, resulting in different levels of satisfaction with their present life, different life circumstances as far as professional and family situation is concerned, as well as different degrees of adaptation to a new environment. The results of the research demonstrated that media use is just one of the factors that might facilitate integration, and indicated that more questions need to be asked and more factors considered.

Some of the interview questions that would allow for a better understanding of the research issue are as follows. Although some respondents mentioned how they felt about the jobs they have, some of them did not. Thus, it seems that it would be interesting to ask how the respondents evaluated their present position in terms of job prestige, pay, correspondence with their qualifications etc. as compared to the position occupied in the home country. An answer to that question might shed light onto whether the respondents whose present job is less prestigious than at home feel underestimated and thus have negative feelings towards the host society or whether they simply accept the fact that qualifications devaluation is often a natural consequence of emigration. According to Berry (1997), discrimination and overall prejudice in the host society towards certain minorities might impede the success of integration. In this respect it might also be relevant to ask the respondents about any instances of discrimination/prejudice they might have faced in person or could discern from the media content they consumed. Another question that seems to be appropriate to ask is whether media in either the majority or minority languages fostered the respondents' feelings of belonging to the majority/minority society respectively and as such strengthened either majority or minority identity. As far as ethnic media are concerned, it would be pertinent to ask whether the respondents think they might benefit more if these media would provide more relevant and up-to-date info about the life in the host society. And finally, it appears that asking the respondents about the resources they had that helped them to integrate (e.g., info sessions, counseling sessions etc.) would also be valid since it will show not only what resources are available in the society of origin and the host one, but also reveal the extent to which the respondents themselves are eager to search for this kind of information.

One of the obvious limitations of this study is its small sample, which inevitably precludes proposing generalizations about a wider population of Russian immigrants with the same characteristics (e.g., age, level of education, length of stay etc.). However, this study revealed some interesting findings regarding the role of media in the integration process of a specific group of immigrants and pinpointed to a number of other important factors.

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Appendix 1

Interview questions

Question category	Questions
1. Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which age category would you refer yourself to: 40-45; 45-50; 50-55; 55-60? • What is your highest level of education? Where have you received it? • How long have you been in Canada? • What is your occupation?
2. Media use (Adoni et al.'s media consumer types)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which media do you use? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Type (print, electronic, TV, radio, books etc.) - In which language? - Do you know its country of origin? - For which purposes/why do you use media in Russian and English? (information, leisure, professional development, language learning etc.) - How often do you use it (every day, several times a week, once a week, once a month) - Do you participate in any forums, blogs? If yes, which topics do you discuss, with whom, in which language? • Are you aware of any Russian media produced in Canada (Voice of Alberta – Calgary radio station, Russian Edmonton club etc.)? Do you use it? Why? Why not? • Has your media use changed compared to that at the beginning of immigration? What do you think about it?
3. Identity construction (Berry's acculturation strategies)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which language do you use in everyday life when you are not at work? Why? • How important is it for you to have Russian friends/other immigrants, people born in Canada? Why? How often do you interact with them? (on a daily/weekly/monthly basis etc.) • How important is it for you to know what is going on in Canadian society? Where do you get this information? Do you think that the use of media in English helps you fulfill this goal? To which extent? How important is it for you to volunteer in any social organizations; take part in events organized by Canadians etc. • How important is it for you to know what is going on in Russia? Which sources of information do you use for that (media, friends etc.). Do you think it is important to take part in cultural events pertaining to Russian culture (e.g., Heritage festival etc.). Do you take part in such events? Why? Why not? • Do you feel more Canadian or Russian or both?

Appendix 2

Attitude analysis (Appraisal)

1. Use of media in English and construction of the majority identity	
<u>1.1 Consumption of media</u>	
<i>1.1.1. Consumption of media in English from North America</i>	
Examples	Type of Appraisal
Interview 1 Когда я езжу, я слушаю радио. Причем, мы с сыном ездим, он у меня любит изучать radio stations в разных штатах, мы слушаем музыку, новости там политические. Cultural experience огромный слушать местные радио - это иногда просто поразительно , то, что ты слушаешь в Канзасе и в Калифорнии, – очень разные, очень интересно (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). Поэтому новости я обычно слушаю, если какие-то большие события , там, выборы, дебаты, я много CNN слушаю. Если нет президентских выборов и больших событий - я их не слушаю. Канадские, когда касается международных новостей – не очень, они больше на национальном уровне . Я, например, их читаю, я за экономикой слежу, иногда дебаты смотрю, мне политика вообще-то не интересна , но иногда бывают интересные вещи . Но больше локально, я, конечно, так иногда смотрю, вот недавно Редфорд выступала, интересно , какие деньги дают университету или отберут, о нефти, иногда они обсуждают свои проблемы о Canadian identity, если какие-то локальные новости, то я смотрю с утра, раньше я смотрел Альбертовские новости, последнее время чаще Early Breakfast. Все зависит, где интересно (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). Ну, по моему мнению, вообще все СМИ контролируются, нет независимых СМИ, CNN не независимые, канадские новости не независимые, они могут быть более объективные , ну, они всегда, потому что они же борются не за всеобщую правду, они отражают интересы тех, для кого они созданы , поэтому они не могут идти против своей аудитории (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).	+ AFF + APP + APP + APP + APP - APP + APP - AFF + APP + APP - JUD - JUD
Interview 2 Я использую печатные СМИ, именно одну газету, канадскую, которую мы получаем. Я ее читаю по субботам, ST Albert Gazette, нам ее приносят. Я смотрю телевизор, по –английски, в основном, CBC, CTV, т.е. основные программы, которые связаны с Эдмонтоном. Я слушаю радио. Телевизор я смотрю несколько раз в неделю, обычно на выходных. Я слушаю каждый день радио, обычно CBC, по-английски, приблизительно час, пока собираюсь на работу (Interview 2). Правда, я уже привыкла смотреть местное телевидение, мы приезжали в Торонто, я привыкла смотреть Торонтовское телевидение (Interview 2). Общаться на русском, смотреть, слушать и читать медиа- на английском, исключительно , потому что это имеет отношение к моей реальной, конкретной жизни здесь (Interview 2, emphasis is mine). Для развлечения и для того, чтобы быть в курсе событий, я читаю и смотрю по-английски.	No appraisal No appraisal - AFF No appraisal

В начале у меня даже быть может было больше интереса, где, что происходит, сейчас я меньше читаю. Потом я, наверное, даже читала довольно часто Edmonton Journal, когда мы только приехали, радио я стала слушать здесь (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).	- AFF
Interview 3 Но я не скажу, что я слушаю и местные СМИ. Ну, так, иногда, скажем так пару раз в неделю смотрю новости по телевизору, новости в основном CNN, CBC. То, что по телевизору показывают, и то, так, не все сюжеты, нет времени и желания.	- AFF
Просто телевизор проще, быстрее, посмотрел и все, не надо сидеть у компьютера, я достаточно сижу у компьютера весь день, чтобы еще смотреть новости Эдмонтоновские или канадские – это уже слишком.	+ APP - APP
Нет, я читаю не чаще английское новости, чем русские новости, особенно мне нравится Yahoo, там они довольно хорошо, новости сбалансированные, не очень политизированные, я не люблю политизированные новости, ужасно, мне этой политики хватило в Советском Союзе на всю жизнь.	+ AFF + APP - AFF
Да, вот <i>Yahoo</i> я читаю, там довольно интересные вещи, а русские только в основном, чтобы сравнить подачу информации.	+ APP
В пользу самих новостных каналов. Сложно сказать, это зависит от категории информации. Ну, допустим, если говорить о политической информации международного уровня, не внутренняя, российская, украинская, израильская, где я тоже жил, то конечно, более объективны западные СМИ, американские, более объективные, а если касаться национальных приоритетов, каких-то вопросов, то я считаю, что западные СМИ не объективны. Они заиклены на себе. Тем более что они все ангажированы владельцами, кто их купил. Тут я не могу выделить никого, никакой информационный канал не объективен в национальном вопросе. Абсолютно никакой. А в политике, мне кажется, американские, даже не европейские, а американские более объективные.	+ JUD - JUD - JUD + JUD
Для развлечения, когда у меня есть время, вечером, потому что у меня его нету даже в выходные, по вечерам, бывает, смотрю природу. Я отдыхаю на этом. Оазис - это шикарный канал, это потрясающий канал. Лучше канала нет, я считаю, вообще на телевидении здесь и вообще.	+ APP
И смотрю фильмы, преимущественно старые, начиная с вестернов старых и заканчивая социальными комедиями, бытовыми фильмами, где-то 70-80 гг. до 90х, почему, потому что мне более близко по времени, это период возмужания, когда я рос, и хорошие артисты были тогда, хороший язык был,	+ AFF + APP
сейчас язык отвратительный (английский), американцы не знают своего родного языка, грамматику они уж точно не знают. А иногда, чтоб совсем расслабиться, – какой-нибудь боевичок. Типа там Шварценеггер, ну, тут уже не думаешь.	- APP - JUD
Interview 4 В интернете, да, немножко, но редко, редко, все как-то некогда. Но смотрим телевидение, эти новости, радио тоже, все интересно знать, что происходит, конечно. Все эти дебаты, выборы, когда это все происходит, когда бюджет делят, все это на слуху. Стараемся ощущать себя социальными животными, даже в той среде, в которой мы сейчас находимся.	+ AFF + AFF

<p>Ну, вот тоже вечером, когда приходишь с работы, включается телевизор, я иногда просматриваю в транспорте, но это, конечно, не чтение, это нельзя назвать глубоким изучением прессы, Edmonton Journal, я боюсь даже это говорить, это не подпадает ни под какую классификацию, как я читаю эти газеты. В основном это интернет.</p>	No appraisal
<p>У нас все американские, канадские каналы, ну, все, что предлагает канадское [телевидение], дополнительные каналы, мы на это подписаны. Ну, мы любим National Geographic, ну, в общем, природа, “Оазис”, - вот это привлекает.</p>	+ AFF
<p>Политика внутренняя – это нас, конечно, интересует, но, всякие шоу, которые здесь практикуют, мы не любим, мы не понимаем. Почему нужно обсуждать эту тему? Может мы устарели наши взгляды, может у нас старые взгляды, консервативные. Для нас это особой ценности не представляет. Поэтому мы на этом свое внимание не заостряем.</p>	+ AFF - AFF
<p>Хотя по началу, когда мы только приехали здесь, в Канаду, в Эдмонтон, нам тоже какие-то шоу пропагандировали, но как то мы не очень... Пытались понять о чем речь, понятно о чем они говорят, но это не несло какой-то эмоциональной или интеллектуальной ценности. Ну, мы далеки от этого еще тогда вообще, а сейчас тем более (Interview 4, emphasis is mine).</p>	- AFF - AFF
<p>Interview 5 - Используете ли Вы какие-то англоязычные СМИ? - Конечно, конечно, да. В основном, радио. Я очень много слушаю радио, CBC, там у меня есть просто несколько программ, которые мне нравятся, скажем я слушаю всегда, есть такая программа Sunday Edition, Sunday from 8 to 12, тоже такая она не новостная, она больше такая проблематичная, ну там и про социальные проблемы, политику и международные, культуру, он разные вещи.. и, как правило, очень интересных людей он приглашает, если какая-то новая книга вышла - вот такое все. В общем то, то что я слушаю – очень сильно зависит от того, куда я еду, потому что я обычно слушаю в машине, я очень много новостей слушаю, когда я еду на работу, или куда-то. В основном все английские новости я знаю от CBC radio, газеты я смотрю тоже так иногда в интернете, если что интересное я слышу по радио, я смотрю Edmonton Journal про здешние новости (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	+ AFF
<p>Я смотрю, иногда, если что-то связано с Ближним Востоком, я смотрю Аль-Джазира, English Al Jazeera, New York Times (Interview 5).</p>	
<p>... я стала слушать радио, я стала что-то делать и слушать, и тогда была такая совершенно легендарная передача, очень многие люди про нее говорят, Morningside. Был такой человек, Питер Гзовски. Ну это была такая просто замечательная передача, утром пару часов, и тоже он приглашал очень знаменитых людей, вот это передача такая чисто канадская. Все, что я знаю про Канаду, я знаю из этой передачи, которую я честно слушала вот год, пока у меня ребенок был маленький. Он такой был очень человек умный, и у него очень много было друзей вот всяких в таких высоких канадских кругах, и поэтому как-то было это все очень интересно мне. Мне кажется, я что-то узнала про Канаду оттуда (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	+ APP + APP + APP + JUD
<p>Я думаю, что первый год, – нет, я вообще ничего не слушала. И ничего не читала по-английски, ну кроме того, что на курсы когда ходишь. И я книжки пыталась читать, чтобы как-то, ну, такой язык повседневный набрать. Потом, где –то, я думаю, что, вообще как то не до новостей же, да?</p>	+ APP - AFF
<p>Сначала когда мы приехали, да, сначала я смотрела телевизор, телевизионные</p>	

<p>новости, потому что ты видишь и слушаешь и легче понять, а потом, наверное, вот эта главная перемена, что я больше стала слушать радио, и как бы я знаю, я просто нашла несколько программ, которые, ну, достаточно глубокие, чтобы что-то узнать больше, чем те 2 минуты в новостях, и вот это наверное главная перемена, что я меньше стала смотреть телевизор и больше слушать радио. Почти не читаю газет. Очень, очень мало (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	+ APP
1.1.2. Consumption of other media in English	
<p>Interview 1 Если международные новости, то, надо сказать, Би-Би-Си более интересно освещают. Видео новости самые интересные, конечно, либо французы показывают, либо Аль-Джазира, т.е. они тоже показывают. Потом, что хорошо, - они часто в новостях дают ссылки на видео ролики и можно посмотреть. В канадских этого никогда не покажут, даже в американских не покажут, там чтобы violent не было ничего, у них видео материалы не очень (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>Interview 2: N/A</p> <p>Interview 3: N/A</p> <p>Interview 4: N/A</p> <p>Interview 5 Я смотрю, иногда, если что-то связано с Ближним Востоком, я смотрю Аль-Джазира, English Al Jazeera, New York Times (Interview 5).</p>	<p>+ APP</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>No appraisal</p>
1.3 Construction of the majority identity	
1.3.1. Participation in the events organized by host community	
<p>Interview 1 У них есть что-то, они как-то своим путем и это работает, оно работает и даже лучше порой, иногда не надо лезть со своим во все (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). Я хожу на концерты, потом Heritage festival – это ж канадцы организуют, прекрасное мероприятие, у них проводятся фестивали, зимой фестивали, т.е. они пытаются community делать, т.е. у них выставки, жизнь достаточно активная, галереи – это ж все канадская культура. Я не могу сказать, что я очень люблю канадскую живопись потому что все, что они делают, - они рисуют лес, горы, т.е. там людей практически нет, я не большой поклонник этого.</p> <p>Они стараются, конечно, национальные парки, все trails прогулочные, - это удивительно хорошо, замечательно, другие мероприятия. U of A – они, например, приглашают спикеров, интересно. Такие мероприятия - я участвую, парады. Изумительно. (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>Т.е. таким вещам надо быть открытым, не надо замыкаться, тут много интересного (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). У них много вещей, которым можно поучиться. Элементы расизма. А где их нет? Любую страну возьми, но уважение к правам, роль женщин правильная. У них в этом смысле намного продвинутое, я это вижу, что это воспитывают, что женщина должна быть независимой, ее мнение, <i>girls rule</i></p>	<p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ JUD</p>

<p>(Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>Interview 2: N/A</p> <p>Interview 3: N/A</p> <p>Interview 4 На <i>party</i> ходим все, связанное с работой. Кто-то там организывает или частным порядком, ходим-общаемся. Все знают, кто мы есть (Interview 4, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>Interview 5 Конечно, конечно. В оперу ходим, я очень люблю оперу. Потом с сыном мы очень любим ходить на Fringe festival, как правило, мы заранее покупаем программу, изучаем, обсуждаем и выбираем штук 5-6 спектаклей это летом. Fringe festival - это летом бывает, привозят спектакли со всего мира, со всей Канады, и местных коллективов, я не знаю, штук 100, есть люди, которые просто готовят спектакли специально к этому фестивалю. Это вообще самый большой фестиваль в Северной Америке, театральный фестиваль. Очень много клоунов приезжает, которые просто на улице выступают, огромное, огромное вообще событие. И бывают очень классные, там, из Англии приезжают, там из Голландии, даже из России ребята приезжали пару раз, ну, конечно, все на английском, да (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>No appraisal</p> <p>+ AFF</p> <p>+ AFF</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>+ APP</p>
<p>1.3.2. Initiating contact with members of the host community</p>	
<p>Interview 1 Надо абсолютно смотреть по сторонам. Т.е. это вообще, если хочешь понять, enjoy культуру, - бери вообще все, что она дает: газеты, новости, концерты мероприятия, надо ходить, смотреть, интересоваться. Я, например, coffee shop есть рядом со мной, так меня там все знают. Я когда прихожу, так они знают, какой кофе. Я там людей знаю, которые постоянно ходят, мы разговариваем, общаемся. Во всех бизнесах, которые вокруг меня, я знаю людей. Пиццерия, Chinese place, coffee shop (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>Interview 2 Ну, потому что появились новые коллеги, в основном коллеги, соседи и так далее, ну он само образовался, но, опять же, не по языковому принципу, а потому что, ну, как, люди живут, у них люди кругом ходят, и они с ними общаются (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>Interview 3 Знакомлюсь с людьми, но не выбираю знакомства. Спорадически, т.е. как оно получается по жизни. Либо по работе, либо знакомые знакомых познакомились и есть о чем поговорить. Когда говорить не о чем, то и знакомства нет. Только «здрасьте» и «до свидания».</p> <p>По-английски? Во-первых, широко известна ситуация, что далеко не все англоязычные идут на контакт с иноязычными, потому что им тоже это неинтересно. И когда я вижу, что у человека отсутствует интерес, что я буду с ним общаться. А бывают конечно такие моменты, когда вынужденно общаешься с человеком по работе или в каких-то других условиях, в магазине, в библиотеке, в Chapterse бывает я часто туда хожу, там тоже бывают какие-то контакты случайные.</p>	<p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- JUD</p>

<p>т.е. я, мне очень нравится характерность западных людей, отличающаяся от славянского типа. Они очень вежливые, всегда улыбаются, думают они, конечно, все что угодно, это понятно, но тем не менее никогда не навешься на грубость, так как бывало там... Т.е. наваться на грубость – я просто не разу не встречал такого, вообще. И мне это очень импонирует и поэтому я всегда иду на контакт, если он нужен по каким-то там обстоятельствам. Но специально я не контактирую, потому что я понимаю, что им со мной неинтересно, слушать мой корявый английский, никому неинтересно.</p>	<p>+ JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p>
<p>Люди, канадцы именно, аборигены, я имею ввиду не индейцев, с которыми я в общем-то не общался, может и среди них нормальные есть, а именно таких кондовых я бы сказал канадцев, особенно фермеры, реднеки, импонируют мне эти люди, простые, свободные, идущие на контакт. Но дело в том, что раз мы живем в городе, тут совершенно разные люди встречаются, во всех заведениях, на работе, на улице, в метро, и сразу отличаешь это канадец или нет, не по лицу, а по манере поведения, и среди них я выделяю именно канадцев, которые мне нравятся, действительно.</p>	<p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ JUD</p>
<p>А вот много понаехало, которые несут свои тараканы в голове, более или менее, не могу ничего сказать, чтобы они мне нравились, такие же наверное, как и все, как и я. Нету контакта особенно с ними, не люблю их.</p>	<p>- JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p>
<p>Interview 4 Фейсбук у нас, в основном – это все компании, которые работают в [название колледжа], мы там что-то пишем, что-то интересное, люди делятся какими-то интересными фактами приобретенными.</p>	<p>+ APP</p>
<p>На английском языке. Ну, в основном очень коротко, все на работе. Ну, сейчас Фейсбук всех заполнил, как говорится. И поэтому все туда сразу пошли дружно. И я в том числе.</p>	<p>-APP</p> <p>- JUD</p>
<p>... работал в университете, там у него было китайское окружение. Конечно, он выделил из этого окружения тех, кто более, ну и возрастная группа приблизительно наша, хоть и китайцы, но близкие нам по духу, с ними можно общаться, дружить. Да, вот они по менталитету ближе. Да, да, у нас в доме, мы живем в кондо, у нас соседи, мы как-то общаемся, немного общаемся, немного общаемся. На работе общаемся, у нас как-то работа-дом. Чтоб отдельно где-то еще? На party ходим все, связанное с работой. Кто-то там организовывает или частным порядком, ходим-общаемся. Все знают, кто мы есть.</p>	<p>+ JUD</p> <p>+ JUD</p>
<p>Interview 5 Да, и с другими русскими и с канадцами, но это как-то само собой получалось, не потому что мы искали этих контактов. Собственно, никогда не старались так.</p>	<p>No appraisal</p>
<p>1.3.3 Self-identification within host culture</p>	
<p>Interview 1 А в Канаде я вот пожил, я приезжал 7 лет назад последний раз был. Уже чувствуется разница, или вот кто вот недавно приехал, ты чувствуешь, что изменилось что-то. Уже ты ни там, ни там. Кем я себя чувствую? Конечно, язык, культура – она там, я оттуда, поэтому, конечно, в этом смысле я чувствую себя сильно русским. Но, с другой стороны, я знаю, что я там не смогу выстроить отношения. Многие вещи которые здесь есть – да, здесь много одиночества.</p>	<p>- JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p>

<p>То, что у тебя есть, - это у тебя есть, а вот, когда ты пытаешься понять другую культуру, понять точку зрения других, понять что же их сделало нацией, - вот тут, я считаю, очень много интересного и это обязательно, без этого шансов понять общество, принять общество, интегрироваться, совершенно невозможно, бесполезно. Это информация, точки зрения, experience.</p>	<p>+ APP + APP</p>
<p>У них много вещей, которым можно поучиться. Элементы расизма. А где их нет? Любую страну возьми, но уважение к правам, роль женщин правильная. У них в этом смысле намного продвинутое, я это вижу, что это воспитывают, что женщина должна быть независимой, ее мнение, girls rule.</p>	<p>+ JUD + JUD</p>
<p>Я не скажу, что Канада или Эдмонтон – лучшее место на свете. Никогда в жизни, но, с другой стороны, я довольно много ездил и, по большому счету, тут конечно, надо работать, в чем то сложнее, в чем то... Надо найти свою струю, где хорошо, которая разные стороны твоей души может удовлетворить. Это довольно сложно строить, но не в коем случае нельзя прекращать этого. Потому что иначе очень тяжело. Надо пытаться чего-то достигать. Почему бы не пытаться что-то достигнуть? (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>- APP + APP - AFF - AFF</p>
<p>Interview 2 У меня нет никакого основания считать себя ни канадкой, ни русской, потому что я гражданка [бывшей республики СССР]. Нет я не считаю себя, я чувствую себя резидентом Канады, потому что я действительно выросла и меня интересует, что происходит здесь, я никогда не жила в России, никакой формальной связи кроме языка у меня с Россией нет, так что с Россией наверное меньше чем с Канадой.</p>	<p>+ AFF + APP</p>
<p>Interview 3 - <i>Когда приехали, насколько важно было влиться в канадское общество?</i> - Абсолютно не принципиально. Для меня всю жизнь была важна работа, и социальный статус, чтобы не быть внизу общества, не быть нищим, чтобы продержаться семью. Вот это моя самая главная цель. Семья и работа, которая поддерживает семью. Больше ничего не важно.</p>	<p>+ JUD</p>
<p>Человеком мира я себя ощущаю. Ни о какой не могу сказать о принадлежности к какой-то нации или национальности не могу. Нет у меня ничего общего с Америкой, с Канадой, с нацией этой, хотя понятно, что я живу тут, и уважаю, и многое мне нравится, многое не нравится, больше нравится, по сравнению с тем, что было в Союзе.</p>	<p>- JUD + APP - APP</p>
<p>Interview 4 Ну, конечно, надо знать, чтобы быть не изгоем в этой новой стране, которая дала тебе прибежище, те законы жизни и уклад нам не противоречит, нашим представлениям о цивилизации.</p>	<p>+ APP</p>
<p>Я не знаю, я не чувствую себя канадкой. Вот я тоже слышала от людей: “Ой, вы знаете, что вы от нее хотите, она стала такая канадка”. Для меня это непонятно, что это значит. Не знаю, вот так вот люди говорят о ком то. Я не знаю к кому себя отнести, честно говоря. Не знаю, я затрудняюсь ответить на этот вопрос.</p>	<p>No appraisal</p>
<p>Тут всех принимают, каждый имеет свою community, каждый принадлежит, так или иначе, никто не растворяется, во тут нет такого требования раствориться, ассимилировать, каждый сохраняет свою</p>	<p>+ JUD</p>

<p>индивидуальность. Конечно, это пройдут не один год и не десять, и не двадцать, чтобы произошло какое-то растворение, все сохраняют свою индивидуальность, естественно. Мы не стремимся раствориться как-то совсем. Не то что мы сопротивляемся, просто как есть, так есть.</p> <p>Просто поздно сюда приехали, ну другого выхода не было.</p> <p>Нет, я не жалею, жалеть...слава Богу такая работа есть, все устраиваются более или менее, работу находят даже самые пассивные люди находят работу.</p> <p>Я тут просто лаборант, lab technician, даже этот lab technician не предполагает PhD, поэтому если вы откроете вебсайт, там не написано, что я PhD, мастер – топ, самое максимальное, мы так решили с местным руководством, что PhD для lab technician мы показывать не будем. Lab instructor они предпочитают с PhD, который непосредственно учит. У нас была оговорка, как только я сюда пошла, что если вдруг понадобится, то я смогла бы, если нехватка, но после того как я немножко поработала, я поняла, что нехватки в преподавателях здесь нет. Если б я с самого начала... Я думаю, что если б оценивать объективно, то я не совсем готова к этому. Здесь не преподают на русском языке, а на английском здесь нужно практики, у меня ее нет, у меня ее нет и неоткуда взять. Потому что у меня сразу как я сюда попала, разговаривать собственно некогда, нужно физически работать, руками, так что обстоятельства такие.</p> <p>Interview 5</p> <p>Нет, нет, конечно, я живу здесь, я чувствую, что это моя страна, ну, у меня есть что-то такое канадское, но я выросла, я прожила до 30 лет в России, и я не могу себя изменить, я не знаю, вплоть до каких-то мелочей...все равно я не отсюда, здесь есть такой конфликт, и это может быть даже ежедневно.</p>	<p>+ JUD</p> <p>- AFF + AFF</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>+ APP - AFF - AFF</p>
2. Use of media in Russian and construction of the minority identity	
<u>2.1. Consumption of media</u>	
<u>2.1.1. Consumption of media in Russian from Russia/ former Soviet Union</u>	
<p>Interview 1</p> <p>В зависимости, где новости: если в России произошло, то я смотрю по интернету, я подписан просто на TV, там архив новостей, я могу за любое число посмотреть... Тогда я смотрю российские СМИ, опять же, выбираю Первый канал, НТВ в основном, слушаю, что они говорят.</p> <p>Я утро начинаю, я включаю <i>lenta.ru</i>, надо сказать, они очень быстро дают новости или life news.com она немного желтая, но они очень быстро новости дают, там быстро можно посмотреть; <i>lenta.ru</i> - там больше международных событий. Я обычно смотрю, не произошло ли что-то, потому что они очень быстро печатают. Если произошло, я тогда, конечно, начинаю смотреть, где что произошло. Т.е. я, конечно, каждый день на новости очень много времени трачу, но это то что мне нравится (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>С русскими СМИ проблема в том, что, мое мнение, я пожил уже в двух странах, в трех странах в общем-то, и я это вижу, проблема России заключается в том, что, ну ясно, что government control...</p> <p>Проблема российских СМИ в том, что они как бы в роли обиженных, типа да мы же такие как вы, а вы нас не принимаете, это вот всегда звучит, мы такие как вы, а вы нас не принимаете, мы такие как вы, а вы нас не принимаете, и это мешает. Но, тем не менее, нужно отдать должное, что там, в российских СМИ, они некоторые вещи даже раньше сообщают,</p>	<p>No appraisal</p> <p>+ APP + APP</p> <p>+ AFF</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>+ APP</p>

<p>особенно вот интернет, я собственно каждый день утро начинаю с просмотра <i>lenta.ru</i>. (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p>	
<p>Изменились СМИ, изменились журналисты. Язык другой, более живой, юмор. Сейчас намного интереснее читать. Язык СМИ изменился, русских точно, русскоговорящих сайтов, газет, то совершенно как бы это стало более такое...</p>	+ APP
<p>они стараются общаться, рассуждать.</p>	+ APP
<p>Interview 2</p>	
<p>Я читаю интернет издания [бывшей республики СССР] тоже, в основном Дельта, а по-русски, иногда [на языке бывшей республики СССР], если что-то интересное происходит, то я смотрю, а что пишут [представители бывшей республики СССР], ну, в общем-то, достаточно хаотично, не могу сказать, что у меня среди СМИ [бывшей республики СССР], были какие-то специальные предпочтения (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	No appraisal
<p>Да, но это все очень лично, потому что в [бывшей республике СССР] в журналистике сейчас работает очень много моих бывших учеников. Мне интересно, что они пишут. Отчасти мне интересно, что происходит в [бывшей республике СССР], но это я знаю от знакомых, от тех же учеников, а иногда мне просто интересно посмотреть, что они пишут, как они пишут,</p>	+ AFF
<p>найти стилистическую ошибку, поставить на вид, напомнить (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	+ AFF
<p>Я кроме того на интернете смотрю разные российские СМИ, в основном, потому что я преподаю курс [по русскоязычным СМИ], чтобы быть в курсе происходящих событий. Ну, в общем, скорее не для себя (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	- AFF
<p>На русском я что-то смотрю или читаю исключительно для преподавания (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	- AFF
<p>Всегда когда приезжаю тоже смотрю телевизор, очень активно расспрашиваю, что нового, что происходит, но ощущение как вот у вас, я собираю фольклор для занятий (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	- AFF
<p>Мыльные оперы становятся все более мыльными, например, это определенно могу сказать. Последний раз я познакомилась с новым сериалом, который я раньше не знала, который называется "Сваты", наверное. Меня поразил анти интеллигентский пафос этого например сериала. Раньше я такого не чувствовала по телевизору (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	- APP
<p>Были другие интересы, не могу сказать, что я прямо переживала, что же тут происходит, особенно в России. Про что-то главное узнавала из звонков родственникам и друзьям. А когда я была в [бывшей республике СССР], я, естественно, смотрела местное телевидение и слушала радио местное, российское, правда, не слушала, ну, и газеты тоже читала, ну, и когда я была в [бывшей республике СССР], я значительно больше времени проводила в России, ну, что там, ночь и в Питере. Так что я там 3-4 раза в год бывала в России, поэтому это был совсем другой режим, поэтому трудно сказать. Но, кажется, я совсем ничего не читала по-русски и не смотрела (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	- AFF
<p>Как что-то считаешь про Россию, они как с Марса прилетели (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	- JUD
<p>Россия сегодня – это так, как в космосе (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	- JUD
<p>...вот этот сериал я хотела посмотреть, увидела 1 серию и подумала, вот это то, что надо показывать моим студентам, там и экзотики много, и</p>	- APP

<p>чувствуется, куда идут русские СМИ сегодня, вот все там есть, но как то так и не посмотрела, только одну серию мне удалось посмотреть. Все зависит от того, когда приедешь. (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	
<p>Interview 3</p> <p>Практически нет. Дело в том, что я устал от этого балагана всего советско-российского, то, что они там производят, слушать мне уже неинтересно.</p>	- AFF
<p>На русском языке у нас во-первых нет тут ничего. Некоторые подключаются к каналам российским. Я не хочу, категорически против, потому что там, как-то я был у кого-то знакомых, не помню, он все хвастался, показывал мне эти каналы, я посмотрел.... Современные российские фильмы, которые сейчас показывают, - их смотреть просто невозможно. Я не знаю, это может быть потому что я уже стал такой ворчливый, но ... ну, дребедень какая-то. Все эти сериалы...все предсказуемо, одни и те же артисты переходят из одного фильма в другой, и далеко до талантливых. Опять же это может с возрастом я стал таким...</p>	- AFF - APP - APP - APP
<p>Современное российское кино -дикий упадок.</p>	- APP
<p>- Старое советское кино можно пересматривать сто раз... - ...что я и делаю, фильмы Гайдая я могу пересматривать по многу раз. У меня записи есть, я смотрю иногда, когда хочется чего-то святого.</p>	+ APP
<p>Так что я с медиа общаюсь не очень, с российскими тем более, но я регулярно читаю новости по интернету, каждый день с утра новости канадские и не чисто российские, у меня есть такие несколько сайтов, постоянных новостных, которые на русском языке, news.ru, ua.ru – это украинские новости, один сайт израильских новостей. Эти три сайта они, на мой взгляд, более или менее объективны по сравнению с чисто российскими.</p>	+ APP
<p>Там более или менее сбалансировано, Россия, так сказать, не первенствует новостями, а именно международные новости.</p>	+ APP
<p>С тех пор как я уехал, а уехала я в 96 году, с тех пор как-то просто некогда было, не до этого было, жизнь так закрутилась-завертелась, что было уже не до этого.</p>	- AFF
<p>Interview 4</p> <p>Интернет в основном, газеты редко. Очень мало здесь русских газет. Ну в основном интернет, по большей части, 90%. Новостные (сайты), фильмы, чтение, кулинария, что неотъемлемая часть женской жизни. Немножко спорт.</p>	No appraisal
<p>Все подряд, израильские тоже. Оно, так сказать, собрано все вместе, поэтому там достаточно информации, там есть и Украина, и Израиль, и Россия. Вот эти три момента отражены в полной мере.</p>	+ APP + APP
<p>Да, это российские сайты, поэтому новости идут и пишутся статьи прозрачно на российскую тему, вот, а когда попадаешь на российские сайты, например израильские, то там освещается с израильской стороны более подробно. Понятно, кто пишет и для чего. Просто когда сопоставляешь, видишь нюансы, разницу. Люди, которые там не жили, они, конечно, разницу не замечают, ну, это естественный процесс. Никуда от этого не деться.</p>	+ APP
<p>Да, да, да... ужасно, конечно это все, даже те фильмы, которые они снимают, которые они показывают по всем каналам везде, сейчас все доступно. Ничего интересного совершенно нет. Сейчас американские фильмы несут больше информации, исторические какие-то моменты, интеллектуальные, среди них</p>	- APP - APP + APP

<p>можно больше почерпнуть, чем российское кино. И это ужасно, кроме боевиков и каких-то слезливых мелодрам, сериалов бесконечных, там совершенно ничего в них нет. Я иногда действительно углубляюсь в криминальные сериалы лишь потому, что там action какой-то, там быстро все протекает, поел и серия закончилась, и уже идешь, занимаешься своим делом, и ты абсолютно абстрагируешься абсолютно от того, что там произошло. Когда начинаются какие-то житейские ситуации, какие-то разборки, они, все таки, оказывают на мой мозг какое-то влияние, не хочу. Они какие-то беспредметные, непонятные, нечего себе почерпнуть.</p>	<p>- APP - APP - APP - APP</p>
<p>Криминал, так сказать, разобрались, всех рассудили, посадили по нужным камерам и все, вроде как правда восторжествовала. Ну, в общем то не для этого, не для правды смотришь, но так просто чисто отвлечься от житейских проблем.</p>	<p>+ JUD</p>
<p>Interview 5 В основном вебсайты российские, <i>grani.ru</i> и <i>polit.ru</i>. Иногда я смотрю, когда хочется государственную точку зрения, то я смотрю “Известия”, но, в основном, <i>grani.ru</i>, <i>polit.ru</i>. Раз два-три в неделю. Довольно часто (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>No appraisal</p>
<p>Там, в основном, я смотрю русские новости. Это как раз такие сайты, очень демократические, в основном антиправительственные, в основном, новости, связанные с протестами (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ APP</p>
<p>И на <i>polit.ru</i> бывает, это более такая интеллектуальная страница, там бывают лекции, я смотрю лекции тоже иногда, очень интересно, там ведущие ученые говорят, я не знаю, про кризис, вот что-то такое, но более проблемное, тогда это более аналитические какие-то вещи (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ APP +APP/+ JUD + APP</p>
<p>А “Трани” потому что там есть люди, которые мне нравятся, которые интересны просто, какие-то авторы, которых я уже знаю, скажем там Лев Рубинштейн, это такой был очень знаменитый поэт, в 80е гг. такой альтернативный, очень талантливый автор. Еще там есть такая Виктория Новодворская, она просто очень часто совершенно неправа, она такая, она очень радикальная совершенно, и в 80% случаев я с ней совершенно не согласна, но она интересный человек, ее интересно читать. Она необычная (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ JUD + JUD + JUD + JUD + JUD</p>
<p>Фильмы, конечно, да, да. Здесь есть такой сайт, я даже не уверена чей это русский или канадский, ETV.net – это огромный, огромный такой сайт, здесь нет телевидения русского, но почти все телевизионные программы, фильмы можно смотреть через вот это ETV.net, но не часто мы смотрим, просто потому что времени нету. Я знаю, что многие люди много смотрят русское телевидение, русские фильмы, но так, может быть, раз в год мы смотрим какой-нибудь сериал, там, ну, в каникулы, а вот так фильмы довольно редко (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ APP</p>
<p>2.1.2. Consumption of media in Russian from Canada (ethnic media)</p>	
<p>Interview 1 Если говорить о самих газетах, даже старейших, “Русский курьер”, здесь Калашников ее выпускает, “Русский курьер” - это просто дайджест, т.е. там какие-то статьи, причем попытка играть на все уровни, куча мусора, рассчитанная на довольно низкий уровень, т.е. какие-то сплетни, какие-</p>	<p>- APP</p>

<p>то идиотские истории, т.е. редко что-то хорошее (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p>	
<p>А русские газеты, “Наш Эдмонтон”, “Russian news”, - они чуть получше, т.е. они, например там, довольно неплохая вещь, что статьи из истории Эдмонта или Альберты. Проблема заключается в том, что это все переводное, оригинального журналистского творчества в общем-то нет. Т.е. очень часто например огромный кусок Википедии. Может быть переработано, но, в основном, ты можешь пойти на Википедию, по цепочке пойти и все тоже самое (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ APP</p> <p>- APP</p>
<p>Interview 2 Каждый раз, когда я хожу в Русский магазин, я собираю все канадские местные газеты на русском языке, их несколько, и я даже не могу вспомнить названия, некоторые я даже была с ними в переписке, мы обсуждали возможность наших студентов в рамках community service learning, как-то участвовать в их работе, но в общем как то ни к чему это не пришло. Но, честно говоря, я регулярно не читаю и так иногда просматриваю, но в общем без большого интереса (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>- AFF</p>
<p>Interview 3 В Эдмонтоне есть даже какая-то маленькая газетка, которую выпускают. Радио нет, насколько я знаю. Есть один только украинский канал, на который я никогда не попадаю, потому что он в какое-то время неудобное. Ну как, вот например, мы идем в русский магазин, которых два, и там бывают иногда листочки-газетки всякие. Вот иногда я ее так возьму-посмотрю и брошу. Просто нечего читать, абсолютно пустое. И, на мой взгляд, новостное обеспечение русскоязычного населения здесь в Эдмонтоне очень плохое, т.е. никакое.</p>	<p>- APP</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- APP</p>
<p>Русскоязычные новости я имею в виду, просто это бред, чушь. Ну это и понятно, что такое Эдмонтон – это по-нашему деревня, хотя тут русская община довольно большая, я не знаю сколько тысяч.</p>	<p>- APP</p>
<p>Interview 4: N/A</p>	
<p>Interview 5 Ну, здесь есть здешние газеты русские, бесплатные, они там говорят про Альбертские новости, тоже я их смотрю. Я знаю этих людей, которые Russian Club, и я смотрю их газету...</p> <p>Довольно хорошие, мне нравятся. Я знаю, что они серьезно к этому относятся, Это не может быть твоим регулярным источником новостей, потому что там совершенно просто так набрано с разных мест, что Вадима в тот момент интересовало или Таню, вот то и пошло туда, в эту газету. Ну, там бывают интересные вещи, да (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>No appraisal</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>/+AFF</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>+ APP</p>
<p><u>2.2. Construction of the minority identity</u></p>	
<p><u>2.2.1. Participation in events organized by the minority community</u></p>	
<p>Interview 1 Последний раз я там получил психологическую травму, побывав на таком мероприятии. Было что-то типа Хэллоуина, я не ходил, друзья организуют...</p>	<p>- AFF</p>
<p>Не люблю идиотскую музыку, слова dirty....</p>	<p>- AFF</p>

<p>Поэтому русских обществ я больше не создаю, больше не участвую, потому что очень быстро люди начинают сражаться за власть или деньги, за гранты, потом начинают какие-то копейки делить, заводить склоки и это без исключения. И Эдмонтон notorious for this, т.е. я такого как здесь мало где видел (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>- JUD - JUD</p>
<p>Бардовское неплохое мероприятие, можно сходить, каждый ведет себя, как хочет, ты можешь найти группу, которая тебя интересует. Кто интересуется поэтами, бардами, выпивкой, - у всех есть своя группа, и каждый живет мирно и не мешает друг другу (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ APP +APP/ +AFF</p>
<p>Heritage festival - хорошая вещь, опять же я только в этом году не помогал им в этой палатке пельмени варить или жарить блины. Это неплохое, хорошее мероприятие, нравится мне. Я бы сказал, из всех мероприятий, которые вот community (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ APP</p>
<p>[Poetry club] - вот это, я считаю, единственное хорошее свободное мероприятие, без всякой подоплеки (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ APP</p>
<p>Interview 2 Я бы так сказала, «на совести усталой много зла». Я знаю, что это было бы очень полезно для нашей программы, и для моих студентов здесь, если бы я их туда водила, вот но как то складывается так, что очень много происходит летом, а летом я обычно в России, потому что я езжу в архив, в библиотеку, на конференцию, и времени не хватает, но я очень редко бываю на каких-то мероприятиях, только если кто-то из знакомых затащит, а надо было бы больше. Т.е. я чувствую ответственность как представитель русской программы, но, к сожалению, не участвую почти (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>- JUD - JUD</p>
<p>Моя самая большая связь с русским community – это магазин, где все равно почти весь товар украинский. С ним у меня связь особая. Там работает, владелица – мама одного из наших студентов, он к нам ходил на русские курсы, студент там долго работал, очень часто работают наши студенты, которых мы называем heritage speakers. Туда всегда пойдешь и встретишь студентов, всегда приятно. Т.е. у меня такое двойное отношение к этому магазину (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ AFF</p>
<p>Мы там часто встречаем знакомых, фактически каждый раз когда туда идем, кроме студентов, кого-то знакомых всегда встречаем, иногда так перекинемся фразой-другой, иногда просто поздороваемся. Т.е. нельзя сказать, что это клуб (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>No appraisal</p>
<p>Interview 3 Ну по сравнению со всеми остальными community – это, конечно, мизер. И довольно разобщенная, хотя есть и общества русскоязычные и украинское большое. Но русское... Тоже они там что-то тужатся, пыжатся, делают. Ну это все как-то...</p>	<p>- APP - APP - JUD</p>
<p>- Вы принимаете участие в каких-то мероприятиях, которые они организуют? - Нет, нет. Я один раз попытался и посмотрел, что все обычно заканчивается обычной пьянкой, и меня больше перестало это интересовать.</p>	<p>-APP - JUD</p>
<p>Interview 4 Мы туда не ходим, потому что мы один раз пошли, может это было вначале,</p>	

mine).	
...вот он стоит и начинает рассуждать: “великая российская культура” и так далее. Извините, а какая культура не великая?	- JUD
Может быть есть более признанная какая-то культура, есть определенные периоды в культуре, великие писатели, великие музыканты, ну, например,	+ JUD
у нас никогда не было великих ученых, это правда. Мы, там, гордимся Яблочко и Жуковским, но это ж на фоне того, что немецкие ученые сделали или английские ученые сделали, капля в море.	- JUD
Да, я принадлежу к российской культуре, хожу на концерты, люблю наши фильмы, но ведь у меня такого пан-национализма нету, а ведь это приводит к чему, что ты закрываешься, лишаешь себя возможности, да ты посмотри, и в других культурах много хорошего (Interview 1, emphasis is mine).	- APP
	- JUD
	+ APP
Interview 2	
У меня нет никакого основания считать себя ни канадкой, ни русской, потому что я гражданка [бывшей республики СССР]. Я себя довольно сильно считаю [гражданином бывшей республики СССР], ну я не эстонка, а эстонским жителем, скандинавским жителем. Самое родное место в Эдмонтоне – это магазин IKEA, где я действительно чувствую себя дома. Нет, я не считаю себя... я чувствую себя резидентом Канады, потому что я действительно	+ AFF
вросла и меня интересует, что происходит здесь. Я никогда не жила в России, никакой формальной связи кроме языка у меня с Россией нет, так что с Россией наверное меньше, чем с Канадой. Т.е. [бывшая республика СССР], Канада, а потом Россия.	+ APP
Нет, ну, конечно, Россия 18 века мне значительно ближе, чем Канада и [бывшая республика СССР], но Россия сегодня – это так, как в космосе (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).	- JUD
Потом у нас есть круг общения, он важен для нас, который существовал еще до того как мы сюда приехали. Тут много физиков в университете, мой муж физику преподает, которых он знал раньше, не то чтобы это новый круг, но просто было бы странно не поддерживать отношения со старыми	+ APP
друзьями. Точно также у нас очень много русскоязычных друзей по всей Америке, как сейчас у всех, и с ними мы поддерживаем отношения не потому, что это русскоязычный круг, а потому, что мы с ними всегда дружили (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).	+ JUD
У нас, например, мы жили в [бывшей республике СССР] в академическом доме, это такой академический кооператив, соответственно там жили физики, математики, и так далее. Так вот, все наши соседи в 90е уехали в Европу или в Америку. Практически все, т.е. у нас практический весь дом, все соседи изменились. Я довольно долго там оставалась, я, знаете, из таких идеалистов, я думала, что вот в [бывшей республике СССР] все станет хорошо, и, у мужа просто закрыли институт, где он работал, потому что не было финансирования, и вот институт откроют, и муж вернется, и мы будем жить как жили, поэтому я, ну, почти 10 лет ездила взад-вперед, надеясь, что все устроится. Так что я там почти последняя осталась в этом доме, там все почти изменилось. И теперь, когда вот, если мы садимся в машину и едем, например, по Америке до Нью-Мексико, то нам не нужно останавливаться в гостинице, потому что везде есть знакомые, в основном соседи. Мы даже смеялись, что наш дом так равномерно распределился по Америке, что мы те же соседи, просто расстояния увеличились (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).	
Interview 3	
- Насколько для вас важно знать, что происходит на родине? Поддерживаете контакт с друзьями/родственниками?	
- Ну, откровенно говоря, у меня нет постоянного контакта с товарищами,	

<p>которые там остались, кроме как родственники.</p> <p>Нет, это само собой произошло, потому что недавно оттуда, во-вторых, я пару раз приезжал за много лет моего отсутствия туда, а не был я там, вот как мы приехали в Канаду, я там не был. Но даже тогда, когда я приезжал, я почувствовал, что уже разные обстоятельства, разные интересы жизни, разная жизнь, другая, и общаясь с ними, я понял, что им не интересна моя жизнь, а мне уже неинтересна их.</p> <p>Т.е. я не скажу что... поддерживаются какие-то контакты, эпизодические, но вот как многие сидят там в интернете, Фейсбук, Твиттер, шмиттер, - это бред, который я кстати не признаю, не участвую в этом. На таком уровне я не общаюсь в фейсбуках. В принципе не нравится, потому что это балаган, базар. Там ничего интересного в этом общении я не нахожу. Моя жена больше этим занимается, сидит в интернете, одноклассники, второклассники и прочие всякие сайты. Иногда так краем глаза я загляну, что они там пишут, - тоска. Для меня общение личное, живое – это самое главное.</p> <p>Interview 4</p> <p>Я не знаю трудно говорить, нельзя говорить, что нас там ничего не связывает, конечно да, но жить там я уже не могу. В 2007 году я туда ездила на встречу одноклассников, институтских вернее, 30 лет было после окончания института, и я, так сказать, ну, не почерпнула там особо ничего, чтобы меня очень что-то тронуло – нет.</p> <p>В “Одноклассниках” - да. У меня же одноклассники далеко, поэтому приходится, они же хотят, иногда общаюсь. Там я общаюсь на русском языке.</p> <p>Interview 5</p> <p>- <i>Вы себя кем больше ощущаете, канадкой или русской?</i></p> <p>- Русской. Нет, нет, конечно, я живу здесь, я чувствую, что это моя страна, ну у меня есть что-то такое канадское, но я выросла, я прожила до 30 лет в России, и я не могу себя изменить, я не знаю, вплоть до каких-то мелочей... все равно я не отсюда, здесь есть такой конфликт, и это может быть даже ежедневно. Все равно, мне кажется, я больше русская, и с этим ничего нельзя сделать.</p> <p>- <i>Насколько важно знать, что происходит дома, поддерживать связи?</i></p> <p>- Очень важно, конечно очень важно. У меня там мама и сестра, и у сестры семья, и очень, очень много друзей, я очень эту страну люблю, мне очень важно, что там происходит (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>Просто здесь такая программа есть в школе – Когито. Это, как бы, они старались устроить такую европейскую программу, и мы этому посвятили, наверное, целый год, мы работали волонтерами с моим мужем вместе, чтобы такую вот программу сделать вот на западе, где все русские живут. Смысл в том, что в канадской школе класса до 10 вообще ничего не учат, а эта программа такая более академическая, и там как-то некоторые вещи по-другому преподаются, чем в обычной канадской школе, как бы ну в идеале это должно было приближаться к тому, что мы видели в русской школе, по крайней мере, это как мы думали.</p> <p>Это как обычная канадская школа, но там дети ходят в форме, там предметы немножко другие, чем в обычной школе, и там как бы другая атмосфера совершенно... (Interview 5, emphasis is mine). ... в итоге это получилось совсем не то, что мы хотели, мы потом даже своего ребенка оттуда забрали, там было много у нас проблем, но вот это мы очень много волонтирили,</p>	<p>- AFF</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>+ AFF</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- APP</p>
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наверное, целый год, очень много часов, чтобы создать эту школу. Просто год жизни ушел (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).	- AFF
<i>2.2.3. Self identification towards the minority group in the host culture</i>	
Interview 1 Иногда стоит успокоиться и сказать себе, а может мне лучше посмотреть, и тогда многому можно научиться . А вот это то, что наши, к сожалению, не делают, упираются и начинают, что будет вот так. А это неправильно, они этого просто не видят, они пытаются со своим уставом в чужой монастырь. А в результате что получается: они настаивают на своем, закрывают глаза, не хотят ничего видеть, потому что “я был тот –тот, что мне этот медбрат может сказать, если я в России зав. отделением был?” И все, вот и труба, в результате человек никуда не двигается, он закрывается, поэтому у него не получается, потом начинает все общество винить, потому у него все канадцы виноваты, и поехало и пошло. Сплошь и рядом (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). Вроде как соотечественники, но не мое . Причем, я многих знаю, ну, не хочу я напиваться, не хочу я, чтобы мне было все равно, что тут происходит. Поэтому я последний раз сходил и решил, что чтоб самому не позориться и других не позорить, я решил что все, это не для меня. И даже близко не хожу (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). Если говорить о media, самую большую ошибку, которую делают иммигранты, - они немножко не понимают, делают, что привыкли, замыкаются либо на русскоговорящих сайтах, либо на форумах. Этого нельзя делать. Надо абсолютно смотреть по сторонам. Не надо замыкаться в своем и ругать все, чего ты не понимаешь . Если ты не понимаешь – пойми. А не так, что, если не понял, - значит это плохо. Бывают приезжают семьями и замыкаются в этом мирке, несколько семей таких же как они, и из своей засады там сидят и всех критикуют, кто мимо проходит. Можно и так, конечно (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). Иногда самолюбие, тут столько раненых самолюбий среди иммигрантов, потому что люди с разным backgroundom. Вот один говорит: “Вот я был врач, а теперь я медбрат”. Я ничего на эту тему не говорю, но некоторые нормально это понимают. Вещь же какая, тут же не в статусе дело. Иногда говорят: “Тебе легко говорить”, но у меня так получилось. Я же часто вижу, почему у людей не получается, я же вижу российскую вот эту угловатость, как упрется так ты хоть тресни, вот он стоит и начинает рассуждать, великая российская культура и так далее. Извините, а какая культура не великая? (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). Я такой человек, я считаю, не то, что я навязываю, я считаю, что все должно быть хорошо, правильно. Люди должны быть свободны, не должны навязывать свое какое-то мнение , а доминировать можно на разных уровнях, например можно говорить человеку делай так, или свой взгляд настолько что для взгляда других людей просто места нет, я хочу пошлятину говорить и все вы все умрите, хочу я матом говорить и все - принимайте меня таким какой я есть... (Interview 1, emphasis is mine). Из всех иммигрантов, которых я видел, наиболее успешные - это те, которые новостями интересуются, в локальных вещах разбираются, причем всех возрастов, т.е. те, кто пытаются не критиковать или привнести свою культуру.	+ APP - JUD - JUD - JUD - JUD - JUD - JUD - AFF - AFF - JUD - JUD - JUD - JUD - JUD + APP + JUD + JUD - JUD + JUD
Interview 2 Т.е. у нас есть такой старый круг общения, а новый круг общения, ну, конечно, знакомые есть, в гости какие-то люди приходят, но так специально новый	

<p>русский круг общения у нас не вырос. Он вырос скорее не по принципу языка, а по принципу коллеги, люди, с которыми мы пересекаемся в других местах, так что специально русскоязычный круг не важен (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	- APP
<p>Interview 3 Ну, по сравнению со всеми остальными community – это, конечно, мизер. И довольно разобщенная, хотя есть и общества русскоязычные и украинское большое. Но русское.. Тоже они там что-то тужатся, пыжатся, делают. Ну это все как-то...</p>	<p>- JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p>
<p>Interview 4 Мы смотрим, интересные люди работают, здесь же несколько русских коммьюнити, ну, они как-то разделяются, не знаю почему, оно не сплочено воедино, как-то немножко разъединено, но это не важно, наверное, на то есть свои субъективные или объективные причины. Вот, кто кому ближе, есть организаторы этого всего. Ну так оно есть, вот мы приехали, их несколько. Ну, и хорошо, как говорится. Но люди готовятся, я вот смотрю по этим отчетам, которые в интернете иногда ... я смотрю, люди готовятся, и костюмы, кухня, все, и какие-то массовки они устраивают, вижу, что вот люди хотят, но не всем, как говорится, это нравится, но на вкус и цвет товарища нет, есть такая поговорка. Кому это ближе, кому то уже дальше. Я списываю на возраст, мы уже как-то, нам как-то пошлости некоторых людей, которые они там отпускают, – они нам не подходят, даже просто...</p>	<p>+ JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>+ JUD</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- JUD</p>
<p>Interview 5 Я знаю этих людей, которые Russian Club, и я смотрю их газету. Я знаю, что они серьезно к этому относятся, т.е. это не может быть твоим регулярным источником новостей, потому что там совершенно просто так набрано с разных мест, что Вадима в тот момент интересовало или Таню, вот то и пошло туда, в эту газету. Да, и с другими русскими и с канадцами, но это как-то само собой получалось, не потому что мы искали этих контактов. Собственно никогда не старались так. Это хороший вопрос. Я вспомнила, что мы с Вадимом спорили об этом. И я его ругала очень сильно, когда он все это начинал, зачем тебе вообще это надо? У тебя столько проблем, ты только приехал. И он говорил: “Как же, ведь я буду встречать новых людей, и все вот такие разные”, а я говорю – “Нет! Нет! Тебе это не надо”. У меня не было такой потребности все время нового кого-то встречать. Может быть потому, что это уже такая вторая эмиграция у меня была, и я как бы уже устала от всех этих встреч, может быть поэтому (Interview 5, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ JUD</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>- AFF</p>
<p>Иногда собираю очень много людей у себя дома, человек 15 русских. В этом случае я знаю, кого я приглашаю и чего ожидать (Interview 5).</p>	No appraisal
3. Minority/majority language use	
<u>3.1. Majority/minority language use and media consumption in English/Russian</u>	
<p>Interview 1 Все смешалось, на русском, конечно. Легче и приятнее.</p>	+ AFF
<p>Interview 2 Мы отчасти культивировали какое-то время русское общение, чтобы наша</p>	

<p>дочь сохранила 2 языка, как родных. Ну, как все, я думаю, большинство российских иммигрантов, активно работали над тем, чтобы наша дочь по-русски говорила так же как по-английски, что не просто. Отчасти мы культивировали общение с семьями, где есть дети такого же возраста, чтоб мы все вместе и взрослые и дети, говорили по –русски (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>У меня дочь была маленькая, она смотрела мультфильмы, я с ней смотрела мультфильмы тогда. ...в связи с тем, что я осваивала английский язык, больше смотрела, у меня был большой скачок, когда я начала понимать радио, т.е. года через два после того, как я начала приезжать в Канаду, или через три, то я стала понимать радио. До этого я понимала так погоду, какие-то общие вещи. И когда я стала понимать, естественно, я переключилась на радио с каких-то кассет или музыки, потому что я больше люблю слушать человеческую речь, когда я что –то делаю, прибираюсь, глажу (Interview 2).</p> <p>Общаться - на русском, смотреть, слушать и читать медиа - на английском, исключительно, потому что это имеет отношение к моей реальной, конкретной жизни здесь (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p>	<p>+ AFF</p> <p>- AFF</p>
<p>Interview 3</p> <p>Короче говоря, языка разговорного я не знал до приезда сюда, и когда сюда приехал, я его не понимал, особенно акцента этого. Все, что я знал из английского языка, – это грамматику, которую я знаю и сейчас, что в детстве заучивается, - оно помнится. У меня был довольно обширный словарный запас английского, а не американского, который мне здесь абсолютно ни к чему не помогал, потому что когда я говорил на британском английском скажем так, меня никто не понимал абсолютно тут, а я их не понимал, почему меня не понимают, пока постепенно пообвыкся. Я до сих пор, конечно, не могу понять все, что говорят аборигены, особенно когда быстро на этом диалекте их, на жаргоне этом уличном, до сих пор не понятно. А очень многие приезжие, которые вообще не знают английского и тут выучили, они выучили жаргон, и с ними тоже тяжело говорить, но интересный такой момент, чисто мой субъективный, что когда говорят на качественном хорошем английском, американском, тоже тяжело понимать мне, особенно когда быстро. Тогда я прошу говорить по-медленнее и тогда я начинаю понимать, а быстро я не улавливаю. Но это просто уже мозги переполнены, старые.</p>	<p>- APP</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- AFF</p>
<p>- Ну, а телевизор помогает?</p> <p>- Нет. Несмотря на то, что все говорят, надо смотреть, слушать, - абсолютно не помогает. Может быть, опять же, это чисто субъективно, кому то может быть помогает.</p> <p>Вы, наверное, в курсе такого эффекта – возрастной эффект на язык. Когда я был молодой, я выучил польский, я выучил немного немецкий, я был моложе, я приехал в Израиль я выучил иврит, я мог говорить на иврите без проблем. Но уже приехал сюда, уже тяжело.</p>	<p>- APP</p> <p>- AFF</p>
<p>Я говорю даже не о детском возрасте, 30-40 лет – это возраст, когда еще укладывается в голове. После 50, если кто-то скажет, что это ему все легко дается, - он врет. Это объективно, физиологически, мозг уже не воспринимает. Поэтому я абсолютно спокойно знаю, что я английского знать не буду, но я преподаю на английском языке, без проблем, потому что это технический язык, я много писал, я делала науку на техническом английском, я до этого еще преподавал и для меня технический язык не вызывает проблем, потому что я его выучил раньше, я общаюсь по предмету со студентами, преподавателями, коллегами, без проблем. Абсолютно. Бытовой жаргон для меня недоступен. Я не хочу, не хочу.</p>	<p>- JUD</p> <p>- AFF</p>

<p>Interview 4</p> <p>Мы приехали в таком возрасте, что нам легче общаться на русском языке. Ну, мы и по-украински понимаем, и по-русски понимаем. Читать, писать, говорить, на обоих языках, но так повелось в наших семьях, что мы дома говорим на русском языке, предпочтение отдается русскому языку, не украинскому а русскому, хотя мы вполне сносно даже сейчас говорим на украинском языке. Но начинаем мы, конечно, общение с русского языка, не с украинского, если мы слышим украинскую речь, мы понимаем и можем поддержать разговор, но начинать – мы начинаем с русского языка.</p> <p>Я туда [колледж] сразу попала, осень проучилась два терма, а потом, с Нового года, попала в колледж...Было очень тяжело, потому что там люди были более подготовленные. Но все проходит. Ну, вот там читали газеты, там было 3 месяца погружения в английский язык, с 9 до 5, ты там. Но тоже много русских было, поэтому все переключались на русский на переменах. Неправильно, конечно, но так или иначе это происходит.</p> <p>Interview 5</p> <p>Я даже не могу сказать, что есть какая-то.. какое-то большое предпочтение, потому что у меня очень много друзей английских, я часто говорю по-английски с друзьями, конечно, большой круг русских друзей, ну, конечно, дома по-русски, наверное, русский немножко больше, но так, не намного.</p> <p>- <i>Насколько важно было для Вас, чтобы ребенок сохранил русский язык?</i></p> <p>- Важно, важно. Поэтому мы его не посылали в детский сад довольно долго. По-моему, он пошел первый раз, когда ему было, кажется, 4 года, в английский детский сад. Сначала научился читать по-русски, а потом уже все английское пошло. Но это не сильно помогло. Сейчас абсолютно такое отторжение.</p> <p>Может быть, мы как-то передавали своим русским языком. Он очень много читал по-русски, но в какой-то момент наступает такое вот... как бы ты хочешь читать и обсуждать со своими друзьями же то, что ты прочитал, а друзья –то читают по-английски, и в какой-то момент, причем очень рано, классе во втором-третьем, он уже стал больше читать по-английски, чем по-русски.</p>	<p>No appraisal</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- JUD</p> <p>No appraisal</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- JUD</p>
<p><u>3.2. Media in English as a source of learning the majority language</u></p>	
<p>Interview 1: N/A</p> <p>Interview 2</p> <p>Я вообще беспокоилась, что, я вообще не знала, что канадское телевидение аккуратное, я знала, что в Америке показывают не знамо что, или, по крайней мере, подозревала, поэтому я все мультфильмы просматривала с дочерью, особенно первое время, когда она начинала смотреть, чтобы быть уверенной, что это ей не вредно. Поэтому шаг за шагом я с ней росла, ну и доросла уже до каких-то уже шоу, когда она была в старших классах, когда она смотрела все эти шоу, я все равно проверяла, чтоб все было полезно, а не вредно (Interview 2, emphasis is mine).</p> <p>... я осваивала английский язык, больше смотрела, у меня был большой скачок, когда я начала понимать радио, т.е. года через два после того, как я начала приезжать в Канаду, или через три, то я стала понимать радио. До этого я понимала так погоду, какие-то общие вещи. И когда я стала понимать, естественно я переключилась на радио с каких-то кассет или музыки, потому что я больше люблю слушать человеческую речь, когда я что –то делаю, прибираюсь, глажу.</p>	<p>- AFF</p> <p>+ APP</p> <p>- APP</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>- AFF</p> <p>+ AFF</p>

<p>Interview 3 Телевизор больше смотрел, когда приехал сюда. Довольно часто, каждый день я его смотрел, особенно погоду и новости, с утра, когда приехали сюда. Это было больше даже не ради новостей, а чтобы в язык окунуться.</p>	No appraisal
<p>Interview 4 Ну да, мы смотрели телевизор. Это да. Прослушивали кассеты, но это не СМИ. Как то нужно впитывать да, есть такой метод полного погружения.</p>	No appraisal
<p>Interview 5 Я думаю, что первый год – нет, я вообще ничего не слушала. И ничего не читала по-английски, ну кроме того, что на курсы когда ходишь, и я книжки пыталась читать, чтобы как-то ну такой язык повседневный набрать. Потом где то я думаю что, вообще как то не до новостей же, да?</p> <p>А потом уже когда я поступила в аспирантуру, у меня где-то через год, после того как я поступила, у меня родился ребенок и вот я взяла академ., и тогда чтобы, это просто мой такой роман с радио начался, чтобы не потерять язык, я стала слушать радио, я стала что-то делать и слушать, и тогда была такая совершенно легендарная передача, очень многие люди про нее говорят, <i>Morningside</i>. Был такой человек, Питер Гзовски. Ну, это была такая просто замечательная передача, утром пару часов, и тоже он приглашал очень знаменитых людей, вот это передача такая чисто канадская. Все, что я знаю про Канаду, я знаю из этой передачи, которую я честно слушала вот год, пока у меня ребенок был маленький.</p>	<p>- AFF</p> <p>+ APP + APP + APP</p>