

VULNERABILITIES AND STRENGTHS IN PARENT-ADOLESCENT
RELATIONSHIPS IN BANGLADESHI IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN ALBERTA

FARZANA AFROZ
Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery
Dhaka Medical College, 2006

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
Of the University of Lethbridge
in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Masters in Health Sciences

MASTER OF SCIENCE HEALTH SCIENCES

Faculty of Health Sciences
University of Lethbridge,
LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA, CANADA

Abstract

This study investigated the challenges and parent-adolescent relationship factors that contribute to resilience and the successful adjustment of Bangladeshi families following immigration to Canada. The systems framework of family resilience (Walsh, 2006) was used to interpret how Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents and parents experienced and navigated immigration challenges. Using a qualitative approach, four adolescent girls and four parents of adolescents were interviewed to inquire into their experience of challenges related to adolescent development, the immigrant experiences, and parent-adolescent relationships influencing their post-immigration adjustment. Immigrant adolescents faced language and cultural barriers, bullying and discrimination in their school environment while rituals, customs and values from their culture of origin diminished. They felt pressured by their parent's career expectations and felt they suffered gender discrimination in the family. Parents faced economic and career challenges and a difficult parenting experience. Optimism about the future, parental encouragement, mutual empathy of each other's struggles, sharing feelings, open and clear communication, flexibility in parenting style and anchoring in cultural values and religious beliefs helped parents and adolescents become more resilient in maintaining a positive outlook with a positive view of their immigration. In some cases, the challenges of immigration pulled the families closer together in mutual support. It is hoped that findings from this study will assist in developing effective social programmes to ease adolescents' and parents' transitions among immigrants and to promote resiliency in immigrant families.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude and sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Bonnie K. Lee. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without her support, direction, and insights throughout this research journey. I would also like to convey sincere gratitude to my committee members, Dr. Glenda Lynna Anne Tibe Bonifacio, and Dr. Janice Newberry for their insights and time.

I would especially like to thank the parents and adolescents who shared their stories to make this research possible. I am also grateful for all the help and support I received from Bangladeshi communities and families.

I am also thankful to Dr. Shamsul Alam and his family who have provided support with lovely words of encouragement throughout this entire process. I would also like to extend a thank you to Dr. Ruksana Rashid for being a source of strength over the last few years. I am grateful to my parents, K. M. Yunus and Mahmuda Begum, thank you for your unconditional love, steady support, and constant encouragement.

Finally, I have to give a big thank you to my wonderful husband, Raqibur Rahman. Thank you for believing in me. This process would not be the same without your love and sacrifice.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
List of Tables.....	ix
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Background and context.....	1
Contemporary societal context and culture in the Bangladesh.....	2
Adolescence and immigrant adolescents.....	4
Rationale for study.....	5
Implicated researcher.....	7
Significance of the study.....	8
Overview.....	8
Chapter Two: Literature Review	10
Challenges and experiences of immigrant adolescents in Canada.....	10
Challenges of immigrant parents in Canada.....	12
Family interaction in immigrant families with their adolescent child.....	13
Gaps in research on immigrant adolescents and their parents as a unit.....	15
Chapter Three: Research Method	17
Research question.....	17
Theoretical framework.....	17
Individual resilience.....	18
Family resilience framework.....	18
Qualitative Methodology.....	23
Participant selection: Sampling strategy.....	24
Recruiting and accessing the population.....	24
Inclusion criteria.....	26
Exclusion criteria.....	27

Data collection and management.....	27
Method.....	27
In-depth Interviews.....	28
Demographic forms.....	30
Type of interview questions.....	30
Ethical considerations.....	31
Transcribing and translating the data.....	34
Data analysis.....	35
Trustworthiness	37
Bias.....	39
Reflection and reflexivity.....	39
Limitations of the study	41
Chapter Four: Research Findings.....	43
Participants.....	43
Struggles and challenges of adolescent immigrants.....	45
Struggles in school environment.....	45
Adopting new culture.....	48
Diminishing old world.....	53
Difference in values and morals.....	56
Gender discrimination.....	59
Pressure of parent’s expectation.....	60
Importance of ethnic cultural and religious values to adolescents and parents.....	61
Immigration experiences affecting parent-adolescent relationship.....	65
Struggles and challenges of immigrant parents.....	67
Generation gap between parents and adolescents.....	68
Economic challenges.....	70
Parenting experiences in Canada.....	71

Factors harmonizing parent-adolescent relationship.....	72
Hope for better future advancement.....	72
Encouragement from parents.....	76
Communications with parents.....	76
Helping parents.....	77
Relationships with other family members.....	77
Relationships with friends.....	78
Sharing feelings and mutual empathy.....	78
Pleasurable interactions.....	81
Summary.....	82
Chapter Five: Interpretation of Findings.....	87
Exploring struggles and challenges of immigrant families.....	88
Factors harmonizing parent-adolescent relationship.....	95
Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations.....	101
Conclusion.....	101
Implications for immigrant populations.....	102
Recommendations.....	102
Future research directions.....	103
References.....	105
Appendices	
Appendix A- Assent Form for adolescents.....	115
Appendix B- Consent Form of parents for their adolescent child to interview.....	118
Appendix C- Consent Form for immigrant parents.....	120
Appendix D- Poster.....	123
Appendix E- Demographic sheet for immigrant adolescent.....	124
Appendix F- Demographic sheet for immigrant parent.....	125
Appendix G- Interview guide for immigrant parent.....	127

Appendix H -Interview guide for immigrant adolescent.....	130
Appendix I - Definitions of immigrant populations and refugee.....	133

List of Tables

Table1:	Terminology and age range used to represent adolescents in different literatures.....	12
Table 2:	General demographic data of participants (adolescents).....	44
Table 3:	General demographic data of participants (parents).....	44
Table 4:	Key processes in adolescent participants using the Family Resilience Framework.....	83
Table 5:	Key processes in immigrant parents using the Family Resilience Framework.....	85

Chapter One-Introduction

Background and context

Every year immigrant families come to the Canada seeking better life opportunities for themselves and their children. It is also suggested that future population growth in Canada will not occur via births, but through immigration (Statistics Canada, 2005b). In the next 25 years, the national death rate is expected to exceed the birth rate. Therefore, international migration is a progressively more important strategy for sustained population growth and increase in human capital for Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). In 2006, Statistics Canada reported there were just over six million immigrant Canadians and estimated that by the year 2017, 25% of the whole population will be newly arrived immigrants. Immigrant adolescents are present in large numbers among this group. About 167,600 of all newcomers to Canada, or 15.1%, were youth aged 15 to 24 (Statistics Canada, 2006). Alberta is home to 527,030 immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2006). Now, it has only been in recent years that Bangladeshi immigrants have become a top source country for immigrants. Prior to 1991, the number of Bangladeshi immigrants totalled only 4,325, but by 2006 this number rose to 33, 230. Within the period of 1991 to 2006, 28,905 Bangladeshi immigrated to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). Therefore, this presented data clearly showed that Bangladeshi immigrants have become one of the major immigrant groups of South Asians, and the number is increasing each day. Majority of these new immigrants often bring their families with them (Statistics Canada, 2001). Given these dramatic and rapid demographic trends of immigrants in Alberta, there is a pressing need for research on Bangladeshi immigrant families in Alberta including research that enhances an understanding of Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents

and the parents as a family unit. While immigrant families may require assistance to ensure a smooth transition into their new country, limited research has been conducted regarding the impact of immigration on adolescents and their parents. However, there is very limited research conducted on the impact of immigration at a family level (Kwak, 2003). There is a need to conduct research that specially addresses newcomer Bangladeshi immigrant families and requirements for maintaining strong family relationships during adolescence as protective factors to crime, delinquency and mental health issues.

Contemporary societal context and culture in Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a small South Asian country, enriched with years of tradition and heritage. The vast majority (about 98.5%) of Bangladeshis are of the Bengali ethnolinguistic group. According to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2001), the majority of the population is Muslim (about 89.7%) and a small number of Hindus, Christians and Buddhists are also living in the country. As a predominantly Islamic country, religion forms the bases of major cultural etiquette and behaviour (Rahman, 2010). The tradition, culture and heritage of Bangladesh have evolved over the centuries which incorporated beliefs from Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Since Bangladesh was a part of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent for centuries before becoming an independent country, cultural diversity from both the neighbouring countries (such as Gaye Holud in wedding) contributed to its diverse culture.

Festivals and celebrations are integral parts of Bangladeshis' life. To Bangladeshis, festivals and celebrations are considered the most attractive entertainment in society. There are two major religious festivals in Bangladesh: Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-ul-

Azha. Eid-UI-Fitr is held after fasting for a month in Ramadan. Eid-ul-Azha is celebrated by slaughtering animals in the name of Allah. On Eid day, the Eid prayer is held all over the country in open areas like fields or inside mosques. After the Eid prayers, people return home, visit each other's home and eat sweet dishes. Muslims believe that God is eternal, transcendent, absolutely one and incomparable; that he is self-sustaining, who begets not nor was begotten (Deb & Khondkar, 2011).

Although both of the celebrations are solely religious, Bangladeshis love to give these celebrations festive looks. Other noteworthy cultural festivals are Pohela Boishakh (Bengali New Year), Pohela Falgun (1st day of spring), Ekushe February (International Mother Language Day) and Bijoy Dibosh (Deb & Khondkar, 2011).

Pohela Boishakh (Bengali New Year) is the first day of the Bengali calendar which is the major festival in which Bangladeshis are used to wear vibrant colourful traditional cloths. All these festivals and celebrations play a major role in building the social behaviour, cultural etiquette and social expectations in Bangladesh (Deb & Khondkar, 2011).

Family and kinship is the core of social life in Bangladesh. Women in the Bangladeshi community are protected in the family. In Bangladeshi culture, the mother has the closest, intimate, and most enduring emotional relationship with her son and daughter. The father is a more distant figure, worthy of formal respect (Aziz, 1979). In Bangladesh, parents ordinarily select spouses for their children. The status of women in Bangladesh remained considerably inferior to that of men (Sajeda Amin, 1998). Women in Bangladesh remained subordinate to men in almost all aspects of their lives especially in customs and practices (White, 1992).

Factors like political instability, poverty, unemployment and lack of social security force many people in Bangladesh to think about migrating abroad (Datta, 2004). With a population of around 150 million, there are issues related to illiteracy, child marriage, child labour, imbalance of environment, pollution, corruption, and others (Datta, 2004). The two major cities of Bangladesh, Dhaka and Chittagong, are overcrowded with people which turned these into most unlivable cities in the world (Murshed & Choudhury, 1997). Political instability also triggers crime, corruption, inflation in an alarming rate. All these negative factors encourage people to migrate abroad in search of better life and prospective future (Ghosh, 2007).

Adolescence and immigrant adolescents

According to National Institutes of Health (2008), *adolescence* is the time between the beginning of sexual maturation (puberty) and adulthood. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines *adolescents* as young people between the ages of 10 and 19 years. Adolescence is a major life transition that poses challenges for both parents and adolescents (Arnett, 1999; Oppedal and Røysamb, 2004). Immigrant parents and adolescents have added struggles in their relationship (Inman, Howard, Beaumont & Walker, 2007). While normally all adolescents have to negotiate bridging two worlds the worlds of childhood and adulthood, immigrant adolescents have the daunting task of bridging four different worlds: childhood, adulthood, the world from which they originate and the world of the new host country (Quinones- Mayo & Dempsey, 2005). During the stage of adolescence, youth are trying to define themselves. A positive parent-adolescent relationship is an important part of this process. When this relationship is weak, adolescents usually reject parent's values; they stop following healthy behaviours and do

the exact opposite as a form of disobedience (Kuendig & Kuntsche, 2006). If adolescents do not have good relations with their parents they may have no one to guide them through challenging times and, thus, seek other methods of coping. They may resort to alcohol or other drug abuse as an inappropriate defence mechanism to reduce emotional distress caused by family tensions or other difficulties (Marsiglia, Kulis, Parsai, Villar, & Garcia, 2009). Alienated immigrant adolescents have resorted to behavioural problems like deviance, drugs use and delinquency (Vazsonyi & Killias, 2001). This is not only true for immigrants but may be more intense for them if they do not understand cultural norms, strongly desire to “fit in”, or are more active in the new country (via school) than their parents. The peer group can also pressure tobacco use among immigrant and refugee youth (Stoll, 2008). Negative health behaviours, such as alcohol and substance use, may be used as an approach for confronting stresses in their new country (Gil, Wagner & Vega, 2000). As newcomer youth and their families struggle to understand and cope with the many immigration challenges they confront (Anisef, Kilbride, Baichman-Anisef & Khattar 2001), developing family resilience can act to facilitate their settlement process in their new country.

Rationale for Study

Little is known about how the process of immigration influences on the rapidly growing group of newcomer immigrants and their families all over the world (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). For children in immigrant families, the period of adolescence may be a difficult transition period to negotiate (Ghazarian, Supple & Plunkett, 2008). At the same time immigrant parents have to deal with poverty, unemployment, under-employment, and shifts in their role in domestic and economic

area (Tyyskä, 2008, Quinones- Mayo & Dempsey, 2005). In 2006, the national unemployment rate for these immigrants was 11.5%, more than double the rate of 4.9% for the Canadian-born population (Statistics Canada, 2007). Immigrant families have to deal with the challenge of preserving their family roles and patterns in a new socio-cultural environment while adjusting to new family roles, expectations, and patterns of the new country (Choi, He & Harachi, 2007; Anisef et al. 2001). Research on the challenges experienced by immigrant, especially within the family unit, is limited in Canada. With its distinct cultural and religious background, the Bangladeshi community in Alberta may demonstrate unique methods of assimilation and, thus, requires consideration. Further, descriptive information gathered within this population may inform future research with other immigrant groups.

In my research, I investigated participants' experiences with parent-adolescent relationships to better understand their challenges, and the factors that contribute to the successful adjustment of adolescents and their parents in Bangladeshi families. My study sought to understand the underlying problems in parent-adolescent relationships as a means of reducing addiction and mental health problem of the adolescents as these issues are prevalent and a major concern for social service agencies (Government of Alberta, 2011). With the changing Canadian socio-cultural landscape, it is important that researchers consider the process and impact of cross-cultural relocation on the immigrant specifically as they pertain to parent-adolescent relationships (Nabara & Lollis, 2009).

Considerable research has been done to understand individual immigration, acculturation, and adaptation among the immigrants (Perrina & Smith, 2007; Fuligni, 2001). Most of the researches were focusing on individual adjustment to a new society.

Limited research exists on the experiences of immigrant families, particularly as it pertains to relationships between immigrant adolescents and their parents after settlement in Canada (Nabara & Lollis, 2009). Focusing on Bangladeshi adolescent girls and their parents who obtain immigrant status and settled in Calgary, and Edmonton, Alberta between the years of 2005 and 2010, my research explored the challenges and resiliency factors that contributed to successful adjustment. Qualitative methodology was chosen for my proposed research study. This method was used to reveal experiences that go beyond role-determined surface scripts and to understand the underlying components of the socio-cultural environment and their interaction (Levy & Hollan, 1998).

Implicated researcher

As a landed immigrant, I experienced a stressful transition process during immigration from my motherland to the country of Canada. Although I immigrated as an adult, I encountered several challenges while adjusting to my new life in Canada. One significant challenge was the multiple barriers that I faced regarding my profession as a physician as my qualifications were not recognized in Canada. I faced the challenges of relocating to a new culture and society while also negotiating my dreams about prosperity and mourning the loss of my professional identity career. My lived experience as an immigrant has provided me deeper insight into immigration stressors and sharpened my awareness of how immigrant experiences differ from the experiences of native Canadians.

I encountered many immigrant families who successfully dealt with adversity and crisis during the course of their immigration journey. I have observed some resilient factors which made me curious about family resilience and its impact on enriching and

strengthening immigrant families. However, there was a dearth of research about the vulnerabilities and strengths of immigrant parent-adolescent relationships. Believing that my status as a landed immigrant afforded me sensitivity, insight, and credibility, I used the family resilience framework to examine the relationships between immigrant adolescent girls and their parents.

Significance of the Study

With the growing immigrant population in major Canadian cities and throughout the country, research that increases knowledge and understanding can lead to proactive work to promote family cohesion, foster mental health, and assist immigrant families as they transition to the Canadian context. Family cohesion and support is a key factor needed for immigrants and their children to thrive. My research study was a valuable pilot study because adolescent immigrants and their future are vital to sustaining the prosperity and continued development of Alberta's economy, both now and in the future. In addition, resilience may be enhanced by interventions and processes that build strength and reduce distress, impairment, and dysfunction in immigrant families (Bandura, 1997). This study served to suggest directions for research, policy, and services that enable immigrants and their children to contribute to this province in vital ways.

Overview

In this first chapter, I offered an overview of background information and the rationale for conducting this research. I gave details regarding the purpose of my study. My role as an implicated researcher and significance of this study were also discussed in this chapter. Chapter Two critically reviews relevant literature in the areas of immigrant parents and immigrant adolescents, immigration and other challenges faced by immigrant parents and adolescents, and the gaps within the research. It also points out of the

uniqueness of this study. Chapter Three outlines my research approach and method, theoretical framework, ethical considerations, sample selection and recruiting procedure, data collection techniques, procedure for data analysis, issues of trustworthiness, bias, reflection and reflexivity and limitations of this study. Chapter Four includes the research findings and summary. Chapter Five provides a discussion of the findings of the study. Chapter Six presents the conclusion, implications for immigrant population, recommendations, and future research directions.

Chapter Two - Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to discuss the relevant and significant English literature regarding the parent-adolescent relationship in immigrant families. A thorough search of the literature is provided with a focus on the research question. Immigration is an event that occurs in almost all countries and involves millions of people including adolescents and their families (UN Population Report, 2002). I have identified and explored various experiences reported by immigrant adolescents and their parents in their new country and these experiences are addressed in this chapter. Finally, the gaps in knowledge about adolescent immigrants and their relationships with their parents will be identified. The focus of this chapter is on immigrant adolescents and immigrant parents only, thus the experiences of the refugee population are not discussed in this chapter. I found research on the parent-youth relationships of immigrants while searching published research articles from the past ten years through CINHALL database, Google Scholarly Article, JSTOR database and PsycINFO database via Ovid. Key words used to search literature were immigration, immigrant, adolescence, adolescent, immigrant parents, and immigrant adolescent.

Challenges and experiences of immigrant adolescents in Canada

Immigrant adolescents present noticeable life changes in their social, environmental and interpersonal affiliations as part of their migration experiences (Anisef et al, 2001). Often immigrant adolescents get little time to absorb the complexity of all they are exposed to in their new home country and at the same time they have to help their family to overcome difficulties created by culture and language differences (Creese, Dyck, & McLaren, 1999). Parents typically view immigration as a time of new

opportunities even though children may view immigration as an unwanted stressor that depletes the psychological and physical energies of their parents (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Immigrant adolescents have more risk factors for emotional distress than the native born adolescents as a result of diverse stresses and losses related to immigration, family separation and loss of friends and family members, as well as the suffering of acculturation stress and challenges created by the language barrier (Yeh & Inose, 2002; Yeh et al., 2005; Yeh, Ching, Okuba & Luthar, 2007). For instance immigrant adolescents receive different messages about their identity from their family, peers, school, and the media (Pallida, 2006, Pepler, & Craig, 2007).

Adolescents who accept their ethnicity and feel proud of their ethnic group may be better able to deal constructively with discrimination (Berry et al, 2006). Immigrant adolescents bring the new culture of their host country to their parents and act as a transmitter of new culture (Pallida, 2006). Immigrant children are, generally, eager to embrace the culture of their residing country and want to have the same identity as their peers and become indistinguishable from them (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). Additionally, adolescents have a tendency to adopt the values and communicative practices of the new culture more willingly than their parents (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Kwak, 2003). In school, teachers and peers continually emphasize accepting the cultural values, beliefs, and behavioural expectations of youth in host country (Padilla, 2006). The adolescent immigrant feels torn or pulled between their desire to fit in their peer group and their desire to meet their parents' expectations (Kilbride, 2000 as cited in Tyyskä 2006). In addition, for the first time the adolescent may begin to view friends and the peer group as more important and influential than their parents or guardians. Due to both formal and

informal acculturation through schooling, peers, and the media, the immigrant adolescent can become much overwhelmed by a youth culture and the freedoms that may be unavailable or limited in their country of origin (Zhou, 1997). Different authors used different age-range to define adolescents in their literatures which I included in table 1. After reviewing the different literatures about the age ranges for adolescents, I chose age range of 13 to 17 for adolescent participants.

Table 1: Terminology and age range used to represent adolescents in different literature

Terminology used by different authors	Age range	References
Youth	16-24	Anisef, P., Kilbride, K. M., Baichman-Anisef, Khattar, R. (2001)
	Average age 15	Choi, Y., He, M. & Harachi, T.W. (2007)
	Average age 16	Stoll, K. (2008)
Adolescents	12-18	Smokowski, P.R., Chapman, M.V. & Bacallao, M.L. (2007)
Adolescents	10-19	World health organization

Challenges of immigrant parents in Canada

Similar to their adolescent children, immigrant parents face challenges adapting to the view of race and ethnicity in their new host country (Perrina & Smith, 2007). As an ethnic minority, many immigrant parents encounter racism for the first time (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006). Interestingly the adolescent immigrant often socializes and acculturates their parents to values, beliefs, and norms of their new host country, and acts as a mediator or translator in dealing with social institutions (Padilla, 2006, Ali and Kilbride 2004, Creese et al. 1999). Therefore, parental authority may be shifted and immigrant parents may feel that their parenting ability is under serious stress (Tyyskä,

2006). Their adolescent child may demand new roles and responsibilities in the family which may disrupt established power hierarchies within the family and also create tension in parent-adolescent relationship (Creese et al. 1999).

As Qin (2006) describes, financial pressures after immigration may increase stresses as immigrant parents have to work more to meet their living costs. Therefore that intense work load limits the opportunities for parents to communicate with their child and monitor their day to day activities. With immigrant parents working long hours, especially just after settlement to meet the cost of living in their host country, an immigrant adolescent may be left without appropriate parental guidance in making important decisions in his or her life (Skokauskas & Clarke, 2009). Immigrant parents also blame themselves for not spending enough time with their adolescent children and when the adolescents become independent the parents still want control them. Thus, they have conflicts with their adolescent children and this contributes to the delinquent behaviour of adolescents (Perreira et al., 2006).

Family interaction in immigrant families with their adolescent child

Conflict between immigrant parents and their children is to be expected (Tyyskä, 2008). Immigrant families want to establish the values of respect, obedience, and good manners in their children, but also want to see their children succeed in Canada which can be stressful to the adolescents (Thomas & Choi, 2006, Creese et al. 1999, Tyyskä 2003b and 2006). Some South Asian immigrant parents aspire for their children to retain their own language and religion (Wakil, Siddique, Wakil, 1981). Since parents come from a different culture and country, they try to influence their child according to their own cultural views (Zhou, 1997). Psychological stress is experienced by adolescents as they are pressured by parents and other adults in their ethnic community to maintain their

ethnic or cultural norms and traditions (Thomas & Choi, 2006; James, 1999). Immigrant parents do not feel safe in allowing their children to attend friends' parties or go out with their peer group (Perreira et al., 2006; Wong, 1999). Thus, we see how tension and stress can arise between immigrant parents and adolescents.

Ethiopian immigrant parents in industrialized societies of Israel dedicate less time to caring for their children and show less affection to them (Romi & Simcha, 2009). Individualism of the immigrant parents and satisfying needs of self rather than of others, may also influence their role as parents. On account of this individualism perceived in western families, family ties weaken and immigrant adolescents learn to "go out on their own" (Romi & Simcha, 2009). Qin (2006) found that parents tend to compare their adolescent child's behaviour with those adolescents of their country of origin and, at the same time, adolescents compare their parents with parents of their friends, who emphasize more freedom and less control in relationships thus resulting in a conflicted relationship. Choi et al. (2007) found that if adolescents experience differences between cultural values held by their parents, they have increased disagreements and arguments with their parents in their host society. These disputes can weaken parent-child bonding and may increase the level of problem behaviours among adolescents.

Female immigrant adolescents participate and actively engage more in social, religious, and cultural activities of their country of origin than male immigrant adolescents and thus female adolescents experience more social support. Increased involvement in social, cultural, and religious activities in their new land may lead to an increased level of integration (Thomas & Choi, 2006). But adolescent girls in some immigrant families have less decision making privileges than their brothers and male

peers (Anisef and Kilbride 2000, Ochocka, Janzen, Anisef, Kilbride, Sundar, & Fuller 2001, Tyyskä 2001, 2003 and 2006; as cited in Tyyskä 2008). Inequality within the home rendered immigrant girls more vulnerable. Parents' fears for their adolescent daughters noticeably related to dating and premarital sexual activity while fear for sons is usually related to drugs and violence (Ochocka et. al, 2001).

Gaps in research on immigrant adolescents and their parents as a unit

There is little research conducted examining the relationship between immigrant adolescents and their parents. Most of the research focused on individual factors, such as the impact of immigration on adolescents' mental health, e.g. depression, anxiety and bipolar depression (Frabutt, 2006), alcohol consumption and tobacco smoking (Marsiglia, Kulis, Parsai, Villar & Garcia, 2009; Stoll, 2008), drug use and delinquency (Vazsonyi & Killias, 2001) and discrimination and parent-adolescent conflicts (Anisef et. al., 2001; Choi et. al., 2008; Farver, Narang, and Bhadha, 2002 ; Perrina & Smith, 2007).

Qualitative studies examining parent-adolescent issues are very limited. I found only three qualitative studies on parent-adolescent issues in Canada. Tyyskä (2008, 2006) focused on examining multiple aspects of parent-youth relationships in immigrant families and also, described teen perspectives on family relations in Toronto, Ontario. Ochocka et. al. (2001) explored parenting issues faced by immigrant parents within different ethnic backgrounds in three cities in Ontario. In these studies the researchers examined the individual perspectives of parents and/or adolescents and explore their coping within the family structure.

In this study, I wanted to explore the relationship experiences of both Bangladeshi parents and their adolescents in order to understand Bangladeshi immigrant families more fully (Tyyskä, 2008). With no academic research on Bangladeshi

immigrants and their families, this study focused specifically on Bangladeshi immigrant families in Alberta. The use of qualitative research, specifically in-depth interviewing depicted the diversity and complexity of experiences among immigrant parents and adolescents and their perceptions of their relationships. I used a qualitative approach to study the experience, perceptions, and quality of Bangladeshi parent-adolescent relationship as perceived by both and examined how these experiences and practices contributed to their risks or resilience in securing well-being and cultural adaptation.

Chapter Three -Research Method

The purpose of this chapter to provide an overview of the research methodology and the method applied to address my research interest. A brief description of the theoretical underpinnings, methodology, method, data sampling, data analysis, access and recruitment for the study, inclusion criteria along with ethical considerations, and bias are addressed in this chapter. The techniques I used to justify trustworthiness of the research method are offered. A section on reflection and reflexivity is included to document my research journey both as a researcher and an immigrant. I also identify the limitations of the study in this chapter.

Research questions

The following overarching research questions guided this study:

- What are the challenges faced by Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents and their parents in Canada?
- What are the vulnerabilities and strengths in immigrant parent-adolescent relationships?

These research questions aimed to gather information to provide better understanding of the challenges for Bangladeshi immigrant adolescent girls and immigrant parents.

Additionally, my research questions were constructed to contribute to a better understanding of the resiliency factors that contribute to the successful adjustment of adolescents and their parents in Bangladeshi immigrant families.

Theoretical framework

Most researchers use theory to guide their work, to locate their studies in larger scholarly traditions, or to map the topography of the specific concepts they will explore

in detail (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Family Resilience Framework was used as a framework that guided this study.

Resilience. Resilience refers to “the capacity to transcend adversity and transform it to an opportunity of growth” (Bottrell, 2009: p. 129). Walsh (2006) defined resilience as “the capacity to rebound from adversity strengthened and more resourceful. Resilience is an active process of “endurance, self-righting, and growth in response to crisis and challenges” (Walsh, 2006, p.4). Resilience is primarily defined as the presence of protective factors, such as, personal, social, familial, and institutional safety nets that enable individuals to manage life stress (Kaplan, Turner, Norman, & Stillson, 1996). Much of the resilience research is an inquiry to find the internal and external protective qualities or factors that help one to “bounce back” in high risk situations or after undesirable events (Richardson, 2002). Of significant importance to this study is Karpel’s (1986) consideration of the family as a potential source of resilience.

Family Resilience Framework (FRF). Family resilience is a systems perspective that enables us to understand how family processes mediate stress and can enable families and their members to surmount crises and weather prolonged hardship (Walsh, 2006, p.15). The concept of family resilience offers a valuable framework for exploring abilities of immigrant families to overcome adversity in their new homeland and face challenging situations with their adolescent child. The family resilience framework developed by Froma Walsh (2006) brings together various studies, describing and combining key processes within three areas of family functioning: family belief systems, organization patterns and communication and problem solving processes. I built my interview questions on the basis of these key processes. Resilience is cultivated by shared

beliefs that increase options for effective functioning and problem solving attitudes within the family. Achieving a positive shared belief system keeps the family together and makes them strong enabling them to face challenges and adverse situations. In addition to flexibility, resilience is strengthened by stable family organization that is maintained by the strong connectedness of the family members and their social and economic resources (Walsh, 2006). Communication processes promote resilience by the following processes: bringing clarity to crisis situations, encouraging open emotional expression, and fostering collaborative problem solving (Walsh, 2006).

The key processes in family resilience based on Walsh (2006) are family belief systems, organization patterns and communication and problem solving processes. The theoretical assumptions of these processes are discussed below.

Belief Systems

Making meaning of adversity:

This framework proposes that resilience can be viewed as collective effort of the family members, not as individual effort. Resilience is shown in family members' ability to deal with adversity and crisis and grow from them.

Positive outlook:

Hope, confidence in overcoming odds, and optimistic bias cultivate family resilience. Pulling out and affirming family strengths in the midst of difficulties helps to counter a sense of helplessness, failure, and despair as it reinforces pride confidence, and a "can -do" spirit. The encouragements of family members strengthen efforts to take initiative and persevere in efforts to overcome barriers.

Transcendence and spirituality:

Spiritual or religious resources, through faith practices such as meditation or prayer and religious or congregational association, have practical support for their healing power.

Organizational Patterns

Flexibility:

In family organization, resilience can be fostered through flexible structure, shared leadership, mutual support, and teamwork in facing life challenges. Strong authoritative leadership such as nurturance, protection and guidance, co-operative parenting can encourage family resilience.

Connectedness and social and economic resources:

The availability of community resources and a family's ability to reach out to use them are also essential for family resilience, providing financial security, practical assistance, social support and a basic sense of connectedness through kin and friendship networks, and religious or other group affiliations

Communication Processes

Clarity and open emotional expression:

Sharing range of feelings, mutual empathy, tolerance for difference is very important trait for family resilience. Avoid blaming each other, taking responsibility for own feelings, behavior and pleasurable interaction within the family structure necessary to build family resilience.

Collaborative problem solving:

Collaborative problem solving can be done by shared decision making, negotiation, compromise and reciprocity. To solve the problem each member of the family should focus on goals, learning from failure and should be prepare for future challenges and crises.

Family resilience framework fit with my research allowing me to identify the relational weaknesses and strengths of families under stress, during period of crisis and adversity. Second, family resilience framework assumed that no single model fits all families or their situations. Functioning of each family is assessed in its own context relative to their values, structure, resources, and life challenges like poverty, addiction and mental health problems (Walsh, 2003). FRF can help to explain how an immigrant family confronts and manages hostile experiences in a new country and moves forward in life. This model/framework can be used to investigate them and the family unit for immediate and long term adaptation (Walsh, 1996). Third, processes for optimal functioning and the well-being of members are seen to vary over time, as challenges unfold and families evolve across the life-cycle (Walsh, 2003; Walsh, 1996). The conception of family resilience explains more than a view of individual resilience, by focusing on *relational resilience* in the family as a functional unit (Walsh, 1996). Family resilience framework does not propose any singular model of "the resilient family". This model searches resilience within each family and seeks to understand key processes that can strengthen that family's ability to withstand the emergencies or persistent stresses they face. All families thus have the potential for resilience (Walsh, 1996).

Family resilience framework (FRF) extends understanding of normal family functioning, based on family ecological systems. This framework can help to identify and fortify key processes that enable immigrant families to overcome crises and persistent stresses in their parent-adolescent relationships after they migrate to a new country (Walsh, 1996). A family resilience framework also allows researchers to focus on immigrant families' strengths, capacities, and competencies inherent within the family during stressful times. Walsh used the family resilience framework during assessment of young adults hospitalized with psychiatric concerns and their healthy peers in research that examined family resilience during crisis and challenges following divorces and death of the family members. FRF was also used with different cultural groups of Bosnian and Kosovar refugee families at the Chicago Centre for Family Health (CCFH) to understand their recovery from deeply traumatizing experiences, and in facing their challenges of adaptation to a new culture in their new country (Walsh, 2006). The program was successful and the spirit of family resilience inspired efforts to shape a new community-based and family centred health care system (Walsh, 2006). CCFH has developed a range of training, clinical, and community services grounded in this family resilience framework. Programs based on FRF have been used to address a wide variety of crises and challenges (Walsh, 2006; Walsh, 1996), including

- Family adaptation to loss
- Major disasters and terrorist attacks
- Refugee and migration challenges
- Job loss, transition, and reemployment strains.

Hence, FRF was chosen to inform my interviews with immigrant female adolescents and parents to understand their degree of vulnerabilities and strengths (Walsh, 1996).

Qualitative methodology

Research methodology is a bridge that “brings theory and method, perspective and tool, together” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 21). The proposed study uses a descriptive exploratory qualitative design (Parse, Coyne & Smith, 1985). The purpose of this descriptive study is to explore vulnerabilities and strengths in the parent-adolescent relationships of a group of adolescent immigrants and their parents in Canada.

Exploratory descriptive designs are used when little is known about the topic (De Groot, 1969). Descriptive exploratory design gives an opportunity to identify common patterns about any issue as perceived by a number of subjects who participated in the same event or topic. A qualitative methodology is concerned with description and contextualization, allowing for a wide variety of answers. Therefore, this methodology fits well with immigrant adolescents and their parents who shared similar experiences of immigration as part of a family unit. The descriptive method includes an illustration of the context of the situation and gives attention to both retrospective happenings and prospective plans surrounding life events (Parse et al., 1985). “When a researcher seeks to study man-environment interaction as a unit, the descriptive method is one method of choice “(Parse et al., 1985, p.91). The meanings constructed by individual immigrant adolescents and immigrant parents, within a naturalistic setting, provides a more holistic understanding of participants’ experiences. Parse et al. (1985) explain that exploratory study is a type of descriptive study which “is an investigation of the meaning of a life event for a group of subjects who shared a particular event” (p. 91). This method allows the researcher to

investigate the background and environmental relationships of parent-adolescent relations (Parse et al., 1985).

Participant selection: Sampling strategy

Purposive sampling is a non-probability method which includes selecting participants “on the basis of personal judgement about which ones will be most representative or productive” (Polit & Hungler, 1995, pp.652). Non-probability approaches like convenience and snowball sampling are appropriate for in-depth qualitative research in which the researcher aims to understand complex social phenomena like immigration experiences in immigrant families and their relationship in their new homeland (Marshall 1996; Small 2009).

Immigrant female adolescents and immigrant parents were purposively selected using convenience and snowballing sampling techniques. Since the sample size was small, I focused on female adolescents in this study. In-depth interviewing was conducted with four Bangladeshi immigrant adolescent girls (ages 13 to 17) and four Bangladeshi immigrant parents to reach an understanding of challenges they faced in Canada. The sample size was determined both by the descriptive exploratory design for in-depth interviewing and by the constraints of the time and money allocated for the study. I conducted two separate interviews with each participant. In order to understand the depth, and significance of the respondents’ responses, each interview lasted 60 to 90 minutes (Levy & Hollan, 1998).

Recruiting and accessing the population

The initial plan was to obtain access to participants through immigrant service organizations and community associations through purposeful and convenience sampling techniques. Since Bangladeshi adolescents were not involved with immigrant service

organizations and therefore difficult to locate, I changed my plans for recruitment. I decided to obtain access to participants' through "word of mouth" and snowball sampling techniques. Snowball sampling or chain-referral sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances (Goodman, 1961). Locating people of a specific population such as Bangladeshi immigrants was easy through snowball sampling techniques. I also hung up posters (See Appendix D) at public places including the notice boards of community centres (e.g. The Genesis Centre for Community Wellness). The posters gave a brief description of my research topic, the inclusion criteria for potential participants and my name and contact info. I was known to one Bangladeshi family who had one adolescent daughter and I interviewed both mother and daughter. I requested their assistance in obtaining more prospective participants. They talked to other two participants who met my inclusion criteria and were interested in participating in this study.

I met all of the interested participants individually explaining the purpose and procedure of the study and interviewed them. The participants, who were already willing to participate in this study, were asked to convey information about the study to other potential participants. Within a couple of weeks, I received several responses from parents and adolescent girls interested in participating in the study. Four of the parents and adolescents expressed their interest in the study via another participant; I personally met them and if they fulfilled the inclusion criteria, I explained the purpose and procedure of the study and arranged an interview at their convenience. All interviews took place at their preferred location (e.g., their home or another mutually agreeable location). Thus, the recruitment procedure for the study mostly relied on snowball

sampling. Consequently, with eight participants, sixteen interviews were conducted. When I obtained my sixteen interviews with eight participants, I reached my goal and ceased searching for participants. It took four months to recruit participants and complete their interviews. The following inclusion and exclusion criteria guided the sample recruitment procedure in my study.

Inclusion criteria. The inclusion criteria for the participants of the study included:

Adolescent immigrant

- Immigrant adolescents who migrated to Canada within the last 8 years and have resided in Canada for at least one year
- Female adolescents of ages 13 to 17 years
- Emigrated from Bangladesh
- Living in Edmonton and/or Calgary
- Willing to participate and to give informed assent
- Parental signed consent is obtained
- Willing to be audio-recorded

Parent immigrant

- Immigrant parents who migrated to Canada within the last 8 years and have resided in Canada for at least one year
- Immigrant parents who have an adolescent child between the ages of 13 and 17 years
- Emigrated from Bangladesh
- Living in Edmonton and/or Calgary
- Willing to participate and to give informed consent

- Willing to be audio-recorded
- Both genders will be included

According to the inclusion criteria, the participants must have lived in Canada between one and eight years. This tenure of stay seemed to be sufficient for better understanding the vulnerabilities and strengths in their parent-adolescent relationship in a challenging environment outside of their homeland. This length of stay also helped to establish the impact of immigration stress, the role of parenting, challenges in school, and changes in the home environment in their adjustment process.

Exclusion criteria. The study excluded:

Families who have migrated to Canada with refugee status as they are more vulnerable and their experiences might be different from the immigrant population. Furthermore, since their migration experiences differ from that of immigrant families, their life struggles and relationships with their child might be different.

Data collection and management

After obtaining informed written and verbal consent, data was collected by means of individual face-to-face interviews of 60 to 90 minutes in length. To provide richness and greater understanding of the topic, participants were also asked to participate in a second 60 to 90 minutes in-depth interview to enable understanding of vulnerabilities and strengths in parent-adolescent relationships of adolescent immigrants and their parents in Canada.

Method

The method for the proposed qualitative study was in-depth interviewing topics (Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest & Namey 2005). In-depth interviewing, guided by family resilience framework, served as a method to understand challenges, conflicts, and

immigration experiences of immigrant parents and adolescents throughout the transition process from leaving their own country of origin to settling in Canada.

In-depth interviews

A researcher can obtain a vivid portrait of a participant's perspective on the research topic with the help of in-depth interviewing (Mack et al., 2005). In-depth interviews were conducted face-to-face and involved one interviewer and one participant. The Bangladeshi immigrant population has an oral tradition and they value both talking and listening as a way of describing their own experiences. I came from Bangladesh and am able to speak the language of Bangladesh, Bengali. The ability to converse in their native language helped participants to express themselves in a natural manner. I interviewed the participants in their language of choice. Three of the participants gave their interviews in English while the remaining five participants interviewed in Bengali. In-depth interviewing provided me with deeper understanding of the participants' experiences at a holistic level. I tried to be engaging with participants by asking questions in an unbiased manner, listening attentively to the participants' responses, and by using probes and asking follow up questions based on initial responses (Mack, et al., 2005). During in-depth interviews, participants expressed their personal feelings, opinions and experiences, and addressed sensitive issues about their parent-adolescent relationships (Mack, et al., 2005). I explored the interviewees' experiences, feelings, hopes, and desires during the interviews (Levy & Hollan, 1998). The exploratory nature of in-depth interviewing was the best method to gain insight into the phenomenon of how immigrant parents and adolescents view their relationships and share their experiences.

I chose in-depth interviewing for my research with the goal of achieving deep knowledge and understanding of the relationship between adolescent immigrants and

immigrant parents. My in-depth interviews were semi-structured in nature. Semi-structured interviews were flexible; they allowed me to ask new questions during the interview based on the interviewee responses. A second interview was carried out on a different date to establish rapport with participants and validate their experiences. The intensity, importance, and trustworthiness of participants' responses were confirmed during the course of the interviews (Levy & Hollan, 1998). Data collection ended when I interviewed each participant twice for 60 to 90 minutes.

Following each interview I thanked the participant and expressed gratitude for their participation. The next interview date and time was set according to the participant's convenience. During subsequent interviews, I presented a summary of the previous interview as a part of member checking (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) and to ensure that what I summarized was accurate. Follow-up and clarifying questions from the previous interview were asked this time. With the participants' permission the interviews were audio recorded and I later transcribed. I always gave attention to oral cues such as intonations, pauses, and to the body languages which I wrote in my field notes soon after the interview ended. Additionally, I made use of a researcher's journal (personal notes) and recorded my reflections, opinions, emotions, and reactions throughout the research process. The field notes and researcher's journal were priceless during the data analysis phase. Field notes gave me detailed information about the participants such as his/her emotions, gestures and attitude at the time of interview. The journal reflected my thoughts, personal opinions, and self-doubts. Journal notes assisted me with further probing and conversation with the participants in the next sessions.

Demographic forms. A participant-completed demographic form (completed at the beginning of the interviews, Appendix E, Appendix F) was provided to obtain an overview of participant characteristics and inter-relationships (See table 2, table 3) in chapter four. Demographic form for adolescents enquired about age, country of origin, education, religion, age at the time of migration, year of migration and whether they came as family. Demographic form for parents enquired about age, education, gender, religion, manner of immigration, year of migration, occupation before and after they came to Canada, number of children, approximate household income/year, how many hours worked/ week and do they live with an extended family.

Type of interview questions. An interview guide (Appendix G, Appendix H), with open ended questions was developed to cover areas of inquiry. The interview questions were pilot-tested with my supervisor to assess the clarity and relevance of questions and establish face validity. To establish content validity prior to conducting interviews, two adolescents and two immigrant parents from the Bangladeshi community, not participating in the study, were asked to review the questions for appropriateness. Questions asked by the interviewer were usually open ended to capture deeper perspectives of the participant's interpretations of a situation. These broad open-ended questions allowed participants the opportunity to give voice to their experiences about their relationships as a family in Canada. Open-ended questions and sub-questions were used to elicit more information. For instance, a question that I asked was "How has the quality of the parent-child relationship between you and your parents changed after immigrating to Canada?"(Appendix H) Then to generate more information, sub-questions for this question included: If it has changed, then why do you think it has changed?

(Appendix H) Open-ended questions and sub-questions allowed participants to reveal additional aspects relevant to their individual experiences and in relation to the phenomenon of interest, i.e. what are the compromises and changes you had to make in your lifestyle to satisfy your parents?

Ethical considerations

Attention to ethical issues in qualitative research is essential (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The research study received ethical approval from Human Subject Research Committee, University of Lethbridge.

Informed and voluntary assent and consent. To meet the ethical standards, a letter of consent for parents' permission for interviewing their adolescent child (Appendix B), an assent form for adolescents (Appendix A), and a consent form (Appendix C) for the parent interview were presented to participants before interviews. After assessing their inclusion criteria, the participants were reassured before interviewing of the steps taken to maintain confidentiality, anonymity, and security of the information gathered. I reviewed the consent form with each participant at the start of the interview session to make sure they were aware of the general nature and purpose of the study, and that the consent information was understood. Support was available for several individuals who had limited skills in reading and writing English, because English was the second language for the immigrants. The participants were informed that participation was voluntary, and that each interview took approximately 60 to 90 minutes and would be held at a mutually agreed upon location. Participants signed and dated the bottom of the consent form. The consent and assent form for my research participants included relevant information about the research such as purpose, procedure, time period of

interview and a section specifying that participation was voluntary, and that participants had the right to withdraw from the study anytime and without any negative consequences. It also specified that the interview, with the permission of the interviewee, would be audio recorded for accuracy and later transcribed verbatim by the researcher. Participants were offered a copy of summary of their transcripts and they reviewed them for accuracy. Participants, who wished to have a copy of the summary of the findings of the research, were offered an opportunity on the informed consent form to provide a mail/e-mail address. All questions and inquiries were answered before obtaining their signatures on the consent and assent form. Once the consent and assent form was signed, one copy was given to the participant and one copy was stored in a locked filing cabinet at the my home for seven years, then I destroyed them as confidential waste. The participation in this research was completely voluntary. Before giving the consent for participation, I restated that participants who wished to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, could do so without any negative consequences. I also explained that if they withdrew, the information contributed to the point of withdrawal would be completely removed and disposed appropriately as confidential waste, and would not be included in the study findings. In recognition of their time and contributions to the study, participants received \$30 in cash at the end of their second interview session. I told participants that if they wished to withdraw during the study, they would still receive \$30 in cash.

Just as establishing a research relationship often takes considerable negotiations, it is morally and ethically mandatory for researchers to negotiate a meaningful closure with participants (Letherby, 2003). The exit strategy for termination of this study was very important because the research involves a vulnerable population; I had to carefully clarify

the boundaries between me (the researcher) and the participants. The participants revealed their emotions to me and conveyed opinions in their interviews. At the beginning of the study, I explained to individuals participating that my role as a researcher and interviewer would be to conduct two separate interview sessions lasting 60-90 minutes each. The relationship between researcher and participants existed for the purpose of the research and was terminated when the research came to close. I talked to the participants after their second interview about how and when the study would come to a close. All of the participants were satisfied with my explanation. They were informed that if they need further assistance with any issues, they should contact a professional counsellor and that I could provide a list of contacts in their area.

Protection of privacy and anonymity. Respect for participants' privacy was promoted through verbal and written information included in the consent agreement. The statement of confidentiality and anonymity stated that the identity of participants would not be revealed. The participants were again reassured regarding steps taken to maintain confidentiality, anonymity, and security of the information gathered.

Anonymity was provided by using pseudonyms selected by the research participants themselves. The transcripts did not contain any information regarding the participants' identities. The consent forms were stored separately from the transcription data so that it was not possible to associate a name with any given response. The tapes and transcripts were identified by a code that was only known to me. The audio-recorded interviews were destroyed as confidential waste once they had been transcribed. A password protected folder was created for the electronic copies of transcribed interviews. Those electronic copies did not contain any identifying information regarding the

participants. Although quotations from the transcripts were incorporated in the final study, no direct identifying information was used. All confidential information such as electronic files and the transcripts will be disposed of as a confidential waste seven years after completing study.

Risks and benefits of the study were explained. As the purpose of this research study was to explore vulnerabilities and strengths in parent-adolescent relationships, the interview procedure may cause emotional suffering, recollection of painful memories, or psychological anxiety. Therefore, the participants were vulnerable to emotional disturbance through disclosing their personal experiences and emotions. One participant was upset during the interview session. Immediately we took a break and I gave him some time to gather himself. I queried about distress the participant was feeling at that moment. I asked him that if he wished to stop the interview. However, he conveyed his interest to continue, and when he was emotionally settled I continued with the interview. Before leaving, as a method of good proactive professional research practice, I provided the participant with the names and telephone numbers of counselling services and encouraged him to contact a professional if further support was necessary. The next day, I called him to monitor his emotional health.

Transcribing and translating the data

The data was transcribed into written form in order to conduct a thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006). I translated and transcribed the interviews if the interviews are conducted in a language other than English and also transcribed the English interviews. I repeatedly reviewed the tape to obtain fresh view of the data and develop a holistic understanding of the interview. I listened to the audio recording and compared it to the transcripts. This technique offered a better sense of accuracy and understanding of the

whole interview. Transcripts were read many times to ensure the most complete thoughtful understanding possible. It allowed me to absorb the data and internalize thematic patterns that existed in the data.

Data analysis

Data analysis formally began after I accepted a transcript as the “raw “data that would be analyzed (Sandelowski, 1995). Bogdan and Biklen (1982, p. 145) define qualitative data analysis as “working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others.” Qualitative research is generally characterized by simultaneous collection of data and analysis of data because they mutually shape each other (Sandelowski, 2000) for attainment of general understanding of content.

Thematic analysis was my analysis strategy of choice in this qualitative study and I analyzed my data after I had completed all of my interviews. This process began in March 2013. One of the benefits of thematic analysis is its flexibility (Braun & Clark, 2006) and I used it for identifying, analyzing, and reporting themes within the data I collected (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clark (2006) suggest that thematic analysis can offer a more accessible form of analysis for those who are early in a qualitative research career. I explored the common and unique experiences among the eight participants and concurrently their family resilience. For the first couple of interviews, I requested my supervisor to help me analyze the data to better understand the process of data analysis. Subsequently, I completed this process on my own. The analysis of the

qualitative interview data was obtained through six different phases of thematic analysis based on Braun and Clark (2006).

In the first phase, I read and re-read transcripts of eight participants to familiarize myself with the data. I also noted initial ideas. Notes were prepared on significant concepts and thoughts from each interview. In the second phase of thematic analysis, I generated initial codes, by coding interesting features of the data in a systematic manner. Coding is a part of analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Thereafter, I was organizing data relevant to each code (Braun & Clark, 2006). Before I started the third phase of analysis, all of the data were initially coded and organized. In the third phase, I searched for themes and collated the codes into potential categories further combining all relevant categories to form potential themes. Initial notes were constantly studied as I attempted to interpret responses into conceptual themes. Themes were identified by "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone" (Leininger, 1985, p. 60). Quotes were constantly compared to one another to ensure they meticulously harmonized the concept of their respective themes. In the fourth phase, themes were reviewed and refined and thus, generated a thematic 'map' of the analysis. Refining the themes was done by thoroughly exploring the sets of quotes for meaning to ensure that themes were consistent and distinctive from each other. New themes or sub-themes emerged when a subset of quotes replicated a different concept from the original theme. The fifth phase was refining the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis told. Therefore, during this phase, I generated clear definitions and names for each theme. The final or sixth phase was the last opportunity for me to analyze and included selecting vivid, compelling extracts, analysing the selected extracts

as they related to my research question and the literature, and producing a scholarly report of the analysis that summarized the shared experiences of immigrant parents and adolescents as a family unit. The opinion and insight of my supervisor (Dr. Bonnie Lee) was sought throughout the data analysis process to ensure focus was accurately maintained in data categorization.

Trustworthiness

Creswell (1998) has provided nine verification methods regarding trustworthiness and recommended that a qualitative researcher must use at least two of these verification methods in qualitative research study. The trustworthiness criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) are accomplished with the subsequent nine methods: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, member checking, providing thick description, compiling an audit trail, and producing a reflexive journal (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Leninger, 1994). I used member checking, peer debriefing and prolonged engagement for credibility, thick descriptions for transferability, and the participants' own words to affirm the interpretation of the data.

Credibility. Credibility was enhanced in my study throughout the data collection phases by repeated validation of earlier summaries in subsequent interviews of participants.

Member checking. Member checking for accuracy was comprehensively carried out. Guba and Lincoln (1989) explained member checks as 'the single most critical technique for establishing credibility' (pg.239). Member checking was carried out on all data during the interview process by reviewing the summaries with the participants in

subsequent interviews and at the end of the interviews to confirm accuracy of the content. Member checking is a significant part of data analysis that is important for avoiding the distortion of participants' stories and undesired manipulation by the researchers in the interpretation.

Peer debriefing. Peer debriefing was included to establish trustworthiness where my supervisor reassessed the findings to improve the precision of the interpretations (Creswell, 2003). I included the assessment of my supervisor to enhance credibility.

Prolonged engagement. Repeated interviews were carried out for each participant. Each interview lasted approximately sixty to ninety minutes. This allowed in prolonged engagement of the participants. As a result, credibility was enhanced.

Transferability. Transferability involves evaluating if findings from one context are applicable in similar contexts (Creswell, 1998).

Thick description. In my research transferability can be determined by offering thick description of the adolescents' and their parents' experiences and extensive description of my study procedure (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Strauss & Corbin 1990). I provided thick description and presented sufficient data in order to establish transferability. Thick descriptions would enable readers to evaluate if the findings were applicable in similar contexts (Creswell, 1998). I provided thick description of my study procedure and also gave a careful description of the challenges and conflicts of parent-adolescent relationships. I provided rich and detailed accounts of participants' experiences of family resilience by examining the participants' experience as a family unit in order to facilitate transferability to future research studies (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

Dependability. Dependability can be accomplished through comprehensive and clear descriptions of the detailed steps I followed in the study. In my research it was achieved through the clear description of the study, research participants' selection, data analysis, discussion, and all the records were available and accessible for review by the committee.

Confirmability. Confirmability guarantees that qualitative research was completed correctly.

Participants' own words. To gain confirmability, participants' own words were used to confirm the interpretations of the data. Participants own words from interviews as quotations used to establish the confirmability.

Bias

Like the participants, I (principal researcher) am also a Bangladeshi immigrant may be inclined to be sympathetic towards the painful experiences of other Bangladeshi immigrants. At the same time my status helped me to better understand the cultural context of the participants' stories. To avoid any potential bias, my interpretations were discussed with Dr. Bonnie Lee, my supervisor and I incorporated her thoughts and perception to my study.

Reflection and reflexivity

The thoughts, emotions, and behaviours of the researcher influenced choices in the research process. The original intent of the study and my desire was to bring forth voices currently missing within the literature on immigrant adolescents and parents, in order to explore their relationships. Qualitative methodology was a research approach unfamiliar to me, and thus the journey over the past three years offered me a tremendous

opportunity for learning and acquiring knowledge. As an immigrant, this study was important and exciting to me and assisted me in understanding other immigrant families' experiences thus validating my own. As an immigrant I faced many challenges which provided me new ways of understanding the experiences of other immigrant families. My experiences and the dearth of research on parent-adolescent relationships in immigrant families encouraged me to explore the relationship using the resilience framework.

During the data collection process, I was prepared to learn a lot from adolescents and parents and to contribute to the academic literature on parent-adolescent relationships. I was conscious of my position as an immigrant and a researcher and drew on these roles and experiences. As the research unfolded, I discovered many new areas that were not discussed before in both Canadian and immigrant society. I was surprised to experience the extent of immigrant's challenges and their attempts to overcome those challenges. Participants faced isolation and loneliness and detachment from their immediate families which I found emotionally disturbing

The interview process empowered me as a researcher and as I conducted a second series of interviews I became more confident. The initial plan of accessing participants through immigration and community services and through recruitment posters was unsuccessful as no participants were recruited in this way. Therefore I changed my plan and all of the participants were recruited through snowball sampling and 'word of mouth'. The most effective recruitment strategy for this research was snowball sampling. For this reason I suggest future researchers consider snowball sampling as a recruitment strategy for studies about immigrants. As the research process progresses it became obvious that during the difficult process of immigration, immigrant parents and

adolescents struggled hard to harmonize their relationship. Further research could explore how family resiliency could prevent mental health problems in adolescent.

Limitations of the research

In this section, I describe the limitations of the study regarding sample selection, data collection, and trustworthiness. This research study faced limitations. For example, this qualitative study does not intend to speak accurately about the entire immigrant population as data collected from this non-random sample of respondents may not be transferable to a larger population (Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The proposed study was focused on challenges and relationships of immigrant adolescents and immigrant parents in Canada who immigrated to Canada within the past one to eight years. Therefore, the findings may not be applicable to other immigrant adolescents and immigrant parents who have lived in the country for less than one year or longer than eight years. Participants were recruited through snowballing sampling technique. It is likely that participants had established connections and developed social networks that may reflect a certain demographic stratum. Therefore, the findings may not relate to immigrant families who have not developed such resources. In this study, participants were non-refugee immigrants and also highly educated and more privileged. The challenges and relationships of immigrant adolescents and parents who came to Canada as refugees are likely to be different.

This is a descriptive study. Given the small sample size of the study, it cannot represent the challenges and relationships of all Bangladeshi adolescents and parents in Canada. The study was conducted among immigrants who lived in Calgary and Edmonton where the experiences of those living in a smaller city can be different from

living in a larger one. All of the Bangladeshi parents in this study were highly educated. Hence, the findings may not be applicable to other immigrant parents with lesser educational attainment. I focused only on female adolescent participants, and the experiences with parent-adolescent relationships of male adolescent participants may be different from them.

Chapter Four-Research Findings

In this chapter, I present the findings from the interviews of each of the eight participants. Thematic analysis revealed both common and distinct themes that emerged from reported immigrant experiences and served to provide valuable information about parent-adolescent relationships and the struggles faced by Bangladeshi immigrants in Canada.

Participants

The four adolescent participants consisted of four girls, between the ages of 14 and 17. All the participants were born in Bangladesh and immigrated to Canada with their parents between 2005 and 2010. These adolescent participants' level of education ranged from grade nine to grade twelve and all identified as Muslim. The four parent participants consisted of three women and a man, ranged in age from 43 to 50 and identified as Muslim. All of them were born in Bangladesh and immigrated between the years 2005 and 2010 with their family; only one of them lived with an extended family. All of the participants were highly educated to the masters level and, although employed in Bangladesh as physician, corporate lawyer or medical officer, held diverse occupations including sales associate and PhD student in Canada. Each worked 30-40 hours per week and annual household incomes ranged from \$36,000 to \$110,000. All of the adult participants parented two children with at least one being a female adolescent.

To protect the identity of the participants, only pseudonyms (Alisha, Zara, Neha, Ana, Ali, Tanisha, Fatema, and Zubi) were used and identifying details were deleted or altered. Outlined in Table 1 and 2 are the general demographic data of the participants.

Table 1: General demographic data of participants (Female adolescents)

Name	Alisha	Zara	Neha	Ana
Age	17	16	17	14
Country of origin	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	Bangladesh
Education	Grade 12	Grade 10	Grade 12	Grade 9
Religion	Islam	Islam	Islam	Islam
Age at the time of immigration	12	14	13	7
Year of migration	2007	2010	2008	2005
Came as family	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 2: General demographic data of participants (parents)

Name	Fatema	Ali	Tanisha	Zubi
Age	46	50	44	43
Education	Masters of law(LLM)	Masters in soil science	Masters in health science	Masters in biochemistry
Religion	Islam	Islam	Islam	Islam
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Female
Manner of immigration	Skilled migration	Skilled migration	Skilled migration	Skilled migration
Year of migration	2010	2010	2007	2005
Occupation before come to Canada	corporate lawyer	business	physician	Medical research officer
Occupation after coming to Canada	Sales associate in a shop	Lab associate	PhD student	Lab analyst
Number of children	2 (1 boy, 1 girl)	2 (1 boy, 1 girl)	2 (1 boy, 1 girl)	2(2 girls)
Approximate household income/year	\$36,000	\$36000	\$48000	\$110000
How many hours works outside/week	20-25	40	40	40
Lives with an extended family	No	No	No	Yes, with parents

Within the findings, the source of data is identified. All quotations from the participant's transcripts were coded with the following systems.

Int = Interview number (e.g. Int 1, 2, 3)

p = page number of the participant's transcript (e.g. p 3, 4)

ln = line number of the participant's transcript (e.g. ln 78, 79)

FN=Field notes

Findings are presented from the viewpoint of both the immigrant adolescent and their parents.

Struggles and challenges of adolescent immigrants

After immigrating to Canada, all the immigrant adolescents faced difficulty settling down and experienced corresponding ups and downs in their relationship with their parents. All of the immigrant adolescents had to adjust to their outside world while simultaneously maintaining relations with their family. Immigrant adolescents struggled to adapt to their new school, language, and culture in Canada. These struggles placed extra pressure on the parent-adolescent relationship and sometimes these adolescents failed to gain confidence in overcoming odds.

Struggles in school environment. Adolescence is a difficult time period for many people, but teen immigrants have to adjust to a whole new way of life at the same time. School is the first social place for an adolescent to find her social group. When the immigrant adolescents first come to Canada from their motherland they are both socially and academically isolated in their school, as Neha described:

In terms of school, starting new, studying in a new school environment yeah, I was stressed and scared. I didn't know what was going on in the school...there weren't many Bangladeshi kids at my school. None of them were even in my classes...I felt isolated and I had no friends and I used to cry after coming home. (Int: 1, p2; ln 29-32)

It is difficult to fit in if a language barrier exists and creates a social barrier for the participant. As Alisha said the classmates are not friendly to her and she did not have any friends in her school at that time:

At first I had problems in the school because I had language problem when I just moved. I had a hard time communicating in school here and students are so different here. They were not that friendly. I kind of had problems with talking to them but I tried my best and I was trying to communicate better. There was a time when I was alone and I did not have friends. My schoolmates already had friends and told me that they didn't want to add new people in their groups. (Int: 3, p5; ln 104-108)

Zara faced difficulty in communicating in English with her teachers and other students when she first came to Canada. Her classmates made fun of her accent.

I had difficulty in communicating in English with teachers and other students...then I overcame those difficulties with time...I was alone and I had no friends in the school at that time...I felt so lonely that I wanted to cry loudly...the classmates used to make fun of my accent.(Int: 5, p13; ln 263-266)

Differences in ethnicity, cultural lifestyle, and clothing set the immigrant adolescent apart from the rest of the students. Zara recalled:

I cannot wear my ethnic dresses in school. If I wear my ethnic dresses then other Canadian friends will call me FOB (fresh off the boat) and at the same time they will laugh at me. In that sense I changed a little bit. (Int: 5, p7; ln 146-148)

Zara also discussed her difficulty in maintaining outward symbols of her beliefs in her school as she was afraid of wearing ethnic dresses in her class. She saw other girls victimized by bullying because of wearing ethnic dresses:

If I wear a hijab (covering head with scarf) in school I look different than other adolescent girls of my age and maybe no Canadian girl will accept me as their friend. As I saw before they teased the girls who wear their ethnic dresses in the school. I don't want to be the victim of their bullying in the school. It is difficult to adjust Canadian culture itself. I don't want to make it more difficult by wearing a hijab. (Int: 5, p12; ln 240-244)

Another participant, Ana, faced the same kind of humiliation in her school when she tried to practice her religious beliefs. Like others, she felt the need to attenuate any visible

differences to gain acceptance by her peers. This led to the suppression of her own religious and cultural identity. According to Ana:

I have very little control over the school environment; I had to attend the classes and could not choose who was with me. If my values, dress, and way of life is different from most other teenagers, it will be more difficult for me. That is why I try to avoid showing my ethnic identity at my school. I do not want to be teased or humiliated by my schoolmates. At first I wanted to wear hijab or wanted to do fasting in Ramadan but the schoolmates were mocking at me and I became very upset. (Int: 7, p2; ln 22-27)

She also explained how she felt being a member of a minority:

I don't like to be bullied in my school. When I started my high school, a couple of my classmates were ridiculing me with questions like "Do you wear a hijab"? I was raised in Canada but that had no effect on their criticism... having a different skin colour and being of South Asian origin gave them an excuse to mock me. (Int: 7, p2; ln 28-32)

Most of the immigrant parents felt more comfortable when the adolescent child went to the school with other immigrant kids. One of the parents, Ali said:

My daughter goes to a school in Calgary where most of the students are immigrants...that is why she does not feel alienated...my daughter is happy in her new school...and I am happy too about her school environment.(Int: 10, p5; ln 87-89)

Another immigrant parent, Tanisha, gave her opinion of her daughter's school environment:

About the school environment I have to accept the difference. In my country the culture, the social norms are different. So, I cannot expect my culture in her school in Canada. So, definitely it is different. Sometimes I really don't like when I go to her school. I don't like the way the kids are behaving with their teacher or with the other guardians, the way they are mixing with their friends. (Int: 11, p7; ln 163-167))

Immigrant parent Fatema expressed her fear about her daughter's adoption of the new Canadian culture instead of maintaining her own culture. For example, Christmas was becoming more important to her adolescent daughter than her own religious festival

because she was getting vacations for Christmas but not for the Eid. She blamed her daughter's school for her daughter's losing touch with her own culture:

Most of the schools give one and a half weeks of vacation for Christmas but they do not give any vacation for Eid. Eid is the biggest festival in our religion but in this way my daughter loses interest in celebrating her own religious festivals. (Int: 13, p9; ln 184-186)

Another parent, Zubi, had a similar opinion about her daughter's school and her daughter's disinterest in maintaining her own religious belief:

During Christmas time, there are some activities in the school like exchanging gifts, writing letter to Santa Claus, singing Christmas carols. I do not like having my children practicing these activities. Another problem is that my daughter has difficulty with peers who do not understand her faith or culture, especially if there are noticeable signs of faith like Muslims fasting during Ramadan. Sometimes they mocked her or teased her and she burst into tears when she came home. (Int:15 , p6; ln 107-109,111-113)

Immigrant adolescents experienced mockery because of visible differences in dress code, skin colour, and cultural practices. In an effort to gain acceptance and to avert bullying, they often tried to blend in by adopting the ways and practices of the dominant culture. Their parents expressed dismay when the adolescents experienced upset from their school encounters. They were also disappointed by their adolescents' changing attitudes towards their elders and their own religion and customs. Struggling to integrate into Canadian society made these immigrant adolescents and parents anxious thus affecting their relationships.

Adopting new culture. Adolescence is the time when every adolescent makes an effort to achieve independence while remaining attached to the family. This transition often creates tensions as adolescents redefine their roles and status in their family while adopting new cultures and norms from their surroundings. One of the adolescent participants, Neha, chose to assimilate in her new culture and left her old religious

practices behind. Her mother was wearing hijab but she was not willing to do so. She thought it would be odd because she lived in a society where the majority practice

Christianity:

I do have very strong religious views and beliefs but at the same time in order to work together within the community you live in where the majority is Christianity, you kind of have to reconsider some of the things. For example, in Islam it is told that you supposed to be completely covered all the time. In contrast, when I was in Medina, I was always covered by cloth and wore a hijab that was accepted by society. That was what every one of us did in Medina. If I do that here, it would be a little odd. (Int: 1, p5; ln 80-85)

Neha admitted her parents had more established, deeper cultural and religious values than she did because they had lived in Bangladesh for a longer. At the same time, Canadian culture is more attractive and easier to adopt for Neha who was just thirteen when she came to Canada; she seems to have a stronger identification with Canadian culture than to her ethnic culture.

Especially for culture, my parents spent half of their lives back in my country. I have not spent my youth in Bangladesh. I spent my youth here in Canada; I get more caught up with Canadian culture than my own ethnic culture (Int: 1, p5-6; ln 102-104)

Adolescents usually adapt more quickly to the cultural values and social codes of the new society than their parents who were not willing to accept change easily. As Alisha reported her parents were not willing to accept her wish to wear short dresses because of their religious values. This brings a conflict into their parent-adolescent relationships.

My parents are not okay with me wearing short dresses like other Canadian girls. They expect me to have my dress down to my knees at least and they expect me not to wear sleeveless clothing because of the religious value. Sometimes I don't really mind but sometimes I do because I want to wear those dresses, they are so nice and I want to be like other Canadian girls. (Int: 3, p3; ln 46-50)

Sometimes drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes seems attractive to teenagers but when these actions are not allowed by their immigrant parents, rebellion may occur. This rebellion may cause disruption in parent-adolescent relationships. Neha commented:

I am not allowed to wear shorts like girls in white cultures, not allowed to drink alcohol, not allowed to smoke cigarettes and things like that. These are the normal and simple things a white teenager would do. (Int1, p 6; ln 116-118)

Striving to assimilate into Canadian culture, all the adolescent participants wanted to take part in a sleepover with friends. However, their parents were not willing to give permission for them to sleep over at their friend's house. The immigrant adolescent gets different messages about their identity from their parents, peer, and Canada. They try to fit in their new culture and society. Canadian culture seems to be more attractive than Bangladeshi culture to the Bangladeshi adolescent immigrants.

Another parent, Ali, faced this problem when her daughter wanted to follow Canadian lifestyle. Ali tried to convince his daughter that following Canadian culture was not good for her and that they should maintain their own Bangladeshi culture and religion. He expressed his agony and frustration and believed that if he forced her she would not listen to him; he failed to cultivate his own culture in his daughter. He did not view this crisis as a manageable situation and subsequently viewed his immigration with some regret.

I tell her that in our culture and lifestyle, family and family relationships come first...family and family relationships are the most important things in our life...in Canadian culture, values of family and relationships are secondary in their life...in Canadian culture today is the most important thing, they do not think about tomorrow... I don't want my daughter to follow Canadian lifestyle...I want her to follow our culture and religion...sometimes I feel that it was a wrong decision to come Canada...I can sense that I failed to cultivate our own cultural and religious values. (Int: 9, p6; ln 136-142)

Another participant, Fatema, said that although it was unacceptable to her, her daughter was eager to maintain Canadian culture. Their parent-adolescent relationship changed as the daughter tried hard to adopt the new culture despite her mother's concern that she would soon forget her ethnic identity. Many conflicts occurred between them due to their differing attitudes and behaviours about embracing Canadian cultural values and beliefs and maintaining the values and beliefs of Bangladesh; Fatema views the values and beliefs of the two countries to be in opposition. Her daughter was not willing to participate in a Bangladeshi cultural program. It seems like she is willing to ignore her own ethnic identity. As a parent, she has little confidence in her ability to change the current situation and little hope for restoring the relationship.

The quality of parent-child relationships has changed a lot after immigrating to Canada... sometimes I think it was way better than when we were in Bangladesh...for the socio-cultural adaptation my adolescent daughter wants to assimilate with her Canadian friends... she wants to behave, dress up, and talk like them and I am not feeling good about this...I am feeling like I am losing my daughter and she is changing a lot...and one day will come when I will not communicate with her anymore...she will be a total stranger to me (Int: 13, p5; ln 91-96).

Another parent, Zubi, viewed her daughter's desire to maintain Canadian culture as natural although it created distance between them. They did not have any common topics to talk about. Her daughter would like to chat about the English movie rather than enjoying her own ethnic origin movies. Zubi was anxious because of the alienation of her daughter from her ethnic culture.

My daughter wanted to go out on a weekend night to see a new Hollywood blockbuster rather than spending the weekend with her family watching a popular Bangladeshi movie...she would like to chat about the English movie rather than enjoying her own ethnic origin movies... we don't have any common cultural topics to talk about...I tried to have a chat about our cultural movies or festivals or foods...but she seemed bored when I started talking about those topics...it is not her fault...she is growing up in Canadian culture...but I would be very happy if she adopts our culture too... I prefer our culture that instils respect for elders and

their experience in life...Canadian culture lacks those things. (Int: 15, p4; ln 74-81)

One of the parents, Tanisha, likes how Canadian culture fosters independence in young people. She encouraged her daughter to be independent and that creates a special bond between them. Cooperative parenting is a positive factor for gaining resilience. She found that:

The first thing is that maybe in Bangladesh she will not get that independence. So, now we also encourage her like other Canadian youth why don't you become independent... you have to move independently. You cannot rely upon your parents. You need to work. These are good sides of the Canadian culture. I think every kid should adopt this culture because it not harmful. If she can adopt these kinds of things definitely I will appreciate it. (Int: 12, p1; ln 4-8)

According to Neha, her parents encouraged her to keep up with the lifestyles here in Canada and at the same time to hold on to her roots, origin, and values. Neha's parent gave her adequate guidance and nurturance, at the same time they showed tolerance for ambiguity and paradoxes.

They do encourage me to participate and to keep up with the Canadian lifestyle but they told me to keep my morals and values at the same time. (Int: 1, p7; ln 140-141)

Adolescent participant, Alisha, described her parent's feelings about her maintaining Canadian lifestyles. Alisha's parents were accepting the fact that their young daughter would seek independence and that is very normal. Her parents were willing to give that independence in a controlled manner. Alisha was mature enough to understand that if her parents gave her more freedom it could be bad for her. This understanding was a positive factor in building and maintaining a strong relationship between them.

Sometimes they are okay with it, sometimes they really don't like if I go too fast. They did not like it before when I first moved here and when I wanted to go to the mall with my friends. They will tell me, oh you cannot because you are too young, you shouldn't. Now, they kind of allow me like they give me independence, but not that much. (Int: 3, p3; ln 42-45)

Adolescents try to practice the social norms of their new world although it may seem unnecessary to their parents and may bring conflict into their relationship. When Zara told her mom she wanted to be like her other Canadian friends, her mom said that she did not need to be like them. Zara expressed her anguish by telling her mom that she will never understand what it is like growing up within Canadian society. Absence of mutual respect and individual feelings brings sadness.

Sometimes I feel sad that my mom is never going to understand what I feel. I have an urge to live like other Canadian adolescents do but I cannot do so because I came from a Muslim Bangladeshi family. When I see other Canadian adolescents I wish I could dress up like them, live like them. (Int: 5, p9; ln 174-177)

Adolescent Ana felt great about maintaining Canadian lifestyle because she has grown up here and lived in Canada for most of her life although she thought her parents were not happy about her changes. Ana was growing up in two different cultures. At home, she was expected to follow the traditional Bangladeshi culture and be respectful. That was a lot of stress on her. As she saw things on TV about how the Canadian culture is so much more liberal and open-minded compared to her own ethnic culture. When she expressed her thoughts to her parents, they did not like her words. She expressed her dilemma in belonging to two cultures:

I want to fit in, but by the same token I know I have to obey my parents. Which culture do I belong to? I am on the margin...we, the immigrant adolescents, are marginalized... I have two cultures and I have to adapt to both...I have to. That's just how it is. I shouldn't feel bad...I am not an alien, I am a human. (Int: 7, p3; ln 60-64)

Diminishing old world. The adolescents felt alienated from their old world. Often this alienation arose because of detachment from former cultural activities such as ethnic festivals that the smaller resettled Bangladeshi community celebrated on a smaller scale

or lacked interest in celebrating at all. Absence of social and community networks also weaken family resilience. As Alisha said:

Our Eid is completely different here in Canada because in Bangladesh we celebrate Eid (religious festival) in a big way. Here we don't even do anything; we stayed at home, which is really boring (Int: 3, p2; ln 36-38)

Neha reported that the Bangladeshi community used to celebrate Bengali festivals but that the celebration was not as large as it had been in Bangladesh, and she felt a diminution of the joy associated with these festivals:

I like to celebrate my ethnic cultural festivals but not as much I would have if I were back in my country. Because even if they do celebrate those things here within the community, the celebration of cultural and religious festivals is much smaller and much lower in quality compared to Bangladesh. (Int: 1, p4; ln 74-77)

Zara told about her lack of interest in celebrating her ethnic festivals here in Canada. The way she used to celebrate Bengali New Year in Bangladesh was not comparable to the celebration in Canada and ethnic festivals were not as enjoyable as they were in Bangladesh due to a lack of grandeur:

Celebrating Bengali new year in Canada is a lot more different than in Bangladesh...it is not enjoyable to me at all...the way we celebrate Bengali New Year in Bangladesh is not comparable to the program we celebrate here in Canada...I tried hard to celebrate the program here... but when I compare it to celebrations in Bangladesh I feel depressed. (Int: 5, p3; ln 49-53)

Ana also expressed her mental agony for not knowing her culture and religion properly. She felt she was caught in the middle of two different cultures. She was not acceptable to Canadian society due to her ethnic identity, but at the same time was unacceptable to her ethnic community due to her ignorance of ethnic culture:

I think I am caught in the middle, I am not fully Canadian because of my looks, but not truly Bangladeshi because of my Canadian attitudes and my lack of knowledge in the Bangladeshi culture and festivals...now I feel I should know more about Bangladeshi culture, festivals, and language and also about our religion which is very important for our life (Int: 7, p1; ln 16-20)

Losing touch with their old world brings a sense of nostalgia and apathy in being a part of a larger community. With the loss of the symbols and value system embedded in cultural rituals and practices, Bangladeshi immigrant parents feel undermined in their attempts to instil values and guidelines for behaviour and decision making in their children which made parenting more of a challenge in Canada. Ali felt despite his eagerness to build up the cultural and religious values within his daughter, he failed to do so because of Canadian culture. Ali also viewed Canadian culture as having no particular rules and regulations and, permitting youth to do as they wished. His daughter also thought that she should have the freedom to do anything according to her wishes. As a parent, Ali told his daughter to maintain religious values and keep a boundary and stay in a limit. Parents often felt unsupported and helpless in maintaining old culture and values.

I cannot force her in Canada even though she is my child...I should have that right to force her if she does anything wrong but I don't have that right here...moreover my daughter is in her adolescence...so if I try to force her to do anything...it will cause more harm to our relationship...if I want to impose my decision over her, she will react badly because of her age...many of my friends have that experience with their adolescent children.(Int: 9, p4; ln 83-87)

Parents often find it challenging to make their adolescent child maintain their own ethnic culture and religion. Ali wants his adolescent child to maintain ethnic cultural and religious traditions. He tells her about cultural and religious values. He fears that if he is unable develop cultural and religious values within her daughter, she will begin to adopt Canadian culture, which is not pleasant to him. He thought ethnic cultural and religious values teach someone to make right decisions in their life and that these cultural and religious values strongly influence their identity in Canada. He is nothing without his own culture and religion and desires the tradition of youth respecting elders and accepting their decision without arguments. As Ali said:

and it is really challenging to guide her to maintain cultural and religious values...often I tell my daughter to pray regularly...sometimes she listen to me....sometimes not...as a parent I try heart and soul to guide her...sometimes I fail... I become angry and depressed at that time...but I cannot force her to maintain my ethnic culture and religion...the social system of Canada does not support that...I can tell her again and again to maintain the religious practice...but I cannot force her to do so (Int: 9, p5; ln 95-100)

Parent Zubi voiced that managing a teenage is itself a hard job and it was becoming more difficult when she tried to raise her according to her culture in a different country like Canada.

Parenting is a tough job specially in Canada...the value system of Canada is totally opposite to our value system...they believe in freedom, individualism...but we believe family comes first...we should listen to our elders and obey their decisions without questioning... it is really difficult to transmit our values to our adolescent daughter because she gets totally opposite education from her school and peer group. (Int: 15, p8; ln 167-171)

Differences in values and morals. Differences in values and morals created differences in parent-adolescent relationships upon migration. According to Neha, her parents have much higher cultural and religious values than she does because they lived in Bangladesh longer. With their origin, morals, ideas and values, their lifestyles are a lot different than Canadian lifestyles. Neha thinks Canadian parents have different morals than her parents. Bangladeshi parents especially have different ideas about relationships and dating. Some adolescents are able to empathize with their parent's dilemma:

We live here and we see the Canadian society. Thus to us it seems unfair. If you ask our parents, it is completely fair to them to give us limited freedom because of the differences in ideas and morals. (Int: 1, p9; ln 181-183)

Most immigrant families show overt strictness which causes conflict with their children who are unable to understand their parents' values system. Parents have different beliefs about dating or sleepover issues than their adolescent children which often causes dissonance in their relationship. Ali became very worried when her daughter wished to

have a sleepover at her friend's house. Whenever Ali did not permit her daughter to sleep over she became sad and requested him again and again to give permission. Sometimes she argued with her dad that every friend of hers was allowed to stay at their friend's house at night, only she was not permitted to do so. That brought unpleasant interactions and arguments.

If my daughter wants to spend the night in her friend's house I become very worried...my daughter told me that I am a mad father...but I cannot control myself...I am a patient of hypertension...I became tensed and sick if she wants to spend the night at her friend's house. (Int: 9, p12; ln 249-251)

Fatema would never allow her daughter to spend the night in her friend's house as she did not feel safe either with this arrangement. Her daughter could visit her friend's house at any time but she is not allowed to spend the night at their house.

My daughter asked me once to have permission to spend night in her friend's houses...I strictly told her, "that is not in our culture and I will not allow you to spend nights in any of your friend's house"... and she did not accept my decision...we have argument over that. (Int: 13, p8; ln 156-159)

Neha reported that if it was her best friend, then she should be allowed to spend nights in her friend's house. If the friend was someone who her parents did not know very well or they did not know her parents very well then they would not allow her to stay over at night.

Allowing me to stay over at my best friend's house, yes, I would ask my parents for permission to stay over at my friend's house. For my other friends who my parents don't know very well, I don't bother asking them because it will just bring more complications and arguments in our relationships (Int: 1, p10; ln 201-204)

Zara's dad would not allow her to stay the night in a friend's house. If she was a very good friend of Zara or even if her parents knew her friend's parents very well, they would not allow her to stay over at night because of their over protectiveness and tension involving adolescents in crime or drugs.

My parents don't want me to stay outside without them at night; maybe my parents are a little bit overprotective. Sometimes news channels show that friends do harm to their friends like they involve their friends in crime or drugs. I think this type of news makes them think that I should not stay over at any friend's house at night. I feel bad about their decision but they do not care about my feelings (Int: 5, p4; ln 104-109)

Bangladeshi parents show strictness over their daughter's dating issues and all of the parents said dating is not acceptable to them because dating is prohibited in Islam. Parent Ali would never give his daughter permission if she wanted to date someone.

it is impossible for me to tolerate it if she wants to date someone now...she is too young to go on a date...she is only sixteen...I know it is normal in Canada that one can go for a date at sixteen...but I will not accept that anyways...our religion does not accept dating someone before marriage (Int: 9, p12; ln 256-259)

As a Muslim parent, the issue of dating can be particularly hard for Fatema. It is such a common practice in North America but is not permitted in mainstream Bangladeshi or Muslim culture. Fatema was explaining to her daughter what her family and religious values were regarding dating. She told her daughter to consider that she were raised in a culture where dating is prohibited.

Some days ago, my daughter has started asking me about dating boys in her class... I was shocked to hear that she could be thinking of having dates in spite of her religious and cultural values ... I want to convince her not to date, but at the same time I don't want to behave like a typical Muslim parent (Int: 13, p8; ln 165-168)

Alisha expressed a different opinion about the dating issue; her parents had no problem if she wanted to date someone but she did not wish to go for a date at her young age.

Communication is the key on these matters and opportunities for the adolescents to discuss choices with parents is essential.

I would like to go outside with my friends but not with a single person on a date. If I date someone my parents don't mind because I talked to them about dating. They said they are okay with it because they dated when they were young and they got married to each other. They did not really tell me not to date or anything. I just think it is not the right time (Int: 3, p 16; ln 327-331)

If Zara liked someone and she asked her parents for permission to go for a date, they would not permit it as dating is not allowed in Bangladesh. According to Zara some people did that in Bangladesh but it was not socially acceptable. Adolescents in Bangladesh might have a boyfriend or girlfriend but they had to hide it from their parents. Growing up in a society that did not allow dating, her parents struggled to accept that dating was normal and accepted in Canada. Since Zara was uncomfortable explaining her parents' feelings about dating to her Canadian friends, she socialized with her ethnic friends. Zara could share her feelings with them because they had a similar kind of family structure and the same kind of problems.

If I want to mix with any boy as my friend maybe they will allow me to hang out with him but they will not allow me to go for a date with any Canadian boy. They will feel insecure about my safety and also we have some religious boundaries. They want me to have a Muslim boy as my life partner. Actually they want me to have a Bangladeshi boy as a life partner (Int: 5, p 6; In 112-115)

Gender discrimination. *Gender discrimination* defines as discrimination based on a person's gender or sex, which more often affects girls and women. In Bangladeshi context, gender discrimination faced by daughter may view as differential treatment of sons and daughters by their parents Male adolescents are more privileged and get more freedom in their lifestyles than female adolescents. Many of the adolescent females faced gender discrimination in their house. According to them, their brothers were more privileged. When Alisha was in grade eight; she joined Facebook without telling her parents because they did not allow her to have an account on Facebook or Hotmail. When her mom found out that she had a Facebook and an email account she became angry with her. She told her that she was too young to get email or Facebook. Alisha was really upset at that time when she knew that her brother was allowed to have Facebook on his sixth grade which shows gender discrimination:

My younger brother still gets a lot more freedom than I did when I was his age. He is in grade six and he has Facebook. I noticed that he is already getting a lot of freedom that I did not get when I was his age. (Int 4, p 4; ln 70-72)

According to Ali, his son got more freedom than his daughter because as a parent he is more protective of his daughter. His daughter thought her parents were showing gender discrimination and that they loved her brother more.

He did not give his daughter more freedom because he thought unlimited freedom would spoil his daughter and he is very sensitive about her dating issues. Because of that his daughter misunderstood him and blamed her parents for gender discrimination. (FN 4, p 1, ln 13-16)

Pressure of parent's expectation. Conflicts between parents and adolescents arise from too many expectations of parents for their children. One adolescent expressed she felt split between her desire to fit into her peer group and her desire to fulfill her parent's expectations. Pushing the adolescents too far beyond limits may do more harm than good. Ana felt her parents focused more on her academic achievement not recognizing that Ana was struggling socially because of her south Asian origin. She felt she should have liberty to choose her profession and told her parents that she wanted to be a veterinarian, whether they liked it or not. She thought her parents should respect her decision rather than push her to have another career.

Of course, marks are important for my future, but they alone are not the only determinant in terms of potential career success or quality of life in Canada. I believe passion is the best way to make a livelihood. I want to be a veterinarian because I love animals...but my parents tell me to choose any other profession like doctor or engineer...it's about my future and my life. (Int 7, p 2; ln 36-40)

Parents of immigrant children often focus more on high academic achievement and do not identify that their children are also struggling in their social lives. Zara said she feels pressured due to her parent's high expectations about her academic achievement.

My parents' want me to study a health related subject or become a physician. My parents told me that maybe it will take ten to fifteen years to become a physician

but that I will feel proud of being a physician and will realize that I did a good job by becoming a physician, maybe I have to study for a long time. It is worth it to become a physician. That is why they are inspiring me to study hard to get a chance of medical school. Most of the time I feel very pressurized due to their expectations. (Int 5, p 10; ln 209-214)

Alisha's parents expected her to study more, to work hard, and not to be lazy. So, it was not that easy for her to fulfill their expectations. Her parents wanted her to have a profession of their choice and that brings a conflict in their relationship. Alisha did compromise her dreams. Alisha expressed that education-wise there was a lot of pressure because her parents want her to be successful; they wanted her to go in to a good university, do something positive with her future and what she really wanted she often did not get that. She was frustrated due to the pressure of her parents' high expectations.

I wanted to be a fashion designer as I said before and my mom thinks that it is not a very good profession. So, she gives me the option and tells me the other stuff that kind of link to fashion designing but she really does not understand that I really have a passion for it. So there is a bit of pressure... she wants me to do something that I really don't want to. (Int 3, p 15; ln 298-302)

Tanisha thought that parental guidance was very necessary for securing her children's future and that they were not able to decide their future in their teenage years. This belief seemed to place pressure on her daughter and disrupted the harmony of the parent-adolescent relationship, as I noted in my field notes:

She told me that she would never force her daughter in her future plans but to me during the interview I found that she is kind of pressurizing her daughter about her career plans and sometimes fails to appreciate her daughter's efforts to fulfil her expectation. (FN 3, p 1; ln 11-13)

Importance of the ethnic cultural and religious values to adolescents and parents

Most of the adolescents loved their traditional foods, dresses, and clothes. Seeking reconnection to their old culture was a positive way to build family resilience. Adolescent

Neha said she missed her ethnic cultural festivals here in Canada and identified them as one thing she missed from her home country.

I miss those cultural festivals here. They are one of the few things that I really do miss about Bangladesh and where I am from. I think that those are the things I miss most about Bangladesh that they don't have here. (Int: 1, p4; ln 70-72)

Alisha said her parents did not force her to maintain her ethnic cultural values and attend to festivals. She maintained her culture because she loved her culture and her parents did not have to force her to maintain her culture or religion.

They don't force me but I already love my culture. So, already I follow it. They don't have to pressure me to do anything for my culture or my religion. (Int: 3, p4; ln 71-72)

Zara stated that religious values and practice were very important for her and became more important when she came to Canada. When she was in Bangladesh she never thought deeply about her religious values. After coming to Canada she started to pray every day.

It is very important for me indeed. I never thought deeply about my religious values when I was in Bangladesh. When I was in Bangladesh I did not maintain my religious practice at all. When I come here in Canada, I have plenty of time on my hands so; I started to pray every day regularly. (Int: 5, p4; ln 55-57)

She further stated that in Bangladesh her mom was so busy with her work that she did not have enough time to pressure her to maintain her cultural and religious practice. If her dad had leisure time, he spent it with his friends. But after coming to Canada the scenario has been changed. Her parents were always at home after their work and asked her to maintain her religious practice and she was happy about that.

After coming to Canada my parents are always home after their work. That is why they get enough time to show concern about our cultural and religious practices. They don't pressure me to maintain my religious and cultural practice but they ask me to maintain my culture and I am happy to do so. (Int: 5, p4; ln 71-74)

Adolescent Ana said that before migration her ethnic culture and religion were not so important for her because she was too young to think about those things. However, it was now important for her because as a Bangladeshi-born Canadian she felt she should know more about her culture, language, and religion in order to gain acceptance from others and who share her ethnic culture.

Before migration, it was not so important for me...I was too young to think about culture or religion then...but now it is important for me... I'm a Bangladeshi born Canadian... Not a very pleasant position to grow up in, with a feeling of a lack of acceptance from both cultures "Bangladeshi and Canadian" ...now I feel I should know more about Bangladeshi culture, festivals, and language and also about our religion which is very important for our life. (Int: 7, p1; ln 13-16, 18-20)

Parents of adolescent children also desire to remain connected to their own culture and want this connection for their children, too. Shared culture is a factor that has a positive impact on family cohesion. Ali thought that maintaining his cultural rituals and beliefs was very important for his own existence. He wanted his daughter to maintain her own ethnic cultural and religious values, too in order to create a strong family bond. He felt that if she did not respect her own ethnic culture and religion, she would not respect her parents either. Ali thought his ethnic culture and religion define who he is and shapes his identity. According to Ali, his ethnic cultural and religious values would give his daughter self-control and would teach her values of family. If she did not have that self-control she may be negatively influenced by Canadian culture, a situation that Ali did not want at all.

Our religious values will create barriers hindering her from taking everything from Canadian culture. It is very important to reserve our values and ethnicity...maintaining religious values and practice is part of my life...I want my adolescent daughter to maintain those values to have control over her life and guide and prevent her from doing wrong things in her life. (Int: 9, p3; ln 63-67)

Fatema wanted her daughter to practice her first language at least when at home and in her own ethnic community. She told her daughter to speak Bengali at home and to try to have her own ethnic group of friends.

I know if my daughter does not want to practice her heritage language, it will be very hard to feel deeply connected to her ethnic culture. Without practicing the native language, my daughter will lose important family relationships because our language is a significant part of who we are. Emotions do not translate well into the English. (Int: 13, p9; ln 193-196)

To Fatema, religious practices were much more important than cultural practices. She thought religion should have highest priority in an individual's life. She used to tell her daughter to do her regular prayer everyday and to read their holy book, the Quran.

I am afraid maybe the next generation will lose their cultural and religious values after staying in this country for a long time...but I want to preserve my cultural and religious values...so I tell my daughter to pray regularly and maintain the religious practice as much as she can. (Int: 14, p3; ln 63-66)

Tanisha also wanted her teenage children to know about her ethnic culture and festivals. After moving to Canada, she missed her religious festival, Eid, and found she was not able to celebrate her festivals because she did not get leave from work or vacation time.

For my kids I want them to know about those cultural festivals. I miss the Eid festivals which are big religious festivals; we cannot celebrate those festivals here because we do not get the leave for our religious festivals. I want my kids to remember those days and know the culture and if possible they will follow the way I follow these festivals. (Int: 12, p7; ln 148-151)

Zubi shared that it was a lot more challenging for her to make her daughter participate in her ethnic cultural and religious practices and to maintain corresponding values. Her daughter was born and raised as a Muslim girl, but was reluctant to practice her beliefs in Canada. In other words, she was shown how to pray but was not willing to do so regularly.

She does fasting occasionally but when she has a school exam or any other excuse she does not fast. And I told her that it was ok not to fast...I know it is wrong...maybe I should push her a little bit more to pray or to do fasting...but maybe pushing her too much will cause a negative impact on her... we are sacrificing our desires to maintain our religion for our daughter's happiness. (Int: 15, p8; ln 158-162)

Immigration experiences affecting parent-adolescent relationship

Neha reported that the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship changed between her and her parents after they moved to Canada, and that it improved. When she moved here at thirteen she was just entering adolescence, but was now seventeen. According to her, she was starting to be viewed as the responsible daughter her parents wanted her to be. The immigration experience gave her confidence and was positive because it forced her to deal with trust issues between her and her parents. Her relationship with her parents was significantly improved after her arrival to Canada.

I think we sorted out our trust issues. I think before they wouldn't have trust me as much as they do now. Because if you like being here in Canada it helped me gain that trust they have on me now that they would not have before. Again may be it is has something with me growing up eventually. (Int: 1, p12; ln 234-237)

Alisha described the relationship with her parents as being relatively unchanged. She did note that they were closer in Canada because they had more time to talk to each other.

Right now it is kind of the same as it was before. Not a big change. We are closer right now, my mom and dad...we always talk; we always have time for each other...before we did too but there my dad was kind of busy sometimes...and my mom was to...but I don't see a lot of change in our relationship. It is kind of the same. (Int: 3, p5; ln 99-102)

Zara thought that her relationship with her parents would not change due to time or place although she acknowledged that other relationships may. Moreover, she thought that her relationship with her parents was getting better after coming to Canada because her dad is able to spend enough time at home.

when I was at Bangladesh my dad used to be busy with his friends...he was only at home on weekends... he loved to hang out with his friends...I did not mind at that time...I was thinking that dad had nothing to do at home...now we stay together at home...mom cooks lunch and dinner for us and we love to have meals together...and dad gives us his company and I enjoy my dad's company a lot. (Int: 6, p6; ln 118-122)

Alisha and her parents blamed each other for their suffering in their new homeland.

Alisha said there were some things that her parents said that actually bothered her and she would not have to face those things if the family had not immigrated to Canada. When they were arguing or she disappointed them with her grades, they always said they came to Canada give her better future. At that time she thought they actually did not come solely for her future but because they wanted a better life, too. If they actually came for her, she believed they would not be moving to different provinces. Since being in Canada she attended four high schools in four years. It was really difficult for her because every school had different curriculum and studies.

When I moved from Lethbridge to Calgary, the subjects that I studied Lethbridge that was not here... I could not continue my studying in the same way. When my parents said that oh it's because of your future or it's because of you our family moved, then I think if it is actually for me then why would you move to Canada because it is not benefiting me; it actually makes things worse for me. They say few things and I tell them not to say they moved to Canada for me because it is not true, just don't give that excuse to me. (Int: 4, p6; ln 118-123)

Ana thought that the parent-adolescent relationship between her and her parents was different in Canada compared to Bangladesh. She thought that the relationship was changed because of the teen culture in Canada. Teen culture in Canada emphasizes friendships with peers more than relationships with parents.

Most teens hang out with their peers. I want to spend my free time with my friends and want to be independent like my friends. According to the Islamic culture my parents want me to spend more time with them than I do with other Canadian friends. (Int: 7, p6; ln 129-131)

Ali expressed he had conflict with his teenage daughter because she is an adolescent girl who, in a new country, wants to explore every new opportunity in her life. These conflicts are caused by their immigration and also because of his daughter's age.

After coming to Canada my daughter become a little independent than before...she just let us inform about her activity like if she is going to watch a movie with her friend or going to mall with her friends...which I do not like at all...then we have arguments about this...my daughter does not get my point that she is still young to hanging out with her friends alone. (Int: 10, p1-2; ln 20-24)

Tanisha did not think that immigration experiences changed the parent-adolescent relations significantly. Her daughter was growing up and she became closer and friendlier than before. They shared their feelings with each other and thus built up mutual empathy.

Maybe because of immigration she does not have a lot of friends. I don't have my friends and relatives here. So, when we get time we used to talk to each other and we shared a lot of things like I shared my childhood stories, stories about my friends. She knows everything. She knows when I met her father, how we got married. So, I really don't think that immigration changed our relationship that much. The relationship is good and we spend lots of time with each other. On weekends we used to talk, we used to talk about our culture and religion. We used to talk about our hopes and dreams. (Int: 11, p4; ln 87-93)

Immigration experiences affect parent-adolescent relationships in both positive and negative ways. Due to a shared immigration experience, they became closer to each other by sharing their thoughts and mutual empathy. At the same time, some adolescents and parents blamed one another for the turmoil experienced during the immigration journey and the subsequent conflict in their relationship.

Struggles and challenges of immigrant parents

Similar to the adolescent immigrants, immigrant parents face multiple immigration stressors in course of their immigration journey in Canada. Parental stress caused by the loss of employment, status, economic challenges and difficult parenting experiences could spill over into parent-adolescent relationship.

Generation gap between parents and adolescents. The generation gap between adolescents and their parents created an obstacle to sharing feelings with one another. Neha said that there was a huge generation gap between her and her parents. Her parent did not understand half of the things that are ‘okay’ now but were ‘not okay’ for their generation. A difference in what was considered “okay” played a major role in conflicts between them. According to her, her parent’s viewed Canadian adolescents as wild. Her parents had an exaggerated idea of what Canadian adolescents of her age did and she did not really blame her parents as they did not spend time with adolescents of her age.

They just hear things about Canadian adolescents that are happening around or are featured on the news or are what other people say. That’s why they build up their own ideas about Canadian adolescents. But what they hear are the exaggerated ideas about the people of my age. (Int: 2, p1; ln 7-10)

Alisha expressed her feelings about the impact of the generation gap in her parent-adolescent relationship. Her parents did not like her to text all the time and there were always conflicts although they were not that bad.

Sometimes they don’t understand what we want because our generation has obviously changed. There are some things that are kind of okay now-a-days but were not in their time. So, they kind of told me that I cannot do this because it is not a good thing; you should not stay on the computer late. It is kind of like when everyone is using their computer late-night, everyone is texting. (Int: 3, p5; ln 90-93)

Ana felt that they had an intergenerational gap in their parent-adolescent relationship because things had been changed by time and new ways of living. While she was growing up in Canada, her parents lived most of their life in Bangladesh. She was living her life in a different culture and different environment that her parents would not understand. It was not necessary that she had to like things that her parents used to like 20 or 30 years prior.

In the same way behaviours, fashions, and attitudes also change over time... my parents don't realize the current requirements for the new generation... my dad goes on giving examples of the past and irritates me for nothing. My parents' ideas and talk are based on all those experiences they faced in their lives while I argue according to my surroundings which they don't have to face. (Int: 7, p6; ln114-118)

Parents also felt there was a considerable generation gap that altered their parent-child relationships. As Fatema suggested, this gap was attributed to different levels of adaptability to Canadian culture:

Yes I feel there is an intergenerational gap in our parent-adolescent relationship...I think my daughter adopts the Canadian culture very fast but I am not able to adopt Canadian culture that much...I think that is a reason for the generation gap in our relationship. (Int: 14, p5; ln105-107)

Ali said that simply coming from different generations created challenges within his father-daughter relationship. He did certain things to reduce this generation gap that assisted in achieving family resilience.

I tell her to discuss anything she wishes and I will be there for her for anything...I feel if we discuss every matter then our relationship will be friendlier which is very important to reduce the intergenerational gap...and if our relationship is friendly she will share her problems or emotions with me...if she does not share her problems or emotions, a distance will be created in our father-daughter relationship. (Int: 10, p8; ln158-162)

Zubi expressed the challenges of a generational gap in their parent-adolescent relationship. Her incompetence in the English language created a gap and role reversal in their relationship. She thought she might reduce that generation gap by talking to her children and sharing her own points of views with her adolescent daughter. She and her husband were so busy with their work and jobs that they did not have enough time for their children.

There is an intergenerational gap in our parent-adolescent relationship...as I said before I could not learn the English language as quickly as my children did, thus causing a role reversal as well as a gap between us... the environment and geography has changed, so has the lifestyle and with those changes the mind of

my adolescent daughter also changes ... my daughter's generation doesn't like their parents snooping in any of their personal matters, they don't like if parents tell them to do anything, and if their parents tell them what's wrong for them, they behave badly with their parents. (Int: 16, p2; ln 29-35)

Economic challenges. Economic challenges affect parent-adolescent relationships in either negative or positive ways. When Zara's dad first moved here he had \$10,000. Initially he struggled to get a job and he was upset much of the time. Zara consoled her mom by saying that everything would be alright. Her parents were pretty upset and were concerned about the family's ability to survive with their minimal savings. Zara felt close to her parents because of the stressful situation. Adversity can bring a family closer through mutual support and encouragement.

We were inspiring each other; we were giving support to each other... I told my mom that it was a temporary situation... dad would definitely get a job. Some days...they were tense ...my parents were deciding if they should go back to Bangladesh or not... we were being close for that situation. (Int: 6, p2; ln 191-195)

Fatema was working long hours outside her home because of immigration stressors. She had a professional job back in Bangladesh but now she had to do a hard laborious job to survive in this country which is very stressful and awful to her. She was not able to give enough time for her daughter.

Sometimes I am stressed then I misbehave with my daughter which is also very bad for our relationship...that is creating a distance in our relationship...like I told my daughter when I was stressed we moved to this country only because of her and her brother and for their future...I know these kind of words affected my daughter and our relationship too...but I cannot help it...I am stressed and depressed after working for long hours. I do not like my job either. (Int: 13, p3; ln 57-62)

After coming to Canada, Ali had to work more than before. He had to work long hours for survival. After coming to Canada economic challenges affected his relationship with his teenage daughter.

When I come back home from my work I cannot meet my wife or my children because of my busy schedule...another reason is that all of my family members are working outside at different times... we cannot meet each other at lunch...we cannot make time for family get together ...this is how economic challenges create communication gaps between me and my adolescent child. (Int: 9, p2; ln 37-41)

Intensified work load could jeopardize the parent-adolescent relationship. On the other hand, financial crisis could bring mutual empathy and support from family members.

Parenting experiences in Canada. According to Ali, parenting is much more difficult here in Canada than in Bangladesh since he had to maintain balance between controlling her adolescent child and giving adequate respect to her decisions. As a result of acculturation, the thinking process of his daughter was much different nowadays. She was more like a Canadian teenager than a Bangladeshi teenager. Lack of an emotional attachment among family members is a weakness in parent-adolescent relationship.

She changed a lot in the last two years...which is very shocking for me...she adopted a lot from Canadian culture ...Canada is a multicultural country... sometimes I am afraid about my daughter's future...I don't know if she will be able to keep her cultural and religious values or not...I want to give her moral support during every stage of her life...but our values are not the same anymore. (Int: 9, p11; ln 229-233)

Fatema expressed that the parenting experience in a foreign country like Canada might be very challenging particularly if the host country seemingly held different values. Working or living alone was not common in her culture. According to her she was not individualistic and in order to survive had to live in a nuclear family; raising her kids on her own caused parental anxiety.

I want to parent my daughter the way we were raised but that is not possible here because the host country has a different value system. I have to fight daily to restore our ethnic cultural and religious values in my daughter. I have to be stricter with my sixteen year old daughter because of these different values of our host country. I am concerned that my daughter faces more temptations than she did in Bangladesh; maybe that is why I am stricter here (Int: 13, p10; ln 207-212).

Fatema further faced power imbalance when she tried to communicate with her daughter about her studies. Her adolescent teenage daughter said that her mother would not understand her studies due to her limited English. As she described:

there is another problem that arises when I tried to communicate with her about her studies...I am not familiar with the education system of schools in Canada...at the same time I am not that good at English...so my daughter used to humiliate me by saying you wouldn't understand my studies...you don't have to bother about my studies...sometimes I felt like crying... maybe my daughter thinks I am inferior to her because I am not good at English.(Int: 13, p6; ln 126-131)

Another parent, Zubi, found that raising a teenage girl was more difficult in Canada than in her own country, Bangladesh.

As I said before, raising a teenage girl is much different in Canada than in Bangladesh...and my daughter came here to Canada before she become a teenager...after she become a teenage girl here in Canada our parent-child relationship changed a lot ...I have to be more careful and cautious raising her in Canada...it would be much easier for me to raise her up in Bangladesh. (Int: 15, p6; ln 117-120)

Factors harmonizing parent-adolescent relationship

Adolescents and parents discussed several factors during sharing their parent-adolescent relationship like hope and optimism for better future, spiritual beliefs, social support from peers and family members, mutual empathy, confidence in overcoming odds, and encouragement of family members and sharing feelings to facilitate resilience.

Hope for better future advancement. One of the immigrant adolescents Neha revealed that initially she was very excited about moving to Canada. Her excitement was followed by a mixture of feelings including fear, anxiety, excitement, and happiness. Now she felt her parents made the right decision about moving to Canada.

At this point, at my age, I feel I am stabilised in my place here in terms of the friends I have, what I am going to do, where I am going to stay. Since I am seventeen I am planning on my future. So, I am happy about their decision. (Int: 1, p1; ln 10-12)

Another participant, Alisha, was upset about leaving her friends and grandparents when she moved to Canada. At the same time, she was excited about moving to Canada because as a first world country, it offered lots of opportunities. She was more excited than she was sad. After coming to Canada she felt,

In Bangladesh I have more family so, I would go to my family's places and it was more fun there. Now here I don't have any family. I just miss my family mostly. (Int: 3, p1; ln 17-18)

Living in Canada coupled with the immigration experience helped Alisha develop resiliency. She thought that living in North America gave her a much better life than she could have had in Bangladesh. Now Alisha stated,

I have no complaints but I have something I miss and I wish I could go back and have fun with my family and with my other friends. Comparatively life is not that bad. I miss my culture here. I miss Eid, our religious festivals, and I miss some other festivals that we used to celebrate that do not happen here. Then I miss my birthdays that were better there. I do enjoy living here. It is a great decision we made by moving here. It gave is a way better life here. (Int: 3, p2; ln 28-33)

Ana shared that since she came to Canada at an early age, she did not feel like an immigrant; Canada is her homeland. She has lots of friends and she believes that she has a brighter future in Canada.

I came here at an early age...I don't feel like I am an immigrant...I like to be known as a Canadian ...I love Canada and I take Canada as my homeland...I am very glad that we came to Canada...I have a lot of friends here and most of them are Canadian...I think I have a brighter future here in Canada. (Int: 7, p1; ln 7-10)

Zara did not enjoy her immigration experiences and, despite trying to make the best of the situation, does not feel content in Canada. She did not feel good since she missed her extended family in Bangladesh. This loneliness causes dismay and hopelessness in her.

I don't like to be here, not at all, because when we were in Bangladesh my cousins lived in our neighbourhood. We always lived with our family members. When we moved to Canada, only one of my cousins lived here in Lethbridge. I did not even know her well before. When I was a kid she came in Canada so we are

not that close even. I was closer to her sisters, with my other cousins. That's why when I first moved here, I did not feel good here. Still I tried to feel better but it does not work. (Int: 5, p1; ln 18-23)

The immigration experience was a frustrating situation for parent Ali especially when he first moved to Canada because he did not have as much economic freedom as he had in Bangladesh. Eventually, he found that his decision was good especially for his children's education. Life was also secure and peaceful here despite his limited income.

If I wanted to do any business, it was not so easy here. I could not earn a lot of money here so I was frustrated...after some time I got over that frustration. I felt that it was a good decision to move to Canada... I do not have that economic freedom but I can live my life securely. I cannot save a lot of money but I can live my life peacefully with my earnings...if I think about my children's education it was the right decision to move to Canada. (Int: 9, p1-2; ln 20-24)

Tanisha described her immigration experience as very stressful but added that sharing the stress with her spouse helped her to overcome the challenges. She also added that she did not wish to share this stress with her kids and, as a loving mother wanted, to spare them the stress. Co-operative parenting assisted her family in developing resilience.

The first year was very stressful but it really did not affect me because I did not want to affect my family relationships. I did not want to share our stress with our kids because they had a very good childhood back in my country. They lead a very good life. They had everything. Then we did not want them to face these kinds of challenges in their life so early. I used to share my feelings with my husband and my husband used to share his feelings with me. (Int: 11, p3; ln 51-55)

She described her immigration experience as a successful journey. She thought that she was achieving her goals and framed her immigration experience positively.

I would say it is a successful journey so far. I envisioned that after coming to Canada I would further my education and would find a professional job. That was my aim. My husband's aim was to get a good job, not a professional job because he is in a general field. So, he was planning to get a good job and create a secure life. Now I am in a PhD program. I think I am going to reach my goal. I think I am on track (Int: 11, p3; ln 59-62)

Fatema said that when she first moved to Canada she was scared but that her niece helped her to settle down and thus provided considerable relief. In Calgary, many other

Bangladeshi families helped her to find a new job and to rent a house. Thus, family and social support helped her to make meaning of a challenging situation and was a key factor in developing resiliency.

When we first moved here the first feeling was fear...because we came to a new country...and we did not have many relatives here...we had to do everything on our own...and nothing was familiar to us...everything was so new to us...but then I felt relieved because my niece was living here in Canada...she would rent a house for me...thinking that, I was relieved. ...she helped us a lot to become familiar with this new country...after coming to Calgary most of the Bangladeshi people helped us to get jobs and rent a house (Int: 13, p1; ln 14-19)

Now she felt good about her immigration experience and hoped for a brighter future for her children.

I feel good about my immigration now. Maybe our decision was right. My children are getting good educations and they have a brighter future here...everyone has to struggle when they first move ...so we are struggling here for our survival. (Int: 13, p2; ln 21-23)

Zubi was a little bit tense when she first moved to Canada with her two daughters especially since she came without her husband and had left her professional career to provide a better life for her children. One of her friends also helped her to find a new place to live and to get a job although she did not get a job matching her qualifications. This was frustrating for her as her career prospective was limited by weak English or a lack of technological skill. She made sacrifices for her children's betterment. Hope for a better future developed resiliency in her.

I have to manage everything all by myself...we moved to Toronto at first...when we first moved here one of my friends helped us a lot...we stayed at their house...they helped us to find a new place to live and to find a job...I did a masters in biochemistry and a M.Phil in health science...but I did not get any jobs despite my qualifications...I got a job in a store at first...after some time I got a job as a lab analyst in a lab. I left behind professional positions to come to Canada, only to be employed in low-wage jobs because of weak English or lack of technology skills...I made those sacrifices to provide a better life for my children. (Int: 15, p1; ln 14-21)

Now Zubi felt happy about her immigration journey.

At first I feel very dissatisfied about my job in the store...now I feel much better in my new job...Now I have a job in an oil and gas company as a lab analyst and I feel happy now. (Int: 15, p2; ln 23-24)

Many of the participants got help from their family and friends here in Canada who also helped them to face and overcome the adversities of their immigration experience. The hope of a better future for themselves and their children built resiliency in them.

Encouragement from parents. Neha's parents encouraged her to keep up with the lifestyles in Canada but, at the same time, to hold on to her roots, origin, and values.

They set a bar or a limit to how much involvement I can have with the Canadian lifestyle. But they do encourage me to participate and to keep up with the Canadian lifestyle. But my parents told me to keep my morals and values at the same time. (Int: 1, p7; ln 139-141)

Alisha also encouraged her teenage daughter to be independent like other Canadian youth.

Now we also encourage her "like other Canadian youth why don't you be independent?" You have to move independently. (Int: 12, p1; ln 4-6)

Communications with parents. When Alisha was studying sciences, her mother explained that to her which created a feeling of closeness. She felt she should approach her mom more often and talk about the 'stuff'. Whenever she talked to her mom she felt really close to her. Communication and helping each other is an important factor to building family resilience.

I have a few problems and I want to talk about my friends. Sometimes I talk to my mom about it or about my other problems. She shares with me some stuff and I think I should be more friendly with my mom. (Int: 4, p6; ln 107-109)

Zara expressed her anguish that sometimes she was not able to communicate with her parents. Her parents did not understand that if she did wear a hijab she would look odd in the school. Unable to communicate poses a threat to parent-adolescent connection.

They will not understand what I feel because they are not my age ...it is not possible for them to understand what a teenage girl feels when she is alone in a new country, in a new culture ...and I am trying to assimilate in this new culture which is unpleasant to them because they want me to grow up in their culture. (Int: 6, p5-6; ln 89-92)

Helping parents. Most of the adolescents helped their parents by doing household chores. For example, Alisha said if her mom was busy, she would sometimes cook dinner or lunch. She and her brother both took turns cooking and did the laundry, too, although most of the time these tasks were completed by their mother.

We try to help each other. Sometimes I make strawberry milkshakes for my dad, mom and my brother. If my dad is not at home I put a note for him saying that "there is a strawberry milkshake for you in the fridge -drink it" with a smiley face. (Int: 3, p10; ln 205-208)

Neha did household chores for her family. All of the family members co-operate because they all work outside.

My youngest sister is too young to do anything so we all do our own parts and our own share of house chores like cleaning; when people come over I do dishes. I am fine with that. (Int: 1, p4; ln 61-63)

Family cohesion is strengthened by shared chores and consideration for each other's well-being.

Relationships with other family member. Most of the adolescents expressed that they had very good relationships with their siblings. Mutual support and open emotional expression helped the adolescents to build family resilience. As Alisha said:

Me and my brother are really friendly. We always talk; we are always playing. There is bit of fighting but that is not a very big deal. We are really close. (Int: 4, p10; ln 210-211)

Zara always spent her spare time with her brother. Her brother is her best friend and that is why she never felt alone at home. Such an empathetic response to family members gave adolescents a sense of belonging in the family. Family values sustain these adolescents.

I go to movies with my brother...if my brother does not wish to go for a movie I insist he go with me...I spend time with my brother if I feel alone. (Int: 6, p13; ln 287-289)

Relationships with friends. Most of the adolescents said that they were closer to their friends and comfortable with sharing their emotions with them because they thought that their parents would not understand their feelings as well as friends would. Community connectedness and a social network helped these adolescents to develop resilience. Most of the time adolescents were hanging out with their ethnic group of friends. As Alisha said:

My friends are way closer to me than my parents. I tell them everything. I tell them my problems with my family, my problems with my relationships, or if I have arguments with my boyfriend. I would like to share with my best friends rather than my parents because I think they will understand me more. (Int: 4, p8; ln 168-171)

Neha shared her emotional problems with her friends when she was emotionally devastated. Peer groups were very important social networks for adolescents.

I share my emotional problems with my friends, especially when I was emotionally devastated. That's why I am really thankful to my friends. My friends are helping me to keep my sanity. My friends are like my island that I look for when I am in distress. (Int: 2, p2; ln 34-36)

Zara needed her friends to give her company. She loved to spend time with her friends because they were in the same age group and she liked to share her emotions with her friends. She had good relation with her parents but she could not share everything with them. She loved sharing problems especially with her ethnic group of friends since she was comfortable with them.

I feel comfortable with them... because a friend is someone who can see the truth and pain in you even when you're fooling everyone else....I heard this quote from internet and I truly believe in this quote. (Int: 6, p12; ln 255-257)

Sharing feelings and mutual empathy. Adolescent Neha expressed that her parents did not understand her completely. Absence of clarity in relationships creates dissonance in

parent-adolescent relationship. She also said that she did not want to share her problems or thoughts with her parents.

I told you before that I do not share a lot about my emotional problems or really my personal matters with my parents. I wish it was not like that. But it is how it's come to be now. I don't share a lot of things I go through. I went through lots of emotional trauma in the last year. My parents have absolutely no idea about it. Sometimes I wish they knew. But I just can't share that with them because I think they will not understand me (Int: 2, p1-2; ln 29-34)

Alisha was more dependent on her friends. When she had stress she most often chatted with friends. Sometimes she shared her problems with her parents like when she moved to Lethbridge from Toronto and she had problems making friends again. Her parents were not willing to understand the problems that created a distance between them.

Absence of mutual empathy was a leading cause for not having family resilience among immigrant family.

When I was in Toronto I was really close with my friends. When my mom decided to move to Lethbridge I did not really like it because I did not want to leave my friends and move to a new city again. I got so settled over there. So, I was really depressed at that time and I told my mom and dad I didn't want to go to Lethbridge. So I always complain to my mom that I don't like it here, I don't like my new friends, I want to move back. So we kind of have a few arguments because she does not want to move back and I desperately want to go to Toronto. (Int: 3, p16-17; ln 230-235)

Zara said that whenever she was upset or she faced a difficult situation she talked to her dad who consoled her and gave her suggestions. Sharing problems with parents is an example of parental empathy and encouragement. Family communication and parental support were certainly keys in feeling secure in her new homeland.

whenever I am upset about bullying I tell my dad about them... these Afghani girls are so arrogant, they do not know how to talk with other people... they just make me mad by their attitude... then my dad pacifies me by asking me why I give so much importance to them... I should ignore them and their talk...he told me that if I answer them it will only bring quarrels...he suggested that I should prove these girls wrong by earning good grades on my exam ...then I thought my dad is right...I should not ruin my day because of those arrogant girls... I could

understand my dad's words that if others are bullying me I should not care. (Int: 5, p15; ln 310-316)

Ali said his daughter shared her achievements and happiness as well as her distress with him at all times and as a parent he always cheered her up during her distress. He always tried to know and share her agony and gave courage to her to face the situation.

Congruence and clarity in a relationship and a sharing of authentic feelings were an important aspect for family resilience.

My daughter shares most of her achievements with me like if she gets good grades on her exam...or if she feels happy after seeing a good movie...she used to come to me and tell me about the story of the movie and explain how happy she is to see that movie...my daughter is truly adorable...sometimes she feels sad...I noticed sometimes that she is sad after coming back from her school...I asked her what happened to her...at first she did not want to share with me...then I asked her again and again...then she told me that some girls at her school are bullying her about her color. (Int: 10, p5; ln 98-104)

Fatema was concerned about her daughter's stressors and assured her daughter that she would be with her during any awkward circumstances. Cooperative parenting is a significant element to attain family resilience.

Sometimes she is stressed...I can tell that by seeing her...she cannot hide her stress...she does not wish to share her stresses much...usually I ask her again and again as long as I am not getting her reply... sometimes she totally shuts her mouth and sometimes she bursts into tears...on that time I told her, "mom is your friend, you can tell anything to your mom...I will not react, I can give you good advice." (Int: 14, p6; ln 114-118)

Tanisha observed that she did not push her daughter to tell her everything and she gave her time to open up. If her daughter felt comfortable sharing with her it would be fine. If she did not want to share with her, she would not force her to share things. Respect for individual differences is an important attribute for family cohesion.

In case of distress, I can read her mind also. It is not that she always comes first and starts talking. Sometimes I feel that something is wrong, but usually I don't ask. I give her time to open up and usually she does. I cannot say that she shares everything with me as that is not possible. Sometimes she feels more comfortable

sharing with someone at her age and I really don't bother her. I really don't want to force her to share every matter. If she feels comfortable sharing with me it is fine. If she does not, I should not force her to share these things. (Int: 11, p6; ln 127-132)

Parent Zubi said that her daughter was not willing to share her problems with her in spite of her reassurance that she would not push her to share her problems. Absence of connection and trust is a negative trait to gain family resilience.

If something is going on between friends like if she has any kind of problem with her friends she does not want to share that with me...she feel afraid maybe I will interfere in her matter...I assured her a few times but she did not trust me...I feel that sometimes she is depressed about her friends...but she is not willing to share that with me. (Int: 15, p9; ln 183-187)

Pleasurable interactions. Most of the adolescent stated that they have pleasurable interaction with their parents which is an important feature for family cohesion. Neha stated that she spent her vacations with her family and went out to go for fishing too.

For special occasions, like birthdays we have parties together. Even sometimes out of the blue we play board games together. We do take vacations together as well especially during the summer. We have gone on vacations pretty much every year in summer. In summer vacations, we go fishing quite often. (Int: 2, p8; ln 162-165)

Alisha voiced that she spent her time with her parents by watching movie or by sharing stories in weekends.

Mostly when my dad is at home, we watch movies or we talk about ourselves or share stories. Mostly my dad is telling stories about his past or we go outside on a long drive or on a trip. We often go for a road trips. We love road trips so. Either way we go to different places when we have a long holiday or long weekend. (Int: 3, p8; ln 160-163)

Zara shared how watching a TV serial with her mom gave her company and a shared interest. Her mom loved to cook for them and they had dinner together. Both her father and mother worked as a caregiving team which built resilience in their family.

I love to watch a TV serial which is quite funny...my mom did not watch it before...now she watches that serial with me to give me company...and she likes

that serial...my dad does too so my mom cooks for us whenever she gets time...and we have dinner together. (Int: 6, p11; ln 240-243)

Summary

In summary, several themes emerged from the interviews of the adolescents and parents. The first theme “Struggles and challenges of adolescent immigrants” gives a sense of challenges faced by adolescents in their daily life to accommodate themselves in Canadian society. Considering challenges and struggles of the adolescents is important to understand their level of vulnerability in Canadian society. Social isolation from peer group, language and cultural barriers in school made these Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents vulnerable. Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents isolated themselves from their culture of origin. Also, they expressed differences in ethnic values and morals with parents which brought conflicts in their parent-adolescent relationships. Gender discrimination and parental career expectations depicted major stressors of immigrant females in their parent-adolescent relationships.

Another major theme is ‘Importance of the ethnic cultural and religious values to adolescents and parents’. The second theme tells us how ethnic culture and religion are important elements of an immigrant’s life and are part of their identity. Ethnic culture and religion play an important role in developing resilience in immigrant families. Another major theme is ‘Immigration experiences affecting parent adolescent relationship’ describing that immigration experiences can also improve family relationships or can create distance between parents and adolescents. The fourth major theme is ‘Challenges and struggles of immigrant parents’ described career and economic challenges and difficult parenting experiences are major challenges for Bangladeshi immigrant parents. ‘Factors harmonizing parent-adolescent relationship’ is the fifth and major theme of this

finding. Hope and optimism about future, spiritual beliefs, encouragement of parents, sharing feeling and mutual empathy in parent-adolescent relationship helped the Bangladeshi immigrant parents and adolescents to be resilient. In Table 4, I described the key processes in female adolescent participants using the Family Resilience Framework.

Table 4: Key processes in female adolescent participants using the Family Resilience Framework.

Dimensions	Alisha	Zara	Neha	Ana
Belief systems	<p>Dream for better education in future.</p> <p>Encouragement of the parents to adopt Canadian culture.</p> <p>Have cultural and religious values and beliefs.</p>	<p>Hopelessness, dismay, isolation due to separation from extended family.</p> <p>Pressure of parent's expectations.</p> <p>Shattered assumptions about Canada after immigration.</p> <p>Practicing religious activities regularly to have congregational support.</p>	<p>Optimistic behaviour - Accepting the difference in views about freedom and values.</p> <p>Ability to handle challenges in school.</p> <p>Ability to bounce back from relationship break up</p> <p>Learning from adversity- adapting to Canadian culture in order to endure in</p>	<p>Hope for the better future.</p> <p>Confidence in overcoming pressure of parent's expectations.</p> <p>Appreciate the importance of religious belief and practice.</p>

			school.	
Organizational patterns	Helping parents by doing household chores.	Reluctant to helping parents in chores.	Helping parents in household chores.	Helping parents in household chores.
	Social network -Like to share emotional problems with friends.	Share emotional distress with parents.	Comfortable to share problems with friends.	Sometimes share problems with parents.
	Attend ethnic cultural festivals Facing gender discriminations	Absence of social connectedness- Reluctant to participate in ethnic cultural program.	Reluctant to participate in ethnic festival due to absence of grandeur.	Sought to know much about cultural values and practice.
Communication processes	Sharing achievements, joy, and hope with parents.	Shares problems, joy, hope and pain with parents.	Not sharing feeling with parents	Focusing on academic goal-want to be a veterinarian.
	Absence of pleasurable interactions- Blaming parents for not hearing her problems.	Mutual empathy during financial crisis of parents.	Negotiation and compromising with parents about freedom and cultural values	Preparing her for future challenges-overcoming parent's expectations.
Resilience	More	Less	More	More

In Table 5, I described the key processes in immigrant parents using the Family Resilience Framework.

Table 5: Key processes in immigrant parents using the Family Resilience Framework.

Dimensions	Fatema	Ali	Tanisha	Zubi
Belief systems	Dream for better future for children's education.	Shattered assumptions about Canada after migration.	Hope for better future for her and her family-see her immigration as a successful journey.	Optimism and hope for better future.
	Have strong religious values and belief.	Loneliness, loss-separated from extended family		Viewing crisis as a challenge when she first moved to Canada.
Organizational patterns	Have emotional distance and power difference due to language barrier with her daughter.	Absence of tolerance for difference-cannot accept the difference in values and morals with his daughter.	Inspiring the family members	Failure to emotionally connect to her adolescent daughter.
			Mutual support and empathy to adolescent daughter.	
			Use of social support.	Use of social support
Communication processes	Share feeling with family members	Giving emotional support when his daughter needs.		
		Share feeling with family members	Share feeling with family members	Sometimes fails to share feeling with family members
	Pleasurable interactions with	Pleasurable interactions with		

	family member	family member		
Resilience	More	Less	More	Less

The degree of resilience of the participants was assessed according to my perception of their well-being such as their achievement and mental health. Neha and Ana showed purposefulness, ability to handle challenges in school, ability to bounce back from relationship break up, a positive outlook and optimism (Table 4). Alisha expressed encouragement and mutual empathy in her parent-adolescent relations, strong spiritual beliefs, and connectedness to culture and social support system (Table 4). These are signs that some of the adolescent participants were functioning well despite post-immigration challenges. Neha, Ana and Alisha appeared confident, emotionally settled and hopeful for a better future. Parent Fatema and Tanisha have the ability to gain a larger perspective on their situation after immigration to maintain hopefulness and purpose and maintain a social support system (Table 5). They were satisfied and optimistic with their immigration decision. On the other hand, adolescent Zara and parent Ali lost touch with their extended family and failed to reconnect to their ethnic culture (Table 4 and 5). They appeared more depressed, suffered from loneliness, and harboured regret for immigration. Parent Zubi was less satisfied with her parent-adolescent relationship but did not share as freely about her emotions with her daughter. In the interviews of Zubi, I found the absence of mutual empathy and encouragement with her daughter led her to feel more despondent and worried (Table 5). In the next chapter, I will discuss my findings in light of the current literature.

Chapter Five-Interpretation of Findings

This study explored the experiences and relationships of Bangladeshi immigrant adolescent girls and their parents; some preliminary connections were then made between how beliefs, family organization, and parent-adolescent relationships contributed to both parents' and adolescents' resilience as they faced the challenges of being new immigrants in Canada. In this chapter, I offer a discussion of the findings in light of current literature and explore the concept of family resilience as revealed by the participants' experiences and relationships. I examined the challenges and differences as experienced by the adolescents and their parents while exploring their family connectedness. The concept of family resilience was used in this study.

In migrating to a new country, both parents and adolescents suffered numerous difficulties and struggles in their relationships. Walsh (2006) describes family resilience as a systems perspective that enables us to understand how family processes mediate stress and can enable families and their members to surmount crises and weather prolonged hardship (p.15). I applied the family resilience framework in my analysis as I explored the ability of Bangladeshi immigrant families to overcome adversity in their new homeland and cope with subsequent parenting challenges.

At first I identified the relationship struggles and challenges faced by both Bangladeshi immigrant parents and adolescents as they adjusted and adapted to the process of settlement. Then I isolated the factors that created a harmonious parent-adolescent relationship and produced resiliency in the face of bullying, reduced income, career change, identity definition, personal goals, and the reconciling two of cultures. I discussed the factors that helped participants with these challenges and the difficulties that had to be confronted or resolved. Some of the adolescents and parents used factors

like hope, optimism, spiritual beliefs, social support from peers, mutual empathy, confidence in overcoming odds, and encouragement of family members in order to enhance resiliency. From the demographic information and interviews I found that the immigrant parents who resided in Canada longer (e.g., seven years or more) appeared to have more acceptance to Canadian culture as embraced by their adolescent child. All of the participants were highly educated at the master's level and the high education level of parents which could have helped them negotiate their relationship with their children and high education may have helped them be more flexible in their thinking and approach. All of the parents participated in the research are highly educated. The high education level of the parents could have helped them negotiate their relationship with their children. High education may have enabled them to be more flexible in their thinking and approach. All the Bangladeshi parents in our study were Muslims. Although the degree of religious practice varied amongst participants, as has been found in previous research, the role and importance of Islam in family life was essential (Beishon, Modood, & Virdee, 1998; Barn, Ladino, & Rogers, 2006). According to Zara, practice of Islam brings peace in her life. Parents required guidance and support from Islam for a range of reasons, including support their parenting style and during their time of adversity. Faith gave a sense of spiritual strength which sustains parent-adolescent relationship in a positive way.

Exploring struggles and challenges of immigrant families. The first theme, "struggles and challenges of adolescent immigrants", introduces challenges that pose potential risks yet may provide opportunities to develop resilience within the family relationship. As Walsh (1996) illustrated, conflicts and transformations are as much part of the family life as tradition and stability. Challenges are created in the course of migration of immigrant

families due to environmental disruption and unavoidable uprooting of ethnic identity (Anisef et. al, 2001). Resilience-based approaches situate each family in relation to its particular challenges, restraints and resources. Challenges may range from expectable strains of normative life-cycle transitions, such as the prolonged strains of migration (Walsh, 1996). It was scary to Neha to start studying in a new school in a new country. Whereas Alisha and Zara were uncomfortable with their language problems. Alisha, Zara and Neha struggled in their school environment; they felt socially and academically isolated in their new host land and were stressed and scared in the new environment. Language barriers played a major factor in creating isolation as Alisha, Zara and Neha faced difficulty in communicating with their peer group or with teachers. Other studies (Yeh & Inose, 2002; Yeh et al., 2005, Yeh et al., 2007) described those differences in ethnicity and cultural lifestyles complicated by language restrictions were the major reasons alienation in school. Ana stated sometimes she encountered humiliation in school when they tried to maintain outward symbols of her religious beliefs. According to Fatema, being a member of a minority with visible differences in dress code, skin color and cultural practice, caused adolescents to feel mocked by school peers. Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents may also face verbal and social bullying from the peer group in the form of stereotyping and discrimination (Mesch, Turjeman, & Fishman, 2008). Both Zubi and Fatema stated that their adolescent children lost interest in maintaining cultural and religious beliefs due to school environment and policies. For instance, schools plan vacations for the Christmas season but not for the time of Eid. By offering activities during Christmas like writing letters to Santa Claus or singing Christmas carols, schools distracted adolescents from maintaining their own religious beliefs.

During migration and resettlement, the distance between the culture of origin and the culture of the new society can threaten the synchronization of immigrant family relations. Struggling to incorporate aspects of the new society made Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents, their parents and their relationships more vulnerable. Immigrant adolescents are caught in a conflict between their ethnic heritage and their new society that often brings conflict into their parent-adolescent relationship. Bangladeshi immigrant parents are not willing to accept changes in their adolescent children nor do they understand their children's eagerness to adopt a new culture instead of upholding their own (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Kwak, 2003). With the smaller resettled Bangladeshi community unable to host and support large cultural activities, the Bangladeshi immigrant adolescent loses touch with the former culture. As seen in our study, family resilience is negatively impacted when parent Ali and Zubi felt they have failed to instill their values in their children and have been unable to transmit what is held precious in their culture. As Tyyskä (2006) stated in his study, the failure of immigrant parents to inculcate ethnic morals and values among their adolescent children leaves them feeling that their parenting ability is seriously compromised. As shown in this study, Bangladeshi immigrant parents felt they made the wrong decision by coming to Canada. Ali, Fatema and Zubi expressed a desire to maintain their ethnic cultural heritage and nurture it in their adolescence yet they also desired successful integration into their new country. However, conflicts may arise between the adolescent's desires and their parent's expectations regarding desired levels of cultural maintenance, Canadian identity, and acculturation strategies (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Kwak, 2001; Kwak & Berry, 2001;

Phinney et al., 2000). Bangladeshi parents believed that a moral vacuum was created in adolescents who then adopted a culture that emphasizes freedom over values.

Difference in values and morals between parents and adolescents caused an absence of shared decision making that weakened their family resilience. For example, many Canadian parents have completely different ideas about dating and give more freedom to their adolescent children compared to Bangladeshi parents. Tanisha thinks the freedom she gives to her children is sufficient. In every Islamic country, women's chastity is highly valued and considered as a matter of utmost importance. Being an Islamic country, in Bangladesh this moral concept gets incorporated in culture and valued by everyone regardless of religion. Bangladeshi parents believed that it is their responsibility to protect their daughters' chastity (Aswad, & Bilg , 1996). As a Muslim anchored in traditional and religious values, Ali, Fatema and Zubi cite moral and safety concerns as reasons for maintaining strict control over their daughters' dating. Absence of negotiation and reciprocity between parents and their adolescent children cause damage and limit family resilience. Ali, Fatema, Zubi and Tanisha, all of them were cautious and did not allow sleepovers at friends' houses because of safety concerns and social and cultural reasons; although this is unacceptable to adolescent girls. They also stated that, based on religious grounds, dating during adolescence was not acceptable. Published literature supports that immigrant parents do not feel safe allowing their children to attend friends' parties or to socialize with their peer group (Perreira et al., 2006; Wong, 1999). Disputes over these issues caused unpleasant interactions which disrupted efforts to increase family resilience. In this study, Fatema and Zara resolved

this problem by communicating with each other and compromising their cultural values for the sake of their parent-adolescent relationship.

Alisha and Zara faced gender discrimination in their house; their brothers were more privileged and got comparatively more freedom than themselves. Adolescent girls in some immigrant families have less privileges and decision making power than their brothers (Anisef and Kilbride 2000, Anisef et al. 2001b, Tyyskä 2001, 2003b and 2006; as cited in Tyyskä 2008). Bangladeshi parents of immigrant children often focused on high academic achievement but did not realize that their children were struggling. Alisha and Ana reported that they felt pressured due to their parent's high expectations about academic achievement. Literature on immigrant families (Thomas & Choi, 2006, Creese et al. 1999, Tyyskä 2003b and 2006) reveals that immigrant parents have high standards and expectations for the academic achievement of their adolescent children.

In the case of the Bangladeshi adolescents, it was painful to hold the tension of living two cultures in order to belong to family and the larger society. Bangladesh adolescents carried the anguish of not being understood by their parents. They were screaming to their parents by saying that they are not alien, they are human. During developmental transitions of adolescence, immigrant Bangladeshi parents and adolescents must negotiate new rules, roles, and relational dynamics to maintain harmony in relationships and 'adolescents' increasing demands for personal autonomy and freedom' (Steinberg & Silk, 2002). This particular developmental transition, however, may be even more challenging for immigrant families as they must balance learning and navigating a new cultural environment with maintaining values from their culture of origin. Demonstrating self-determination and independence, adolescents tried to choose

careers by themselves, yet parents were not willing to accept their decision (Romi & Simcha, 2009). Alisha reported surrendering to their parent's desires regarding career choice fully realizing that honouring their parents required giving up their personal aspirations; these compromises created enormous negative impact on parent-adolescent relationships. Challenges may arise when new roles and patterns of interactions emerge as adolescents seek greater autonomy and make choices that clash with cultural values from the country of origin (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Navara Lollis, 2009).

Alisha, Zara and Neha stated they miss their traditional cultural festivals and values, loved their traditional foods, dresses, and clothes, and understood the importance of religious values and practices. Beavers and Hampson (1990) examined spiritual values and cultural heritage and found that they provide sense and purpose beyond the family unit. Seeking reconnection to their old culture was a positive way to build family resilience. Bangladeshi parents of the adolescent child also sought reconnection to their old culture for both themselves and their children thus positively building family resilience.

This research showed that in some cases immigration experiences affect parent-adolescent relationships in a negative way. Alisha stated that she and her parents blamed each other for their suffering in their new country. Fatema expressed that their parent-adolescent relationships deteriorated as a result of their immigration because they had to work long hours. An earlier study (Romi & Simcha, 2009) reveals working long hours has a negative impact on parent-adolescent relationships. At the same time they missed their friends and extended family in Bangladesh, resulting in isolation and feelings of

dismay. Immigration itself can, depending on how differences are viewed and responded, contribute to conflict or create greater cohesion as families unite for mutual support.

According to the participants in this study, Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents had a generation gap with their parents creating obstacles to sharing their feelings and achieving greater family resilience. Different cultural adaptations created a huge generation gap in their relationship. According to Neha, parents seem to have an extreme and exaggerated idea of how Canadian adolescents of her age behave. Bangladeshi parents did not understand their adolescent daughter's generation and this lack of understanding played a major role in conflicts between them. Ana felt the way of life changed over time creating an intergenerational gap that influenced the parent-adolescent relationship. Since she was growing up in Canada and her parents lived most of their life in Bangladesh, she was living in a different culture and different environment her parents did not understand. Bangladeshi parents also felt that huge generation gaps altered their parent-adolescent relationships due to different levels of adaptability, role reversal in the new host country, and incompetency in the English language. An earlier study (Creese et al. 1999) explains that adolescents may demand new roles in their family that may cause disruption of power hierarchies within the family and also create tensions in parent-adolescent relationships. Lack of tolerance for difference is a negative factor for achieving family resilience. Economic challenges tend to affect their relationships. In order to survive parents had to work more than before and were not able to give time to their adolescent children; this was harmful for their relationship (Qin, 2006; Skokauskas & Clarke, 2009). Parenting is a hard task for all of the parents, since they had to maintain balance between controlling their adolescent child and giving adequate respect to her

decision. Failure to reconnect emotionally with family members limits the ability to construct resilience. Experiencing parenting in a foreign country like in Canada might be very challenging particularly if the host country appears to have different values.

Factors harmonizing parent-adolescent relationship

Bangladeshi adolescents and parents showed various key factors for gaining family resilience. The systems theory of family resilience emphasizes three key processes: the family belief system, organizational patterns, and communication. Family beliefs, or shared constructions of reality, organize family processes and approaches to crisis situations and subsequently potential solutions.

Belief systems. Walsh (1996) made the point that optimism and hope are the core elements in resilience and require a social sensitivity to improve actual family conditions and prospects. Hope for better future advancement was one of the leading resilience elements for all of the immigrant adolescents and parents. Generations upon generations Bangladeshis practise their religion with utmost reverence. Therefore, Bangladeshi's are expected to practise some basic religious etiquette and maintain basic religious values (Uddin, 2006). Also, it is highly preferred that interpersonal behaviour, dressing code and interpersonal relationship must not violate and disregard any religious beliefs and Bangladeshi tradition. These expectations are also reflected in the parent child relationship regardless of home or abroad. Usually, parents want their children to be respectful to the religion, practise their religion, maintain and love their culture and tradition, hold and carry their beliefs and avoid any behaviour that contradicts their expectations. In the process of living in Canada, most of the Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents developed resiliency about their immigration experience and thought being in

Canada gave them a better life than they could have had in Bangladesh. Ana said she did not feel like an immigrant, Canada has become her homeland. She had lots of friends and she thought she had a brighter future in Canada. On the other hand, the immigrant parents considered immigration a good decision especially for their children's education and future as a result of migrating to their new homeland

Because of the poor economical and political situation in Bangladesh, Tanisha and Fatema want to raise their children in a better and safer environment. They cultivate a dream of better future integrated with cultural and religious values from their homeland. To make their dream a reality, they are prepared to do anything they need to do. This disposition gives them enormous confidence, perseverance, active initiative and courage to fight adversity. Also, for the same reason they are more resilient to failure, with the ability to envision new possibilities, adapt, learn, change and grow from adversity. Tanisha, who was a former physician in Bangladesh, did not hesitate to work in Walmart because the dream she possessed has fueled her confidence, enriched her can-do attitude, made her adaptive to failure and change; above all, possessing a dream has allowed her to look at life from a different perspective. Zubi has Masters in Bio-Chemistry, was a Medical Research Officer in Bangladesh and now works as a lab assistant which does not reflect her qualification. However, she accepts this step down in profession because she is happy that her children are having better education in Canada than Bangladesh and have prospects for a bright future. Tanisha stated that after immigration, she had a friendlier and closer relationship with her daughter. Because of loneliness, Zara concentrated more in the religious practises than she did in Bangladesh which enriches her spiritual beliefs. Both Alisha and Zara have strong religious beliefs and family and cultural values and

they maintained knowledge of their native language by speaking it in their home. They practised their religion which anchored them in a strong belief system. According to Moya and Lamborn (2010) the most frequently mentioned practices of ethnic socialization were participating in cultural events, sharing history, preparing traditional foods, speaking the language, and wearing traditional clothes.

Organizational patterns. The availability of community resources and a family's ability to reach them are also crucial for developing family resilience, providing social support, practical assistance, and a basic sense of connectedness through family and friendship network (Walsh, 1996, Thomas & Choi, 2006). Upon arrival in Canada, both Tanisha and Fatema received social support from family members, friends, and the Bangladeshi community. Their family members and friends helped them to have a house, job in Canada and gave guidance in their new homeland. Community connectedness and social networks proved a key element for family resilience. Resilience can be affected by the availability of environmental resources such as support from family, community, and ethno-cultural society (Greene & Conrad, 2002). The importance of social networks for crisis and adversity has been sufficiently documented (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978, as cited in Walsh, 1996). Neha, Zara and Alisha achieved resiliency through mutual assistance, their friendly and warm relationship with siblings and friends. Zara loves to watch movies, play games and having chitchat with her brother when she feels lonely. Her brother becomes her closet friend when Zara feels like fish out of water in this new country. Same situation goes with Alisha; her brother always is the best companion for sharing thoughts which she cannot share with others. Adolescents feel a sense of belonging in the family because of this healthy sibling relationship. A few studies

(Tamara, 2011; Jenkins & Smith, 1990; Gass, Jenkins, & Dunn, 2007) in the resilience research indicate that if parents are unable to provide a supportive emotional climate, relationships with other family members like an older sibling or friend can serve that function.

Neha and Alisha also help their parents in household chores. They feel their parents are struggling and sacrificing for their better future. Their sense of gratitude encourages them to respect their parents' wishes and get more connected to them. Zara shared all her achievements and happiness with Ali which gives Ali strength to fight against all difficulties. Coordination and collaborations helped them to built organizational patterns of family resilience. Neha is always encouraged by her parents to keep up with the Canadian lifestyles and at the same time advised to preserve her family values. It is acceptable to Alisha's parents also that their young daughter may seek for independence. They are willing to give Alisha freedom in a controlled manner so that she will not get a chance to abuse it. Both of these scenarios show the adequate guidance and nurturance of the Bangladeshi parents.

Communication/ problem solving. Clarity, congruence in relationships, and mutual empathy creates harmony in parent-adolescent relationships that support family resilience. Zara stated that whenever she was upset or faced a difficult situation, she talked to her father and he consoled her and gave her advice. This example of mutual empathy and the sharing of feelings of fear and consolation, encouragement and advice helped her deal with challenges from classmates. Ali also expressed that they shared their daughter's achievements as well as her distresses and offered support in both situations. As evidenced by this relationship, sharing a range of feelings was an important aspect for

family resilience. As Werner (1993) has highlighted in his research, self-esteem and self-efficacy are encouraged, above all else, through supportive relationships. Adolescents need to know someone to whom they could turn and at the same time have their sense of competence and self-esteem nurtured and reinforced (Walsh, 1996). Parents can be that person in the adolescent's life. Zubi assured her daughter that she would be with her during any awkward circumstances. Cooperative parenting is a significant element for attaining family resilience. Whereas Tanisha said that if her daughter felt comfortable sharing with her it would be fine, but if she did not want to share with her, she would not force her. Respect for individual differences is an important attribute for family resilience. Neha, Alisha and Zara stated that they have pleasurable interaction with their parents which is an important trait for family resilience.

In this research, immigration experiences also affect Bangladeshi parent-adolescent relationships in a positive way. Immigration experiences made adolescents responsible as they sorted out their trust issues with their parents and experienced feelings of belonging and acceptance. Previous studies (Inman, Howard, Beaumont & Walker, 2007) state immigrant parents and adolescents have added struggles in their relationships due to their immigration. In this study Bangladeshi adolescents were found to be closer to their parents because of their immigration experience; this is a new dimension of immigration experiences that was not explored before. It is shown that Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents and parents who have factors like optimism, hope, spiritual belief, social support and networks, mutual encouragement, mutual empathy, and pleasurable interactions with family members are able to adapt more than others.

In this study, Bangladeshi immigrant parents and adolescents showed the ability to “bounce forward” in the face of challenges and to maintain levels of cohesion and mutual support among family members. Optimism and hope about the future, encouragement, mutual empathy of each other’s struggles, sharing feelings, open and clear communication. Flexibility in parenting style and anchoring in cultural values and religious beliefs helped Bangladeshi immigrant parents and adolescents become more resilient. Interactional processes including cohesion, mutual problem solving skills were essential for well-being of the Bangladeshi immigrant parents and adolescents during their adjustment process in Canada. These findings supported the tenets in the family resilience framework used to guide my study. My data speak directly about the usefulness of family resilience framework to understand the effects of immigration on parents and adolescents.

Chapter Six-Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusion

The literature confirms that dissonance in parent-adolescent relationships is a major concern among immigrant families. Bangladeshi immigrant adolescents faced a number of challenges related to relationships and immigration which include language barriers, social isolation, differences in values and morals with parents, pressure of parental expectations and generation gap with parents. Dilemmas and stresses experienced by adolescents and parents can result in social isolation, hopelessness, lack of communications and failure to connect with family members. The findings from this study in Edmonton and Calgary, and related research, offer understanding about the challenges and relationships of immigrant adolescents and parents who comprise a vulnerable population in Canada. Therefore, an understanding of these immigrant families can assist and support other immigrant families in their transition and integration process into Canadian society.

Citing both optimistic and pessimistic aspects in parent-adolescent relationships among a group of Bangladeshi parents and adolescents and their challenges made this research significant. Family resilience is a collective process. An adolescent's capacity to be resilient was greatly influenced by parents and family members. Optimistic attitude about their future, encouraging each other, mutual empathy of each other's struggles, sharing feelings, open and clear communication helped Bangladeshi parents and adolescents to face adversity in their new homeland. Having strong cultural values and religious beliefs helped Bangladeshi parents and adolescents become more resilient in facing the challenges of settlement and integration. Bangladeshi adolescents and parents

show a positive outlook on their immigration which helped them to settle in the new country. Also, having strong social support system helped them adjust in their new homeland, Canada.

Dissonance in their parent-adolescent relationships can become a risk to the adolescents' well being. This study identifies the risk factors for maladaptation and for constructive resilience factors that influence immigrant families to overcome adverse situations. The Bangladeshi community has distinct cultural and religious background, and Bangladeshi immigrant participants demonstrate unique methods of assimilation that can inform future research with other similarly situated immigrant groups.

Implications for immigrant population

The study has important effects on immigrant populations especially on Bangladeshi immigrant families in Canada. Immigrant families may learn from the experiences of these participants and prepare themselves for a range of challenges they may face to foster family resilience in their daily life relative to their adolescent children.

Recommendations

My study seeks to understand challenges of immigrant adolescents and parents in immigrant families. It is recommended that social and community service workers consider developing workshops focusing on the particular culture of immigrant parents and adolescents with the goal of assisting them in their transition into the Canadian society. My study describes the challenges of immigrant adolescents in their parent-adolescent relationship in Canada which might cause their emotional distress, loneliness, and social isolation. Development of effective programming and counselling for

immigrant parents about parenting adolescents will help them to improve their parent-adolescent relationship.

Research suggests the need for sensitivity and awareness of the challenges facing immigrant adolescents in school and with their peer group. Education and awareness training could be provided to school personnel (i.e. teachers, administrators, school health providers) on topics such as helping immigrant adolescents adjust in their school; providing adequate English language training for adolescents; and speaking against bullying and teasing. My research explored family belief systems and the narrative processes that influence family coping and adaptations. This qualitative research recounts stressful experiences and examines their meaning which may be particularly helpful to understanding the continuity and change in family development during stressful conditions and diverse challenges in the context of migration. Collaboration among immigrant family members should be encouraged by government agencies to build new competencies and mutual support and confidence in overcoming odds in the course of their settlement and integration. This approach promotes a successful family climate where members of the family can overcome seemingly undefeatable obstacles and experience success due to their shared efforts and resources.

Future research directions

The resettlement of Bangladeshi immigrant families in Canadian society necessitates focusing on their social and economic success. A resilience framework applied to immigrant adolescents and parents ensures that they are functioning well during the challenging period of resettlement in their host country. This study provided validation of the usefulness of the family resilience framework in understanding challenges and

resilience factors in parent-adolescent relationships. In addition, it offers insights on Bangladeshi parent-adolescent relationships in Canada. Given the small sample size, future studies should expand to the larger Bangladeshi community. Also, other South-Asian parent-adolescent relationships should be explored to gain a full understanding of the process of building resiliency upon immigration.

References

- Ali, M., & K. Kilbride. (2004). *Forging new ties: Improving parenting and family support services for new Canadians with young children*. Ottawa: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. Retrieved September 6, 2011, from http://www.metropolis.net/pdfs/Pgs_can_diversity_parents_spring08_e.pdf
- Anisef, P., Kilbride, K. M., Baichman-Anisef, E., & Khattar, R. (2001). *Between two worlds: The experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario*. Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS). Retrieved September 6, 2011, from http://www.settlement.org/downloads/between_two_worlds.pdf
- Anisef, P., & Kilbride, K.M. (2000). *The needs of newcomer youth and emerging "Best Practices" to meet those needs*. Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement. Retrieved October 20th, 2011, from http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/Newcomer_Youth_Best_Practices.pdf
- Arnett, J. J. (1999). Adolescent storm and stress, reconsidered. *American Psychologist*, 54(5), 317-326. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.54.5.317
- Aswad, B. C., & Bilg , B. (1996). *Family and gender among American Muslims: Issues facing Middle Eastern immigrants and their descendants*. Temple University Press.
- Aziz, K. A. (1979). *Kinship in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2001). *Socioeconomic and demographic report*. Retrieved on 23rd august, 2013, from http://www.bbs.gov.bd/WebTestApplication/userfiles/Image/BBS/Socio_Economic.pdf
- Barn, R., Ladino, C., & Rogers, B. (2006). *Parenting in multi-Racial Britain*. National Children's Bureau, London.
- Beavers, W. R., & Hampson, R. B. (1990). *Successful families: Assessment and intervention*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Beishon, S., Modood, T., & Virdee, S. (1998). *Ethnic minority families*. Policy Studies Institute, Lincs
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 55(3), 303–332. doi: 10.1111/j.1464-0597.2006.00256.x

- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1982). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Bottrell, B. (2009). Understanding 'marginal' perspectives: Towards a social theory of resilience. *Qualitative Social Work*, 8(3):321-339, doi: 10.1177/1473325009337840
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2), 77-101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa
- Choi, Y., He, M., & Harachi, T.W. (2008). Intergenerational cultural dissonance, parent-child conflict and bonding, and youth problems among Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37(1), 85-96. doi: 10.1007/s10964-007-9217-z
- Costigan, C. L., & Dokis, D. P. (2006). Similarities and differences in acculturation among mothers, fathers, and children in immigrant Chinese families. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, 37(6), 723-741. doi: 10.1177/0022022106292080
- Creese, G., Dyck, I., & McLaren, A. (1999). *Reconstituting the Family: Negotiating immigration and settlement*. Working Paper 99-10. Vancouver: Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis (RIIM). Retrieved 20th October, 2011, from <http://mbc.metropolis.net/assets/uploads/files/wp/1999/WP99-10.pdf>
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Datta, P. (2004). Push-pull factors of undocumented migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal: A perception study. *The Qualitative Report*, 9(2), 335-358. Retrieved on 23rd August, 2013 from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR9-2/datta.pdf>
- De Guzman, J. (2011). Family resilience and Filipino immigrant families: Navigating the adolescence life-stage (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved on March 15, 2013, from https://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10214/2806/Thesis_FINAL_deGuzman.pdf?sequence=1
- De Groot, A.D. (1969). *Methodology: Foundations of inference and research in the behavioral sciences*. The Hague-Paris: Mouton & Co.
- Deb, S. K., & Khondkar, S. A. (2011). Nature and causes of conflict regarding the culture of Bangladesh and European union (eu).5(2), p 157-166. Retrieved on 26th

August, 3013, from
www.bdresearchpublications.com/admin/journal/upload/09213/09213.pdf

- Farver, J. M., Narang, S.K., & Bhadha, B. R. (2002). East meets west: Ethnic identity, acculturation and conflict in Asian Indian families. *Journal of Family Psychology, 16*(3). 338-350. doi:10.1037/0893-3200.16.3.338
- Frabutt, J.M. (2006). Immigrant youth mental health, acculturation, and adaptation: Catholic education: *A Journal of Inquiry and Practice, 9*(4), 499-504. Retrieved 6th October, 2011, from journals.bc.edu/ojs/index.php/catholic/article/download/719/706
- Fuligni, A.J. (2001). A comparative longitudinal approach to acculturation among children from immigrant families. *Harvard Educational Review; 71*(3), 566-578. Retrieved on 30th October, 2011 from <http://hepg.metapress.com/content/J7046H63234441U3>
- Inman, A. G., Howard, E. E., Beaumont, R. L., & Walker, J. A. (2007). Cultural transmission: Influence of contextual factors in Asian Indian immigrant parents' experiences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(1), 93-100.
- Gass, K. Jenkins, J.M. & Dunn, J. (2007). The sibling relationship as protective for children experiencing life events: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 48*, 167-175. Retrieved on 6th October, 2011, from http://jenkinslab.wordpress.com/research-themes/files/2009/08/article_rssd_gassjenkinsdunn2007.pdf
- Ghazarian, S. R., Supple, A. J., & Plunkett, S. W. (2008). Familism as a predictor of parent adolescent relationships and developmental outcomes for adolescents in Armenian American immigrant families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 17*(4) 599-613. doi: 10.1007/s10826-007-9177-7
- Goodman, L.A. (1961). "Snowball sampling". *Annals of Mathematical Statistics. 32* (1): 148–170. doi:10.1214/aoms/1177705148
- Ghosh, S. (2007). Transnational ties and intra-immigrant group settlement experiences: A case study of Indian Bengalis and Bangladeshis in Toronto. *GeoJournal, 68*(2-3), 223-24
- Government of Alberta (2011). Creating connection: Alberta's addiction and mental health strategy highlights. Retrieved 20th October, 2011, from <http://www.health.alberta.ca/documents/Creating-Connections-2011-Highlights.pdf>

- Government of Alberta (2013). Alberta government supporting immigrants and immigration to Alberta. Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from http://employment.alberta.ca/documents/WIA/WIA-IM_framework_overview.pdf
- Greene, R. R., & Conrad, A. P. (2002). Basic assumptions and term. In R. R. Greene (Ed.), *Resiliency: An integrated approach to practice, policy, and research* (pp. 29-62). Washington, DC: NASW Press
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigm in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2006). *The practice of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- James, C. E. (1999). *Seeing ourselves: Exploring race, ethnicity and culture* (2nd edition). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Jenkins, J. M., & Smith, M. A. (1990). Factors protecting children living in disharmonious homes. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 29, 60-69. Retrieved June 1st, 2012, from http://jenkinslab.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/article_rssd_jenkinssmith1990.pdf
- Johnson, J.M. (2002). In-depth interviewing. In Gubrium, Jaber F. and Holstein, James A., (eds.) *Handbook of interview research: context & method*. Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Kaplan, C. P., Turner, S., Norman, E., & Stillson, K. (1996). Promoting resilience strategies: A modified consultation model. *Social Work in Education*, 18(3), 158-167.
- Karpel, M. A. (1986). *Family resources: The hidden partner in family therapy*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Kilbride, K. M. (2000). "Between two worlds: The experiences and concerns of immigrant youth." Toronto: CERIS.
- Kuendig, H., & Kuntsche, E. (2006). Family bonding and adolescent alcohol use: Moderating effect of living with excessive drinking parents. *Alcohol & Alcoholism*, 41, 464–471. doi:10.1093/alcalc/agl01

- Kwak, K. (2003). Adolescents and their parents: A review of intergenerational family relations for immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Human Development*, 46, 115-136. doi: 10.1159/000068581
- Kwak, K., & Berry, J. (2001). Generational differences in acculturation among Asian families in Canada: A comparison of Vietnamese, Korean, and East-Indian groups. *International Journal of Psychology*, 36, 152-162. doi:10.1080/00207590042000119
- Leininger, M. M. (1985). Ethnography and ethnonursing: Models and modes of qualitative data analysis. In M. M. Leininger (Ed.), *Qualitative research methods in nursing* (pp. 33-72). Orlando, FL: Grune & Stratton.
- Leininger, M. (1994). Evaluation criteria and critique of qualitative research studies (J.Morse,Ed.), *Critical issues in qualitative research methods*.(pp.95-115) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.
- Letherby, G. (2003). *Feminist research in theory and practice*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Levy, R., & Hollan, D. (1998). Person-centered interviewing and observation. In H. R. Bernard (Ed.), *Handbook of methods in cultural anthropology* (pp. 333-364). Walnut Creek, California: Altamira Press.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Mack, N., Woodsong, C., Macqueen, K., Guest, G. & Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. Family Health International.
- Marsiglia, F.F., Kulis, S., Parsai.M., Villar,P., & Garcia,C.(2009). Cohesion and conflict: Family influences on adolescent alcohol use in immigrant Latino families. *Journal of Ethnicity in Substance Abuse*, 8:400–412, doi: 10.1080/15332640903327526
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Marshall, M. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), 522-526. doi: 10.1093/fampra/13.6.522
- Mesch, G. S., Turjeman, H., & Fishman, G. (2008). Perceived discrimination and the well-being of immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37, 592-604. doi. 1007/s10964-007-9210-6

- Michalowski, M. (1987). Adjustment of immigrants in Canada: Methodological possibilities and its implications. *International migration*, 25: 21–40. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.1987.tb00123.x
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Morrow, S.L. (2005).
- Moya, M. Y., & Lamborn, S. D. (2010). Hmong American adolescents' perceptions of ethnic socialization practices. *Journal of Adolescent Research*. vol 25(3), 416-440 doi: 10.1177/0743558410361369
- Murshed, Y., & Choudhury, N. K. (1997). Bangladesh's second chance. *Journal of democracy*, 8(1), 70-82
- Nabara, GS., & Lollis, S. (2009). How adolescent children of African Jamaican immigrants living in Canada perceive and negotiate their roles within a matrifocal family. Department of Psychology, Trent University, Ontario, Canada University of Guelph. *Family Process*, 48(3), 441-458. doi: 10.1111/j.1545-5300.2009.01294.x.
- National Institutes of Health (2008). MedlinePlus. Retrieved 6th September, 2011, from <http://web.archive.org/web/20100723005407/http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ency/article/001950.htm>
- Ochocka, J., Janzen, R., Anisef, P., Kilbride, K. M., Sundar, P., & Fuller, C. (2001). Study on parenting issues of newcomer families in Ontario: Waterloo region findings. Prepared for citizenship and immigration Canada. Kitchener, ON: Centre for Research and Education in Human Services / Centre for Community Based Research. Retrieved 6th September, 2011, from <http://www.communitybasedresearch.ca/resources/Publications/Project%20publications/356-Waterloo%20final%20centre%20version.pdf>
- Oppedal, B., & Røysamb, E. (2004). Mental health, life stress and social support among young Norwegian adolescents with immigrant and host national background. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 45, 131–144. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9450.2004.00388.x
- Padilla, A.M. (2006). Bicultural social development. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 28(4), 467–497. doi: 10.1177/0739986306294255
- Parse, R. R., Coyne, A. B. & Smith, M. J. (1985). *Nursing research: Qualitative methods*. Bowie, MD: Brady Communications Company, Inc.
- Pearlin, L.I., & Schooler, C. (1978). The structure of coping. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 19, 2-21. Retrieved 30th September, 2012, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2136319>

- Perreira, K M., & Smith, L. (2007). A cultural-ecological model of migration and development: focusing on Latino immigrant youth. *Prevention Researcher, 14*(4), 6-9. Retrieved 20th September, 2011, from <http://www.tpronline.org/download-free-article.cfm?id=493>
- Perreira, K.M, Chapman, M.V., & Stein, G.L. (2006). Becoming an American parent: Overcoming challenges and finding strength in a new immigrant Latino community. *Journal of Family Issues, 27*(10), 1383–1414. doi: 10.1177/0192513X06290041
- Phinney, J.S., Ong, A., & Madden, T. (2000). Cultural values and intergenerational discrepancies in immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Child Development, 71*, 528-539. doi: 0009-3920/2000/71-0020
- Polit D.F., & Hungler B.P. (1995). *Nursing research: Principles and methods*. (5thed). Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott company.
- Qin, D. (2006). "Our child doesn't talk to us anymore": Alienation in immigrant Chinese families. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, Vol. 37*(2), 162–179. doi: 10.1525/aeq.2006.37.2.162
- Quinoñes-Mayo, Y., & Dempsey, P. (2005). Finding the bicultural balance: Immigrant Latino mothers raising "American" adolescents. *Child Welfare, 84*(5), 649-667.
- Rahman, S. (2010). *Historical dictionary of Bangladesh*. Scarecrow Press.
- Richardson, G. E. (2002). The metatheory of resilience and resiliency. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 58*(3), 307-321. doi: 10.1002/jclp. 10020
- Romi, S., & Simcha, G. (2009). Ego identity and perceived family functioning: Comparing at-risk native-born and immigrant Ethiopian adolescents in Israel. *Adolescence, 44*(176), 869-890.
- Sandelowski, M. (2000). Whatever happened to qualitative description? *Research in Nursing and Health, 23*, 334-340. Retrieved 12th September 2011, from <http://www.wou.edu/~mcgladm/Quantitative%20Methods/optional%20stuff/qualitative%20description.pdf>
- Sandelowski, M. (1995). Qualitative analysis: What it is and how to begin. *Research in Nursing & Health, 18*: 371–375. doi: 10.1002/nur.4770180411
- Sandelowski, M. (1986). The problem of rigor in qualitative research. *Advances in Nursing Science, 8*(3), 27-37. Retrieved 12th September 2011, from <http://journals.lww.com/advancesinnursingscience/toc/1986/04000>
- Siddiqui, T. (2003). *Migration as a livelihood strategy of the poor: the Bangladesh case*. Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit, Dhaka University

- Skokauskas, N., & Clarke, D. (2009). Mental health of immigrant children: A new challenge for child and adolescent psychiatry services in Ireland. *Child Care in Practice*, 15(3), 227-233. Retrieved 12th September 2011, from <http://0-www.informaworld.com.darius.uleth.ca/smpp/content~db=all~content=a913700802>
- Small, M. L. (2009). 'How many cases do I need?' On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography* 10: 5–38. doi:10.1177/1466138108099586
- Smokowski, P.R., Chapman, M.V., & Bacallao, M.L (2007). Acculturation risk and protective factors and mental health symptoms in immigrant Latino adolescents. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 16(3) doi:10.1080/10911350802107710
- Statistics Canada (2007). *Study: Canada's immigrant labour market. The Daily, Monday, September 10, 2007*. Retrieved October 6th, 2011, from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/070910/dq070910a-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada (2006). *Immigrant population by place of birth, by province and territory (2006 Census) (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia)* Retrieved October 6th, 2011, from <http://www40.statcan.ca/101/cst01/demo34c-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada (2005b) *Coalition to equal access to education: Demographic trends*. Retrieved 25th November, 2011, from <http://www.eslaction.com/index.php?page=demographics>
- Statistics Canada (2001). *Immigrant population by place of birth and period of immigration, 2001 Census*. Online Catalogue No. 92-376-XIE. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Retrieved October 10, 2008, from <http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/demo35c.htm>
- Stoll, K. (2008). Correlates and predictors of tobacco use among immigrant and refugee youth in a western Canadian city. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 10(6), 567-574. doi 10.1007/s10903-008-9136-4.
- Steinberg, L., & Silk, J. (2002). Parenting adolescents. In M. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of Parenting*, Vol. 1: *Children and parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 103-133). Mahwah, New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suarez-Orozco, M.M. (2001). *Children of Immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Tamara, S. P. (2011). Resilience and the role of sibling relationships among children within homeless families (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved 7th July, 2013, from

http://scholarlyrepository.miami.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1530&context=oa_dissertations

- Thomas, M., & Choi, J.B. (2006). Acculturative stress and social support among Korean and Indian immigrant adolescents in the United States. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*; 33(2), 123-143.
- Tyyskä, V. (2008). Parents and teens in immigrant families: Cultural influences and material pressures. *Association for Canadian Studies*, 79-83. Retrieved 10th October, 2010 from http://canada.metropolis.net/pdfs/Pgs_can_diversity_parents_spring08_e.pdf
- Tyyskä, V. (2006). *Teen perspectives on family relations in the Toronto Tamil community*. Toronto: CERIS, Working paper no 45. Retrieved 10th October, 2010 from http://www.ceris.metropolis.net/wp-content/uploads/pdf/research_publication/working_papers/wp45.pdf
- Tyyskä, V. (2003). "Solidarity and conflict: Teen-parent relationships in Iranian immigrant families in Toronto." in voices. *Essays on Canadian families* (2nd edition). Edited by M. Lynn, 312-331 Toronto: Nelson Thomson Learning.
- Tyyskä, V. (2001). *Long and winding road: Adolescents and youth in Canada today*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press. Retrieved 10th October, 2010 from <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/32872074>
- Uddin, Sufia M. (2006). *Constructing Bangladesh: Religion, ethnicity, and language in an Islamic nation*. The University of North Carolina press.
- United Nations Population Division (2002). *World immigration report*. New York: United Nations.
- Vazsonyi, A.T & Killias, M. (2001). Immigration and crime among youth in Switzerland. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 28(3), 329-366. doi: 10.1177/0093854801028003004
- Walsh, F. (1993). Conceptualization of normal family processes, (pp. 3-69), in F. Walsh (ed.), *Normal family processes*, (2nd ed). New York: Guilford Press.
- Walsh, F. (1996). The Concept of Family Resilience: Crisis and Challenge. *Family Process*, 35, 261-281. doi: 10.1111/j.1545-5300.1996.00261.x
- Walsh, F. (2003). Family resilience: A framework for clinical practice. *Family Process*, 42 (1), 1-19. Retrieved 10th October, 2011 from <http://www.csun.edu/~whw2380/542/Family%20Resilience%20Framework.htm>
- Walsh, F. (2006). *Strengthening family resilience*. New York: Guilford Press.

- Werner, E. E. (1993). Risk, resilience, and recovery: prospective from the Kaurai Longitudinal Study, *Development and Psychopathology*, 5, 503-515. Retrieved 10th October, 2011 from <http://faculty.mwsu.edu/psychology/dave.carlston/Child/Undergrad/resilience.pdf>
- White, S. C. (1992). *Arguing with the crocodile: Gender and class in Bangladesh*. Edition, illustrated. Publisher Zed Books.
- World health organization (2013). Health topics, adolescent health. Retrieved on 10th July, 2013, from http://www.who.int/topics/adolescent_health/en/
- Wong, S. K. (1999). Acculturation, peer relations and delinquent behaviour of Chinese-Canadian youth. *Adolescence*, 34(133), 107-119.
- Yeh, C. J., & Inose, M. (2002). Difficulties and coping strategies of Chinese, Japanese and Korean immigrant students. *Adolescence*, 37(145), 69-82.
- Yeh, C. J., Ching, A. M., Okubo, Y., & Luthar, S. S. (2007). Development of a mentoring program for Chinese immigrant adolescents' cultural adjustment. *Adolescence*, 42(168), 733-747.
- Yeh, C. J., Ma, P.-W., Madan-Bahel, A., Hunter, C. D., Jung, S., Kim, A. B., Akitaya, K., & Sasaki, K. (2005). The Cultural negotiations of Korean immigrant youth. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 83, 172–182. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6678.2005.tb00594.x
- Ying, Y. W., & Han, M. (2008). Parental acculturation, parental involvement, intergenerational relationship and adolescent outcomes in immigrant Filipino American families. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 6, 112-131. doi: 10.1080/15362940802119351
- Zhou, M. (1997). Growing up American: The challenge confronting immigrant children and children of immigrants. *Annual Review of Sociology* 23, 63–65. Retrieved 20th October, 2011 from http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/zhou/pubs/Zhou_GrowingUpAmerican.pdf

Appendix A
Assent Form for adolescents
Faculty of Health Sciences

Study title: Vulnerabilities and strengths in parent-adolescent relationship in South Asian immigrant families in Alberta

Dear participant,

I am a graduate student in the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Lethbridge. My research is about immigrant parents and their adolescent child. I would like to invite you to be in this study.

I am interested in the experiences of parent-adolescent relationship in Canada and how you overcome the challenges you have to face with your parents/ adolescent child in Canada. If you agree to be in the study, I will interview you up to two times. During the interviews I will ask you about how you have viewed your parent-adolescents relationships. Please take time to make your decision. Talk to your family about it and be sure to ask questions about anything you do not understand.

Each interview will take 60 to 90 minutes. The interviews will take place at a private and mutually agreed upon location (e.g. in your home). Each interview will be audio-recorded.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you will receive a total of \$30.00 cash for your time and contributions to the study. Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time and will still be entitled to the \$30.00.

Given that your experiences in your relationship with your parents may entail hardships or challenges -- you may experience some discomfort or emotional distress during your interviews. If your participation in this study is distressing to you, I will provide you with the contact information of a counselor who will offer you support as appropriate. Alternatively, you can withdraw at any time of the interview.

You may also find the interview to be very enjoyable and rewarding, as many people who experience challenges in their relationship with their parents do not get to share their experiences with a skilled and non-judgmental interviewer, as you will. By participating in this research, you may also benefit other immigrant adolescent by helping people to better understand the hardships and challenges of relationships with their parents, and to know how some adolescents can successfully overcome these challenges.

I will keep private your name and any information about you. I (the researcher) will translate if the interviews are conducted in a language other than English and will transcribe the interviews. The recorded interviews will be typed up. Then the recorded interviews will be erased. The typed interviews will not have your name on them. I will remove all information that could identify you from the interviews. I will keep the typed interviews in a locked cabinet at the university. Only my supervisor and I will read the interviews. However, because of the small size of your community people may be able to identify you from information you give in the interview. All information you provide will be destroyed after 7 years.

This study information has been given to your parents/guardian in a consent form and if they agree that you could be in it. You can talk this over with them before you decide.

The results from this study will be presented in writing in journals read by academics, social seminar, professionals and policy makers, to help them better understand the challenges that adolescent immigrant experienced in their parent-adolescent relationship. The results may also be presented in person and at conferences to groups of counselors and health professionals. However, your name will not be used or any identifying information will not be revealed.

If you want a copy of the findings, please give me your telephone number and mailing address below.

If you require any information about this study, or would like to speak to the researcher, please call Farzana Afroz at +1403-929-2988/+1780-729-3980 or email at f.afroz@uleth.ca or Dr. Bonnie Lee (Supervisor) at bonnie.lee@uleth.ca at the University of Lethbridge. If you have any other questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research, you may also contact the Office of Research Services at the University of Lethbridge at 403-329-2747 or research.services@uleth.ca.

Agreement to be in the study

Your signature below means that you have read the above information about the study and have had a chance to ask questions to help you understand what you will do in this study. Your signature also means that you have been advised that you can change your mind later and withdraw if you want to. By signing this assent form you are not giving up any of your legal rights. You will be given a copy of this form.

Signature of Participant (13years & older)

Date

Name of Participant (13 years & older)

Signature of Person who explained this form

Date

Name of Person who explained form

I have read the above information and give consent for audio recording while interviewing.

_____ (Name of the participant)

_____ (Signature)

_____ (Date)

- Please call me at (Ph no 403-929-2988/780-729-3980) and discuss how to best share the findings with me.
 - Please send me the findings from the study at the address listed below.
- Address:

.....
.....

Appendix B

Consent Form of parents to give permission to their adolescent child to interview

Faculty of Health Sciences

Study title: Vulnerabilities and strengths in parent-adolescent relationship in South Asian immigrant families in Alberta

Dear parents,

I am a graduate student in the Master of Science (Health Sciences) program at the University of Lethbridge. I have recently immigrated to Canada and my own experiences during the process of immigration encourage me to further study an aspect of immigrant issues. Therefore, your child is being invited to participate in a research study on recent immigrant adolescent's experiences in parent-adolescent relationship in Canada. In particular, I am interested to know the challenges Canadian immigrant adolescents experience during their process of migration. Please take time to make your decision. Talk to your child about it and be sure to ask questions about anything you do not understand.

This research will require about two interviews and each interview will take 60 to 90 minutes of your child's time. During this time, your child will be interviewed about his/her positive and negative experiences with his/her parents and the challenges that he/she has to face in their relationship in Canada. The interviews will take place at a private and mutually agreed upon location (e.g. in your home), and will be audio-recorded with his/her permission. I (the researcher) will translate if the interviews are conducted in a language other than English and transcribe the interviews.

Given that his/her experiences in his/her relationship with his/her parents may entail hardships or challenges – he/she may experience some discomfort or emotional distress during his/her interviews. If his/her participation in this study is distressing to him/her, I will provide him/her with the contact information of a counselor who will offer his/her support as appropriate and he/she may withdraw at any time from the interview.

Several steps will be taken to protect his/her anonymity and identity. Pseudonym will be used according his/her choice. While the interviews will be audio-recorded, the tapes will be destroyed once they have been typed up. The typed interviews will NOT contain any mention of his/her name. Any identifying information from the interview will be removed. His/her interview will be identified by a number and not by any names. However, because of the small size of your community people may be able to identify him/her from information he/she gives in the interview. The typed interviews will also be kept in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Lethbridge, and only the researcher and her supervisor (sworn to confidentiality) will have access to the interviews. All information provided by you will be destroyed after 7 years.

His/her participation in this research is completely voluntary. If he/she decides to participate, he/she will receive a total of \$30.00 cash for his/her time and contributions to the study. Participation is voluntary and he/she may withdraw at any time and will still be entitled to the \$30.00.

However, he/she may withdraw from the study at any time for any reason without any negative consequences.

The results from this study will be presented in writing in journals read by academics, social seminar, professionals and policy makers, to help them better understand the challenges that adolescent immigrant experienced in their parent-adolescent relationship. The results may also be presented in person and at conferences to groups of counselors and health professionals. However, your child's name will not be used or any identifying information will not be revealed. If your son/daughter wishes to receive a copy of the results from this study, he/she can provide his/her telephone number and mailing address.

If you require any information about this study, or would like to speak to the researcher, please call Farzana Afroz at 780-729-3980 or email @f.afroz@uleth.ca or Dr. Bonnie Lee (Supervisor) @bonnie.lee@uleth.ca at the University of Lethbridge. If you have any other questions regarding your rights as a participant's parent in this research, you may also contact the Office of Research Services at the University of Lethbridge at 403-329-2747

I have read (or have been read) the above information regarding this research study, and give consent for voluntarily participation of my son/ daughter in this study.

_____ (Printed Name)

_____ (Signature)

_____ (Date)

I have read the above information and give consent for audio recording while interviewing my child

_____ (Printed Name)

_____ (Signature)

_____ (Date)

Appendix C
Consent Form for immigrant parents

Faculty of Health Sciences

Study title: Vulnerabilities and strengths in parent-adolescent relationship in South Asian immigrant families in Alberta

Dear participant,

I am a graduate student in the Master of Science (Health Sciences) program at the University of Lethbridge. I have recently immigrated to Canada and my own experiences during the process of immigration encourage me to further study an aspect of immigrant issues. Therefore, you are being invited to participate in a research study on recent adolescent immigrants and their parents in Canada. In particular, I am interested to know about the strengths and vulnerabilities of parent-adolescent relationship challenges in South Asian immigrants in Alberta.

This research will require about two interviews and each interview will take 60-90 minutes of your time. During this time, you will be interviewed about your relationship with your adolescent child after immigrating in Canada and the challenges that you have to face in your relationship with your adolescent child. The interviews will take place at a private and mutually agreed upon location (e.g. in your home), and will be audio-recorded with your permission. I (the researcher) will translate if the interviews are conducted in a language other than English and transcribe the interviews. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary.

If you decide to participate, you will receive a total of \$30.00 cash for your time and contributions to the study. Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time and will still be entitled to the \$30.00.

Given that your experiences in your relationship with your adolescent child may entail hardships or challenges -- you may experience some discomfort or emotional distress during your interviews. If your participation in this study is distressing to you, I will provide you with the contact information of a counselor who will offer you support as appropriate or withdraw from the interview at any time.

You may also find the interview to be very enjoyable and rewarding, as many people who experience challenges in their relationship with their adolescent child do not get to share their experiences with a skilled and non-judgmental interviewer, as you will. By participating in this research, you may also benefit other immigrant parents by helping parents to better understand the hardships and challenges of relationships with their adolescent child, and to know how some parents and adolescents can successfully overcome these challenges.

Several steps will be taken to protect your anonymity and identity. Pseudonym will be used according your choice. While the interviews will be audio-recorded, the tapes will

be destroyed once they have been typed up. The typed interviews will not contain any mention of your name. Any identifying information from the interview will be removed. Your interview will be identified by a number and not by any names. However, because of the small size of your community people may be able to identify you from information you give in the interview. The typed interviews will also be kept in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Lethbridge, and only the researcher and her supervisor (sworn to confidentiality) will have access to the interviews. All information provided by you will be destroyed after 7 years.

The results from this study will be presented in writing in journals read by academics, social seminar, professionals and policy makers, to help them better understand the challenges that adolescent immigrant experienced in their parent-adolescent relationship. The results may also be presented in person and at conferences to groups of counselors and health professionals. However, your name will not be used or any identifying information will not be revealed. If you wish to receive a copy of the results from this study, you can provide your telephone number and mailing address at the column given below.

If you require any information about this study, or would like to speak to the researcher, please call Farzana Afroz at +1780-729-3980 or email [@f.afroz@uleth.ca](mailto:f.afroz@uleth.ca) or Dr. Bonnie Lee (Supervisor) at bonnie.lee@uleth.ca at the University of Lethbridge. If you have any other questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research, you may also contact the Office of Research Services at the University of Lethbridge at 403-329-2747 or research.services@uleth.ca.

Agreement to be in the study

Your signature below means that you have read the above information about the study and have had a chance to ask questions to help you understand what you will do in this study. Your signature also means that you have been advised that you can change your mind later and withdraw if you want to. By signing this assent form you are not giving up any of your legal rights. You will be given a copy of this form.

Signature of Participant

Date

Name of Participant

Signature of Person who explained this form

Date

Name of Person who explained form

I have read the above information and given consent for audio recording while interviewing.

_____ (Printed Name)

_____ (Signature)

_____ (Date)

- Please call me at (Ph No 403-929-2988/780-729-3980) and discuss how to best share the findings with me.
- Please send me the findings from the study at the address listed below.

Address: -----

Appendix D

Poster

Are you an Immigrant adolescent/ immigrant parent of an adolescent child of Bangladeshi origin?

Do you wish to share your immigration experience with us?

Would you like to share your challenges in your family that you face in your life in Canada which may help other immigrant adolescents/ parents in their journey?

If your answer is yes, you are invited to take part in the research study:

Vulnerabilities and strengths in parent-adolescent relationship in Bangladeshi immigrant families in Alberta



You can participate in this study if:

- If you are an Immigrant adolescent(13-17 years)
- Or if you are an immigrant parent of an adolescent child of 13-17 years
- If you are emigrated from Bangladesh
- If you are living in Canada for 1 to 8 years

If you decide to participate, you will receive a total of \$30.00 cash for your time and contributions to the study. This research will require two interviews and each interview will take 60-90 minutes of your time.

If you are interested in participating in our study, please call FarzanaAfroz at 780-729-3980 or e-mail at f.afroz@uleth.ca or farzanaafroz30@gmail.com

Thank you for your interest.
Farzana Afroz,
M.Sc Student, University of Lethbridge

Appendix E
Demographic Sheet (Immigrant adolescent)

This information will be used to situate the respondents within the study, not to individually identified participants.

1. What is your country of origin? _____

2. When did you come to Canada? _____

3. Did you come together as a family?

4. What is your age?

5. Age at time of migration

6. Gender

male

female

5 Education

6. Do you practice a faith/religion?

yes

no

7. If so, what is your religion/faith?

Appendix F
Demographic Sheet (Immigrant parents)

This information will be used to situate the respondents within the study, not to individually identified participants.

1. What is your country of origin?

2. When did you come to Canada?

3. Manner of immigration -

4. What is your age?

5. Age of arrival in Canada

4. Gender

Male Female

5. Education

6. Do you practice a faith/religion?

Yes No

7. If so, what is your religion/faith?

8. Number of child you have

9. How many girls or boys you have?

10. Occupation now in Canada

11. Occupation before migrating to Canada

12. Approximately how many hours you or your partner works?

13. Approximate household income

14. Do you live in an extended family?

Appendix G

Interview guide for immigrant parents

Belief systems of family:

Making meaning of adversity :

On Immigration

- How did you feel about your immigration before you came to Canada?
- How do you feel about your immigration now?
- How important do you see your ethnic cultural values, practices and religious values, practices before you came to Canada and after you come to Canada?

On adolescence

- What are your views about the youths (ages 13-17) in Canada? How is this different from earlier childhood in your country ?
- How do you feel about your children adopting Canadian lifestyle?
- How does it feel when your adolescent child wants to follow his/her peer group in Canada?

Sub-questions: Does your adolescent child seek independence around decision making?

How do you feel if your adolescent child started dating someone outside your ethnic community?

Positive outlook

- How do you feel about your future, your child's future and your families' future in Canada?

Transcendence and spirituality

- What cultural and religious traditions/practices do you want your adolescent child to maintain?

Sub-questions: Do you find this challenging? How will you do this? What activities do you do together as a family?

Organizational patterns of family:

Flexibility :adapting to fit new challenge

On immigration:

- How does immigration experience affect your relationship with your adolescent child?
- How has the quality of parent-child relationship between you and your adolescent child changed after immigrating to Canada?

Sub-questions: If it has changed then why do you think it has changed? What are the factors responsible for its change?

- Describe your parenting and child rearing experiences in Canada.

On adolescence:

- How has the parent-child relationship between you and your adolescent child changed after your child turned thirteen years old in Canada?

Social and economic resources

On social support:

- Are you live with your relatives?
- What are the extended families, social and institutional support system do you tap into to support you and your adolescent child?
- How do you find the education system, school environment for your adolescent child?

On adolescence:

- How did economic challenges affect your family relationship as whole with your adolescent child? Please share your experiences.

Sub-questions: Are you working long time outside your home? How does it affect your relationship with your adolescent child?

Connectedness

- How well does your adolescent child fulfil your expectations?
- What mental stress and/or achievement are you aware of in your adolescent child? How did you become aware of them?

- What do you do when your adolescent child faces difficult situations in school/at home?
- What are the important steps you take to communicate with your adolescent child?

Communication processes in family:

Open emotional expression

- How does your family member spend time with each other and also you spend your time with your adolescent child in your regular day?
- How would you describe the time you spend together with your child?
- What are the approaches you use to convey your cultural traditions to your adolescent child?

Sub-question: Do you want your adolescent child to talk in your native language?

Sub-question: Do you want your adolescent child to maintain your cultural tradition, celebration and cultural food habits?

- Do you feel there is an intergenerational gap in your parent-adolescent relationship? Please describe.

Sub-questions: If there is no intergenerational gap between you, then what did help you to maintain the harmony?

Collaborative problem solving

- How satisfied are you in communication with your adolescent child? What goes well?
- What are the challenges you face to communicate with your child? How do you feel about that and what do you do to overcome this?

Clarity

- What are the factors that influence your relationship with your adolescent child in a positive way?
- What are the factors that influence your relationship with your adolescent child in a negative way?

Appendix H

Interview guide for immigrant adolescent

Belief systems of the family

Making meaning of adversity

On Immigration

- How did you feel about your immigration before you came to Canada?
- How do you feel about your immigration now?
- How important do you see your ethnic cultural values, practices and religious values, practices before migration and after migration?

On adolescence

- How do your parents and you feel about adopting Canadian lifestyle?
- How do your parents feel when you want to follow your peer group in Canada or want to date someone outside your ethnic community or from your own ethnicity?

Sub-questions: Do you seek independence around decision making?

- How important are your parents' values, beliefs and expectations for you?
- What are the expectations of you from your parents?

Positive outlook

- How do you feel about your future, your family's future in Canada?

Transcendence and spirituality

- What cultural tradition do you want to maintain?
- How do you like your culture of origin?

Organizational patterns of the family

Flexibility: adapting to fit new challenge

On immigration

- How does immigration experience affect your relationship with your parents?

- How has the quality of parent-child relationship between you and your parents changed after immigrating to Canada?

Sub-questions: If it has changed then why do you think it has changed?

- How do you like your own ethnic culture and ethnic food habits?
- Do you often eat ethnic foods?

On adolescence:

- How has the parent-child relationship between you and your parents changed after you turned thirteen years old In Canada?
- Describe your relationship with your parents.

Social and economic resources

On social support :

- What are the extended families, social and institutional support system do you tap into to support you and your parents?
- How do your parents find the education system, school environment for you?

On adolescence:

- How did economic challenges affect your relationship with your parents in your family? Please share your experiences.

Sub-questions: Are your parents working long time outside your home? How does it affect your relationship with your parents?

Connectedness

On immigration

- What language do you speak at home?

Sub-question: Are you comfortable to speak in your native language? If not, what are the reasons behind that?

Sub-question: Do your parents want you to talk in your native language? Are your parents fluent in speaking English? If not, how does it feel to you?

On adolescence

- How well do you fulfil your parents' expectations?

Communicational processes in family

Clarity

- What do you do when you face difficult situations?
- When you have stress, whom do you talk to? How do you deal with that?

Open emotional expression

- How does your family member spend time with each other and also you spend your time with your parents in your regular day?
- How would you describe the time you spend together with your parents?

Sub-question: Do you think you need spend to more time with your parents?

Sub-question: Do you want to spend more time with your friends rather than your parents?

Collaborative problem solving

- What are the factors that influence your relationships with your parents in a positive way?
- Do you feel there is an intergenerational gap in your parent-adolescent relationship?

Sub-questions: If there is no intergenerational gap between you, then what did help you to maintain the harmony?

Sub-question: Do you parents allow you to spend the nights in a friend's house or go for a date?

Sub-question: If not, then how do you react on their decision?

Sub-question: Are there any restrictions in maintaining relationships with your Canadian friends?

- What are the approaches you take to improve your relationship with your parents?
How did you improve the relationship?
- What are the compromises and changes you had to bring in your lifestyles to satisfy your parents?

Appendix I

Immigrant population: People who are or who have ever been landed immigrants.

Landed immigrants are people who have been permitted by immigration authorities to live in Canada permanently; some will have lived in Canada for a number of years, while others have arrived recently.

Refugee: Most countries, including Canada, use the definition from the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees, commonly known as the "Refugee Convention". A refugee is a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country..."

<http://www.amnesty.ca/Refugee/who.php>