PERCEIVED DYADIC CULTURAL DISCREPANCIES, INTERGENERATIONAL CONFLICT, AND ETHNOCULTURAL IDENTITY CONFLICT IN ARAB CANADIAN FAMILIES

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University of Guelph, 2012

Research on developmental, family, and cross-cultural psychology has consistently found evidence that discrepancies exist between parents and their youth around individual preferences, social conventions, and personal values. In immigrant families, these issues may be compounded by cultural change. Indeed, some research has found that immigrant parent-youth dyads diverge in their heritage and settlement culture orientations and have different personal values priorities. These discrepancies, in turn, are related to poorer youth and family adjustment. In recent years, some studies have proposed that facets of the parent-youth relationship may buffer the experience of maladjustment as a function of cultural discrepancies. Therefore, this dissertation had two general aims: (1) to examine the extent to which immigrant Arab Canadian youth perceive cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, as well as how they relate to individual and familial adjustment; and (2) to identify specific facets of the parent-youth relationship that moderate the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and outcomes.

Although research on different cultural groups as well as immigrant and ethnic minority families has increased in recent years, there is a paucity of empirical work examining Arab immigrants in Canada. This dissertation used a mixed-methods approach to comprehensively investigate youth’s perceptions of parent-youth cultural discrepancies and
parent-youth relationships, and how they related to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.

Study 1 consisted of a series of semi-structured interviews. Using a narrative approach, 12 immigrant youth were asked to describe their individual and family experiences as Arabs living in Canada. Findings confirmed that youth perceived cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, which were associated with increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. However, specific aspects of the parent-youth relationship were identified as either a protective (i.e., when they were open, communicative, and supportive) or risk (i.e., when they were marked by emotional distance) factor.

Study 2 was a quantitative approach to examine the prevalence of perceived cultural discrepancies, and their association with intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. Specifically, a series of hierarchical regressions were used to test the hypotheses that parent-youth relationships moderated the associations between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict. Results confirmed that immigrant Arab youth in Canada perceived heritage and settlement culture orientation and values discrepancies between themselves and their parents, that perceived cultural discrepancies were associated with more conflict, and that parent-youth relationships moderated the relationship between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict.

These studies were among the first to examine these issues in immigrant Arab families in Canada. It is imperative to increase our knowledge of Arab families in Canada given their rapid population growth, cultural dissimilarity, the pervasiveness of group misunderstanding and misrepresentation that has been exacerbated post-9/11, and the likelihood that immigration from the Middle East and North Africa will surge following the Arab Spring.
Acknowledgements

I have thought about writing my acknowledgements at least once a week for the past four years and yet, I find myself unable to fully articulate my gratitude to those who have helped me along the way. First and foremost, I have to extend my deepest appreciation to my advisors, Susan Chuang and Karl Hennig, for their mentorship, support, and patience. Sue, you have helped me through every step of the process, fought for me when I needed your help, and been an invaluable support system on weekends, over holidays, and at a moment’s notice. Thank you. Karl, thank you for always challenging me to think of the forest and not just the trees, and your tireless work on my results. I would also like to thank Margaret Lumley for being a helpful and accommodating member of my advisory committee. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my colleagues at the University of Western Australia, Julie Lee and Geoff Soutar, for their support as I completed my dissertation, and their willingness to brainstorm ideas and run statistics with me.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support and enthusiasm I received from my participants. A big ‘thank you’ to Omar, Karina, Lana, Iskandar, Ahmed, Khaled, Mostafa, Mahmoud, Layla, Amani, and Dina for sharing your life experiences with me. I admire each and every one of you, and your courage, strength, and resilience.

I would not be here today were it not for the love and support of my family and friends. My parents, Yousri and Theresa, encouraged me to apply for graduate school six years ago when I found myself at a crossroads in my life. I thank you for pushing me to realize my full potential, and for providing me with an incredible education from kindergarten through my Ph.D. Thank you to my brother, Adam, for your companionship and support. The years after you left Guelph were certainly not as fun as when you lived there too. I also have to thank my closest friends, Francesca, Sarah, and Stefanie, for always being
there and remembering to ask about my progress, but more importantly, for reminding me that love and friendship are the most important things in life.

My experience has certainly not been a typical one. Over the last four years, I have moved from Guelph to Akron, Ohio and then to Perth, Western Australia. These moves are part of the reason I feel such a close connection to my research, and I have used what I know about acculturation and adaptation to ease some of my own personal stresses around moving. I have also faced some challenges at the University of Guelph. To the person who tried to bring me down, thank you for making me stronger.

Last but certainly not least, to my husband Tim, thank you for making sure I got a break from my dissertation by marrying me twice! To my beautiful son Alexander, thank you for inspiring me and for your words of encouragement. You were both by my side on this emotional rollercoaster, and I can’t wait to make up for the time you sacrificed with me so that I could finish. I hope I have made you proud. I love you both.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Every year, millions of people leave their country of birth in pursuit of economic and social opportunities, as well as political and religious freedom. In 2010, there were almost 214 million international migrants worldwide. Most of these migrants had moved to developed nations, but some countries such as Canada attracted more immigrants than others. As of 2010, almost 4% of all international migrants (over 7.2 million people) were living in Canada, a country that comprises only 0.5% of the global population (United Nations, 2009). Many of these migrants chose to settle in Canada because it is a pluralistic society (Berry, 2003), with an official multiculturalism policy (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2006), and delivers a wide array of support services through an extensive network of settlement agencies (Chuang, Rasmi, & Friesen, 2011).

Currently, there are over 200 different ethnic origins in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008). One of the fastest growing groups is Arab Canadians, whose population increased 27% between 1996 and 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2007) and an additional 34% from 2001 to 2006. By 2010, there were over 470,000 Arab Canadians, the majority of whom (56%) were immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2010). The term Arab Canadian refers to people who have migrated to Canada and originate from North Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia), the Arab Levantine states (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the Palestinian Territories), the Arab peninsular countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen), and Iraq. Despite some intracultural variation, people throughout this region are united by their shared identity, language, and cultural traditions, which include music, food, and customs (Barakat, 1993). However, Arab culture beliefs, values, norms, and practices differ markedly from those held by Canadian culture (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 2006).
Given the fundamental differences between Arab and Canadian cultures, immigrant Arab Canadians may be challenged to balance two cultural worlds. To illustrate, when immigrant children begin school, they are exposed to teachers, peers, and a curriculum that likely espouse competing values, beliefs, and behaviours as compared to their heritage culture (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). At home, however, their parents may continue to speak the Arabic language, cook Arab food, practice their religious traditions, and enforce rules that are consistent with their heritage beliefs and values. Over time, as youth are socialized in Canada, they often become more oriented to the settlement culture and begin to internalize its values (Kwak, 2003). As their parents were socialized in the heritage society, this shift is less likely to occur and when it does, it happens at a slower rate (Costigan & Dokis, 2006a).

When parents and youth are differentially oriented to their settlement and heritage culture or values, they experience acculturation and personal values discrepancies (collectively referred to hereinafter as cultural discrepancies), which may strain family relationships and complicate normative identity development. Specifically, some research has found that cultural discrepancies are related to intergenerational conflict, which refers to the interpersonal conflict that occurs between parents and their children (e.g., Tardif & Geva, 2006; Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008), as well as ethnocultural identity conflict, which refers to the internal conflict that may result when individuals have a strong attachment to multiple identities that have conflicting norms (e.g., Ward, 2007, 2008). Recently, a few studies have proposed that aspects of the parent-youth relationship moderate the association between cultural discrepancies and various individual and familial outcomes (e.g., Kim & Park, 2011; Schofield, Parke, Kim, & Coltrane, 2008; Weaver & Kim, 2008) but these studies have not yet been examined with an immigrant Arab Canadian sample. The general aim of this program of research is to identify the extent to which immigrant Arab Canadian youth perceive cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, how discrepancies
relate to conflict, and whether specific aspects of the parent-youth relationship moderate the association between parent-youth discrepancies and conflict (for conceptual model, see Figure 1).

The following section provides a literature review on Arab and Canadian cultures, acculturation, personal values, intergenerational conflict, and ethnocultural identity conflict. This chapter concludes with the specific aims and outline of this program of research.

**Arab and Canadian Cultures**

Arab and Canadian cultures differ in a number of important ways that have implications for family relationships and settlement. Hofstede (2001) conducted one of the most comprehensive and influential studies of culture, in which he ranked 50 countries and three regions on five cultural dimensions, including: (1) *power distance*: the degree of equality inherent in relationships between two people, one typically more powerful than the other, that belong to the same social network; (2) *uncertainty avoidance*: coping mechanisms, such as law and religion, which are used to deal with the existential challenge of uncertainty about the future; and (3) *individualism-collectivism*: centrality of the individual versus the group. Based on this research, he found that a group of seven Arab countries (Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) differed from Canada on three dimensions (see Figure 2).

More specifically, Arab culture is marked by autocratic and paternalistic interpersonal relationships (large power distance), an intolerance of opinions that dissent from the status quo (strong uncertainty avoidant), strict adherence to cultural norms, and prioritizes the group over individual wants and needs (collectivistic). Canadian culture, in contrast, consists of relationships that are democratic and consultative (small power distance), denounces prejudicial and dogmatic beliefs and behaviours (weak uncertainty avoidant), prioritizes
individual needs, and values self-expression, individual thinking, and personal choice (individualistic; Hofstede, 2001).

Similarly, Schwartz (1990, 1999) proposed a theory of cultural value orientations that identified three salient value dimensions which can be used to compare and understand differences between cultures. The cultural values underlying this theory reflect normative behaviours that express the priorities of important societal institutions, which are promulgated through customs, laws, norms, and scripts. In 2006, Schwartz empirically mapped 76 countries using this theory and found that Arab and Canadian values differed considerably on all three dimensions: egalitarianism-hierarchy, autonomy-embeddedness, and mastery-harmony. First, Arab countries emphasize hierarchy whereas Canada emphasizes egalitarianism. Countries that are high on hierarchy expect people to adhere to roles that ensure smooth societal functioning, and value social power, authority, humility, and wealth. In contrast, countries that are high on egalitarianism expect people to cooperate with one another to ensure both individual and collective success, and value equality, social justice, responsibility, help, and honesty. Second, Arab countries emphasize embeddedness and reject autonomy, which Canada emphasizes. Countries that are high on embeddedness prioritize personal relationships and individuals tend to find meaning in life by identifying with their ingroup, sharing the same values, and having the same goals. Maintaining the status quo is important and thus, values such as tradition, conformity, security, obedience, and social order are prominent. Countries that are high on autonomy, on the other hand, prioritize the individual over the group and encourage the pursuit of individual and intellectual independence, as well as positive affective experiences. Third, Canada emphasizes mastery (neither mastery nor harmony are salient to Arab culture). Countries that are high on mastery encourage people to develop and hone their skills, and use them to direct
and change the environment, as well as personal and group goals. For this reason, countries high on mastery value ambition, success, daring, and competence.

In sum, Hofstede’s (2001) cultural dimensions and Schwartz’s (2006) cultural value orientations revealed significant differences between Arab and Canadian culture. As a function of these cultural differences, Arab and Canadian society also diverge in their family structure and socialization goals. In Arab culture, the family is the most important unit of society (Britto & Amer, 2007), and collectively takes precedence over its individual members (Bushfield & Fitzpatrick, 2010). Family structure in Arab societies consists of powerful parents and subservient children; fathers are the leaders of their families (Kazarian, 2005) and mothers are the primary caregivers and disciplinarians (Hattar-Pollara & Meleis, 1995). Arab children are socialized to be obedient, deferent (Kayyali, 2006), interdependent (Abudabbeh, 1996), and assume responsibility for the care of their aging parents (Khalaila, 2010). Schwartz (2006) argued that cultures that are high in embeddedness and low in autonomy socialize their children to be obedient and hardworking, and discourage imagination in order to reinforce tradition and conformity values. In contrast, family structure in Western countries such as Canada is more fluid; Women are more involved in the labour force and non-traditional families (i.e., single-parent, blended, or gay) are more common (Marsiglio, Day, & Lamb, 2000). Canadian children are taught to actively experiment with and question their environment (Hofstede, 2001), and are encouraged to learn independence and self-care, with weaker expectations of relationship maintenance in adulthood (McGill & Pearce, 1996).

These cross-cultural differences emphasize the importance of nesting parent-youth relationships within the sociocultural contexts in which they occur (Chuang & Moreno, 2011; Harkness & Super, 2002; Marks & Palkovitz, 2004; Taylor & Behnke, 2005). The next section provides some insight into the Canadian immigration context, as well as the characteristics of Arabs in Canada.
**The Canadian immigration context.** In 1971, Canada became the first country in the world to implement an official multiculturalism policy, which was ratified to protect the rights and liberties of all Canadians, irrespective of their heritage, language, or religious affiliation. The Multiculturalism Policy of Canada also affirmed English and French as Canada’s two official languages, and confirmed the rights of Aboriginal peoples (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2008). Canada is considered a pluralist society because it has officially endorsed both bilingualism and multiculturalism (Reitz, Breton, Dion, & Dion, 2009).

In 1988, Canada enacted the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which aimed to “recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance, and share their cultural heritage” (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2006). This act endeavours to ensure economic, social, cultural, and political equality, inclusivity, and understanding for all Canadians. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act is supported by the Multiculturalism Policy of Canada, as well as an extensive network of settlement agencies that is funded, developed, and delivered by all levels of Canadian government (Chuang et al., 2011). Together, Canada’s official multiculturalism policy and settlement-specific services have contributed to a high naturalization rate (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2009; Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2012).

In sum, Canada’s policy and services make it a unique sociocultural landscape that is conducive to immigrant adaptation. However, the acculturation process and intergroup relations may be strained for some culturally distant groups, such as Arabs in Canada (Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2008).
Arabs in Canada. In 2007, Statistics Canada published a report on the Arab community in Canada that was based on the 2001 Census figures. According to this report, most Arabs in Canada were of Lebanese (41%), Egyptian (12%), Syrian (6%), Moroccan (6%), Iraqi (6%), Algerian (4%), or Palestinian (4%) heritage, and had settled primarily in Ontario (43%) or Quebec (29%). In contrast to the predominantly Muslim Arab region, Arabs in Canada were equally divided among Christian (44%) and Muslim (44%) religious affiliations. The Arab Canadian population was found to be younger and better educated than the national population, but also more likely to be unemployed and have a low income. Statistics Canada also found that most Arab Canadians reported a strong sense of belonging to their ethnocultural group (52%) as well as Canada (88%). However, 25% of Arabs in Canada indicated that they had been discriminated against either at work, applying for a job, or within the broader community.

Taken together, characteristics of the Arab Canadian population and their immigration context highlight three important reasons for studying Arab Canadian settlement issues. First, even though Canada is generally a tolerant and accepting pluralist society, discrimination still exists and can be particularly relevant for Arabs post-9/11 (Khalema & Wannas-Jones, 2003). Second, Arab Canadians are recent settlers (Statistics Canada, 2010) who are challenged to adapt to a settlement society that is very different from their country of origin (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 2006). Both post-9/11 discrimination (Padela & Heisler, 2010) and cultural dissimilarity (Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009) have been found to predict poor adjustment. Third, Arab Canadians are young and more likely to live with others (Statistics Canada, 2007), suggesting that youth and family issues, including acculturation and cultural discrepancies, should be at the forefront of the Arab Canadian research agenda.
Acculturation Theory and Cultural Discrepancies

Acculturation is classically defined as the process of reciprocal and mutual changes that occur as a result of sustained intercultural contact between two or more groups within a single society, as well as their individual members (Berry, 2003; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Thus, acculturation occurs at both the group and individual levels, with the latter referred to as *psychological acculturation*. To date, the most influential and widely established acculturation theory is Berry’s (1997) orthogonal model (see Figure 3). Previous conceptualizations treated acculturation as a unidimensional model, positing that as an individual acquired the settlement culture, they simultaneously abandoned their heritage culture. In contrast, Berry argued that psychological acculturation centres around two choices: the extent to which an individual wishes to interact with and adopt aspects of their settlement culture, and the extent to which they wish to preserve elements of their heritage culture. An individual’s choices along these two dimensions result in one of four acculturation strategies. Individuals who adopt an *assimilation* strategy choose to embrace the settlement culture, while also forsaking their heritage culture. In contrast, individuals who adopt a *separation* strategy are neither interested in interacting with or acquiring aspects of the settlement culture, while also preferring to preserve their heritage culture. Individuals who adopt an *integration* strategy embrace the settlement culture by interacting with and adopting it, while also maintaining their heritage culture. Lastly, individuals who adopt the *marginalization* strategy are those who are not motivated to interact with, adopt, or maintain either culture.

Although psychological acculturation occurs individually, it is also experienced within the family context. In contrast to people who migrate independently, individual members of immigrant families experience their own acculturation process within the parameters of their family relationships (Berry, Phinney, Kwak, & Sam, 2006). For example,
Arab parents are challenged to socialize their children for success in the new society even as they undergo their own acculturation process, which can require emphasizing behaviours and values that are inconsistent with their own (Peterson, Steinmetz, & Wilson, 2003). Immigrant youth, on the other hand, must navigate developmental demands, such as an increased need for autonomy, in the context of cultural change (Costigan, Su, & Hua, 2009) and often before their parents are willing to grant it (Juang & Nguyen, 2009). The experience and outcomes of these issues are affected by immigrant youth’s and parents’ orientation toward their heritage and settlement cultures. Generally, it is thought to be less disruptive when parents and youth have compatible orientations, such as when both prefer to preserve their heritage culture over interacting with and acquiring aspects of the settlement culture (i.e., separation strategy, marked by high heritage culture orientation and low settlement culture orientation). It is thought to be more problematic when parents and youth have opposing orientations, such as when parents adopt a separation strategy whereas their children prefer to forsake their heritage culture and embrace the settlement culture in adopting an assimilation strategy.

**Cultural discrepancies.** There is a growing body of research examining how opposing heritage and settlement culture orientations affect youth adjustment and family functioning. Most of this research is grounded in the *acculturation gap-distress model* which is predicated on two assumptions: (1) youth are more oriented toward the settlement culture than their parents; and (2) this difference exerts a negative effect on youth and families. Although this model makes intuitive sense, empirical support has been more limited (Kağıtçibaşi, 2006). Indeed, some studies have found that youth and parents are very similar. For example, immigrant parents from collectivistic backgrounds tend to have children who are also collectivistic (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001) with shared views on issues such as peer relations, academic achievement, sexuality, and neolocality (Kağıtçibaşi, 2003). Others have argued that there are actually four types of discrepancies that should be considered: when the
youth is more oriented to the heritage culture (discrepancy 1) and/or settlement culture (discrepancy 2) than their parents, or when parents are more oriented to the heritage culture (discrepancy 3) and/or settlement culture (discrepancy 4) than youth (Telzer, 2010).

Moreover, some studies have found that only some of these discrepancies are associated with poorer outcomes. For example, in a sample of Chinese American mother-adolescent dyads, Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau, and McCabe (2009) found that the only discrepancy associated with increased adolescent depression and somatization was discrepancy 4.

Many of the inconsistent and contradictory findings reported by acculturation discrepancies studies stem from the same conceptual and methodological issues limiting the broader acculturation literature. Surprisingly, some studies continue to treat acculturation as a unidimensional continuum (Berry, 2003) despite widespread support for the bidimensional model (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). To illustrate, Marín, Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, and Perez-Stable’s (1987) unidimensional measure, *A Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics*, has been cited over 1,000 times. Another primary issue is that many studies draw broad conclusions from a single proxy measure of acculturation. For example, Pasch, Deardorff, Tschann, Flores, Penilla, and Patoja (2006) concluded that acculturation discrepancies were unrelated to parent-adolescent conflict and youth adjustment in a community sample of Mexican American families (mothers, fathers, and children). However, acculturation was only measured using a six-item language subscale. Thus, their findings only reflected one aspect of behavioural acculturation, and overlooked other important components such as cultural identification, values, and participation (Costigan, 2010), as well as broader contextual factors including political and government systems, employment, and economics (Navas Luque, Fernández, & Tejada, 2006). Unfortunately, these approaches have limited cross-study comparability (Zane & Mak, 2003) and theoretical development, as the

1 1,077 citations in Google Scholar as of April 27, 2012.
The acculturation field has only experienced moderate growth relative to the number of studies conducted (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006).

In recent years, some scholars have put forward suggestions for how to address the field’s limitations and further our understanding of the acculturation gap-distress model. Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, and Szapocznik (2010) proposed a multidimensional conceptual model of acculturation, which identified three core components: cultural practices (i.e., behaviours including language and food), cultural identification (i.e., heritage culture versus settlement culture identity), and cultural values (i.e., independence-interdependence and individualism-collectivism). To date, acculturation measures have focused primarily on cultural practices, and to a lesser extent, cultural identification. In a review of 28 acculturation measures with a total of 6,850 citations, 100% included items reflecting cultural practices, 39% included items reflecting cultural identification, and only 21% included items reflecting cultural values (see Table 1). In most cases, value items were either confounded with other dimensions (e.g., “As far as behaviours and values, I am American/Vietnamese” from the Acculturation Scale for Vietnamese Americans; Nguyen & von Eye, 2002) or they were very broad (e.g., “I believe in the values of my heritage/mainstream culture” from the Vancouver Index of Acculturation; Ryder et al., 2000).

Although cultural values are informative, they are not the most appropriate for examining acculturation and settlement issues as they reflect the average normative values across society, and are not representative of all individuals within a society. Therefore, it is expected that some immigrants will place greater importance on values that are compatible with the settlement culture, whereas others may strongly espouse values that are consistent with the heritage culture. To account for these differences, this program of research examines personal values, which are classically defined as the principles and broad life goals that guide an individual’s life (Rokeach, 1968). It is important to examine personal values in addition to
heritage and settlement culture orientation (i.e., cultural practices and identification) because they are intrinsic and slower to change, yet affected by significant life events (Bardi, Lee, Towfigh-Hofman, & Soutar, 2009).

**Values Discrepancies**

Currently, the most influential and widely established theoretical framework of personal values is Schwartz’s (1992) personal values theory. According to Schwartz, personal values are internalized within an individual in a structure of relative importance. This structure is best represented by a quasi-circumplex model (see Figure 4), consisting of two higher-order value dimensions that organize 10 value types (see Table 2). The first dimension, *openness to change versus conservation*, refers to the conflict motivated by uncertainty and unpredictability versus the preservation of certainty, tradition, and the status quo. The second dimension, *self-transcendence versus self-enhancement*, refers to the conflict motivated by concern for others versus concern for self. To date, Schwartz’s personal values theory has been supported in over 80 countries and on every inhabited continent, demonstrating almost universal support for the structure of values, as well as a consistent hierarchy of value priorities (Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz, 2011; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).

In Schwartz’s (1992) personal values structure, adjacent values express compatible motivations and opposite values express conflicting motivations. For example, *tradition* refers to respect, commitment, and acceptance of customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide, and is located beside *conformity*, which emphasizes restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses that are likely to harm others and violate social expectations or norms. These values oppose *stimulation*, which refers to the excitement, novelty, and challenge in life, and *self-direction*, which emphasizes independent thought and action. According to Schwartz, adjacent values lead to similar judgments and behaviours, whereas
opposing values lead to conflicting judgment and behaviours. For example, if a parent asked a child to do something that s/he really did not want to do, the child may or may not comply. Complying would fulfil conformity and security values, but violate self-direction values, whereas not complying would fulfil self-direction values, but violate conformity and security values. Consequently, holding opposite values that are highly important (e.g., conformity and self-direction), can cause internal conflict that is associated with decreased psychological adjustment.

Historically, researchers have assumed that personal values are relatively stable in adults. Most of the existing research on real-life\textsuperscript{2} value change has examined the average change in a society or group across time using matched cross-sectional samples. These studies often suggest that values are stable within countries. For example, Davidov (2008) found that the aggregate mean difference in the importance of values between rounds 1 and 2 of the European Social Survey showed very little change within countries over a two- to three-year period. However, a few studies found predictable value change using smaller specific samples. For example, Verskalo, Goodwin, and Bezmenova (2006) reported an increase in the importance of security in two samples of Finnish school children and university students using data collected before and after 9/11. However, the results of these studies must be interpreted with caution, as they did not track longitudinal change within the same group of individuals.

Far fewer studies have examined longitudinal mean level changes in value importance using the same participants at time 1 and time 2. These studies have reported value change attributed to a specific environment in teenagers and young adults. For example, Hofman-Towfigh (2007) found that German adolescents placed more importance on power and achievement and less on benevolence and universalism over the course of a school year.

\textsuperscript{2} In contrast to laboratory studies examining value change after priming or asking respondents to think about their values.
Krishnan (2008) found that Indian business students placed more importance on self-enhancement values and less on self-transcendence values over the course of two years.

Recent seminal research in the area of value change has clearly shown that values can change in adults, depending on life events. For example, Bardi and colleagues (2009) examined real-life intra-individual value change over the long term across four longitudinal studies, varying in life contexts, time frames, populations, countries, languages, and value measures. This program of research proposed and found that value change mirrored Schwartz’s (1992) theoretical structure of values, where neighbouring values tended to move together. For example, if achievement became more important, the neighbouring values of power and hedonism also became somewhat more important, and the opposing values of benevolence and universalism became somewhat less important. Bardi and colleagues also found that major life events significantly affected the extent of value change in the adult sample, in that those who experienced more major life events were less stable in their values. Maio, Pakizeh, Cheung, and Ress (2009) found similar (short term) effects in laboratory experiments. However, little is known about what promotes a person’s value change in the long term.

Despite the lack of longitudinal value change research, some recent theoretical progress has been made. Bardi and Goodwin (2011) proposed a theoretical model in which value change can result from both automatic and effortful processing. In this model, the most direct route to long term value change comes from environmental cues either through priming the importance of the target value repeatedly (i.e., through automatic processes) or through repeated re-evaluation of the target across a range of different situations (i.e., through effortful processes). These events result in a schema change which in turn promotes long term value change. Maio (2010) conducted a number of experiments and found that value change was induced when participants were asked to elaborate on why they held certain
values. However, Bardi and Goodwin argued that challenging values is not sufficient for long
term value change as people may reject the value-challenge message immediately, especially
if the value poses a threat to the individual (e.g., challenging traditional values for a very
devout person). In real life, messages targeted at value change (e.g., in the media, education,
or by any socialization agent such as parents and peers) are likely to produce resistance, in a
manner similar to attitude change (e.g., Aronson, 1999). Indeed, values may be even more
resistant to challenge than attitudes, as they are central to an individual’s self-concept
(Rokeach, 1973).

For longer term value change to occur, values need to be challenged repeatedly and in
the same direction which strengthens the links of the new schema until it eventually becomes
central. It is possible that a single event is sufficient to cause permanent change, if it leads to
considerable deliberation, and the individual is able to relate the new value to different life
situations that result in deep conviction (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Immigration is a major life
event that can also prompt value change as a result of extended intercultural contact (Arends-
Tóth & van de Vijver, 2008). Immigrants with value structures that conflict with the
settlement culture – such as Arabs in Canada – are likely to be more receptive to changes in
their value schema if they adopt an integration strategy, which encourages effortful
processing and interaction with the settlement culture. Moreover, repeated exposure to life
events that promote the settlement culture’s values will strengthen the links in their new
settlement culture values schema until it becomes central.

Value change may start to occur immediately following migration as individuals are
exposed and must adapt to a new cultural values system. For parents and youth who migrate
together, the process of personal values change occurs individually and within the context of
other family members’ personal values change. Immigrant parents, particularly those from
culturally distant countries, are challenged to reconcile two conflicting values systems as they
try to socialize their children. Many parents recognize that the heritage culture values that are important to them may not be adaptive in the settlement society, and struggle with whether they should try to transmit them to their children. For example, Tam and Lee (2010) found that Chinese mothers in Singapore identified differences between their personal values and perceived normative (Singaporean) values. Both sets of values were associated with the socialization goals they wished to transmit to their daughters; however, mother’s personal values were prioritized in value transmission. Immigrant youth’s values, on the other hand, often favoured the settlement culture’s normative values over time (Phinney et al., 2000), resulting in a potential parent-youth values discrepancy (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001). Some research has argued that parent-youth values discrepancies are exacerbated when there is a poor family-environment values fit (Boehnke, Hadjar, & Baier, 2007; Knafo, 2003), as there will be for many, if not most, Arab Canadian families.

Despite evidence to suggest that values can and do change in response to significant life events (Bardi et al., 2009), most investigations of personal values have been conducted with majority groups (Suizzo, 2007). Similarly, most cultural discrepancies studies incorporating values have focused on cultural values, which do not account for individual differences within a society. Thus, there is a gap in our understanding of the values structures and priorities of immigrants, as well as parent-youth values discrepancies. To address this gap, the present program of research examined whether immigrant Arab Canadian youth who perceive their parents to hold conflicting values experience increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict, and whether this association is moderated by the parent-youth relationship.

**Intergenerational Conflict**

Conflict is defined as an “interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or dissonance within or between social entities”, including the self, other
individuals, groups, and/or organizations (Rahim, 2002, p. 207). Conflict has been studied extensively in several fields such as developmental and family psychology. This research has tended to focus on the interpersonal conflict that occurs between parents and their children.

To date, the intergenerational conflict literature has focused on conflict frequency and intensity, as well as the specific issues over which youth disagree. Generally, as youth grow older conflict frequency decreases whereas conflict intensity increases (for review, see Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998; Steinberg, 2001). The literature has consistently found that parent-youth dyads fight over every day mundane issues (Yau & Smetana, 2003), including: chores; choice, timing, or duration of activities; homework, academic, and career issues; and bedtime and curfew (Lundell, Grusec, McShane, & Davidov, 2008).

Many scholars have examined intergenerational conflict using the domain specificity perspective (Turiel, 2002), which proposes that individuals’ varied social experiences lead to the development of different domains of knowledge. Three domains organize schemata that individuals develop to navigate their social worlds: (1) moral: prescribes rules and behaviours intended to preserve the rights and welfare of others, and also maintaining justice and fairness; (2) social conventional: norms that guide social interaction, and uphold social structure, conventions, and institutions; and (3) personal: issues of personal preferences and choice, including privacy, activities, and friendships (for review, see Smetana, 2006).

Parental authority is considered most appropriate when regulating moral and social conventional issues, and least legitimate in the personal domain (Nucci, 1981; Nucci & Weber, 1995). Parents and youth generally agree that personal issues are within the youth’s jurisdiction because they reflect personal preferences and choices. However, parents and youth differentially demarcate the boundaries of the personal domain and as a result, more intergenerational conflict occurs over these issues (Fuligni, 1998; Smetana & Gaines, 1999; Steinberg, 2001). For example, Smetana and Asquith (1994) found that parents asserted their
authority using social conventional justifications, whereas youth perceived the same conflict issues to be personal. As a result, youth viewed their parents’ exertion of authority as an infringement on their personal freedom, which is an important and pancultural aspect of identity development and individuation (Nucci & Turiel, 2000; Silk, Morris, Kanaya, & Steinberg, 2003). For this reason, social cognitive research has examined autonomy development by considering changes in parent and youth conceptions of what constitutes the personal domain (Daddis, 2008).

Autonomy is a salient component of intergenerational conflict in adolescence and young adulthood, particularly as youth undergo numerous developmental changes to their identity, cognitive capabilities, and peer relationships (Steinberg & Silk, 2002) as they learn to self-regulate and develop their own belief and value systems (Arnett, 2007). In Western families, these changes are typically accompanied by youth’s greater expectations for autonomy, which can lead to disruptions in the family system. Parents attempt to resolve these disruptions either by increasing youth involvement in the decision-making process, reasoning with them, or granting the autonomy that youth desire (Sorkhabi, 2010). In Arab families, these strategies to reduce conflict may be less relevant as a function of their culture’s socialization goals, to the extent that Arab parents seek to instil obedience, discourage freehold exploration, and expect rigid adherence to rules and regulations (Hofstede, 2001). These socialization goals are successfully transmitted within the context of strong parent-youth relationships and Arab cultural values; namely an emphasis on hierarchy and embeddedness, as well as rejection of autonomy (Schwartz, 2006). As a result, Arab youth tend to conform to parental wishes and authority and desire autonomy to a lesser extent as well as at a later age than their Western counterparts.

In Arab families, the culturally-specific concept of ‘aib affects autonomy expectations and parental authority, which in turn, are associated with intergenerational conflict. ‘Aib
refers to any issue that is both morally and socially unacceptable, and which brings shame to the individual and his or her family by violating their honour or reputation, two salient Arab cultural ideals (Uskul, Oyserman, & Schwarz, 2010; Wikan, 1984). Arab parents can apply 'aib to manage their children’s behaviour in a diverse range of contexts, including being unkind to someone (moral), speaking to an elder out of turn (social conventional), and engaging in activities that violate gender role ideologies (personal). In Arab countries, the use of 'aib in this way is common, and Arab children tend to expect and accept it. Indeed, Arab youth in the Middle East tend to submit to their parents’ wishes, including but not limited to internalizing their parents’ worldview (Dwairy, Achoui, Abouserie, & Farah, 2006; Dwairy, Achoui, Abouserie, Farah, Sakhleh, Fayad, et al., 2006).

In contrast to Arab families living in their country of origin, immigrant Arab families might be at heightened risk for intergenerational conflict. The primary reason for this is that immigrant families are challenged by developmental demands in the context of cultural change (Li, 2009). This process is particularly complicated for immigrants from culturally dissimilar countries – such as Arabs in Canada – as they are exposed to a society with considerably different cultural norms and values. One of the major differences between Arab and Canadian culture is their socialization goals. In contrast to Arab families, Western families emphasize personal choice, autonomy, and individuation (Phinney & Ong, 2002). Clearly, if Arab youth detach themselves from their parents’ beliefs about strong paternalistic authority and group priorities, and reorient towards the Canadian beliefs about consultative family relationships and personal choice, there is increased opportunity for conflict. This suggests that cultural discrepancies may be associated with intergenerational conflict.

Consistent with the acculturation gap-distress model, there is some evidence to suggest that immigrant parent-youth dyads are more likely to experience intergenerational conflict when youth are more strongly oriented to the settlement culture and values, and/or
less strongly oriented to the heritage culture and values than their parents (e.g., Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008; Tardif & Geva, 2006; Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Smokowski, Rose, & Bacallao, 2008). As Arab youth acclimate to Canadian culture, they are exposed to the ideals of personal choice and freedom, without the explicit association with shame that it has in Arab culture (Uskul et al., 2010; Wikan, 1984). As a result, youth may desire more autonomy (Juang & Nguyen, 2009; Kwak, 2003) and become more likely to assert themselves (Nucci & Turiel, 2000) in conflict situations, which could lead to more frequent and intense conflict as the use of 'aib as a justification of parental authority is rejected. Parents, in turn, may address these discrepancies by becoming stricter (Kayyali, 2006), leading to intrafamilial tension that is often at the root of intergenerational conflict (Li, 2009).

Intergenerational conflict, however, can be mitigated by cultural frame switching which refers to the process through which biculturals (i.e., individuals who have significant experience with two or more cultures) shift between two skill sets to meet the demands of their different cultural and social environments (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). For example, it may be more adaptive for youth to emphasize autonomy to facilitate academic achievement, but relatedness in their family relationships (Ko, Shao, & Wang, 2009). Although effective, it is not always possible to use cultural frame switching to resolve conflict (Giguère, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010). For example, many bicultural youth fight with their parents about romantic relationships that are exogamous (i.e., involve members of an ethnocultural outgroup) (Uskul, Lalonde, & Konanur, 2011), which cannot be alternated. Youth in this type of situation may feel conflicted between two worlds, leading to a fragmented identity and making it more difficult for them to resolve their normative identity development by committing to an achieved identity. This highlights the relevance of examining both intergenerational conflict as well as ethnocultural identity conflict in immigrant families.
Although some research has argued that intergenerational conflict issues are shaped by the family’s cultural background (e.g., Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2008; Yau & Smetana, 1996), no studies have examined intergenerational conflict in Arab families. Indeed, most research to date has focused on European American samples (Oetzel, Ting-Toomey, Chew-Sanchez, Harris, Wilcox, & Stumpf, 2003), and to a lesser extent, Asian and Latino immigrant and minority families (see Chuang & Gielen, 2009; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009). Despite some cross-cultural overlap between East Asian and Arab families, the unique cultural heritage of Arab families warrants independent investigation. Given the significant cultural change that immigrant Arab youth and families experience post-migration, the relevance and shifting meaning of ‘aib, and the salience of family in Arab society which is argued to exacerbate the effects of intergenerational conflict on the family system (Hernández, García, & Flynn, 2010), it is imperative that intergenerational conflict in immigrant Arab families is examined. This program of research addresses these questions using a mixed methods approach across two studies.

**Ethnocultural Identity Conflict**

The concept of ethnocultural identity has its roots in social identity theory. According to Tajfel (1974), ethnocultural identity is the segment of social identity referring to a “part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 69). Thus, ethnocultural identity falls at the intersection of personal and group identities and develops over time (Phinney, 1989).

In a literature review, Phinney and Ong (2007a) identified several components of ethnocultural identity, including self-categorization, commitment and attachment, and

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The terms “ethnic identity” and “cultural identity” have been used almost interchangeably in the literature. In this study, the term “ethnocultural identity” is used to represent identity as consisting of both ethnic heritage and sociocultural identification.
exploration. As some researchers have contended, self-categorization is the most basic element of ethnocultural identity (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). It refers to identifying oneself as a member of a particular group. However, many people use multiple labels to describe themselves and thus, commitment and attachment to an ethnocultural identity are more important than self-categorization.

Commitment and attachment usually arise through identity exploration and occur when one internalizes their identity and develops an achieved sense of self. This process occurs in four stages: (1) diffused: individual has neither explored nor understood their ethnicity, and lacks a sense of belonging or pride in their ethnocultural group; (2) foreclosed: individual has committed to an ethnocultural identity without exploring it, which typically occurs when people espouse an identity that reflects the views of close and powerful others, such as parents, without question; (3) moratorium: individual is trying to understand their identity but has not yet committed to it; and (4) achieved: individual has explored and committed to an ethnocultural identity (Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989). People with an achieved ethnocultural identity feel a sense of belonging and hold positive attitudes toward their ingroup (Phinney, Jacoby, & Silva, 2007).

Erikson (1968) argued that identity formation occurs primarily in adolescence and young adulthood, after which one’s sense of self remains stable, continuous, and secure. However, more contemporary research has described it as complex, dynamic, and situational (e.g., Yip & Fuligni, 2002) and argued that identity can develop throughout the life cycle, particularly in response to new experiences (Phinney, 2006). For example, immigration can prompt ethnocultural identity development as individuals are exposed to and must negotiate novel aspects of the settlement culture with their heritage behaviours, values, and beliefs.

Consistent with Berry’s (1997) bidimensional model of acculturation, Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) identified four distinct identity profiles in their study of over 5,000
youth from 13 immigrant-receiving countries (samples including youth from majority and minority ethnocultural groups). The results of this study indicated that most youth preferred an integrated identity (i.e., maintaining their heritage identity and also acquiring a settlement identity; analogous to integration), followed by a separated identity (i.e., maintaining their heritage identity but not acquiring a settlement identity; analogous to separation), a national identity (i.e., not maintaining their heritage identity but acquiring a settlement identity; analogous to assimilation), and a diffuse identity (i.e., not maintaining their heritage identity and not acquiring a settlement identity; analogous to marginalization). Similar to acculturation orientation, an integrated identity is the most adaptive (e.g., Sam & Virta, 2001; Stuart & Ward, 2011).

An integrated identity is most likely to occur when an individual strongly desires heritage culture maintenance within a pluralistic immigration context, and when majority members of the settlement society also prefer that immigrants adopt an integration orientation (Phinney, 1990). Thus, an integrated identity is fostered in a multicultural country such as Canada, where most majority group members expect immigrants to endorse the public values enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, while also recognizing their right to maintain heritage values that do not violate civil and criminal laws (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). Similarly, immigrants in Canada tend to strongly endorse an integration orientation (and by extension, an integrated identity) (Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010). According to Bourhis and colleagues’ (1997) Interactive Acculturation Model, the degree of concordance between the acculturation orientations preferred by immigrant groups and the cultural majority is associated with intergroup outcomes. Specifically, concordant orientations are associated with more harmonious relations and less problematic outcomes than discordant orientations. Taken together, immigrants in Canada may be more likely to have an integrated identity, which is associated
with positive evaluations of the in- and outgroup, and bicultural efficacy. These immigrants may also be more likely to endorse *biculturalism*, which refers to the internalization of two cultures through exposure (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Similar to integration, biculturalism is associated with better psychological and sociocultural outcomes than separation/separated identity, assimilation/national identity, and marginalization/diffuse identity (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, in press).

In recent years, cultural frame switching and bicultural identity integration have been identified as salient aspects of biculturalism. Cultural frame switching is moderated by *bicultural identity integration*, which is an individual difference variable that refers to whether individuals perceive their heritage and settlement culture to be compatible or oppositional. Benet-Martínez and colleagues ((Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006) found that when primed with cultural artifacts, individuals with high bicultural identity integration made attributions that matched culture, whereas those with low bicultural identity integration do not.

Bicultural identity integration consists of two components: cultural distance (versus overlap) and cultural conflict (versus harmony) that are conceptually and psychometrically independent (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). *Cultural distance* refers to the degree to which one compartmentalizes their heritage and settlement culture identities. For example, an individual who is high on cultural distance would self-identify as an “Arab in Canada”, whereas an individual who is high on cultural overlap would self-categorize as an “Arab Canadian”. Predictors of cultural distance include close-mindedness, settlement culture language difficulties, and lower levels of cultural competence, all of which may be exacerbated by heritage and settlement culture dissimilarity. *Cultural conflict* refers to the degree to which one considers their heritage and settlement culture identities to be compatible. Predictors of cultural conflict include discrimination and strained intercultural
relations (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). Although research has suggested that intergroup relations and outcomes are better in contexts where majority and immigrant groups prefer concordant orientations/identifications, there is one caveat. Specifically, concordant orientations are more likely to occur when the majority group and immigrant population are culturally similar. For example, Safdar and colleagues (2008) found that European Canadians were more likely to espouse “welcoming” (e.g., integrationist) orientations towards British immigrants, and “unwelcoming” (e.g., exclusionist) orientations toward Arab Muslim immigrants. Taken together, many immigrant Arabs in Canada may be high on cultural distance given the dissimilarity between Arab and Canadian culture (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 2006) and prefer separation/separated identity. Moreover, those who desire integration/integrated identity may experience resistance from members of the cultural majority and experience more cultural conflict.

Conceptually, the bicultural identity integration framework delineates two dimensions. Empirically, however, the distance scale tends to correlate with most predictors, whereas the conflict scale does not. Further, some studies have dropped the conflict scale due to its lack of internal consistency (i.e., Cronbach’s alpha coefficient of .45; Cheng et al., 2006). In recent years, other scholars have examined aspects of identity development that are similar to Benet-Martínez and Haritatos’ (2005) cultural distance dimension. For example, Ward, Stuart, and Kus (2011) have proposed and investigated ethnocultural identity conflict, which refers to the internal conflict that may result when individuals have a strong attachment to multiple identities that they perceive to be irreconcilable. Ethnocultural identity conflict is consistent with Baumeister, Shapiro, and Tice’s (1985) concept of identity conflict, which characterizes an inability to reconcile multiple competing senses of self, as well as the concept of moratorium (Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989).
Ethnocultural identity development may be particularly challenging for immigrant Arab youth and families for three reasons. First, the dissimilarity between Arab and Canadian culture means that immigrants have to negotiate their identity within the context of significant cultural change. Cultural dissimilarity between the heritage and settlement society is associated with increased ethnocultural identity conflict (Ward, 2008). Second, since the terrorist attacks of 9/11, some Arabs may encounter an unsupportive and hostile sociocultural environment that can negatively affect their identity development and adaptation (Britto, 2008). Bushfield and Fitzpatrick (2010) warned that identity development and adaptation of immigrant Arabs and Muslims may be hindered with the dominant society “attributing terrorism to Islamic beliefs and blurring identities of all Muslims and all Arabs” (p. 169). Third, minority Arab identification has been historically blurred by the United States and Canadian governments, who have classified people of Arab origin as “White” (Abu-Laban, 1980; Kayyali, 2006). Arabs have identified this as a double-barrelled disadvantage in the sense that they do not reap the benefits of majority group status because they are not perceived as White, but also cannot benefit from their minority status because of their “White” categorization (Cainkar, 2006). Taken together, these three factors may increase immigrant Arab Canadians’ experience of ethnocultural identity conflict.

Within immigrant families, parents and youth may each undergo identity development post-migration. Similar to culture orientation and personal values, it is important to consider ethnocultural identity development within the context of the family, where it is complicated. For example, immigrant youth are challenged to explore and commit to their identity as a developmentally normative task (Steinberg & Silk, 2002) within the context of their cultural change (Costigan et al., 2009), including exposure to competing value messages inside and outside the home (Phinney et al., 2000). Moreover, as a function of their own identity development, immigrant parents become less clear and consistent in their value messages
(Bornstein & Cote, 2006; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006), decreasing the likelihood that their children will internalize them (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Unsuccessful value transmission leads to parent-youth values discrepancies, which reinforce ethnocultural identity conflict (Ward, 2007) as well as some types of intergenerational conflict (Stuart & Ward, 2011). To date, no studies have examined these issues within immigrant Arab populations. The present program of research addressed this gap by investigating how both ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict relate to perceived cultural discrepancies in immigrant Arab families, and whether aspects of the parent-youth relationship moderate this association.

Parent-Youth Relationships in Immigrant Arab Canadian Families

The literature has examined how multiple facets of parent-youth relationship affect youth and family outcomes. Early research in this area was biased to the extent that it applied Western models of parenting to non-Western families. For example, Baumrind’s (1966) classic research argued that authoritarian parenting was consistently related to child maladjustment, without considering that authoritarian characteristics may be normative in some ethnocultural groups. Scholars now advocate the importance of nesting parent-youth relationships within the social, cultural, and historical contexts in which they occur (Chuang & Moreno, 2011; Harkness & Super, 2002; Marks & Palkovitz, 2004; Taylor & Behnke, 2005). To accomplish this goal, one must consider culturally normative values, beliefs, and behaviours, both broadly and with respect to the family. This idea is consistent with Bronfenbrenner’s (1992) ecological systems theory, which stresses that multiple overlapping social systems work together to dynamically influence development. One of these systems, the macrosystem, refers to cultural values, customs, and laws, and affects all other layers, namely the key structures in one’s life (i.e., family, school, and neighbourhood; the microsystem), the intersection of key structures in one’s life (i.e., the family’s role within the
neighbourhood; the mesosystem), the child’s indirect social system (i.e., community-based family resources; the exosystem), and the timing of events as well as the aging process (the chronosystem).

Consistent with ecological systems theory, more contemporary research has sought to contextualize families within their own sociocultural environment. However, an understanding of Arab families, both immigrant and otherwise, remains underdeveloped as most research on non-Western ethnic groups in Western immigration contexts has primarily focused on Latino and Asian populations (see Chuang & Gielen, 2009; Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009). One exception is a recent study conducted by Rasmi, Chuang, and Safdar (2012) that examined the association between perceived parental rejection and youth adjustment (psychological well-being, life satisfaction, and risk behaviour) for European Canadian, Arab Canadian, and Arab youth in Egypt and Lebanon. European Canadian youth were less likely to perceive parental rejection and had higher life satisfaction than both groups. However, perceived parental rejection was more strongly associated with poor outcomes in European Canadian families. Rasmi and colleagues argued that two culturally normative aspects of parent-youth relationships mitigated the effects of perceived parental rejection in Arab families: intrafamilial embeddedness and hierarchy.

Arab parents tend to believe that the world is a dangerous place and that they are protecting their children by discouraging exploration of the unknown and expecting them to adhere to strict rules and regulations (Hofstede, 2001). As such, the primary socialization goals in Arab families are diligence and obedience, achieved in part through vertical parent-child communication and even physical punishment (Kayyali, 2006). Although these parenting practices may be considered maladaptive in Western families, they are supported by the cultural values of embeddedness and hierarchy. For this reason, Arab youth have been found to be more emotionally, financially, and functionally interconnected with their parents.
while also favouring the notion of “absolute submission” to their parents (Dwairy et al., 2006a) and internalizing their parents’ beliefs across multiple domains (Dwairy et al., 2006b). Although obedience and control are the cultural underpinnings of both Arab society and families, Arab parents are typically caring and warm in the treatment of their children (Abudabbeh, 1996). Thus, perceived parental rejection is not met as negatively compared to Western families, where warmth and control are separate, mutually exclusive constructs (Chao, 1994, 1995; Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

Despite evidence to suggest the compatibility of warmth and control in Arab families, we currently lack an understanding of other aspects of parent-youth relationships, and how they are associated with cultural discrepancies, intergenerational conflict, and ethnocultural identity conflict. The cross-cultural and immigration literatures have suggested that strong parent-youth relationships in Hispanic and Latino minority groups in the United States are marked by honest, trust, respect, support, and communication (Crockett, Brown, Russell, & Shen, 2007). Strong relationships, in turn, protect against acculturative stress (Bacallao & Smowkowski, 2007) and are associated with an integration orientation and identity (Sullivan, Schwartz, Prado, Huang, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2007). The relevance of these aspects of parent-youth relationships in immigrant Arab families was examined in Study 1, an exploratory qualitative inquiry, designed to identify factors that may moderate the experience of intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies.

**Examining Mothers and Fathers Independently**

It is important to note that this program of research examined the relation between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict within mother- and father-youth dyads. The independent examination of youth’s perceptions of mothers and fathers builds on a historic bias in the literature where the term
“parent” had supplanted “mother” (for review, see Pleck & Pleck, 1997). This bias occurred because early parenting theories were shaped by the dominant family structure, which from 1830 to 1970 characterized fathers as providers and mothers as homemakers (Bernard, 1981). Moreover, fathers were viewed as distant and incompetent, whereas mothers were considered to be the superior parents (LaRossa, Gordon, Wilson, Bairan, & Jaret, 1991).

Recently, however, shifts in family roles, structure, and dynamics have prompted research to re-evaluate these conceptions. For example, increased women’s labour force participation has affected parental roles and patterns of economic provision within the family (Lamb & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004; Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). Early parenting role demarcations suggested that fathers would be superfluous in families where mothers did not struggle economically. As many mothers contribute financially to their families, the application of these theories has become less relevant (Videon, 2005). For this reason, research over the last 50 years has examined the influence of fathers above and beyond their economic contributions, demonstrating that they play an important role in their children’s lives and development (Lamb, Chuang, & Cabrera, 2003). For example, the extant literature has consistently found that fathers play important roles in their older children’s psychological (e.g., Bulanda & Mujamdar, 2009; Flouri, 2004; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003a; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003b), academic (Dotterer, Hoffman, Crouter, & McHale, 2008; Flouri & Buchanan, 2003c), behavioural (e.g., Cookston & Finlay, 2006; Hoeve, Dubas, Eichelsheim, Laan, Smeenk, & Gerris, 2009), and social adjustment (e.g., Stolz, Barber, & Olsen, 2005; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009).

Despite this progress, research has tended to focus on fathers of children under the age of 6 (Lamb, 1997; Lewis, 1997; Phares, Fields, & Kamboukos, 2009; Pleck & Hofferth, 2008) and those from white, middle class, European American families (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000). Many scholars have argued that cultural
diversity must be accounted for in fathering research (Chuang & Moreno, 2008; Parke, Coltrane, Borthwick-Duffy, Powers, Adams, Fabricius, et al., 2004; Pleck, 2004). Indeed, ethnic minority and immigrant fathers face their own unique challenges, such as securing employment commensurate with their credentials and thereby fulfilling their role as the patriarchal head of household (Day & Lamb, 2004; Este & Tachble, 2009; Lamb & Bougher, 2009; Qin, 2009). These issues may be particularly salient to immigrant Arab Canadians as they are more likely to be unemployed and have low incomes than the general population, particularly families with children under the age of 15 (40% versus 19% national average; Statistics Canada, 2007).

There is a dearth of research, however, on Arab fathers living in the Middle East, or on Arab immigrants elsewhere. The present studies addressed this gap by examining the cultural discrepancies that immigrant Arab youth perceived between themselves and both parents independently, and in relation to ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict. Further, this program of research investigated whether specific aspects of the father- and mother-youth relationship moderated these associations.

**Aims of the Present Studies**

To date, research has paid very little attention to Arab immigration and settlement issues, including cultural discrepancies, ethnocultural identity conflict, intergenerational conflict, and parent-youth relationships (Beitin, Allen, & Bekheet, 2010; Britto, 2008). The present program of research addressed this gap by investigating these issues in two studies, using both qualitative and quantitative methods. In particular, this program of research examined the differences that immigrant Arab Canadian youth perceive in their orientations toward Arab and Canadian culture and personal values as compared to their parents, and in relation to ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict. Moreover, as some research has suggested that an immigrant’s family can be the source of stress and/or social
support (Phinney & Ong, 2007b; Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart, & Kus, 2010), this program of research also identified factors that may promote or inhibit the experience of both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies. Thus, these studies had two broad aims:

**Aim 1.** To identify the extent to which youth perceive cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, and how they relate to ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict.

**Aim 2.** To examine factors that moderate the association between perceived cultural discrepancies on ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict.

**Overview of Studies 1 and 2**

To address these aims and extend our understanding of immigrant Arab Canadian youth and families, this program of research used a mixed methods approach. The first study was an exploratory investigation of the cultural experiences of immigrant Arab youth in Canada. Using narrative analysis, Study 1 examined the prevalence and salience of perceived cultural discrepancies, and the processes through which they affect ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict. Thematic analysis was used to identify factors that moderate the experience of ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies. The research approach, methodology, and findings of Study 1 are presented in Chapter 2.

Study 2 builds on the findings of Study 1 by testing a model of perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict for immigrant Arab Canadian youth and families. These constructs were probed using a series of questionnaires, which were then tested quantitatively. In particular, moderated regression analyses were conducted to determine if aspects of the parent-youth relationship moderated the relation between perceived cultural discrepancies...
and both ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict. The methodology and results of Study 2 are presented in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 4, a general discussion and conclusion are presented, including some focus on the limitations of the two studies, recommendations for future research, and social implications.
CHAPTER 2: STUDY 1

Arabs in Canada are challenged to adapt to a settlement culture that has different norms and beliefs (Hofstede, 2001) and espouses different values (Schwartz, 2006) than their heritage culture. As a function of these significant differences, immigrants must negotiate conflicting expectations that are placed on them by their family, religion, peers, school, and the larger settlement society (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Hedegaard, 2005). These incongruent expectations can contribute to cultural discrepancies between parents and their children (e.g., Collie, Kindon, Liu, & Podsiadlowski, 2010), as immigrant youth tend to be more oriented to their peers and the settlement society than their parents, who are more likely to retain their heritage culture and religious beliefs (Kwak, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). In turn, these cultural discrepancies can trigger family discord (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008) and identity development (Phinney & Baldeomar, 2011). Despite the relevance and salience of these issues, Arab scholarship and the broader acculturation and discrepancies literatures have directed very little attention to Arab immigration and settlement (Beitin et al., 2010).

Study 1 addressed this gap by using a qualitative inquiry to discover, represent, and interpret the experiences of immigrant Arab youth in Canada (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). In particular, this study used a narrative approach (Riessman, 1993; 2005) to identify the extent to which immigrant Arab Canadian youth perceive cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, and how these discrepancies are related to ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict (Aim 1). This study also examined factors that moderate the relation between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict (Aim 2). A qualitative inquiry was used to investigate these questions as it provides a holistic representation of youth’s experiences, shifts the focus from outcome to process, and privileges the accounts of minority youth (Li, 2009). For these reasons, Phinney (2010) recently stressed the importance of using qualitative methodologies to advance our understanding of cultural discrepancies. Yet, no
studies to date have examined cultural discrepancies in immigrant Arab Canadian families using a qualitative methodology.
Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 12 immigrant Arab youth who met the following criteria: (1) first-generation immigrant who had moved to Canada from an Arab country within the last 10 years; (2) self-categorized as “Arab” (or national identity; e.g., “Egyptian”) or “Arab Canadian”; (3) came from an intact nuclear family who had all migrated to Canada together; and (4) were unmarried. The first criterion was selected to ensure that participants had sufficient exposure to both Arab and Canadian cultures. The second criterion was a screening tool used to avoid sampling non-Arabs who had migrated to Canada from an Arab country, such as repatriating Canadians. The third criterion was implemented to ensure that participants could describe their experiences with both their fathers and mothers. The fourth criterion was to ensure that the nucleus of the family had not shifted from parent to spouse. Participant demographics, including the pseudonyms used in this chapter, are presented in Table 3.

Participants were evenly distributed by gender (6 males, 6 females) and ranged in age from 19 to 25 years old \((M = 21.33, SD = 1.72)\). All participants were single and were either enrolled \((n = 9; 75\%)\) or had recently graduated \((n = 3; 25\%)\) from a post-secondary institution. Most participants identified themselves as Muslim \((n = 8; 67\%)\) or Christian \((n = 3; 25\%)\). Although born Muslim, Omar indicated that he had recently converted to Atheism. Participants reported six different birth countries: Egypt \((n = 4; 33\%)\), Jordan \((n = 2; 17\%)\), Kuwait \((n = 1; 8\%)\), Qatar \((n = 2; 17\%)\), Saudi Arabia \((n = 2; 17\%)\), and the United Arab Emirates \((n = 1; 8\%)\).

Length of residence in Canada ranged from 5 to 10.42 years \((M = 7.52, SD = 2.55)\). Many youth indicated that one or more of their parents spent significant amounts of time each year in the Middle East, but all mothers and many fathers \((n = 5; 42\%)\) lived in Canada full-
time. Most youth \((n = 10; 83\%)\) lived with their family full-time. Both exceptions, Reem and Omar, attended university in a different city than the one in which their parents lived. Reem’s university was only 50 kilometres away from the family home, so she returned every weekend. In contrast, Omar’s university was 600 kilometres away, so he only returned during university breaks.

Socioeconomic status in this sample was moderate to high, as many participants \((n = 5; 56\%)\) were full-time students who did not work and received financial support from their parents, and those who did \((n = 4; 44\%)\) only worked part-time. Moreover, participants’ parents were highly educated, with the majority of mothers \((n = 7; 58\%)\) and fathers \((n = 9; 75\%)\) holding a Bachelor’s degree or higher. Some mothers \((n = 4; 33\%)\) and most fathers \((n = 11; 92\%)\) worked full-time. Seven participants (58%) indicated that their parents owned their home.

**Procedure**

Participants were recruited through university associations, settlement agencies and service providers, community organizations, and snowball sampling. Key persons at various organizations (i.e., members of the Executive Committees at university and community organizations, Executive Directors at settlement agencies) were contacted and asked to invite their members and/or clients to participate in this study. In some cases, the key persons forwarded expressions of interest to the interviewer and in others, prospective participants contacted the interviewer directly.

Once the interviewer screened each prospective participant to confirm that they met the study criteria, they were invited to participate in a face-to-face semi-structured interview, which lasted between 45 and 133 minutes \((M = 83:02, SD = 21:51)\). Participants were asked to recount their experiences as an immigrant of Arab origin in Canada, with questions specifically formulated to capture perceived cultural discrepancies, intergenerational conflict,
ethnocultural identity conflict, and facets of the parent-youth relationship (see Appendix A for interview guide). In exchange, participants were paid $20 for their time. Each interview was digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Speech disfluencies including false starts (i.e., incomplete utterances, as well as restarted and repetitive phrases and syllables) and fillers (i.e., non-lexical utterances such as “um” and “you know”) were removed to improve readability without compromising meaning.

Data Analysis

A typological approach was used to organize the data by themes. In particular, this study followed Braun and Clarke’s (2006) phases of thematic analysis: (1) familiarizing yourself with the data; (2) generating initial codes; (3) searching for themes; (4) reviewing themes; (5) defining themes; and (6) producing the report.

In the first stage, the interviews were transcribed and reviewed for accuracy. Each transcript was read multiple times so that the interviewer could gain familiarity with the data. The interviewer also wrote memos detailing overall impressions of each participant and interview. The transcript and memos were reviewed throughout the process and as such, this phase was ongoing.

In the second stage, initial codes were first generated using a theory-driven top-down approach. For example, it was expected that youth would discuss perceived cultural discrepancies when describing how their relationship with their parents had changed post-migration. These initial codes were built upon, modified, and refined using a data-driven bottom-up process, based on the youth’s experiences (Hill, Thompson, & Wilson, 1997). This process was repeated until a preliminary coding system was created. The preliminary coding system was then sent to two assistants, who along with the interviewer used it to code a random transcript. The interviewer and two assistants compared their coding and discussed all discrepancies until a consensus was reached. The interviewer and two assistants did not
believe that any further modifications were necessary and finalized the coding system (see Appendix B).

Most codes were applied to data extracts that varied in length from one sentence to a small paragraph, tending to be longer when a participant was describing a past experience. In some cases, multiple codes were applied to one sentence. When this happened, the sentence was broken into chunks that represented separate codes. Moreover, data extracts were coded to denote the presence or absence of each code. For example, “Family Relationships-Closeness” was coded when a participant was either close (e.g., “2a-f” represented closeness with father) or not close to one or both of their parents (e.g., “2a-f-” reflected lack of closeness with father).

In the third stage, the interviewer began searching for themes, which consisted of two or more codes that could be woven together to form an overarching pattern. For example, one recurrent theme was that perceived cultural discrepancies were associated with intergenerational conflict, as many youth described fighting with their parents around issues relating to different views. Once preliminary themes were identified, the interviewer reviewed the transcripts searching for coded data extracts that supported each preliminary theme. This phase was repeated until all coded data extracts had been identified for each preliminary theme.

In the fourth stage, the interviewer assessed thematic vitality in a two-stage process. First, the coded data extracts for each theme were read to ensure that they formed a clear pattern. Second, each transcript was reread to assess the relevance and credibility of each theme in relation to the data corpus, and also search for any additional non-coded data extracts that were missed in previous coding phases. This phase was completed when all themes had been reviewed.
In the fifth stage, the coded data extracts associated with each theme were reread. These collated coded data extracts were then used to create an overall description of each theme that was both coherent and credible, reflecting and capturing the essence of the data corpus. The interviewer then considered the story that each theme was trying to tell, and identified subthemes that could be used to disentangle some thematic complexities. For example, two themes identified in the previous stage were that parent-youth relationships played a role in the way that perceived cultural discrepancies were related to both ethnocultural identity conflict (theme 1) and intergenerational conflict (theme 2). A closer inspection of the coded data extracts supporting these patterns revealed that many youth who described having strong relationships with their parents had more support and freedom to explore their ethnocultural identity, resulting in less internal conflict (theme 3a) and also tended to fight with them less (theme 4a). In contrast, youth with emotionally distant and coercive relationships had less support and freedom for identity development, resulting in more internal conflict (theme 3b) and increased intergenerational conflict (theme 4b). The transcripts were then reread to confirm the relevance of the collated coded data extracts and identify any non-coded data extracts that had been missing in the previous phases. This phase was completed when the themes and subthemes were finalized.

The last phase involved conducting and writing up the final analysis. The themes and subthemes are presented in the Main Findings section.

Validation

Consistent with Creswell (2003), the present study’s findings were validated in three ways. First, themes were supported by thick and rich data extracts. Second, an external audit was conducted with a random subset of the transcripts (50% of the dataset) using the finalized coding system. The independent coder had been trained in thematic analysis but had no prior knowledge of the data corpus. Inter-rater reliability was assessed by the agreement
between the primary and independent coders (it ranged from 85.7% to 95.2%; \( M = 91.6\% \), \( SD = 3.2\% \)) and using Cohen’s (1960) kappa coefficient (\( \kappa = .90 \)). Any coding discrepancies were discussed until a consensus was reached, an approach that was consistent with previous studies (e.g., Crockett et al., 2007; Lundell et al., 2008; Qin, 2009). Third, a member of the Arab Canadian community was given a copy of these findings and asked to provide feedback regarding both their quality and the way that they were interpreted. This person found both the data and analysis to be sound, and also stated that it captured some of the issues that were relevant to his/her experience as an immigrant Arab in Canada.
Results

The interviews elicited hundreds of pages of rich text and thus, it was imperative to focus on key emergent themes. Therefore, the themes reported in this study are representative of some salient experiences that youth described in their interviews and do not reflect the data in its entirety (see Table 4 for codes used in this study, and the frequency with which they appeared)

Descriptive Findings

All twelve youth in this study perceived cultural discrepancies with one or both of their parents around a variety of issues, including but not limited to cross-gender friendships, dating and marriage, choice of clothing, and adherence to religious teachings (see Table 5 for perceived discrepancy issues and their frequency). In addition, two distinct forms of perceived cultural discrepancies emerged in this study. In some cases, parents were perceived to promote integration by encouraging their children to immerse themselves in Canadian society. In others, parents promoted isolation by encouraging their children to maintain behaviours and practices that could alienate them from their peers and the larger society. All twelve youth in this study also experienced some form of intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.

Main Findings

In this section, four themes are presented. The first two themes reflect the direct relations between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. In contrast, the third and fourth themes suggest that parent-youth relationships played a role in the associations between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict (see Table 6 for themes used in this study, and the frequency with which they appeared).
Theme 1: The relation between perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict

The first theme was that youth who perceived cultural discrepancies also experienced intergenerational conflict. This theme emerged in almost all of the interviews (n = 11; 92%). Overall, perceived cultural discrepancies were associated with intergenerational conflict when parents were perceived to promote isolation.

This theme emerged very strongly with Karina. At the beginning of the interview, she stated that her relationship with her parents had become more open since moving to Canada. Specifically, communication with her parents was more regular and inclusive, and at least one of them had become less strict about several issues, including curfew, upholding traditional gender role ideologies, and her clothing choices. However, it was clear that she continued to view these issues, in addition to dating, as cultural discrepancies between herself and her parents, particularly her mother.

The most salient conflict issue to emerge between Karina and her mother was that she was in an exogamous relationship. Karina had been dating her Indian boyfriend for three years without her parents’ knowledge. One week before the interview, Karina had finally broached the subject with her mother. Her disclosure, however, was partial. Instead of telling her mother that she was in a relationship, she stated that she was interested in someone. According to Karina, her mother conveyed disapproval of her daughter dating prior to learning that he was non-Arab:

I told her I liked this guy, and I want to date him. She was arguing with me back and forth that I shouldn’t date right now because I’m still too young for that. But I’m like, ‘Why? I’m 21, I should start dating and discover myself’ and she wouldn’t understand

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4 All participants names were changed.
that part cuz she’s Arabic, she’s like, ‘You need to marry him right away [laughs] if you want to stay with him.

This data extract suggests that Karina and her mother have very different perspectives on both the nature and function of a romantic relationship, extending beyond their preferences for ingroup versus outgroup dating. Specifically, Karina’s mother appeared to view relationships as a brief prelude to marriage, whereas Karina considered them an opportunity for self-exploration. Karina suggested that the perceived cultural discrepancy around dating and marriage deepened when her mother learned that she was interested in a non-Arab, “she just freaked out on me just because he’s not Arabic. ‘No, no, no you can’t do that [laughs].” When asked about her response, Karina said that she told her mother that she really liked her boyfriend, wanted to introduce him to the family, and hoped that one day, they would get married. She said that she also tried to explain why she felt it was okay to date someone who was not Arab:

I tried to explain to them that the guy doesn’t have to be Arabic to actually treat me right, there’s a lot of bad people out there, it’s not about the country, it’s not about the culture, it’s about the actual person and how he is.

Karina described her mother’s reaction to this assertion as a combination of confusion, shock, and anger, which she both acknowledged and understood:

I totally understand where she’s coming from cuz obviously if I was a mom and I was from back home and I came here, I’m still going to have the same mentality. So, I wasn’t shocked at all [laughs].

This data extract suggests that Karina perceives her mothers’ beliefs to align strictly with their Arab background, emphasizing obedience and respect. However, Karina stated that she wished her mother would be more accepting of different perspectives. When Karina was asked how she felt about conformity and whether it was important to her, she said:
It’s really important. To be flexible too, she shouldn’t always say, ‘No, no.’ She should be more open-minded. He doesn’t have to be Arabic, he can be other than that and he’s still gonna respect me and respect my family.

Karina indicated that she told her mother she would not pursue her boyfriend out of respect. However, Karina stated to the interviewer that she had been covertly disobedient and continuing her relationship. She expressed hope that in time her parents would become more accepting of her relationship choices. In the meantime, Karina described straddling two cultural worlds: acknowledging and enjoying her relationship outside the home, but pretending it does not exist inside the home.

**Theme 2: The relation between perceived cultural discrepancies and ethnocultural identity conflict**

The second theme was that youth who perceived cultural discrepancies also experienced ethnocultural identity conflict. This theme emerged in most interviews ($n = 9; 75\%$). Overall, perceived cultural discrepancies were associated with more ethnocultural identity conflict when parents were perceived to promote isolation.

This theme emerged very strongly for Ahmed. For example, Ahmed identified a number of perceived cultural discrepancies between himself and his parents, most of which concerned interpersonal relationships and maintaining his religious teachings. He described feeling pressured by his parents to uphold his Islamic teachings without question, even in situations where it caused him to feel isolated from his peers and the new environment. Ahmed indicated that he felt torn between pleasing his parents and fitting into his new sociocultural milieu. These feelings seemed to trigger ethnocultural identity conflict as Ahmed tried to make sense of who he was within the context of both his family and the new environment, which he described as having very different norms and expectations.
Ahmed came to Canada as an elementary school student (grade 5). Ahmed stated that he befriended some local children, with whom he would play cards and other games in the neighbourhood after school, upon moving to Canada. Ahmed noted some differences he discerned between his parents and Canadian parents. He observed that his parents were stricter and had more rigid expectations than his peers’ parents. Further, he stated that his parents did not support his desire to play with other children after school, and also forbade him from participating in some school activities, such as a cross-gender swimming trip.

… that happened at a time where I just came to Canada. I was just getting into the community and it was hard, not being able to do everything that the kids around you were doing. But like I said, the first few years you come here, I guess you’re more rebellious to do different things that everyone is doing, but then you get over it. I got over it at least.

It seemed that part of the reason Ahmed “got over it” was because his parents decided to take him out of public school and enrolled him in a private, Islamic school in the Greater Toronto Area. According to Ahmed, their motivation to do so was,

Because I guess I was becoming more like the Canadian kids. I guess at the time I wasn’t really obedient to my parents. And like I said, I was very rebellious when I came. And also I wasn’t doing good in school. And I guess my parents tried to use the opportunity to keep my Islamic status more legitimate and proper.

During his tenure at the Islamic school, Ahmed stated that he had the opportunity to socialize with peers who share his ethnocultural and religious background. He also indicated that he was able to refocus his priorities to maintaining his Muslim beliefs, which he perceived as central to his identity as a “Muslim first, and Egyptian [second].” As such, Ahmed appeared to recommit to his ethnocultural identity as a Muslim Egyptian living in
Canada, which seemed to minimize the cultural discrepancies he perceived between himself and his parents.

**Theme 3: The relations among perceived cultural discrepancies, intergenerational conflict, and parent-youth relationships**

The third theme was that parent-youth relationships played a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict. In some cases, close and supportive parent-youth relationships seemed to minimize the experience of intergenerational conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies \( n = 8; 67\% \) \((theme 3a)\). In others, distant and disconnected parent-youth relationships appeared to exacerbate the experience of intergenerational conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies \( n = 3; 25\% \) \((theme 3b)\). *Theme 3a* emerged clearly for five youth \( (63\%) \) in relation to both parents (Dina, Khaled, Layla, Mahmoud, and Omar), for two youth \( (25\%) \) in relation to their mother (Amani and Reem), and for one youth \( (13\%) \) in relation to their father (Lana). *Theme 3b* emerged clearly for two youth \( (67\%) \) in relation to their father (Amani and Iskandar) and for one youth \( (33\%) \) in relation to their mother (Lana).

**Theme 3a.** Although all youth described experiencing some degree of conflict with their parents at one time or another, strong parent-youth relationships seemed to aid them in overcoming the challenges associated with perceived cultural discrepancies. For example, Layla described a dramatic decrease in conflict with her parents that she attributed to an improvement in their relationship. When Layla first moved to Canada, she recalled the relationship strain that occurred when her mother and father found out that she had a boyfriend. She recounted their anger with her for engaging in a behaviour that violated both her cultural and religious teachings. From her perspective, Layla started dating because she wanted some personal freedom like her Canadian peers. Layla stated that her active attempts
at showing her parents that she knew and respected her limits ultimately redressed this perceived cultural discrepancy:

Because she knows that I preserve my values and my religion and she knows that I know my limits and I wouldn’t cross those limits. This is what made her change; there is a lot of trust between us now\(^5\).

According to Layla, as her parents became more trusting of her, their relationship became much stronger. As a result, Layla stated that she and her parents rarely fight and when they do, it tends to be over “very minor” issues such as helping out around the house.

Reem and Omar, on the other hand, reported that conflict in their families was resolved through authoritative family discussions, which were instigated and supported by their strong relationships with their parents. Both youth stated that their families would convene to address any disagreements or sources of tension. Omar described his family meetings as very structured: each member would take a turn presenting their perspective, notes were taken, and collated to inform an action plan. This conflict management strategy was effective in his family because Omar and his parents seemed to communicate very openly. He also described them as having been very supportive of his transition to independence and life in Canada. In contrast, Reem described her family meetings as less structured. According to Reem, her mother would identify a conflictual or tense situation (typically occurring between her husband and one or more of her children) and gather the family to speak about it informally. Reem described her mother’s role as the family peacekeeper, moderating the discussion until a solution was reached. Throughout the interview, Reem described her relationship with her mother as extremely close, open, and supportive, and characterized her as a calming force and peacemaker. As a result of these

\(^5\) Although this particular quote is about her mother, Layla made it clear throughout the interview that her relationship with both parents improved and that they both trust her more than they did in the first few years post-migration.
factors, Reem’s mother seemed able to initiate and moderate the family meetings, which ultimately resolved conflict and restored the family equilibrium.

In contrast, three other youth (Lana, Dina, and Amani) appeared to primarily circumvent conflict by accepting and submitting to their parents’ wishes and perspectives. Overall, these youth stated that they were very close to their parents and as a result, wanted to please them by submitting to their demands. However, youth described distinct individual motivators. Lana, for example, stated that her and her father virtually never fought, due in part to their close relationship (she was his self-anointed “favourite”), but also because he was a transnational father. Thus, Lana only saw him a few months each year so there were fewer opportunities for conflict, and when they arose, she said that she actively tried to avoid them. Dina shared this perspective about her father, who was also transnational. With her mother, however, Dina’s primary motivation seemed to be empathy. For example, she reasoned that some of her mother-youth conflicts (such as whether she was allowed to sleep over at a girlfriend’s house) were because her mother was lonely and bored, with three daughters who were seldom home and a husband who lived primarily abroad. Mahmoud’s interview suggested that his main motivation for abiding by his parents’ wishes was respect. Indeed, Mahmoud spoke at length about the salience of mutual respect in the Arab culture broadly and within his family in particular. Lastly, Amani’s primary motivator seemed to be a desire to maintain her increasingly strong relationship with her mother, who acted as her primary confidante in Canada.

Khaled acknowledged that he and his parents had different, potentially irreconcilable views on multiple issues. Thus, to reduce intergenerational conflict, Khaled described selectively shared information with his parents. This information management technique was not dissimilar to the strategy that Karina employed with her mother, when she hid having a boyfriend for three years. The key difference, however, is that Khaled described a close
relationship with his parents that he seemed motivated to maintain, whereas Karina seemed to be trying to avoid eliciting her mother’s anger and subsequent punishment.

**Theme 3b.** In contrast to Amani, Dina, Khaled, Lana, Layla, Mahmoud, Omar, and Reem, three youth seemed to experience more intergenerational conflict with their parents when they lacked a strong and supportive bond. In these cases, intergenerational conflict appeared to be driven by differences in perspectives, with parents promoting isolation, and was typically unresolved.

According to these three youth, their perceived emotional distance was due to incompatible worldviews. For example, Lana described a decline in her relationship with her mother “because we have two different ways of thinking, two different mentalities, so it’s kind of hard now.” Similarly, Iskandar described his father as someone who was strict and not open to Canadian culture, as he continues to “think like we’re back home.” Lastly, Amani expressed frustration with her father’s view of social interaction. She stated that he did not understand that it was an integral part of her life and sought to limit her contact with friends.

Generally, Amani and Iskandar described a number of ways in which they were able to avoid conflictual situations. For example, Iskandar said that he was reluctant to share information about his life and activities, for fear of angering his father. Similarly, Amani stated that she tried to spend more time at home and less time with her friends when her father was visiting Canada. Although Amani and Iskandar described success with these strategies in some situations, they could not be used to prevent their fathers from initiating conflict, which they seemed to do often. Iskandar recounted a recent incident when his father sought his help with a personal task (obtaining insurance quotes for his car). Iskandar felt unable to assist him as he was very tired from long days as a full-time student who also worked long hours. Iskandar said that he tried to calmly explain his position to his father, who would not accept his reasoning and continued to press him on the issue. According to
Iskandar, the conflict escalated when his father woke him up from his sleep to chastise him for his unwillingness to help. Iskandar stated that his father’s actions infuriated him, as they suggested that he neither appreciated nor empathized with him. Amani also described a situation when her father was unable to accept her perspective and coerced her to do what he wanted by threatening to cut her off financially. She seemed dissatisfied with the solution and resentful of her father.

In contrast to Amani and Iskandar, Lana appeared to instigate conflict with her mother. She stated several times that she initiated conflict “just because I want to go against her word.” Lana’s portrayed her relationship with her mother was very combative. For example, she described shouting at and outwardly disobeying her mother’s wises, as well as emotionally blackmailing her with the empty threat of moving back to Qatar. In light of the data extract presented above, Lana’s motivation to provoke most of this conflict seemed to be her weak and distant relationship with her mother.

In sum, parent-youth relationships seemed to play a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict. Strong parent-youth relationships that were marked by closeness, communication, and support, appeared to minimize intergenerational conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies. In contrast, youth who characterized themselves and their parents as unable to see eye-to-eye seemed to have weaker relationships and more intergenerational conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies.

**Theme 4: The relations among perceived cultural discrepancies, ethnocultural identity conflict, and parent-youth relationships**

The fourth theme was that parent-youth relationships played a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and ethnocultural identity conflict. In some cases, relationships marked by good communication, instrumental support, and shared activities
seemed to minimize the experience of ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies \( (n = 5; 42\%) \) (theme 4a). In others, distant and strained relationships appeared to exacerbate the experience of ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies \( (n = 1; 8\%) \). Theme 4a emerged clearly for four youth (80%) in relation to both parents (Dina, Khaled, Mahmoud, and Omar), and for one youth (20%) in relation to their mother (Amani). Theme 4b emerged clearly for Mostafa in relation to his parents.

**Theme 4a.** Although all youth in this study experienced some degree of ethnocultural identity conflict, strong parent-youth relationships seemed to support some youth’s identity development and facilitate their commitment to an achieved identity. Overall, youth in this subtheme seemed very comfortable with their ethnocultural identity, presenting themselves as either having strongly retained their Arab identity (Amani and Mahmoud) or as bicultural Arab Canadians (Dina, Khaled, and Omar).

Most youth stated that their parents encouraged them to retain aspects of their heritage culture and religion, while also giving them some freedom to figure out who they were. The parental closeness, communication, companionship, and support that Dina, Amani, and Khaled described made them feel secure and confident enough to explore the world around them. All three of these youth provided examples of how they seized Canadian opportunities to act in ways that may have been less acceptable in the Middle East. For example, Amani started dating, dressing less conservatively, and got two body piercings. Dina started going out with friends more, including an unsupervised trip to Miami. She also became really sensitive to gender-based stereotypes regarding domestic responsibilities versus career, and endeavoured to become a hard-working and self-reliant woman. Khaled exercised his right to choose a university that his parents did not approve of and accepted a work opportunity that took him away from home for a week. In all of these cases, these youth indicated that their
parents were supportive of their decisions and subsequent identity development, which seemed to ease their identity development to the extent that they each appeared to have a strong sense of their ethnocultural identity.

Other parents appeared to encourage their children to integrate into their new cultural environment and take the opportunity to grow. For example, Omar recalled his parents’ advice to expand his social circle, by befriending non-Arabs and not just sticking to friends from Jordan who had also moved to Canada for university. Their justification, according to Omar, was “not because they just hated Arabs, just because they wanted us to try and think differently. And see how other people think about things and what other things they know.”

Omar acknowledged that he did not heed their advice at first, as he sought comfort in the familiarity of friends from home. It is possible that Omar’s homesickness was compounded by the fact that he attended university in a city that was over 600 kilometres away from where his parents were living. Thus, he was likely confronted with adjusting to life in Canada, while also learning to be self-reliant and independent. Omar stated that he experienced some initial difficulty, but was able to overcome the challenge with the support of his parents, who “helped me, but at the same time they had in mind that they wanted me to experience this so I can actually get to change by myself. Without them telling me what’s gonna happen.” In light of this support, Omar felt more open to new experiences, which ultimately led to identity development:

Since I moved here to Canada, it was also just spending some time and experience with people from different parts of the world and especially Canada. They’re very, very into experiencing new things and new interests and they believe that just finding more interests is going to help you figure out who you are. Like figure out what you really like and how you think about things. So this is definitely something I’ve become more into in the past two years.
This and other extracts suggested that Omar committed to a bicultural identity. For example, Omar stated that his experiences in Canada had caused him to question and re-evaluate some of his beliefs and behaviours, but that he has concurrently preserved elements of his Arab heritage:

I would definitely say I’m less Arab… but I don’t feel like I’ve also forgotten who I am or gave up my nationality or my identity. I’m still proud of being Jordanian. I would still talk to people about my country and everything. So it’s not like they’ve really changed how I belong to my country. They’ve really influenced how I’ve thought.

Further, Omar stated that “keeping both is definitely better than just switching to Canadian. I mean, I’ve spent 18 years in Jordan so I can’t really just forget about those years, you know.”

In contrast, other parents seemed to encourage their children to strongly adhere to their Arab heritage and never question their identity. For example, Mahmoud described his parents’ disdain for Arabs who migrated to Canada and abandoned their heritage:

All parents like sticking to their tradition and [my parents] believe that people have to stick to everything they used to do, anywhere they go. They have to represent their country, they have to represent their religion, wherever they go. And once [my father] come here, he saw many wrongdoings and stuff. He was really upset about it.

Similarly, he described his mother as “against people changing, and giving freedom their children compared to our society.” It appeared that Mahmoud’s close relationships with his mother and father facilitated the transmission and internalization of their views. Indeed, he stated that Arab and Canadian cultural beliefs and values are irreconcilable, describing the difference as “the complete opposite”. Yet, he did not seem to much experience ethnocultural identity conflict because he was unwaveringly committed to his identity as a Palestinian.

Mahmoud stated that he still observed his cultural and religious traditions, and identified only
as a Palestinian or Arab because it is his “original” and “I don’t think there’s anything I do that represent Canada or something [Mahmoud laughs].”

**Theme 4b.** In contrast to Amani, Dina, Khaled, Mahmoud, and Omar, Mostafa seemed to experience more ethnocultural identity conflict because his relationship with his parents lacked a strong and supportive bond, and because they discouraged him from exploring his new environment. Overall, Mostafa stated that he did not feel comfortable communicating with his parents or seeking their support as he underwent his identity development. As a result, Mostafa appeared to suffer from prolonged identity conflict, which left him feeling torn between his heritage and settlement cultures.

Mostafa stated that his relationship with his family became more distant since moving to Canada. He described “some sort of gap [which] happened between me and my family that actually I don’t see them as much. Interact with them as much.” Further, Mostafa characterized his father as a detached head-of-household. Their relationship seemed to center around financial and instrumental support, with his father disseminating his views on education and marriage. According to Mostafa, his relationship with his mother was solely based on her domestic responsibilities. In fact, Mostafa stated that his mother “doesn’t really guide me with anything that has to do with my [future plans], or do I even consult her with anything of that.” This and other data extracts indicated that Mostafa was dismissive of his mother and did not seem to view her as a legitimate authority figure.

Mostafa expressed tremendous difficulty reconciling his desire to uphold his traditional beliefs and values with his life in Canada, which was exacerbated by his inability to talk to his parents about his struggle, and their promotion of isolation. For example, Mostafa stated that he was dissatisfied with the fact that he had become less religious since moving to Canada. However, his displeasure seemed to be rooted in his inability to meet his parents’ expectations rather than a desire to fulfil his religious commitments. He stated that
his parents knew that he was no longer a “perfect Muslim” and his father tried to motivate him to resume his Islamic duties by reminding him of his religious obligations. However, Mostafa noted that his father neither acknowledged nor understood that his main concern was that he did not know how to reconcile these expectations with his new life in Canada as a busy university student. Mostafa expressed feeling like he could not talk openly with his parents about his concerns, and that they would be either unable or unwilling to listen and support him. As a result, his internal struggle appeared to be unresolved.

In sum, parent-youth relationships played a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and ethnocultural identity conflict. Strong parent-youth relationships that were marked by closeness, open communication, and support appeared to minimize ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies. In contrast, youth who characterized their relationships as distant and restrictive seemed to experience more ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies.

**Examining Mothers and Fathers Independently**

It is important to note that youth in this study generally characterized their relationship with both their mothers and fathers as strong. For example, of the nine youth who characterized their parent-child relationship as close, three (33%) did not distinguish between their mothers and fathers, whereas eight (89%) and six (67%) specifically identified maternal and paternal closeness, respectively. Similarly, of the eleven youth who stated that they openly communicate with their parents, four (36%) did not distinguish between their mothers and fathers, whereas nine (82%) and five (45%) specifically identified maternal and paternal closeness, respectively. Lastly, of the eleven youth who indicated that their parents provided instrumental support, seven (70%) did not distinguish between their mothers and fathers, whereas five (45%) and six (55%) attributed support to their mothers and fathers, respectively.
Moreover, an examination of the main findings indicated that thematic prevalence for mothers and fathers was very similar. For example, *theme 3a* (i.e., strong parent-youth relationships played a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict) emerged for eight mothers, and eight fathers, *theme 3b* (i.e., weak parent-youth relationships played a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict) emerged for 1 mother and 2 fathers. Similarly, *theme 4a* (i.e., strong parent-youth relationships played a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and ethnocultural identity conflict) emerged for five mothers and four fathers, and *theme 4b* (i.e., weak parent-youth relationships played a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and ethnocultural identity conflict) emerged for one mother and one father.

The descriptive findings noted above coupled with youth’s interviews suggest that immigrant Arab Canadian youth’s relationships with their mothers and fathers are similar in a number of ways. Indeed, parental closeness, communication, and support emerged in comparable proportions and to similar extents. Therefore, this study identified mother- and father-youth relationships as moderators of the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.
Discussion

Immigrant Arab youth in this study provided insight into their life experiences by discussing the challenges they faced in Canada, as well as the strategies they have used to overcome them. Twelve youth in the current study described the difficulties that they and their parents encountered acclimating to a country whose normative cultural behaviours and values differed considerably to their country of origin. Youth in this study seemed to be more oriented toward Canadian culture and values than their parents, which created cultural discrepancies between them that, in many cases, led to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. However, despite perceiving different perspectives around a host of attitudes, behaviours, and values, most of these youth characterized their relationship with their parents as strong. Indeed, the presence of a close bond, open communication, and support seemed to make youth to feel comfortable and safe while exploring their identities and new environment. As a result, youth who described strong parent-youth relationships seemed to experience decreased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.

All youth in this study described the culture shock that they experienced when they first moved to Canada, and attributed it to the significant differences between Arab and Canadian culture. They discussed their transition from a conservative and interdependent society, to one that is liberal and independent (Hofstede, 2001). In their country of origin, the cultural values of embeddedness and hierarchy were prioritized, and autonomy was rejected. These normative cultural values are consistent with the personal values of tradition, conformity, and security, which comprise the higher-order conservation values dimension (Schwartz, 1992). To reinforce these values, youth were socialized to be obedient; imagination and exploration were discouraged. When youth and their families arrived in Canada, they were confronted by a culture that emphasizes autonomy, egalitarianism, and mastery. In contrast to Arab culture, Canadian cultural values are consistent with the personal
values of self-direction, stimulation, and hedonism, which constitute the higher-order openness to change values dimension (Schwartz, 2006). Youth contrasted their socialization to their Canadian peers, who were encouraged to express themselves and explore their environment, generating their own ideas and making their own choices (Hofstede, 2001).

All youth, at least initially, gravitated towards openness to change values, as they sought increased autonomy and personal freedom. Their parents, on the other hand, largely maintained their conservation values, and encouraged their children to do the same. As a result, they perceived discrepancies between themselves and their parents around a variety of issues, including activities, clothing, dating and marriage, education and career, family rules, heritage culture maintenance, social interaction, social status, and tolerance of different people and novel situations. Although the vast majority of conflict occurred around personal issues, youth and parents’ perceived them differently. Specifically, youth perceived all conflict with their parents as issues of personal freedom and therefore outside of their parents’ jurisdiction, whereas parents were described as using social conventional and moral justifications when trying to enforce parental authority. This finding is consistent with many previous studies (e.g., Smetana, Crean, & Campione-Barr, 2005; Smetana, Daddis, & Chuang, 2003). The qualitative approach offered greater insight into the conflict process. Throughout the interviews, it appeared that for immigrant Arab parents in this study, personal issues were conflated with their children’s increased orientation to the settlement society and culture. Therefore, it appears that the settlement process adds a layer of complexity to the developmental issue regarding personal freedom and intergenerational conflict.

For many youth in this study, perceived cultural discrepancies appeared to lead to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. This pattern seemed to emerge when youth became more oriented to Canadian culture and values, and their parents interpreted this shift to signify an abandonment of Arab heritage and values. To many
parents, youth’s autonomy-seeking and movement towards openness to change values was considered negative and immoral. For example, some youth described intergenerational conflict that arose from their desire to date, a behaviour that their parents viewed as a clear violation of their cultural and religious beliefs, consistent with previous research (e.g., Uskul et al., 2011). Similarly, some youth indicated that they experienced difficulty reconciling the incompatible demands of their different cultural and social environments (i.e., inside and outside the home), particularly when they identified with both of them. Youth who were attached to both cultures appeared to have a less clear and coherent self-concept, which is associated with ethnocultural identity conflict (e.g., Ward, 2008; Ward et al., 2011).

However, perceived cultural discrepancies were not always associated with intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. Indeed, whether each type of conflict occurred was largely dependent on how parents and youth reacted to perceived cultural discrepancies, and was further qualified by the nature and strength of the parent-youth relationship.

The findings of this study revealed a continuum of parent and youth responses and outcomes to perceived cultural discrepancies. On one end, some families confronted discrepancies by openly discussing and negotiating them. In these cases, parents explained their position, but granted their children some autonomy in the decision-making process, and supported them irrespective of the path that they chose. This strategy was effective in reducing conflict if parents communicated regularly with their children, provided them with instrumental, emotional, and social support, and encouraged them to interact with the settlement society. On the other end, some families sought to stifle discrepancies, with parents trying to control – often successfully – their children. In these cases, parents continued to enforce rules and monitor their children’s behaviour to minimize the chance that they become oriented toward Canadian behaviours and peers. Parents were much more likely
to instil a rigid adherence to their Arab heritage in their children if they also had a close bond and spent significant amounts of time together. This strategy was effective in reducing intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict because parents and youth saw eye-to-eye on most things. Alternatively, youth were less willing to accept and internalize their parents’ values and wishes if they were transmitted in the context of an emotionally distant and strained relationship. In these cases, youth were more likely to experience both types of conflict.

Generally, youth in this study were less likely to experience intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict if their relationship with their parents was marked by trust, open communication, and support, and if their parents encouraged them to explore their new sociocultural environment by granting them personal freedom. This overarching multiple-case narrative is consistent with previous research suggesting that the negative effects of cultural discrepancies can be mitigated by strong and positive parent-youth relationships (e.g., Kim & Park, 2011; Weaver & Kim, 2008). Indeed, youth are more likely to be receptive to parental influence (Steinberg, 2001), including socialization of heritage beliefs (Cheng & Kuo, 2000), and value transmission (Rudy & Grusec, 2001) if it occurs in the context of warmth and responsiveness. Moreover, previous studies have found that communication, trust, and support, are particularly important aspects of the immigrant parent-youth relationship (e.g., Crockett, Brown, Iturbide, Russell, & Wilkinson-Lee, 2009; Crockett et al., 2007). These relational qualities foster an emotional bond between family members (Qin, 2006; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000) that protects against acculturative stress (Bacallao & Smowkoski, 2007) and intergenerational conflict (Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vilhjalmsdottir, 2005), and is also associated with increased well-being (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2008), and a more coherent self-concept (Walsh, Shulman, Feldman, & Maurer, 2005).
Consistent with its aims, this study identified the extent to which youth perceive cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, and how they relate to ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict. Moreover, this study identified parent-youth relationships as a moderator of the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. Next, these associations are tested empirically using quantitative data in Study 2.
CHAPTER 3: STUDY 2

In the previous chapter, it was found that all twelve youth perceived cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, and also experienced both ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict. In some cases, these paths were direct but in others, moderators were suggested. Study 1 found support for the proposed conceptual model (see Figure 1), as parent-youth relationships were found to moderate the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. In Study 2, this model is tested using a quantitative approach.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested to assess the extent of perceived cultural discrepancies, their association with conflict, and the moderating role of parent-youth relationships in immigrant Arab Canadian families.

**Hypothesis 1.** Youth will be significantly more oriented toward Canadian culture and openness to change values, and significantly less oriented toward Arab culture and conservation values than they perceive their parents to be.

**Hypothesis 2.** Greater perceived parent-youth Arab and Canadian orientation discrepancies will be associated with more intergenerational conflict.

**Hypothesis 3.** Greater perceived parent-youth Arab and Canadian orientation discrepancies will be associated with more ethnocultural identity conflict.

**Hypothesis 4.** Greater perceived parent-youth openness to change and conservation values discrepancies will be associated with more intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.

**Hypothesis 5.** Parent-youth relationships will moderate the association between perceived parent-youth cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.
Hypotheses 1 through 4 will identify the extent to which youth perceive cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, and how they relate to ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict (Aim 1). Hypothesis 5 will examine factors that moderate the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and ethnocultural identity conflict and intergenerational conflict (Aim 2).
Method

Participants

Similar to Study 1, participants in this study were 119 immigrant Arab youth who met the following criteria: (1) first-generation immigrants who had moved to Canada from an Arab country; (2) self-categorized as “Arab” (or national identity; e.g., “Egyptian”) or “Arab Canadian”; and (3) migrated to Canada with their parents. These criteria were selected to ensure that participants had sufficient exposure to both Arab and Canadian cultures, to avoid sampling non-Arabs who have migrated to Canada from an Arab country (e.g., repatriating Canadians), and so that youth could provide relevant ratings for mothers and fathers. Key demographics are summarized in Table 7.

Participants were relatively evenly distributed by gender (59.5% female), and ranged in age from 16 to 25 years old ($M = 20.33, SD = 2.09$). Almost all of the participants were single (95.0%), a few were engaged (1.7%), and some (3.4%) were civilly married, but not living with their spouses at the time of data collection. Most participants indicated that they were either Muslim (76.5%) or Christian (14.3%). The remaining participants reported either no (3.4%) or other religious affiliation (3.2%; i.e., Christian and Muslim, Muslim and Agnostic, Druze, or Yazidi). The five primary birth countries were Egypt (21.0%), the United Arab Emirates (15.1%), Iraq (13.4%), Saudi Arabia (11.8%), and Jordan (8.4%).

Length of residence in Canada ranged from 6 months to 24 years ($M = 8.8$ years, $SD = 5.48$); however, 67.2% of participants had lived in Canada for 10 years or less. The average age of arrival was 11.75 years old ($SD = 5.43$). The vast majority of participants (89.1%) immigrated to Canada with both parents. In some cases, however, the father came before his family to obtain work and housing, or stayed behind in the Middle East, working to support his family in Canada. Many participants indicated that their parents spent significant amounts of time each year in the Middle East, but most mothers (79.8%) and fathers (63.0%) lived in
Canada full-time. The majority of participants (85.7%) indicated that they lived with at least one family member.

Socioeconomic status in this sample was fairly high, as most participants (60.5%) were full-time students who did not work and received financial support from their parents in the form of food and rent (91.6%), tuition and education costs (53.8%), and pocket money (62.2%). Moreover, participant’s parents were highly educated, with the majority of mothers and fathers holding Bachelor’s (68.9% and 60.5%, respectively) or post-graduate degrees (13.4% and 21.8%, respectively). Some mothers (43.7%) and most fathers (82.4%) worked full-time. Most participants reported that their parents owned their own home (63.9%) and were married (89.1%); all but one participant who indicated their parents’ marital status as “other” stated that their mothers were widowed.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through various university associations, settlement agencies and services, and community organizations. Participants were also recruited through personal contacts and snowball sampling using a variety of media. To minimize bias, close contacts were not recruited, but were rather used as gatekeepers to groups of Arab Canadian youth who were eligible to participate. Advertisements for this study were posted on university campuses, community and settlement organization bulletin boards, and online forums targeting Arabs in Canada on the Internet and Facebook (i.e., “Arabs in Canada”, “Egyptians in Toronto”). Participants were entered into a draw to win one of two $250 cash prizes upon completion of the questionnaire.

Measures

Demographics. Participants were asked to report their age, gender, country of residence, marital status, birth country (self, father, mother), religious affiliation (self, father, mother), year of arrival to Canada, whether they arrived with both parents and if both parents
were still living in Canada, student (none, high school, university) and employment (jobs held and hours worked per week) status, who they live with, and their parents’ education and employment status (see Appendix C).

**Perceived cultural discrepancies.** Perceived cultural discrepancies were assessed using separate measures of Arab and Canadian culture orientation, as well as personal values, rated separately by youth for themselves, their fathers, and their mothers.

*Arab and Canadian culture orientation.* Birman, Trickett, and Vonokurov’s (2002) Language, Identity, and Behavioral Acculturation Scale (LIB) is a 44-item self-report instrument that measures heritage and settlement culture orientation (see Appendix D). The LIB was originally developed for use with former Soviet refugees, but is designed to be easily adaptable to other sample populations. For this study, the reference cultures were changed from “Russian” to “Arab” and “American” to “Canadian”.

The LIB was preferred to other measures of culture orientation because it is bidimensional and samples attitudinal, behavioural, and cognitive aspects of culture orientation. The LIB was preferred to other measures such as the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) because it has separate subscales (language, cultural identity, and cultural participation) and reduced measurement burden (44 as opposed to 74 items, rated 3 times). Previous research has used the LIB with diverse samples, and has generally reported excellent subscale reliability, as well as moderate correlations among the subscales on each dimension, which suggests that they are distinct, but interrelated (e.g., Birman, 2006a; Ho & Birman, 2010; Trickett & Jones, 2007).

The LIB consisted of two scales (Arab and Canadian culture orientation) that contained items relating to: (1) language: 9 parallel items regarding ability to speak and understand English and Arabic; (2) cultural identity: 4 parallel items regarding pride and
identification with Canadian and Arab culture; and (3) cultural participation: 9 parallel items regarding social and behavioural involvement with Canadian and Arab culture.

Language items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 4 (very well, like a native), while cultural identity and cultural participation items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 4 (very much). To increase meaningful responding, “Not Applicable” was added as a response option (see Rudmin, 2003). Participants rated each item three times, indicating their personal response, as well as how they perceived their father and mother.

Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for Arab orientation were .90 for youth, .91 for youth’s perceptions of their fathers, and .94 for youth’s perceptions of their mothers. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for Canadian orientation were .85 for youth, .92 for youth’s perceptions of their fathers, and .93 for youth’s perceptions of their mothers. Arab and Canadian Orientation scores (Youth, Perceived Father, Perceived Mother) were obtained by averaging the respective scale items. Higher values reflected stronger orientation to Arab and Canadian culture.

Personal values. Schwartz, Melech, Lehman, Burgess, Harris, and Owen’s (2001) Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) is a 40-item self-report instrument that measures values based on Schwartz’s (1992) personal values theory (see Appendix E). Schwartz and colleagues developed the PVQ as an alternative to the Schwartz Values Survey for younger populations, as the items are less abstract and cognitively complex.

Participants were presented with vignettes describing a person’s goals, aspirations, or wishes, and asked to indicate, “How much like you or unlike you is this person?” on a scale ranging from 1 (very much like me) to 6 (not like me at all). To measure perceived parental values, participants indicated, “How much like or unlike your father/mother is this person?” using a modified rating scale. All items on the PVQ were reverse-coded so that higher scores reflected a stronger endorsement of values. Each vignette reflected one of Schwartz’s (1992)
value types, including those underlying the openness to change (i.e., hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction) and conservation (i.e., tradition, conformity, and security) dimensions.

Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for Conservation Values were .91 for youth, .94 for youth’s perceptions of their fathers, and .95 for youth’s perceptions of their mothers. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for Openness to Change Values were .89 for youth, .86 for youth’s perceptions of their fathers, and .88 for youth’s perceptions of their mothers. Conservation and Openness to Change Values scores (Youth, Perceived Father, Perceived Mother) were obtained by averaging the respective scale items for the value types underlying each dimension. Higher values reflected strong endorsement of Conservation and Openness to Change Values.

It is important to note that values were calculated differently in this study as compared to many other studies using the PVQ. Given that people have a tendency to report all values as being more or less important (Knafo & Schwartz, 2009), scores on the PVQ are typically centred to allow higher scores to reflect greater relative importance. However, this study was primarily interested in the extent to which youth endorsed conservation and openness to change values for themselves relative to their perception of their father’s and mother’s values. In this case, ipsatizing the scores creates unnecessary circularity by providing information regarding the extent to which youth endorsed conservation and openness to change values relative to self-transcendence and self-enhancement values, compared to the extent to which parents were perceived to endorse openness to change and conservation values relative to self-transcendence and self-enhancement values. Essentially, this provides a score indicating relative rankings, which may obscure parent-youth similarity or differences in their level of endorsement of these values. Therefore, raw scores on the openness to change and conservation values dimensions were used.
**Intergenerational conflict.** Chung’s (2001) Intergenerational Conflict Inventory (ICI) is a 24-item self-report instrument that measures intergenerational conflict in three domains: family expectations, education and career, and dating and marriage (see Appendix F). An item about religiosity was added to this measure, to reflect a recurrent theme in Study 1. This item replaced one about time spent practicing music, an issue that is not salient to immigrant Arab youth in Canada. Another item was modified for increased clarity and flow between the item and introductory statement (i.e., “Lack of communication with your father/mother” was changed to “How often we talk”). An additional item about dating and marriage was also added to this measure (i.e., “Staying overnight with my dating partner”). Participants rated each item on a scale ranging from 1 (no conflict over this issue) to 6 (a lot of conflict over this issue) for their fathers and mothers. Previous research has found the ICI to be a reliable and valid measure (for details, see Chung; see also Ahn et al., 2008). The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for intergenerational conflict was .93 and .94 for mothers and fathers, respectively. A total score for Intergenerational Conflict for father and mother were calculated by averaging the scores for each conflict issue. Higher scores reflected increased intergenerational conflict.

**Ethnocultural identity conflict.** Ward and colleagues’ (2011) Ethnocultural Identity Conflict Scale (EIC-S) is a 20-item self-report instrument that measures ethnocultural identity conflict (see Appendix G). Participants rated each item on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Previous research with diverse samples suggests that the EIC-S is a reliable and valid measure (for details, see Stuart & Ward, 2011; Ward, 2008; Ward et al.). The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for ethnocultural identity conflict was .92. A total score for Ethnocultural Identity Conflict was obtained by averaging the scale items (negatively-worded items were reverse-coded first), with higher scores representing more ethnocultural identity conflict.
**Parent-youth relationships.** The 25-item revised version of Armsden and Greenberg’s (1987) Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) was used to measure the strength of father- and mother-youth relationships (see Appendix H). Items on this measure reflected parental trust, communication, and alienation and were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*almost never or never true*) to 5 (*almost always or always true*). Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for father- and mother-youth relationships were .95 and .94, respectively, suggesting that these measures were internally consistent.

The IPPA is a well-established and extensively used measure. Although developed and validated with 16 to 20 year olds, it has been used with college-attending youth of immigrant backgrounds (e.g., Han & Lee, 2011; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2007). These studies reported high internal consistency. This measure was preferred to the FACES IV (Olson, 2011), Family Assessment Device (FAD; Ryan, Epstein, Keitner, Miller, & Bishop, 2005), and the Self-Report Family Inventory (SFI; Beavers, Hapson, & Hulgus, 1985) because the IPPA assesses dyadic parent-youth relationships as opposed to family systemic functioning. The IPPA was also preferred to the Adolescent Family Process measure (AFP; Vazsonyi, Hibbert, & Snider, 2003) because it had more clearly established psychometric properties in part due to more extensive use. A total score for Relationship with Father and Relationship with Mother was computed by summing the individual item scores (negatively-worded items were reverse-coded first). Higher scores reflected stronger father and mother-youth relationships.
Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics for the study variables and intercorrelations among scales are presented in Tables 8 and 9, respectively. Preliminary data analyses consisted of five stages. First, descriptive statistics, frequency distributions, and normality probability plots were examined to assess the normality and linearity of the study’s variables. Third, scale frequencies were checked for missing or miscoded data. Fourth, univariate outliers were identified with boxplots, and their multivariate influence was assessed using the Cook’s distance statistic (Field, 2005). Fifth, potential control variables were examined. Sixth, the risk of inflating Type I error was assessed.

Normal probability plots indicated that the data were linear. The histograms suggested that some variables were significantly skewed, so additional tests were conducted. First, the Shapiro-Wilks’ test was used to identify significantly non-normal distributions. The following variables were significantly non-normal: Youth Canadian Orientation ($W(111) = .94, p = .00$), Youth Arab Orientation ($W(111) = .95, p = .00$), Perceived Father Arab Orientation ($W(111) = .65, p = .00$), Perceived Mother Arab Orientation ($W(111) = .61, p = .00$), Youth Conservation Values ($W(111) = .93, p = .00$), Perceived Father Conservation Values ($W(111) = .95, p = .00$), Perceived Mother Conservation Values ($W(111) = .98, p = .05$), Perceived Mother Openness to Change Values ($W(111) = .98, p = .04$), Ethnocultural Identity Conflict ($W(111) = .94, p = .00$), Relationship with Father ($W(111) = .96, p = .00$), Relationship with Mother ($W(111) = .94, p = .00$), Intergenerational Conflict with Father ($W(111) = .93, p = .00$), and Intergenerational Conflict with Mother ($W(111) = .92, p = .00$).

Given that the Shapiro-Wilks’ test is conservative, the skewness and kurtosis statistics were divided by their standard errors. The cut-off for acceptable skewness and kurtosis was ± 3.29 (Field, 2005). Based on this test, the following variables were still significantly non-
normal: Canadian Orientation (Youth), Arab Orientation (Perceived Father, Perceived Mother), Conservation Values (Youth, Perceived Father, Perceived Mother), Youth Religiosity, Ethnocultural Identity Conflict, and Intergenerational Conflict (Father, Mother).6

Frequency tables indicated that there was very little missing data in the dataset. The percentage of missing values for each scale ranged from 1.7% to 6.7% ($M = 4.43, SD = 2.03$). Cook’s distance statistics were used in the main analyses to identify multivariate outliers that may exert an undue influence. No multivariate outliers were found and thus all participants were retained for the following analyses.

To examine the possible need for inclusion of control variables in the main analyses, correlations between three demographic variables (age, gender, and years in Canada) and the outcome variables were examined. Following the recommendations of Rosenthal and colleagues (e.g., Rosenthal, 1991; Rosenthal & DiMatteo, 2001), Pearson’s $r$ coefficients were used to quantify effect sizes. Potential control variables were correlated with outcome variables (Intergenerational Conflict with Father, Intergenerational Conflict with Mother, Ethnocultural Identity Conflict). Of the nine correlations, only one was significant. Years in Canada was associated with Ethnocultural Identity Conflict ($r = .18, p = .05, \eta^2 = .03$). This finding was interesting in its own right; however, given the overall negative findings, subsequently analyses did not include any control variables.

To explore the possibility of reducing the overall number of analyses and risk inflating Type I error, measures for which there were separate father and mother ratings (e.g., Relationship with Father, Relationship with Mother) were correlated. Table 9 reports correlations among the predictor variables. Pearson’s $r$ correlation coefficients revealed that father and mother measures were very highly correlated. Correlations between parents ranged

6 These variables were transformed using Osborne’s (2002) transformation procedures. No important differences emerged between original and transformed variables with respect to Pearson’s $r$ correlation coefficients or regression analyses used in this study. Therefore, the original scores were retained for hypothesis testing.
from $r = .54$ (Perceived Canadian Orientation) to $r = .92$ (Perceived Conservation Values), with an average of $r = .70$ ($SD = .14$) (all $ps = .000$). Given the similarity between parent-youth relationships individual measures were aggregated and used in the subsequent analyses.

**Analytic Strategies**

**Hypothesis 1.** To assess the extent of perceived cultural discrepancies, a series of four 3 (Family: Youth, Perceived Father, Perceived Mother) ANOVAs were conducted for each cultural orientation (Arab, Canadian) and values (Openness to Change, Conservation).

**Hypotheses 2, 3, and 4.** To examine the relation between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict, a series of eight hierarchical regressions were conducted across two outcome variables (intergenerational conflict, ethnocultural identity conflict) regressed on four predictor variables (Arab orientation, Canadian orientation, conservation values, openness to change values). Following Hayes and Matthes (2009) recommendation, variables were not mean-centered.

Youth and perceived parent cultural orientation and values were entered as main effects at Step 1, and the interaction term was entered at Step 2. All significant and trending interactions were probed in two stages. First, simple slopes were plotted to illustrate the relation between parents’ perceived cultural orientation or values scores at “high” (+1 SD), mean, and “low” (-1 SD) levels of youth’s cultural orientation or values score (Aiken & West, 1991). Second, the Johnson-Neyman technique was used to identify the specific point(s) at which the conditional effect of the moderator variable transitions from significance to non-significance, beyond the arbitrary cut-off points of ± 1 SD. The transition point(s) identified by the Johnson-Neyman technique were also plotted if they extended beyond ± 1 SD of youth’s cultural orientation or values score.

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7 All analyses were re-run and probed using mean-centered data, and with the exception of one slight difference in a main effect slope, results were identical to those presented here.
This study used the interaction term method to assess the relation between perceived cultural discrepancies and both types of conflict as opposed to simply computing difference scores because the interaction term method considers three key factors: (1) youth’s cultural orientation and values; (2) parent’s perceived cultural orientation and values; and (3) the interaction between youth’s and perceived parents’ cultural orientation and values (for review, see Birman, 2006b). Thus, this approach allows researchers to disentangle the individual and combined contributions of youth’s and perceived parents’ cultural orientation and values scores on the outcome measures.

**Hypothesis 5.** To test the moderating effect of parent-youth relationships, a series of eight hierarchical regressions were conducted across two outcome variables (intergenerational conflict, ethnocultural identity conflict) regressed on four predictor variables (perceived parent-youth Arab orientation discrepancy, perceived parent-youth Canadian orientation discrepancy, perceived parent-youth conservation values discrepancy, perceived openness to change values discrepancy). Perceived parent-youth cultural discrepancies and parent-youth relationships were entered as main effects at Step 1, and the 3-way interaction term was entered at Step 2. The relevant 2-way interaction terms were not included for two reasons: to focus on the interactions of interest as opposed to wholesale testing of all possible interactions (Keith, 2006), and to avoid increasing the difficulty detecting significant 3-way interactions that is also exacerbated by power issues related to the current study’s sample size. Significant and trending 3-way interactions were probed using simple slope analysis (Aiken & West, 1991) and the Johnson-Neyman technique (Hayes & Matthes, 2009). The interaction term method was also used to test this hypothesis for the reasons outlined above.

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8 All analyses were re-run including the relevant 2-way interaction term (perceived parent X youth cultural orientation OR values), and the beta weights did not change.
Main Analyses

**Hypothesis 1.** For Arab Orientation, while not significantly different from one another, fathers and mothers were both perceived to be more oriented to Arab culture than their youth, Pillai’s Trace = .43, $F (2, 111) = 41.12, p = .00, \eta^2 = .43$ (see Table 8). In contrast, youth were significantly more oriented to Canadian culture than they perceived their fathers to be, who were in turn significantly more oriented to Canadian culture than perceptions of their mothers, Pillai’s Trace = .76, $F (2, 110) = 176.20, p = .00, \eta^2 = .76$.

For Conservation, mothers were perceived to endorse conservation values significantly more than were fathers and youth, Pillai’s Trace = .18, $F (2, 113) = 12.60, p = .00, \eta^2 = .18$. In contrast, youth were significantly more likely to endorse openness to change values than their perception of their father’s and mother’s values, Pillai’s Trace = .11, $F (2, 113) = 7.03, p = .00, \eta^2 = .11$. With the exception of a non-significant youth-father conservation values difference, these results provided support for hypothesis 1.

**Hypothesis 2.** It was hypothesized that parent-youth cultural orientation discrepancies would predict intergenerational conflict.

*Perceived Arab orientation discrepancy and intergenerational conflict.* The zero-order correlations indicated that neither perceived parent nor youth Arab orientation were significantly correlated with intergenerational conflict (see Table 10). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered in Step 1 accounted for a nonsignificant 0.4% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional 6.1% of the explained variance. Results showed a significant perceived parent X youth Arab orientation interaction.

Simple slope analysis revealed that the relation between perceived parent Arab orientation and intergenerational conflict was significant and negative at high levels of youth Arab orientation ($b = -1.17, SE = .48, t = -2.46, p = .02$), trending and negative at mean levels
of youth Arab orientation ($b = -0.59$, $SE = 0.31$, $t = -1.90$, $p = 0.06$), and not significant at low levels of youth Arab orientation ($b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.25$, $t = -0.03$, $p = 0.98$). To fully explore the nature of the interaction, the Johnson-Neyman technique was applied to identify specific transition points of youth Arab orientation at which the relation between perceived parent Arab orientation and intergenerational conflict became significant. The conditional effect of youth Arab orientation transitioned at 1.93 (low condition; $b = 0.85$, $SE = 0.43$, $t = 1.98$, $p = 0.05$) and 3.23 (high condition; $b = -0.64$, $SE = 0.32$, $t = -1.98$, $p = 0.05$). Scores below the 1.93 threshold and above the 3.23 threshold significantly moderated the effect of perceived parent Arab orientation on intergenerational conflict.

Figure 5 illustrates that when youth Arab orientation was high (slightly above mean levels and higher, as denoted by “J-N high” line), intergenerational conflict increased as perceived parent Arab orientation decreased. Further, when youth Arab orientation was very low (-2.5 SDs below the mean and lower, as denoted by “J-N low” line), intergenerational conflict increased as perceived parent Arab orientation increased. These results provide support for hypothesis 2 as they indicate that high youth Arab orientation combined with low perceived parent Arab orientation, as well as very low youth Arab orientation combined with high perceived parent Arab orientation, are associated with increased intergenerational conflict.

Perceived Canadian orientation discrepancy and intergenerational conflict. The zero-order correlations showed that perceived parent Canadian orientation was significantly negatively associated with intergenerational conflict, whereas youth Canadian orientation was not related to intergenerational conflict (see Table 10). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 predicted 8.8% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional nonsignificant 2.8% of the explained variance. Results showed a main effect for perceived parent Canadian orientation. As perceived parent Arab orientation
increased there was less intergenerational conflict. The perceived parent X youth Canadian orientation discrepancy was trending.

As indicated above and given the difficulty in confirming interactions (Aiken & West, 1991), a follow-up simple slope analysis was examined. This analysis revealed that the relation between perceived parent Canadian orientation and intergenerational conflict was significant and negative at low and mean levels of youth Canadian orientation \((bs = -1.00, - .65, SEs = .27, .22, ts = -3.73, -3.03, ps = .000, .003, \text{respectively})\), but not significant at high levels of youth Canadian orientation \((b = -.30, SE = .30, t = -1.00, p = .32)\). The Johnson-Neyman technique indicated that the conditional effect of youth Canadian orientation transitioned at 3.51 \((b = -.48, SE = .24, t = -1.98, p = .05)\). Scores above this threshold were nonsignificant, whereas lower youth Canadian orientation scores significantly moderated the effect of perceived parent Canadian orientation on intergenerational conflict.

Figure 6 illustrates that when youth Canadian orientation was high (.5 SDs and above, as denoted by “J-N”) intergenerational conflict increased as perceived parent Canadian orientation decreased. This result provides partial support for hypothesis 2, as high youth Canadian orientation combined with low perceived parent Canadian orientation was associated with increased intergenerational conflict.

**Hypothesis 3.** It was hypothesized that parent-youth cultural orientation discrepancies would predict ethnocultural identity conflict.

*Perceived Arab orientation discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict.* The zero-order correlations demonstrated that perceived parent Arab orientation was significantly and negatively associated with ethnocultural identity conflict, whereas youth Arab orientation was not related to ethnocultural identity conflict (see Table 11). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 predicted a nonsignificant 2.6% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional 10.7% of the predicted variance. Results
showed significant main effects for perceived parent and youth Arab orientation. Youth’s
ethnocultural identity conflict increased as both perceived parent and youth levels of Arab
orientation increase. Of greatest interest was the significant perceived parent X youth Arab
orientation interaction.

Simple slope analysis indicated that the relation between perceived parent Arab
orientation and ethnocultural identity conflict was not significant at low levels of youth Arab
orientation ($b = -.03, SE = .10, t = -.26, p = .79$), but significant and negative at mean and
high levels of youth Arab orientation ($bs = -.36, -.69, SEs = .13, .20, ts = -2.81, -3.52, ps =
.01, .00$, respectively). The Johnson-Neyman technique found that the conditional effect of
youth Arab orientation transitioned at 2.22 (low condition; $b = .27, SE = .14, t = 1.98, p =
.05$) and 2.96 (high condition; $b = -.21, SE = .11, t = -1.98, p = .05$). Scores below the 2.22
threshold and above the 2.96 threshold significantly moderated the effect of perceived parent
Arab orientation on ethnocultural identity conflict.

Figure 7 indicates that when youth Arab orientation was high (-.5 SDs below the
mean and higher, as denoted by “J-N high” line), ethnocultural identity conflict increased as
perceived parent Arab orientation decreased. Further, when youth Arab orientation was very
low (-2 SDs below the mean and lower, as denoted by “J-N low” line), ethnocultural identity
conflict increased as perceived parent Arab orientation increased. These results provide
support for hypothesis 3 as they demonstrate that high youth Arab orientation combined with
low perceived parent Arab orientation, as well as very low youth Arab orientation combined
with high perceived parent Arab orientation, are associated with increased ethnocultural
identity conflict.

*Perceived Canadian orientation discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict.*

Neither perceived parent Canadian orientation nor youth Canadian orientation were
associated with ethnocultural identity conflict (see Table 11 for zero-order correlations). In
the hierarchical regression, main effects entered in Step 1 accounted for a nonsignificant 2.1% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for a nonsignificant 2.7% of the explained variance. Therefore, the interaction was not probed any further.

**Hypothesis 4.** It was hypothesized that parent-youth values discrepancies would predict intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.

*Perceived conservation values discrepancy and intergenerational conflict.* The zero-order correlations showed that perceived parent conservation values was significantly negatively associated with intergenerational conflict whereas youth conservation values was not related to intergenerational conflict (see Table 12). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 predicted a nonsignificant 5.1% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional 7.0% of the predicted variance. Results showed a significant main effect for youth conservation values and a main effect trend for perceived parent conservation values. Intergenerational conflict increased as perceived parent conservation values decreased and youth conservation values increased. Qualifying this result was a significant perceived parent X youth conservation values interaction.

Simple slope analysis indicated that the relation between perceived parent conservation values and intergenerational conflict was significant and negative at low, mean, and high levels of youth conservation values ($bs = -.27, -.47, -.67$, $SEs = .11, .14, .18, ts = -2.42, -3.43, -3.63, ps = .02, .001, .000$, respectively). The Johnson-Neyman technique demonstrated that the conditional effect of youth conservation values transitioned at 3.55 ($b = -.22, SE = .11, t = -1.98, p = .05$). Scores above this threshold significantly moderated the effect of perceived parent conservation values on intergenerational conflict.

Figure 8 indicates that when youth conservation values were high, intergenerational conflict increased as perceived parent conservation values decreased. These results provide some support for hypothesis 4 as they indicate that high youth conservation values combined
with lower perceived parent conservation values are associated with increased intergenerational conflict.

**Perceived openness to change values discrepancy and intergenerational conflict.** The zero-order correlations showed that perceived parent openness to change values was significantly negatively associated with intergenerational conflict whereas youth openness to change values was not related to intergenerational conflict (see Table 12). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 predicted a nonsignificant 4.8% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional 3.3% of the predicted variance. Main effects were not significant; however, results showed a significant perceived parent X youth openness to change values interaction.

Simple slope analysis demonstrated that the relation between perceived parent openness to change values and intergenerational conflict was not significant at low levels of youth openness to change values ($b = -.07, SE = .13, t = -.52, p = .60$), but significant and negative at mean and high levels of youth openness to change values ($bs = -.23, -.39, SEs = .11, .13, ts = -2.02, -2.64, p = .05, .01$, respectively). The Johnson-Neyman indicated that the conditional effect of youth openness to change values transitioned at 4.68 ($b = -.23, SE = .11, t = -1.98, p = .05$). Scores above this threshold significantly moderated the effect of perceived parent openness to change values on intergenerational conflict.

Figure 9 illustrates that when youth openness to change values were high, intergenerational conflict increased as perceived parent openness to change values decreased. These results provide some support for hypothesis 4 as they indicate that high youth openness to change values combined with low perceived parent openness to change values were associated with increased intergenerational conflict.

**Perceived conservation values discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict.** As seen in the zero-order correlations, neither perceived parent conservation values nor youth
conservation values were associated with ethnocultural identity conflict (see Table 13). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 predicted a nonsignificant 2.4% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional 4.5% of the explained variance. Results showed a main effect trend for perceived parent and youth conservation values. Ethnocultural identity conflict increased as both youth and perceived parent conservation values increased. Of greatest interest was a significant perceived parent X youth conservation values interaction.

Simple slope analysis revealed that the relation between perceived parent conservation values and ethnocultural identity conflict was not significant at low levels of youth conservation values \( (b = -.05, SE = .05, t = -.98, p = .33) \), trending and negative at mean levels of youth conservation values \( (b = -.12, SE = .06, t = -1.94, p = .06) \), and significant and negative at high levels of youth conservation values \( (b = -.19, SE = .08, t = -2.28, p = .02) \). The Johnson-Neyman technique indicated that the conditional effect of youth conservation values transitioned at 4.82 \( (b = -.13, SE = .06, t = -1.98, p = .05) \). Scores above this threshold significantly moderated the effect of perceived conservation values on ethnocultural identity conflict.

Figure 10 illustrates that when youth conservation values are high, ethnocultural identity conflict increases as perceived parent conservation values decrease. These results provide some support for hypothesis 4 as they indicate that high youth conservation values combined with low perceived parent conservation values are associated with increased ethnocultural identity conflict.

Perceived openness to change values discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict. Neither perceived parent openness to change values nor youth openness to change values were associated with ethnocultural identity conflict (see Table 13 for zero-order correlations). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for a nonsignificant
1.8% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for a nonsignificant 0.4% of the explained variance. Therefore, the interaction was not probed any further.

**Hypothesis 5.** Strong parent-youth relationships were expected to moderate the associations between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict.

*Perceived Arab orientation discrepancies and intergenerational conflict.* Parent-youth relationship was significantly negatively associated with intergenerational conflict, whereas perceived parent and youth Arab orientation were not related to intergenerational conflict (see Table 14). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for 27.3% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional 5.5% of the explained variance. Results showed significant main effects for perceived parent and youth Arab orientation. Intergenerational conflict increases as both perceived parent and youth Arab orientation increases. Qualifying these results was a significant perceived parent X youth Arab orientation X parent-youth relationship interaction.

Simple slope analysis indicated that the relation between perceived Arab orientation discrepancy (i.e., perceived parent X youth Arab orientation) and intergenerational conflict was trending and negative at low levels of parent-youth relationship ($b = .08, SE = .05, t = 1.79, p = .08$), but nonsignificant at mean and high levels of parent-youth relationship ($bs = .00, -.09, SEs = .04, .06, ts = -.06, -1.54, ps = .95, .13$, respectively). The Johnson-Neyman technique indicated that the conditional effect of parent-youth relationships transitioned at 143.01 ($b = .10, SE = .05, t = 1.98, p = .05$). Scores above this threshold were nonsignificant, whereas lower parent-youth relationship scores significantly moderated the effect of perceived Arab orientation discrepancy on intergenerational conflict. Figure 11 illustrates that intergenerational conflict as a function of perceived parent Arab orientation discrepancy increases when the parent-youth relationship is weak, providing some support for hypothesis 5.
Perceived Canadian orientation discrepancy and intergenerational conflict. The zero-order correlations showed that perceived parent Canadian orientation and parent-youth relationships were significantly and negatively associated with intergenerational conflict, whereas youth Canadian orientation was not related to intergenerational conflict (see Table 14). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for 29.2% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional nonsignificant 0.8% of the explained variance. Results showed significant main effects for parent-youth relationships. Intergenerational conflict decreased as strong parent-youth relationships increased.

Perceived conservation values discrepancy and intergenerational conflict. The zero-order correlations showed that parent-youth relationships and perceived parent conservation values were significantly negatively associated with intergenerational conflict, whereas youth conservation values were not related to intergenerational conflict (see Table 15). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for 24.2% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional 4.4% of the explained variance. Results showed a significant main effect for youth conservation values, with intergenerational conflict increasing as youth conservation values increase. Of greatest interest and qualifying this result was a significant perceived parent X youth conservation values X parent-youth relationship interaction.

Simple slope analysis revealed that the relation between perceived conservation values discrepancy (i.e., perceived parent X youth conservation values) and intergenerational conflict was not significant at low and mean levels of parent-youth relationship ($bs = .01, - .01, SEs = .02, .01, ts = .49, -1.25, ps = .63, .21$, respectively), but significant and negative at high levels of parent-youth relationship ($b = -.04, SE = .02, t = -2.30, p = .02$). The Johnson-Neyman technique showed that the conditional effect of parent-youth relationships
transitioned at 202.01 ($b = -.02, SE = .01, t = -1.98, p = .05$). Scores below this threshold were nonsignificant, whereas higher parent-youth relationship scores significantly moderated the effect of perceived conservation values discrepancy on intergenerational conflict. Figure 12 illustrates that intergenerational conflict decreases as a function of perceived conservation values discrepancy when the parent-youth relationship is strong, providing some support for hypothesis 5.

**Perceived openness to change values discrepancy and intergenerational conflict.**

Perceived parent openness to change values and parent-youth relationships were significantly and negatively associated with intergenerational conflict, whereas youth openness to change values were not related to intergenerational conflict (see Table 15 for zero-order correlations). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for 24.7% of the variance. The interaction entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional nonsignificant 0.5% of the explained variance. Results showed a significant main effect for parent-youth relationships. Intergenerational conflict decreased as strong parent-youth relationships increased.

**Perceived Arab orientation discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict.** The zero-order correlations indicated that parent-youth relationships was significantly associated with ethnocultural identity conflict, whereas perceived parent and youth Arab orientation were not related to ethnocultural identity conflict (see Table 16). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for 15.7% of the variance. The interaction entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional 4.5% of the predicted variance. Results showed a main effect for youth Arab orientation and a main effect trend for perceived parent Arab orientation. Ethnocultural identity conflict increased as youth Arab orientation increases. Qualifying these results was a significant perceived parent youth Arab orientation X parent-youth relationship interaction.
Simple slope analysis showed that the relation between perceived Arab orientation discrepancy (i.e., perceived parent X youth Arab orientation) and ethnocultural identity conflict was not significant at low and mean levels of parent-youth relationship ($bs = .00, -.02, SEs = .02, 02, ts = -.11, -1.43, ps = .91, .16$, respectively), but trending and negative at high levels of parent-youth relationship ($b = -.05, SE = .03, t = -1.77, p = .08$). The Johnson-Neyman technique was unable to identify a specific point at which parent-youth relationship moderated the effect of perceived Arab orientation discrepancy on ethnocultural identity conflict, as the conditional effect only approached significance at $220.65 (b = -.05, SE = .03, t = -1.77, p = .08)$. Figure 13 indicates that ethnocultural identity conflict decreased as a function of perceived Arab orientation discrepancy when the parent-youth relationship was strong, providing some directional support for hypothesis 5.

**Perceived Canadian orientation discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict.** From the zero-order correlations, it can be seen that parent-youth relationships were significantly negatively associated with ethnocultural identity conflict whereas perceived parent Canadian orientation and youth Canadian orientation were not related to ethnocultural identity conflict (see Table 16). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for 18.2% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for nonsignificant 0.3% of the explained variance. Results showed a main effect for parent-youth relationships. Ethnocultural identity conflict decreased as strong parent-youth relationships increased.

**Perceived conservation values discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict.** The zero-order correlations show that parent-youth relationships were significantly and negatively associated with ethnocultural identity conflict whereas perceived parent conservation values and youth conservation values were not related to ethnocultural identity conflict (see Table 17). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for 14.8% of the variance. The interaction term entered at Step 2 accounted for no further variance. Results
showed a significant main effect for parent-youth relationships. Ethnocultural identity conflict decreased as strong parent-youth relationships increased.

*Perceived openness to change values discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict.*

Parent-youth relationships were significantly and negatively associated with ethnocultural identity conflict whereas perceived parent and youth openness to change values were not related to ethnocultural identity conflict (see zero-order correlations in Table 17). In the hierarchical regression, main effects entered at Step 1 accounted for 14.6% of the variance. The interaction term entered in Step 2 accounted for an additional nonsignificant 0.3% of the explained variance. Results showed a significant main effect for parent-youth relationships. Ethnocultural identity conflict decreased as strong parent-youth relationships increased.

**Results Summary**

The results of this study provided broad support for hypotheses 1 through 4 (see Table 18). First, youth perceived themselves to be significantly more oriented toward Canadian culture and openness to change values than both parents, and significantly less oriented toward Arab culture and conservation values than both parents (father-youth discrepancy was directionally but not statistically supported).

Hypothesis 2 was largely supported, as two types of perceived Arab orientation discrepancies were found to predict intergenerational conflict: high youth Arab orientation combined with low perceived parent Arab orientation, as well as very low youth Arab orientation combined with high perceived parent Arab orientation. Further, one type of perceived Canadian orientation discrepancy significantly predicted intergenerational conflict: high youth Canadian orientation combined with low perceived parent Canadian orientation.

Hypothesis 3 also received some support, as two types of perceived Arab orientation discrepancies were found to predict ethnocultural identity conflict: high youth Arab orientation combined with lower perceived parent Arab orientation, as well as very low youth Arab
Arab orientation combined with high perceived parent Arab orientation. Contrary to expectations, perceived Canadian orientation discrepancy did not predict ethnocultural identity conflict.

Hypothesis 4 received broad support, as one type of perceived conservation values discrepancy and perceived openness to change values discrepancy predicted intergenerational conflict: high youth conservation values combined with low perceived parent conservation values, as well as high youth openness to change values combined with low perceived parent openness to change values. Further, one type of perceived conservation discrepancy significantly predicted ethnocultural identity conflict: high youth conservation values combined with low perceived parent conservation values. Contrary to expectations, perceived openness to change values discrepancy did not predict ethnocultural identity conflict.

Hypothesis 5 received some support, as parent-youth relationships moderated the association between two types of perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict. Specifically, intergenerational conflict increased as a function of perceived Arab orientation discrepancy when the parent-youth relationship was weak, but decreased as a function of perceived conservation values discrepancy when the parent-youth relationship was strong. Contrary to expectations, parent-youth relationships did not moderate the association between perceived Canadian orientation discrepancy and perceived openness to change values discrepancy. Hypothesis 5 received further support as ethnocultural identity conflict marginally decreased as a function of perceived Arab orientation discrepancy when the parent-youth relationship was strong. Contrary to expectations, parent-youth relationships did moderate the association between perceived Canadian orientation discrepancy, perceived openness to change values discrepancy, and perceived conservation values discrepancy.
Discussion

In Study 1, immigrant Arab youth in Canada provided rich descriptions of their life experiences in Canada. Many of their stories were related to their perception of parent-youth cultural discrepancies and their association with conflict. The findings from the qualitative inquiry provided support for a conceptual model positing that perceived cultural discrepancies were associated with more intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict, but that this association was moderated by parent-youth relationships.

In Study 2, this model was quantitatively tested. The results generally confirmed that youth perceived discrepancies between their parents in relation to their Arab and Canadian culture orientation, as well as their conservation and openness to change values. These discrepancies, in turn, were broadly associated with increased conflict. In some cases, however, strong parent-youth relationships were associated with less conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies, whereas in others, weak parent-youth relationships were associated with more conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies. Overall, this study achieved its aims by largely confirming the findings in Study 1 using a quantitative method.

Consistent with hypothesis 1, youth were significantly less oriented toward Arab culture and more oriented toward Canadian culture than they perceived their parents to be. Similarly, youth’s endorsement of conservation values (mothers only) was significantly weaker than their perceptions of their parents’ values, whereas youth’s endorsement of openness to change values was significantly stronger than their perception of their parents’ values. Although youth’s conservation values did not differ significantly from their perception of their father’s conservation values, this hypothesis was directionally supported. Overall, these findings provide support for the first assumption of the acculturation gap-distress model, which is consistent with Study 1 and many previous studies suggesting that
youth are more aligned to the settlement culture and values than their parents, who are more aligned with the heritage culture and values (for review, see Kwak, 2003; Costigan & Dokis, 2006b).

Generally, immigrant parents are more oriented toward the heritage culture because they were fully socialized and reached maturity in their country of origin (Costigan & Dokis, 2006b). Immigrant youth, on the other hand, are socialized in two cultural environments by a number of agents, including parents, peers, and teachers (Schönpflug, 2001a; 2001b), who may emphasize conflicting behaviours and values (Phinney et al., 2000). For example, youth may spend the first part of their lives in their country of origin, where their parents, peers, and teachers are likely to have congruent behavioural repertoires and personal values systems. Post-migration (particularly when moving to a culturally-distant settlement country), peers and teachers may transmit different behaviours and values than parents. Concurrently, immigrant parents are challenged to balance their desire to prepare children for life in the new culture, which may require emphasizing values that are inconsistent with their own (Tam & Lee, 2010), as they also undergo their individual acculturation process (Bornstein & Cote, 2006). As a result, parental messages are less clear and consistent in immigrant families, which compromises heritage culture socialization (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006) and value transmission (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001), creating an opportunity for parents and youth to experience discrepancies with respect to their cultural orientation and values.

Many perceived cultural discrepancies, in turn, were associated with significantly more intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict, consistent with hypotheses 2 through 4 (refer to Table 18). As demonstrated in Study 1, perceived cultural discrepancies signify conflicting perspectives, which can hinder parent’s and youth’s ability to relate to one another, trigger intergenerational conflict (Ahn et al., 2008; Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008) and
complicate identity development (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006; Stuart & Ward, 2011). Although some scholars have argued that cultural discrepancies are associated with poorer outcomes by way of a weakened bond (e.g., Choi et al., 2008), very few studies have tested relational aspects of parent-youth dyads as a moderator (for exception, see Kim & Park, 2011; Schofield et al., 2008; Weaver & Kim, 2008).

The present study built on this idea by testing parent-youth relationships as a moderator of the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. Consistent with hypothesis 5, this study found that when the parent-youth relationship was weak, perceived Arab orientation discrepancies were associated with more intergenerational conflict, and when the parent-youth relationship was strong, perceived conservation values discrepancies were associated with less intergenerational conflict. Further, ethnocultural identity conflict decreases marginally as a function of perceived Arab orientation discrepancy when the parent-youth relationship is strong. These findings suggest that the parent-youth relationship may have two different functions in immigrant families faced with perceived discrepancies: risk or protective factors.

First, perceived cultural discrepancies may weaken the parent-youth bond, making it difficult to relate to one another, and leading to poorer outcomes including conflict (e.g., Crockett et al., 2007). Alternatively, perceived cultural discrepancies may be more likely to occur in a context lacking parental warmth (e.g., Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009). This idea is consistent with previous research suggesting that parental warmth is associated with increased cultural orientation (e.g., Costigan & Dokis, 2006a) and value similarity (e.g., Rudy & Grusec, 2001; Schönpfugl, 2001a, 2001b).

Second, strong parent-youth relationships may protect against the negative effects of perceived cultural discrepancies. Indeed, this theme emerged strongly in Study 1, as youth
who characterized their relationship with their parents as strong, marked by closeness, communication, and support were less likely to experience conflict. This idea is also consistent with Stuart, Ward, Jose, and Narayanan’s (2010) recent qualitative study, in which African, Middle Eastern, and Asian parents and youth in New Zealand noted that despite some differing viewpoints, their families endeavoured to support one another through the challenges of acculturation. Overall, these two findings support the previously suggested idea that immigrant families can be the source of both stress and support (Phinney & Ong, 2007a; Ward et al., 2010).

It is important to note that many of the perceived cultural discrepancies reported in this study occurred in unexpected directions. Specifically, intergenerational conflict was predicted by perceived Arab cultural orientation discrepancies when youth were strongly oriented to the Arab culture and perceived their parents to be weakly oriented to the Arab culture. However, intergenerational conflict was also heightened when youth were very weakly oriented to the Arab culture and perceived their parents to be strongly oriented to the Arab culture, indicating that with respect to Arab orientation predicting intergenerational conflict, discrepancies in both directions were problematic. Intergenerational conflict was also predicted by perceived conservation values discrepancies when youth strongly endorsed conservation values and perceived their parents to weakly endorse conservation values.

Similarly, ethnocultural identity conflict was predicted by perceived Arab cultural orientation discrepancies when youth were strongly oriented to the Arab culture and perceived their parents to be weakly oriented to the Arab culture. In this case, both types of discrepancies were associated with increased ethnocultural identity conflict. Ethnocultural identity conflict was also predicted by perceived conservation values discrepancies when youth strongly endorsed conservation values and perceived their parents to weakly endorse conservation values. Taken together, these results suggest that the second assumption of the acculturation
The present study initially intended to examine perceived cultural discrepancies, intergenerational conflict, and parent-youth relationships independently for mothers and fathers. However, the very high intercorrelations in Study 2 necessitated the formation of aggregate parent variables. Although perceived cultural discrepancies, intergenerational conflict, and parent-youth relationships appeared to be very similar for mothers and fathers across both studies, future research is needed to further evaluate this finding.

In sum and consistent with its aims, Study 2 found that youth perceived cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, which were in turn related to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict (Aim 1). Moreover, parent-youth relationships were found to moderate the associations between perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict (Aim 2).
CHAPTER 4: GENERAL DISCUSSION

This program of research was the first to comprehensively examine the cultural experiences of immigrant Arab Canadian youth using a mixed-methods research approach. In particular, these studies were guided by two aims. First, the extent to which youth perceived cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, as well as how they relate to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict, was examined. Second, factors that moderate the associations between perceived cultural discrepancies and both types of conflict were examined. This chapter is framed within these aims, and is divided into several sections, discussing the prevalence of perceived cultural discrepancies, their relation to conflict, and the role of parent-youth relationships. Implications, limitations, future directions, and conclusions follow this discussion.

Studies 1 and 2 Summary

In both studies, immigrant Arab Canadian youth perceived cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents. Overall, youth were more oriented toward Canadian culture and openness to change values, and less oriented toward Arab culture and conservation values than they perceived their parents to be.

Perceived cultural discrepancies, in turn, were associated with more intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict in both studies, but to varying degrees. In Study 1, perceived cultural discrepancies with both parents were related to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. In Study 2, however, ethnocultural identity conflict was predicted by perceived Arab orientation and conservation values discrepancies with parents, whereas intergenerational conflict was predicted by openness to change and conservation values discrepancies with their parents. It is important to note that not all perceived cultural discrepancies were associated with increased conflict (i.e., neither perceived Canadian
orientation discrepancies nor perceived openness to change values discrepancies predicted ethnocultural identity conflict).

Both studies found that parent-youth relationships moderated the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict. In Study 1, parent-youth relationships functioned as either a protective or a risk factor. Specifically, parent-youth relationships that were marked by openness, communication, and support protected against the experience of conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies, whereas weak and distant relationships exacerbated the effect of perceived cultural discrepancies on conflict. Support in Study 2 was more limited, as parent-youth relationships only moderated the associations between perceived Arab orientation and conservation values discrepancies and intergenerational conflict.

**Testing the Acculturation Gap-Distress Hypothesis**

The acculturation gap-distress hypothesis is predicated on two assumptions that were evaluated by the present studies. First, discrepancies exist between parents and youth, to the extent that parents are more likely to be oriented to the heritage culture and values than youth, who are more likely to be oriented to the settlement culture and values. Second, discrepancies are associated with poorer individual and familial outcomes. This program of research found that perceived cultural discrepancies exist in immigrant Arab Canadian families, and that they are associated with increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.

These studies addressed Aim 1 by examining the extent to which perceived cultural discrepancies exist in immigrant Arab Canadian families. Using a mixed-methods approach, this program of research demonstrated that immigrant Arab youth perceive discrepancies between themselves and their parents both in relation to heritage and settlement culture orientation as well as values. One of the primary benefits of multiple-case narrative studies is
that they elicit thick and rich accounts of individual’s life experiences (Riessman, 2005). Using this method, Study 1 was able to identify specific attitudes, behaviours, and values around which youth perceived cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents. These included clothing, conceptions of fun, dating and marriage, education and career, family rules, heritage culture maintenance, social interaction, social status, and tolerance of others (refer to Table 5). Overall, these findings are consistent with many previous investigations which have found that youth are more oriented toward the settlement culture and values than their parents, who are more oriented toward the heritage culture and values than their children (e.g., Birman, 2006a; Birman, 2006b; Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom, 2003; Costigan & Dokis, 2006b; Crane, Ngai, Larsen, & Hafen, 2005).

The relation between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict is broadly consistent with previous research reporting that discrepancies negatively affect individual and familial adjustment (see Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009; Telzer, 2010). For example, in a study of immigrant Chinese mother-child dyads in Canada, intergenerational conflict occurred more frequently and around issues that were more emotionally intense when there was a settlement orientation discrepancy in the expected direction. Similarly, Farver, Narang, and Bhadha (2002) found that less intergenerational conflict occurred when Asian Indian American parents and adolescents held similar heritage and settlement culture orientations.

Some research has also stressed that identity development is complicated by cultural discrepancies. For example, in South Asian immigrant families in New Zealand, Stuart and Ward (2011) found that increased “acculturative conflict” (i.e., discrepant views around issues relating to migration) were associated with heightened ethnocultural identity conflict. Similarly, Schwartz and colleagues (2006) argued that youth’s personal identity development (defined as the “goals, values, and beliefs that an individual adopts and holds” p. 6) is more
challenging when parents are less oriented to the settlement society than were their youth
(and by extension, more oriented to the heritage culture) as their ability to provide guidance
on how to navigate the new environment is limited. Schwartz and colleagues noted that these
issues are particularly relevant for non-Western collectivist families in Western individualist
societies, such as Arabs in Canada.

In sum, the present program of research provided support for the acculturation gap-
distress model, in that youth were generally more oriented toward settlement culture and
values than their perception of their parents, who were in turn more oriented toward heritage
culture and values than their children. Moreover, perceived cultural discrepancies were
associated with increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.

Extending the Literature: Personal Values and Conflict

To date, the broader acculturation literature and cultural discrepancies research have
focused on attitudes and behaviours, with much less attention to personal values. Specifically,
the vast majority of measures used in these fields are dominated by cultural practices, and to
a lesser extent, cultural identification, with very few measures containing items around values
(and even fewer with issues relating to personal as opposed to cultural values) (for review,
see Celenk & van de Vijver, 2011; refer to Table 1). Addressing this limitation, the present
program of research was one of the first studies to explicitly examine whether perceived
personal values discrepancies along the openness to change versus conservation values
dimension were associated with increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural
identity conflict.

It is important to consider perceived values discrepancies in addition to perceived
cultural orientation discrepancies because immigrants tend to modify their behaviours (i.e.,
public domain) more readily than their identity or values (i.e., private domain) (van de Vijver
& Phalet, 2004). As a result, many immigrants prefer integration in the public domain and
separation in the private domain (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003; Snauwert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003). Although the LIB and other measures of acculturation contain items relating to identity – which constitutes one aspect of the private domain – these measures tend to include a few broad items. To overcome these limitations, this program of research examined personal values in addition to behaviours and attitudes to provide a more comprehensive overview of the acculturation process. Further, Study 2 used an extensive and well-established values measure that examining personal values that are consistent with both heritage and settlement cultural norms, providing a theoretical parallel to acculturation theory. In addition, immigrants can use cultural frame switching to shift between heritage and settlement culture skill sets in response to cultural cues, as a way of managing their sociocultural environments (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Cheng et al., 2006; Hong et al., 2000; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). For example, immigrant youth can emphasize autonomy at school and relatedness within their families to minimize conflict and ensure success in these contexts (Ko et al., 2009). Values, on the other hand, are intrinsic, broad life goals that cannot be alternated, as they are changed through repeated priming or repeated re-evaluation of a target message across a range of different situations (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011).

According to Grusec and Goodnow’s (1994) influential value transmission model, value transmission successfully occurs when youth accurately perceive and accept their parents’ values. Thus, values discrepancies may arise from inaccurate perception and/or rejection of parental value messages. In non-immigrant families, youth are more likely to accurately perceive their parents’ values given their increased consistency with normative cultural values. As a result, internalizing their parents’ values is likely to equip them for success in their sociocultural environment. In immigrant families, however, parents’ value messages are often less clear and consistent (Bornstein & Cote, 2006; Knafo & Schwartz,
2001) as parents undergo their own acculturation process (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006) and struggle with whether to transmit heritage culture values that may be less adaptive in the settlement society or emphasize settlement culture values that may conflict with their own personal values (Tam & Lee, 2010). Similarly, immigrant youth may have more difficulty interpreting their parents’ values and be more reluctant to adopt them if these values hinder their own acculturation process, particularly as they become more acclimated to the settlement society (Phinney et al., 2000).

The associations between perceived values discrepancies and conflict are broadly consistent with previous studies that have found that parent-youth value incongruence is associated with more intergenerational conflict (e.g., Ahn et al., 2008; Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008). Overall, values discrepancies are associated with conflicting perspectives, which may hinder parent’s and youth’s ability to relate to one another and contributes to intergenerational conflict.

In contrast to intergenerational conflict, few studies have examined the association between perceived values discrepancies and ethnocultural identity conflict (for exception, see Ward, 2008). When the heritage and settlement cultures are distant, the family is likely to espouse values that compete with those espoused by the school and peers. As a result, youth will have difficulty reconciling competing belief systems as a function of their “divided loyalties” (Hernandez, Montgomery, & Kurtines, 2006). Indeed, neo-Eriksonian identity theorists have argued that an individual’s personal and social identity is developed through the negotiation of their personal and social contexts (Schwartz et al., 2006). Developing an achieved identity also becomes more difficult when youth perceive values discrepancies between themselves and their parents, as they have to reconcile discrepancies within their family context, as well as between their family and other dominant contexts.
The relation between perceived values discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict demonstrated in Studies 1 and 2 is especially significant because it was grounded in personal as opposed to cultural values. Cultural values reflect the average normative values across society, and are not representative of all individuals within a society. In contrast, personal values account for individual differences by examining the principles and broad life goals that guide an individual’s life. Although cultural values rated individually do assess personal values, they are limited to ratings of the types of values identified as important at the cultural level, and therefore may not represent all salient values. For example, many studies examined value congruence in immigrant families with only measures of Asian values in East Asian samples (e.g., Ahn et al., 2008; Choi et al., 2008). In contrast, these studies used a near-universal personal values theory and structure (Schwartz, 2011) to examine perceived discrepancies on values dimensions that are consistent both with immigrant Arab Canadian’s heritage culture values (i.e., conservation, and its underlying tradition, conformity, and security values) as well as the settlement culture values (i.e., openness to change, and its underlying stimulation, self-direction, and hedonism values). The inclusion of both dimensions is important because it parallels acculturation theory by emphasizing the independence and salience of both heritage and settlement dimensions, but also because both sets of values discrepancies were found to relate to conflict across both studies.

Overall, this program of research demonstrated that immigrant Arab youth in Canada perceive discrepancies between themselves and their parents which are, in turn, associated with increased intergenerational conflict and heightened ethnocultural identity conflict. Therefore, these studies largely confirmed the two assumptions of the acculturation gap-distress model using cultural orientations but also extended into the realm of personal values. In contrast to the vast majority of cultural discrepancies research, these studies also explored
and tested moderators of the association between cultural discrepancies and conflict. Consistent with some previous studies (e.g., Kim & Park, 2011; Schofield et al., 2008; Weaver & Kim, 2008), parent-youth relationships were identified as a moderator of this association in Study 1 and tested using quantitative data in Study 2.

**Parent-Youth Relationships in Immigrant Arab Canadian Families**

The second aim of this program of research was to examine factors that moderate the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict. This was achieved in two stages. First, specific facets of the parent-youth relationship that may mitigate or exacerbate the effect of perceived cultural discrepancies on both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict were examined. The results of Study 1 suggested that parental warmth and control were compatible, as large proportions of youth characterized their relationship with one or more of their parents as strict and emphasized the importance of obedience within their family, but also described their relationship with their parents as strong, marked by open communication, instrumental support, and closeness. Moreover, youth who described a close, supportive, and communicative bond were less likely to experience conflict, even when faced with perceived cultural discrepancies. Second, these aspects of parent-youth relationships were tested as moderators in Study 2; a finding that was confirmed to an extent.

Overall, the results of this program of research indicated that parent-youth relationships moderated the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict in two ways. Specifically, strong parent-youth relationships protected against the experience of intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies, whereas weak parent-youth relationships exacerbated the effects of perceived cultural discrepancies on conflict.
This finding is consistent with previous research suggesting that immigrant families may be the source of both stress and support (see Phinney & Ong, 2007c; Ward et al., 2010). In the case of immigrant youth, parents may be stressors to the extent that they respond to cultural change by imposing strict boundaries which ultimately make it difficult for parents and youth to relate to one another and impede adjustment. For example, in a qualitative study of Hispanic mothers and youth living in the United States, Wagner, Ritt-Olson, Soto, Rodriguez, Baezconde-Garbanati, and Ungar (2008) found that mothers and youth had different ideas around freedom and independence. Specifically, youth believed that their parents were stricter than American parents and did not understand the pressures that they were under to fit into the new environment. Discrepancies in parental and youth perceptions of appropriate levels of strictness and autonomy promotion, in turn, were associated with poorer individual (i.e., depressive symptoms; Sher-Censor, Parke, & Coltrane, 2011) and familial outcomes (i.e., intergenerational conflict; Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007).

However, the association between perceived cultural discrepancies, parental control, and negative outcomes is qualified by the nature and quality of the parent-youth relationship. For example, in a study of immigrant Chinese triads (mother, father, child) living in Canada, Costigan and Dokis (2006a) found that acculturation discrepancies occurred to a larger extent in families characterized by lower levels of parental warmth. This is consistent with other research which has found that cultural discrepancies are associated with decreased family cohesion (Ho & Birman, 2010; Smokowski et al., 2008).

Further, perceived cultural discrepancies may not be associated with poorer outcomes if youth have positive perceptions of parental control. For example, in a qualitative study of immigrant Mexican American families, many youth equated parental control with care and concern (Crockett et al., 2007). This is consistent with the idea that youth may be more receptive to parental influence, rules, and values if they occur within a supportive and warm
environment (e.g., Kim et al., 2009). Importantly, this idea also supports previous literature that has argued that parental warmth and control can be compatible in non-Western families. As Chao (1994) argued, authoritarianism and control were maladaptive for European American but not Chinese or Chinese American families. Chao then explored other important aspects of Chinese parenting that had been overlooked by Western researchers. Focusing on the cultural context of Chinese families, Chao found that parenting also included a warmth dimension, referred to as guan (“training”). In European American families, behaviours on the training dimension were considered controlling. However, because training in Chinese and immigrant Chinese families is accompanied by warmth, it is not only adaptive but also conducive to Chinese youth’s adjustment.

The present findings found that intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict were less likely to occur as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies when parent-youth relationships were strong. Alternatively, perceived cultural discrepancies were more likely to relate to conflict when parent-youth relationships were weak. Across both studies, strong relationships were characterized by closeness and communication. The findings of Study 1 also indicated that parental warmth and control may be compatible in immigrant Arab families, which is consistent with previous research (e.g., Rasmi et al., 2012; Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

**Social and Policy Implications**

Despite the tremendous strengths and resources that many immigrant families possess, the acculturation process can be strenuous. Immigrants encounter formidable barriers such as language difficulties, discrimination and racism, and changes in family dynamics and relationships, as they reconstruct their social world in the settlement society (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Immigrant-service agencies as well as non-settlement, community-based organizations have attempted to provide effective programs and services to attenuate
the adjustment of immigrant youth and families in Canada (Chuang et al., 2011). Although some acculturation-specific issues are difficult to address, service provider organizations can offer assistance in developing and promoting protective factors. The results of this program of research provided evidence that parent-youth relationships may play a key role in the experience of intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies. By developing our knowledge of these issues, settlement programs and services that provide newcomer youth and families with the appropriate skills and tools to navigate their experience of cultural discrepancies (actual or perceived), conflict, and subsequent adjustment can be designed, implemented, and evaluated. This program of research suggest that there are two avenues for us to accomplish this goal: reducing cultural discrepancies and/or improving parent-youth relationships. To accomplish this, we must build collaborative efforts with various stakeholders (academics, service providers, policy makers) to move towards a more systematic and effective research and action agenda in dealing with the challenges and barriers of immigration and settlement facing immigrant youth and families.

To date, the deficit perspective has guided most immigration research, and as a result, researchers and practitioners have focused their attention on treatment strategies and risk-based prevention programs (Park, 2004), as opposed to strengths-based programs and services that could facilitate immigrant youth and families’ positive adjustment in Canada. As found in these two studies, immigrant Arab Canadian youth generally viewed their relationship with their parents as strong, marked by communication and closeness. Further, strong parent-youth relationships in this program of research buffered the experience of intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies, whereas weak parent-youth relationships exacerbated the experience of conflict as a function of perceived discrepancies. Thus, these studies underscores the
necessity of developing initiatives and services that decrease cultural orientation and values discrepancies between parents and youth, and suggests that fostering adaptive family relationships may attenuate the experience of conflict.

The results of this program of research suggest that it would be beneficial to develop a program that fosters strong parent-youth relationships to protect against negative acculturation outcomes. An exemplar of such a program is Familias Unidas (“United Families”), a family-centered intervention developed in the United States to reduce and prevent problem behaviour among Hispanic adolescents (Coatsworth, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2002). Familias Unidas is a multilevel intervention targeting parents, and seeks to improve family cohesion (i.e., close bond, communication, and shared activities), as well as family structure (i.e., setting and enforcing clear rules and expectations). In particular, Familias Unidas teaches specific parenting skills that relate to behavioural control and improving the emotional quality of the relationships, which in turn are expected to protect against the experience of intergenerational conflict as a function of cultural discrepancies. One of the central tenets of Familias Unidas is that it is grounded in an eco-developmental model, and recognizes that fostering strong parent-youth relationships will have spill over effects into other dominant social contexts (i.e., peers and school). For example, increasing family cohesion and strengthening family structure will likely lead to increased parental investment in academic achievement, and supervision of their children’s peer relationships. Moreover, Familias Unidas endeavours to create a support network among parents in the program, to help them cope with the challenges of raising a child in the society of settlement, and to fill the void of leaving their extended families behind. Overall, Familias Unidas has been found to be a successful intervention, particularly in the area of improving parent-youth relationships and increasing parental investment, which in turn protects against problem behaviours (Pantin, Coatsworth, Feaster, Newman, Briones, Prados et al., 2003).
The results of these studies suggest that developing a program similar to Familias Unidas for immigrant Arab families may be conducive to their adjustment. Similar to Familias Unidas, this program should be directed towards parents, as they are the most powerful socializing agent and interact with other agents to influence their children’s developmental and adjustment outcomes.

If such a program is developed within the realm of cultural relativism, the program would be consistent with the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which aims to “recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance, and share their cultural heritage” (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2006). Moreover, it would be consistent with the aims of this act, which are to ensure equality, inclusivity, and understanding for all Canadians.

Importantly, such a program could be effective in improving youth and familial adjustment for immigrant Arab Canadians, who may be at increased risk for maladjustment, which is predicted by cultural dissimilarity (Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009) and post-9/11 discrimination (Khalema & Wannas-Jones, 2003). Moreover, increased adjustment may be associated with higher naturalization rates. Finally, from a cost-benefits perspective, the costs of developing and delivering such a program could outweigh the costs of addressing maladjustment, as well as the burden of a less healthy society.

**Limitations**

As with all research, this program of research is not without its limitations. The primary limitations across Studies 1 and 2 is that it used a single informant, contained a heterogeneous sample, and used biased sampling procedures. Two additional limitations emerged with respect to procedure. In Study 1, the interviews were not blind, particularly given my own personal biases as someone who has migrated between Canada and an Arab
country three times in my life. In Study 2, measures of parental perceptions were not counterbalanced with measures of participants’ own cultural orientations and values.

**Single informant.** These studies examined perceived as opposed to actual cultural discrepancies. The primary issue with this approach is that youth may have either under- or overestimated their parents’ level of heritage and settlement culture orientation and values. For example, in a study of 50 Hispanic refugee parent-adolescent dyads, Merali (2002) found that the majority of youth and parents inaccurately perceived one another’s levels of acculturation. Misrepresentation of parents’ cultural orientation and values, in turn, affects the degree of the discrepancy, which can ultimately skew studies examining the relation between discrepancies and outcomes. On the other hand, the perceived discrepancy may be more relevant as previous research has suggested that perceptions are more strongly related to poorer outcomes than actual differences (see Sher-Censor et al., 2011). Future research should address this limitation by examining actual and perceived cultural discrepancies in relation to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict.

**Heterogeneous sample.** Arab countries are heterogeneous with intracultural variations in family structure and marriage practices. For example, Bedouin people, who are nomadic Arab desert dwellers, reside within large networks of people. Their extended families (*hamail*) make up tribes (*'ashir*), which constitute a network, or “nation” (*qabilah*). Marriages in these communities are arranged, and encourage the union of patrilineal parallel-cousins (daughter and son of two brothers) (Jones, 2006). Polygyny is also common in Bedouin communities (Al-Krenawi & Slonim-Nevo, 2008). In contrast, middle- and upper-class urban families tend to live in single-family dwellings that may be either proximal or distal to members of their extended families. In these communities, marriage for love is more accepted, particularly for educated families in more liberal countries such as Egypt and Lebanon. Moreover, although polygyny is sanctioned by *Shariah* (Islamic law) (Diaalmy,
2010), it is increasingly frowned upon in middle- and upper-class communities, urban settings, and countries such as Egypt and Lebanon, as well as Tunisia, where it is illegal.

Although there is intracultural variation within the Arab group, this program of research treated “Arab Canadians” as a homogeneous group for four reasons. First, these studies focused on Arab youth and families. The extant literature clearly notes the salience and centrality of the family unit across Arab cultures (e.g., Britto & Amer, 2007). Second, Arabs across the region, at home and abroad, are united by their shared self-identity, language, and cultural traditions (Barakat, 1993). Therefore, the differences within Arab culture are much smaller than between Arab and Canadian culture, which differ considerably (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 2006). Third, more than half of the Arabs in Canada originate from Lebanon and Egypt (53%) and nearly half are Christian (44%), suggesting that the family and marriage variations described above are not particularly relevant to immigrant Arab Canadians. Fourth, many government agencies, including Statistics Canada, aggregate data from the Arab region. Given our limited understanding of Arab Canadians (Rasmi et al., 2012), their shared cultural attributes, and the fact that they are grouped by government agencies, it may be useful to first build our knowledge of Arabs as a group, before exploring subgroup differences.

**Length of residence.** The sample used in Study 2 was also heterogeneous in the extent of their exposure to mainstream Canadian society. Specifically, length of residence in Canada ranged widely, from 6 months to 24 years. Therefore, for some youth, a short length of time in Canada may violate the assumption that differences with respect to parent and youth socialization (i.e., proportion of stay and socialization in heritage versus settlement country) are associated with increase perceived cultural discrepancies.

**Biased sampling procedures.** The recruitment procedures used in this program of research were associated with self-selection and healthy user sampling biases. Members of
university associations or community organizations are likely to have a strong sense of their Arab identity. Moreover, those who attend (or graduated from) university are likely to be better adjusted than those who did not, given their ability to apply, get accepted, attend, and/or graduate from university. However, these sampling biases are to an extent commensurate with population characteristics, as Arab Canadians tend to have a strong heritage identity and are more than twice as likely as Canadians to have completed university (Statistics Canada, 2007).

**Combining parents for Study 2 analyses.** The present studies intended to examine the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict, as well as the moderating role of parent-youth relationships independently for mothers and fathers. Although Study 2 results revealed very strong intercorrelations between mother and father youth variables, the extant literature and Study 1 findings have suggested important differences between parents.

**Future Directions**

The present program of research provided some insight into the degree of perceived cultural discrepancies between immigrant Arab Canadian youth and their parents, and how they relate to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict using a mixed-methods research approach. Further, these studies were among the first to examine factors that moderate the association between cultural discrepancies (actual or perceived) and outcomes. Building on the results of this program of research, future research should examine other potential moderators such as youth religiosity, autonomy-granting and support, and information management. Further, future studies should investigate cultural discrepancies that occur in an unexpected direction, and how they relate to outcomes as compared to discrepancies that occur in the expected direction. In addition to examining intergenerational conflict frequency and intensity, future research should explore conflict management, and
how different strategies affect youth and family outcomes. Finally, future research should consider additional relational aspects of the family system, endeavouring to disentangle father- and mother-youth differences.

**Youth religiosity.** Religion is a salient aspect of personal (Saroglou & Galand, 2004) and social (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010) identity development, to the extent that it is cognitive, emotional, moral, and social (Saroglou, 2011). Indeed, a core aspect of religion is that it provides a set of guiding beliefs and principles that can be used to make sense of one’s life experiences (Park, 2007). Moreover, these belief systems provide group membership, which according to social identity theory, protect against threats to one’s self-esteem and well-being (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

There is some evidence to suggest that religiosity can be adaptive for immigrants. For example, Hirschman (2004) identified three key benefits of religious institutions to immigrants. First, they provide refuge in the form of cultural continuity, by allowing immigrants to engage in behaviours that are familiar and protect against outside threats. Second, religious institutions provide respectability, in the form of their own parallel institutions that allow increased opportunities for social mobility and status recognition. Third, they provide resources, in the form of social and economic services such as assistance locating jobs and housing, as well as opportunities to engage with others from similar religious and/or ethnocultural backgrounds.

Current evidence suggests that religiosity can mitigate individual, familial, and acculturative stress for minority and immigrant Arab populations. For example, in a study of first- and second-generation Arab American high school students, Ahmed, Kia-Keating, and Tsai (2011) found that religious support and coping protected against psychological distress. Similarly, Amer and Hovey (2007) found that strongly religious second-generation Arab
American Muslims were better adapted psychologically and within their families than those who were less religious.

At the same time, Arabs have experienced pervasive group misunderstanding and misrepresentation that has been exacerbated by the terrorist attacks of 9/11 (Abu-Ras, 2007). Arabs have reported post-9/11 discrimination all over the world, including but not limited to Canada (Khalema & Wannas-Jones, 2003), Australia and the United Kingdom (Poynting & Mason, 2007), and Western Europe (Saroglou, Lamkaddem, Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2009). Although this discrimination is rooted in Islamophobia, which refers to a fear of Islam, it has been directed indiscriminately at Muslim and Christian Arabs (Awad, 2010). However, Muslims must deal with the added challenge of migrating from a nation in which they were the religious majority to one in which they are the religious minority. To cope with these challenges, some immigrants become more religious post-migration, as a way to deepen their ties with their ethnocultural and religious community (e.g., Peek, 2005).

It is likely that youth who are more religious experienced fewer perceived cultural discrepancies. For example, there is evidence to suggest that religiosity is positively associated with conservation values and negatively associated with openness to change values (Saroglou, Delpierre, & Dermelle, 2004), a personal values profile that is consistent with normative Arab cultural values. Thus, youth and parents who are both highly religious are more likely to have similar values, which may reduce their experience of intergenerational conflict. Moreover, religiosity is a key component of identity (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980) to the extent that strongly religious youth are more likely to have an achieved or foreclosed identity (Saroglou & Galand, 2004) and therefore less likely to experience ethnocultural identity conflict.

In sum, youth religiosity may moderate the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. Future
research should evaluate these relations in diverse samples, but pay particular attention to immigrant Arab and Muslim groups.

**Autonomy granting and support.** Autonomy and individuation is a salient developmental task of adolescence and young adulthood (Steinberg & Silk, 2002) and is related to intergenerational conflict. Past research has suggested that in Western families, youth who seek autonomy can create disruptions in the family system. However, these disruptions are attenuated by positive parental responses, which include increasing youth involvement in the decision-making process, reasoning with them, or granting the autonomy that youth desire (Sorkhabi, 2010). In non-Western families, however, youth may be less likely to desire autonomy because they tend to conform to parental wishes and authority (Ghazarian, Supple, & Plunkett, 2008; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005) and internalize collectivistic values (Phalet & Schönpfug, 2001).

Our understanding of autonomy in immigrant families is less extensive, although there is evidence to suggest that parents and youth may have different preferences for autonomy, with youth desiring more autonomy at an earlier age than parents are willing to grant, which is ultimately associated with poorer outcomes (e.g., Juang & Nguyen, 2009). The findings of Study 1 provided some support for this relation, as some youth desired more autonomy than their parents were comfortable with. For example, Ahmed wanted more social interaction and personal freedom than his parents allowed him. The differences he discerned between his parents’ lack of autonomy granting compared to his non-immigrant friends’ parents prompted ethnocultural identity conflict. Future research should examine the extent to which youth desire autonomy compared to their parents’ willingness to grant autonomy, and whether a discrepancy in autonomy promotion is associated with cultural discrepancies, poorer outcomes, and parent-youth relationships.
Information management. The current scholarship has consistently argued that information management is related to autonomy (e.g., Daddis & Randolph, 2010; Smetana, 1989), and intergenerational conflict. Two constructs underlie information management: secrecy and disclosure. Whereas secrecy refers to deliberately concealing information, disclosure refers to the sharing of unsolicited information. Although similar, disclosure and secrecy are conceptually and statistically distinct (Frijns, Keijsers, Branje, & Meeus, 2010).

Some research has found that secrecy is associated with poorer family relationships and more problem behaviour (Smetana, Villalobos, Rogge, & Tasopolous-Chan, 2010), whereas disclosure is associated with stronger family relationships and less problem behaviour (Tasopolous-Chan, Smetana, & Yau, 2009).

Current evidence suggests that there are differences in the ways in which youth manage information for their mothers as compared to their fathers (e.g., Tasopolous-Chan et al., 2009). Generally, youth disclose more to their mothers, particularly regarding personal issues (Smetana, Metzger, Gettman, & Campione-Barr, 2006). In contrast to studies examining gender differences (parents as well as youth) in relation to information management, few studies have examined cross-cultural differences. Indeed, most research has focused on European and European American families (Smetana et al., 2010) at the expense of other groups, including immigrant families. Yet, information management within immigrant Arab families may be particularly important given the cultural differences between their heritage and settlement cultures which may contribute to discrepant perspectives on a variety of issues. For some youth, such as Amani, Karina, and Khaled, information management represented a viable strategy through which to reduce intergenerational conflict borne out of perceived cultural discrepancies. Future research should address this issue by examining how information management affects individual and familial adjustment in
immigrant Arab Canadian families, both independently and in conjunction with autonomy-granting and support.

**Unexpected discrepancies.** This program of research found evidence to suggest that perceived cultural discrepancies in both the expected and unexpected directions are associated with increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. To date, most research has focused on cultural discrepancies (actual or perceived) in which parents are more oriented to the heritage culture and values, whereas youth are more oriented to the settlement culture and values. Far fewer studies have examined discrepancies that occur in the opposite direction, despite mounting evidence to suggest that they are also associated with poorer individual and familial outcomes (e.g., Lim et al., 2009; Telzer, 2010). Future research should examine the extent to which unexpected discrepancies occur, as well as their antecedents and consequences.

**Conflict management.** Conflict management styles, defined as “the different strategies that people may use in dealing with others in potentially adversarial social or business situations” (Kleinman, Palmon, & Lee, 2003) are key concepts used to characterize how people respond within conflict situations. The idea that conflict management choices are guided by one’s concern for personal outcomes balanced with concern for the other party’s outcomes has informed several conflict management style frameworks (see Blake & Mouton, 1964; Pruitt, 1983; Putnam & Wilson, 1982; Rahim & Bonoma, 1979; Thomas, 1976). Support for this broad conflict management style framework has been found across a wide range of fields and contexts, including management (van de Vliert, Euwema, & Huismans, 1995), consumer behaviour (e.g., Daly, Lee, Soutar, & Rasmi, 2010), teaching (e.g., Morris-Rothschild & Brassard, 2006), substance abuse (e.g., Colsman & Wulfert, 2002), and personal relationships (e.g., Greeff & De Bruyne, 2000).
Of the aforementioned schema, Rahim’s (1983) is the most widely used, and has the benefit of using parsimonious nomenclature. According to Rahim, conflict management consists of five conflict styles (oblige, avoid, dominate, integrate, and compromise) derived from two underlying dimensions (concern for self and concern for other). Briefly, the oblige style involves a low concern for self and high concern for other and is associated with giving into the other person’s views or demands. The avoid style is characterized by a low concern for self and low concern for other, emphasizing the prevention of conflict, ignoring potential or actual contentious situations, and postponing conflict situations. The dominate style is characterized by a high concern for self and a low concern for other, resulting in attempts to satisfy one’s own concerns at the expense of the other’s concerns by finding a win-lose solution, often through the use of assertive or aggressive tactics. On the other hand, integrate is the result of a high concern for self and a high concern for other, characterized by attempts to fully satisfy each party’s concerns by finding a win-win solution, often through cooperation and information sharing (Thomas, Thomas, & Schaubhut, 2008). Finally, compromise is similar to integrate, however, with only a moderate concern for self and a moderate concern for other, this style is associated with attempting to partially satisfy each party’s concerns by finding a middle-ground solution (for full review, see Rahim, 2002; Thomas et al., 2008). This theory has been validated in East Asian cultures, such as China, South Korea, Japan (e.g., Kim, Wang, Kondo, & Kim, 2007), Vietnam, Thailand, and Hong Kong (e.g., Onishi & Bliss, 2006), as well as Mexico (e.g., Posthuma, White, Dworkin, Yanez, & Swift, 2006), Portugal (e.g., Rahim, Psenicka, Polychroniou, Zhao, Yu, Chan, et al., 2002), and India (e.g., Croucher, Holody, Hicks, Oomen, & DeMaris, 2011).

Despite the relevance and applicability of this theory to cross-cultural, developmental, and family psychology, there is a dearth of research examining the way in which immigrants and other biculturals handle interpersonal conflict (Kim-Jo, Benet-Martínez, & Ozer, 2010).
Although many investigations of intergenerational conflict have used relatively ad-hoc conflict management ideas, these studies have overlooked conflict management research, resulting in a missed opportunity for drawing from or incorporating the comparatively well-developed theoretically frameworks. In fact, two recent studies (Phinney et al., 2005; Sugimura, Yamazaki, Phinney, & Takeo, 2009) outlined an idea similar to the dual-concerns model, by using levels of concern for family (i.e., concern for other) and self-interest (i.e., concern for self), and related this to the contextually-derived conflict management styles including compliance (approximates to oblige in the dual-concerns model), negotiation (combines aspects of integrate and compromise), self-assertion (dominate), and deviousness/deceit (no true approximate but contains significant elements of avoid). Similarly, Smetana and Gaines (1999) identified five styles of conflict resolution from the youth’s points of view: parent concedes (dominate), youth concedes (oblige), punishment (no approximate), compromise (integrate and compromise), and no resolution (avoid). These studies and others (e.g., Haar & Krahé, 1999) represent a significant amount of effort going into “reinventing the wheel”. Future research should apply conflict handling theory to investigations of intergenerational conflict, to enhance our ability to integrate and synthesize cross-cultural, developmental, family, and conflict management literatures.

**Father and mother differences.** Future research should seek to disentangle differences in the nature, quality, and strength of parent-youth relationships in immigrant families, as well as how these differences relate to perceived cultural discrepancies and their associated outcomes.

**Conclusions**

This program of research has a number of significant contributions to the cross-cultural, developmental, and family psychology literatures. The primary contribution is that it provided a comprehensive investigation of the cultural experiences of immigrant Arab youth.
in Canada – a relatively understudied and increasingly important population – using a mixed-methods approach. In contrast to most Arab scholarship, these studies examined immigration and settlement issues, by investigating the differences that youth perceive between themselves and their parents, and in relation to intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict, as well as aspects of the parent-youth relationships that moderate these associations.

Consistent with previous research, this program of research found that immigrant Arab youth in Canada perceived discrepancies between themselves and their parents in relation to their Arab and Canadian cultural orientation and personal values. These perceived discrepancies, in turn, were associated with increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. Further, strong parent-youth relationships protected against the experience of conflict as a function of perceived cultural discrepancies, whereas weak parent-youth relationships exacerbated the experience of conflict related to perceived cultural discrepancies.

A significant strength of this program of research was that immigration and settlement issues were examined while building on current conceptual and methodological limitations of the broader acculturation and cultural discrepancies literatures. First, Berry’s (1997) influential and widely established model of acculturation was used, which is preferred to unidimensional models of acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000) that many studies still apply (Berry, 2003). Second, acculturation discrepancies were assessed using separate measures of Arab and Canadian cultural orientation that included behavioural and cognitive domains (i.e., language, identity, and cultural participation), an approach that is preferred to measuring one domain of acculturation using a single index derived from proxy-measures (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006). Third, most cultural discrepancies studies have focused on differences in cultural orientation and very few have examined values. Moreover, values discrepancy
studies have focused on cultural values as opposed to personal values. These studies extended the literature by examining personal values in addition to heritage and settlement orientation because they are intrinsic and slower to change, yet affected by significant life events (Bardi et al., 2009), and reflect individual principles and goals as opposed to normative cultural values.

This program of research was also one of the first to examine the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict. Similarly, in addition to examining intrapsychic conflict (ethnocultural identity conflict), it also extended the literature by investigating the moderating role of parent-youth relationships. To the best of my knowledge, it is among the first studies to address these issues in an immigrant Arab Canadian population.

It is imperative that a proactive research program is undertaken to build our knowledge of Arab immigration and settlement, in light of the sizeable Arab Canadian population, and in anticipation of its continued growth. Indeed, the number of migrants in Canada will likely continue growing in the aftermath of the Arab Spring. Beginning in December 2010, uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen were successful in ousting their long-standing, tyrannical rules from power. Each of these countries is currently in a transitional phase, facing major challenges that require significant reform, economic and otherwise (Amin, Assaad, al-Baharna, Desai, Dillon, Galal, et al., 2012). Moreover, there is continued unrest throughout the region, in the form of civil uprisings in Syria and Bahrain, and protests in Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, and to a lesser extent, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia. It is possible, if not likely, that these events will trigger a significant surge in Arab immigration, similar to the wave that followed the 1975 Lebanese civil war (Abu-Laban, 1980). Although the Canadian government has released no official statistics to date, some countries have already started to experience an influx of Arab asylum seekers,
including Italy (Nascimbene & Di Pascale, 2011) and the United Kingdom (Whitehead, 2011).

This program of research was the first to explicitly examine the cultural experiences of immigrant Arab youth in Canada following the Arab Spring. The results of these studies indicated that although immigrant Arab youth in Canada are doing well, many perceive cultural discrepancies between themselves and their parents, which are associated with increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. However, the family unit is a salient aspect of Arab culture and as a result, the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict was moderated by parent-youth relationships in many cases. When perceived cultural discrepancies arise and youth reported feeling close and having open communication with their parents, they were more likely to feel safe in exploring their environment and identity, decreasing their experience of both intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. In contrast, youth who perceived weak and distant relationships with their parents were unable to see eye-to-eye and negotiate different attitudes and behaviours, leading to increased intergenerational conflict and ethnocultural identity conflict. Therefore, the results of this program of research clearly indicated that perceived cultural discrepancies, intergenerational conflict, and ethnocultural identity conflict are salient to the experiences of immigrant Arab Canadian youth, and are affected by parent-youth relationships.
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### Table 1

**Acculturation Measures of Cultural Practices, Identification, and Values**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Number of Citations</th>
<th>Cultural Practice Items</th>
<th>Cultural Identity Items</th>
<th>Cultural Values Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The African American Acculturation Scale</td>
<td>Landrine and Klonoff, 1994</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale</td>
<td>Chung, Kim, and Abreu, 2004</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Children’s Hispanic Background Scale</td>
<td>Martinez, Norman, and Delaney, 1984</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation, Habits and Interests Multicultural Scale for Adolescents</td>
<td>Unger, Gallagher, Shakib, Ritt-Olson, Palmer, and Johnson (2002)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics</td>
<td>Marín et al. (1987)</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturative Hassles</td>
<td>Vinokurov, Trickett, and Birman (2002)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale</td>
<td>Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, and Buki (2003)</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans</td>
<td>Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso (1980)</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation Scale</td>
<td>Ghuman (1997)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale Name</td>
<td>Authors</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Acculturation Scale for Mexican-Americans</td>
<td>Deyo, Diehl, Hazuda, and Stern (1985)</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidimensional Acculturation Scale for Hispanics</td>
<td>Marin and Gamba (1996)</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire</td>
<td>Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez (1980)</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Lifestyle Inventory</td>
<td>Mendoza (1989)</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Ethnicity Questionnaire</td>
<td>Tsai et al. (2000)</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal-External Ethnic Identity Measure</td>
<td>Kwan and Sodowsky (1997)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian Ethnic Identity Measure</td>
<td>Laroche, Kim, Tomiuk, and Belisle (2005)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language, Identity, Behaviour Scale</td>
<td>Vinokurov et al. (2002)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American Acculturation Scale</td>
<td>Garrett and Pichette (2000)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale of Accultination</td>
<td>Rissel (1997)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanic Youth</td>
<td>Barona and Miller (1994)</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale</td>
<td>Stephenson (2000)</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale</td>
<td>Suinn, Ahuna, and Khoo (1992)</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Acculturation Index</td>
<td>Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999)</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver Index of Acculturation</td>
<td>Ryder et al. (2000)</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Bolded measures contain items covering all three dimensions.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Values Types</th>
<th>Value Type Definitions (Value Items)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Enhancement</td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources (authority, social power, wealth, preserving public image)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards (ambitious, successful, capable, influential)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hedonisma</td>
<td>Pleasure or sensuous gratification for oneself (pleasure, enjoying life, self-indulgent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness to Change</td>
<td>Stimulation</td>
<td>Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life (daring, a varied life, an exciting life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-Direction</td>
<td>Independent thought and action; choosing, creating, and exploring (creativity, freedom, independence, choosing own goals, curiosity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Transcendence</td>
<td>Universalism</td>
<td>Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature (equality, social justice, wisdom, broadmindedness, protecting the environment, unity with nature, a world of beauty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benevolence</td>
<td>Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact (helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation</td>
<td>Tradition</td>
<td>Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide (devout, respect for tradition, humble, moderate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conformity</td>
<td>Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms (self-discipline, politeness, honouring parents and elders, obedience)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Safety, harmony, and stability of relationships, and self (family security, national security, social order, cleanliness, reciprocity)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. a Hedonism shares elements of both Self-Enhancement and Openness to Change*
### Table 3

**Demographic Information for Study 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Mother Headscarf</th>
<th>Father’s Education</th>
<th>Father’s Employment</th>
<th>Mother’s Education</th>
<th>Mother’s Employment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Omar</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karina</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>Qatar(^b)</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>Full-time(^c)</td>
<td>HS</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lana</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>Qatar(^b)</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>Full-time(^c)</td>
<td>HS</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iskandar</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.83</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Coptic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaled</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>UAE(^b)</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostafa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>UAE(^b)</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Full-time(^c)</td>
<td>HS</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmoud</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Full-time(^c)</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layla</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10.42</td>
<td>Kuwait(^b)</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Full-time(^c)</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reem</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>BA</td>
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*Note.* \(^a\) Names were pseudonyms \(^b\) Family moved from an Arab country that was not their heritage country \(^c\) Father works in home country, not living in Canada
Table 4

*Codes, Subcodes, and Descriptive Findings*

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Table 5

*Perceived Discrepancy Issues and Frequency*

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<td>Conceptions of fun</td>
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<td>Preferences for adventure and spontaneity versus familial activities</td>
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<td>Curfew and going out</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amount of social interaction; Time to come home</td>
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<td>Dating and marriage</td>
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<td>Preferences for exogamous versus endogamous relationships; Being allowed to date</td>
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<td>Education and career</td>
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<td>Preferences for social sciences and the arts versus business, science, and engineering; Career aspirations; Achievement</td>
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<td>Allowing younger siblings personal freedom</td>
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<td>Preferences for fewer rules versus strict rule enforcement and monitoring</td>
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<td>Heritage culture maintenance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preferences for some settlement culture acquisition versus complete heritage culture retention; Religiosity; Conservatism and traditionalism</td>
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<td>Openness to new experiences</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preferences for embracing changes in Canadian society and stimulating experiences</td>
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<td>Social interaction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preferences for cross-gender friendships versus same-gender friendships; Who to be friends with</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preferences for openness to experiences and people irrespective of their position in society versus limiting relationships and experiences to maintain social status and prestige</td>
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<td>Tolerance of others</td>
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<td>Preferences for accepting versus rejecting people who are different</td>
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### Table 6

**Main Findings**

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<thead>
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<th>Themes and Subthemes</th>
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<td>1. Perceived cultural discrepancies were associated with intergenerational conflict</td>
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<td>Father 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Perceived cultural discrepancies were associated with ethnocultural identity conflict</td>
<td>Mother 9</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Father 8</td>
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<td>3. Parent-youth relationships played a role in the association between perceived cultural discrepancies and intergenerational conflict</td>
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<td>Father 8</td>
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<td>Father 6</td>
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<td>3b. Weak parent-youth relationships</td>
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Table 7

Demographic Information for Study 2

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<tr>
<th>Demographic Variable</th>
<th>% of Participants</th>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39.2% Males (n = 47)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>58.3% Females (n = 70)</td>
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<td>2.5% Did not specify (n = 3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>Religion</td>
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<td></td>
<td>76.5% Muslim (n = 91)</td>
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<td>14.3% Christian (n = 17)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.4% None (n = 4)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2% Other (n = 7)^a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
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<td>95.0% Single (n = 113)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.7% Engaged (n = 2)</td>
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<td>3.4% Married (n = 4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Years in Canada</td>
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<td>8.80 (5.48)</td>
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<td>21.0% Egypt (n = 25)</td>
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<td>15.1% United Arab Emirates (n = 18)</td>
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<td>13.4% Iraq (n = 16)</td>
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<td>11.8% Saudi Arabia (n = 14)</td>
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<td>8.4% Jordan (n = 10)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>31.1% Other countries (n = 36)^b</td>
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Note. ^a Christian-Muslim, Druze, Muslim/Agnostic, Yazidi, or Missing ^b Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Sudan, Switzerland, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, USA, and Yemen.
Table 8

Descriptive Statistics for Study 2

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<td>Conservation values</td>
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<td>4.92(1.16)</td>
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<td>Openness to change values</td>
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<td>4.33(.98)</td>
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<td>95.93(19.32)</td>
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<td>2.34(1.09)</td>
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<td>Ethnocultural identity conflict</td>
<td>2.50(.92)</td>
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*Note.* Superscripts are used to denote significant differences. Variables with the same superscript on each line did not differ significantly from one another, whereas variables with different superscripts did.
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Note. Correlations between the above variables and conflict can be found in regression tables below.

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.
Table 10

*Discrepancies in Parent-Youth Cultural Orientation Predicting Intergenerational Conflict*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$F$ change</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$r$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Arab Orient’n-Parents</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Orient’n-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>-.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Step 2. Parents X Youth</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>7.05**</td>
<td>-2.66**</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Canadian Orient’n-Parents</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>5.27**</td>
<td>-1.69*</td>
<td>-.27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Orient’n-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.61</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. Parents X Youth</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>-.19*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* *p* < .05. **$p$ < .01. ***$p$ < .001.
Table 11

Discrepancies in Parent-Youth Cultural Orientation Predicting Ethnocultural Identity Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$F$ change</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$r$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Arab Orient’n-Parents</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>1.59***</td>
<td>-.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Orient’n-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.54***</td>
<td>-.15*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. Parents X Youth</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>13.52***</td>
<td>-3.54***</td>
<td>-.19'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Canadian Orient’n-Parents</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>-.14*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Orient’n-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.58</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. Parents X Youth</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>-1.79</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. 
Table 12

Discrepancies in Parent-Youth Values Predicting Intergenerational Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$F$ change</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$r$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Conservation-Parents</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>.57**</td>
<td>-.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.99**</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. Parents X Youth</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>8.91**</td>
<td>-1.65**</td>
<td>-.23**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Openness-Parents</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. Parents X Youth</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>3.94*</td>
<td>-1.15*</td>
<td>-.24**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. 
Table 13

*Discrepancies in Parent-Youth Values Predicting Ethnocultural Identity Conflict*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$F$ change</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$r$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Conservation-Parents</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>-.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>-.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. Parents X Youth</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>5.42*</td>
<td>-1.32*</td>
<td>-.19*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Openness-Parents</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. Parents X Youth</td>
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<td>.40</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note.*   *p* < .05.  **p** < .01.  ***p*** < .001.
Table 14

*Parent-Youth Cultural Orientation Discrepancies Predicting Intergenerational Conflict Moderated by Parent Relationship*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$F$ change</th>
<th>$\beta_1$</th>
<th>$\beta_2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Arab Orient’n-Parents</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>13.53***</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.46**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Orient’n-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. (Youth X Parents) X Parent Relationship</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>8.72**</td>
<td>-1.52**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Step 1. Canadian Orient’n-Parents  
Canadian Orient’n-Youth
Parent Relationship

Step 2. (Youth X Parents) X Parent Relationship

Note. $\Delta R^2$ and $F$ change are reported for the full moderated model; $\beta_1$ = standardized betas for the main effects model; $\beta_2$ = standardized betas for the full moderated model.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. 
Table 15

*Parent-Youth Value Discrepancies Predicting Intergenerational Conflict Moderated by Parent Relationship*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$F$ change</th>
<th>$\beta_1$</th>
<th>$\beta_2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Conservation-Parents</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>11.68***</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation-Youth</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Relationship</td>
<td>-.45***</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. (Youth X Parents) X Parent Relationship</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>6.79**</td>
<td>-1.30**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Openness-Parents</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>12.01***</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness-Youth</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Relationship</td>
<td>-.46***</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. (Youth X Parents) X Parent Relationship</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.77</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note. $\Delta R^2$ and $F$ change are reported for the full moderated model; $\beta_1$ = standardized betas for the main effects model; $\beta_2$ = standardized betas for the full moderated model.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. 


**Table 16**

*Parent-Youth Cultural Orientation Discrepancies Predicting Ethnocultural Identity Conflict Moderated by Parent Relationship*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>ΔR²</th>
<th>F change</th>
<th>β₁</th>
<th>β₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Arab Orient’n-Parents</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>6.71 **</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Orient’n -Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.63 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Relatnship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.37 **</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. (Youth X Parents) X Parent Relatnship</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>6.06 *</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.38 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Step 1. Canadian Orient’n-Parents | .18   | 7.93 *** | .06   | -.11  |
| Canadian Orient’n-Youth          |       |          | .14   | .05   |
| Parent Relatnship                |       |          | -.43 **| -.59 * |
| Step 2. (Youth X Parents) X Parent Relatnship | .00   | .37     |       | .31   |

*Note.* ΔR² and F change are reported for the full moderated model; β₁ = standardized betas for the main effects model; β₂ = standardized betas for the full moderated model.

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.
### Table 17

**Parent-Youth Values Discrepancies Predicting Ethnocultural Identity Conflict Moderated by Parent Relationship**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$F$ change</th>
<th>$\beta_1$</th>
<th>$\beta_2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Conservation-Parents</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>6.36 ***</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.36 ***</td>
<td>-.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. (Youth X Parents) X Parent Relationship</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1. Openness-Parents</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>6.26 ***</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness-Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Relationship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.37 ***</td>
<td>-.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2. (Youth X Parents) X Parent Relationship</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. $\Delta R^2$ and $F$ change are reported for the full moderated model; $\beta_1 =$ standardized betas for the main effects model; $\beta_2 =$ standardized betas for the full moderated model.*

* $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$ *** $p < .001.$
### Table 18

**Study 2 Results Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expected Discrepancy</th>
<th>Unexpected Discrepancy</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>H2: Perceived Arab Discrepancy → Intergenerational conflict</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H2: Perceived Canadian Discrepancy → Intergenerational conflict</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H3: Perceived Arab Discrepancy → Ethnocultural identity conflict</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H4: Perceived Conservation Discrepancy → Intergenerational conflict</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H4: Perceived Openness Discrepancy → Intergenerational conflict</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H4: Perceived Conservation Discrepancy → Ethnocultural identity conflict</strong></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1. Conceptual model for perceived cultural discrepancies and conflict.
Figure 2. Arab and Canadian cultures ranked on Hofstede’s (2001) dimensions.
Figure 3. Berry’s (1997) orthogonal model of psychological acculturation.
Figure 4. Schwartz’s (1992) personal values theory modified quasi-circumplex structure.
Figure 5. The relation between perceived parent Arab orientation and intergenerational conflict at three levels of youth Arab orientation.
Figure 6. The relation between perceived parent Canadian orientation and intergenerational conflict at three levels of youth Canadian orientation.
Figure 7. The relation between perceived parent Arab orientation and ethnocultural identity conflict at three levels of youth Arab orientation.
Figure 8. The relation between perceived conservation values and intergenerational conflict at three levels of youth conservation values.
Figure 9. The relation between perceived parent openness to change values and intergenerational conflict at three levels of youth openness to change values.
Figure 10. The relation between perceived parent conservation values and ethnocultural identity conflict at three levels of youth conservation values.
Figure 11. The relation between perceived Arab orientation discrepancy and intergenerational conflict at three levels of parent-youth relationships.
Figure 12. The relation between perceived conservation values discrepancy and intergenerational conflict at three levels of parent-youth relationships.
Figure 13. The relation between perceived Arab orientation discrepancy and ethnocultural identity conflict at three levels of parent-youth relationships.
APPENDIX A

Interview Guide for Study One

Introductory Script

Hello, my name is Sarah Rasmi and I am a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at the University of Guelph. I have invited you here today to participate in a study that I am conducting about the cultural experiences of immigrant Arab youth in Canada. Currently, there are many Arabs in Canada and coming to Canada, but the research community does not know much about their experiences. I am really interested in this topic because I spent 10 years of my life living in Egypt and 13 years living in Canada. I moved from Egypt to Canada at age 7, back to Egypt at age 14, and finally back to Canada at age 22. Today, I would like to hear about your experience moving from [country] to Canada. I have written some questions that I would like you to answer with examples and stories from your own life. Please feel free to tell me your thoughts and feelings. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions. Everybody’s experience is different and important. Before we begin, do you have any questions? [If ‘yes’, I will answer them. If ‘no’, I will attain verbal and written consent and proceed.] If at any point you are not clear about what I am asking, please let me know.

Interview Questions

1. What was the year and month when you moved to Canada?

2. What was it like for you when you first arrived in Canada from [country]?

3. What do you like about living here?

4. What don’t you like?

5. How is it different from living in [country]?

6. Families in Canada can be similar or different from families in [country]. What have you noticed about the ways that Canadian people your age relate to their mother and
father compared to how [nationality] people your age relate to their mother and father?

7. Have any aspects of the ways that you relate to your mother and father changed since moving to Canada?

8. Have any aspects stayed the same?

9. Has moving to Canada contributed to any tension between you and your mother and father, and if so, how?

10. Parents and their children do not always see eye-to-eye. Are there any issues that you and your mother and father tend to disagree about?

11. Can you recall the last major disagreement you had with your mother and father. When was it? What was it all about?

12. What was your position on the issue? Did your mother and father see your point of view?

13. What was your mother’s and father’s position on the issue? Did you see his/her point of view?

14. How did you and your mother and father deal with this disagreement?

Values Script: Next, I would like to ask you a few questions about your values, as well as your mother’s and father’s values. When I say “values”, I am referring to your judgment of what is important in life, such as your principles and standards. Here is a sheet of ten values and their descriptions (see page 5). Let’s review them together and then discuss how important or unimportant they are to you and to your mother and father. [I will then go through each value and its description with the interviewee, clarifying any confusion should it arise]

15. Which values are most important to you and why? Please choose no more than three.
16. How important are [list specific values the interviewee named] to your mother and father?

17. Are there any values on this list that you and your mother and father feel really differently about? Which ones and why?

18. Are there any values or important principles in your life that you would like to discuss that are not on this list?

19. **Identity Script**: People are often described as belonging to a particular group or ethnic background, but terms such as “Canadian” and “Arab” can mean different things to different people. First, I’m going to ask you to tell me what these terms mean to you, and then we are going to talk about the term or terms you would apply to yourself.

20. What does being [nationality] mean to you?

21. What does being Canadian mean to you?

22. What term or terms would have best described you during your first six months in Canada?

23. What term or terms would best describe you now?

24. How has your experience as someone of [nationality] origin living in Canada created difficulties or problems for you? For example, at home, with people your age, at school, or in the community?

25. Please tell me about a situation you were in when you didn’t know whether to behave like a(n) [nationality] or a Canadian.

26. Thank you so much for being here today. That was my last question. Before we end the interview, I would like to know if there is anything else you would like to share that I did not ask about.

27. Do you have any questions for me?
Closing Script

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my study. I really appreciate your participation because without volunteers like you, it is difficult for the research community to understand the Arab Canadian population. It is important to learn about different communities so that programs and services can be tailored to meet their needs. If you are interested in learning about the results of this study, or have any questions, comments, or concerns, please feel free to contact myself or either of my two advisors. Here is a list of our contact information [as I give participants the list]. Any contact you make will be kept confidential. Thank you again.

Values Descriptions

- **Achievement:** Being ambitious and successful
- **Benevolence:** Being helpful, honest, trustworthy, and loyal
- **Conformity:** Being polite, respectful, obedient, and following rules
- **Hedonism:** Having fun, enjoying life, pleasuring and spoiling yourself
- **Power:** Having social status and prestige, controlling or dominating other people and resources
- **Security:** Safety, harmony, and stability of society, relationships, and self
- **Self-Direction:** Being creative, curious, independent, and free
- **Stimulation:** Experiencing new things, excitement, and being adventurous
- **Tradition:** Maintaining traditional customs and beliefs
- **Universalism:** Being understanding, appreciative, tolerant, and protecting the welfare of all people and nature
APPENDIX B

Study 1 Coding System

Instructions: Please use the numbers in the first column when coding the transcripts. To differentiate between mothers and fathers, please add “M” or “F” to the code. For example, Generational/Cultural Discrepancies with the mother promoting integration would be coded as “1a-M”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num</th>
<th>Themes and Subthemes</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Generational/Cultural Discrepancies</td>
<td>Differences youth perceive between themselves and their parents, which can be attributed to generational and/or cultural issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Parents promoting integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td>Parents promoting isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Family Relationships</td>
<td>Aspects of the parent-child relationship, such as:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Closeness</td>
<td>A close bond, parental involvement and interest in their child’s life, and parental trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>Open communication</td>
<td>Sharing information, as well as talking and listening to one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>Instrumental support</td>
<td>Giving advice and supporting the child’s decision-making, as well as expending time and effort to assist the child (e.g., cleaning, driving)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>Financial support</td>
<td>Financial dependence on their parents, which can be interpreted as demonstrating care, or constraining participants’ freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2e</td>
<td>Shared activities</td>
<td>Companionship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>Parental strictness (Canadian)</td>
<td>Rule-enforcement perceived as either strict or harsh, as compared to European Canadian families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2g</td>
<td>Parental strictness (Arab)</td>
<td>Rule-enforcement perceived as strict or harsh, as compared to Arab Canadian families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2h</td>
<td>Overt obedience</td>
<td>Compliance with parental wishes or orders and/or acknowledgment of their authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2i</td>
<td>Covert disobedience</td>
<td>Appearing to but not actually complying with parental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2j Parental prudence</td>
<td>wishes or orders and/or acknowledgment of their authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2k</td>
<td>Transnational father</td>
<td>Father who travels between Canada and an Arab country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3</th>
<th>Peer Relationships</th>
<th>Selecting peer groups comprised of:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>Ingroup peers</td>
<td>Choosing culturally and religiously similar friends to buttress their Arab identity and protect group membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>Outgroup peers (Positive)</td>
<td>Being open to establishing friendships with people who are culturally and religiously dissimilar to integrate themselves into Canadian society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>Outgroup peers (Negative)</td>
<td>Avoiding culturally and religiously dissimilar friends who pose a threat to the maintenance of their Arab identity and group membership</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Issues relating to Islam or Christianity, such as:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>Religiosity</td>
<td>Participants identifying themselves and/or their families as religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>Religion as an inhibitor</td>
<td>Aspects of religion that limit participants’ behaviour and/or identity development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td>Religion as a protector</td>
<td>Aspects of religion that are self-expressive and/or protect participants from threat</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>Conflict Issues</th>
<th>Issues around which participants argue or disagree with their parents, such as:</th>
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<tr>
<td>5a</td>
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<td>Personal preferences, including privacy, choice of activities, and friendships (same- and cross-gender relationships)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>Social conventional</td>
<td>Norms that guide social interaction, and uphold social structure, social conventions, and social institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5c</td>
<td>Prudential</td>
<td>Protecting individual health, safety, and comfort</td>
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<th>How participants interpret the nature of their conflict with their parents</th>
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<td>Personal preferences, including privacy, choice of activities, and friendships (same- and cross-gender</td>
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<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Social conventional</td>
<td>Social conventional norms that guide social interaction, and uphold social structure, social conventions, and social institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6c</td>
<td>Prudential</td>
<td>Protecting individual health, safety, and comfort</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Parent Perspectives of Conflict</td>
<td>How participants’ parents are perceived to interpret the nature of their conflict with their children</td>
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<tr>
<td>7a</td>
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<td>Personal preferences, including privacy, choice of activities, and friendships (same- and cross-gender relationships)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>Social conventional</td>
<td>Social conventional norms that guide social interaction, and uphold social structure, social conventions, and social institutions</td>
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<td>Participants’ self-concept, as defined by their ethnocultural affiliation</td>
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<td>Self-categorization, commitment and attachment, and behavioural involvement with Arab culture</td>
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<td>Canadian identity</td>
<td>Self-categorization, commitment and attachment, and behavioural involvement with Canadian culture</td>
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<td>8c</td>
<td>Ethnocultural identity conflict</td>
<td>Difficulty reconciling their Arab and Canadian self-concepts</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>'Aib</td>
<td>Actions that are morally and socially unacceptable and bring shame to the individual and/or their family, organized around two dimensions:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
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<td>Respecting one’s self, peers, parents, and culture</td>
</tr>
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<td>9b</td>
<td>Status/Reputation</td>
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<td>Dating and Marriage</td>
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Appendix C

Demographic Profile

Instructions: Family structure may vary from family to family. In terms of most relevance to your life, please choose the parents that you consider as “mother” and “father”.

Items:

1. How old are you?
2. Are you male or female?
3. What country do you live in?
4. What is your marital status?
5. In what country were you born?
6. In what country was your father born?
7. In what country was your mother born?
8. Which religion (if any) do you identify with?
9. How important are your religious beliefs to you?
10. Which religion (if any) does your mother identify with?
11. How important are your religious beliefs to your mother?
12. Which religion (if any) does your father identify with?
13. How important are your religious beliefs to your father?
14. What year and month did you come to Canada?
15. Did you, your mother, and your father immigrate to Canada at the same time?
16. Does your mother live in Canada full-time?
17. Does your father live in Canada full-time?
18. What is the name of your high school or university?
19. What jobs do you currently hold?
20. How many hours do you work per week?
21. People are often described as belonging to a particular racial group or ethnic background. To which group(s) do you think you belong?

22. Please list all the people you currently live with (i.e., father, brother, roommate, etc.).

23. Do your parents rent or own their home?

24. Are your parents (marital status)

25. Does your mother work? If yes, what is her job?

26. Does your father work? If yes, what is his job?

27. What is your mother’s highest level of education?

28. What is your father's highest level of education?

29. Do your parents provide your food and rent?

30. Do your parents pay your tuition and education costs?

31. Do your parents give you pocket money?
Appendix D

The Language, Identity, and Behavior Acculturation Measure (LIB)

Instructions: For the following statements, please mark one of the four possible answers.

Scale Anchors: 1 (Not at all), 2, 3, 4 (Very well, like a native), Not Applicable

Items:

Language Subscale

How would you rate your ability to speak English:

1. at school/work
2. with Canadian friends
3. on the phone
4. with strangers
5. overall

How well do you understand English:

6. on TV or at the movies
7. in newspapers or in magazines
8. in songs
9. overall

How would you rate your ability to speak Arabic:

10. with family
11. with Arab friends
12. on the phone
13. with strangers
14. overall

How well do you understand Arabic:

15. on TV or at the movies
16. in newspapers or in magazines
17. in songs
18. overall

**Cultural Identity Subscale**

*Instructions:* In the following questions we would like to know the extent to which you consider yourself Canadian and Arab. The term “Arab” is used to describe immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa who speak the Arabic language. We use the term “Arab” here to represent ALL national origins from this region (e.g., Egyptian, Lebanese, Palestinian).

*Scale Anchors:* 1 (*Not at all*), 2, 3, 4 (*Very much*)

To what extent are the following statements true of you?

19. I think of myself as being Canadian.
20. I feel good about being Canadian.
21. I have a strong sense of being Canadian.
22. I am proud of being Canadian.
23. I think of myself as being Arab.
24. I feel good about being Arab.
25. I have a strong sense of being Arab.
26. I am proud that I am Arab.

**Cultural Participation ("Behavioral Acculturation") Subscale**

*Instructions:* To what extent are the following statements true about the things that you do?

*Scale Anchors:* 1 (*Not at all*), 2, 3, 4 (*Very much*)

How much do you speak English:

27. at home?
28. at school?
29. with friends?

How much do you:

30. read Canadian books, newspapers, or magazines?
31. listen to Canadian songs?
32. watch Canadian movies (on TV, VCR, etc)?
33. eat Canadian food?
34. have Canadian friends?
35. attend Canadian clubs or parties?

How much do you speak Arabic:

36. at home?
37. at school?
38. with friends?

How much do you:

39. read Arabic books, newspapers, or magazines?
40. listen to Arabic songs?
41. watch Arabic movies (on TV, VCR, etc.)?
42. eat Arab food?
43. have Arab friends?
44. attend Arab clubs or parties?
Appendix E

Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ)

Instructions: Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and indicate how much each person is or is not like you, your father, and your mother.

Rating Scale: 1 (Very much like me), 2 (Like me), 3 (Somewhat like me), 4 (A little like me), 5 (Not like me), and 6 (Not like me at all)

Subscales: Conformity (CO), self-direction (SD), achievement (AC), tradition (TR), universalism (UN), stimulation (ST), security (SE), benevolence (BE), power (PO), and hedonism (HE).

Items:

1. It is important to him/her to be polite to other people all the time. S/he believes s/he should always show respect to his/her parents and to older people (CO).

2. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him/her. S/he likes to do things in an original way (SD).

3. Being very successful is important to him/her. S/he likes to impress other people (AC).

4. S/he thinks it is important to do things the way s/he learned from his/her family. S/he wants to follow their customs and traditions (TR).

5. S/he thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. S/he believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life (UN).

6. S/he thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life. S/he is always looking for new things to try (ST).

7. The safety of his/her country is very important to him/her. S/he wants his/her country to be safe from enemies (SE).
8. It’s very important to him/her to help other people. S/he wants to work for the benefit of those around him/her (BE).

9. S/he likes to tell others what to do. Being in charge is important to him/her (PO).

10. S/he really wants to enjoy life. Having a good time is very important to him/her (HE).

11. S/he likes to make his/her own decisions about what s/he does. It is important to him/her to be free to choose his/her activities for him/herself (SD).

12. S/he thinks it’s important not to ask for more than what you have. S/he believes that people should be satisfied with what they have (TR).

13. S/he strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him/her (UN).

14. S/he believes that people should do what they’re told. S/he thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching (CO).

15. S/he believes s/he must always be sincere and honest with his/her friends. Telling the truth is very important to him/her (BE).

16. It’s important to him/her that everything is clean and in order. S/he doesn’t want things to be a mess (SE).

17. S/he seeks every chance s/he can to have fun. It is important to him/her to do things that give him/her pleasure (HE).

18. It is important to him/her to be rich. S/he wants to have a lot of money and expensive things (PO).

19. S/he likes to take risks. S/he is always looking for adventures (ST).

20. It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him/her. Even when s/he disagrees with them, s/he still wants to understand them (UN).

21. His/her family’s safety is extremely important to him/her. More than anything s/he wants his/her family to be safe (SE).
22. S/he wants people to know s/he can do things well. It is important to him/her to get credit for his/her successes (AC).

23. S/he thinks it’s important to be interested in things. S/he is curious and tries to understand everything (SD).

24. It is important to him/her to be modest and humble. S/he tries to not draw attention to him/herself (TR).

25. It is important to him/her to be obedient. S/he strives never to irritate or disturb others (CO).

26. S/he thinks everyone should work to get people in the world to live together peacefully. Peace everywhere in the world is important to him/her (UN).

27. Being trustworthy is important to him/her. S/he wants others to feel they can always count on him/her (BE).

28. S/he thinks it is important to be ambitious. S/he is ready to work hard to get ahead (AC).

29. S/he always wants to be the one who makes the decisions. S/he likes to be the leader (PO).

30. S/he likes surprises. It is important to him/her to have an exciting life (ST).

31. It is important to him/her always to behave properly. S/he wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong (CO).

32. Having a stable government is important to him/her. S/he wants the social order to be preserved (SE).

33. It is important to him/her to adapt to nature and to fit into it. S/he believes that people should not change nature (UN).

34. It is important to him/her to be loyal to his/her friends. S/he wants to stand by them no matter what happens (BE).
35. Enjoying life’s pleasures is important to him/her. S/he likes to “spoil” him/herself (HE).

36. It’s very important to him/her to show his/her abilities. S/he wants people to admire what s/he does (AC).

37. Religious belief is important to him/her. S/he tries hard to do what his/her religion requires (TR).

38. S/he doesn’t want to depend on others. S/he wants to be able to manage by himself/herself (SD).

39. It is important to him/her to be cautious. S/he avoids actions or situations that might threaten his/her safety (SE).

40. S/he wants everyone to be treated justly, even people s/he doesn’t know. It is important to him/her to protect the weak in society (UN).
Appendix F

Intergenerational Conflict Inventory (ICI)

Instructions: Below are a list of issues. Please indicate the extent to which you and your parents fight about them and how the conflict was resolved, using the scale below. 

using the scale listed below. Please also indicate how the conflict was resolved, using the scale below.

Scale Anchors: 1 (no conflict over this issue), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (a lot of conflict over this issue), Not Applicable; 1 (I got what I wanted, my mother/father did not); 2 (My mother/father got what s/he wanted, I did not); 3 (Nobody got what they wanted, we avoided the issue); and 4 (We worked together to both get what we wanted)

Items:

Family Expectations Subscale

1. How often we talk.
2. Your desire for greater independence and autonomy.
3. Following cultural traditions.
4. Pressure to learn one’s own Arabic language.
5. Expectations based on being male or female.
6. Expectations based on birth order.
7. Family relationships being too close.
8. Family relationships being too distant.
9. How much time to spend with the family.
10. How much to help around the house.
11. How much time to help out in the family business.
12. How religious I am.

Education and Career Subscale
13. How much time to spend on studying.
15. How much time to spend on sports.
16. Importance of academic achievement.
17. Emphasis on materialism and success.
18. Which school to attend.
19. What to major in college.
20. Which career to pursue.
21. Being compared to others.

**Dating and Marriage Subscale**

22. When to begin dating.
23. Whom to date.
24. Whom to marry.
25. Staying overnight with my dating partner.

*Instructions:* What other issues not mentioned above have you and your mother and/or father fought about in the past three months?

*Scale Anchors:* 1 (no conflict over this issue), 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (a lot of conflict over this issue), Not Applicable; 1 (I got what I wanted, my mother/father did not); 2 (My mother/father got what s/he wanted, I did not); 3 (Nobody got what they wanted, we avoided the issue); and 4 (We worked together to both get what we wanted)

*Items:*

1. Issue 1 (Textbox)
2. Issue 2 (Textbox)
3. Issue 3 (Textbox)
Appendix G

Ethnocultural Identity Conflict Scale (EICS)

Instructions: Below are a number of items that relate to your identity or how you see yourself, particularly in relation to your cultural or ethnic background. Please answer them using the following scale.

Rating Scale: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (moderately disagree), 4 (moderately agree), 5 (agree), and 6 (strongly agree).

Items:

1. No matter what the circumstances are, I have a clear sense of who I am (R).
2. I have difficulties fitting into the wider society because of my cultural background.
3. In general, I do not think that people from my ethnic group know the real me.
4. I sometimes do not know where I belong.
5. I am an outsider in both my own ethnic group and the wider society.
6. Because of my cultural heritage, I sometimes wonder who I really am.
7. I experience conflict over my identity.
8. I find it impossible to be part of both my cultural group and the wider society.
9. I am uncertain about my values and beliefs.
10. I have serious concerns about my identity.
11. People tend to see me as I see myself (R).
12. I do not know which culture I belong to.
13. I find it hard to maintain my cultural values in everyday life.
15. I am confused about the different demands placed on me by family and other people.
16. Sometimes I do not know myself.
17. I find it easy to maintain my traditional culture and to be part of the larger society (R).
18. I feel confident moving between cultures (R).

19. I have difficulties fitting in with members of my ethnic group.

20. I am sometimes confused about who I really am.
Appendix H

Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA)

Instructions: These statements ask about your feelings about your mother/father or the person who has acted as your mother/father. If you have more than one person acting as your mother/father (e.g., a natural mother/father and a step-mother/father) answer the questions for the one you feel has most influenced you. Please reach each statement and select the ONE number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

Scale: 1 (Almost never or never true), 2 (Not very often true), 3 (Sometimes true), 4 (Often true), 5 (Almost always or always true)

Subscales: Parental Trust (T), Parental Communication (C), Parental Alienation (A)

Items:

1. My mother/father respects my feelings. (T)
2. I feel like my mother/father does a good job as my mother/father. (T)
3. I wish I had a different mother/father. (R) (T)
4. My mother/father accepts me as I am. (T)
5. I like to get my mother’s/father’s point of view on things I’m concerned about. (C)
6. I feel it’s no use letting my feelings show around my mother/father. (R) (C)
7. My mother/father can tell when I’m upset about something. (C)
8. Talking over my problems with my mother/father makes me feel ashamed or foolish. (R) (A)
9. My mother/father expects too much from me. (R) (T)
10. I get upset easily around my mother/father. (R) (A)
11. I get upset a lot more than my mother/father knows about. (R) (A)
12. When we discuss things, my mother/father cares about my point of view. (T)
13. My mother/father trusts my judgment. (T)

14. My mother/father has his/her own problems, so I don’t bother him/her with mine.
   (R) (C)

15. My mother/father helps me to understand myself better. (C)

16. I tell my mother/father about my problems and troubles. (C)

17. I feel angry with my mother/father. (R) (A)

18. I don’t get much attention from my mother/father. (R) (A)

19. My mother/father helps me to talk about my difficulties. (C)

20. My mother/father understands me. (T)

21. When I am angry about something, my mother/father tries to be understanding.
   (T)

22. I trust my mother/father. (T)

23. My mother/father doesn’t understand what I’m going through these days. (R) (A)

24. I can count on my mother/father when I need to get something off my chest (need
to talk about something). (C)

25. If my mother/father knows something is bothering me, s/he asks me about it. (C)