Identity voyage: An investigation into how homeland conflict affects the identities of immigrants to Canada

by

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Bachelor of Arts, York University, 2010
Bachelor of Education, York University, 2010

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the School of Public Administration

Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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   This thesis aims to address the challenges faced by immigrants to Canada from countries in conflict, namely Turkey and Israel. Through the use of a conceptual framework, this research study identifies how context, conflict and identity impact upon each other and are expressed through insightful narratives. Data collection was conducted in Toronto and Ottawa, Canada, using semi-structured interviews and reflective journals. Findings indicated that regardless of physical proximity to conflict in one's homeland, it can continue to have an effect – in many cases through familial (sentimental) attachments rather than concern for the country. As well, identity should be considered permeable but also overlapping; emigration does not necessarily entail disengagement from the homeland (or its conflicts). Ultimately, this study examines the interconnected nature of conflict and identity, in both personal and social ways, through immigrants' perceived engagement in homeland conflict, once in Canada.

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Acknowledgments

It is my belief that nothing truly exists in a vacuum; thus, there were countless people who have contributed to the development and writing of this thesis. From a conversation with a stranger in Ottawa to advice given by friends around the world – I really do believe that this topic was *kısmet*.

First and foremost, this thesis would not have been possible without my family. Thank you for inspiring me to pursue this topic, and for having been so courageous in your own journeys of immigration. Your academic and emotional support while I was brainstorming and writing this thesis was invaluable.

Dr. Catherine Althaus-Kaefer, I could not have asked for a kinder, more supportive supervisor. You have been an incredible role model throughout this process. Even with vanishing participants and shrinking timelines, you encouraged me to stay positive and be practical. I have learned an incredible amount about the research process because of you.

To Dr. Thea Vakil and Dr. Matt James, I appreciate the guidance that you have provided. You are both critical thinkers who have the ability to make one actually look forward to receiving constructive feedback.

At the core of this research are the participant narratives, and I am very grateful to all of the participants. You are all such modest, generous people – I felt privileged to listen to your opinions and share in your experiences. I wish the best for you all wherever life takes you. I hope you found value in your participation too.

This thesis was not without considerable administrative hurdles, which could not have been overcome without help from Judy Selina, Heather Kirkham and Dr. James McDavid. Thank you!

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation for the friends I have in my life. From the roommates, Natalia and Carolyn, who had to contend with hours of "interesting" musical playlists to my Turkish and Israeli friends, particularly Derin and Uri, whom I pestered for advice; thank you for putting up with me. I would also like to acknowledge my Auntie Allison - your continued enthusiasm helped me to maintain my own sanity. To my MPA and MADR peers, I am so glad that we were all in this together – in coffee shops, libraries and potlucks, you made studying fun.

There were a number of people who provided advice, hot meals, or help finding participants – you know who you are, and I hope I can one day be as helpful to you.

Chapter 1: Introduction

"To effectively deal with conflict as a practitioner it's not about following a recipe of how to do things, it's more about changing perspectives and opening people up to each other's worldviews" (Mayer, 2012, p.X).

Conflict is omnipresent, and exaggerated by the fact that humans are cultural beings; this is because conflict exists in relation to others, and within cultural frames (LeBaron & Pillay, 2006). The various cultures people align themselves with also allow them to shape their world view: the cognitive, perceptual and ethical lenses which guide a person (Goldberg, 2009). Although these influences can be complementary they can also compete – this study is interested in examining how these cultural ties are negotiated by immigrants to Canada from countries in conflict. In particular, this thesis centers on the narratives of Turkish and Israeli immigrants to Canada in order to study ways in which conflict in their homelands[1] affects their post-immigration identity.

This chapter, then, provides the purpose, rationale and background for this research study. It serves as a guide to understanding how these ideas developed and in what ways they are expressed throughout this thesis. It begins with an overview of the research itself, before providing the rationale (both personal and academic) for its chapters. Subsequently, the connection to methodology and Conflict Studies is described in order to provide the theoretical foundations for the study. Finally, the chapter concludes with an examination of the research questions and conceptual framework which will guide this thesis.

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[1] The term homeland is used to refer to participants' respective countries of origin – either Turkey or Israel.

Purpose

   This thesis acknowledges that there is a gradation of an individual's engagement in conflict - it is not a simple dichotomy of rejecting ties or maintaining them. Therefore, the ways in which this engagement impacts on migrant identity as (new[2]) Canadians is examined. Drawing on work done in a variety of academic disciplines, participants in this study are encouraged to use their personal narratives "to encourage a deep level of communication" (Cloke & Goldsmith, 2000, p.35) in order to better understand and share their migration experiences. The intention is not for participants to recount their political views on an entrenched conflict, but rather to hear their stories of how that conflict has influenced them as individuals and as members of communities (in Canada and abroad) regardless of their physical proximity to their homeland conflicts. Participant responses are examined through a conceptual framework, developed from researcher experience, related discussions with other academics, and an analysis of literature and theory concerning conflict and identity linkages. This conceptual framework guides the research by providing the foci of conflict, identity and context as expressed through narratives. The data are gathered from participant interviews and written reflective journals, completed by the participants as part of the study, as well as extensive research of secondary sources. These stories are intended to contribute to further interdisciplinary studies, cutting across fields like Psychology and Conflict Studies in order to provide a more holistic picture of immigrant experiences. The assumption is that academic development can also promote societal changes, allowing for more successful integration of immigrants. By encouraging further academic inquiry, this thesis could also help

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[2] "New" is a relative term, but for the purposes of this research it refers to immigrants to Canada within the past 15 years.

promote awareness of this topic in individuals from dissimilar backgrounds, namely those who have never lived as migrants[3]. There are also broader policy implications for this work. The Conservative government's emphasis on studying its citizens' links to conflict in other countries indicates a desire to better understand how immigrants integrate into Canadian society and which services should be available for their use throughout these transitions (Public Safety Canada, 2013).

This thesis confronts possible stereotyping and negativity toward immigrants by exploring the relationship between identity and conflict as expressed through the narratives of a select number of immigrant participants. Personal stories are shared in order to provide insight into the unique experience of immigration to Canada from a homeland in conflict. These narratives are not representative of all Israelis or Turks, but they are a window into the lives of some. It should be noted that the use of "Turkey" and "Israel" could be a limitation because these country names may be perceived as corresponding to an ethnic majority in each case. By using the country names ("Turkey" and "Israel"), research participation was intended to be open to any individual coming from those countries, regardless of ethnic origin; however, this could be controversial – particularly in the case of Palestine. For clarity, though, this research focuses on individuals' homeland citizenship and subsequent residency in Canada, not their ethnicity.

Rationale

This thesis is exploratory: looking at whether and how conflict in participants' homelands continues to affect their identity post-immigration (Yin, 1984). Through

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[3] Canadian media coverage of recent events in Syria and Quebec partially inspired this research through frequent stereotyping and negativity associated with immigrants' retaining ethnic ties, particularly in social media and the reader comments sections following news articles (see: Peritz, 2013; Siad, 2013).

narrative accounts of identity and conflict, the research explores what connects people to conflict even when they are physically removed from it. Again, this research seeks to examine the nature of peoples' reactions to conflict without attempting to make predictions or causal assessments. The research is qualitative, in order to explore the reality that people inhabit, and their accompanying attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. This work is also emancipatory in that these participants have the opportunity to express their stories through narrative, and then through reflection determine how best to navigate their social worlds in the future (Yin, 1984). By maintaining confidentiality, participants are able to express themselves without fear of social constraints. Furthermore, self-reflection is encouraged to aid learning for participants themselves rather than solely as a method for the researcher (Daudelin, 1996). The participants, therefore, benefit from introspection, and also gain tools for use in their ongoing acculturation journeys. The academic beneficiaries of this work, researchers and teachers working with conflict, immigration and identity, stand to gain from the data collected, while also receiving insight into narrative as a legitimate form of study.

Personal Interest

In addition to the academic and social reasons permeating the proposed study, there are deeply rooted personal objectives. The researcher's background as an immigrant, with both parents coming from African countries in conflict, meant that she grew up listening to stories relaying violence, aggression but also hope amidst conflict. It became clear at a young age that conflict is not black and white, nor does it affect every individual in the same way. These lessons were solidified by experiences with friends' families, many of whom are also immigrants - some with close ties to conflict-ridden homelands. These

social connections and personal experiences led to a deep interest in how conflict affects

one's identity, and on the other hand how identities lead to differing responses to conflict.

It is clear, then, that the researcher's personal interests and background have influenced

the approach to this work, hence the importance of explicit detail in chronicling how the

researcher's worldview affects this thesis, including choice of participants' countries.

Yet, there is no intentional incorporation of the researcher's own narrative into the

content of participants' narratives. This decision was made in order to allow the focus of

this thesis to remain squarely on the participants' narratives, rather than centered on the

researcher.

Methodological Connection to Conflict Studies[4]

In addition to work on culture as it relates to conflict, the framework of

intersectionality is incorporated under identity, serving as a connection to narrative.

Intersectionality asserts that people are comprised of multiple identities which all

contribute to how they navigate their social environments – like LeBaron and Pillay's

(2006) work on culture and conflict it serves as motivation to view participants' stories

holistically, and not as individual datum (Falcon, 2009). Through its incorporation of

intersectionality this thesis is able to maintain a distance from dichotomized perspectives,

such as absolutely maintaining or rejecting ties to homeland conflict (Kraemer, 2007). By

viewing participants in a holistic manner, this thesis is then able to view their behaviour

along more of a continuum rather than fixed points indicating an either/or conclusion.

This work is not trying to assert that all immigrants from countries in conflict will retain

ties, for example, but rather examine individual participants' experiences while also

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[4] Conflict Studies will be the term used to encompass literature related to dispute resolution, including alternative dispute resolution (ADR), and conflict.

acknowledging their complicated identities. Intersectionality is important then because it promotes the use of multiple perspectives to view issues, while incorporating reflection on power and inequality through action-based methodologies (Shields, 2008). Indeed, the paradigm used is critical inquiry which is aimed at encouraging praxis, and empowerment of participants – this is also in line with current notions in the field of alternative dispute resolution (ADR) of promoting greater autonomy for those involved in disputes (Mayer, 2012).

Conflict is examined from a micro and macro perspective: participants' conflict styles, as well as the state of conflicts in their homelands (Sloan & Chicanot, 2009). Participants' experiences with conflict clearly feed into their notions of self and social identity, and these linkages are ultimately expressed through narrative. Multiple aspects and theories of conflict are therefore addressed. For example, the Thomas Killmann Conflict Mode Instrument (TKI) is useful in assessing participants' personal reactions to conflict, while conflict transformation theory helps to scaffold the research with theoretical foundations. Conflict transformation theory moves toward holistic understandings of people as autonomous agents for change – relating back to the highly intertwined conceptual framework; it also pushes people to view conflict as a positive force for change, including in their own relationships (Folger & Bush, 1994; Lederach, 2003; Miall, 2004).

Research Questions

After having gained an appreciation for the purpose and rationale behind this research, it is appropriate to present the research questions which inspired the research study. The main research question is: *How does conflict in the homeland (country of*

emigration) continue to affect (new) immigrants once in Canada, if at all? This research

question has purposefully assumed that conflict does have an impact on emigration

experiences as the research study was designed based around the notion that conflict has

some sort of an impact on immigrants even after they have exited their homeland:

whether that be through familial ties or more formalized institutional involvement. This

research question is general enough to integrate all of the concepts of interest; yet, it still

keeps the research focused. Additional questions which relate to the main question

include: *How do participants view their roles in the conflicts in their homelands? How*

central are the conflicts to participants identifying with their homelands? And *how have*

participants negotiated any shifts in identity to a new citizenship (and/or residency)?

These questions support the central research question in delving further into conflict and

participants' identities particularly as immigrants. These questions have been

incorporated implicitly throughout the research study, but will be made explicit once

again in the final findings to correspond with points of interest generated by participants.

Conceptual Framework

       This research is guided by a conceptual framework, which serves to tie a variety

of concepts - context, conflict, identity, and narrative - into one unified figure, thus

connecting the many elements of this research and elucidating its purpose. The use of

these concepts in this thesis was prompted by their importance in the literature, in

general; however, the conceptual framework was developed before the formalized

literature review occurred. The exact concepts and their arrangement were guided by the

researcher's broad understanding of academic literature in a variety of fields, as well as

her own work, volunteer, and personal experience. Once refined from its initial inception,

the conceptual framework helped guide the researcher in determining which academic (and media) pieces to select and include for the literature review, as well as providing direction for composition of the interview guide and subsequent data analysis. Although these concepts are ubiquitous, this conceptual framework is unique to this thesis. An explanation follows the image of the conceptual framework outlined in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

As the image is a variation of a Venn diagram, the concepts appear in nested relationships, bleeding into each other. The placement of each individual concept is based on scope, and interaction. Scope refers to the extent to which the concept has a bearing on society, for example context is applicable to a broader spectrum than narrative which is (in this case) presumably derived from one individual. Interaction is dependent on which concepts are more tightly connected to others, with context being extremely impactful for

all – thus, it occupies the outermost shell. Context has a bearing on all other concepts; it is all-encompassing and serves to mediate between factors. For example, the ways in which conflict interacts with identity depend on the context one is in – which social structures are in place to help an individual deal with the conflict may impact how much they internalize it. Context can be thought of as that which is often ignored but highly influential; including social structures like communities, and the geographical location itself - namely the participants' homelands. In sum, the concept of context provides the background and understanding for the conflicts, cultures and experiences of participants.

The next layer of the conceptual framework highlights the concept of conflict because it is determined by context, but also plays heavily into a person's identity. Conflict in the broad sense relates to the conflicts playing out in participants' homelands, but on a personal level it also touches upon participants' conflict-handling styles and experiences. The next layer, then, is identity because it incorporates both context and conflict. Conflict and identity are the two core concepts making up the participant-driven content of this research. These two concepts serve as the basis for inquiry into participant narratives.

Finally, narrative[5] is placed in the center of all the concepts because it is the form of expression – how context, conflict and identity come together for an individual to determine what they publicly share with others. This conceptual framework, together with the aforementioned research questions, provides a starting point with which to explore key assumed factors that might guide the development and scrutiny of immigrant

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[5] The term "narrative" will be used throughout this paper in two different ways: 1) as indicated in the conceptual framework – the theoretical concept of storytelling 2) and as a methodological tool.

narratives - their content, relevance and implications - with respect to conflict and identity.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provides a roadmap for what content is to follow, as well as transparency regarding the origins of this research. The purpose of this research is to examine whether and how individuals coming from countries in conflict, namely Turkey and Israel, continue to be affected by homeland conflicts once in Canada. There are academic and personal reasons permeating this research: from a genuine desire to promote further interdisciplinary work between fields like Psychology and Conflict Studies to the researcher's background as an immigrant. The rationale and purpose make clear what benefits the findings could have for the academic community, including the original interdisciplinary contribution of the conceptual framework; the participants, additional opportunity for reflection and social growth; as well as society, sharing perspectives which are underrepresented in the media and highly relevant for policymakers given Canada's population demographics[6]. The intention, then, is not to assess broad political or ethnic conflict, but rather to allow participants to express their views through narrative. In this way, this thesis also elevates the academic use of narrative by making clear its potential as a means of collecting data on minority populations. All of the research is guided by a conceptual framework, unique to this thesis, comprised of context, conflict, identity and narrative. These concepts are also implicit in the research questions, which help to organize the data and findings.

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[6] Work on multiculturalism policy in particular could benefit from additional research into topics related to this thesis.

In sum, both the content and methodology of this work contribute to the literature on immigrant identity and conflict by delivering a conceptual framework, as well as some unique empirically-grounded perspectives on the role and use of narratives in Conflict Studies.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter serves to illuminate the scope of research done on the relevant themes in this thesis. In order to provide sufficient scaffolding for the participant narratives that will follow in chapters four through six, it is important to examine research from a variety of disciplines and sources, including grey literature like popular media. In certain cases work has been weaved together, which would normally not be connected. The intention is to expose a gap in literature on immigration – to then provide a framework, data and findings which challenge it. The literature review will therefore be divided into categories of interest based on the guiding conceptual framework: context, conflict, identity and narrative.

This literature review is not a comprehensive articulation of every work in a given field, but rather a selective survey of a variety of disciplines. This was a purposeful choice because of the interdisciplinary aim of this thesis; there was an inherent need to select literature from different fields in order to properly analyze the utility of the conceptual framework and subsequent empirical data collection and analysis. The literature review is conducted to determine the appropriateness of the research question, without seeking a single, definitive answer (Yin, 1984).

All of the literature surveyed and presented below relates inherently to the guiding question of this research: *how does conflict in the homeland (country of emigration) continue to affect (new) immigrants once in Canada, if at all?*

Context

In order to understand how immigrant narratives develop one must consider the homelands individuals are coming from as well as their migratory experiences. In so

doing, one should also become familiarized with the immigration policies of the host country – in this case, Canada.

   Country profiles. Participants in this research study hail from Turkey and Israel. Although none of the participants were born before 1980, and none have lived in their respective homelands since 2012, information will be provided about the countries from before and after these dates to provide a fuller picture of the context participants were born into, and the current conflicts which may still affect them. Without an understanding of each individual's cultural context, it is difficult to fully comprehend their opinions. As well, since this is a multiple case study design, it is crucial that every case (and context) relate to the overall purpose of the research (Yin, 1984).

   The context in this research relates primarily to the two countries of participants' origin, Israel and Turkey, which were chosen for the researcher's familiarity with them, and their relative levels of conflict compared to Canada. Drawing on work by Lebaron and Pillay (2006) on "cultural fluency – the ability to communicate effectively across cultures" (p.26) it becomes clear that flexibility and familiarity are assets in any type of interpersonal research, particularly when culture is involved. In having access and familiarity to a culture a researcher can more readily establish trust with participants. Given that the data for this thesis spring from participant narratives, it is crucial that the researcher has some understanding of the nuances of the participants' cultures and that this is clear to participants who will then more comfortably express their perspectives – particularly since this research aims to be relational, promoting a bond between researcher and participants. The researcher's experience living and working in Turkey, and travelling to Israel (as well as growing up with Israelis), allows for further insight

into participant narratives. Thus, part of the justification for the choice of Israel and Turkey relates directly to the researcher's capacity to elicit in-depth data from participants who are from these countries.

Yin (1984) also mentions the importance of case study methods which analyse similarity and difference – these two locations provide a robust set from which to draw participants because they allow for interesting comparisons. From a demographic perspective, they comprise two of the few non-Arab majority states in the Middle East (Marantz, 2011). Certain similarities in terms of the inherent conflict in each country also make them a more salient pair. In particular, both Israel and Turkey have state-based armed conflicts which have lasted for more than two decades, in addition to other violent conflicts (Human Security Research Group, 2010). They both have an incredibly strong military presence, and conscription; for both sexes in Israel, and for men alone in Turkey (CIA, 2014). Further detail will now be provided about each individual country.

Israel. Israel has been in conflict since its modern-day inception on May 14, 1948 – when it immediately launched into the War of Independence (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013). This resulted in a high number of refugees - particularly to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In the subsequent four decades, Israel was also engaged in a number of violent conflicts including: the Sinai Campaign of 1956; the Six-Day War of 1967, which resulted in significant territorial gain, most notably the West Bank and Gaza Strip; and the Yom Kippur War in 1973 (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013). Once again, this research explores the effect a society in conflict has on its (former) citizens. This (more political) information is provided to generate an idea of how entrenched conflict has been from the start.

Awareness of distant history facilitates an understanding of each participant's past, but recent events allow for a more contextual understanding of participants' experiences specific to this research. In terms of more recent international war, Israel has twice experienced war with Lebanon, in 1982 and 2006 (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013). A short two years later, more formalized violence broke out in the 2008-2009 war with Hamas in Gaza (Marantz, 2011). This last outbreak of violence is particularly relevant as it is only a small glimpse into the ongoing rockets and bombings that pervade parts of Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. These areas are contested and "subject to the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement – permanent status to be determined through further negotiation" (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2014).

The most recent news of note with regard to Israeli conflict is the dissolution of peace talks with Palestine. Coordinated by US Secretary of State John Kerry, the nine month negotiations were supposed to see resolution regarding the contested land disputes, particularly surrounding settlements in East Jerusalem and the West Bank, between Israelis, headed by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinians, led by President Mahmoud Abbas (Rudoren & Kershner, 2014).

Turkey. Turkey, too, has experienced conflict with other countries and within its own (often contested) borders. The modern Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (CIA, 2014). The culture changed drastically, given the sweeping reforms made by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk – from bans on certain items of clothing to completely rewriting the language. In the 1950s, politics changed such that it allowed for a multi-party system; since then there have been four major coups – the first in 1960 and the most recent in 1997 (CIA, 2014). Apart from the internal

political struggles there has been a history of conflict with other countries, from a dispute with Greece over sovereignty of Cyprus to ongoing tensions with Armenia, due to irreconcilable versions of the events of 1915 (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).

In more recent memory, the most notable large-scale conflict has taken place on Turkish soil. In 1984 the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), now called the Kongra-Gel (KGK), began fighting "a separatist insurgency" (CIA, 2014, para.1). A ceasefire between the Turkish government and KGK was basically reached in 1999, but then broken shortly after in 2004. Once again, a ceasefire was brokered in March of 2013 in order to halt the violence which has claimed over 40, 000 lives through bombings, shootings and other violent means (Coles, 2013). As with the ongoing tensions in Israel, it is difficult to make definitive claims about an end to any conflict as neighbouring wars often spill over. For example, the ongoing civil war in Syria is causing concern that the KGK will resume attacks for the eastern land they claim as their homeland (Coles, 2013).

The most recent tensions in Turkey have had less to do with ethnic conflict and more to do with political disagreements, particularly surrounding corruption. Although detail will not be provided for scandals as it is difficult to present these facts free of bias, a brief description of issues in the past year follows. There has been conflict between Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Muslim cleric Fethullah Gulen with a media battle ensuing, the irony being that Prime Minister Erdogan banned the use of social media including Twitter and Youtube[7]; and pervasive anti-government protests particularly in the wake of Gezi Park and the Soma mining disaster, which sparked

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[7] For further information on media censorship in Turkey please see: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/new-media-laws-increasing-internet-censorship-in-turkey.aspx?pageID=449&nID=61212&NewsCatID=396

numerous deaths and thus reignited underlying ideological tensions (Fraser, 2014; Letsch & Rushe, 2014; The Economist, 2013).

Security, then, is a major concern for these states, and through osmosis, its citizens (Marantz, 2011). For this reason and a host of others, conscription is in place in both countries; although the details may differ regarding age and gender, the strong military involvement of all citizens is consistent (CIA, 2014). Interviews with participants shed further light on this topic, particularly the relationship between security and sense of identity.

History of immigration in Canada. The history of immigration in Canadian society is long, and riddled with exclusion and peculiarities. It would be a great omission to examine this topic without acknowledging the impact First Nations people have had on the creation of Canada, as well as its policies. This is a topic which could include much controversial discussion about the effects of multiculturalism and immigration policy on First Nations people. Suffice it to say that there is a continuum of positions amongst First Peoples in Canada about the enduring role and legacy of colonialism.

Canada's immigration policy has changed considerably over time; since 1986 one could definitely argue that it is focused on attracting high numbers of immigrants, supporting them in maintaining their cultural heritage and also promoting their permanent stay here. In fact, since 1986 the number of permanent residents has risen from 99,354 to 280,681 (CIC, 2010). Certain trends are worth noting, such as the increase in economic immigrants and the concurrent decrease in refugees. For example, in 1986, refugees constituted 23.2% of immigrants while economic immigrants were 37.9%; yet, by 2010 the numbers were 9.2% and 69.3% respectively (CIC, 2010). None of the participants in

this research are refugees; however, what should be noted is that these categories do not necessarily account for the country profiles of the immigrants with regard to conflict. That is to say that both the refugee and the economic immigrant may have experienced conflict in their homeland, just in different ways. This is not to detract from the severity of refugee claims, but rather to highlight that immigrants from different categories may also have come from countries in conflict. With regard to refugees specifically, there have been significant changes to legislation in recent years. In particular, Bill C-31 greatly affected refugee processes of gaining permanent residency, including their treatment – making possible involuntary detention (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

This history is noteworthy because it could reflect future Canadian immigration trends. In fact, there is currently debate over the proposed Citizenship Act which some say is "making Canadian citizenship harder to get and easier to lose, and creating second-class citizens along the way" (Adams, Macklin & Omidvar, 2014, para.1). The Act would increase the permanent residency period to four years from two, which must be considered in the context of extended processing delays. This shift is interesting when considering how others have commented on Canada's immigration policies: as fairly liberal and inclusive.

> Canada presents an example of a positive relationship between policy and acculturation strategies. The Canadian government supports a policy of cultural maintenance among immigrant groups, and immigrants to Canada tend to prefer integration as an acculturation strategy. (Berry, 1984, as cited in Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001, p.499)

The aforementioned statistics and policies demonstrate that in spite of increasing numbers of immigrants each year, one is more likely to gain status as an economic immigrant, and even then possibly with increased difficulty as policies and legislation change. Amidst all of this, and obscured in these numbers are the stories of the individuals.

Views on immigration. There are many perspectives on immigration within Canada; from anxiety over diversity to a desire to embrace it, Canadians hold differing opinions on how to balance multiculturalism and nationalism (Kernerman, 2005). Put simply, nationalism is about finding harmony in one national identity shared by all citizens of a country while multiculturalism involves people striving for diversity (Kernerman, 2005). Within the distinction between nationalism and multiculturalism one can find the various acculturation strategies of immigrants: "integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization" (Phinney et al., 2001, p.495). Integration is the strategy which involves maintenance of the homeland identity while also adapting to the new country, on the other hand marginalization implies that the individual has no national identity; separation is when immigrants retain ties to the homeland but refuse to integrate into their new country of residence, and assimilation occurs when they shed their homeland identity in favour of the new country (Phinney et al., 2001).

Canadian policy is considered, by most, to favour multiculturalism. This can be taken to mean that immigrants come from all over the world and are encouraged to maintain their cultural heritage, while also learning to live within Canadian society and respects its fundamental values – the corresponding acculturation strategy is integration. John Ralston Saul (2008) claims, "We invite not immigrants but future citizens. More

than 85 percent become citizens... In other words, our invitation is based on the assumption that the newcomer will quickly come into the circle and join our family" (p.317).

Multiculturalism and immigration are not theoretical topics; they are a reality which people live. As Saul implies, immigration to Canada is often considered not to entail assimilation, the loss of one's previous cultural identity for the complete adoption of the new country's culture, but rather integration into an existing society with room for growth. Phinney et al. (2001) confirm this notion when they discuss Canada's immigration policies as proactive for their encouragement of minority groups' maintenance of cultural ties with their homeland cultures. However, these generalizations neglect the differences that exist between individual immigrants: background, gender, age upon immigration, and so on.

In addition to examining academic opinions, it is crucial to consider popular media concerning immigration as there are often different discourses which emerge. Canada is an enormous country, with a great variety of diversity in its provinces and territories. Much of this opinion is reflected in news articles and related comments sections. Reading stories from different regions of a country allows for insight into their opinions, beliefs and lives. This begs the question of how often new immigrant voices are expressed through regional storytelling, or at the national level. In addition, the comments below news stories located on internet or social media forums (for example) can reveal less savoury views of an accepting, multicultural version of Canada. Without doing a content analysis of the media, it is sufficient to note that a daily newscan will provide insight into a wide variety of positive and negative opinions on immigration.

For example, Brender (2013) points out that the media (and politicians) often skew the risks of immigrants to Canada abusing the social welfare system in order to benefit their homeland – instead, she advocates for a holistic, open-minded view to immigration. In the comments section of Brender's (2013) piece, anonymous commentators make pessimistic presumptions about immigrants' views on gender-equality and claim that they are unable to assimilate so there is no need for Canadians to cater to them. As well, statistics can provide for some alternative views to the multicultural haven Canada is presented as. To begin with, race or ethnicity is the most common reason for hate crimes since 2006, accounting for 52% in 2010, with religion accounting for 29% (Statistics Canada, 2013). The highest distribution of hate crimes was in Ontario, with Guelph coming in first and Ottawa second with 14 incidents per 100 000 (Statistics Canada, 2013).

All of this is to say that Canada is undoubtedly a multicultural society; however, the context surrounding immigration can be quite different depending on perspective – be it of the immigrant, the academic, the general public, the policy maker, or the news commentator.

Conflict

It is hard to judge a conflict without understanding the context in which it takes place. It is critical to now delve into broader generalized theories on conflict, the relationship between conflict and culture, and finally, conflict resolution.

Theoretical foundations of conflict. There are many possible ways to describe and explore conflict. Sloan and Chicanot (2009) argue that conflict "occurs where expectations, goals or objectives diverge" (p.4) resulting in possible threats to identity

and deeply held personal (or community) values. Similarly, Mayer (2012) claims that at the core of any conflict is a misunderstanding about people's needs and interests. At the root of conflicts (and their potential resolutions) are interests and needs, but there are different types. For example, all people have identity needs which "preserve a sense of who we are and our place in the world…the needs for meaning, community, intimacy, and autonomy" (Mayer, 2012, p.25). Conflict is inextricably linked to identity, and it is experienced differently depending on the individual and also the stage at which the conflict is manifest.

It is commonly understood that there are three main stages of conflict: *latent*, wherein the conflict is not yet expressed but is felt; *emerging*, when disagreement is being communicated; and *manifest*, which entails a conflict becoming openly expressed and acted upon in the form of a dispute (Sloan & Chicanot, 2009). These stages of conflict are applicable not only to interpersonal relationships, but also to larger-scale societal issues. It is easiest to measure the manifest nature of conflict, based on the presence of physical violence within the society. In line with the various stages of conflict, it is also experienced along different dimensions, such as: *cognitive, emotional* and *behavioural* (Mayer, 2012).

Mayer (2012) further breaks down people's engagement with conflict into different categories along these three dimensions. In terms of the *cognitive* dimension, he claims that people make sense of conflict differently depending on their approach. The integrative and distributive approaches to conflict are of particular interest for they are clearly tied into approaches to problem solving in general. They are thought to be correlated (Mayer, 2012). Distributive approaches to conflict engagement aim for an

ultimate win for one party – this is highly competitive and cannot result in equal outcomes. In contrast, integrative approaches tend to center on solutions to conflict that engage all parties creatively – collaboration (Sloan & Chicanot, 2009).

With regard to *emotional* variables, Mayer (2012) claims that people react to conflict in many different ways, with reluctance or enthusiasm for example. These personal approaches are important to consider because emotion permeates every concept in this research study: from questions of identity, to the immigration process itself. Finally, Mayer (2012) acknowledges that there are many *behavioural* variables which can influence how people react to conflict, but he pinpoints certain categories that are most salient, such as submissive and dominant. Although categories can be constructive, there is danger in assuming that a person's experience will always fit and that it will remain constant. This cannot always be the case as reality is more complex than this.

Conflict and culture. All of the sources cited so far take an approach anchored in the North American field of ADR, which developed in the 1990s (Mayer, 2012). Suffice it to say that there are certain cultural assumptions and implications inherent in all of the theory, categories, and practice. For this reason, Lebaron and Pillay (2006) have written extensively on the need to consider culture when dealing with conflict. They claim that conflict is relational, which requires an understanding of participants' distinct perspectives. Therefore, even when one is physically removed from the conflict, it can still have an impact because it has formed a part of one's cultural worldview. In fact, there is a strong relationship between culture and conflict as:

Culture assigns meanings to conflict, telling us what the conflict is about;

conflict, in turn, stimulates cultural changes and continuity by shaping the

cultural lenses through which we interpret what the conflict is about; culture

and conflict are intertwined, constantly shaping and reshaping each other in an

evolving interactive process. (Lebaron & Pillay, 2006, p.85)

Mayer (2012) also acknowledges the value of culture (and at times, overreliance on its importance) when he notes that either people overlook its importance in assessing conflict, or people overestimate it as being the only determinant of an outcome. There is no clear way to predict the trajectory of a conflict, regardless of one's background with it or immersion in the cultures involved. To claim expertise status based on cultural affiliation is short-sighted; however, having lived-experience in the conflict and hailing from the affected cultures does provide unique insight. With regard to migrants, they belong to multiple cultures and correspondingly have incorporated into their lives a variety of worldviews. Immigration certainly facilitates further questioning of one's core cultures and concurrent identities as:

Culture may be considered as the enduring norms, values, customs, historical

narratives, and behavioral patterns common to a particular group of people. In

this sense each of us belongs to multiple and overlapping cultures, a situation

that creates internal conflict at times. (Mayer, 2012, p.93)

Conflict can arise as a result of cultural tensions, but it can also be seen as the result of competition, poor communication or incongruent values and beliefs (Mayer, 2012; Sloan & Chicanot, 2009). Therefore, one cannot blame culture for conflict, but rather acknowledge that a dynamic relationship exists between the two. Lebaron and Pillay (2006) hypothesize that conflict can shape cultures in many ways. Of most relevance are: "widespread violence [which] reshapes culture by generating traumas and glories; [and]

forced relocation of people [which] often leads to envisioning an idealized image of home" (p.104). Just as it is important to bear in mind the various dimensions of conflict and personal engagement with it, it is crucial to also consider the effects of conflict on a larger-scale community level.

Although all countries and peoples boast conflict, be it *latent* or *emergent*, in the case of Israel and Turkey it is *manifest*. Migrants coming to Canada from these countries have experienced (to differing degrees) a particular type of intrastate armed conflict involving: "A contested incompatibility over government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, one of which is the government of a state, results in 25 or more battle deaths in a calendar year" (Human Security Research Group, 2010, para.18).

It is often said that people cannot have a true grasp on their culture until they remove themselves from it (Mayer, 2012). This needs to be taken a step further: people must also reflect on their experiences. Experiences in one's home culture are accompanied by certain norms and expectations; however, movement through new cultures requires adaptability to novelty. In terms of the connection between culture and conflict, Lebaron and Pillay (2006) hypothesize that there are three dimensions of conflict, not to be confused with Mayer's (2012) three dimensions of experiencing conflict (or engagement with it). Lebaron and Pillay (2006) state the three dimensions as such:

> The *material* level, or the 'what' of the conflict [systems and laws]; the *symbolic* level, the meaning of issues to the people involved, especially those meanings that resonate with peoples' identities, values, and worldviews [perceptions]; and the

relational level, or the dance among the parties, or the way in which conflict plays out [communication and social interactions]. (p.19)

It is the *symbolic* dimension which emphasizes the relationships between people and perceptions that inform our identities. Although it is the *material* dimension which is commonly understood to be crucial to conflict resolution, it is in fact the *symbolic* and *relational* dimensions that hold the greatest promise in terms of mending fragmented social structures.

Conflict resolution. There are a multitude of approaches to dealing with conflict. From overt deliberation to subtle involvement – styles vary. A brief summary will follow of some of the various approaches to conflict resolution, culminating in a description of the most relevant theoretical approach for this thesis. Of course, any approach to conflict resolution will entail social or relational changes (Schellenberg, 1996).

Rights-based approaches were traditionally most popular in North American society: manifested in the court system, they involve third party adjudicators deciding on the optimal solution to a dispute (Mayer, 2012). Subsequently, interest-based approaches to dealing with conflict became hugely popular following the success of *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving in*, originally published in 1981 (Fisher, Ury & Patton, 2011). These approaches attempted to "separate the people from the problem" while looking for "mutual gains…based on some objective standard" (Fisher, Ury & Patton, 2011, p.11). This was well-received by many; however, others came to realize that there is inherent transformative power within conflict (Lederach 2003; Mayer 2012). Thus, conflict transformation developed from a theoretical context that was already in transition – moving from rights-based to interest-based processes. Transformative

approaches "view conflict not as a problem to be gotten rid of or solved, but as a rich opportunity for growth, to be exploited to full advantage" (Folger & Bush, 1994, p.12).

By viewing conflict as an opportunity for development and growth, the people involved then become agents for change – individuals capable of improving their own relationships and societal structures more broadly (Lederach, 2003; Sloan & Chicanot, 2009). In this way, relationship building becomes a result of a conflict-driven situation; rather than an endpoint, conflict resolution (or transformation) is seen as a process (Mayer, 2012). The perception of conflict resolution more as a journey in line with transformation can be applied to the experiences of migrants themselves. It should be clear that the way conflict is handled depends on how it is perceived. If individuals see conflict and its resolution as a process, as opposed to a final destination, this will alter their behaviours toward it.

In terms of perception, conflict can be approached from many angles. Mayer (2012) writes of the complexity of conflict resolution, as well as the emotional reactions people experience in its wake – from feelings of loss, to feelings of overwhelming joy. In line with his three dimensions of conflict, he extols three dimensions of resolution: *emotional, cognitive* and *behavioural* (Mayer, 2012). The *cognitive* resolution comes from a feeling of closure surrounding the conflict and one's own engagement with it. *Emotional* resolution centers on how people feel about the conflict itself – how emotionally draining it still is for them. The last dimension, *behavioural* resolution, is the most commonly understood, as it entails: "discontinuing the conflict behavior... [and] instituting actions to promote resolution" (Mayer, 2012, p.135).

While conflict transformation is a relevant theory for describing a positive approach to conflict, Mayer (2012) is able to then provide a descriptive analysis of the dimensions that individuals go through when experiencing conflicts. Regardless of theoretical approach, it is vital to remember that conflict is personal – there is no panacea applicable for all those involved.

Identity

Conflict has previously been examined for its theoretical underpinnings and the many perspectives people have on it. Similarly, identity must be adequately dissected. This section begins with an examination of social identity theory, which has served as the basis of much literature on identity formation. It then delves into literature specific to immigrant identities before closing the section with a discussion on intersectionality.

Social identity theory. When studying identity it is crucial to start with social identity theory because of its relevance to the field of Identity Studies. Although it originated in the 1970s, social identity theory is a key element of many of the theories and experiments conducted on identity to this day. Importantly, much of the contemporary work on identity derives from this initial research by Tajfel and Turner (Ellemers, 2010). Essentially, social identity theory is concerned with how people navigate their various identities: from personal identity, to membership in groups (social identity). Specifically, it is "that 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 value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, as cited in Cameron, 2004, p.240).

Everyone is associated with different groups; from sports to religion, people will always align themselves with others based on certain similarities. In fact, people's social identities are constructed in a number of ways, but it is thought that once social identity is constructed, it is comprised of three basic (universal) factors: *centrality, ingroup ties*, and *ingroup affect* (Cameron, 2004). Due to most individuals' membership in various groups, *centrality* is important in determining which group membership is most salient in certain contexts and how important that group is to the individual. *Ingroup ties* relates to how bound the individual feels to a certain group: their mobility and commitment. *Ingroup affect* centers on the emotional attachment a person feels to a certain social group (Cameron, 2004).

Another related theory is self-categorization theory, which developed out of the many component theories on social identity (Hogg, 2010). Self-categorization theory centers on how people's perceptions of their own social position affects their dynamics with others through actions like stereotyping and their group behaviour (Ellemers, 2010). It describes how the cognitive process of categorization, when applied to oneself, creates a sense of identification with the social category or group and produces the array of behaviors that we associate with group membership: conformity, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, and so forth. Self-categorization developed as part of social identity theory because Tajfel wanted to broach cognitive reasons why people categorize others and then treat them differently in terms of intergroup behaviour; he then collaborated with Turner to look at how people self-define and also self-evaluate as a group member.

Self-categorization theory rests on the notion that human groups are represented as prototypes, which allow us to identify similarities within groups and differences between

them. Prototypes are context dependent. Following from this, self-categorization affects people's feelings toward themselves and others because: "liking becomes depersonalized social attraction. Furthermore, because within one's group there is usually agreement over prototypicality, prototypical members are liked by all, they are popular" (Hogg, 2010, p.5). The way in which influence occurs within groups is by developing certain group traits and then acknowledging leaders within the community based on their fit. Thus, creating a social identity rests not only on the ability to find an appropriate group, but also considerable self-reflection and growth.

Understanding the bridge between the mind and behaviour was behind the development of social identity theory (Ellemers, 2010). Likewise, self-categorization theory attempted to connect the mind, body and emotion. In fact, much work on identity has been done in examining the connection between low *ingroup affect* (and a group's lower societal status), the self-esteem of group members, and their subsequent actions (such as attempts to distance themselves from that group) (Cameron, 2004; Ellemers, 2010). This has been shown to be the case for ethnic minorities who can experience low self-esteem as a result of broader societal lack of acceptance (Lewin, 1948, cited in Cameron, 2004). The after-effect of this ethnic minority phenomenon is that in times of national crisis, people are more likely to distance themselves from a group that could be seen as disdainful or dangerous by the majority group (Cameron, 2004). In fact, Hogg (2010) developed uncertainty-identity theory to add a further emotional component to social identity theory. He proposed that people want to know who they are, understand others and then behave accordingly – by determining a social identity people are able to develop guiding prototypes.

Cornell (1996) has also done considerable work on *intragroup ties* and membership in communities. He found that mobility between groups can be difficult when culture-based "because it involves taking off and putting on a system of interpretation, a conceptual scheme that makes sense of the world and provides strategic guidance within it" (Cornell, 1996, p.274). He is quick to note that mobility between groups is mediated by context (including economic factors), but that there is not just one generic definition of group membership but rather three possible distinctions. Cornell (1996) uses the term communities to distinguish between: *interest, institution* and *culture*. He acknowledges that some people may not be heavily tied to a group in any of these regards, in which case they may have a symbolic community. Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) takes a broader approach to the notion of community and explains it as: "physical, political, social, psychological, historical, linguistic, economic, culture, and spiritual spaces" (p.125). In any case, these researchers all agree that there is mobility in group membership; dependent on many factors and involving clear emotional repercussions.

All migrants have moved between groups, which is not to say that certain membership was rejected, but presumably new membership has been gained. It is, therefore, pivotal to have further discussion on the notion of mobility in social identity. Although some people would argue that it is impossible to move between groups, others would say that groups can be penetrated and are permeable. Ellemers (2010) describes three strategies employed by people who aim to change their social identity: *individual mobility*, in which the person moves to a group with a higher social status and ignores their past group*; social competition*, involving a group employing tactics to outperform others in order to gain a better collective reputation; and *social creativity* for groups who

want to use innovative methods like business tactics to improve their overall social standing. When considering mobility, typically in the pursuit of higher social standing, people clearly have the option of leaving the poorly-looked-upon group in search of a more socially-desirable one or remaining with the initial group but attempting to improve its lot.

There are other reasons for mobility including identity threats such as: categorization threat, wherein an individual does not want to be affiliated with the stereotypical traits of the group, but rather judged as an individual; and acceptance threat, involving a person's rejection by a group for seemingly falling more in line with another (Ellemers, 2010). These changes in group membership (and in its own identity) expose the fluid nature of identity. Individuals will throughout their lives change in terms of: age, occupation and possibly location. It is natural then that not only will self-perception change, but group inclusion as well. As previously stated, self-esteem is highly intertwined with this process of growth – particularly in the context of intergroup contact. Hogg (2010) found that people have a tendency to prefer prototypes related to their ingroups. He defines this as:

> *Ethnocentrism,* the belief that all things ingroup are superior to all things outgroup... Thus, intergroup behaviour is a struggle over the relative status or prestige of one's ingroup, a struggle for positive ingroup distinctiveness and social identity. (p.6)

This is done mainly to increase a group's collective self-esteem and motivation to have increased (positive) group distinctiveness (Cornell, 1996). The notion of uniqueness in comparison with others is critical to understanding intergroup conflict as well, because

in the absence of resource-based conflict, issues often boil down to creating a positive self image of the group. For example, disadvantaged groups strive for improved social standing while advantaged groups seek to remain on top of the social ladder (Ellemers, 2010).

Immigrant identities. Although theories of identity relate to all human beings, there are certainly variations dependent on cultural context. Being an immigrant, in particular, places one in a unique situation because of physical movement's potentially jarring effect on identity. The notion of physical distance affecting identity is crucial to understanding migrant narratives. Tajfel (1970) delved into this when examining the continuity of ethnic and national ties across physical distance – finding that the absence of social structure (like institutions) will lead to weakened identity relations. On the other hand, Cornell (1996) found that when certain groups immigrate to a country, their distinct regional identities can become solidified (and stagnate) as they are classified in a certain way by the receiving society, through stereotyping, for example. It is clear then that theories can present different arguments concerning identity and physical movement, but the reality of the situation depends on the integration of the immigrant, whether that be through proactive choice or broader societal actions leading to their assuming certain identities.

Furthermore, cultural context is crucial in understanding the journey of immigration. The way that groups develop, and the potential mobility (and evolution) within them has already been discussed; however, it is also important to consider how cultural groups can be delineated and defined. Cornell (1996) argues that there is a

certain unique content inherent in each group, which combined with the external circumstances, creates different groups.

In discussing immigration and group identity there are many risks. One could underestimate the role of culture, exaggerate differences between groups or attempt to prescribe solutions rather than describe situations. Some of the groups (or classifications) most commonly associated with immigrant research are: political, ethnic, citizenship and residency. Political groups are not of particular relevance as they concern political outcomes and a certain approach to examining conflict grounded more in institutional interactions and security studies (such as terrorism or human security). With regard to ethnic groups, these are most often determined by blood and ancestry. Cornell (1996) adds that an additional criteria: "... especially in the case of immigrant groups [is] descent from a common homeland" (p.269). This means that individuals may share an ethnicity without actually coming from the same country; for example, children born in Canada to African parents could still claim African ethnicity regardless of their never having lived in an African nation. The final classifications of interest are citizenship and residency. These are highly mobile classifications because they depend on where an individual resides or has resided. For example, it can be assumed that the parents of the children mentioned in the previous explanation would have been citizens of the country from whence they came, and residents in the (new) host country. There is meaning in all of these classifications, and inclusion in groups is highly dependent on one's self-perception as related to affinity, centrality, and so on. Of greatest import for this research study are citizenship and residency, pertaining to the country from which one has come (homeland citizenship) and the one in which one currently lives (residency); for the study of

ethnicity and political groups leads to research involving different central concepts including oppression, power and so on.

It would be easy to comment on a person's choice to leave their homeland without entirely understanding their relationship to the country. For our connection to a country is not limited to the politics of the place; it entails appreciation for the geography, social ties and often formative experiences. Tajfel (1970) distinguished between sentimental and instrumental attachment to a country: the former is when an individual sees himself reflected in the state so it is clearly tied to his personal identity, whereas the latter is where the country can help him achieve his goals and those of others. A person's sentimental attachment to a country will be more closely dictated by continued connections to individuals, or an ongoing conflict. Instrumental attachment after emigration would be more in line with sustained business potential, or educational opportunities. All of this is to say that an individual's level of involvement with their homeland cannot be analyzed through one lens when there is a spectrum of social factors at play.

Intersectionality. At this point, before exploring theories of intersectionality, it may help to provide a brief summary of identity theory. Essentially, social identity theory developed in order to ascertain the importance of groups, while self-categorization theory grew out of this by remarking on the importance of group identity for treatment of self and others (Ellemers, 2010; Hogg, 2010). Subsequently, Cameron proposed a three factor model of identity in order to argue that social identity is comprised of: *centrality, ingroup ties*, and *ingroup affect* (2004). All of these theories are made richer by a consideration for cultural context – and an understanding of citizenship and residency as central to this

research, but not alone in defining a person's identity. In fact, it is inaccurate and unfair to assess a person's group membership based on their homeland ties alone, which may or may not be limited to one group. A parallel can clearly be drawn with the theory of intersectionality, which aims to shift the emphasis on individual identity away from one factor (like gender) and toward a more holistic approach.

Although it is often convenient to target and label an individual based on one salient characteristic, it would be inaccurate to assume that to be the only lens through which they view the world. Cornell (1996) is successful in arguing that group membership affects worldview:

> The more involved our membership in the group - the more of our life that the membership organizes or embraces - the more likely we are to see the world through that particular frame as opposed to any other, and to interpret our circumstances accordingly. (p.278)

Intersectionality is relevant then because it incorporates a variety of worldviews into an understanding of how a person functions in a social context, it can be viewed as a framework. "Intersectionality provides fuller and more complex understandings of people's multiple identities and of experiences with racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and other forms of discrimination" (Falcon, 2009, p.468).

This intersectionality framework provides insight into migrant experiences, not only in terms of homeland conflict but also their post-immigration lives. Rather than judging immigrants who continue to be involved in homeland conflict as desperate or undeserving of Canadian status (see the comments section in Peritz, 2013; Siad, 2013), "Intersectionality leads us to consider the role of social structures on a social problem

rather than remain solely focused on the individual" (Falcon, 2009, p.469). One cannot place blame on an individual for his or her position, without analyzing what factors contributed to getting him or her there.

Further to the discussion above on group mobility (Cornell 1996; Ellemers, 2010; Hogg, 2010), the framework of intersectionality contributes to this pool of knowledge by illustrating how immigrants are often falsely classified as one type. In addition, intersectionality holds as a central tenet that identities are fluid, not static (Falcon, 2009). This fluidity is intimately linked to a need for understanding social categories as a matrix, rather than separate (Kroløkke, 2009). Due to the flexible nature of identity, and all its component parts, it is important to consider how different types of conflict affect people differently once they become Canadian. This also leads to consideration for how people become Canadian – if people carry their past experiences and intersecting identities in unique ways, policy and social structure in the host country (such as Canada) must account for this.

Narrative[8]

The abundance of ways in which identity is constructed can be well-reflected in the variety of forms of self-expression, or narratives. The innermost shell of the conceptual framework is narrative – the form of expression and melting point for all of the concepts. This section covers the cultural aspect of narratives, including communication styles, as well as providing a definition and overview of how narrative is used in this research study.

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[8] Narrative within this literature review relates to its integral role in the conceptual framework, as a theoretical foundation for forms of expression. The next chapter will delve into narrative as a methodological choice.

Culture and narratives. Narrative is a form of human expression, which does not require a singular, absolute truth. Within the realm of narrative, it is important to consider how stories are told and also how they are received. In fact, stories are powerful because they hold the ability to incite discussion, while also providing insight into culture and experience (Lebaron & Pillay, 2006). For this reason, there is a discussion on theories of multicultural communication[9] - owing to the dynamic (interactive) aspect of narratives. In addition, narrative is often constructed in ways that fit with cultural forms of communication hence the importance of evaluating theories on multicultural communication. Forms of expression, and misunderstandings of them, can often lead to conflict – thus, the relevance of this work to the guiding conceptual framework and the study itself.

Although the notion of race is outdated for its troubled past implications of the dehumanization of minority groups, the sentiment that underlies practices of discrimination is still present. It is important, thus, to examine how people engage with each other, based on categories used in social settings. Asante (2009) notes how intricately race is tied to power; however, people's positions in society, power structures and ability to control surrounding situations may be more salient than race in many cases. Communication between individuals (and groups) is not solely determined by one's cultural background, yet that legacy can influence a number of other factors including positions or feelings of authority thus creating a different dynamic. It is clear then that:

Issues that remain to be examined in the field of interracial communication are

issues dealing with the communicating of prejudice, the use of racist signs and

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[9] The term multicultural communication is used to include interracial communication; however, issues with using the word "race" are acknowledged.

symbols in conversation, domestic political language and racial terror, and the

elements of authentic and centered communication in which all communicators

have agency. (Asante, 2009, p.567)

Communicating prejudice, in particular, is an important topic to broach when

examining migrant experiences. There are undoubtedly ways in which language comes

infused with assumptions about superiority and others' backgrounds, so it is crucial to ask

participants what their experiences have been. In a related vein, Mayer (2012) notes that

"One important challenge we face when we find ourselves trying to bridge cultures is to

find the means to exchange our stories" (p.113). Even when people approach each other

with curiosity and without prejudice (to the greatest extent possible), it can still be

difficult to create open forums for expression and genuine dialogue.

In addition to noting how culture can relate to positions of power, thus affecting

communication, much research has also centered on how people express themselves

differently based on their cultural affiliation. Some of the possibilities for differing styles

include: physical proximity between speakers, body language, and speech patterns

(Umbreit & Coates, 2000). The way in which an individual tells his or her story is of

crucial importance – is it centered on oneself, or more focused on a community?

Correspondingly, does the individual use the personal pronoun "I" or "We" when

explaining a story? Consideration for potential differences in cultural communication

creates a better understanding of the participants, aiding not only the analysis component

but also the actual interviews themselves. This research study acknowledges that culture

can lead to communicative differences, but it does not set out to ascribe certain

communication characteristics to specific cultures. In this way, one avoids the potential

pitfalls of overgeneralization, because as Umbreit and Coates (2000) state: "There are as many differences within cultures as between cultures" (p.7).

It is certain that cultural differences in communication patterns exist. Furthermore, culture can also heavily influence perception. In fact, Lebaron and Pillay (2006) expand on this point when they detail an interview conducted with an elderly Chinese man in which the interviewer assumed he had experienced conflict in his life post-immigration to Canada, without considering that "it [was] possible that his way of seeing the world and thinking about his relations led him to pay attention to harmony and the glue of connection rather than discord and conflict episodes" (p.13). Lebaron and Pillay therefore recommend acknowledging that there is variety in perceptions of conflict, and correspondingly, expressions of it by the people engaged in it.

The major points to consider from the literature on narrative thus far are that: 1) culture affects how one communicates, both in production and reception of language and 2) based on this, one must beware of making assumptions that are culturally-embedded. Lebaron and Pillay (2006) summarize this second point well when they state, "We only notice the effect of cultures that are different from our own, attending to behaviors that we label exotic or strange" (p.17). Given the narrative emphasis of this research, due attention was paid throughout the interviews and journal entry analyses to the ways in which the stories were told and the assumptions held. Indubitably, communication is interactive and involves cues from the researcher as well as participants, thus the importance of explicit research observations.

Narrative as self-expression. From the power dynamics inherent in cultural communication to the different styles themselves and the corresponding caution required

when working with them, adequate background has now been provided in order to launch into an examination of narrative itself. Sometimes people will choose to use very personal descriptions, while others will analyze conflict from a birds-eye approach choosing instead to focus on structural components: "One revealing window into how people approach conflict is the narratives they construct to explain their disputes" (Mayer, 2012, p.39). The key point is the interconnected nature of the conflict, individuals' identities and their chosen narratives.

When people speak of narratives, there are a range of possible referents: from stories to summaries, and individuals to groups. Although the objective of this research study is not to make any definitive claims, it is important to have agreed-upon definitions for the sake of clarity. With regard to narrative itself, the term is used to encompass all forms of self-expression that relate to an individual's story or their experiences with groups guided by a theme, time or place.

In addition to an understanding of narratives as being based in individuals' experiences with the world, they are an important form of expression for they incorporate intention and participation (Czarniawska, 2004). They are often understood by a listener in a way different to the speaker's intention, but they inevitably allow people to better grasp their own lives and those of others as we contribute to each other's stories. As Czarniawska (2004) aptly points out, narratives are often co-written with the other participants in a conversation. Stories are never entirely owned by the speaker, and by involving others they become even more open to interpretation. It seems appropriate then that Yin (1984) writes of the objective of research being focused on asking appropriate questions and exploring topics, rather than seeking out any particular answer. This thesis,

likewise, is a preliminary and exploratory look into the impact of conflict in one's homeland on their post-immigration identity, involving ongoing questions and revisions.

Chapter Summary

The intent of this background and literature review is to present a holistic summary of a variety of relevant topics. Thus, this chapter is structured based on the four major concepts from the guiding conceptual framework: context, conflict, identity, and narratives. Through a discussion of these concepts, synthesizing the works of many authors, a picture emerges of the unique social journeys that migrants to Canada face – particularly from countries experiencing manifest conflict.

Although there is literature on the effect of conflict on individuals, as well as work on immigrant experiences there is not often overlap between them. When this does occur, as in work by Richmond (1988) the focus is almost exclusively on the immigrant social group's continued involvement with rebel movements in the homeland and the potentially harmful impact on Canadian society: "Global crises are increasingly reflected in the internal politics of contemporary societies and Canada is not insulated from these events [like the Middle East]" (p.14). The emphasis on Canada's multiculturalism policy and the countries from which participants come is clearly important because they represent a growing demographic within Canadian society – their voices should be heard, and reflected in national discourse.

The review of literature confirmed the utility of the conceptual framework because these concepts do bleed into each other; yet, much of the literature does not explicitly make the link. For instance, literature on conflict often acknowledges that context is important; however, the ways in which culture should be acknowledged are

grey (Mayer, 2012). Similarly, the research on identity while highly developed is at times overly simplistic which can hinder a holistic understanding of individuals' experiences coming from a variety of contexts – confounding national and ethnic identity, for example, or generating theories within the Western paradigm alone (Phinney et al., 2001; Cameron, 2004). This confirms the importance of intersectionality in this research study, particularly given the interrelated nature of all of the concepts: context, conflict, identity and narrative.

This literature review provides a snapshot into a variety of disciplines, rather than providing an in-depth analysis of all major literature from one. This approach was taken in order to assess the utility of the conceptual framework and prepare adequate theoretical foundations before the data collection stage of this thesis. The interdisciplinary literature review is in line then with the research design, which is a multiple case study that involves triangulation of evidence sources – the relational and holistic nature of this thesis is evident in the literature review just as it shines through in the methodology.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology employed during this research study. In the process, the steps taken to best address the central research question will become clear: *how does conflict in the homeland (country of emigration) continue to affect (new) immigrants once in Canada, if at all?* There will be multiple sections in order to describe both the philosophical underpinnings as well as the practical approach. The former is addressed in the research paradigm and design; while the latter is explored in the research methods section, detailing participant sampling and analysis, as well as limitations to this research. Narrative will also briefly be examined as a methodological component, in addition to its inclusion in the previous chapter as a concept (means of expression).

Research Paradigm

This research was initiated in the spirit of genuine desire for inquiry and increased awareness about a specific subpopulation – immigrants to Canada from countries in conflict. Given that this thesis aims to explore people's narratives of conflict and identity, it follows that a qualitative approach was taken. The researcher has elevated the use of narrative as a way of gaining insight into the experiences of this specific subpopulation and the way that the researcher looks at the problem encapsulated in the research question. Narrative enables a deep qualitative analysis into individuals' experiences and thoughts – following an exploratory rather than confirmatory approach (Gelo, Braakman & Benetka, 2008). Narrative then is not only a core concept, but also a methodological tool. Some would argue that narrative is neither a method nor a paradigm (Czarniawska, 2004); in this research it is used to complement the paradigm. It describes a clear style of

communication, but also implies a certain methodological choice which calls into question the reasons behind the research and its use for both the storyteller and the listener. It is therefore supported by the research paradigm of critical inquiry in attempting to create opportunities for individuals to share and reflect on their lives and the social structures that surround them.

The dynamic nature of narratives allows for data collection that respects "how individuals whose experiences are embedded in different languages give an account of themselves; in particular, whether and how they manage their different senses of self" (Burck, 2005, p.252). Thus, the use of narrative was straightforward for this research because of its examination of immigrants from countries in conflict (whose mother tongue is not English); its desire to delve into a deeper level of understanding; and promote critical inquiry. Narrative aids data collection because it allows for examination of a topic, while also expressing participants' own biases, and interpretations – one can come to better understand how thoughts connect to actions through how stories are presented (Czarniawska, 2004). The theories behind narrative approaches to research also indicate an emancipatory element – by sharing participants' stories the researcher aims to expose a variety of truths (Czarniawska, 2004).

An additional intention in pursuing an exploratory approach using narrative was to stimulate empowerment of the parties involved. Creating an environment for people to share their stories openly allows them some relief and can be cathartic, as well as a force for positive social change in some cases (Cloke & Goldsmith, 2000). The clear research paradigm based on these considerations is critical inquiry. Critical inquiry stems from a place of reflection and analysis, but also demands action (Neuman, 1997). It is not

enough, therefore, to conduct research on participants without considering their perspectives and incorporating a holistic picture of the communities and contexts that they interact with.

This research paradigm developed from an understanding of the world as full of inequalities. Research, therefore, should not be solely about objective study of facts but rather a desire to enact change (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). This research was initiated in the hopes that this could serve to provide insight into some of the specific challenges and experiences lived by immigrants to Canada from countries in conflict. This would illuminate which contexts they are coming from, in addition to their perception of the Canadian context – with a new view to its institutions, and support networks in particular. Once again, critical inquiry is appropriate for its conviction that once participants in research have the opportunity for self-reflection and expression, they will be able to enact change, if they deem it appropriate (Neuman, 1997).

As this research is operating from a critical inquiry paradigm, it has been conducted within a subjective framework centered on hearing and appreciating participants' narratives.

Research Design

The research design can be thought of as the executive view of the research itself, the approach to gathering information rather than the actual strategies for gathering it (the research methods). Yin (1984) states, "A research design is the logic that links the data to be collected (and the conclusions to be drawn) to the initial questions of a study" (p.27). There are various approaches one may employ, but in order to be consistent with the line of inquiry this design is qualitative. This is appropriate given that the research

does not aim to find a definitive solution to a problem, or create an objective standard – rather, it is exploratory in nature (Gelo, Braakmann & Benetka, 2008).

More specifically, the research design is a case study design, as determined by the nature and focus of this research (Yin, 1984). In order to justify this design, one can consider the following statement: "In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (Yin, 1984, p.13). In fact, this justification also serves to define what case study research entails: dissection of a topic within context, and the incorporation of multiple sources through a qualitative lens.

Although criticism of case study methods exists for the lack of external validity of results, it is possible to address this, to a certain degree, through the inclusion of narratives from at least two participants through multiple methods (ensuring triangulation of results) and meticulous documentation of the research process (McDavid, Huse & Hawthorn, 2013). The multiple case study method is also important for improving construct validity, as it ensures that multiple sources are basically used as measures of the same topic under study (Yin, 1984). Thus, this is a multiple case study design, embedded because the outcomes will be examined for each individual participant from both verbal and written input, and then emergent themes will be addressed (Yin, 1984).

Case studies are beneficial as they appeal to a wide audience "simply because we can relate to the experiences of individuals more readily than we can understand the aggregated/summarized experiences of many" (McDavid, Huse & Hawthorn, 2013, p.219). As evidenced in the guiding conceptual framework, there are many concepts at

play in this research, all highly intertwined and related to emotional outcomes. The sensitive nature of this research lends itself well to qualitative research, and thus an enhanced opportunity to empathize with participants. By limiting this design to four case studies, one can come to better understand the context of each participant in more depth (through a more elaborate data collection process), while also clearly determining similarities and differences between narratives.

Research Methods

While the research paradigm provides insight into the direction of the research study and the design is the connection between the data and topic, the research methods are the techniques used while collecting the data and subsequently analysing it (McDavid, Huse & Hawthorn, 2013). In the case of this research study, all methods are qualitative: "seeking to collect data in an exploratory and unstructured way, and seeking to capture descriptive, rich, and in-depth accounts of experiences" (McDavid, Huse & Hawthorn, 2013, p.198). The particular methods used include: a literature review, written reflective journals and semi-structured individual interviews. The literature review provides the theoretical foundation for the research study, while the interviews and journals comprise the participant-centered substance. All of the methods used in this thesis aim to facilitate an ability for participants to share thoughts and feelings, without fear of consequences (Czarniawska, 2004).

With consideration for the research paradigm and design, it follows that the methods were chosen in order to facilitate a relational approach to gathering data from participants. A purposeful decision was made at the inception of this research study to include fewer participants, but to elicit more data from each. Although only four

individuals were involved in this research, two interviews were conducted with each participant and two reflective journal entries were gathered from all participants but one.

Unfortunately, the Turkish male was not able to provide a second reflective journal entry. Although the researcher made numerous follow-up attempts, he did not respond. This led the researcher to assume that he left the country; he had indicated that he might be travelling in the spring. The omission of this second reflective journal entry did not affect the overall research study as sufficient themes and linkages clearly emerged from the other data collected from this participant.

The motivation behind the lengthy data collection process with each individual (outlined above) was to establish a trusting relationship and to create an interactive dynamic in which participants would feel more comfortable asking their own questions, and having further opportunity for reflection; as well as allowing the researcher additional insight into their perspectives. The result was fairly strong relationships between the researcher and participants, as evidenced by frankness in the discussions and overall comfort levels.

Participants. Four participants were involved in this research; the small sample size can be explained through the actual research process and the characteristics of participants. Specifically, each individual was interviewed twice and was asked to write two reflective journal entries – a fairly substantive amount of data; as well, two participants were chosen from Israel and two from Turkey, one male and one female from each. Thus, there was consistency in the data across gender and homeland citizenship, with all participants being current residents of Canada. Participant recruitment was based primarily on individuals having lived in (and been citizens of)

Turkey or Israel. As stated in the literature review, the emphasis of this work is on the permeability of citizenship and residency, not ethnicity or political ties. Thus, criteria for selecting participants included: being raised in Turkey or Israel, moving to Canada post-high school (or after age 14), being under the age of 40, and having immigrated to Canada within the past 15 years. The criteria revolving around age was set because age is an important variable in immigration; children are more quickly able to adapt both linguistically and socially to the new culture since less desocialisation needs to occur (Richmond, 1988; Phinney et al, 2001). The researcher did not want participants who had permanently immigrated to Canada as children, since their perspectives would be different to those of teenagers and young adults, who would ostensibly have had a more difficult (and memorable) transition. Gender was represented equally by both Turkish and Israeli participants, and the age range of participants was between 23 and 33 years of age.

Participant recruitment. A number of recruitment methods were used for this research: putting up posters around Ottawa and Toronto (including at university campuses and restaurants), placing advertisements online, and social networking. The most successful method of recruitment was the last; information about this research study was shared with a variety of individuals, who then proceeded to suggest participation to others. In the process, recruitment posters and scripts were distributed to ensure that all potential participants were aware of what the research would entail (see Appendix A and B for further detail). Due to the recruitment methods there were some ethical considerations about the participant-researcher relationship; however, the researcher maintained confidentiality and anonymity with no deception or potential for power-over. It was the participants' choice whether to inform others of their participation. Approval

for this research was granted by the University of Victoria's Human Research Ethics

Board, which required in-depth consideration for participants; benefits of this research

and potential harms; data collection, maintenance and disposal and so on. It also involved

the creation of a number of forms, including a participant consent form to ensure that

participants were fully aware of their role and rights. To see the latest version, with

underlines indicating the modifications made to allow for recruitment in Toronto, please

view Appendix C.

Subsequent to the dissemination of approved posters and communiqués, all

interactions with potential participants was done via e-mail, with the Turkish participants

confirming their consent prior to the selection of Israeli participants. Although the

recruitment of Turkish participants occurred fairly rapidly in Ottawa[10], within two weeks

of distributing recruitment material and finalized by the end of February 2014; it was

difficult to find Israeli participants. Unfortunately, the participant pool for Israelis in

Ottawa (meeting all criteria) proved to be extremely limited, hence the need to expand

recruitment to Toronto as well – a much larger city, with an established Israeli

community[11]. For this reason, a modification to the Ethics application was submitted in

order to allow for recruitment in Toronto too. Further information about the difficulties

encountered when recruiting Israelis are discussed in chapter six. Approval for the

modification to the Ethics application was granted in April 2014, and data collection with

Israelis was conducted in Toronto in May 2014. Both Ottawa and Toronto were

appropriate locations for participant recruitment because participants' experiences

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[10] According to Canadian census data collected in 2011 there are 3,275 Turks in Ottawa – a fair sized population. For further information please see: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/index-eng.cfm

[11] The same census indicated that there were 9, 250 Israelis in Ontario with 7, 625 residing in Toronto and 385 in Ottawa.

represent immigration to the main destinations in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013).

Research Procedure

Interviews. Each participant was interviewed twice. An audio-recording device was used with the audio later being transcribed into a Microsoft Word file. The first interview served as an introduction, and an opportunity to establish facts about the participant's immigration journey. The second (and last) interview functioned as a way to wrap up what had been discussed, including an exploration of any unresolved subject matter. The same interview guide was used for all participants, but because the research paradigm chosen was critical inquiry the interviews were more conversational than standardized interviews. This was also the reason behind the use of semi-structured interviews, which involve the use of open-ended questions but also flexibility in adding or deleting questions as appropriate for each participant (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This resulted in further probing and clarifying questions being asked, specific to each participant's unique history. There were also occasions in which participants engaged with the researcher about her personal connection with the subject material. All narratives presented by the researcher which could have impacted the subsequent discussion are included within chapter six. This documentation served to make explicit the links between the participants' narratives and the researcher's contributions.

The participants' engagement with the researcher clearly indicates that interviews do not entail the uneven power dynamic that some may assume - not only do the interviewees have the opportunity to share their thoughts on certain subjects; they are also able to explore another's perspective, the researcher (Czarniawska, 2004). These

exchanges also indicate that the relational aspect of research, as intended through the research design and theoretical underpinnings, was achieved.

For further clarification about the standardized interview questions, please see Appendix D – the sample Turkish interview guide. The interviews also involved an assessment of individual participant conflict-handling style as measured through the Thomas Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (TKI). The TKI was used during the first interview session, in order to provide further details for examination in the second interview.

Thomas Kilmann Instrument. The TKI is the most commonly-used instrument for analysis of conflict-handling style, as derived from Blake and Mouton's Dual Concerns Model – a classification of conflict-handling behaviour based in higher concern for "self" or "other" (Shell, 2001; Womack, 1988). Conflict- handling style as defined by the TKI is measured along the two dimensions of assertiveness and cooperativeness, with the former involving a focus on "self" and the latter, "other." The participant is expected to look at thirty pairs of statements (sixty, in all) and choose one from each pair that is most applicable to them. There are thirty final answer statements. These are then assessed, based on the two aforementioned dimensions. This results in a ranking involving the five possible conflict-handling modes: collaborating, compromising, competing, accommodating, and avoiding (Sloan & Chicanot, 2009; Womack, 1988). This can be seen in Figure 2, below.

Figure 2:TKI Modes and Dimensions

ASSERTIVE

ASSERTIVENESS

UNASSERTIVE

COMPETING

COLLABORATING

COMPROMISING

AVOIDING

ACCOMMODATING

UNCOOPERATIVE ← → COOPERATIVE
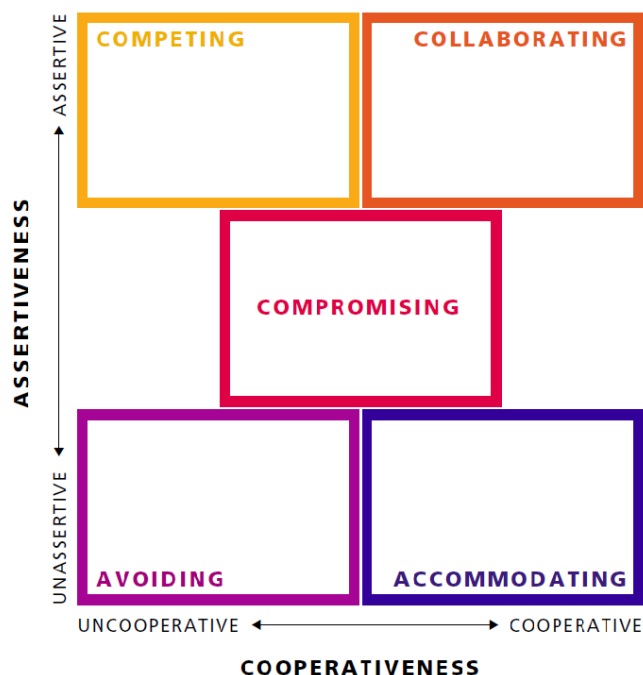
COOPERATIVENESS

12

The competition mode entails high assertiveness, but low cooperativeness – a position in which the individual aims to benefit. This is akin to Mayer's (2012) allusion to distributive problem solving. Collaboration is high on both dimensions; the person seeks a mutually beneficial agreement or resolution – similar to Mayer's (2012) integrative approach to problem solving. Compromise seems similar, but it is lower on both dimensions because the final agreement does not leave either party entirely satisfied. Accommodation occurs at the other end of the spectrum to competition because the individual is cooperative, but not assertive in the slightest – resulting in a lack of consideration for self-gain. The final mode is avoidance, which is low on both assertiveness and cooperativeness because the person would rather not engage in the conflict at all regardless of their needs or that of the other participants (Sloan & Chicanot,

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[12] Image comes from OPP Limited, 2014: http://www.opp.com/en/tools/tki#.U3tgVNJdWSo

2009; Womack, 1988). The final result of the TKI, then, is not one mode but rather a ranking, indicating how a person has scored for all five modes. This is important as it recognizes that people are multi-faceted and will react differently, depending on the situation and that there are additional factors of influence such as experience, and the nature of the conflict itself.

There are a number of benefits to the use of the TKI, including: ease of use, clarity, applicability across contexts, facilitation of self-reflection, and ability to account for social-desirability bias (Mayer, 2012; Shell, 2001). The assessment is used as a diagnostic, but not as a conclusive measure. Knowledge about one's conflict-handling style enables one to better analyze discrepancies in terms of goals and expectations in conflict, and actions typically taken – this knowledge provides participants with strategies for the future, and the researcher with further themes for study.

Reflective journals. All participants wrote a journal entry following each interview[13] to help them reflect on process, their participation experience; and content, their experiences of immigration as described in their narrative. The participants submitted the first journal entry via e-mail to the researcher in advance of the second interview, which built upon reflections written in the journals, while also being guided by the conceptual framework (and TKI results). The journals, then, functioned as a key component of the research process as they allowed for participants to express themselves in an honest manner in writing (in addition to the verbal interviews). Based on the literature review, it should then be evident why reflective journaling is a key component of this research. For as Lebaron and Pillay (2006) write: "Cultural understanding therefore begins with each of

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[13] As indicated earlier, the only exception is the Turkish male who did not submit a second reflective journal entry.

us committing to a process of increasing self-awareness, curious observation, ongoing reflection, and dialogue with others" (p.55).

The participants were (ideally) left with an ability to better self-reflect, which can lead to deeper learning in a variety of contexts and a sense of increased confidence when discussing these topics with others (Daudelin, 1996). This journaling component was crucial as participants' first language is not English; therefore, the opportunity to tell their stories verbally and in writing allowed for greater ease of expression acknowledging that some participants would be more comfortable with written English and vice versa for others. It should be noted that all research was conducted in English, although at times participants would use terms or expressions in their native tongues like *kibbutz* or *kashrut*. The researcher asked for clarification on a limited number of occasions, mainly to provide a fuller description of the participants' intended meaning and decrease the potential for subsequent misinterpretation.

Transcription. Given that the research methods and analysis do not lead to conversation analysis, but rather a focus on the participants' narratives, the nature of the transcription is decentralized – capturing the content of the dialogue without emphasizing the speech acts themselves, such as pauses (Oliver, Serovich & Mason, 2005). An audio-recording device was used to capture all of the interviews, which were subsequently manually transcribed by the researcher onto the computer. Participants' mother tongue is not English; therefore, there were often grammatical errors in both speech and writing. After considerable reflection, the researcher determined that participants' unique speech patterns should be maintained in writing rather than standardized (Oliver, Serovich &

Mason, 2005). Participants were offered the opportunity to review their respective

transcripts; however, none of them did.

Data Analysis

The process of this research is highly iterative, as are the narratives which form

the substance of it. Participants' narratives are not meant to be static. They are constantly

evolving depending on the questions asked, but on every step along the way they reveal

insight into the singular experience of an immigrant to Canada – feelings, and

perspectives that many people can relate to. As the conceptual framework illustrates,

context encapsulates identity, conflict and narrative; thus, narratives were subject to

change depending on external factors including stress levels, proximity to travel and so

on. The journals served to clarify any inconsistencies by creating continuity between the

interviews in terms of the ability to verify whether opinions remained the same.

Due to the flexible nature of this inquiry, it is clear that analysis could be conducted

in a number of ways. McDavid, Huse and Hawthorn (2013) suggest that when beginning

the analysis phase of any research it is crucial to be clear about the initial research

questions, and determine early on how transcription and coding will occur. This requires

a sound understanding of, and justification for, categories (units) of analysis – words,

phrases, or general themes.

The approach to analysis for these case studies was inductive, in line with much

qualitative research, allowing the themes to emerge from the data. This method of

seeking out relationships and patterns also relates to subjective notions of meaning within

the research (Schutt, 2009). This inductive approach involved content analysis

specifically, examining how identity is created through choice language usage – relating

back to the conceptual framework with its interplay of context, conflict, identity, and

narrative (Bowen & Bowen, 2008). The analyses occurred within each case study, and

following that emergent themes and points of interest between case studies were also

noted. In line with qualitative analysis and its consideration for context, analysis was

conducted for each individual participant taking into account their history, their opinions,

as well as the researcher's comments (Schutt, 2009).

With regard to the individual case studies, in order to accurately write the results, the

researcher decided to categorize participant data into charts corresponding to

standardized themes and subthemes in line with thematic concept mapping (Yin, 1984).

The researcher first read through transcripts with each participant, underlining main

themes and also taking summary notes. Once this was complete, a chart was created

which was divided into four columns to correspond with the guiding concepts (the

themes), which were clearly the most salient for all participants. The information was

then classified into subthemes, which were subsequently plotted into the chart. The

researcher then wrote chapter four in order of the data collection process – beginning

with the Turks and ending with the Israelis.

The process for determining themes of relevance involved numerous readings of all

documents (transcripts, journals and TKI results), and then noting down emergent themes

for each participant based on certain signifiers for coding the data. In fact, certain

questions typically corresponded to certain themes – as they had been crafted according

to the conceptual framework. For this reason, themes and subthemes which emerged were

consistent across participants, even though their specific opinions diverged. After these

steps, all documents were re-read in order to seek out alternative themes; this process ensured that the chosen themes were justified.

Once the individual case studies had been coded, the researcher examined emergent themes. Using the guiding conceptual framework as a starting point, the researcher divided all of the data into the corresponding four major themes: context, conflict, identity and narrative. After this point, the researcher analyzed the subthemes identified for the write-up in chapter four. The analysis was conducted subtheme by subtheme through identification of common trends in participants' comments. The charts created for writing chapter four, were used as the main tool in noting emergent patterns between participants and participant subgroups (such as introverts/extroverts or Turks/Israelis). This emergent thematic analysis corresponds with chapter five.

Finally, the researcher's opinions are crucial in many types of qualitative analysis as they reveal "the assumptions he makes about how the data and their environment interact" (Krippendorff, 1980, p.27). The researcher must therefore maintain in-depth notes of her perspectives, as this makes clear the rationale behind the analysis, as well as possible researcher influence in the participants' narratives. The researcher was careful to note down her interactions throughout this research, including any personal comments made during the interviews. These are all shared in chapter six.

Limitations

There were a number of limitations to this research study. To begin with, the qualitative nature of the work, while allowing for an in-depth examination of the participants, resulted in certain difficulties in terms of reliability and validity. Were this research to be conducted on a larger scale, it may have led to an improved capacity for

external validity – assurance that these results could be applied in other situations (Yin, 1984). However, the aim of this research, exploratory case studies in particular, is not to write up definitive, causal findings. In fact, one way to deal with validity problems is by employing case study methods. This can be done to improve construct validity through additional sources of information about the same issue; and tackle external validity by using the same interview guide with different cases, for example (Yin, 1984). With that in mind, it is clear that with such a small sample size the results cannot be representative of the entire population of Israelis or Turks who have immigrated to Ottawa or Toronto. In any case, the centrality of intersectionality theory to this thesis should indicate that the research was more intent on examining individual cases than making sweeping generalizations, for each person is comprised of a number of identity markers and lives in a variety of social contexts.

An additional limitation to this type of qualitative research is that the findings are dependent on the researcher's interpretation. Subjectivity can result in difficulty when interpreting results in any case, but in this case the participants' native tongues were not English so linguistic and cultural barriers could also have increased ambiguity. One way to combat this problem is through documentation of the process, for example explanations of how the conceptual framework was created, which questions were asked and how coding was done. In this way, reliability can be increased because another researcher could follow the same procedure regardless of the subjective, qualitative nature of this research (Yin, 1984).

Similarly, a further limitation regarding the participants was that the recruitment process did not account for ethnic and power differentials. To be precise, all of the

participants were from the dominant ethnic groups in their respective countries, and all

four came from a higher socioeconomic class and had received higher education. Their

experiences with conflict in their respective homelands are coloured by their place in that

society. Without discounting the experiences of any of the participants, it is certain that

had they come from low socioeconomic or uneducated backgrounds they probably would

have experienced conflict in significantly different ways. As Richmond (1988) states,

"Ethnic politics are also class politics" (p.17). By omitting a discussion on ethnicity and

its role in the continued effect of conflict, this thesis has also inevitably left out the

dimension of socioeconomic class.

Two additional limitations to this research study relate to time constraints. The

researcher moved provinces twice in the course of conducting this research, which added

strains on the recruitment process. A very short timeline emerged as a result of

circumstances that led to difficulty with keeping abreast of all of the current research

regarding these topics of immigration, countries in conflict and so on. The researcher

acknowledges that certain publications were released in recent months that were highly

related to this research study, but were not incorporated into it.[14] This was also reflected

in the very brief discussion on the current political context in Turkey and Israel – a

limitation centered on the lack of in-depth media analysis, even though participants were

willing to discuss its relationship with their identities and homeland conflicts.

Chapter Summary

This chapter clarified the qualitative methodology considered and used in this research

study. The guiding paradigm of critical inquiry aided in determining the case study

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[14] Refer to the Mosaic Institute's 2014 report published for the Kanishka Project, as funded by Public Safety
Canada. Please see: http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/#!imported-conflict-study/c25e

research method, as this research is as much about exploring the concepts of conflict and identity as it is an opportunity for individuals to express their narratives with a light to further reflection and future change. The details of the data collection and analysis were provided, regarding the participant selection, interview and journaling components.

  The central research question aims to determine whether and how immigrants may continue to be affected by conflict once in Canada; by its very nature it entails methodological choices that are qualitative with consideration for social structures and dynamics. For this reason, critical inquiry is the clear paradigm: aimed at helping people to reflect on their own situations and then make changes if necessary (Neuman, 1997). These philosophical underpinnings are manifested through a multiple case study design which allows for the same topic to be examined from a variety of perspectives, across certain consistent identity markers (namely homeland citizenship, gender and level of education). Triangulation of results is promoted not only through the participation of a variety of individuals, but also through different methods – participants' stories are shared both in writing and orally.

      The data collection process with each individual was lengthy, because of the researcher's intention of developing a relationship with each participant – in keeping with the paradigm and purpose of this relational research study. Thus, the small sample size was justified by the elaborate research process, aiming to build trust and delve deep into individuals' experiences. This affected validity and reliability, particularly external validity; however, the research was designed to make up for these limitations through detailed documentation of process, including researcher bias, and the inclusion of multiple case studies. Considering what is mentioned above, it should be clear that the

methodological route chosen is defensible, and clearly paves the way for examining the research question, while also being congruent with the theories promoted through the conceptual framework. The interdependent nature of the theories and methods chosen for this research study support the data collected from participants in the hopes of answering the research question. This has broader implications for the use of narrative in research studies on immigrant subpopulations, because it indicates that there is a certain willingness to share stories (data) given the right conditions. Thus, the justification for the researcher's choices of methodology and concepts should be kept in mind while reading through the next few chapters which are centered on participants' data.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter provides the results of the interviews and reflective journal entries conducted with two Turkish adults, one male and one female, as well as two Israeli adults, one male and one female. A brief introductory background is first provided for the individuals before describing their perspectives on issues related to the main research question of this thesis: *how does conflict in the homeland (country of emigration) continue to affect (new) immigrants once in Canada, if at all?* Each participant's data are shared according to the guiding conceptual framework for this research: context, conflict, identity and narrative.

It should be noted that although these results are attributed to individuals, their views are considered to represent their homelands for the purposes of this thesis, in the sense that they are 'homeland-indicative'. While individual participant opinions are not necessarily generalizable, they are indicative of some perspectives of individuals from Turkey and Israel. In a similar vein, whenever social groups are discussed this also has implications for notions of representation within identity. For example, a participant's rejection of her homeland's social identity may be paralleled with a desire to distance herself from having her identity be represented by that group and vice versa.

Participant 1 - S

S is a Turkish female in her mid 20s, who is currently working and studying in Ottawa. She had lived in Canada briefly when she was younger, prior to moving here as an adult in 2012. Her impetus for moving to Canada was related to her father's position as an academic. Her immediate family is currently in Canada, but her extended family are

all in Turkey. She was keen to discuss her outlooks, particularly with regard to the media and identity.

Context. S discussed the Canadian context and the journey of immigration to Canada through links to identity and conflict. As described in the introduction to the conceptual framework, context will have a bearing on the other concepts because they are couched in it. S was able to describe her homeland, Turkey, as well as Canada, with a local's ease as she sees herself as a citizen of both. When first asked to talk about Turkey, S turned immediately to its natural beauty, historical sites, food and people. She spoke about getting homesick, but also acknowledging that she chose to come to Canada, she *"wasn't forced to"*. In fact, S was keen to emphasize that although her father *"is just here temporarily doing research, he will be going back"*, she plans to stay here and continue her studies. As she made clear throughout both interviews and reflective journals, she views Canada as a land of opportunity in terms of education and her career trajectory.

As S is a university student, her perspectives were grounded in student life. When the conversation turned toward immigration, she provided advice about how Canadian society should be supporting newcomers. While speaking of the need for social supports for immigrants to Canada, she did so within the context of the education system: language training and counselling. S also talked about training Canadians to be inclusive of others: *"Canadian students should be educated about that as well – that they need to respect the other"*. In this case, she was referring to her own experiences having immigrated to Canada as a student and, at times, being made to feel different when she felt that she belonged here. S believes that in addition to programs which target newcomers to Canada, like language learning, services should also exist for Canadians to

partake in too. To be clear, S did not elaborate on exactly how the logistics of programs or policy would work, but she made it clear that providing ESL is not enough.

Programs that exist at present mainly target how to change newcomers, without considering how Canadians will, in turn, need to adapt to the increased immigrant presence. Immigration affects everyone. Similar to Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) notion of the need for relationships and not individuals to be exalted in society, S believes that Canadians and immigrants must participate in programs together. S was adamant on the notion of respect being crucial to effective integration of newcomers.

By virtue of her having immigrated here as a student, it is clear that her experiences as a young person coloured her perspectives on both countries and immigration. S shared an insightful anecdote about having moved here and taken courses like ESL, which did not allow for social growth. She explained how things changed when:

> *The second term I had gym class and people, even though I didn't talk to them people came to understand me. They were observing me and then they came to talk to me. I didn't have to make that effort to make friends. There should be more social focus [on integrating newcomers].*

Through her own history as an immigrant to Canada, S was able to describe the social context she encountered and also speak to the cultural context she left behind – which will now be explored through the concept of conflict.

Conflict. Many of the comments S provided on conflict delved into specific subthemes, which will be examined in the next chapter in the overall thematic analysis. It is important to note, though, that she consistently referred to conflict as being natural and

omnipresent, but problematic when oversimplified or attributed to only one culture. She

expressed that conflict is felt when there is physical danger, not words *"being thrown"*[15].

For this reason, Turkey is not a country in conflict yet Palestine is. In fact, she was clear

that *"conflicts should be there because people think and have to question and think where*

they belong". It is not the disagreement which is problematic, but rather the nature in

which people engage with it.

S has a number of views on conflict, in broad terms as well as country-specific.

The concept of conflict was discussed in terms of the media's exaggeration of conflict,

the role of culture and finally perceived solutions. Although the initial aim of the research

was to tease out how the homeland conflict continues to affect participants, S stated: *"I*

don't think there is any conflict [in Turkey]". In the second interview, she continued in

this vein by stating that although there was real conflict in the 1980s, at present it is just

words – no action. Of interest was her persistent denial of any major conflict in Turkey,

but her simultaneous ability to speak to conflicts as perceived by others (including

Canadians, Turks and the media). S was consistent in her opinions of Turkish conflict,

maintaining throughout the interviews and journals that the conflicts perceived were

mainly exaggerated by foreign media. This was explicitly stated in both interviews in

phrasing like: *"I believe that the people from outside make it [sic] conflict in Turkey due*

to its geographical condition in the [sic] part of the world". In terms of concrete

examples of conflict, in both interviews she raised the Gezi Park Protests of 2013 and

follow-up in 2014[16], while in the second interview she also brought up the current

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[15] The participant is most likely translating directly from the Turkish expression: *laf atmak.* Taken literally it
means "to throw words", but figuratively it can roughly be taken as hurling insults or rude remarks.

[16] For media coverage please see articles like: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26526198

conflict between the Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and the leader of the Hizmet movement, Fethullah Gulen.[17] She explained that the conflicts which do exist are confusing rather than reducible to a simple explanation; S noted that although both Erdogan and Gulen are of the same religion and educated, there is still conflict.

It became clear that although on multiple occasions she said there was no conflict in Turkey, she was able to cite examples of perceived conflicts (as referenced above). Her steadfast opinion on the lack of conflict in Turkey has affected how she interacts with Canadians when the topic arises. In fact, she likes to discuss these issues with Canadians in order to clarify that although the media presents one story, there is another side. In this vein, S's comments on Canadians' perceptions of Turkish conflict were of interest: it is not that Canadians are ignorant; it is that they are misinformed by the media. As she explained,

I like them [Canadians] to ask about it [Turkey] rather than seeing the news only. So if they ask me and I say there's not that much [of a] problem, of course there's [a] problem but not as big as the media presents.

Rather than accepting that the media provide people with their opinions, she was clear that it is through dialogue that misconceptions can be reduced. Even in her analysis of the conflict between Gulen and the Prime Minister she asked: *"both sides, what's wrong with them? Why don't they understand? They're looking like tunnel vision"*. Her stance on conflict in general (and the issues in Turkey) is that it must be met with open dialogue because she sees the media as providing *"false news... because they are not always free of bias"*. Whether real or perceived it is clear that the conflicts in Turkey

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17 For a concise overview further to that in the literature review please see: http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/01/akp-gulen-conflict-guide.html#

continue to resonate with S through her desire to inform others, and make them question what they hear. She is proud of her background, and wants to present the country in a good light.

With regard to solutions to conflict, S showed evolution over the course of the research process. To begin with, she felt that education would end all conflict but over time (through the interviews and subsequent family discussions) she came to realize that it has more to do with ego and the principles one holds to be true. This is in line with her views on conflict more broadly – she asserted that conflict is not necessarily a problem, because it can be natural. Comparing Canada and Turkey, S pointed out:

Actually Turkey is also multicultural like Canada as well so there could be and should be difference. That's the charming point actually. The problem is how we perceive those charming points.

The point to be addressed then is not so much the conflict itself, but how it should be handled.

Identity. Although the discussion on conflict and identity are highly intertwined, there are certainly aspects of S's narrative which are identity-specific. Throughout the interviews and journals there was considerable discussion on both individual and social identities. S was adamant throughout all stages of data collection that she feels both Canadian and Turkish. Her identity is constructed of many parts, including her language, ethnicity and present location. For these reasons she disagrees with the notion of choosing one identity, particularly when speaking of citizenship: *"I don't need to say I'm just Turkish or Canadian."* Identity is fluid, and mitigated by personality factors. So, when people have tried to box her into one construct in the past, she rejected the assertion

because she felt confident enough to do so. S shared an anecdote that highlights this: her father moved the family to Canada when she was in grade 10, but then she went back to Turkey for grade 11 at which point some people started calling her "Canadian" as if to imply that she was no longer Turkish. She would respond with humour, emphasizing that they were talking in Turkish the whole time – not a particularly Canadian behaviour.

When faced with a discussion about what constitutes Canadian identity, she was quick to note a perceived change in attitudes toward the inclusion of immigrants in society: *"Before it was like you can't be Canadian, but now they say you have to be Canadian?"* Clearly, the choice between one citizenship and the other was a false dichotomy for S. She highlighted the importance of intersecting identities when she spoke of education and work being important in Canada but culture and friends keeping her grounded in Turkey.

Overall, her values are integral to her identity and she believes that her *"values are the same [after moving]"*. In her first journal she expanded on this thought by highlighting respect as the most important human value, in order to prevent future conflict. In fact, she pointed out:

> *In Turkey, I can see that there are lots of people who love to be in conflict...I can't relate myself to those people. The way I do is the way I believe, like my religion. My life philosophy is like that.*

She does not see that conflict-driven behaviour as typical of Turks, but she does see it as against her own life philosophy and that of her religion. Upon explaining her individual identity, she clarified that she is driven by her social group's life philosophy and this has, in many ways, impacted upon how she interacts with others: open

mindedness to people from different backgrounds, and interest in hearing multiple perspectives but always avoiding conflict.

This conflict avoidance can be seen in her TKI results too, which showed a tendency toward avoidant behaviour. Her justification for the results was that she would rather engage only in situations where people may be swayed. An example of this is her commenting on a friend's social media page when she disagreed with the comments (related to a Turkish political conflict). Although high on avoiding and accommodating, under this circumstance she did not want the other's opinion to take precedence because she felt it misrepresented their social group. Her social identity caused her to act against her typical individual behaviour, but still in line with her baseline value of respect for others.

Narrative. Narrative is the way in which experiences are packaged. As outlined in the methodology and literature review, there were various benefits to utilizing both oral and written means of gathering data from participants. Although S did not speak to the utility of sharing narratives in her interviews, she felt comfortable sharing her perceptions of the value of narratives specifically when she wrote in her journal. She outlined the utility of sharing narratives as they can allow one to better understand one's own personal worldview. In her case, she felt that the interviews were a good opportunity for her to reflect on her relationship with conflict in general. Interestingly, she also wrote about how the interview (and narrative stream) had afforded her the chance to reflect on her own relationship with Turkey and thoughts about human nature. Thus, the interviews were an opportunity to express thoughts casually while the journal allowed for the formal articulation of thoughts she had reflected on post-interview.

Participant 2 – Z

Z is a Turkish male in his late 20s, who is working as an academic in Ottawa. He moved to Canada in 2012. He chose to move to Canada because of the academic opportunities afforded (to) him here. His family all remain in Turkey. He was particularly interested in conflict from a philosophical perspective – as it relates to identity.

Context. Z considers Turkey his homeland and consistently described it in terms of its conflict throughout the entire data collection process. When asked to describe Turkey, Z began with geography (the big seas, for example) and quickly turned to culture. He focused almost exclusively on the citizens on Turkey – first saying, *"I love people in Turkey"* before then detailing behaviourisms and common characteristics. He outlined how he views Canadian and Turkish cultures differently. In fact, Z was consistent in his description of Turkey being populated by people who lack open mindedness, and have an inherent tendency toward disputes. He even stated in his reflective journal that *"my main point was to discuss the source of the conflict in my home country, Turkiye [sic]"*. Thus, his description of Turkey and Turks clearly involves variety. Reflecting on his own experiences, friends, and family, he shared positive thoughts but upon turning to the population at large his thoughts became more critical because *"people in Turkey does [sic] not care what you think"*.

In the first interview, Z spoke more broadly about his experiences in Turkey, while the second interview narrowed in on his time studying and working at a university in Turkey. This educational context is crucial, because it informs his views – having studied and worked at universities for roughly a decade. This also ties into his views on immigration and which supports should be provided to migrants. By virtue of his having moved to Canada after working at a private university and his current position at a

university, he felt ill-prepared to comment on immigration to Canada and support systems; he seemed to see himself as an outlier. He explicitly stated, *"I'm not an expert on this [sic] psychological and educational things"* – distancing himself from immigrants who move to Canada from countries in conflict specifically.

Z acknowledged that there should be services in Canada which cater to immigrants from countries with considerable violence. The one idea he mentioned multiple times was counselling, which he felt "*would be good for those people, but I don't think it's a necessity"*. He also noted that immigrants should not be classified according to their previous citizenships because *"Canada is promoting living together, and it will oppose that idea, it will contradict with [sic] that idea".* Z's philosophy on immigration to Canada directly connects to John Ralston Saul (2008) in that Canada's immigration policy is about inviting individuals to join a new family, irrespective of homeland citizenship but conscious of common values. Descriptions of Canada throughout the interviews reflect Z's fixation with Canada as a country which teaches a *"certain mentality"* that he sees as productive and logical, namely open-mindedness.

Conflict. Z acknowledged that conflict can take many forms including *latent* and *manifest*, and he spoke about conflict on various levels: ideological, personal and cultural. In describing conflict in Turkey, it should be noted that he appeared to break it down into two categories: interpersonal and political. Of interest, is that he felt that conflict never stood out to him while he was living there, it was only once he left that he realized how much tension there was. Z stated, in a reminiscent way that while in Turkey *"everything was sugar coated. Everything was perfect."* It is only after having lived in a

"freer environment you realize that it's not normal" to have so much conflict with others.

In terms of the interpersonal conflict, Z noted that it appears that a large number of Turkish *"people do not accept different ideas"*. It is this difficulty with dialogue and open mindedness, which he believes then leads to more political conflicts. The main political conflict which he alluded to was in the second interview, the clash of secular and Islamic ideologies in Turkey. Even in these cases, he acknowledged that the core of the problem is that conflict is everywhere – it is related to attitudes toward other humans. He stated that, *"In that conflict, both parties are acting not correct, acting false"* – rather than one side being perceived as righteous, Z notes that both parties' behaviour is problematic irrespective of their ideologies.

Z liked to compare people in Turkey and Canada, and this often resulted in a discussion about conflict-handling styles – believing Turks to be competitive, and Canadians to be more avoidant (or accepting). In fact, he wrote in his reflective journal that *"I believe if people in Turkiye [sic] were as open minded as Canadian people, there might not be conflicts at this extend [sic]"*. His belief is that it is the "nice" and "open minded" nature of Canadians, which prevents conflict in Canada. In fact, he stated on multiple occasions that he is not aware of any real conflict in Canada – ideological or political. In the first interview he had prodded the researcher to explain any and all conflicts in Canada. In the second, he echoed this again by saying, *"I asked if there are any conflicts in Canada... still that question stands. I believe there is no conflict in Canada"*. When explicitly asked in the second interview whether he could compare any

type of conflict between the two countries, he alluded to First Nations and Kurdish issues being the most similar; however, he stated *"even it is a lot [sic] different"*.

In terms of others' perceptions of Turkish conflict, Z acknowledged that he does not view Turkey as a country in conflict on a global scale, because it is overshadowed by current crises in Ukraine and Venezuela and the more enduring problems in Palestine. Overall, Z firmly believed that conflict is not normal but it is omnipresent. Although Z suggested a solution to conflict, education, which can lead to a more humane way to deal with conflict, he simultaneously mentioned the futile nature of trying to talk about problems when they are not within people's control. Reflecting on his own personal experience running for a student club in his past, he noted that the only reason to act for change is when you believe you can make a difference.

Although he does not see himself as political or sociable, he is aware of what is happening in Turkey. It is clear that he thinks about the conflicts because this is reflected in his desire to stay in Canada (due to its calmer way of life and educational opportunities), and possibly bring his parents here. He finds the method of dealing with conflict in Canada to be more in line with his own approach, which according to his TKI results is high in avoidance and accommodation. He confirmed this throughout the interviews, particularly with claims like: *"I don't like disputes. I don't like conflict. That's why I keep my [social] circle really small"*. These attitudes toward conflict are highly connected to the ways in which he defined and expressed his identity.

Identity. In essence, Z sees identity mainly as formed by education because *"what you read is the most important thing for you"*. Education is what leads to stronger values, which can then contribute to a less conflicted society, in his view. He did not see

homeland citizenship as the primary reflection of his character and he felt that it is possible to have multiple identities. He noted that the typical Turkish view on identity is tied into citizenship (and nationality) and is exclusive because *"if you are Turkish you are Turkish, if you are Kurdish you are Kurdish"*. The interesting point here is that although he clearly identifies with his Turkish homeland and has strong connections to it through friends and family, he does not believe that it defines him. His Turkish identity is also linked to the political conflicts there. As he explained the dichotomy between secular and Muslim Turks he pointed out that *"I'm a good Muslim so I pray, but in Turkey when I go to prayer I usually suspected [sic] that this will [sic] affect my career in some way."* These tensions in his homeland have affected the way in which he identifies with it.

While much of his Turkish identity is sentimental, his links to Canada appear to be more values and opportunities-based. Although his Canadian identity is also clearly developing, he already sees himself at home here because of the values he has always held: particularly open mindedness and a focus on education. Z expanded on this values-based identity being linked to his Canadian residency in terms of loneliness and individuality: *"I can be more self-oriented in Canada"*. The perceived characteristics of Canadians connect with deeper aspects of Z's person relating to his dislike of conflict. At one point in the first interview, he was asked whether he prefers stability or conflict and he said *"Of course stability. I don't gain anything from conflict, so why would I choose conflict?"*

Narrative. Z's personality traits and thoughts on conflict and identity are reflected in his opinions on narratives. In general, Z feels that when people *"are talking about things they cannot change"* he usually considers this *"blabber"*. This is definitely

linked to his perspectives on conflict, the solution to which requires education and openness to dialogue. Of course, this also feeds into his interpersonal conflict-handling style in that he tends to avoid conflict because:

> *If he or she is not interested in my thoughts then why do I care to convince her or*
>
> *why do I take my time and answer and tell my thoughts about the subject?*
>
> *Because it's a waste of time - he or she won't believe at [sic] the end.*

Z maintained that he cannot see value in sharing for the sake of it, as this will not contribute to a solution to conflict. At the very end of the second interview, Z refined his perspective: even when sharing narratives cannot contribute to conflict resolution in a positive way, if that act can benefit the individual this makes the action worthwhile.

Participant 3 – T

T is an Israeli female in her late 20s, who is currently working in the medical field. She moved to Canada in 2001 with her immediate family. They chose Canada because her mother had family here, and because her parents wanted a more peaceful environment in which to raise their children. The rest of her family remain in Israel. Her narrative had a tendency to emphasize politics, and she consistently focused on the social aspect of Israeli (national) identity.

Context. T provided a very rich account of how she views Israel, and also her family's reasons for immigrating to Canada. Before moving, her family viewed Canada as a good place, but it was its political calm that really enticed them. T noted that although Israel is her homeland because *"it is where you're from"*, she feels (like) Canada is home because *"it is where you belong"*. These notions of intersecting and changing identities will be discussed in detail below; but they have been noted here for they have bearing on T's

perceptions of context. When speaking about Israel, T was insistent upon the researcher noting that she grew up on a *kibbutz*[18], rather than in a city. This was astute on her part, as the political and social climate of a kibbutz is very different from that of Israel at large. In the broader Israeli context, she says that there are many opinions and one must be loud to be heard. Yet in the kibbutz where she was raised, everyone shared the same left-leaning views – *"the odd ones out, the minority, was Conservative right wing students"*. When she described Israel, she consistently emphasized its social and political dimensions – more often than not, this was accompanied by criticism of the current system. In reality, T sees Israel as a young country with conditional living in the sense that it is *"sort of like a club you got to get a membership for... there's [sic] tons of people who are second class citizens"*. The exclusive nature of the country can be linked to its political system as well as the reasons for its founding, in her opinion.

In fact, T's descriptions of Israel could never be separated from her views on the conflict or her family's role in building a country which has *"declined"* in her view, but she was able to give an overview of the history as well as present state of the country. She was familiar with the history of the country, as her family on both sides participated in its creation – *"they crafted Israel, literally"*. The Israeli context has a long history of wars and she casually listed a few, the Yom Kippur War[19] being the one that she emphasized. Afterwards, she reflected on the militaristic changes in the country contributing to its difficulties in terms of conflict and identity.

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[18] In her words, *"A kibbutz is a socialist community with [people] living together, living like a commune by choice. You share everything that is financial. You don't own anything, the kibbutz does."*

[19] It occurred in 1973 between numerous Arab states and Israel. For further information please see: http://www.history.com/topics/yom-kippur-war

As soon as the Shin Bet[20] stopped protecting Israel as a country and started to conquer that's where things changed...and that's where the problem is...Israel now is a country that conquers. It's no longer trying to protect itself or trying to accommodate for other people who live within its borders.

Also of note were her comments on the political evolution of the country in that *"those early settlers who moved to Israel and started it all they were very left wing"* while nowadays the government leans to the right. Throughout her descriptions of Israel and her brief comments on the Canadian context, she incorporated politics. While speaking of Prime Minister Stephen Harper's strong ties to Israel she commented that it has less to do with social ties or morals and more to do with finances – *"it's all business, you know"* she remarked.

It is clear then that the context T emerged from was a very left-leaning community within, what she sees as, a broader right wing society. Naturally, her family's decision to move to Canada influenced her own views on immigration. When asked whether immigrants from countries in conflict should receive special supports, she adamantly stated that it was not necessary.

No, I don't think it should make a difference because you're coming to a place that doesn't have conflict and that's what's important. That conflict is behind you, it doesn't affect your life anymore.

When immigrants choose to leave their countries of origin, it is then their responsibility to adjust to the new realities. After reflection she stated that *"the hard work is on me. And that's reality, that's just life"*. The distinction, for her, is not related to

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[20] Shin Bet is an Israeli Intelligence Service, focused primarily on internal security. For a strong overview please see the film "The Gatekeepers".

coming from a country in conflict or not; rather, Canadian policy must distinguish between refugees and all other immigrants. She did note though that she made use of ESL services, and that there is utility in that for all immigrants whose first language is not English.

Conflict. T expressed her views openly about conflict – both interpersonal and geopolitical; often there was overlap between the two. Her views related very clearly to Lederach's (2003) theory of conflict transformation, positing that conflict can be an opportunity for growth. T feels that conflict is not inherently bad, *"it's about how you solve that conflict, what approach you take"* that really matters. After raising the theory of conflict transformation to the participant, she agreed that:

> *Conflict allows you to finally recognize two parties...where there isn't a united thought where there are two conflicting forces, and if you can recognize the other thought then you're allowing something else to get established. That's growth.*

With this philosophical orientation in mind, it is interesting to note how she analyzed the conflicts in Israel. Openly expressing distaste for the violence, she wrote in her final journal that *"as long as the conflict remains this bloody in the region I will be sad and disappointed in my 'own people'"*. The conflict which she is referring to is the ongoing dispute between Israelis and Palestinians. Specifically, T believes that problems in Israel can be divided into two separate, but interrelated conflicts: *"civil conflict between people living there, between the religious sector and the non religious sector"* and then *"there's the Palestinian conflict that surrounds it"*. She stressed the point that most people are unaware of the first conflict, or they misinterpret it. For this reason, the researcher pressed her for further detail and she explained that the civil conflict is in fact

not just religious, but rather power and ideology-based relating to a perceived minority controlling the majority's actions: through taxation, army service and so on.

With regard to overall climate in Israel, S emphasized that both conflicts are *"equally as important"*. She sees the current political players as contributing to the misunderstanding, rather than working toward peace. Given the highly political nature of the conflicts in Israel, it is understandable that when asked about Canadian conflict T frankly said that it is far easier to be apolitical here because nothing is as serious – Canadian conflicts *"are nothing near what's going on there [in Israel]"*. Although she acknowledged that these very different contexts, in terms of domestic conflict, may lead to different approaches to conflict in their citizens this is not necessarily the case. In fact, she felt that the way in which people view and handle conflict is deeply connected to a number of identity markers including their age and geographical location. In the case of Canadian perspectives on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict she assumes that *"Quebec [would be] against [Israel]. They would support more of the European, neo liberal kind of view, pro Palestinian"*. However, she does not see a strong role for Canadians, or herself, in the conflict.

When asked about potential resolution to the two conflicts that she listed, she stated that the solution to Israeli conflict can only be reached within Israel. Personally, she feels that she *"can't do anything here [in Canada]"*. When pressed for more of an explanation, she revealed that to her the solution lies in eradicating the root of the problem – poor governance. She was consistent in both interviews and in her first journal, in her stance that the onus is on young Israelis in Israel to create positive change. The

power to work toward solutions comes through voting and once an individual leaves Israel they have made a choice to give up that right – *"now they're Canadians"*.

T's attitudes toward conflict are pervasive in both her descriptions of the contexts themselves, Israel and Canada, as well as notions of identity. Disentangling these concepts proved difficult, which just reaffirmed their interconnected nature as identified in the conceptual framework.

Identity. Identity is multifaceted, and can be constructed in different ways dependent on a person's passions and individual nature. For T, her Israeli identity is conflicted; her familial ties keep her connected, yet her political views distance her from it. She picked up on this irony by indicating that time and distance have removed much of the passion she once had for her homeland. For T, this will only become more exaggerated in the coming years, as she noted in her final reflective journal that this research experience has come at a curious time because she will soon have spent equal amounts of time in both Canada and Israel. As she ages, so do her grandparents and *"their passing will take away much of my own personal attachment to what was once home"*.

While in some circumstances she seemed firm in the position that identity is constructed from many sources at once, when it relates to citizenship she implied that one can make a transition from one to another. For example, in discussing her family's immigration to Canada she said that *"we all made a conscious decision to end that relationship with Israel...Every day I spend in Canada I become more Canadian and less Israeli."* Although she appears to view these identities as mutually exclusive, when directly asked about the possibility of retaining both she agreed that *"I think you can be*

both...it depends on who you want to be as a person". In her case, she feels that her connection to Israel is complicated – this was evidenced throughout the process. In the first interview she spoke of how others often identify her as Israeli for her blunt and honest nature, and accent. In the second interview, she pointed out that she does not want to be associated with the Israeli culture. She highlighted this attitude in two distinct scenarios, the first in transit and the second in Israel itself:

> *If I'm on a flight and there's a bunch of Israelis behind me, I hate it because they're so loud. It's disgusting. It's gross behaviour. I notice when I go there, I almost want to be seen as non-Israeli.*

This distaste for what Israel represents could be accounted for by her personality too. T noted that she is a very introverted person. Although identity and traits cannot be boiled down to one distinct cause, her aversion to Israelis in social settings and her clear perception of them as *"loud"* and *"fighty"* while viewing herself as introverted may be related. Her TKI results confirmed her views on conflict and identity as she scored high on accommodation and collaboration but received a score of zero on competition. She complemented these results with some philosophical insights:

> *If we have a conflict it's not about competition, it's about the opposite. It's about resolving, it's about meeting in the middle. It's about being able to move on...It's not so much about competition for me, but about being understood and making sure that I'm understood and then resolving.*

These core elements of her identity and approach to conflict are indicative of how she interacts socially too. She said that she does not see herself as *"part of any social group here [in Canada]"*. In Israel, she had a clear role and identity within her *kibbutz.*

As she noted, in Israel the conflict has to impact your identity because *"if you have a son, he's holding a gun at 18. Everybody's involved"* whereas in Canada you can focus on yourself in ways that do not relate only to politics and conflict. When asked about fitting in with other Israeli immigrants she indicated that

> *[they] hate people like me that are so critical because we should support Israel. But I think it's hypocritical. If you support it so much, go back! Don't enjoy the perks of being here...And I'm just as Israeli as them. I've lost people in the war. I have a huge family in Israel.*

She did not see an explicit place for herself in the Israeli community in Canada, in general. As previously stated, her strong views on the conflict in Israel and its political atmosphere have left an impression on T. Given her perceptions of the Israeli context being more passionate and political, and the Canadian context as calm, the logical next step is then a transition to a more apolitical self-identity after immigrating to Canada. Overall, she views identity as being related to genetics and upbringing – *"where you come from is super important"*. Her roots are not tied to a country, but rather a particular environment.

She noted with some curiosity that she is observing a contradiction in herself as she grows older and looks for a life partner. Although she tries to identify herself more as a global citizen, rather than tied to any one *"small patch of land"* she simultaneously becomes more aware of her desire to be with an Israeli man. She noted with some irritation that, *"all the qualities I'm looking for are found in men from Israel and it's killing me because I'm not going to move there to find a husband"*.

Narrative. T was vocal about her appreciation of this opportunity to express her thoughts: *"Thank you for coming here and asking very interesting questions I haven't given a thought to in years".* For T, there is value in sharing narratives if there is a desire on the part of the speaker. The crucial aspect of storytelling and expressing opinions relates to their voluntary nature. *"It's up to these people to share their stories if it's something they want to do".* Similar to her views on immigration, people's actions carry repercussions and people should be held accountable for their choices.

On a personal note, T clarified how the process had been helpful for her. In one sense, it was fascinating for her to reflect on her ideal mate (an Israeli man), because it contradicts her own frustrations with Israeli culture's tendency toward chaos and loudness. This example is illustrative of the power of reflection in general, coming to realize things about oneself that indicate transformation and multiplicity of identities.

Participant 4 – H

H is an Israeli male in his early 30s who works within the Jewish community. He moved to Canada in 1998 with his immediate family. He is unsure of the exact motivation for his family's decision to immigrate to Canada, but believes it relates to security and social factors. Most of his family remain in Israel. Throughout the interviews, it became clear that he has a tendency to speak in parables and that his worldview stems from his religious identity.

Context. Within the first few minutes of the first interview, H made it clear that his perspectives on conflict and identity stem from his Jewish background. This explains his take on a homeland, *"it's not only the place where the hospital happened to be, it's the eternal home...the homeland is Israel".* H was born in Russia, and his comment

reflects his feeling of closeness with Israel, which he moved to as a child. More importantly, he perceives Israel as his homeland due to his Jewish beliefs. In fact, when asked to describe Israel he immediately said that it is *"the national model of what a Jewish person is; what a soul is"*.

Expanding on this initial reaction, H indicated that Israel is difficult to describe because *"it's so many contradictions at once."* He then went on to note that *"they're contradictions not to fight for, but to love each other for...The point is in Israel you have a combination of people"*. Israel, to him, is a land full of difference by virtue of its founding 60 years ago and rapid population increase with migrants from across the globe. It is natural then that there will be conflicts and disagreements. However, H emphasized that he cherished the open discourse within Israel, particularly given its diverse population. He stated that people feel free in Israel because *"we want to hear all opinions...In Israel you can say whatever you want"*. This aspect of Israel, its openness as a society to free debate, was reiterated by H on at least five occasions throughout the two interviews.

In describing the sociopolitical nature of Israel, H stated that it is a country *"obsessed with moral values and what is true and what is right"*. He substantiated his claim with an explanation of Israel's Parliamentary system, which allows for people who *"oppose the existence of Israel."* H then drew a parallel to North America, in trying to emphasize how much freedom of speech and political opinion there is in Israel. *"Can you imagine a Congressman standing up and saying he doesn't believe in the existence of America?"* – H was adamant about how rare the Israeli situation is, in terms of its

tolerance and open discourse. He noted that this can also be applied to its treatment of the Arab population, which he sees as *"the luckiest Arabs in the Middle East".*

Likewise, he saw morality being well-represented in Canada too. He spoke at length about the political right in Canada and commended Prime Minister Stephen Harper for being a *"commander of truth...a defender of truth".* Although Canada has a small population, he thinks that people on a global scale now look at it with respect because of its military and geopolitical decision-making, particularly regarding its strong ties to Israel. With respect to the population in general, he sees Canadians as happy and positive people who would rather focus on sports than conflict and notes *"thank G-d we don't have more serious things to talk about [in Canada]".* Throughout both interviews he emphasized his gratitude at being able to live in a country where a migrant can integrate without having to lose his or her identity. In fact, this, to him, was the best form of support possible for immigrants – moving to a culture where people are free to practice their beliefs as they want without fear of discrimination.

Conflict. In describing conflict, H had a clear narrative – highly connected to his Jewish belief system. He felt it more important to explain the nature of conflict and solutions to it, rather than delving into the political details of the conflicts in Israel. He did clarify though, that there are two main conflicts: internally, between the Jewish people within Israel, *"but that's a conflict in any family, that's not a threat to national fibre"* and the external conflict with its neighbouring countries, which is an *"existential threat".* It is clear that the second conflict is by far the more important one, as there is an element of urgency and survival to it.

This perception of conflict as being internal and external is also applied to his views on Canada. When asked whether conflict exists in Canada he said, *"internally, it would be crazy to say no, but of course compared to countries like Israel, no"*. While noting that Canada does not have conflict compared to a country like Israel, he did point out that Canada was founded as a Christian country and that in some ways it has become so accommodating toward immigrants that Canadians are, in a sense, oppressing themselves and their own identity. *"If you push to such an extent that you have to accommodate me to such an extent that you can't be you... The reason we love this country is they are who they are"*. The solution is a matter of finding a balance between allowing others to retain identities while letting Canadians do the same. For these reasons, it is natural that Canadians occasionally lash out at immigrants because they themselves *"don't feel like they fit in"*. Although not a major conflict, it is of note for its implications for Canadian identity.

In terms of Canadians' views on the conflict in Israel, he feels that the Jewish population within Canada is very united with Israel - as evidenced by a great number having the intention to move there. As for the non-Jewish population:

> *They see in Israel this one little candle of light of truth...amidst darkness and lies...every good citizen of Canada, America and Europe feels responsibility to that flame and it continues to burn and thank G-d.*

There was a certain progression in his views of how people external to Israel view it, and its conflicts. In the first interview he made strong statements about the support it receives, as evidenced above, yet in the second he discussed the media and its biases in more depth – admitting that although the debate is fairly open in Canada and Israel, he

suspects that there is a tendency toward the left. Even though many journalists extol views that are more critical of Israel, he still feels that *"in their hearts, they don't believe these things"*. This, of course, was interesting for its relation to identity, but also for the implication of there being a moral aspect to the conflict.

H had strong views about the nature and potential resolution for conflict, which he repeated throughout the research process and used as the basis for his final journal. In the first interview, H cited John Lennon's song "Imagine" as the antitheses to a Jewish belief system. He went on to explain that having to change people in order to create oneness requires that they are no longer themselves: "*Dispute, disagreement and war are results of individuals, groups of people and nations' ideal that peace and harmony is achieved through similarity."*

The solution to conflict, therefore, is to accept ourselves for who we are and also be tolerant of the differences in others – reminiscent of multiculturalism policy, emphasizing integration as an acculturation strategy (Phinney et al., 2001). As an individual, he sees his role in the Israeli conflicts as being explanatory. He would like to create awareness both within the Jewish community, and in the broader Canadian population. He noted that, there is ignorance in both settings and that he would like people to understand that:

> *The Jewish vision for a world of unity and agreement is the acceptance of all the differences that exist between people and nevertheless loving them for who they are.*

Holding this to be true, he thinks that youth should be educated with these sorts of values in order to prevent conflict from developing as adults. His take on conflict is

related, in many ways, to the distinction between *latent, emerging* and *manifest* conflict (Sloan & Chicanot, 2009). *Latent* conflict must be acknowledged; *emerging* conflict must be debated openly, as is done in Israel; but once conflict becomes *manifest* it cannot easily be resolved.

> *There's no way you can solve any conflict. Once you get into a position of conflict it's a dirty business to resolve it so the whole point is to educate and bring up kids to not have the conflict in the first place.*

It is through changing perspectives and approaches to conflict, that there is a possibility for growth. H finished the last interview with an explanation of the differences between the American Civil Rights Movement and Environmentalists in terms of their approaches and respective success. While both are keenly aware of their goals, the former took an approach that basically emphasized the shared values they had with American society as a whole – freedom from oppression and human rights based in civil liberty. The latter attempted to make gains through attacking society for being too consumerist and capitalist. H concluded by stating that when dealing with differences and conflict, one must be attuned to the positive sparks rather than focusing solely on the negatives.

Identity. By virtue of having lived in three different countries, H has experienced what it is like to hold numerous citizenships. He said during the second interview that *"national identity is important",* but he later stated that nationality (as well as citizenship and residency) can change without any issues for an individual because *"that's connected to the external self"* – akin to one's favourite food changing from falafel to poutine. Similar to his views on conflict, people can develop internal and external identities. All of these layers are integral to the person being himself or herself – staying true to one's

identity was a theme that H repeated consistently. He thinks it is disingenuous to stick to one category of identity because it is inevitable that different situations will arise requiring unique responses. In response to a question about his self-identification politically, he stated that he is closer to right wing, but that *"you don't choose your life. Things strike you from left, right and center, and that kind of shapes you"*. He made it clear though that his identification with the right is not based on his agreeing with all of their platforms, but rather *"it just happens to be that they're the one who actually see where the Jewish people find themselves in this time and age"*.

The biggest effect on identity development for H relates to family, religion and culture. In fact, his religion is what ties him to his other identities in many ways. Through the many parables he shared it became clear that to him it is dishonest for people to shed their religious identities upon immigration, for example. His Jewish identity dictates that he love all other aspects of himself and respect his country of residency, *"My best potential being a good Canadian is me being a good Jew"*. Curious about the potential to shed identities or dichotomize them, the researcher inquired into the participant's identity as an Israeli without considering his Jewish faith. His response confirmed the assumption that his Jewish faith is core to him as a person. *"Well my main desire to be in Israel is as a Jew."*

H was adamant about Canadian identity being inclusive. He also states that his feeling of closeness to Canada is also a result of his connection to his Jewish core. This commitment to identifying with his Jewish beliefs also keeps him deeply tied to Israel: *"If I won't be a proper Jew, I won't be a proper Israeli and not a proper Canadian"*. When asked about whether the transition to Canada had weakened his Israeli identity or

decreased the frequency of his thoughts about Israel, he strongly stated that *"For us Jews there's no such thing as a Jew being in danger anywhere in the world and everyone else being safe".* The conflicts in Israel are on his mind daily even though he is not physically there, because the homeland and people he identifies with are under threat.

It should be clear that socially H is surrounded by Israeli culture within a Jewish community. Even the school that he went to in Canada had a positive image of Israel, as he noted that *"to have an Israeli accent is [sic] cool".* He made it clear that his Jewish and Israeli social group does not preclude his identifying with Canadians. He said that if the opportunity arose he would even feel comfortable moving to Vancouver and surrounding himself with Canadians because he likes their attitudes and ways of being. Further inquiry into what constitutes as "Canadian" was lacking, unfortunately. It can be gleaned from H's comments that although he includes himself in the social group, he is different to Canadians at large for his Jewish, Israeli and Russian identities.

Finally, H, as an individual, demonstrated throughout the research process that he is highly reflective and noted this himself when discussing his TKI results. He made sure to point out that he is also *"a very self-criticizing type person, so I see all the bad in myself".* In terms of his actual TKI results, he scored highest on compromise while finding himself in the average range for everything else aside from accommodation (which was quite low). When presented with the results, he immediately stated that he agreed and even drew a parallel to the broader conflict by stating that *"compromising for me means that there's space for everybody, and everybody as he is".* His TKI results were consistent with his views on conflict and identity, and also in line with how he views himself – most importantly.

Narrative. Storytelling is clearly a natural form of expression for H. Much of what he said was through parables, from which morals could be extracted. This method of expression is in line with his religious background: teachings come through debate and sharing of stories, as opposed to blunt facts. In reflecting upon the utility of an exercise like this research process, he stated that *"part of the benefit of sharing stories is that [sic] basically how not to do it"*. He sees stories as an opportunity for learning, whether it comes from the bad experiences one has had or the positive accomplishments. In the case of Syrian refugees to Canada sharing their stories, he sees this as valuable for Canadians at large because it is a chance to learn from a system of failed governance. In order to maintain a strong country, one must be open to hearing the stories of immigrants to Canada from countries where there has been some societal collapse. H completed his thoughts by saying that: *"of course stories never hurt. Relating experience never hurts"*.

Chapter Summary

This chapter delved into the case studies of each individual participant, based on information gathered from interviews as well as reflective journals. Data were presented consistently across all participants according to the guiding concepts of this research study. Their narratives have been presented as separate case studies in order to respect their authentic individual experiences, before making comparisons across categories. The opinions presented by participants clearly confirmed the importance of the conceptual framework in this type of research, because it aided in clarifying and teasing out insights.

Chapter 5: Thematic Analysis and Discussion

This chapter, like chapter four is organized around the major concepts of this research study; however, subthemes are also examined in more depth. The thematic analyses include explicit links that relate to multiple participants, based predominantly on similarities but also differences at times. Detailed thematic patterns emerge – particularly across dimensions like personality type and homeland citizenship. In this chapter, more thought will be given to how these emergent themes confirm the use of the conceptual framework.

Context

Homeland vs. home. No two people are the same, thus the same homeland citizenship will not always lead to the same beliefs, as participants come from different areas with varied religious or cultural backgrounds (Richmond, 1988). Participants in this research study are referred to on the basis of their homeland citizenship and gender, not because these are the most salient identity markers for them but because they are the clearest for use in this thesis. In addition, the ways in which participants identify with their homelands are unique. While both pairs of participants described their homelands in different terms, it was evident that the two Israelis focused almost exclusively on the sociopolitical side of Israel and the two Turks emphasized culture - always alluding to the Turkish people and their customs.

The Israeli female, T, described Israel in mainly negative terms, like *"exclusionary"* and *"conquerer"*. On the other hand, the Israeli male, H, spoke almost exclusively in positive terms speaking of how *"open"* and *"moral"* Israeli society is. This could be attributed to a number of factors, but two are of particular interest: the

religious and political backgrounds of these participants. T is very openly left wing and atheist (secular) while H self-identified as right wing and religious (Jewish).

In terms of a theme that emerged with the Turks, it was clear that both see Turkey as the Turkish people. Speaking of their *"friendly"* yet *"argumentative"* nature, S (female) and Z (male) emphasized that culture and traditions are critical to an understanding of the Turkish context.

Although participants described the term *homeland* itself in different ways, they all connected it with a place of birth – for H this meant spiritually, not physically. Based on academic research, this was to be expected as it typically refers to an individual's place of birth, or the birthplace of their ancestors (Brown as cited in Peacock et al., 2007). Participants were consistent in stating that although Canada may never be their homeland, it is their home. Each participant spoke highly of Canada. In describing the Canadian context, the most consistently used term was *"free"*. S noted that she really identifies with life in Canada because of the *"freedom here and making your own choices"*. Both of the Turks highlighted the value of education in Canada, describing their appreciation for being here as linked to the educational opportunities that they are afforded.

Micro Environments. As alluded to in the literature review, it is not enough to equate context with a country for there can be a variety of unique views within it. Likewise, a subtheme that emerged during the discussions with each participant was that of micro environments, in both their countries of origin as well as Canada. T and Z both emphasized that where they came from in Israel and Turkey (respectively) is not necessarily representative of their countries as a whole; with T having grown up in a left-

leaning *kibbutz* and Z having attended a very prestigious private university, followed by residence in a high-end area of a cosmopolitan city. This, in some ways, connects to the idea of identity. Z and T by virtue of their micro environments may not have perceived their experiences as representative of their (assumed) social groups. Thus, they emphasized their difference in order to attempt to minimize their own experiences (as not being representative) in some way, as sometimes happens in narrative-based research (Czarniawska, 2004). That being said, S, Z and H all indicated that their lives in Canada have been limited to fairly specific social contexts: schooling (and the university setting) for S and Z, and a fairly tight-knit Jewish community for H.

Although participants did generalize and speak about Canada and its inclusive immigration policies as a whole, they also clearly examined their experiences on a micro-level. There has been research done on how the integration and well-being of immigrants may, in some cases, have less to do with national policy and more to do with communities: social bonds, educational settings and presence of fellow expatriates (Cameron 2004; Cornell, 1996; Phinney et al., 2001). In fact, research conducted on adolescent immigrants demonstrated that the Turkish immigrants maintained their homeland identities without shifting to the new country of residency's national identity, and immigrants to Israel had largely assimilated or integrated identities – this could be representative of perceptions of compatibility between cultures (Phinney et al., 2001). Almost all of the participants in this research project appeared to have utilized integration as their immigration strategy, but further discussion will follow below.

Immigration integration. A big difference that emerged in the interviews is whether the onus should be on immigrants or Canadians with regard to the integration of

new immigrants to Canada. T consistently mentioned that it was her family's choice to come here, so it was then up to them to live with the consequences, including their own integration. She did note that there is a distinction between refugees and all other immigrants: the former genuinely requiring the aid of the country. This was an astute point as the Canadian immigration policy distinguishes in a similar way: differentiating between refugees and economic migrants, but not further splitting the categories into those from countries in conflict and others (CIC, 2010).

Even though S agreed that her move to Canada had been by choice she had opposing views to T, stating that Canadians should also be taught how to treat new immigrants as the society grows and changes. This view is more holistic in its understanding of immigration as having broad-ranging effects on not only the immigrants themselves, but also the wider societies. In fact, Richmond (1988) expands on this notion when he writes: "Immigrant adaptation must be understood as an active rather than a passive process, and one which has significant repercussions on the structures of receiving and sending societies alike" (p.46). Interestingly, throughout this research none of the immigrants focused on the effects that emigration may have on their homelands and the population that remains there. In fact, even though they all have family remaining in their homelands, they did not speak in great detail about the effect their emigration may have had.

The emphasis S placed on social support was more in line with the views shared by H, who stated that the best support he received when he moved to Canada was the inclusive nature of the Canadian people. This was in contrast to the exclusion he had felt in Russia as a child, being labelled a *"filthy Jew"*. The casual, everyday support that H

alluded to has been documented in descriptions of immigrant adaptation strategies, noting that immigrant acculturation strategies are a result of both the immigrant's homeland culture and the host country's tendencies toward immigrants (Cornell, 1996; Phinney at al., 2001). The participant narratives seem to indicate that Canada's policies and/or culture contribute to a higher likelihood of integration of immigrants, rather than marginalization (for example). S, Z and H appear to have used integration as their strategy, by virtue of their retaining strong and vocal ties to their homelands but also clearly viewing themselves as Canadians. T has a much more complicated relationship with her homeland, distancing herself from it because of its politics and certain characteristics of its people but noting her difference from Canadian culture for some of those same behaviourisms like her *"bluntness"*. Overall, she has probably used assimilation as her main acculturation strategy based on consistent comments about leaving behind aspects of Israeli identity and turning into a Canadian. However, she does not entirely fit into any of the clear acculturation strategies. In fact, as she noted in an interview when asked about social groups, she does not quite fit in anywhere. This observation is relevant because it indicates how her perceptions are grounded in a context that is far from static.

Conflict

  Homeland. In describing conflict in their homelands, the Israelis took a similar approach to each other. They both divided the issues into two separate conflicts: internal and external. However, when pressed for detail their opinions diverged greatly. T described a civil conflict and the Israeli/Palestinian problems *"that surrounds it"* – both of equal importance; whereas H explained the civil conflict as being akin to a *"family*

conflict", and the external issue being with Israel's neighbouring countries *"who don't think we deserve to live in our homeland in peace and security"*. Their approaches to discussing the conflict corresponded to Lebaron and Pillay's (2006) three dimensions of conflict: *material, symbolic* and *relational*. H focused more on the substantive land dispute, the *material* dimension, when discussing the external conflict; yet, he honed in on the *symbolic* and *relational* dimensions as well – particularly when speaking of the need to educate youth to better interact cross-culturally. T was in tune with the *symbolic* and *relational* dimensions of conflict, highlighting the need for less *"brainwashing"* and more openness in both the internal and external conflicts.

While T (and H to a certain extent) took an approach centered on political analysis of conflict, Z (the Turkish male) went for a macro analysis of conflict in Turkey. He did not delve into detail about any current political actors, but rather described conflicts as developing due to cultural norms surrounding unwillingness to listen to others' opinions. This *"clash of ideas"* is what is problematic and leads to issues between religious and secular citizens, Kurds and Turks and so on. Z's analysis of conflict relates directly to literature in the field of Conflict Studies on the common cause of conflict: misunderstandings regarding values, interests, or needs (Sloan & Chicanot, 2009; Mayer, 2012). The root of conflict often lies in issues with communication – the less willing parties are to listen to each other the greater the chance of an impasse occurring (Sloan & Chicanot, 2009). It was interesting then that Z admitted his hesitance to engage in conflict and even shies away from discussing it: *"I don't understand politics, I don't comment usually"* and S echoed this sentiment with: *"I'm not so into the political stuff"*. She reiterated on numerous occasions that she feels frustration when one country is labelled

as "the" country in conflict because *"Every [sic] people have conflicts because they are people. Not because they are from Turkey or Canada."*

An interesting similarity that emerged between T and Z was the notion of not realizing how bad conflict was in their homelands until moving to Canada. Through comparison they came to understand their homeland context differently. Phinney et al. (2001) speak to this when they position immigrants as reacting differently to their homelands (and accompanying identities) based partially on the receiving attitudes of the host country. Z articulated this notion the most concisely when he said, *"When you live in a country like Canada, which is a stable country, you realize the conflict in Turkey is a really big one".* In fact, all of the participants noted that although there are some sociopolitical issues in Canada, there are no real conflicts compared to other countries. Another interesting pattern across all participants was reference to Palestine as being a country in conflict. It should be noted that the two Israelis were open about Israel being a country with considerable conflict, and the two Turks referred to the conflict as occurring within Palestine.

Conflict as potentially positive. Although conflict is often perceived as a bad thing, participants did not all agree with this assessment. Both of the Turkish participants, when asked to describe countries in conflict, split conflict into two parts: mental and physical. A parallel can be drawn to academic descriptions of conflict as being *latent, emerging* or *manifest* (Sloan & Chicanot, 2009). Once the conflict is no longer just felt or expressed orally, it becomes *manifest* (physical) and is called a dispute. The participants saw physical conflict (disputes) as more problematic for the violent repercussions. However, mental conflict (arguments and disagreements) is not necessarily a problem as

long as people are open to others' opinions. S succinctly stated, *"people shouldn't be extremists"*.

The Israelis did not make the same distinction, yet they both emphasized unity (like the Turks) and approaches to conflict. T stated that *"if it's not united, that's a conflict"* but this disharmony can be positive for its ability to allow individuals to become aware of others' thoughts. This perception of conflict as a possibility and not inherently negative is in line with more transformative approaches to conflict (Lederach, 2003). One's view of conflict affects one's approaches to solving it, and this correlation was evident in the participants. H, like T, also emphasized the need to understand unity – to him, the acceptance of a variety of thoughts, beliefs and actions. In fact, S and Z also spoke to the importance of diversity of opinions as a means of growth for society. H explicitly stated that conflict is *"not good"*, but that it can be helpful in pushing people to maintain group identities. For example, if an outside force begins to persecute a group this conflict allows the group to become more committed to their beliefs and group ideals.

Misrepresentation in the media. Mass media is of considerable interest in this research as it can have an effect on immigrants' acculturation processes depending on the frequency and type of access; and it also factors into their views on conflict (Richmond, 1988). In discussing media, participants spoke of traditional forms like newspapers as well as social media. A common theme that emerged was misrepresentation of conflict in the media. This had been predicted before interviews were conducted hence the emphasis in the literature review on a piece by Brender (2013), highlighting the biases that exist regarding immigrants to Canada and their ongoing connections to their homelands. S and

H were the most critical of media, both explicitly stating that strong biases are typically presented. S was clear that the media (particularly foreign media) exaggerates and in fact, creates conflict. H was more focused on the *"the best and the brightest"* in journalism who tend toward the left, which can result in a one-sided presentation of conflicts.

It was only Z who stated that the media shows the bad which needs to be shown, because while in Turkey he saw the conflicts as *"sugar coated"*. This raises the fact that conflict is presented differently depending on the origin of the media source – type and geographical location. H noted that his appreciation for news is better satisfied in reading Israeli and Canadian newspapers as opposed to Russian news: *"There's no point in reading Russian newspapers because it's all Kremlin..."* Precisely what he enjoys is reading the diversity of opinions in the press, even though he still sees the North American and Israeli press as left-dominated.

Although consideration had not been given prior to the interviews to social media, almost all of the participants had comments about its power. In fact, it is a natural extension of their connection to the homeland because it is how many of them interact with their friends and family – through Skype, Facebook, Twitter and so on.[21] T stated that these forums can spread ignorance and S relayed that she often avoids logging onto her accounts because she finds it frustrating when she reads information from her social group that is not in line with their *"life philosophy"*. Similarly, Z explained that*: "I blocked most of my friends in Facebook, or stopped following their comments because I don't want to get involved in politics."* Thus, social media serves as a powerful tool for connection with the homeland, but when it becomes too political the participants

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[21] For the Turks, social media could have been addressed in more depth because in the past few years various outlets have been banned, like Twitter and Youtube.

withdraw from it. This of course is of interest not only for the direct implications related to this research on identity and conflict, but also for the generational tendencies. As future generations grow up immersed in social media, this might very well impact how they continue to connect with their homelands – virtually and in "real life".

Solutions. As previously intimated, analysis of conflict will invariably be tied into approaches and solutions to it. In addition, the context participants come from has clear links to their solutions. Both Turks moved to Canada for educational opportunities and clearly value education highly. This was evidenced in their solutions to conflict: Z stating that education can lead to more humane conflict, and S initially extolling the benefits of education in conflict resolution. It was curious to note though that S, over the course of the research process, changed her views in realizing that even educated people can find themselves in unnecessary intractable conflict. Ultimately, S stated that the key to conflict resolution is reducing egos through the creation of social groups with peaceful mandates whose main goal in any conflict is the achievement of mutual respect.

This preventative approach is in line with H's suggestion: *"preventative conflict resolution methods are the number one priority and the best one is teaching the notion that difference is to be embraced"*. All of the participants presented solutions for their respective conflicts, illustrating that there is potential for social growth, as extolled by conflict transformation theory – particularly the ability to change dysfunctional institutions and behaviours (Lederach, 2003; Mayer, 2012). An approach centered on conflict transformation implies hope for the future, which was indicated in all of the participants' assessments of homeland conflict – even the more cynical ones.

While all of the participants incorporated both philosophical and practical notions into their approaches to conflict resolution, T and S, the two female participants, were the only ones who explicitly listed *"leadership"* as a solution. This was connected to T's views on her own role in the Israeli conflict – she *"can't do anything here [in Canada]"* because a positive path to resolution of conflict in Israel comes through voting for appropriate leadership. Z held similar views in stating that because the problems are political, and people are unwilling to change he sees no role for himself in the resolution of Turkish conflicts: *"I don't have any effect in politics so why do I lose [sic] my time to care about what people think and what's going on?"* Contrary to the views extolled by some conflict specialists, Z implied that the people are the problem in most cases – their inability to communicate and tolerate others' opinions defines the conflict (Fisher at al., 2011). To reiterate, although Z does not see a role for himself in solving Turkish conflict he does see potential solutions in Turkey through improved education.

Both T, the Israeli female, and Z, the Turkish male, emphasized that part of the beauty of life in Canada is the ability to just live, without having to be concerned with politics or other people with contradictory opinions. On the other hand, both of the more extroverted participants (S and H) saw a role of sorts for themselves in their homeland conflicts. Even though they are not physically in those homelands, they can create awareness and explain their cultures and the perceived conflicts here in Canada. The perceived ability of S and H to make a change in homeland conflict ties into their social identities – it is possible that strong links to their homeland groups pushes them to continued involvement in creating a positive perception of their respective countries in Canada (Phinney et al., 2001). S's comments were interesting for her continued rejection

of the notion of Turkey being a country in conflict. Without realizing it, her desire to inform Canadians about the situation in Turkey indicates that 1) there is some form of tension or conflict and 2) that she has a role to play, even from afar.

Also of note in discussions on participants' roles in homeland conflict was the notion of power. In keeping with intersectionality theory (which will be discussed in further detail below) participants highlighted the importance of power in any analysis of conflict (Kroløkke, 2009). T and Z were not interested in getting involved with social movements for change in their homelands partially because they saw themselves as powerless.

Identity

  Determinants and conflict. In evaluating identity it is difficult to break it into subthemes as it is so interconnected. In fact, T noted that: *"There's [sic] so many different colours and layers that make your identity what it is."* While unaware of the theory behind intersectionality, T and the others alluded to it on multiple occasions. In many of the narratives there was reference to holistic identities. In particular, emphasis was placed on the fact that no one opinion can be directly correlated to any one cause or identity marker. This is in keeping with intersectionality, for it extols that people and social issues cannot be reduced to any one identity category (Falcon, 2009). In fact, the participants all had fairly strong views about what contributed to an individual's identity. Their views were in line with what appeared to be central to their own identities with H and S advocating for culture and religion; Z specifying *"through education"* and T ascribing identity development to genetics and the environment in which one grows up (including the family, friends and general way of life).

T stated that in Israel conflict has to affect one because it is omnipresent, but once in Canada it is possible to disengage as she has now integrated into a new culture. H took a different view and stated that he thinks about the conflicts in Israel *"at all times"* because his homeland is in danger. The ongoing conflicts make him hyper-aware of his own identity, even though he is physically distanced from his homeland. These views helped to confirm the utility of the guiding conceptual framework in this research – there is a clear connection between identity, conflict, context and the way in which one expresses oneself. When explicitly asked about the connection between these concepts, S took a slightly different approach; she stated that *"there is no connection".* After some reflection she altered her perspective and stated that there can be an effect, but in her case there is not – *"depends on their personality, I guess".* The examples S presented of conflict affecting identity were based on national conflicts in China, for example, causing those expatriates to disengage completely from any homeland identity.

TKI. The TKI was employed in this research for its ease of interpretation and administration, as well as its prominence in the field of Conflict Studies (Mayer 2012; Shell, 2001). There are two main dimensions along which results are measured, and five different conflict-handling modes (styles). Three out of the four participants scored very high on accommodation – allowing the others' needs to come first, without consideration for one's own (Womack, 1998). The only exception was H, who scored lowest in that area but highest in compromising – equal consideration for all needs, but no one walks away completely satisfied in the end (Womack, 1998). In fact, the two Turks scored almost identically on the TKI with accommodation and then avoidance being the two most prevalent styles.

When asked about whether they saw a correlation between these results and their own actions, they both agreed that they did. In fact, Z stated: *"I am happy in this case being uncooperative and unassertive"*. The reasoning behind placing less emphasis on their own positions was that if others do not want to listen, they will not so it is futile to try and convince them. In fact, S said that *"I don't need to prove myself [to others]"*. These comments should be couched within their previous opinions on Turkish culture, in which a *"clash of ideas"* and disagreements are fairly common, yet people are not necessarily willing to listen to your opinion.

T, who scored highest on accommodation and collaboration but did not even answer one question in line with competition, noted that, for her, engagement in conflict is about *"meeting in the middle".* Both of her highest scores were high on the cooperative scale and she reiterated throughout the whole research process the importance of conflict in allowing for different voices to be heard and solutions to be found. If one considers Mayer's (2012) three dimensions along which conflict can be experienced: *emotional, cognitive* and *behavioural*, it becomes clear that there are correlations between TKI results and perceptions (and experiences) with conflict. For example, along the *cognitive* dimension T clearly prefers integrative approaches to problem solving, in line with her TKI results and perceptions of the importance of a solution that meets all parties' needs.

H, on the other hand, scored highest on compromising – a mix of cooperativeness and assertiveness. Although the highest TKI results cannot be directly applied to a person's views on all conflict, H's tendency was definitely in line with his views on Israeli conflict as he stated: *"Probably [sic] I agree...Compromising for me means there's space for everybody and everybody as he is"*. This confirms the placement of

conflict bleeding into identity, because even those participants who downplayed the

explicit effect of homeland conflict on their lives acknowledged that there is an important

tie between their identities and perceptions of (and reactions to) conflict. By referring to

the figure included below it should be clearer and easier to grasp how the different

conflict modes relate to each other and where participants fit in.

Figure 3: TKI Results
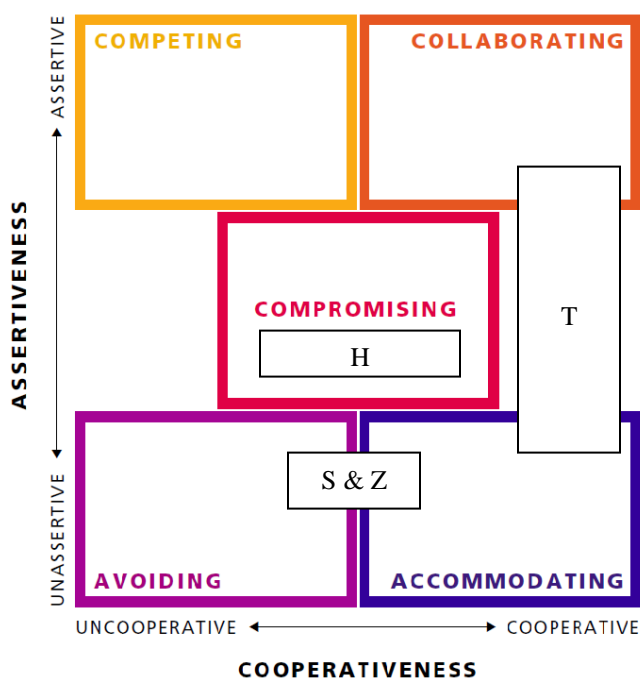
Individual identity shift. All of the participants were highly interested in

receiving and interpreting their TKI results and made comments about themselves in the

process. These comments often provided insight into whether they viewed a shift

occurring between their homeland and Canadian selves. Although T falls on the left end

of the political spectrum and H on the right, they both noted that they are critical

individuals and that this has not changed since moving to Canada. T emphasized that she

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[22] Image has been adapted from OPP Limited, 2014: http://www.opp.com/en/tools/tki#.U3tgVNJdWSo

has become far less political in Canada, because the context does not require strong political beliefs or involvement due to the lack of conflict. The continued discussion on transitions that participants noted in themselves and their perception of their own social groups since moving to Canada ties back into intersectionality theory for its emphasis on the ever-changing nature of identity (Falcon, 2009). As citizenship and residency changes, so do other identity factors like age and possibly social status; the compounding effect is felt by the individual whose social environment has shifted (Falcon, 2009). These discussions, centered on the TKI, also highlighted the importance of having context as the outermost shell of the conceptual framework, for it can certainly have an impact on one's identity and also their perceptions of conflict. In these cases, context should also be considered as space and time – how long the participant has been in Canada, and where they have lived.

Z also noticed a shift in his own identity, identifying as far more selfish since coming to Canada. When pressed to explain this, he said: *"my priority is myself and I like that"*. Z pointed out on multiple occasions that he is quite introverted and anti social, as did T, so certain similarities may emerge based on these personality traits. S, conversely, is extremely social. Much of her identity is derived from her social environment and she commented that she probably has not changed considerably since coming to Canada because she has always felt at home with multiple identities, as long as the core values remain the same. This belief in the importance of values was also evidenced in S's approaches to conflict, reminiscent of common approaches in conflict studies centered on underlying needs and interests – emphasize mutual respect and solutions will follow (Mayer, 2012).

Immigrant social identity. Similar to the theme of individual identity shifts, there was some interest in how social identities changed or remained the same after immigration to Canada. Social identity theory, which describes the needs and processes of group membership, is highly relevant to participants' social membership as immigrants (Ellemers, 2010). The three factors which most influence an individual's group membership are: *centrality, ingroup ties* and *ingroup affect* (Cameron, 2004). It is clear that all of the participants are still socially connected to their homelands to varying degrees. In terms of their current connections with fellow immigrants from their countries of origin, it is possible that the initial reaction of Canadians may have had an impact (Phinney et al., 2001). T discussed the difficulties she had adjusting to life in Canada; for example, a teacher at her first school told her mom, *"Miss, you have a sad daughter"* to which her mom replied, *"No, she's not sad. She's just new here. Try to understand what that's like".* On the other hand, H was met with a positive reception for his *"cool"* Israeli accent. According to Cornell (1996) stereotyping or misunderstandings by the receiving society can affect how immigrants connect with their homeland identities. Similarly, and relevant in T's case, Phinney et al. (2001) argued that "In the face of real or perceived hostility toward immigrants or toward particular groups, some immigrants may downplay or reject their own ethnic identity" (p.494). In the case of T, this may also relate to a desire not to be represented by the Israeli culture which may be perceived in Canada as right wing. Once again, social group affiliation is highly tied into notions of identity and representation.

Z, S, and H all clearly have strong *ingroup ties* as indicated by the fact that their social group in Canada is mainly compromised of fellow immigrants from their

homelands. They did all articulate that this was not an intentional social decision, but that it just naturally happened. Z, in fact, stated that he does not have more than a handful of friends in Canada and that he is happy with this situation – he is surrounded by a diverse group of academics all day and enjoys those interactions, but prefers solitude in any case. Although he does not have any Canadian friends, solely acquaintances and coworkers, Z emphasized that he still enjoys the social environment in Canada – even sitting in a Starbucks watching the *"politeness"* of Canadians is something he appreciates.

An important transition socially is which group one identifies with. T noted that although she was part of a more political group in Israel, she would not identify with any particular social group in Canada. As stated earlier, T is introverted and fairly critical – this contributed to her particular hesitation in identifying with an Israeli social group because they do not appreciate her political views. She voiced views similar to Richmond (1988) when he asks: "What are the constraints placed on individual choice through membership of a group and participation in a system?" (p. 45) T felt that were she to identify more closely with a social group comprised of Israelis she would be drawn into politics and opinions that would then limit her own freedom of choice in living her own life – she may be misrepresented.

S and H were the more extroverted participants and both stated that although most of their friends come from their homelands, they would like to make more friends from Canadian culture. For S, she went a step further and stated that she enjoys being surrounded by people from all different cultures because *"there really is at least one similarity between two people because we are human beings"*. The pleasure of social interactions comes partially from finding what she has in common with people from

seemingly different backgrounds – Canada is a great conduit for this. Finally, H relayed

that since his move to Canada he has always lived in predominantly Jewish

neighbourhoods where being Israeli worked to his advantage socially. He did make it

clear on numerous occasions though that he *"feels comfortable with Canadians"* and that

he is not trying to live in a *"Jewish bubble"*. If one follows the theory of Cornell (1996)

and Phinney et al. (2001) then the strong acceptance H felt by Canadian society and

positive regard for Israelis in his community has contributed to his maintaining an Israeli

Canadian identity.

It was interesting to note that even though some participants identify more with

their homelands than others, all participants except for Z said that they like to comment

on homeland conflict to Canadians. T even stated that she is asked *"not often enough"*.

Proximity to the cultural group then does not indicate willingness to share opinions on

homeland conflict.

Identity: familial ties and overlapping selves. The two major threads that came

out of a discussion on identity related to citizenship and residency were: remaining

relatives in the homeland causing a sustained connection, and whether an individual can

have multiple nationalities. T, unlike the other participants, sees her affiliation to a

country as being less overlapping and more exclusive – with her becoming *"more*

Canadian and less Israeli" as time passes. This probably has to do with her family's

views, as she even stated, *"I think for my dad a huge part of coming here is to leave the*

Israeli identity." At the same time, she did acknowledge the possibility of multiple

identities – it is merely a matter of choice. T and other participants' reliance on the notion

of choice in identity construction can be related to work done by Thornton (2007) who

states that "in the world of different 'social offers' of political, ethnic, national, and sectarian identities, people can choose the most useful or attractive one" (p.5). According to Thornton (2007), ethnic and national identities are not arbitrary or meaningless, but rather they can be accurate predictors of tendencies, including toward conflict. In fact, the idea of choosing one's identity is closely tied to participants' feelings about having chosen to move to Canada.

An individual's evolution toward self-identification as a global citizen, rather than as locked into any one (homeland) citizenship is also in line with Thornton's hope for escaping strong, potentially divisive nationalism – "universalistic identities" (2007, p.5). Most of the participants spoke to their intersecting identities. S explicitly stated *"I still feel Turkish and Canadian together"* because, to her, citizenship (and nationality) is about where you are born, where you spend your life and where you become *"engaged in that culture or country"* – hence the double connection. For the two Turkish participants this question was loaded as the cultural norm in Turkey is to hold one citizenship (and nationality), be it Kurdish, Turkish or foreign. Z spoke in more depth about this when he said that although he thinks it is ok to have multiple identities, *"The one thing that holds me back to say [sic] Canada is my home is [sic] perspectives of people I care [about]"*. The familial bond to Turkey affects not only his ties to the country, but also sense of competing identities.

Due to the importance of family in the creation of one's identity it was evident that participants felt that conflict will continue to affect them insomuch as their families are still living in places where conflict occurs. Once family leaves the homeland, the relationship between conflict and identity changes. This is illustrated in the conceptual

framework too, in the sense that identity is related to familial legacy which can clearly affect perceptions of conflict and emotional effects of it on individuals. To complement this discussion with further information about familial ties being the cause for maintaining national affiliations, one can consider sentimental and instrumental attachments (Tajfel, 1970). While one's family are still living in the homeland, it would be very difficult not to see a reflection of oneself in it – causing a sentimental attachment to that country. Participants when speaking about their Canadian and respective homeland identities intimated that they will always have ties to their homelands as long as their families remain there, but that the choice to come to Canada was one they identify with for their ability to further themselves in different ways. For S and Z their instrumental attachment to Canada can be found in their pursuit of higher education, while for H and T it related to security and sense of peace – although H implied that his move here was not by choice, as his family made the decision on his behalf.

This notion of others deciding one's citizenship, residency, or social identity was raised by H on numerous occasions through parables. His point being that in order to be loyal to any country one must realize what is crucial to one's core identity, in his case it is his Jewish faith. The centrality of Judaism to his sense of self has impacted his continuous engagement with conflicts in Israel (through spreading awareness, for example) – this is consistent with findings about high centrality of a social group to one's self-identification possibly making them more vulnerable and reactive to received acts of prejudice (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2010).

Narrative

     Personal reflection. All of the participants were grateful for the opportunity to participate in this research study. They expressed this at the end of the second interview, but also in their journals. The two males provided shorter reflective journals, basically summarizing their main narratives from the interviews. The two females were more detailed in their reflections, clearly outlining in their journals what they felt they needed to reflect on further after this experience: the complicated nature of relationship with their homelands, families and conflict. The content of the reflective journals confirmed their centrality to this research. In fact, the connection between sharing stories and developing cultural insight was made clear particularly in the two females' journals (Lebaron & Pillay, 2006). The concept of "cultural fluency" developed by Lebaron and Pillay (2006) shone through in participants' narratives as they primarily reflected on their own transitions as immigrants to Canada and experiences with conflict. Without the integral aspect of personal reflection it is unclear whether as much would have been gained from participation in this research. As well, it became clear that narrative was an appropriate central concept in the conceptual framework because narratives are flexible, rather than static and allow for an examination of a variety of topics. In addition, the methods - interviews and journals - allowed for continuity but also evolution throughout the process.

     General utility. These participants were all humble about their opinions, making it clear that they are not necessarily representative of all people from their homelands. Still, they saw the value in sharing their journeys because it will allow others to gain better insight into immigrants' experiences and also the conflicts in their respective homelands. This is in line with what Saul (2008) argues - the way forward is by including

the voices of the many Canadians who live and have lived here: "And indeed we are perhaps climbing out of this false [homogeneous] past by creating a new literature written by Canadians who carry roots from all over the world" (p.235). It is important for the opinions expressed in Canadian society to be representative of the diverse nature of its population. There is a purpose, then, as Saul (2008) notes in having immigrants to Canada share their journeys of immigration, including their past histories.

T and Z both emphasized that there is use in sharing narratives around topics such as these, but that it should only be done when those individuals wish to express themselves. Although it is usually argued that there needs to be more representation of immigrant voices because that would better reflect current Canadian society, one must of course consider whether those voices want to be heard. It is true that "At times it is as if Canada's diverse groups are not simply *allowed* to exist and express themselves, they are *expected* to do so, to place themselves on public display" (Kernerman, 2005, p.98). In encouraging a diversity of narratives within Canadian society one must be careful not to turn these new Canadians into an exotic breed of individuals whose opinions exist solely for the consumption of their host country's more established inhabitants.

Furthermore, T and Z explained that these stories and opinions are best used when they can contribute to change in some way. To clarify, although there is benefit in self-expression as a form of catharsis, it is more useful, in general, when the individual is in a position of power or can broadly share their stories for social transformation in a positive (not a *"poisonous"*) way. Finally, H echoed this sentiment when he explained that *"stories never hurt"* – they are always important means of teaching and learning lessons. He explained this through the example of Syrian refugees to Canada. If Canadians are

attuned to these experiences, they will learn which mistakes not to make with their own government.

Metaphor. As Mayer (2012) explains, when dissecting conflict, people will approach a problem in different ways and their method of describing it provides insight into their thoughts on its resolution. Participants expressed their opinions in a variety of ways, but certain tendencies emerged. H was most inclined to communicate his opinions through parables and the wisdom of previous religious leaders, while S had a tendency to express morals through personal anecdotes. H's approach to sharing narratives is clearly based in cultural and religious traditions. He takes Czarniawska's (2004) description of narratives being interactive based on other participants' thoughts to a new level. Rather than forging a narrative out of the beliefs of those present, H was presenting thoughts to represent a social group – using anecdotes commonly shared amongst its members for the benefit of *"the academic community"*.

All of the participants employed metaphors at different points in the research process. Both T and Z likened immigration and narratives to heartbreak. Z explained that sometimes it can be helpful for people to tell their story for no apparent reason because *"the best way to get over heartbreak is to write what you lived"*. T, two months later continued on from Z's thought in a sense by explaining:

> *Think about it this way, every day you're not together after a break up it becomes easier and easier because you leave more of it behind and you move on toward new identities and new experiences.*

S and H were more inclined to utilize metaphors for the purpose of describing conflict. S tried to explain the reasons why people find themselves in conflict: they are in

a *"tunnel"* unable to see the outside, but only their own destinations. Even when people are educated, they may still be closed-off to other peoples' perspectives due to lack of respect for others' opinions. Also attempting to boil conflict down to an image, H chose to describe Israel's conflicts through a pot of stew. Although the stew is made of meat if you add a bit of butter accidentally this will not cause problems[23]; however, if the proportions become too similar then this causes a different taste to emerge which is not pleasing to all. Similarly, because Israel's population has grown tremendously in such a short period of time it is not surprising that the mix of all of these people has led to some conflict.

Chapter Summary

This chapter built upon the last, threading together information from the individual case studies to find common links across participants. Although all of the participants shared their opinions in different ways, each one had valuable insights into their unique experiences and the common experience they share – immigration to Canada from a perceived country in conflict.

The thematic analyses confirmed the importance of the guiding conceptual framework as well as the specific choice of concepts. By linking theory to the empirical data it became clear that these concepts tie into each other, and certainly answer the main research question of this thesis. To begin with context, it was clear that participants felt that depending on the micro environment they came from they would perceive themselves and thus their narratives as more or less representative of their groups as a whole – connecting context, identity and narrative in one observation. An excellent

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[23] In the Jewish faith there are dietary laws called the *Kashrut* and mixing meat and milk is not permitted. Yet when it is a small portion of either, or done by accident without malicious intent then it is allowed.

comparison can be drawn between the Israelis, with the female distancing herself from any social groups beside her family, leading to a fairly individualized narrative, while the male Israeli's narrative was comprised almost entirely of parables that relate to his religious and homeland social group.

As well, participants' perceptions of conflict in their homelands tie into their views of how they choose to interact with Canadians about the subject matter: even the participants who denied that conflict had any effect on them openly expressed their desire to discuss those conflicts with Canadians in order to provide a richer picture of it for those living here. The implicit concept of interest in this case is identity – how participants view themselves (as expressed through their narratives), and how others will perceive them and their comments. The significance to the research question is that even those participants who did not think that conflict has any sustained effect on their lives, expressed opinions which indicated (to the researcher) that it did. The narrative approach then is clearly advantageous for the rich data that can be elicited. There are implications though for the nature of this qualitative research; subjectivity will invariably lead to different interpretations of even the same data. The following chapter delves into this in more depth by explicitly chronicling the researcher's perceptions and potential impacts on this thesis.

Chapter 6: Researcher Observations

"The essential strength and paradox of what we have to offer as conflict interveners is that we have the power to make a significant difference because we do not try to make things significantly different" *(Mayer, 2012, p.Xiii)*

This research was initiated in the spirit of better understanding how individuals of interest feel, which could open the gates for further developments in this area. This chapter, unlike the others, provides personal insight into the research process from the researcher's perspective. The reason behind this shift is that this research is bound to be infused with the researcher's perspective as it is operating from a critical inquiry paradigm. It is therefore necessary to acknowledge that even the most objective research is still formulated based on the researcher's pattern of interpretation and analysis (Neuman, 1997). By providing personal insight, a richer understanding of why and how this thesis progressed and in what ways the researcher may have influenced participants will emerge. For this reason, the personal pronoun *I* will be employed. Whereas the other chapters retain a degree of distance from the researcher's personal views this chapter is grounded in them. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: to chronicle changes that occurred in the thesis as it was being researched and written, as well as explaining the researcher's personal connection with the participants (as evidenced through comments in the interview process).

Changes

Set-Up. When first envisioning this thesis it appeared quite different to how it actually turned out. For example, my initial instinct had been to tackle reconciliation in ethnic conflict. This was based primarily on my family having emigrated from South

Africa to Canada – I wanted to examine in more depth the comparative effects of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in both countries. After some thought, I decided to take a more theoretical approach and hone in on intersectionality as it impacts immigrants. This idea morphed into the thesis as it stands.

Initially, I had the intention of researching: Mexico, Turkey and South Africa because they are three of the countries I have lived in and care deeply about – as well, they all have their own violent legacies. However, upon further reflection I realized that these choices had a personal, but not academic motivation (and justification). I remained committed to studying Turkey due to firsthand experiences with Turks internalizing aspects of various conflicts into their lives even after the worst of those conflicts was over. I was curious to see how Turks who left their homeland would hold onto aspects of those conflicts without any physical triggers. The choice to then study Israel came from a desire to be consistent in the geographical region: the Middle East. As well, I have travelled to Israel and grown up with many immigrants from there so I felt prepared to ask appropriate questions and interpret results accordingly – as previously discussed, I would be more culturally fluent with these participants (Lebaron & Pillay, 2006). After further research it also became clear that the types of conflicts in both of these countries were comparable in many ways.

Conceptual framework. The guiding concepts of this research were arranged into a conceptual framework from the start. Initially, the conceptual framework was comprised of five concepts: context, conflict, identity, emotion and narrative. Based on further research during the literature review, I determined that there was no longer a need to incorporate emotion as it is implicit in the narrative. The four remaining concepts were

strong enough and more explicitly integral in answering the research questions. Given this change in the number of concepts, the shape of the conceptual framework also changed. It was, at first, a triangular shape with conflict and identity as the two bottom corners, narrative at the precipice, emotion in the middle and context surrounding it. Once emotion was removed, it became clear that the shape implied a hierarchy when in fact all of the concepts were consistently impacting each other. For this reason, I created the oval figure presented at the beginning of this thesis. It better illustrates how all of the concepts are couched in conflict, but that they are all interconnected – they all affect each other. In the next chapter, I will chronicle suggestions for further changes based on findings from this research study.

Literature review. My initial instinct when writing the literature review was to include more of a methodological spin. I thought that this would add clarity and justification to the chosen methods and approach. However, this may have caused too much overlap possibly resulting in confusion and so I chose to emphasize the importance of the literature for research on immigrants, in general. As well, I had initially chosen to include brief reflections throughout the literature review even going so far as to write using the pronoun *I*. The decision to omit the reflective element came about because that material was moved to this section – dedicated entirely to reflection on the process.

Methodology. There were no major changes with regard to the methodology or the research methods; however, there were some serious difficulties which resulted in minor changes to the participant recruitment. All of the Turkish data were collected by mid March 2014, yet I was not able to secure appropriate Israeli participants until early May 2014. I began searching for Israeli participants in February 2014 in Ottawa. After I

received a conditional job offer in Toronto, I made a modification to the Human Research Ethics Board in April so that I could then recruit in Toronto (where I planned to move in May). I immediately began posting advertisements online and asked for help posting hardcopies of recruitment advertisements around Toronto – to no success. I then decided to follow up with an individual I had chatted with about my thesis at a social gathering in December 2013 and she became my first participant. I primarily used my social networks to then find a male. Along the way, I considered cutting the Israeli element all together as it was proving so challenging. I also thought about including two female Israelis rather than a male, because I had no leads for a male participant. Ultimately, I overcompensated by recruiting three Israelis: two females and one male. After deliberation, I only collected data from one female and one male to ensure consistency with the Turkish participants.

My frustration in trying to find Israeli participants was tempered by the curious nature of their reluctance to participate. Although it is a small community in Ottawa, I have a fairly large social network in the Jewish community so I was put in touch with multiple people who would fit my research criteria. After communicating with various individuals and even confirming their participation, they all withdrew. They were nervous about having their opinions put into writing (regardless of confidentiality), they were unwilling to write reflective journals (akin to the last point) or they felt that the time commitment was too much. This was interesting because I know many Israelis and have never experienced such hesitation in self-expression – likewise my two Israeli participants were surprised with the difficulties I had. Another contributing factor may be age. I had numerous respondents interested in participating who were over the age of 40 so there could be a generational component to the unwillingness of youth to voice their

thoughts. This may correlate to a shift in Israeli politics and society, or the social norms within the Israeli diaspora communities within Canada.

A final point to note about the participants is that I had initially included information about ethnicity and an emphasis on this, assuming that this would be the clearest category. Upon further reflection, and considerable discussion with others I came to realize that a focus on ethnicity could lead to a privileging narrative considering that conflicts in both countries entail an ethnic dimension. My primary concern is with the experience of moving between countries, not an analysis of the political conflict and majority or minority groups. Therefore, I chose to use homeland citizenship as the primary category.

My Narrative

As an individual with strong opinions, it can, at times, be difficult for me to disengage from myself and maintain my role as an impartial facilitator (interviewer, in this case). Although I have considerable experience doing this, there were times during the interviews when participants prompted me for my opinions on certain issues. Rather than shy away from an answer, I chose to engage given the conversational nature of these semi-structured interviews. All of these interactions were documented subsequent to the interviews in order to provide full disclosure of all interactions. The comments are fascinating for what they indicate about participants' interests as well as similarities with the researcher's background. It became evident that there was more of an incentive to speak (and be questioned) when there were shared places of residence. Specifically, Z and I had both lived in the same neighbourhood in Turkey and T (and to some extent H) and I had both lived in the same neighbourhood in Canada. Another curious coincidence

was that I had been affiliated with the same universities as three out of the four participants. However, these participants were not chosen for these reasons, they were purely happenstance. It is interesting to note that it was the two more introverted participants who had a tendency to ask me for my opinions - possibly because they felt a degree of familiarity with me by virtue of our shared understanding of certain communities. I will describe my most vocal contributions to the interviews, individual by individual, in chronological order of our encounters.

Z. To begin with, the first interview with Z was my first overall so this allowed for a fairly casual conversation to emerge as he asked me about my expectations and I reciprocated. He inquired into my interest in Turkey, as he was curious about foreigners' perspectives on his homeland. Once I told him where I had worked and lived, he became excited that we had a shared background and consistently asked for my opinions throughout the interview whenever the topic of education or Turkish culture emerged. For example, because we have both worked within the field of education he asked me how I felt about students inquiring into personal details such as ethnicity. He voiced his lack of interest in discussing these topics within an academic setting, but I admitted that I was open to discussing it with mine as it was an opportunity to break down stereotypes – particularly surrounding colour and religion as associated with certain areas of the world. He agreed that in the context of what I was teaching, this was a logical decision.

In the second interview, he shied away from asking questions about my personal background and chose instead to ask about my broader opinions on country conflict. Halfway through the interview he asked: *"What's going on in Turkey? Is there brute force or anything?"* I shared that, in my opinion, based on my knowledge of Turkey and

friends' experiences, I felt that there was a considerable amount of violence occurring. He followed up about my perspectives on Canadian conflict. In both interviews, he reiterated that he did not see conflict in Canada and did not understand why I would ask about it.

S. When I spoke with S, I felt comfortable but there was not the same level of personal understanding as with Z, possibly because we had not experienced the same social background in Turkey or in Canada. I realized that I had to be aware of holding back more on my opinions, because unlike Z she was not explicitly asking for me to confirm or reject her thoughts; however, I found certain points to really warrant further discussion. I caught myself wondering whether I wanted to interject because of my own opinions, or because her points were related to the guiding research questions. The distinction is important because it illustrates how I could be guiding the research differently depending on how and whether I choose to express my opinion. This was particularly salient when she discussed her negative views of the media and her perceived lack of real conflict in Turkey. In the second interview the only time I did provide my opinion as an interjection was to confirm her perspective on the importance of social life when immigrating to a new country.

T. As the first Israeli participant after a substantial search, I was extremely relieved to speak with T and automatically expressed my gratitude. Due to the fact that we had lived in the same neighbourhood there was an immediate ease to the discussions. I found myself vocally agreeing with her opinions as she commented on her experiences at a highly political university, as well as her frustrations with poor governance and blind

followers. I also noticed that I was more willing to provide personal information when she inquired into my background, including my own immigration journey to Canada.

She was highly perceptive and inquisitive, and I responded to this with a fair amount of information about my own opinions. When, at the end of the first interview, she told me that she did not think she was an appropriate representative of Israelis I provided her with justification for why her stories were just as valid as anyone else's. It was convenient though that the second participant came from a very different background, which resulted in a more representative (albeit small) sample. The second interview lasted for roughly an hour and a half because of a tangential conversation. For the sake of frankness, I have included these details in order to paint an accurate picture of how much more personal some of the interviews were than others.

H. Similar to my experience with T, I was elated to have found H and I made sure to express my gratitude in the interviews. H assumed that I would understand Jewish references, given the neighbourhood where I grew up and the social network that brought us together. He inquired into my religious background, but was not too pushy. He did make numerous references throughout the interviews to Jewish culture, using Hebrew and Yiddish words, which I fortunately understood. He would sometimes look at me uncertain as to whether he had pushed a boundary with some of his linguistic terms, but as soon as I nodded he would continue. He never asked for my opinion about any of the topics; but he did inquire into my experience at university – we both attended the same highly political university as T. He also pressed for detail regarding my family background as he was curious not only about my faith, but also my ethnicity. I provided

minimal information; confirming that I was an immigrant and where my parents and grandparents had emigrated from (and to).

Relationality in the methodology. The most important question drawn from the observations relayed above relates to the implications for future researchers regarding the use of narratives when studying subpopulations: was it the use of narrative itself that encouraged insightful dialogue or was it the personal connection that I forged with the participants based on a certain shared background (geographical or cultural)?

From the inception of this thesis it was clear that this research would be relational; fewer participants were chosen and the research process with each was deliberately lengthy in order to build trust. As indicated in this chapter, once participants began to notice commonalities with me they started to ask me more personal questions and also express curiosity regarding my opinions. This type of behaviour could be interpreted as confirmation for the desire of certain ethnic groups to cluster – similarity breeds confidence. However, I think that it is more complex than that. As this research has shown, identity cannot be attributed to any one factor. This is important for future research, because it indicates that if researchers are genuinely curious and willing to share information about themselves there will always be a connection with participants. As S consistently emphasized, we are all humans after all. To me, this suggests that work with unique subpopulations could definitely benefit from narrative-based research because of the ability to conduct it within a relational framework. It is incumbent upon the researcher to seek out shared points of interest with the participants in order to create a safe space for conversation. Rather than viewing the participant as a subject of the research, the researcher should make the participant feel that they are the co-creator of it.

Chapter Summary

This chapter is divided into two parts: procedural and content changes, and my narrative. The first part detailed my evolving perspective on the content and methodology, while the second part documented my interactions with the participants. The intention of this chapter is to provide honest insight into my decision-making process as the primary researcher. The procedural benefit is, of course, the improved ability to then replicate this study and also add a richer understanding for the interpretation of findings (based on an enriched understanding of the context).

By recording my own observations throughout this research study, I legitimized the choice of narrative for participants while also confirming the importance of reflection. Holding myself to the same standards that I held the participants meant that I was also able to glean insight into my own experiences through them. Sifting through my personal notes indicated that I had more firmly held beliefs than I had realized. It became clear that I disagreed with certain participants' opinions on the conflicts, as well as the effects of immigration. This just confirmed the importance of intersectionality in this research – each individual will have a different worldview dependent on their circumstances and personality. The research question centers on a specific subpopulation, "immigrants from countries in conflict"; however, my reflection has confirmed for me that although trends will always emerge they are never conclusive.

The participants (and my reflections post-interviews) led to the realization that I essentially grew up observing immigrants from countries in conflict. As a child and teenager I was constantly formulating theories about their experiences, and this research confirmed certain assumptions: sentimental attachment to a country is based primarily on human ties to it, sharing narratives has a cathartic impact, and fundamental views on

conflict can impact how a person chooses to associate with others from the same perceived (homeland) social group[24].

These personal reflections were crucial then, as a procedural decision they made me aware of the need to, at times, step back from the research because I was more closely invested than I had assumed. In order to produce research applicable for a broader community, I had to come to terms with my own biases – the participants, through their personal questions, exposed these to me. This shone through in the participant recruitment, as documented above. I had (falsely) assumed that because I had a strong social network of Israeli (and Jewish Canadian) individuals that I would very quickly find Israeli participants, and that any recruitment difficulties would stem from finding and gaining the trust of the Turkish participants. I was clearly mistaken. In the process I made certain observations: 1) people are interested in this topic and were therefore willing to help with recruitment 2) recruitment is not only about finding candidates, but also willingness to share 3) potential Israeli participants were less enthusiastic about sharing opinions. This may indicate that tensions run higher in the Israeli community regarding solidarity of opinions on conflict, or it may just be a simple matter of Israeli Canadian youth not being particularly interested in participating in this type of research. All of the above observations should be kept in mind while interpreting the findings of the next, and final, chapter.

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[24] For further insight into these subjects from a South African context, find "Ways of Staying" - a book by Kevin Bloom.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

This concluding chapter serves to tie together all of the information presented in this thesis, from the literature review of others' work to the narratives of participants. This discussion is summarized in the major findings section below. This is followed by reflections on policy, areas for future research and the conceptual framework, discussed in the final section.

Summary of Major Findings

This thesis was guided by a conceptual framework, consisting of concepts that all relate to the main research question. The major findings will be described as answers to the central research question and accompanying sub questions. The most conclusive finding was that Canada is a destination of choice for some newcomers partially because of the ability to just live one's life here without concern for security or major political threats. They are able to focus on themselves here, without being bogged down by external conflicts – a clear advantage. This finding should be kept in mind throughout the following discussion because it underscores the ideas presented below.

How does conflict in the homeland (country of emigration) continue to affect (new) immigrants once in Canada, if at all? The hypothesis when beginning this research study was that regardless of physical distance, conflict in the homeland would continue to affect individuals' identities in various ways. This was confirmed through participants' comments, acknowledging individual and social responses – even those who denied continued effects of conflict on themselves illustrated the effects in different ways and admitted that it does affect others (they just did not view it explicitly in their own lives). The real insight to be gained from this research came from the identification of ways in

which the effects continue to be felt by migrants. While some research has centered on continued links being expressly manifest through homeland political resistance movements (Richmond, 1988), this research study indicated that it can also be felt in a non-political and highly personal way. The participants clearly expressed that the strongest continued effect on them were their familial ties. T was vocal in her distinction between the conflict's effect on her family and her homeland, stating: *"I don't care about Israel the country and what would happen to them. I care about my family and what could happen to them"*. The safety of family members was the main way in which conflict continues to affect these individuals. For some participants family meant more immediate kin members, while for others it meant a broader social group – an ethnic or religious people, or humanity in general. This thesis also shows that although for some people ethnic and national ties are inseparable (as indicated in research by Phinney et al., 2001), for others they can and should be seen as distinct. Thus, in some ways a benefit of this thesis was identifying that intersectional identities exist, but that identity markers although correlated are not one and the same (such as homeland citizenship and ethnicity).

Linked to this finding was the realization that conflict continued to affect participants for the ways in which they were treated once here in Canada. Their country of emigration became a way in which they would be identified in Canada. As Phinney et al. (2001) noted, Canadian society's reception of immigrants will have an influence on the acculturation of these individuals and their respective ties to their homelands. In this case, the Israelis spoke to being targeted more for their heritage yet this could be both positive and also negative depending on the context. On the one hand, it may have

contributed to a rejection of identification with that group while on the other it was met with a proud continuous association. Thus, the continued conflict in the homeland and its prevalence in the news here in Canada had an effect on how participants were able to interact with Canadian society. Some participants chose to disengage politically and not identify with any social group, while others chose to remain active in their homeland social communities – interestingly in both cases, participants seemed eager to share their views on conflict.

Thus far, the findings have centered on individuals' connections to their homeland conflicts respective of their social identities: as family members and as new immigrants. Another interesting finding was how the conflicts impacted participants' self-perception as Canadians, as well as their notions of what being Canadian entailed.

How have participants negotiated any shifts in identity to a new citizenship (and/or residency)? All of the participants made it clear that they are able to perceive Canadian culture both as insiders and outsiders for they could remember their perceptions of the country before arriving, and now have their established views as Canadians. At times, it became clear that having come from countries with conflict impacted participants' views of themselves as Canadians. They all spoke to sharing values with Canadian culture, emphasizing security and freedom as central. The continued conflicts in their homelands appear to make them more appreciative of the lives they are able to lead here free of concern for military service or physical violence, for example.

For three out of the four participants their shift to a Canadian residency and identity has involved more selfish decisions about their own welfare. S and Z emphasized the educational opportunities they have in Canada, and T spoke of the ability to live her

life as she pleases. An assumption in some of the literature is that by changing countries, immigrants are also automatically changing social groups, which requires novel systems of cultural interpretation (Cornell, 1996; Lebaron & Pillay, 2006). Mobility between social groups may occur; however, it is worth considering how individuals view this shift. Some individuals intimated that the transition was natural because it was not forced: their choosing to move to Canada detracted from the difficulties of it. In addition, there are two unique perspectives: 1) by continuing to identify with individuals from their homelands, no massive change has occurred in their social groups 2) shared values trump the country, meaning that their choice of friends in the homeland and here in Canada would have more to do with individuals' dispositions rather than external affiliations. In both cases, this particular shift may not be as drastic as often considered – which is not to say that other transitions are not trying or extreme.

An important related finding was that although participants spoke to some degree of a transition in becoming Canadian, some spoke of already feeling Canadian before moving here – part of the reason for the move. This was either attributable to familial links to Canada or shared values like an *"open-minded"* way of being. As a result of this, one could argue that when considering transitional identities one must consider the shifting perceptions of former homeland identity in addition to consideration for a Canadian one. This research has indicated that in becoming more Canadian some newcomers begin to feel hostility toward members of their former homeland social group. This is of note because the frustration lies in those individuals not behaving in more Canadian ways, regarding freedom of speech in particular – self-identification and social identification can change, as can overall value perceptions of groups. This can

clearly be tied into methods of acculturation into the new society (Phinney et al., 2001); however, this thesis also indicates that there is not a robust enough body of research on the deculturation[25] strategies of immigrants from their homelands – taken in this context to mean how they disengage from or modify those cultural pasts.

An additional (and unexpected) finding was how participants viewed Canadians. There was agreement across the board about certain traits, particularly politeness and inclusivity. The most fascinating point was not centered on what unites Canadians, but rather what separates them. Of note are the Israeli responses when asked about Canadians' perceptions of conflict in their homelands – they both distinguished between Jewish Canadians and non-Jewish Canadians. This of course is an interesting finding for the nature of Jewish/Israeli identity itself, which can often involve overlap between religion, ethnicity, citizenship, residency, and culture more broadly.

There was also some discussion in a few interviews about Canadian identity disappearing as the society incorporates a high number of immigrants. The perceived inclusive nature of Canadian society could lead to Canadians *"oppressing themselves"* as evidenced by a lack of official engagement with holidays like Christmas, for example. Participants clearly all had an idea of who a Canadian was – for some it was clearly linked to traditional notions of a Christian individual. This seems paradoxical for participants' acknowledgement of themselves as Canadian, while still holding a typified image of what it entails as "different". However, participants were all clear that they appreciated Canadians' kind nature and the stability of the country overall; the lack of

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[25] Deculturation is not taken to mean a complete withdrawal from culture, as this is "contrary to the interpersonally based nature of human beings" (Del Pilar & Udasco, 2004, p.175). For further discussion on the topic and its many definitions please see Del Pilar and Udasco's full article, as described in the References section.

conflict in Canada directly correlates with the ability of Canadians to live their lives as they please – respectful of all. The participants' perceptions on Canadians' treatment of them as newcomers is reflective of research done by a variety of academics (Kernerman, 2005; Saul, 2008).

How central are the conflicts to participants identifying with their homelands? It is difficult to assess the centrality of conflicts in individuals identifying with their homelands; however, it was clearer for certain participants than others. If a participant did not perceive there to be considerable conflict in the homeland, there did not seem to be any effect on how they self-identified. When participants did note the conflict, they reacted in one of two ways: either distancing themselves from their homeland identity, or clinging to it more strongly because of the conflict. For example, T and Z both voiced frustrations with how fellow citizens of their homeland reacted to conflict – aggressively, or close-mindedly; while H was adamant about the need to keep Israel in his thoughts because of the violence. Interestingly, these findings did not predict how strongly participants identified as Canadians.

There is also a related finding of interest regarding social media use and centrality of conflict when connecting with others from the homeland. As indicated in chapter five, participants consistently mentioned that they continue to interact with friends and family in their homelands via social media; however, when discussions become political they disconnect. This could indicate that participants do not want those conflicts (and politics) to affect their primary social connections with loved ones in their countries of origin. This would relate to the previous finding of attachment to the homeland conflict being related to sentimental concern for loved ones, rather than the country itself.

A related finding is about the impact of social media on the centrality of conflict in homeland identity. Dependent on how research is conducted, future findings may indicate that there is a difference between virtual and "real" social impact because of the shifts in how people relate to each other. For example, when S reacted to a friend posting about Turkish conflict on social media in ways that she disagreed with she inadvertently exposed the impact of technology: while in the past, members of one's social group may have held opinions that were not prototypical they had less impact but now information can be shared very easily with hundreds, if not thousands, of individuals because of the internet – an individual can very quickly misrepresent a group. This is in line with Hogg's (2010) research on uncertainty-identity theory and self-categorization theory, because prototypicality within groups leads to increased social attraction and also leadership positions within communities, while divergent actions can lead to anxiety for individuals and their social groups. In sum, "real" and virtual methods of self-expression may be impacting upon how conflict factors into one's actions and self-identification with their homelands.

How do participants view their roles in the conflicts in their homelands? Regardless of *centrality* or *affect* for the homeland citizens' ingroup, participants were still eager to discuss homeland conflict with others – they saw their opinions as complementary to either the standard media or societal discourse (Cameron, 2004). Willingness to raise awareness about the conflicts was in no way tied to continued social or self-identification with that homeland; in fact, participants saw it more as a duty because they had experienced the countries first-hand in the past. Their explanatory role

in the homeland conflict as members of a diaspora group pertains to perceptions of the media, most often as a source of biased news surrounding those conflicts.

In discussing participants' roles in homeland conflicts, another interesting finding surfaced – an understanding of the definition of a "country in conflict". It emerged from discussions that every country has its own form of conflict, and in reality the labels one ascribes are based on arbitrary criteria on a scale. The danger in placing labels on countries comes from the misrepresentation that follows of those countries being *"the only"* ones with conflict, whereas in reality they just have more (typically defined as physical) conflict as compared to other countries. This finding may indicate unwillingness on the part of some individuals to admit that their country has conflict, if they assume that it will then be understood as out of the norm (extremist) or lead to a negative perception of citizens of (and from) that homeland.

Reflections

This section is divided into practical and philosophical implications of this research. The former is akin to recommendations, particular to policy makers, teachers and conflict practitioners; the latter deals with broader implications for academics and suggested amendments to the conceptual framework.

Practical implications. Participants were vocal about their recommendations for Canadian society and the educational system specifically. Their opinions, in addition to the research conducted throughout this study, informs this section. As private companies and non profit organizations exist, in addition to government departments, with mandates aimed at helping newcomers it is difficult to comment on the extent of services offered at

present. The main recommendation, therefore, is that information be disseminated more broadly and efficiently about the services which are available to newcomers.

Participants consistently raised suggestions about counselling services being made available to newcomers, or that services differentiate between clients, namely those coming from backgrounds marred with violence and those who are not. In fact, these services do exist and distinguish between refugees and all other immigrants (economic, family class and so on)[26]. In a similar vein, another recommendation was that it would be prudent to incorporate the use of social media and particularly online forums in the integration of newcomers into Canadian society. As it happens, virtual (moderated) forums for newcomers exist which the government can take advantage of in encouraging newcomers to make use of these resources. As some of the participants in this study mentioned, and as academics have noted, acculturation of immigrants depends largely on the attitudes of the receiving society (Phinney et al., 2001; Richmond, 1988; Saul, 2008). Therefore, the incorporation of mentorship-like programs into the process of granting Canadian residency (and/or citizenship) or newcomer enrollment in Canadian educational institutes, could tackle both the difficulties of integrating into a new country and also increase Canadians' awareness of the immigrant experience.

In fact, all of these suggestions: counselling, forums, language classes and mentorship programs, do exist[27]. Once again, the problem lies in the marketing and advertising of these services – if recent newcomers to Canada are oblivious to these services, perhaps the problem lies in the awareness and not the services themselves.

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[26] Please see the reference for CIC, 2010 for further information about immigration policy.

[27] CIC has created an interactive map for newcomers to access information about services: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/newcomers/map/ontario.asp

Furthermore, if the information is out there but participation is low perhaps these

services should be modified for their client base. It should be noted that the services

detailed above are also applicable within the educational context. Based partially on

participants' experiences it is recommended that schools continue to fund language

classes and provide social programs for newcomers to better integrate them into the

Canadian school context. The way in which these services are provided should also

account for the findings of this research, namely the importance of easing identity shifts

for immigrants and supporting them in their continued connections to their homelands.

An additional practical implication, of special importance for conflict

practitioners and teachers, relates to empirical and academic contributions regarding

conflict's omnipresent nature and potential to spur on growth (Lederach, 2003; Thornton,

2007). Participants indicated that although conflict can be damaging, it also requires an

ability to consider the perspectives of others – often a positive development. This may be

of importance for professions working with conflict, or individuals who have experienced

conflict, because rather than trying to treat the conflict as a problem and quash it, there

may be further utility in asking participants to analyze it for the benefits it can accrue and

then take steps to transform it in a positive way. Essentially, flexibility should be used by

conflict practitioners (and educators), as indicated also by the diverse TKI results and

their confirmation by the participants. Some individuals may appear reluctant in

discussions surrounding conflict not because they have nothing to say, but rather because

they fear that their voice will not be heard.

Philosophical implications. The recommendations previously listed relate mainly

to a societal or governmental context, while this section can be thought of as a

continuation of those ideas related specifically to an academic context – areas for further research, and possible amendments to the conceptual framework. The findings of this research study have indicated that there is clearly a strong correlation between conflict, identity and context as well as a need for diverse means of expressing these ideas. The gratitude of participants and comments about not having the opportunity to discuss these issues illustrates that many people will talk if given the opportunity or a purpose. It is incumbent upon academics then to promote further interdisciplinary research – incorporating more Psychology (Social, Behavioural and so on) in addition to Political Science in Conflict Studies, for example. This would do justice to the interconnected relationships between identity and immigration, particularly for individuals from countries in conflict. In fact, an area for further research is the examination of the relationship between interpersonal and intercultural conflict. Although literature exists on culture and conflict, there is a gap in terms of how personality plays into immigration patterns or how interpersonal conflict-handling styles may be correlated with cultural trends toward conflict. The benefits would be far-ranging for academics, as well as the immigrants themselves who could receive more targeted services based on research incorporated into policy.

This type of research could also be extended to a broader population base, possibly altering the methodology along the way by incorporating a longitudinal design which targets individuals who apply to come to Canada – studying them pre-arrival, post-arrival and several years afterwards. Findings would possibly emerge regarding individuals' intentions to stay in Canada, and subsequent migration patterns.

Immigrants generally arrive in a new country with a strong sense of their national or cultural origin and with varying degrees of willingness to adopt the identity of their new society. Subsequent generations face differing identity issues associated with their sense of belonging to their ancestral culture and to their country of settlement. However, there is relatively little research examining these differences. (Phinney et al, 2001, p.504)

There are clearly many areas for future research on this topic relating to second and third generation Canadians, social media and the concepts of this thesis in general: context, conflict, identity and narrative. The use of these concepts and their arrangement in a conceptual framework was confirmed through empirical data gathered from participants as well as the literature reviewed for this thesis. In effect, the philosophical reflections chronicled above also pave the way for future amendments to the conceptual framework, revolving around additional detail for each concept. Suggestions will be mentioned below; listed according to their presentation in the conceptual framework.

In terms of context, a further distinction could be drawn between space and time. This is in line with work by Tuhiwai Smith (1999), which indicates the importance of community in the development of culture and narratives. Empirical data confirmed this notion through participants' discussions on micro environments leading them to feel more or less representative of their homeland social groups; and the emphasis by some participants on how long they have been in Canada correlating with their feelings of identification with it. Adding time and space into considerations of context would also be important for research on immigration because at present much of it centers on policies regarding multiculturalism and nationalism, which while connected to identity and space

do not necessarily factor in how length of time in a country may affect acculturation strategies (Kernerman, 2005; Phinney et al., 2001).

Literature on how individuals experience conflict exists (Mayer, 2012; Sloan & Chicanot, 2009), but there is less about how conflict can shift the nature of culture or its effects on individuals. The empirical data gathered from participants shows that effects of conflict can be perceived by others without being acknowledged by those individuals, this indicates a need to better understand perception in the field of Conflict Studies and its incorporation into the framework. In fact, this concept could serve as a ladder between conflict and identity, with related topics as the rungs. For example, personality type and TKI results could be incorporated as they relate to both conflict and identity; yet, they are often considered within the domain of interpersonal conflict, with no consideration for broader macro conflicts (Shell 2001; Womack, 1988).

Based on empirical findings and the literature review it is clear that there is value in viewing identity as flexible (at times) and intersectional, a position that has been confirmed by some academics but should be noted on a broader scale (Brown, 2007; Falcon, 2009). The conceptual framework could then be amended to somehow account for shifting and static identity markers, if possible. In fact, some participants illustrated this through a discussion on superficial identity markers like citizenship or residency (shifting) being different to core values (static). The added dimensions in this case would be shifting/static and superficial/core.

Finally, narrative has been considered both in terms of a concept as well as a methodological tool in this work and this distinction could be incorporated into the conceptual framework. On the other hand, what seems to be of most value, considering

the researcher's observations of participants' narratives, was the grey area between social and individual narratives. Czarniawska (2004) speaks to this when she discusses the interactive nature of narrative creation. It is important to consider though, because literature can, at times, acknowledge the importance of context but still speak in sweeping generalizations about immigrants (for example) without adequately considering notions of individuality and representation (Thornton 2007; Richmond, 1988).

Exactly how these changes should be visually represented is unclear. Ultimately, it is possible that additional dimensions could be added to the conceptual framework, but at this point the exact choices are unclear. In addition, dependent on how future research is conducted and how those questions are formulated other issues may be of relevance such as a detailed division of identity like age, gender, ethnicity, and so on.

Concluding Thoughts

This research study has identified how conflict continues to affect immigrants from countries in conflict, while also providing insight for future work in this field. The empirical findings combined with the review of academic and grey literature confirmed the utility of the guiding conceptual framework and the importance of the main research question (for this thesis). However, there were unique considerations that led to some reconsideration for the composition of the conceptual framework. This is implicitly linked to the potential for future areas of research, including: connections between interpersonal and cultural approaches to conflict, intergenerational identity shifts for immigrants from countries in conflict and narrative as a social vs. an individual phenomenon.

By focusing on the narratives of immigrants from Turkey and Israel, this research study has illustrated that there is considerable diversity of opinion between immigrants even from the same country, indicating the need for the inclusion of intersectionality theory in this type of social research – no one identity marker alone will define a person's view. That being said, there are certain similarities which emerged in the findings that should be considered when dealing with newcomer populations; particularly, sensitivity to ongoing connections to homeland conflict due to familial (and sentimental attachments), consideration for how the media and the host society impact immigrant acculturation and deculturation strategies, and the ways in which identity can change over time but also how multiple identities can overlap. It is imperative that the multitude of voices that contribute to Canada's national fibre continue to do so and be received with empathy; ultimately, our identity is as much about how we see ourselves as it is about how others see and treat us.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment Poster

Dispute Resolution
University of Victoria

Are you an adult who immigrated to Canada from TURKEY OR ISRAEL? I want to hear YOUR stories!

I am looking for volunteers to take part in a study of
the effects of conflict in one's homeland on their post-immigration identity in
Canada. As a participant in this study, you would be interviewed (by me, a
graduate student) about your journey to Canada, and how the continued conflict
in your homeland affects you. All participation is confidential and voluntary.

Your participation would involve 2 face-to-face meetings,
each of which is approximately 1.5 hours in length; as well as writing in a
reflective journal. You will also have the option to review transcripts and
drafts, which would involve an additional (estimated) 2 hours of participation.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study,
please contact:
Anna Press, lead researcher
at
250.516.1741 or
anna.press@gmail.com

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance
through the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Board. For further
information, please contact (250) 472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca.

Appendix B: Recruitment Script

Hello,

My name is Anna Press, and I'm a Master's student at the University of Victoria, in British Columbia. I am studying Dispute Resolution, and am particularly interested in conflict in the Middle East. I am contacting you because I feel that you could be an appropriate participant for my thesis research. I hope to learn more about the experience of immigrants to Canada specifically from Turkey and Israel. In particular, I want to hear your stories about how (and whether) conflict in your homeland affects you here.

If you choose to participate in this research, you will be meeting with me twice in person. During these meetings we will discuss a variety of topics including your journey to Canada, and the effects of the conflict in your homeland on you. If at any point the subject matter becomes too uncomfortable, we will stop the discussion. This research is about hearing your stories, and that means that you should never feel pressured. It is important to note that I will require your permission, because I will be taking notes during these meetings. That being said, your name will never appear in any of the final material – it will be completely confidential and private. This study also requires some brief journal writing after the meetings, and I will give you instructions on how to do this. Overall, participation in this study will take approximately 3 hours in person, as well as the time spent writing in your journal – an estimated hour and a half total. In addition, you will have the option to review transcripts of our interviews and drafts of my thesis, which would involve an additional time commitment of roughly 2 hours. There will be no payment for participation in this study, it is entirely voluntary.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at anna.press@gmail.com and provide me with your availability as well as some information about yourself to confirm your appropriate fit for this research. I will then send you a confirmation email so that we can set up a meeting time. Finally, this study has been approved by the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Board, and if you have further questions feel free to contact them at (250) 472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca.

Sincerely,

Anna

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Dispute Resolution, University of Victoria   *Participant Consent Form*

Identity Voyage: An Investigation into how Homeland Conflict Affects the Identities of Immigrants to Canada

You are invited to participate in a study that is being conducted by me, Anna Press, a Master's student at the University of Victoria in the Dispute Resolution program of the School of Public Administration. This research will contribute to my thesis requirement. You can contact me if you have any questions or concerns, at any time. My phone number is: 250.516.1741 and my email is: anna.press@gmail.com. In addition, you can contact my supervisor, Dr. Catherine Althaus-Kaefer, at calthaus@uvic.ca.

Purpose and Objectives
The purpose of this research project is to study how conflict in immigrant homelands affects post-immigration identity in Canada. Through narrative accounts of identity and conflict, the research explores what connects people to conflict even when they are physically removed from it. The objective is to gather stories from participants, like yourself, in order to hear more from an underrepresented group and also generate links between work done on identity, conflict and narratives. In this way, I aim to promote awareness about these important issues (e.g. immigration from countries in conflict and adjusting to Canada) to share with individuals from dissimilar backgrounds. I will also be using a conceptual framework to guide the research, which can serve to help people better understand the links between conflict, identity, and narratives.

Importance of this Research
Research of this type is important because it contributes to academic literature on immigration, identity and conflict studies in order to further encourage future studies. As well, it helps to promote immigrant experiences in a more mainstream context so that more people develop insight into what it is like to come to Canada from a country in conflict.

Participants Selection
You are being asked to participate in this study because you are an adult immigrant to Canada from the Middle East, specifically Turkey or Israel. In particular, your selection is also based on your living in Ottawa <u>or Toronto</u> given that the researcher is currently living in Ottawa <u>and travels to Toronto regularly</u> and it is important to conduct this interview research based on face-to-face interviews.

What is involved
If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include two interviews (of about 1.5 hours each), as well as reflective journal writing (this is estimated to take 1.5 hours). Both the journals and interviews are key components of this research, thus if you choose to participate you are consenting to both. During the interviews, you will be audiorecorded and I will also taken written notes so that I can more easily recall information for when I write up the thesis. As well, a transcription will be made of parts of the interview. During the first interview you will also fill out a questionnaire, which provides more information about

your conflict handling style so that we can discuss this in the second interview. The interviews will take place on the Carleton University campus, <u>York University</u> or a location of your choice. Please keep in mind that there is no reimbursement for travel, to ensure equity for all participants. The journal writing can take place wherever is most convenient for you; the entries will be sent to me via e-mail.

Inconvenience
Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you, including time and effort. Participation will involve roughly 4.5 hours of your time. If you would like to review transcripts and drafts, then more time will be required. Physically getting to the interviews is your responsibility, there will be no financial compensation. In addition, you will be expected to write journal entries after both interviews.

Risks
There are some potential risks to you by participating in this research and they include emotional and/or psychological discomfort. To prevent or to deal with these risks the following steps will be taken: I will provide you with sample questions before the interviews; I will provide you with all information from the start; you are able to take breaks and/or withdraw at any point in the research. As well, you will have my contact information so that if you feel the need to speak to me about any concerns, you can contact me at any time. In addition, I have appended a list of counselling services in the Ottawa <u>and Toronto</u> area in case further help is needed.

Benefits
The potential benefits of your participation in this research include helping yourself, society and also the academic world. For you, this research is an opportunity to reflect on your own journey to Canada, and tell your stories to someone who is genuinely interested in listening (me!). As well, the opportunity to write in a reflective journal will teach you a skill that you can choose to incorporate into your life. Your participation in this research would also encourage more immigrant perspectives to be heard in Canadian society; it's a chance to hear from more voices in this "multicultural" nation. This could also have implications for Canadian policy, as your stories will help policy makers better understand how people choose to live in and create communities. Finally, your participation will help contribute to academia by providing the stories that I can use to tie together various fields, like conflict studies and immigration. This interdisciplinary approach will be invaluable for future research. Your participation would have many benefits for many people.

Voluntary Participation
Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your data will only be used if you provide consent.

On-going Consent
To make sure that you continue to consent to participate in this research, I will ask you to initial the consent form at our second interview. Subsequent to that, if you'd like to participate by reviewing parts of the transcript or drafts, then I will remind you via e-mail of this consent agreement. As well, you will receive reminders of consent when receiving your journal entry instructions.

Anonymity

In terms of protecting your anonymity, your name will never be used nor any identifying characteristics such as your place of work unless you request it.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by keeping the data locked up, and password protected. As well, I will delete all e-mails with your journal entries as soon as I've received them – the data will be put into a Microsoft Word document and saved on my laptop. Only my supervisor and I are involved in this research, so there is no chance of anyone else looking at the raw data. You should note that there is a possible limit to confidentiality if you have found out about this research through your social network. In that case, it is possible that other people are aware of your participation because they informed you about this research project.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: with all other participants (maximum ten), in my thesis (online), possibly at presentations, and in future publications (e.g. journal article). Your anonymity will be protected – no one will be able to determine your identity, unless you choose to identify yourself.

Disposal of Data

Data from this study will remain with me in the future, in case of further studies (e.g. PhD), or publications. Because there is a possibility for future use of data, for journal articles or publications, you will have the option to consent to this at the end of this form. Please keep in mind that this includes data from the journal entries and interviews. however, it will be anonymized. If you do not give consent for future use of data then it will be deleted following the completion of this thesis. The email correspondences will be deleted from my inbox, and the entries will be stored as Microsoft Word documents. As previously stated, all data will be stored on my laptop and a USB – password protected. The audiorecorder will be kept locked up in my place of residence.

Contacts

Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include myself, Anna Press, or my supervisor, Dr. Catherine Althaus-Kaefer.

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

Confidentiality

I consent to be identified by name / credited in the results of the study: _____
(Participant to provide initials)

I consent to have my responses attributed to me by name in the results: _____
(Participant to provide initials)

Future Use of Data

I consent to the use of my interview data in future research: _____ (Participant to
provide initials)

I consent to the use of my journalling data in future research: _____ (Participant to
provide initials)

I **do not** consent to the use of my interview data in future research: _____
(Participant to provide initials)

I **do not** consent to the use of my journalling data in future research: _____ (Participant to
provide initials)

I consent to be contacted in the event my data is requested for future research: _____
(Participant to provide initials)

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Counseling Services in the Ottawa Area

There are many available therapists, psychologists and centers for counseling in the
Ottawa area. If you feel like you would like to contact one during or after your
participation in this research, I have provided a list below. You can contact anyone
outside of the list too - it is just a list to help provide you with some guidance and
suggestions. I cannot take responsibility for the advice or quality of service that you
receive.

1. A list of therapists:
   http://therapists.psychologytoday.com/rms/state/ON/Ottawa.html

2. A list of psychologists and therapists in Ottawa:
   http://www.theravive.com/cities/on/counselling-ottawa.aspx

3. Mental health programs through Family Services Ottawa:
   http://familyservicesottawa.org/adults/mental-health-programs/

4. Pinecrest-Queensway Community Health Centre (free):
   http://www.pqchc.com/mental-health-services/

5. Crisis line for people living in the Ottawa area (free, by phone): http://crisisline.ca/home.htm or call 613-722-6914 or 1-866-996-0991

6. 24/7 information about mental health services in Ontario: http://www.connexontario.ca/ or call 1-866-531-2600 (mental health)

7. Canadian Mental Health Association Ottawa branch: http://ottawa.cmha.ca/programs-and-services/

Counseling Services in the Toronto Area

There are many available therapists, psychologists and centers for counseling in the Toronto area. If you feel like you would like to contact one during or after your participation in this research, I have provided a list below. You can contact anyone outside of the list too - it is just a list to help provide you with some guidance and suggestions. I cannot take responsibility for the advice or quality of service that you receive.

1. Family Services Toronto Walk-in Clinic (free): http://www.familyservicetoronto.org/walkincounselling.html

2. Canadian Register of Health Service Psychologists, a database: http://www.crhspp.ca/

3. Distress Centers, free phone call service: www.dcontario.org

4. Centre for Addiction and Mental Health: http://www.camh.ca/en/hospital/Pages/home.aspx or (416) 535-8501

5. Humber River Regional Hospital, free outpatient mental health services: (416) 249-8111

6. Toronto East General Hospital (East York) (416) 249-8111

7. West End Walk-in Counselling Centre (Toronto West) (416) 394-2424 ext 34

Appendix D: Sample Turkish Interview Guide

<u>Interview 1</u>

1. Which country are you from?
2. When did you leave? Did you come straight to Canada?
3. Where would you consider your homeland?
4. Why did you leave Turkey and come to Canada?
5. Can you describe Turkey?
6. What is the main conflict in Turkey?
7. How present is the conflict in your thoughts now? How does it still affect your life in Canada?
8. Would you like to go back to Turkey? Under what conditions?
9. Have you ever felt forced into acting out your Turkish identity in Canada? How so?
10. How often are you asked to comment on conflict in your homeland?
11. Have you ever felt cornered or threatened by people looking to discuss the conflict?
12. How has your identity changed or remained the same since moving?
13. Which social groups do you identify with?
14. Would Canada ever be your homeland?

<u>Interview 2</u>

1. To what extent do you agree with your TKI results?
2. How consistent is your interpersonal style with your immigration pattern?
3. Do your results indicate how Turkish conflict may affect or not affect you?
4. You were high on avoidance, but have you ever thought about engaging in conflicts willingly? How so, e.g. secular/Islam, Gezi Park etc.?
5. Last time we touched briefly upon identity you said you already felt Canadian before coming here – after reflecting, do you still feel this way?
6. What do you find to be the biggest effect on your identity development?
7. Given you still have ties to Turkey do you experience nostalgia? How do you think Canadians view immigrants still having ties to their homelands?
8. Have you considered what full integration as a Canadian would mean for your identity as a Turk? This relates to the idea we discussed last time of how you'd feel after living 30 years in Canada...
9. What support would you need while integrating into Canada? What supports/services have you made use of so far?
10. Do you feel special supports/services should exist for people who move from countries with more conflict? What kinds of supports/services?
11. Ultimately, in your opinion, what is the connection between conflict and identity?