Université de Montréal

CULTURE, RELIGION AND CHILDREARING PRACTICE: A CASE

STUDY OF PRACTICING MUSLIM-MOROCCAN

IMMIGRANTS IN QUÉBEC

Student: Abdelfettah Elkchirid

École de service social

Faculté des Arts et des Sciences

September 7th, 2016

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Phylosophy (Ph.D)

Abstract (English)

The purpose of this research was to explore parenting strategies in cultural transmission of participating Muslim Moroccans immigrant parents residing in two areas of Quebec using a qualitative approach. In particular, this study highlighted the childrearing choices as the parents attempted to pass on their culture to the next generations in a cultural conflict context. Through focus group and semi-structure interviews, this study explored the participants' perceptions regarding their immigration struggles while providing an insider's view on their childrearing strategies in acculturation context. Three findings were made based on the analysed data as 1) identity ensuring cultural transmission; 2) cultural transmission strategies, and 3) culture integration strategies in sampled Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents.

The first finding of this study is that religious identity was ensured in cultural transmission in the sampled Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents living in a secular society. The religious identity was constructed through the parents' connection and association with the Moroccan community, and their identity primacy of religion was over their ethnicity. Secondly, this study identified five strategies of cultural transmission used by the Moroccan participants to tackle the challenges from the host culture, which included cultural transmission within the family, transmitting culture values as a part of cultural transmission, ensuring their children attended Muslim schools, ensuring strong connections with the country of origin, and monitoring their children socialisation to limt the perceived threat to their cultural heritage from the host society. The third and final finding is about the biculturalism, secularization as adaptation and acculturation in culture integration strategies. The participating Muslim-Moroccan parents were attempting to face the host society challenges with limited openness and integration strategies. The culture integration strategies of the participants included their biculturalism strategies, their secularization as a form of adaptation, and their acculturation strategies. The implications of this study to future research, intervention strategies, and training or education of social workers were given at the end of this thesis.

Keywords: acculturation, biculturalism, childrearing, host culture, integration, immigrant, cultural transmission, identity, original culture, parenting, religion

Résumé

Cette recherche, de type qualitative, a examiné comment des parents Marocains qui s'identifient majoritairement comme musulmans pratiquants et résidant dans deux régions du Québec, préservent et transmettent leurs valeurs culturelles à leurs enfants. En particulier, cette étude a mis en évidence leurs choix de stratégies d'éducation dans un contexte de conflit culturel. Les perceptions des participants ont été explorées par le biais de deux méthodes de collectes de données : des groupes de discussion ainsi que des entrevues semi-structurées.

Les données de cette recherche ont identifiés trois aspects : 1) l'identité et les valeurs culturelles qu'ils souhaitent transmettent ; 2) Les stratégies de transmission culturelle, et 3) les stratégies d'intégration culturelle de ce groupe de parents Marocains. D'abord ces parents se donnent comme objectif prioritaire d'assurer la transmission de l'identité religieuse comme processus de base de la transmission culturelle. Le renforcement de l'identité religieuse auprès des enfants passe par la connexion et l'association des parents avec la communauté marocaine. Ainsi l'identité musulmane est perçue plus importante que l'appartenance ethnique.

En second lieu, cette étude a mis en évidence cinq stratégies de transmission culturelle afin de relever les défis de conflits avec la culture d'accueil. Ces stratégies comprenaient des modes de transmission au sein même de la famille ; la transmission des valeurs en tant que partie intégrante de la transmission culturelle ; la fréquentation d'écoles musulmanes ; le maintien de liens étroits avec le pays d'origine ; et enfin,des méthodes qui contrôlent la socialisation de leurs enfants avec l'environnement externe, étant donné que ces parents perçoivent certaines valeurs et pratiques de la société d'accueil comme potentiellement menaçante.

La troisième constatation de cette étude porte sur le biculturalisme et la sécularisation comme stratégies d'adaptation culturelle. En effet, les parents participants ont tenté de faire face aux défis d'adaptation à la société d'accueil par le biais de certaines stratégies d'ouverture et d'intégration, quoique relativement limitées.

Enfin en guise de conclusion, des implications pour les recherches futures, les stratégies d'intervention ainsi que pour la formation ou l'éducation des travailleurs sociaux ont été identifiées

Mots-clés : acculturation, biculturalisme, éducation des enfants, culture d'accueil, intégration, immigration, transmission culturelle, l'identité, la culture d'origine, parentalité des immigrants, de religion.

Acknowledgments

Je tiens à exprimer ma gratitude et ses remerciements à mes co-directrices de recherche Professeure Claire Chamberland, et Professeure Ghayda Hassan, vous avez été deux mentors extraordinaires pour moi. Je voudrais vous remercier pour m'encourager pour mes recherches et de me permettre de grandir en tant que chercheur. Vos conseils à la fois sur la recherche ainsi que sur ma carrière ont été inestimable. Je tiens également à remercier les membres de mon comité, professeur Lenoir, professeur Panet-Raymond, et professeur Poirier pour servir comme membres du comité. Je tiens également à vous remercier pour vos commentaires et suggestions brillantes. Je tiens particulièrement à remercier la direction, et le personnel de l'École de service social de l'Université de Montréal. Vous avez tous été là pour me soutenir tout au long du processus de ce doctorat.

Un merci spécial à ma famille. Les mots ne peuvent exprimer combien je suis reconnaissant à ma femme Mouna. Votre patience, persévérance et confiance en moi est-ce qui m'a soutenue jusqu'à présent. Ma mère et ses constantes prières m'ont certainement aidé et soutenu durant les moments difficiles et défiants de cette expérience. J'aimerais aussi remercier mes trois anges Layla, Lamya, et Mohammed. Je tiens à la fin à remercier tous les membres de ma famille, et mes amis qui m'ont soutenu, et m'ont incité à persévérer vers mon but.

Pour toutes ces personnes-là, je vous serais éternellement reconnaissant.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Human movement and immigration have always been a common feature of humanity, particularly during the last few decades with increased globalization and conflicts across the world. Immigrants, in adopting their host countries, not only transmit themselves but also their culture to the host countries, through processes of cultural transmission. They face what has been described by Hassan, Rousseau, Measham and Lashley (2009) as the cultural transmission paradox. Indeed, immigrants realize that maintaining cultural context such as language, tradition, value, lifestyle, and religion in the host countries is far from easy. Immigrant parents, more specifically, perceive the transmission of cultural values as important in promoting their children's integration and success in their new society (Moro, 2009). The parents are motivated and pursued by the task; but this task is simultaneously more difficult due to both the host community's competing values and children's exposure to the competition at an early age and in a more intense manner – through schools, friends and the media, for example.

Among the immigrant parents in North America, Moroccan Muslim immigrant parents in Québec, a Canadian province, belong to a predominant group, which faces the dual challenges of being minority, as well as their Muslim religious background, thrusting them into a difficult situation. This feature makes the Moroccan Muslim immigrant parents in Québec our interest research group for this study. We focus our research on examining the attempts of Moroccan immigrant parents to integrate their children into the host society while striving for cultural retention. We will refer to them as "practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents" in this thesis (refer to Chapter 5 for reasons).

Based on the literature review, only a fraction of the existing body of research is on cultural transmission to the second-generations of Muslim origin in North America. Conversely, a large body of research on a similar topic has taken place in Europe especially in France because Europe has attracted larger proportions of Muslim immigrants during the post-war periods, in comparison to Canada and the United States together (Eid, 2003). In relation to this literature gap, Canada Heritage (McAndrew, 2010) acknowledges that the increase in Muslim families in Québec and more particularly in Montreal, as well as the increase in their population reinforce the need for additional research on this visible minority population within a cultural context where some minorities may face challenges in their cultural transmission due to the nature of relations between ethnic minorities and host cultures (Helly, 2004b).

1.1 Research Plan and Research Questions

A literature research gap was found among the second generation of Muslim populations in Québec, particularly the Muslim-Moroccan immigrant population, which is in a double-bind situation because of its increasing number but decreasing reputation. This research explored practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents' efforts to integrate their children into the host society while striving for cultural retention. To fill this literature gap, the purpose of this qualitative study is to explore cultural transmission strategies in practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents. The specific research population was selected as practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents because challenges / issues were found in cultural transmission of childrearing practice in immigrants (Hassan, et al., 2009; McAndrew, 2010). By answering the research questions below, this study may contribute to future studies on cultural transmission practice of immigrants; assist in intervention strategies targeting Muslim Moroccans, and assist in the establishment of training and educational programs for immigration related social workers.

1. What types of parenting strategies and styles are employed in childrearing practices of our sample of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec?

2. What types of cultural transmission processes can be identified in childrearing practices among our sample of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec?

3. What acculturation and cultural identification processes can be derived from information on childrearing given by our sample of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec?

1.2 Cultural Context and Its Impact on Muslim Moroccan Immigrant Parents

According to Tamminen (2006), cultural context plays a major role in the formation of values, belief system and socialization goals of immigrant parents through a number of ways such as childrearing, in which culture becomes particularly important because it is transmitted to the next generation (Barudy, 1992). Therefore, cultural context is believed to be of particular salience to parenting research (Sprott, 1994). For example, parenting behavior can be influenced by direct and indirect effect of cultural models. Here, its direct influence on parenting behavior could be explained by passing on the values of a culture to their children to become productive and integrated members of their culture (Holden, 1997).

Culture can also impact parenting behavior through societal forces such as language patterns and economic structure indirectly (Lillard & Willis, 1997), in which parents can base their actions on

the direct and indirect cultural influences. Analogously, parent-child interaction can be quite consistent within a particular cultural context and can change substantially from one context to another. To this extent, some behaviors may be considered normal in one culture and abnormal in others. When parents are exposed to a dominant given culture with high frequency, they are affected by the norms and values of the culture. Previous studies have shown that specific attitudes and values are usually different between individualistic and collectivistic societies (Triandis, 1990; Rhee et al, 1996). Consequently, socially learned norms and values offer standards which parents usually use to direct their own interaction with their children (Gervais, de Montigny, Azaroual, & Courtois, 2009).

Understanding the cultural contexts of the society can potentially help to predict differences in parenting styles that predominate in that society and to understand why these differences occur. To examine the impact of rapid and deep culture change on the transmission process, immigrant families are an interesting test case (Laaroussi, 2001). The psychological adaptation to culture contact in the immigration situation has mainly been studied under the heading of acculturation. In terms of the possible pathways of transmission, acculturation typically entails some measure of discontinuity with vertical transmission from parents to children.

1.3 Challenges of Cultural Transmission for Muslim Moroccan Immigrant Parents

Like other immigrants, practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents are facing the same immigration challenges concerning how to transmit the Islamic ideology and cultural heritage to their children while facing the challenges from the host cultural values (Chenouard, 2012). Waugh (1991) and Vatz Laaroussi (2003) identified some of the traditional Muslim values that immigrant parents struggle with, including family traditions, status differentials, and achievement markers. In addition, family structure where decision-making is in the hands of the eldest male is directly challenged by the North American code of success (Dupuis, 2012; Grusec & Hastings, 2007).

Another challenge for Moroccan parents is finding themselves crossing or violating legal codes of the host culture due to their own practices. As an example, childrearing practice, which serves as natural means for cultural transmission among practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents, has been widely criticized in the North American context (Finkelhor & Korbin, 1988). In fact, childrearing is one of the topics that can be problematic between immigrant families and local social service institutions or child protective services, because of the difference in perceptions of what abuse is and what constitutes discipline. Often, the difference in childrearing does not only put the immigrant family in conflict with the practice

of host society, but also produces a conflict within the home. Finkelhor and Korbin (1988), for instance, point out that traditional Muslim elders in Canada may believe in corporal punishment as an appropriate form of child discipline, but younger generations may subscribe more to the Western perception and take corporal punishment as abuse.

To reveal the impact of culture and religion on childrearing practice, this research investigated the attempts of some Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec to integrate their children into the host society while striving for cultural retention. We attempted to examine the experiences and the strategies that immigrant parents employed in raising children in a foreign setting. To nail down the role of immigrant parents, Berube (2000, in Verkuyten, Thijs and Stevens, 2012) and Aouli (2011) states that, in a situation of socialization and acculturation, parents are officially appointed by the host society to socialize their children in the new context according to the expectation of host community. Here, community refers to a population that is geographically focused but which also exists as a discrete social entity, with a local collective identity and corporate purpose (Manderson et al., 1992).

Parents are both agents and officers to the socialization of their offspring and may feel authorized in contradictory ways by both societies. The pressure from the two societies becomes profound when immigrant parents are pushed to integrate into host society while being pulled by their ethnic community to retain their heritage. Kosic, Kruglanski, Pierro, and Mannetti (2004, in Eid, 2007) describe immigrant experience as being caught up in a virtual crossfire of social and psychological forces. Hence, cultural transmission and acculturation coexist in an intricate pattern that confounds the experience of the immigrant parents.

On the other hand, as Barazangi (1991, in Eid, 2007) points out, in relation to cultural transmission, it is important to determine the nature and extent of different interpretations held by the parents and their children, which are reflected in their Islamic practice. Accordingly, this research explores the meanings that parents attach to their identity, and looks into the motivations behind their actions. This thesis highlights the immigration experiences of some Moroccan immigrant parents on the perception and actualization of Muslim identity in Québec based on the theory from Kanouté, Laaroussi and Rachédi (2008). Additionally, this research seeks to highlight the immigration experiences of practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec and the actualization of Moroccan immigrant identity in a migratory context. Finally, it is the purpose of this research to obtain in-depth information that the participant

Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents, and other parents, may use to assist their children to improve their lives and behaviors in host countries.

To examine the theoretical background of this study, the next chapter reviews the literature to obtain related information about the conceptualization of parenting and its relationship to cultural transmission, as well as its theories and models. The literature review provides theoretical supports to the theoretical framework, research objectives, research questions, results, discussion and conclusions of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the literature to lay the foundation for the understanding of parenting in a specific population – practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents. Concepts of parenting and childrearing with their practice, as well as the roles of cultural transmission in parenting, are discussed. To further explore the immigrant topic, this chapter sheds light on parenting and childrearing in an immigrant context to provide information about cultural transmission theories and models and their impact on parenting. Moreover, this chapter reviews the cultural transmission strategies of Arab-Muslim parents to investigate the circumstances of the Arab-Muslim immigrant population among **practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant** parents in Québec. Finally, it reviews the theories of parenting, childrearing and cultural transmission to provide an overview in the context of immigration.

2.1 Québec and Its Muslim Moroccan Immigrants

The French began to colonize Québec in the early 16th century, settling on the banks of the St. Lawrence River (Désilets, 1978). Québec's population grew with the arrival of the Filles du Roi (the King's daughters)—young French girls, primarily orphans with no future who left their homeland to join the colony. With the beliefs that they had conquered an unoccupied land, the French soon faced Aboriginal nations that had been well established locally for thousands of years; as a consequence, relationships were soon developed between the French and the Aboriginal nations.

Nowadays, Québec has 56 Aboriginal communities with a population of 81,864, of which 71,840 are First Nations and 10,024 are Inuit (Health Canada, 2011). The ten First Nations and the Inuit nation represent approximately 1% of Québec's population. Starting in the 19th century, Québec experienced several waves of immigration, principally from England, Scotland and Ireland. Previous to that time, the Loyalists, American colonists who remained loyal to England and left the 13 Atlantic colonies before American independence, were among the first immigrants. At the turn of the 20th century, the Québécois immigrants mainly came from Europe. According to the 1911 census, in addition to the Irish, other newcomers included some 8,000 arrivals from Germany.

Between the 1920s and 1930s, immigrants from Eastern Europe including Jewish, Italians, Portuguese and Germans arrived at Québec (Lacoursière, 1995; Piché, 2005). When World War I gave rise to a new wave of immigration to North America, Québec's demographic profile was changed. But it was not until 1970 that the Québécois immigrants became more diversified. Currently, Québécois immigrants consist of more than 100 cultural communities including Moroccans. These new citizens have brought in renewed vitality to the Québécois society through a combination of cultural, social and economic expertise, as well as scientific and technological backgrounds.

2.1.1 Common Values of Québec

This section reviews common values of Québec, as stated by authors who researched topics related to Québec's identity (Armony, 2007). In this regard, Anctil (1996) stated that what characterizes the specificity of the Québec policy of integration was likely the concept of interculturalism. This concept, according to Anctil, evokes the meeting of cultures, their mutual interpenetration and the reciprocal recognition of their contributions, which are all within the limits of a cultural and linguistic framework.

Québec society is governed by the Charter of the French Language, making French the official language of Québec (Rocher, Labelle, Field, Icart, 2007). French is the language of public institutions and the standard common language of work, instruction, communications, trade and business. Québec cares about preserving and promoting its official language. French is not only an essential communication tool but also a common symbol of belonging to the Québec society (Rocher, 1996).

Québec's political system is based on the freedom of speech and the right to equality of individuals, as well as their participation in associations, political parties and administrative bodies such as boards of directors (Bertheleu, 2001). Citizens can stand as candidates for elections and have the right to vote. The system elected its representatives at all levels of government. When the State plans to pass legislation, the public is generally invited to take part in consultations to express its viewpoints on the matters of public interest. Hateful behaviors, whether political, religious or ethnic, are not tolerated. Québec society favors conflict-resolution through negotiation. In addition, Québec State and its institutions are secular, and their decisions and actions are independent of religious powers. The State has deconfessionalized its school systems and its religious confessional instruction is not part of the public school curriculum.

As a society enriched by its diversity, Québec is becoming increasingly diverse. The francophone majority, Anglophones, and Aboriginal peoples live together with diverse cultures and origins from all over the world (Bouchard, 2010; Rocher, Labelle, Field, & Icart, 2007). Québec encourages exchanges between cultures and closer relations between communities, and recognizes the values of diversity. As a consequence, the Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms prohibits discrimination or harassment on the basis of race, color, sex, pregnancy, sexual orientation, civil status, age, unless stipulated by law, religion, political convictions, language, ethnic or national origin, social status, disability or the use of means to palliate this disability. For example, a person cannot be refused housing due to ethnic origin, social status or disability. Discrimination is prohibited, but of course present, in the workplace, specifically with respect to job offers, hiring process and working conditions. The laws also prohibit all forms of harassment; and in the same spirit, homosexuals are recognized as having the same rights and responsibilities as all other citizens of Québec.

In Québec, women and men are equal. They have the same rights and the same obligations. Women can practice trade or profession of their choices including those traditionally reserved for men (Gouvernement Québécois, 2009; Tremblay, 2002). They are present in decision-making positions as members of the National Assembly, mayors, councilors, directors and managers of large companies. Female workers must receive the same salary as male workers when their jobs, although different, have the same or an equivalent value in the company.

Most importantly to this study, the value of equality permeates the types of unions recognized in Québec (Bilge, 2010; Legault, 1975). Whether as de facto spouses, married or joined in a civil union, spouses of the same or opposite sex, they are equal in front of the laws. Parental responsibilities towards their children are the same regardless of the type of unions as marriage, civil union or de facto union. In the event of divorce or dissolution of a civil union, assets acquired during the union and constituting the family patrimony are shared equally between the spouses. The laws require parents or guardians to give children security and attention necessarily for their development. Fundamental rights and freedoms are exercised while respecting human rights, freedoms of others, public order, general well-being of citizens and democratic values of Québec. The use of violence is prohibited in families and societies.

In summary, existing laws governing Québec are designed to ensure equality and protection to everyone regardless of beliefs, ethnicity, and other considerations. Québécois do attach a great deal of importance to maintaining a climate that fosters freedom of speech, the right to equality

between individuals and respect for differences. In other words, laws are meant to provide certain directions and set parameters in the conduct of one's life and business. But in reality, enforcement and practice are facing challenges, and it is not surprising to hear news about discrimination suits (Amel, 2002; Helly, 2005), harassment complaints, and some criticisms from various sectors either religious or secular in a land where rights are guaranteed (Elver, 2012; Jovelin, E., 2011; Magnan & Lamarre, 2016; Perrein, 2013).

2.1.2 Moroccan Immigrants in Québec

This section reviews the historical background and sociodemographic, cultural specificities of Moroccan immigrants in Québec, which highlights the difficulties encountered by this immigrant group in the immigration process and their status in the host country (Antonius, 2008).

2.1.2.1 Québec's Arab-Muslim Immigrants

The Canadian Muslim community is a product of two waves of immigration, which are pre- and post- World War I populations, and the latter was the larger of the two (Antonius, 2011). Most of the turn-of-the-century Muslim immigrants were young males, with no capital and little or no formal education. Upon arrival, many of them started as unskilled laborers or itinerant peddlers. Their entry status, in general, was at the lowest rung of the occupational hierarchy. Most of them gravitated toward Canada's major urban centers (Toronto, Montreal), and from there, they moved to different regions in search of business and job opportunities.

The economical adaptation of the early Muslim pioneers was often linked with a keen desire for economic and occupational success (Magocsi, 1999; Garneau, 2008; Pinsonneault, 2005). Through devotion to hard work, frugality, and reciprocal support, peddlers often experienced a steady rise in their economic fortunes and a broadening of their entrepreneurial functions. The descendants of these early immigrants did not face as restricted a range of occupations as the immigrant generation. New-wave immigrants arriving since 1962 have reinforced the existing pattern because many entered Canada with educational occupational advantages (Arcand, Helly, Drainville & Laaroussi, 2009). Evidence suggests that a significant number of recent immigrants entered managerial, professional, and technical fields, while others went into lower-level white-collar occupations. Those less qualified went into semi-skilled or unskilled occupations and self-employment in a variety of occupations appeal to post-war Arab immigrants (Hammouche, 2012; Magocsi, 1999). At present, the different generations of Canadian Muslims are to be found in a wide range of occupations across the occupational hierarchy, both in the public and private sectors

(Arcand, Lenoir-Achdjian, & Helly, 2009; Boulet & Boudarbat, 2011; Bourhis, Montreuil, & Helly, 2005; Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, & Jantzen 2007; Garant, 2002; Helly, 2009b; Kanouté, 2007; Renaud & Cayn, 2006).

Canadians of Arab origin in Québec make up a larger percentage of the provincial populations than any other provinces or territories (Department of Immigration and Cultural Communities, 2008). According to the 2006 Census, Arabs are up 48.6% from 2001, accounting for 16.7% of the visible minority populations in Québec and making them the second largest visible minority group, second only to the African-Canadian representing 28.7% of Québec's visible minorities (52.5% from Haiti). A majority (71.9%) of Arabs in Québec were born outside Canada, and about 37.7% of them came to Canada between 2001 and 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2006). Among the Arab-Muslim groups in Québec, a recent survey shows that Algeria has the largest immigrant group with 23,745 immigrants, which is followed by Morocco with 21,571 immigrants; and Lebanon with 9,084 immigrants (Department of Immigration and Cultural Communities, 2008; Helly, 2011).

2.1.2.2 Other Muslim Populations in Québec

Given the importance of North Africa Muslims in the immigration flux of the last decades, they represented 20 percent of the immigration intake in 2002, while this percentage had risen to 23.5 in 2010 (McAndrew & Bakhshaei, 2012). Consequently, North African Muslims representing 60 percent of the Muslim immigrant community tend to have a positive profile in comparison with other Québec Muslim populations (Adam, 2003). In their linguistic competencies, 19 percent use French as their mother tongue, 40 percent speak French at home, and 30 percent have educational credentials. Moreover, most of them are first generation immigrants, which is a higher percentage than all other Muslim populations in Québec (Abouzaïd & Asal, 2013; Benoit, Rousseau, Ngirumpatse, & Lacroix, 2008; Chankou, 2006; Khachanik 2011).

The remaining Muslims originate from multiple countries including European countries and the United States (McAndrew, 2010). In addition, Southern Asia Muslims occupy 20 percent of Muslims in Québec, in which only 35 percent of them speak French. South Asian Muslims are highly concentrated in Montreal, almost exclusively born abroad. Although still higher than that of the host populations, the percentage holding a university diploma is 23 percent lower than that of North African Muslims. Furthermore, West and Central Asian Muslims, mostly Iranians and Turks, are exclusively born abroad and highly concentrated in Montreal. They have an educational

profile similar to the North African and Middle Eastern Muslims. Among them, 70 percent understand French, although they do not commonly speak French at home (McAndrew, 2010).

With regard to religious identifications, data show that Muslim immigrants in Québec exhibit a lower degree of religious identifications and practices (Eid, 2009). For instance, a major study based on the Ethnic Diversity Survey of Statistics Canada in 2003 showed that 55 percent of Muslims in Québec considered religion important, compared to 63.9 percent of Muslims in Canada; 38.9 percent participated in community and religious activities, versus 64 percent of Muslims in Canada; and only 13.1 percent defined themselves as strong religious believers, compared to 30.9 percent in Canada (Eid, 2009).

2.1.2.3 Moroccan Immigrants in Québec

When dealing with Moroccan Immigrants in Québec, the first thing to do is to define this community. By definition, a "community" implies a certain degree of perceptions, shared interests and common guidelines for its individuals, and the existence of institutions determines the participation of these individuals in a larger society (Antonius 2011; El Baz & Helly, 2000). In addition, it is worth mentioning that a distinction exists in the community of Moroccan immigrants in Québec, which means both common and distinct attributes exist between Moroccan immigrants and other immigrants such as the Algerian and Tunisian immigrants. For example, Moroccan immigrants share their North African country origin and Arabian identity with Algerian and Tunisian immigrants; but their distinction is their Moroccan (mostly geographic) origin.

According to the criterion of the country of birth, and on the basis of data from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) (Statistics Canada, 2011), it appears that the number of the Morocco-born immigrants in Québec has increased from 16,515 in 1996 to 20.185 in 2001; to 33.560 in 2006; and to 48.375 in 2011. Thus, Moroccan immigrants have moved from the 12th position in 1996 to the 4th position in 2011 as countries of birth for immigrants. Moroccan Immigrants represent 5% of the total population of immigrants in Québec and 86% of Moroccan Immigrants in Canada, and were comprised of 52.9% of men and 47.1% of women in 2011.

A more recent study conducted by the Minister of Immigration, Diversity and Inclusion of Québec in 2014 considers the data of the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) under the criterion of ethnic origin and religion (Simon, 1990). According to this study, the Moroccan community in Québec has nearly 59,480 people based on the criterion of ethnicity. The majority (67.7%) of this community arrived recently during the past decade; in fact, 40.6% of them have settled down in

Québec during the most recent period (2006-2011) while 27.1% arrived between 2001 and 2005. Almost 76.2% of the members of the Moroccan community are Muslims and 14.3% are Jewish. Thus, the number of Moroccan Muslim Immigrants in Québec is around 45,310, of which 51.7% are men and 48.3% arewomen. Moreover, members of the Moroccan community are mostly (66.4%) of the first generation (foreign-born); and 31.7% are second generation (Potvin, Eid, & Venel, 2007) (born in Canada) but with at least one parent born abroad (Bouoiyour, 2006).

Since 2011, the new Moroccan immigrants, mostly Muslims, have accounted, respectively, for 3,474 in 2012, 2,944 in 2013, and 2,180 in 2014; bringing the total of this population to nearly 56,973 by the end of 2014. Furthermore, Morocco has continued to be among the top countries of birth for immigrants in Québec being ranked 5th in 2012 and 2013 but downgraded to the 6th position in 2014.

Intergroup differences are seen among Muslim immigrants in Québec, both at the political and religious levels (Daher, 2004). This is expected from an immigration group established recently like Muslims in Québec where members came from diverse countries of origin under very different circumstances, and do not share a common language. For example, some Muslims, French speaking or not, migrated because of political reasons and are concerned with any encroachment of religions in the religion-neutral public sphere, while other Muslims migrated mostly for economic reasons and have a much deeper relationship with their religious identity (Daher, 2004; Helly, 2002). They also do not live in the same neighborhoods, and the relationship between ethnicity and residential pattern is influenced by their social classes and languages. Since this social phenomenum opens a new perspective, it could be worthy of future research.

2.2 Parenting and Childrearing

This section reviews the concepts of parenting and childrearing; as well as child monitoring, control, communication, self-efficacy, and parent-child relational orientations in parenting. It also reviews the relationship between parenting and childrearing; and parenting and childrearing in immigration context.

When it comes to childrearing practices, the literature usually uses concepts of parenting and parenting practices. Historically, according to Le et al. (2008), "parenting has been conceptualized in multiple ways in an attempt to describe the variety of behaviors that parents engage in with their children" (p. 3). The authors identify different typologies and styles that point out two major goals for parenting: managing children's behavior and internalizing family and culturally related

values. According to Le (2008), these two goals are met through the following constructs: parental warmth, child monitoring, child control (psychological and behavioral), child communication, and parental self-efficacy, which are reviewed below. To clearly define and review the concepts and theories of parenting, we review the concepts of parenting and childrearing separately and then review the theories that combine them.

2.2.1 Parenting

2.2.1.1 Concepts of Parenting

Barber et al. (2005, in Le et al., 2008) define parenting as the supportive construct to children, which includes "demonstrating affection, nurturance, compassion, and a positive evaluation towards one's children" (p. 3). Evaluation of this dimension of parenting is possible by operationalizing the construct through different behaviors, such as helping one's children feel better when they are scared, providing attention and care, enjoying time spent together, expressing developmentally appropriate physical and emotional displays, and giving emotional support and responsiveness. Le et al. (2008) added that parenting and the expression of love are associated with secure attachment in infancy and emotional security throughout childhood.

2.2.1.2 Child Monitoring in Parenting

Child monitoring is a critical component of parenting, especially during adolescence (Laird et al., 2002; Spera, 2005). Parental monitoring includes two parts: knowledge and practice. First, parental knowledge about the child's whereabouts, activities and friends is used in parental monitoring (Hayes, Hudson & Matthews, 2003). Second, in monitoring practice, parents play an active role in supervising a child's whereabouts, including structuring the child's home, school, and community environments, and monitoring a child's behavior in these environments (Deslandes & Potvin, 1998; Fortin, 2001; Stattin & Kerr, 2000).

Research has demonstrated that a high level of monitoring practice leads to positive outcomes for children and youth. Poor parental monitoring is related to antisocial behavior and other behavioral problems, such as "substance abuse and low self-esteem" as well as "poor academic achievement" (Le et al, 2008, p. 4). Parental monitoring plays an important role in buffering children from the deleterious effects of neighborhood risks, such as the impact of community violence exposure on children's psychological well-being (Kellerhals, Montandon, Ritschard, & Sardi, 1992; Lunkenbein, 1999).

There are also developmental and gender differences in parental monitoring. Whereas parents of younger kids are more likely to check their children's behavior through direct observation, parents of adolescents possess the tendency to scrutinize their adolescents' actions through indirect means, including "verbal rules, acceptable behavior and/or questions about their whereabouts" (Le at al., p. 4). Over time, parents report that they monitor younger children and adolescents more than older adolescents, and girls more than boys, which is consistent with the phenomena that older adolescents' increased need for independence and autonomy, and lower risk of problem behaviors, are perceived more in girls than boys (Claes, 2004). Besides child monitoring, child control is important in parenting, as follows.

2.2.1.3 Child Control in Parenting

Two types of child control are reviewed in this section: psychological control and behavioral control. Both concepts are presented, along with their implications in a child's outcome. Psychological control, on one hand, involves parental strategies aimed at managing a child's emotions. Psychological processes, on the other hand, include love-oriented techniques, such as love-withdrawal and the use of guilt and shaming. A high level of psychological control is associated with negative outcomes in childhood and adolescence, such as low levels of self-esteem, psychosocial immaturity and internalizing problems (Farver et al., 2007). Behavioral control involves communication and enforcement of rules, regulations and restrictions set by parents to manage a child's behavioral functioning (Smetana & Daddis, 2002). Insufficient behavioral control has been found to be related to child's externalizing problems. Child control is related to child communication, which is reviewed in the next section.

2.2.1.4 Child Communication in Parenting

In child management, communication is considered important because family rules and values are transmitted through communication (Hammouche, 1997). In addition, parental warmth, the expression of feelings and parental support, is also made through communication. A high-quality communication helps consolidate a healthy attachment between parent and child to achieve emotional security and stability. Furthermore, values and rules are transmitted via communication. According to Grych (2002, in King et al., 2007), induction is more effective as a disciplinary strategy in communication compared to love-withdrawal and power assertion, in which communication of expectations and reasoning are key elements.

It is worth noting that parent communication patterns shift between childhood and adolescence. Whereas the quality of communication remains important throughout childhood and adolescence, there are marked changes in communication patterns as children transition to adolescence. Among younger children, parent–child communication research often focuses on negotiation skill development (Klimes-Dougan & Kopp, 1999, in Le at al., 2008), communication use to support early language and cognitive development (Thompson, 2006), and attachment relationship development (Grych, 2002, in King et al., 2007). In contrast, among adolescents, parent–child communication research focuses almost exclusively on pervasiveness of parent–adolescent conflict and declines in self-disclosure to parents (Le et al., 2008). In addition to child monitoring, child control, and child communication, parental self-efficacy plays its role in parenting.

2.2.1.5 Parental Self-Efficacy in Parenting

Parental self-efficacy is not considered a central parenting strategy but a base for implementing other parenting strategies. According to Bandura's self-efficacy as containing the beliefs and expectations of parents (1977, in Zervides & Knowles, 2007), research has found that parents who feel more efficacious may assign more importance to parenting and have a chance to become better parents (Hess, Teti & Hussey-Gardner, 2004). High levels of parental self-efficacy are associated with positive child outcomes, such as high academic achievement, positive socioemotional development, and positive parenting practices (Le et al., 2008). Furthermore, parenting itself comes with different styles.

2.2.1.6 Parenting Styles

Parenting styles and strategies were first operationalized by Baumrind (1971, 1989 in Zervides & Knowles, 2007) in two main dimensions. The first dimension is demandingness, which "relates to the amount of parental control exerted over children's activities and behavior" (p. 65). Parents who score high on the level of demandingness usually establish high standards and expect their children to meet those standards. The other dimension is responsiveness, which is characterized by a high amount of warmth and nurturing behavior expressed by parents towards their children (Baumrind, 1971, 1989, in Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Based on these two dimensions, Baumrind identified "three types of parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian and permissive" (p. 65).

First, authoritative parents display high levels on both demandingness and responsiveness (Lamborn et al., 1991). They control the children's behavior in an age-appropriate manner and

create a nurturing environment, which encourages the child to express his own point of view and participate in the family decision-making. Second, authoritarian parents display high levels of demandingness and low levels of responsiveness. They exercise firm control over their children's behavior, expect obedience and conformity, and allow less space for personal autonomy. Third, permissive parents exert low levels of demandingness. As they exercise minimal control and authority on their children, they fail to establish age-appropriate limits of acceptable behavior. Children raised by permissive parents have been found to be more prone to delinquent behavior, display poorer academic competence and achievement, and overall lower levels of psychological functioning (Baumrind, 1971, 1989, in Zervides & Knowles, 2007).

Based on the above three parenting styles, Baumrind also identifies two forms of demandingness: restrictiveness as a form of psychological control; and firm control as a form of behavioral control (Baumrind, 1989, in Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Whilst both authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles encompass firm control, only authoritarian parents incorporate restrictiveness.

The parenting styles reviewed above represent a traditional typology of parenting, which is either a top-down (authoritative and authoritarian) or one-sided (permissive) style. Over the past year, a new parenting typology has been developed emphasizing the idea that parenting should be viewed as a dynamic relationship, which is reviewed below.

2.2.1.7 Parenting as a Relationship

Parenting can be bidirectional as compared to the top-down or one-sided styles first proposed by Baumrind. Parenting is bidirectional because "children are not passive recipients of parenting attitudes and behaviors", but "agents of socialization and emotional influence for their parents" (Cook, 2001, p. 1179). This parent-child relationship is dynamic in that both sides – the parents and the children – are active participants, thus influencing the outcome of parenting and transmission of cultural beliefs and values. Neither do parents exercise control in the relationship, nor are the offspring merely passive recipients of culture. In other words, it is not only the parents that impact the children, but the children who influence the adults in the family, as the latter perform their parenting roles. Furthermore, the kinds of practice and approaches that are employed by parents, from time to time, are a result of this adult-child interaction and dynamic relationship in the home. This new typology integrates both novel parenting knowledge and the traditional parenting styles.

Shanahan et al. (2008) report that the parent-child relationship is part of the family dynamic, and is established very early. According to the authors, babies begin to coordinate their affection and attention between two adults simultaneously at only a few months of age, actively participating in the formation of co-parenting skills. Beginning from the first months of life, babies are capable of inter-subjectivity and they have the capacity to share feelings. Despite this, Tuttle et al. (2012) point out the fact that current approaches do not take into account the organization and interactive processes between parent and child; rather, they only focus on behavioral, cognitive or emotional domains. In a related study, Tuttle, Knudson-Martin and Kim (2012) state that, although parenting is conceived of differently across social and relational contexts, it is usually framed as a set of parenting practice applied to children; thus, a systematic perspective emphasizes the contextual and transactional nature and reciprocal parent-child responses.

Based on the current understanding of parenting as a parent-child relationship, a novel theory, parent-child relational orientations, is proposed and described below.

2.2.1.8 Parent-Child Relational Orientations

Traditionally, parenting is framed as one-directional actions from parents toward children, which is insufficient, particularly across social and ethnic contexts. A novel notion of the parent-child relational relationship is proposed to conceptualize parenting so as to support parents in developing a more relationship-oriented interaction.

Conceptualization of Parent-Child Relational Orientations

Parent-child relational orientations are conceptualized by Tuttle et al. (2012, p. 77) as "interconnections between individual, interactional, and institutional processes" in parenting. Starting at the individual level, relational orientations are internal ways of experiencing oneself in relation to others. Parents and children learn how to position themselves in relation to others, and approach relationships with one another based on these orientations. Next, at the interactional level, orientations are created by parents and children by interacting with one another and with other members of the community through shared cultural expectations regarding mothers, fathers, caregivers and children. These interpersonal responses, according to the author, are informed by the options available for parents and children in a larger social context, such as institutional, government policies, and socioeconomic status (Piché, 1978).

Particular parent-child relational orientations are, therefore, the results of the confluence of many factors such as temperament, self-identity, developmental stage of the child, interactional experience, and location within social forces. The authors (Tuttle et al., 2012, p. 77) add that "relational orientations and their interpersonal dynamics are fluid" and may change as the parents and the child change their social location or deal with different issues, because they are a result of a unique interpersonal experience found in a larger social context.

Tuttle et al. (2012) conceptualize and identify further parent-child relational orientations in social context according to the dimensions suggested by Silverstein et al. (2006, in Tuttle et al, 2012). These dimensions are presented in Figure 2.1 below.
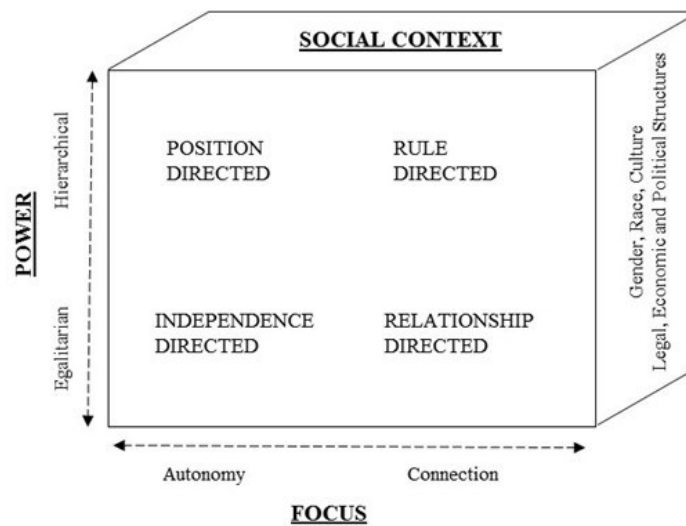
Figure 2.1 *A typology of parent-child relational orientations (Tuttle et al., 2012).*

Social context is the background of the figure because this dimension influences relationship patterns (Tuttle et al., 2012). For a clear understanding of how parents and children relate to one another, it is important to identify the social context that informs them. In addition, it is crucial to understand what they perceive in their social context about culture, races, ethnicity, gender expectations, socioeconomic and legal realities, and other factors as immigration, sexual orientation, and age (Meintel & Kahn, 2005).

In Figure 2.1, focus (horizontal dimension) is the representation of how the bond between self and others is experienced. This is the degree of how the relational purposes are oriented toward independence (autonomy) or toward relationships (connection). Parenting at the connected end of the continuum focuses on relationships built between parent and child where the parent's

decisions are based on the child's experiences. Both actors of the relationship are attentive to each other at this dimension. At the autonomy level, parenting focuses on developing age-appropriate independence and personal responsibility within the child. The expectations are clear, and decisions and discipline are congruent with these expectations.

In addition, power (vertical dimension) represents the manner in which hierarchy and equality are present in the parent-child relationship. According to Hughes (2009), besides the fact that children are dependent on parents for care and well-being, this dimension represents how power is expressed in the ongoing experience between parent and child; and whether the authority of the parent is based on devaluing the child. It also considers how power relations between parent and child are influenced by societal, gender and cultural expectations (Le Gall, 2007).

Furthermore, at the hierarchical end of the power continuum (Figure 2.1), relationships are organized according to the dominance structure, and a parent is the source of authority, for whom discipline and obedience are very important. The egalitarian end is characterized by reciprocal communication between parent and child where the children learn what effect they have on their parents; and children are involved in decision making and their opinions matter. In this model of parent-child orientation, its typology is reviewed as follows.

Parent-Child Orientation Types

According to Silverstein's typology to parents and children (Silverstein, et al., 2006), four types of parent-child relational orientations can be distinguished based on the focus and power dimensions: rule-directed, position-directed, independence-directed and relationship-directed (p. 396). The orientation may shift over time and based on circumstances. The pros and cons of the four types of orientations, and possible consequences, are discussed.

First, rule-directed orientations (high hierarchy and high connection) define parent-child relational orientations "in terms of societal and cultural roles and rules" (Silverstein, et al., 2006, p. 391). Functional role positions influence the manner of how bonds are experienced and expressed. Parental authority and decision-making is defined by cultural roles. The role of the parents is to prepare their children to be a part of the social order within the context of their authority and to be aware of their societal positions. In this orientation, individual goals are subordinated to the common goals. When the parent-child relationship is rule-directed, decision-making is simplified, conflicts are minimized, and the relationship is characterized by a stability motivated by the need to support a whole. The development of individual unique capacities

might be limited. The commitment to the role obligations (like providing for the family) might also reduce the emotional aspects of the parent-child relation, and this might also influence the possibility to respond and provide support for each other during personal stress.

Second, position-directed (hierarchical and autonomous) orientations "emphasize the parent–child hierarchy and individual responsibility" (Silverstein, et al., 2006, p. 393). The attention is directed toward the dominant person's expectations and standards. In contrast with the rule-directed orientation, this orientation is experienced more personally, in which the children are expected to display unconditional obedience and take personal responsibility for their actions. Children are not allowed to express their opinions or feelings; if they do so, it can be interpreted as a challenge to the parent's authority. As children grow up, they are expected to hold responsibility for themselves. There is an increased potential for abuse in this type of orientation, which is consistent with its masculine superiority stereotype.

On the other hand, in the position-directed relationship, the person atop the hierarchy has to be respected. The parent-child relationship can be experienced as stable, positive and safe if the child accepts unconditionally the authority of the parent. In such a relationship, children often do not express their feelings or point of view and learn that their needs are not important. As the parents expect the children to obey, they do not develop empathy toward the child's experience. According to Trevarthen (2009), the lack of reciprocity makes it difficult for those with less power to recognize their own feelings or others. In some cases, the position-directed parent-child orientation can be useful; for example, when a family lives in a dangerous neighborhood or when the child is exposed to threats, this kind of relationship helps maintain the children's safety. Problems may occur in this orientation during different developmental stages, such as in adolescence when parents and children struggle for the top of the hierarchy.

Third, in the independence-directed parent-child orientation, children learn to form their own opinions and express their needs, and are expected to show respect for others' needs and interests (Silverstein et al., 2006). Children are allowed to make age-appropriate decisions. The parent-child relationship is based on a fair give-and-take arrangement, and children can negotiate for what they want. Discipline for behavior issues is administered through personal consequences. Furthermore, children learn that their needs matter and they expect reciprocity. Problems might occur when a common goal is in focus and the interests of the parent and child cannot be negotiated. Parents might have difficulties setting limits or providing clear expectations. Children may refuse to participate in activities important to others. In this type of orientation,

children are likely to develop a strong sense of autonomy, but they may not learn to consider the interests of others or the relationship as a whole.

Finally, the relationship-directed parent-child orientation values shared power and relational responsibility (Siegel & Hartzell, 2004; Tuttle et al., 2012). Parents are highly responsive to the children and teach them to be aware of their influence on others, including the parent. Parents are highly involved in the relationship and do not criticize; rather, they try to understand the motives and circumstances of the children's behavior, though they express the impact of the actions on them and the children's overall being. The discipline is also regarded as a shared responsibility and respecting others is emphasized. Children are involved in decision-making, parents and children are mutually influencing each other during this process, and the focus is on what is important for the relationship. Moreover, this orientation is closer to the female stereotype than the male in parent-child relationship (Jordan, 2009).

According to Hughes (2009), in a well-functioning relationship-oriented orientation, the ongoing experience of shared responsibility between parent and child promotes awareness of self and others. Relationships are the source of well-being. Problems may occur if the parent limits the child's autonomy by maintaining the relationship or minimalizes a conflict by simply expecting the child to be "nice." Sometimes it is difficult to promote mutual understanding and be comfortable with a conflict. Parents might also have difficulties in setting limits and guidance.

In summary, parenting includes multiple constructs like parental warmth, child monitoring, child control, child communication, and parental self-efficacy. The traditional understanding of parenting as three parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian and permissive), is considered insufficient in current parenting practice. As consequence, a novel theory of parenting is proposed as parent-child relationship and its derived parent-child relational orientations, which include four types of orientations as rule-directed, position-directed, independence-directed and relationship-directed orientations. The novel parenting theories and models have been reviewed with their pros and cons, together with possible problems in their practice. As the core element of parenting, childrearing and its related concepts and theories in combination with parenting are reviewed in the next section.

2.2.2 Childrearing

This section reviews the relationship between parenting and childrearing under influential factors, especially cultural influences, as well as parenting and childrearing in cultural and immigration contexts.

2.2.2.1 Concepts of Childrearing

Even though the two concepts share similar meaning, there are differences between the definitions of childrearing and parenting. In definition, childrearing "is the process of promoting and supporting the physical, emotional, social, financial, and intellectual development of a child from infancy to adulthood," while "parenting refers to the aspects of raising a child aside from the biological relationship" (Davies, 2000). In other words, childrearing is more child-focused and parenting, needless to say, pertains more to the parents.

Childrearing follows cultural models differently depending on specific cultures, but with a common goal designed toward important lessons linking to emotional arousal and practical success (Quinn, 2005). It attempts to connect children to evaluations of approval or disapproval; and to prime children to be predisposed emotionally to learn parents' lessons and experience. The common goal is set to ensure that children are receptive to these lessons, which are assumed to be motivating, memorable and unmistakable. The result of childrearing is that human adulthood otherwise could not be accomplished.

Applying different childrearing practices and adopting a specific parenting style are influenced by many factors, which are socioeconomic status, ethnicity, religiosity, culture, gender, and developmental stage of children (Le et al., 2008). It is necessary to review the relationship between parenting and childrearing, together with these influential factors, to further define and distinguish the similarities and differences between the two concepts.

2.2.2.2 Relationship between Parenting and Childrearing

The relationship between parenting and childrearing is reviewed based on the influences of socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and religion as follows.

Parenting and Childrearing with Socioeconomic Status Factor

Parental warmth is a main component in the conceptualization of parenting. Research has found that the expression of parental warmth is influenced by childrearing influential factors,

especially socioeconomic contexts and ethnicity factors (Hill et al., 2005). For example, the level of warmth and connectedness, as found by Hoff, Laursen and Bridges (2012), indicates that the lower the socioeconomic status of parents, the less likely they are to express affection toward their children. In fact, these types of parents exert much control, set many restrictions, and often react with disapproval as compared to those coming from the higher economic strata of society (Gravel, 2000).

In addition, interaction with their children is centered mostly on directed orientation behavior, and this style is more common among economically disadvantaged than more affluent parents. Ispa and Halgunseth (2004) found that mothers from lower socioeconomic sphere allowed their children limited in independence, were more restrained, and tended to administer punishment quickly. It is also found that individual privacy of children was valued less in parents with lower income levels (Clarke-Stewart, Vander, Stoep, & Killian, 1979; Straus & Stewart, 1999; Woodworth, Belsky, & Crnic, 1996).

While affluent parents were more lenient, poorer parents were more controlling (Bronfenbrenner, 1958). In a study involving teenagers of White-American and African-American parents, it was discovered that educated fathers and mothers exhibited healthier parenting practices (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, and Roberts, 1987). This lack of warmth, suggested by Hoff, Laursen and Bridges (2012), is influenced by economic pressures, harsh living conditions and lack of education. In short, warmth or expression of affection is influenced by the parents' level of education and socioeconomic conditions; on the other hand, poorer parents usually expressed less empathy, understanding and love toward their children in their educational parenting activities (Vatz Laaroussi, 2007).

Besides socioeconomic status factor, ethnicity is considered as an influential factor in parenting and childrearing.

Parenting and Childrearing with Ethnicity Factor

The role of ethnicity on parenting practices, such as displays of warmth and affection, has also been established, although studies are inconclusive as to the definite influence of ethnic backgrounds on parenting styles (Blum, 1998; Brody & Flor, 1998; Chouarra, 2004; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Hill et al., 2005; Menick, 2013). Among European and American and African-American families, it was found that parents tend to demonstrate positive and acceptable

parenting approaches (Billingsley, 1974; Brody & Flor, 1998; Garcia Coll et al., 1995; Hill et al., 2005; McAdoo, 1991; Taylor et al., 1990).

However, parents coming from minority backgrounds differ in their parental attitudes and practices. Among Latino families, for example, parents tend to be more nurturing, democratic, and even permissive (Delgado 1980; Durrett et al., 1975; Escovar & Lazarus, 1982; Vega, 1990). Other studies indicate that these parents appear to be more authoritarian in dealing with their children (Chilman, 1993; Harrison et al., 1990) while some researchers insist that ethnic minorities practice both egalitarianism and authoritarianism inside the home, but refrain from permissiveness (Martinez, 1988).

Ethnicity is not always a strong influential factor, as in some cases, psychological control from parents can be present over the influences from race and ethnicity (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, and Roberts, 1987; Bluestone and Tamis-LeMonda, 1999; Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardiff, 1995). Psychological control consists in the use of parenting strategies in order to manage the child's emotional or psychological processes, which involves love-oriented techniques such as love withdrawal. Those parents who are well-educated are more egalitarian and do not resort to physical discipline; however, the same parents wield certain psychological control to monitor and direct their children via psychological punishments and guilt induction (LaReau, 2003, Bluestone and Tamis-LeMonda, 1999). This phenomenon could be an indication of the consequences from psychological control in parenting across ethnicities.

Besides psychological control, behavioral control is also found across races, which involves the use of child management techniques such as communication and reinforcement of rules in order to influence the child's behavioral functioning (Galambos, Barker, & Almeida, 2003; Smetana, Crean, & Daddis, 2002; Walker, Barnes, & Mason, 2001, in Malmberg, & Flouri, 2011). Its positive effects had been proven to influence child behavior correctly, and the lack of behavioral control can lead to a youth's externalizing problems.

In addition to socioeconomic status and ethnicity, religion is considered an influential factor in Arab-Muslim families (Bérubé, 2004), among others.

Parenting and Childrearing with Religion Factor

Because a major portion of Moroccan immigrants are Arab-Muslim, this section focuses on the Arab-Muslim religion. In Arab-Muslim families, religion has a central role. Religion is usually seen as a necessary part of moral and ethical education of young children (Akkari & Gohard-

Radenkovic, 2004; Oladipo, 2009). New parents feel a need to train their offspring in the ways of their own religion. Religious families instill religious values in children, stressing commitment and character development, including honor and respect of parents. In Arabic religlion, the traditional value system is collectivist in orientation, emphasizing group, hierarchical relationships, harmony and conformity (Oladipo, 2009). An individual is not considered an entity independent of his or her family. This is in the contrast of the Western cultures which are considered as individualistic cultures where the person's own needs and autonomy play an important role.

Considering the importance of religion, which prescribes exactly the appropriate behaviors for a person and, in particular, for a child, and the collectivist nature of the Arab-Muslim culture, it can be supposed that parents in Arab-Muslim cultures may exercise more control over their children than parents in Western cultures. Said differently, as Muslim parents engage in a more intentional cultural transmission within the context of interdependence and collectivism, control and influence are more pronounced as compared to less control of Western parents due to the prevalence of individualism in the culture. It may then be hypothesized that Arab-Muslim parents may use what Baumrind (1971, 1989 in Zervides & Knowles, 2007) refers to as an "authoritarian style of parenting" (p. 65).

However, studies on parenting styles of Arab-Muslim parents are not found within the literature.

Thus far, the influential factors as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and religion have been reviewed. In addition, factors such as gender and developmental stage also play roles in parenting and childrearing, as discussed below.

Parenting and Childrearing with Developmental Stage Factors

Influential factors of gender and developmental stage affect parenting differently (Gonzales et al., 1996, in Malmberg, & Flouri, 2011). Parents of younger children are more likely to monitor their children's behavior through direct observation, while parents of adolescents are more likely to monitor their adolescents' behavior through indirect means, such as verbal rules for acceptable behavior and/or questions about their whereabouts. Over time, parents reported monitoring younger children and adolescents more than older adolescents, and girls more than boys, likely because older adolescents have an increased need for independence and autonomy, and because lower risk for problem behaviors is perceived in girls than boys. There is little

research on cultural differences in parental monitoring, but as in the case of control, considering the characteristics of Arab culture, it can be supposed that Arab parents exercise a higher level of monitoring than Western parents.

The developmental stage also influences communication in parenting (Malmberg & Flouri, 2011). Internalization of rules and cultural values is done through communication, and the parenting strategies involved communication. In the research on family communication, the quality of communication is important through childhood and adolescence, but a change of communication patterns can be observed when a child transitions to adolescence.

Along with influential factors such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, religiosity, gender, and developmental stage of children, the culture factor is considered major in the relationship between parenting and childrearing, which is reviewed as an independent sub-section.

Ethnocultural Background of Parenting and Childrearing

Parenting styles reflect cultural value systems. Research has shown that in different cultures, different parenting styles are more adaptive (Pronovost, 2008). For example, Anglo cultures, such as Australia, Canada or the United States of America, are predominantly individualistic, tending to value individual needs and taking responsibility for one's actions. The interests of the individual are more important than those of the group. The family unit is smaller, consisting of parents and siblings.

It is not surprising that "the primary goal of childrearing practices in these cultures is to raise autonomous and independent individuals" (Hofstede, 1980, 1991, in Zerwides & Knowles, 2007, p. 66). In these cultures, individuality and personal freedom are highly regarded, whereas dependence on the group is considered psychologically unhealthy and is discouraged (Hofstede, in Zerwides & Knowles). Studies of parenting styles in individualistic cultures have typically found that young people benefit mostly from authoritative parenting and least from authoritarian and permissive parenting (Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg, Elman, & Mounts, 1989, in Zerwides & Knowles, 2007).

In contrast, Eastern or less industrialized cultures are more collectivistic cultures. Usually these cultures "value family loyalties, adherence to group norms and maintenance of harmony in relationships with group members" (Rosenthal, 1984, in Zerwides & Knowles, 2007, p. 66). Such societies maintain that the extended family, rather than the individual, is the basic unit of

society. It has been suggested that this type of value system is linked to authoritarian childrearing practices. In such cultures, an authoritarian parenting style "may teach the child the importance of conformity and obedience" (Papps et al., 1995; Sprott, 1994; Szapornik & Kurtines, 1993; Triandis, 1989, in Zerwides & Knowles). This is a common practice, as traditional culture puts emphasis on the wisdom of the heads of the families or clans. Although opinions and ideas may be welcomed, the parents are regarded as the final authority and therefore must be respected, especially as they require conformity to religious values and cultural practices that children understand and recognize as part of their own uniqueness.

Related studies in the Arab-Muslim culture are not found within the literature.

Even though immigration is not listed as an influential factor, it is considered important particularly in this study, and its impact on the parenting and childrearing relationship is reviewed as follows (Moro, 2010).

2.2.2.3 Parenting and Childrearing in Immigration Context

Acculturation is an important process, which involves the immigrant person's cultural adjustment to the host culture (Azzimani, 2004; Berry et al., 2002). When individuals migrate, they undergo an acculturation process, which can be a difficult process. When the cultural distance between the country of origin (e.g., collectivistic) and the country of settlement (e.g., individualistic) is large, more behavioral changes, for example in parenting behaviors, are expected from immigrants (Ward, 1996, in Yaman et al., 2010). Berry formulated an acculturation model in which the first dimension consists of a preference for maintaining one's own heritage, culture and ethnic identity (e.g., Arab or Muslim culture), and the second dimension is the preference to participate in the host society (e.g., Canada) (Gravel, 2001).

In addition, Berry (1993, in Farver et al., 2007) proposed that there are four ways ethnic minorities can associate with their host culture, as "they can assimilate (identify solely with the dominant culture and sever ties with their own culture), marginalize (reject both their own and the host culture), separate (identify solely with their group and reject the host culture), and integrate (become bicultural by maintaining aspects of their own group and selectively acquiring some of the host culture)" (p. 187). The research investigates the psychological impact of immigration and acculturation on family functioning and behavior. Some studies found that integration was the most psychologically adaptive pattern (Berry, Kim & Boski,

1988, in Farver et al., 2007), and integrated individuals had less acculturative stress and anxiety than those who were marginalized, separated, or assimilated.

Besides inter-cultural group studies, other studies examined individual acculturation styles to uncover within-group differences (Farver, 2007). These studies assume that acculturation produces common patterns of experience as immigrants adapt to the life in the host country. Therefore, acculturation was studied as to how it affects immigrant families and children's early socialization and development to produce variations in child outcomes. For example, Patel, Power, and Bhavnagri (1996, in Farver, 2007) found that assimilated Asian-Indian parents adopt relatively Americanized childrearing attitudes and behaviors and tend to encourage those characteristics in their children. Likewise, in a study of Korean-American immigrants, Farver and Lee-Shin (2000, in Farver, 2007) found that mothers with assimilated or integrated acculturation styles begin to resemble European-American families in their childrearing styles.

As a specific group in parenting, second-generation immigrants did not experience migration themselves, but they are exposed to the life in two cultures with consequences for their broader adaptation and more specific parenting behaviors. Depending on their acculturation level, their parenting behaviors may differ from those in their home country, as well as from those in their resident country. Second-generation immigrant parents who are oriented to the cultural values of the host country more often adopt childrearing attitudes and behaviors similar to the host society (Yagmurlu and Sanson, 2009). For example, a study on acculturation and parenting values and practices in a sample of Turkish immigrants living in Australia shows that mothers who were more willing to interact with the host culture favor inductive discipline methods and child-centered goals, and are thus more similar to the host society than mothers who favor separation from Australian society (Yagmurlu and Sanson, 2009).

Cultural heritage is strongly considered by immigrant parents, as studies have shown that immigrants tend to maintain family values and parenting practices related to their cultural heritage (Gungor & Bornstein, 2008) and pass them on to the next generations (Phalet and Schonpflug, 2001). A study among first- and second-generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands showed that adaptation to the host society is favored with respect to social contact with Dutch people and the Dutch language (Arends-To´th and Van de Vijver, 2003, in Yaman at al., 2010), but cultural maintenance was preferred regarding childrearing and cultural habits.

In summary, this paper has reviewed parenting and childrearing. Childrearing practice is influenced by many factors such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, religiosity, culture, gender, and developmental stage of children (Le et al., 2008). A novel model theory of parenting and its derived parent-child relational orientations will be presented below, which includes four types of orientations: rule-directed, position-directed, independence-directed and relationship-directed (Silverstein, 2006, in Tuttle et al., 2012).

As mentioned above, cultural transmission is considered one of the critical topics in parenting and childrearing among immigrant parents. Its concepts and theories, particularly as those related to practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec, are reviewed below.

2.3 Cultural Transmission

In a context of immigration, cultural transmission within the family is embedded in a surrounding cultural environment that differs from the parents' heritage culture. Children learn cultural customs, norms and values mainly through enculturation from their early ages, which is an unreflective and unintentional process of absorption of the surrounding culture through social modeling, observation and participation in routine cultural practices (Sabatier, 2013). From an ecological perspective on child development, children do not only learn from interactions with their parents within the immediate family context, but also learn from other interactions with peers, adults and institutions outside the family (Sabatier, 2013). This process is complemented by socialization, which includes the active and purposeful teaching of culturally important values, norms and behaviors.

In this section, the concept, theories and models of cultural transmission are reviewed, together with the influential factors of multiple identities and religious identifications, to provide theoretical support to this study and thesis.

2.3.1 History and Concepts of Cultural Transmission

2.3.1.1 History of Cultural Transmission

The social sciences credit Bandura for his development of celebrated social learning theory, which emphasizes learning in a social context (Bandura, 1969). Providing a framework for cultural transmission in the field of sociology and anthropology, Bandura developed his theory based on the social cognitive theory from Miller & Dollard (1941) whereby individuals acquire behaviors by observing and replicating what is modeled in and around their environment. However, an

important theoretical origin for Bandura is the learning theories. The actualization of an observed behavior is dependent on the use of positive and negative reinforcements. Consequentially, Bandura's theory posits that human beings adopt the behavior and attitude exhibited by the individuals around them, as well as the outcomes of those behaviors. According to him, "most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions, this coded information serves as a guide for action" (Bandura, 1977, p. 22). As such, any forms of behaviors are acquired or influenced by cognitive, behavioral, and environmental factors in observation-based learning.

According to Bandura, observation-based learning as a cultural transmission framework has four major components, namely attention, retention, motor reproduction, and motivation (Bandura, 1977). First, attention can be affected by various factors in any learning situations such as distinctiveness, affective valence, complexity, prevalence, functional value, as well as observer's own characteristics as sensory capacities, past reinforcement, arousal level and perceptual set. Second, retention refers to the ability of a person to recall whatever has been observed by way of cognitive organization, symbolic coding, symbolic rehearsal and motor rehearsal. Third, reproduction is the capacity to replicate observed images. And finally, motivation refers to the motives behind certain actions or behaviors. Bandura (1993) later added the importance of a sense of self-efficacy which also play important roles in cultureal transmission of parenting.

Providing a strong foundation for the study of cultural transmission, particularly the role of parents in the transfer of beliefs and values, Bandura found that children often imitate the behaviors of adult role-models (Hock, 2009; Bandura, 1973), whereby children become, as they mature, a "product" of the adult role modelling around them.

The study of cultural transmission began to gain significantly more momentum between the 1980s and 1990s based on Bandura's principles (Hervieu-Leger, 2002). For example, studies report that everything from modes of dressing to table manners, dialect and social mannerisms can be handed down directly from parents to children (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman, 1981). More importantly, children, in their purposeful and non-purposeful interactions in the homes, absorb what parents believe in and practice. This leads to a discussion on various concepts of cultural transmission based on multiple parameters.

2.3.1.2 Concepts of Cultural Transmission

The concept of cultural transmission can be defined broadly as "the process of perpetuating the behavioural features of a cultural group through teaching and learning" (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981, in Idema & Phalet, 2007, p. 75). As defined by Boyd & Richardson (1985, in Idema & Phalet, 2007, p. 75), "transmission is a dynamic process that never leads to a full replication of cultural repertoires from one generation to the next; rather, transmission results in varying degrees of cultural replication and adaptation in a changing environment."

Berry et al. (2002, in Idema and Phalet, 2007, and Octobre and Jauneau, 2008) distinguish two ways of cultural transmission: horizontal and vertical transmission. Vertical transmission happens between immigrant parents and children, while horizontal transmission takes place through peer contact within or outside immigrant communities. In addition, so-called oblique transmission "refers to the influence exerted by adults other than the parents, like teachers, and by institutions other than the family, like schools" (p. 75). In this context, vertical transmission is viewed as supporting cultural continuity within immigrant families and communities. Cultural change enters the family system through an informal culture learning in cross-cultural peer contact, through formal education in school, and/or through the adoption of alternative adult role models from the host culture.

Additionally, cultural transmission can be described or defined in a number of ways depending on the contexts of its use and how this practice is perceived in empirical circles (Inman, 2007). In this section, cultural transmission is defined in three ways: 1) definitions based on parent attitude and perception; 2) definitions based on culture recipient responses; and 3) definitions in terms of perspectives or scopes.

First, the definitions are given based on how transmission is performed by acculturating agents (parents and other adults) in an attempt to pass on beliefs, values, and practices. In other words, this definition relates to parenting practices conducted based on parental attitudes and perceptions. Second, cultural transmission can be defined based on how it is received or grasped by the acculturated individuals (the recipients of acculturation or the second generation) (Simard, 2004). Thus, cultural transmission can be presented as how acculturating agents see or practice and how the recipients of culture respond to it. Third, cultural transmission can be defined representing different perspectives or scopes on the transfer of cultural systems in general.

Definitions Based on Parent Attitude and Perception

Based on parent attitude and perception, cultural transmission can be the reproduction of one single culture or as a form of bicultural transmission. As reproductive cultural transmission, Inman et al. (2007) define cultural transmission by immigrant parents as a process designed to replicate their culture in their children. This way of definition rests on the belief that it is the parents' responsibility to ensure the reproduction of their ethnic identity in their offspring. In addition, this transmission emphasizes strong adherence of the second generation to their parents' cultural values and practices resulting in restrictive behavioral standards (Meintel, 1992).

On the other hand, as bicultural transmission, Inman et al. (2007) state that, while parents are actively engaged in acculturating their children so that the latter can reproduce important cultural values, the former give room for an engagement with the host culture. Bicultural transmission is neither one-sided nor restrictive, but characterized by "open-mindedness" to "respecting differences" (Inman et al., 2007, p. 97). In bicultural transmission, parents realize the influence of the host culture through recognizing it as an inevitable part and parcel of the lives of their children who must now function well on foreign soil. The handing down of national heritage and the use of parenting strategies are flexible in this definition because parents understand the unique environment of their children and their dilemma in being distinct, yet similar to some extent, with the host culture.

Along with parent attitude and perception, cultural transmission can be defined based on culture recipients – children's responses.

Definitions Based on Culture Recipients Responses

Cultural transmission can be selective, meaning learners of cultures do not accept everything that is taught, but choose what they want to adopt and practice (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Based on the alternation model of acculturation, cultural transmission is characterized by the retention of significant core values such as religion, family practices, and food (Sercia & Girard, 2009). However, scholars see this way of transmission as involving adaptation of some non-essential practices, which may include manners of interaction and dress code at work, among others (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981).

There are certain implications to consider in this way of definition. First, the definition suggests that the end result of transmission is biculturalism, which means the acculturated individuals remain loyal to their distinctiveness while maintaining some connection with the host culture. Second, this cultural acceptance undergoes at least two stages, namely identification and retention.

Identification is the responses given by the learners of culture to their ethnic heritage, while retention is their ability to continue practicing whatever they believe and accept as integral part of their identity (Inman et al., 2007). The words "inner core" and "biculturalism" are used in describing selective reception in bicultural transmission (Inman et al., p. 95). The former is used to describe those who identify closely with the ethnic background of their parents, and the latter describes those whose identity is akin to their parents' but sense the differences between the ethnic and host cultures. As LaFromboise et al. (1993) argue, this transmission happens because families see the value of acquiring and preserving cultural aspects of both cultures for the purpose of integration of both cultural contexts.

Other perspectives and scopes from research scholars can be used to define cultural transmission, as described below.

Definitions in Terms of Perspectives or Scope

Two important definitions represent other scholars' perspectives on cultural transmission: limited transmission and adaptive cultural transmission.

Limited transmission by acculturating parents. Sherry and Ornstein (2014) described cultural transmission, particularly when dealing with second-generation adolescents, as limited or restricted. They found that in the immigration context, the young people – born or transplanted to a new land – are exposed to the influences of the adopting state. In this definition, the learners of culture are confronted with two different and even opposing bodies of beliefs and sets of practices. While this is not always the case, it has been established that the immigrant parents themselves face similar challenges as their offspring (Vatz-Laaroussi, 2004). Sherry and Ornstein (2014) describe this transmission context as a transitional phase. In this definition of transmission, both the first- and second-generation immigrants experience cultural transformation as they are influenced by the new environment. Because parents are going through changes in terms of values and standards, their transmission strategies are affected and become more limited.

Adaptive cultural transmission as interaction between majority and minority cultures. Using a different set of lenses, Mchitarjan & Reisenzein (2014) define cultural transmission as adaptive, allowing the minority group to establish "a stable subculture in the cultural majority environment" (p. 194). Here, the focus is not on parenting by the immigrant adults or acculturating agents attempting to transfer their cultural system to the young, but viewing cultural transmission as being accomplished by the host culture and transmitted to the immigrants, both young and old. The

authors use the word 'conversion,' which involves 'psychological detachment' from one's cultural heritage for lack of definitive or viable reason to retain one's cultural values. When immigrants feel that it is useless or unlikely that they can maintain links with their ethnic roots for some reasons, they give up their belief system, similar to religious conversion in its real sense.

2.3.2 Cultural Transmission Models

Among all cultural transmission models, a value transmission model from Phalet and Schonpflug (2001) and an assimilation model from Esser (1980, in Nauck, 2008) are the two predominant ones with their major impact on cultural transmission. They are reviewed in this section.

Value transmission model

Phalet and Schonpflug (2001) suggested a value transmission model (Figure 2.2) of mediated value transmission across acculturation contexts (controlling for gender and educational status). This model of cultural transmission was formulated as a framework of a comparative study across original cultures and host societies. This model specifically looks into what enhances or impedes cultural transmission in the context of acculturation. The conceptualization and measurement of the transmission process have been guided by four elements as (a) values as contents of transmission; (b) parental goals as means of transmission; (c) variations across gender and educational status as intercultural conditions of transmission; and (d) variation across original cultures and host societies as acculturation contexts.
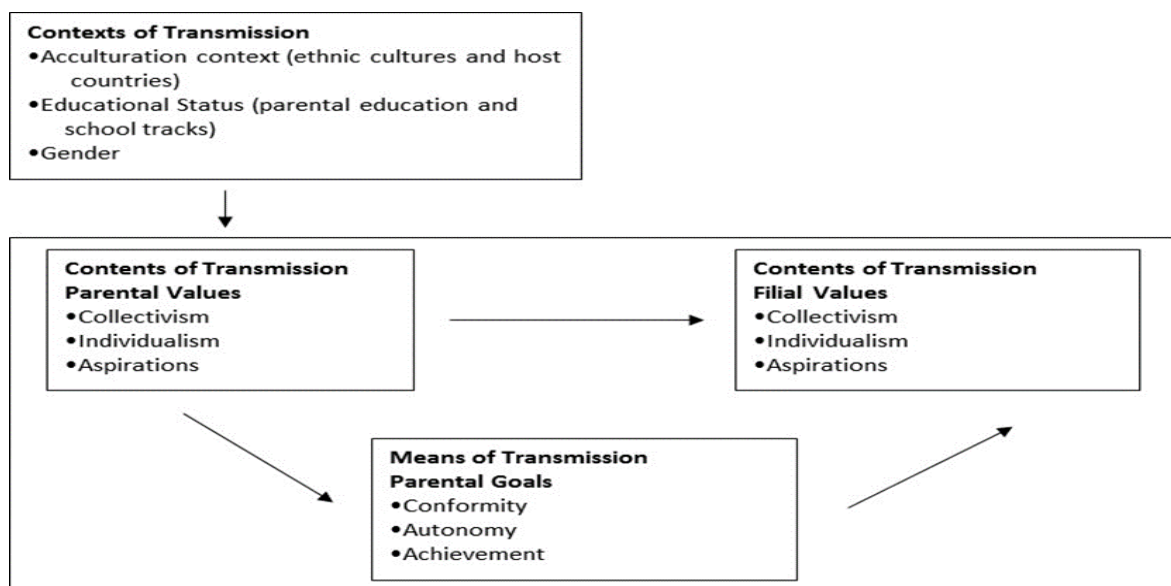
Figure 2.2 Value transmission model (Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001).

This model states that parental values are selectively transmitted into corresponding filial values based on their social survival function. Further, parental goals are conceived as possible means of transmission or so-called "transmission belts" (Schönpflug, 2001, in Schonpflug, 2009). These belts mediate and enhance effective transmission between generations. Aside from these means, transmission of values may be conditioned by social constraints and opportunities attached to gender and educational status. Finally, the intensity of transmission is expected to vary across original cultures and host societies.

Assimilation model

Esser (1980, in Nauck, 2008) suggests an assimilation model including both contextual and individual mechanisms that affect the assimilation process: opportunity structures, action barriers, and action alternatives, which are related to perceptions, cognitions, and evaluations of individual actor. It is a simple two-level (context and individual) process model of cognitive, structural, social and identification assimilation. According to this model, personal preconditions of the assimilation process are partly "imported" motivational and cognitive attributes confronted with opportunities provided by respective context in the receiving society, which "matches" a specific social and structural placement as the starting point of an assimilation career (Figure 2.3).
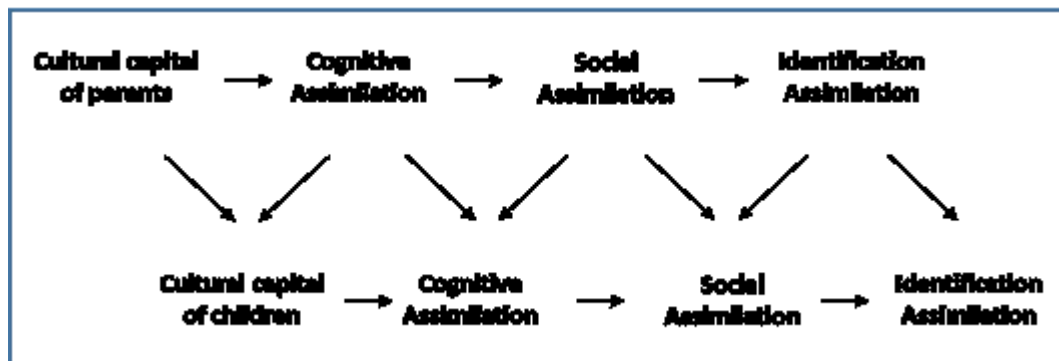
Figure 2.3 Assimilation model (Esser, 1980 in Nauck, 2008).

Discrimination is seen in this theoretical model as a major source of action barriers and thus restricts the action alternatives for social integration of minority members (Nauck, 2008). The assimilation process itself is divided into subsequent stages of cognitive assimilation (acquisition of knowledge about the receiving society and its institutional structure; acquisition of language skills as the strategic means to get access to this knowledge); structural assimilation (social participation, placement in the occupational structure); social assimilation (informal social contact to members of the receiving society); and, if the precondition of personal integration of the various roles in the receiving society is met, identification assimilation (predominant identification with

the receiving society). This model has its specific merits in the sequencing of the incorporation of immigrants and in the investigation of interethnic relations. But the model has its limitations, as the contextual level is not as explicit as the actor's level, and thus it is strongly related to the individual situation of the "first-generation" immigrants themselves (Nauck, 2008).

Multiple identities including religious identifications are considered important in cultural transmission process of parenting, and are thus reviewed in the next two sections.

2.3.3 Multiple Identities and Cultural Transmission

Ethnic identity involves an individual's self-identification as a group member, a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, attitudes toward ethnic group membership, and degree of ethnic group affiliation or involvement.

2.3.3.1 Definitions of Identity and Multiple Identities

Definitions of identity vary depending on disciplines and fields where identity is used. In sociology, as defined by Merriam-Webster Dictionary, identity is the conception, qualities, beliefs and expressions that make a person different from others. When defined by sociological scholars, ethnicity is defined as a shared culture and lifestyle, in which an individual may belong to a particular race without sharing ethnic identity with others of that race (Borak, Fiellin, & Chemerynski, 2004). As used in the next section, the term *multiple identities* means that a person, or a parent as in this study, bears more than one identity such as ethnic, national, religious and many other identities, which may make the related cultural transmission process different in parenting.

2.3.3.2 Multiple Identities and Cultural Transmission

Given that ethnic identity is meaningful only in situations where two or more groups have been in contact for an extended period of time, ethnic identity may be more apparent among individuals who live in highly urbanized and ethnically diverse areas of the host country, as "dual or multiple cultural identities typically coexist" (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009, p. 108). It is within these settings that immigrants form or reform a sense of ethnic identity where the majority, as European-Americans, assesses its own ethnic identity in relation to the increasing pluralism in their communities. Research findings are mixed as to whether immigrants can be highly acculturated and can strongly identify with their ethnic group (Dorais, 1990).

Immigrant youth are not only developing a sense of ethnic identity, but are also involved in establishing a sense of belonging to the country of settlement. However, compared to the development of ethnic identity, there has been far less research attention to immigrants' identification within the host society (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009; Sabatier, 2008). Immigrant youth might struggle with combining feelings of belonging and commitment to their ethnic community and to the nation. Cross-national acculturation research has found negative associations or incompatibility in multiple identities, such as between ethnic identification and national identification in non-immigrant European countries; but not in immigrant countries such as Canada and the United States (Phinney et al., 2006, in Stevens et al., 2012).

In countries like the Netherlands, Spain, and Germany, self-definitions in terms of Moroccan-Dutch, Moroccan-Spaniard, or Turkish-German are more uncommon and problematic than is the definition as Mexican-American or Asian-American (Foner & Alba, 2008). In the United States, in contrast to many European countries, these dual identities combine the notion of national identity with that of a distinctive ethnic identity, and the one is not an alternative to the other.

In the case of cultural transmission, research reveals that multiple identities make the need to hold on to tradition and upbringing, social support and family ties more difficult as it shows up as a rejection to perceived Western values (Inman et al., 2007). For example, ethnic identity retention can be challenged by obstacles and barriers from the host country society, which is considered as "loss of familial support, lack of cultural continuity, and an inability to have the best of both world" (Inman et al., 2007, p 93). Obstacles and barriers are identified in parenting as obstacles from host culture, lack of cultural knowledge, an inability to apply experience or upbringing, potential for cross-ethnic marriage, and limited familial and communal guidance. Among multiple identifies, religious identifications are considered predominant for some practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrants with a critical impact on parenting and childrearing, which is reviewed in the next section.

2.3.4 Religious Identifications and Cultural Transmission

For Muslim immigrants, cultural transmission entails the difficulty of not only attaining resolutions between the potentially competing ethnic and national identities, but also the challenge of negotiating their religiousness, because in many immigrant host countries, Muslim identity and national identity are polarized (Foner & Alba, 2008).

2.3.4.1 Religious Identifications

Religion is one of the markers of group identity in which religious groups differ from other identity groups in ethnic and national identities because it invokes the sacred and divine, and provides different moral guidance for daily life (Hogg et al., 2010; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). The lives of observant believers are organized around their religious beliefs, values, and practices that provide certainty, belongingness, and meaningfulness. Considering this unique and powerful meaning of religion, Muslim identity shapes the meanings and experiences associated with other social identities.

Specifically for Muslim identity, the situation of "equal" identities is probably less likely than intersections in which Muslim identity predominates and determines the meanings of ethnic and national belonging in related parents. Studies among young Muslims in Sweden, Scotland, Denmark, and the United States have shown that religious identity clearly predominates in identity groups followed by ethnicity (Saeed, Blain, & Forbes, 1999; Schmidt, 2004, in Stevens, 2012). In addition, Peek (2005, in Stevens, 2012) found that students identified themselves as Muslims first and foremost, and their religious identity became even stronger after the September 11th attacks. Furthermore, Butler (1998, in Stevens, 2012) found that, in Moroccan-Dutch youth, Islamic identity is very important, as it presents a way to feel in control and a sense of belonging while living in a society where they are considered outsiders (De Koning, 2008).

2.3.4.2 Religious Identifications and Cultural Transmission

Religion has a pervasive impact on children and especially on adolescents and their development, in which parents are considered as the most influential socializing agent in children's development of religiosity through cultural transmission. Research on the relation between children's perception of their parents' religiosity and their own religiosity tends to show substantial relations (Martin, White, & Perlman, 2003, in Stevens, 2012; Saint-Blancat, 2004). For example, studies among Muslim youth in Western Europe have found that perceived religious instruction and parental role modeling, as reported by the children, are strongly related to religiosity in the second generation (Fleischmann, 2011). Furthermore, research that used independent data from Christian parents and their children has found that children's religiosity is determined largely by the religiosity of their parents, which shows the intensive impact of religious identities in cultural transmission (Lefebvre & Triki-Yamani, 2011; Myers, 1996, in Stevens, 2012).

Stevens et al. (2012) conducted a study that investigated the relation between religious identity and ethnic and national identities among Moroccan-Dutch Muslim adolescents (11–18 years old). Compared to their parents, adolescents show higher national identification and lower religious and ethnic group identification. However, for adolescents and their parents, there are similar positive relations between Muslim and ethnic identifications, and both identifications are negatively related to Dutch identification. For early adolescents, their parents' religious identities are strongly related to their religious identification, together with their ethnic and national identifications, which further indicates the impact of religious identifications on children through cultural transmission (Pinto & Soares, 2004).

Surely however, compared to the first generation, second and later generations are exposed longer to the host society in their formative years and gradually adapt to the host nation. As a result, they tend to lose part of their distinctive original culture (Stevens, 2012). Compared to the first generation, second-generation Muslim immigrants tend to attach less importance to their religious and ethnic identity, and to have a stronger sense of national belonging to the host countries (Maliepaard, Lubbers, & Gijsberts, 2010).

In summary, in cultural transmission, especially vertical transmission from immigrant parents to children, transmission models are available to explain the transmission theories, such as the value transmission model (Schonpflug, 2009) and assimilation model (Nauck, 2008). Many factors can influence cultural transmission; among them, multiple identities such as ethnic, national (Foner & Alba, 2008; Inman et al., 2007), and religious (Stevens, 2012; Maliepaard, Lubbers, & Gijsberts, 2010) identifications are considered predominant in the cultural transmission process of parenting. As individuals bearing multiple identities, parents and children face obstacles and barriers identified in parenting as the difficulties of attaining resolutions between the potentially competing ethnic and national identities, as well as the challenge of negotiating their religiousness.

The theories reviewed in the above sections on parenting, childrearing and cultural transmission are applied below to the context of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents.

2.4 Parenting and Cultural Transmission in Muslim-Moroccan Immigrant Parents

Due to the limitation of information on practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec, this section reviews related parenting information from Arab-Muslim immigrant parents more generally, practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents in other countries and areas, and practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec.

2.4.1 Parenting and Cultural Transmission in Arab-Muslim Immigrant Parents

Some studies have reported that Arab-Muslim parents may face difficulties in the host country (Hernandez, 2007; Laaroussi, 2008). Of these challenges, some have focused on mothers more specifically, probably due to the fact that in Arab-Muslim families, mothers are particularly important (Beitin & Aprahamian, 2014; Laaroussi, 2009; Vatz-Laaroussi, & Rachédi, 2002). Islamic family law, or Sharia, proscribes their primary responsibility as childrearing and Arab-Muslim mothers exert considerable influence over their children, even when they are carrying out the wishes of their husbands and extended family (Kulwicki, 2008).

However, Arab-Muslim immigrant mothers may face a number of issues that can compromise their parenting ability and strain the quality of their relationship with their children. First, childrearing in a Western culture may be rendered more complex for the mothers, as they have to maintain traditional values such as family honor, while helping their children adapt to the host country. For example, some researchers have described a key task for immigrant Muslim mothers is mediating the tension between their spouse and the children about what constitutes acceptable adolescent behavior (Hattar-Pollara and Meleis 1995, in Aroian et al., 2011). In addition to the above parenting issues, Arab-Muslim immigrant mothers are coping with their own personal stressors associated with uprooting and resettling in a new country. Some of them experienced considerable pre-immigration trauma from war or persecution by other Muslim groups in their homelands (Norris and Aroian, 2008). Once in North America, they also must cope with the negative portrayal of their ethnic and religious identities (Naber 2006, in Aroian et al., 2011). In addition, they are confronted with the stressors that result from being in a new and unfamiliar environment, including their difficulty communicating in the host country language (English or French) and having limited financial, material, and social resources (Aroian et al., 2009). The resulting distress may interfere with parenting and the mother–child relationship may be consequently strained.

Another issue is the assimilation of culture (internalizing of culture and externalizing or exhibiting the same culture), which involves immigrant Arab-Muslim children. Some researchers analyzed the relationship between assimilation problems and the parenting strategies and contextual factors of parents. For instance, Stevens et al. (2007) conducted a study to explore the relationship between parenting and internalizing and externalizing problems in 713 Moroccan immigrant youth in the Netherlands. Childrearing varied with socioeconomic status and psychological acculturation level of the parents, as well as gender and age of the child (Sabatier, 1991). In

accordance with studies in Western populations, "high levels of affection and monitoring were associated with low levels of problem behavior," and high levels of punishment and "discipline were associated with high levels of problem behavior" (Stevens et al., 2007, p. 685). However, in contrast to studies in Western populations, a positive relationship was revealed between affection and discipline, and the univariate associations between discipline and problem behavior were modest. Discipline and internalizing problems were unrelated in low socioeconomic status families, whereas a positive relationship was found in high socioeconomic status families.

As reviewed above, Arab-Muslim mothers face personal stressors associated with uprooting and integration challenges in parenting and cultural transmission to their children. In the following section, we will review the literature on Moroccan immigrant parents and their cultural transmission practices (Houle, 1999).

2.4.2 Parenting and Cultural Transmission in Practicing Muslim-Moroccan Parents

Parenting and cultural transmission in practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents bears three features: 1) educational background of mothers has an impact on parenting and cultural transmission; 2) religious and individual orientations strengthen effective transmission; and 3) parenting practices that involve children in both heritage and host cultures have the most positive consequences in both school and community involvement (Bouche-Florin, Skandrani, & Moro, 2007; De Plaen, 2008).

First, educational background of mothers impacts parenting and cultural transmission. Moussaoui and Braster (2011) explored the perceptions of children's cognitive development among Moroccan Arabic and Berber immigrant mothers who cannot read and are less educated, middle educated or highly educated in the Netherlands. Results reveal five significant factors to these mothers: moral attitudes, social values and religiousness; conversation, reading and playing as stimulating activities; importance attached to education; parental expectations; and attributions of school success (Moussaoui & Braster, 2011, p. 370). The parental perceptions about the cognitive development of young children differ according to their own educational level. Mothers who cannot read and have less education emphasize the development of moral, social and religious values for strengthening the cultural identity of their children. This sense of identity would enable them to function within their own cultural group and help them perform well at school. School success was attributed in large part to a combination of the efforts of the child and the school (Moussaoui & Braster). Middle and highly educated mothers, on the other hand, valued scholastic

development and attributed school success to their own efforts and to the support the child received (Battaglini et al., 2002).

Second, religious and individual orientations strengthen effective transmission. A study conducted on Turkish Moroccan parenting found that "religious transmission is generally effective for religious identification, beliefs, and practice across groups," in which acculturation contexts with high collective cultural continuity are most effective (Gungor, Fleischmann, & Phalet, 2011, p. 1356). In addition, individual orientation of heritage culture across groups and religious dimension is also effective in cultural transmission. On the other hand, adoption of host culture values plays a minor role in the transmission of parenting. The authors concluded that the religious lives in the second Moroccan immigrants belong to a continuous practice following their heritage culture.

Third, parenting that promises a child's involvement in both heritage and host cultures has the most positive consequences in both school and community involvement. A study conducted on Moroccan immigrant parents in Montreal (Québec) found that second-generation immigrants allowed to involve themselves in their heritage culture and the host nation "have the most positive psychological well-being," and were most adjusted in schools and communities (Berry & Sabatier, 2010, p. 191). In contrast, those children not prompted to get involved in either culture were least adapted. In addition, those children prompted to get involved in only one of the two cultures fell in between the two results above, with lower scores on bi-cultural involvements but higher scores than single cultural involvement. Similar results were obtained when the authors replicated their research in second-generation Moroccan immigrants in Paris, France (Berry, & Sabatier, 2010).

Daglar et al. (2011) conducted a study to analyze the relationship between parenting style and behavioral problems and compared them in immigrants and non-immigrants. Using Baumrind's parenting model and allowing for background effects, the immigrant parents were less permissive and more authoritarian compared to non-immigrants. Children in immigrant families had more externalizing problems, internalizing problems, emotional dysregulation, and less social competence than non-immigrant children (Tyyskä, 2008). Using both multilevel models and structural equation models, the authors found that the above child behavior issues are affected by demographic factors (Daglar et al., 2011). Results suggest that immigration is a risk factor for child behavior, which has partially direct and indirect impacts on parenting. As a consequence, parenting and childrearing in immigrants, including practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrants, require in-depth studies to offer useful and practical suggestions and recommendations to improve immigrant children's quality of life and behaviors in host countries (Daglar et al., 2011).

Chapter Summary

Traditionally, parenting behaviours have been divided into three parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian and permissive, as suggested by Baumrind, as (Zervides & Knowles, 2007). Though this model has some advantages, research on immigrant parents necessitates a more complex and dynamic model whereby parenting is not understood as a unidirectional set of parental behaviors but rather as a complex parent-child relationship, in which there are four types of parent-child relational orientations: rule-directed, position-directed, independence-directed and relationship-directed (Tuttle et al., 2012). Research on childrearing practices has demonstrated that the relationship is influenced by many factors such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, religiosity, culture, gender, and developmental stage of children (Le et al., 2008). This study focuses on one specific factor – immigration – as an influential factor on parenting and childrearing.

Cultural transmission, particularly vertical transmission from immigrant parents to their children, is affected by many factors including multiple identities such as ethnic, national (Foner & Alba, 2008; Inman et al., 2007), and religious (Stevens, 2012; Maliepaard, Lubbers, & Gijsberts, 2010). These identities are considered predominant in cultural transmission process among immigrant parents, as they face obstacles and barriers when exposed to competing ethnic, national and religious identities. The parenting and cultural transmission of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents seem to bear three features: 1) educational background of mothers as impacting parenting and cultural transmission; 2) religious and individual orientations strengthening effective transmission; and 3) parental encouragement of children to be involved in both heritage and host cultures to have a positive effect on their school and community. To better assist Moroccan immigrant parents and other immigrant parents, in-depth studies offering useful and practical suggestions and recommendations are expected to help them overcome barriers and tackle challenges to improve their and their children's quality of life in host countries. Based on the literature review of this chapter, the research framework and research questions of this study are proposed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Based on information collected in Chapter 2, this chapter describes a gap in literature and establishes the research subject, area and population including a theoretical summary and the research questions. In the attempt of filling the literature gap, this chapter states the theoretcal choice and posture of this study through exploring the literature information and innovating the literature gap.

3.1 Literature Gap and Research Subject

As mentioned in the Introduction, there is a clear gap in the literature on cultural transmission among second generations of Muslim immigrants in North-America (Eid, 2002). In addition, there is a call for research on this population due to the increase of Muslim populations in Canada and Québec, and the challenges these populations may face in their cultural transmission and negotiations of ethnic and host cultures (Heritage, 2008). This section attempts to explore further the relationship between cultural transmission and childrearing to offer the theoretical background of this paper, which will support the research questions in partially addressing the research gap.

Bandura's research in the 1970s provided strong evidence for the critical role of parents and other adults in the behavior of their youth (Hock, 2009; Bandura, 1973). Bandura concluded that role-modeling is crucial to learning and suggested that in enculturation, both modeling and observation are key to its success. Within the context of enculturation, groups and individuals pass on their beliefs and values to the younger generation for the purpose of replicating and preserving their culture. This is widely known as cultural transmission.

It is argued that people develop and eventually exhibit certain traits and characteristics that are governed by world views, choices or preferences and norms acquired over a period of time (Bisin & Verdier, 2005). This way of life, which characterizes and distinguishes one ethno-religious group from others, is a by-product of evolutionary process, learning, and social adaptation. It shows that one generation learns or adopts from the previous one in terms of practices and behavior.

The traits and values of cultural transmission, according to Harvey (2010), are formed during a long sociological process, typically in every society. The formation of patterns of thinking among others, as well as feeling and acting, is a result of constant and continuous interaction through which culture is inherited. Parents and their contributions on the socialization of children have

been considered as some of the bases for understanding rearing practices and how these become instruments of cultural transmission. Also, volumes of research regarding parenting habits are influenced by theoretical concerns regarding the role of parents' behavior on children's socialization. Children equipped with the necessary tools to become successful members of society are linked to the adaptive childrearing strategies expressed in the parent-child interaction context (Bornstein, 2002).

Both the family and community recognize the prime importance of teaching cultural values to children and the possible consequences of the failure of their transmission. As stated by Alba (1990), no issue carries greater weight for the survival of ethnic groups than the socialization of children to have a distinct consciousness of their ethnic background, which leads to the identification with their ethnic group. Should the transmission of ethnicity from one generation to the next be interrupted, ethnic groups are obviously imperiled. Thus, it is by this awareness of cultural responsibility that parents exercise childrearing practices that promote cultural identification among their children. To further develop the subject of cultural transmission, it is necessary to review its historical background, its definitions, and its various operationalized ideas.

3.1.1 Central Points of Cultural Transmission in Childrearing Contexts

Cultural transmission in successive generations does not necessarily mean a full replication of beliefs and practices, as culture is shaped in ongoing socializations within a society (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981). Two key factors responsible for shaping one's cultural identity have been identified, which are social change and innovation in modern societies (Harvey, 2010). Thus, modifications of the transmission allow new traits to displace the old ones throughout a large population in just a few years (Baum, 1994). As Khalid (1998) also found, cultures are characterized by fluidity and tend to imbibe elements along their paths. Following this argument, different perspectives on the transfer of culture from the older generation to the next will be discussed, as well as the purpose of and motivation for cultural transmission. In addition, this section will tackle the implications of cultural context on the teaching of values and beliefs and the challenges faced by practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents.

Three modes of cultural transmission have been discussed extensively in available literature: vertical, oblique, and bidirectional. Each one of these modes is explained in the succeeding sections.

3.1.1.1 Vertical Cultural Transmission in Childrearing Context

When a family's set of beliefs and values is handed down by the parents to their children, this is an example of *vertical transmission* of culture (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman, 1981). Grounded in Miller and Dollard's and Bandura's principles, this mode of transmission supposes that children absorb whatever their fathers and mothers learn, rendering the parents as automatic agents in the enculturation of the younger generation (Grusec, 1994). This parent-to-child learning strategy explains that, as children are enculturated, they observe and mimic the facets of behavior of the adults.

On the other hand, in the case of acculturating cultures, "the vertical mode of transmission is predominately tied up with the maintenance of the heritage culture" (Phalet and Schönpflug, 2001, p. 186). If the parents have assimilated some characteristics of other cultures, the offspring will most likely replicate the same cultural traits. Whether or not the parents remain loyal to their cultural heritage throughout this exposure deserves some further discussions; nevertheless, what comes to the forefront is the reality of culture being absorbed and passed on to the next generation. This ensures that the following generations are in touch with their roots and do not abandon their identity.

3.1.1.2 Oblique Cultural Transmission in Parenting Context

Aside from the parent-to-child context of cultural transmission or vertical transmission, another mode of culture transfer has been widely discussed. Known as *oblique transmission*, this handing down of values and societal norms takes place in other contexts. Here, adult individuals other than the child's parents often become bridges in the never-ending process of cultural transmission, and these include the extended members of the family and other relatives (Baum, 1994). This may be particularly true in homes where close family ties exist, allowing for frequent contact between the children and other adults that are related to them, namely grandparents, uncles and aunts, and even distant relatives. Two possibilities exist: these adults may or may not have shared cultural attributes with those of the parents of the culture learners.

It is asserted that the environment outside the home, which tends to become larger as children grow up, contributes in part or to a greater extent to the cultural transmission to the younger generation. In this context of transmission, children absorb the culture of the adults to which they have direct access. Often, these adults include school teachers, religious leaders, and coaches, all of whom influence the children in the formation of personal beliefs and practices (Baum, 1994).

This is a reality, particularly to those who long for parental figures or acceptance due to unique situations in the family (e.g., children whose parents are absent and/or uninvolved). Here, sports or music teachers and perhaps spiritual mentors end up becoming pseudo-parents whose culture is more likely to be adopted by the younger generation under the influence. It is not unlikely that such influence may run contrary to the childrearing habits and convictions of parental authorities at home. In other words, what children learned from their parents may either be consistent with their original culture or it may stand in stark contrast with what is taught and exemplified outside the home. Hence, children acquire culture from various agents - parents, relatives, pseudo-parents and other adult members of the community - with whom they have direct contact on a regular basis.

The vertical and oblique transmission modes indicate that children are passive individuals simply receiving a package of culture as taught or exemplified by parents. Both also suggest that because offspring are assumed to be mere recipients of culture, they merely adopt the values and beliefs of their parents. This seemingly automatic transfer of culture from adults to the offspring has been challenged in the ongoing debate in anthropological circles (Cavalli-Sforza Feldman, 1981), which leads to the next mode of transmission – the bidirectional learning of culture.

3.1.1.3 Bidirectional Cultural Transmission as a Parenting Strategy

Critics of the vertical and oblique transmission modes offer a different view stressing that children are actively involved in cultural transmission and achieve this when they realize that the enculturation is not adult-centered (Grusec, & Goodnow, 1994). The argument is that during the course of transmission, children have the capacity to evaluate, interpret, and eventually accept or reject ideas from the parents. In other words, it is they who decide whether or not to respond with internalization. This indicates liberty and control in the enculturation process. Recently, the mutual enculturation has also been put forward by Lancy (2012), who stressed that children exercise freedom of choice and embrace whatever they think is worth absorbing in the process of socialization. Therefore, this unique perspective on the handing down of culture is neither top-down nor oblique, but is coming from both directions, resulting in the phrase *bidirectional transfer*.

Lancy (2012) adds a new dimension. He believes that children learn at their own pace and initiative, highlighting the critical role of children in cultural transmission. Based on his arguments, children appear to be the final determiners of what values and norms to embrace. Here, the young learners of culture are not passive recipients, but rather active learners who, contrary to

previous theories of learning, eventually adopt beliefs and behaviors from their overall environment using their own personal judgment. This bidirectional process of transmission indicates that children are active participants in acculturation environment and do influence the agents of acculturation. As Bloch (1988) observed, the verbal cues of learners of culture influence adults to adjust accordingly so that the latter exhibit proper and favorable behaviors in the context of socialization. Others concur with Bloch by stressing that behaviors of children influence the way that parents socialize with them (Trommsdorff, 2008 & Kuczynski, 2003).

3.1.2 Roles of Parents with Motivation in Cultural Transmission

As reviewed in Chapter 2, parents play important roles in cultural transmission. One significant argument worth raising in the study of cultural transmission is the purpose or motivation of parents. When parents transmit knowledge of their culture to the younger generation, it is more than just simply teaching cultural elements with replication in mind but also with purpose or intention. The underlying reason for this intentional transmission of cultural values and norms is the preservation and continuance of culture to ensure that the next generation perpetuates the cultural heritage of their parents to maintain their own ethnic identity. As Javo, Alapack, Heyerdahl and Ronning (2003) explained, ethnic identity development in childhood is highly dependent upon how and to what extent the culture's own norms and values are transmitted from one generation to the next. Here, it is obvious that intentionality or lack thereof affects the success of transmission.

In addition, while Bloch (1988) sees a lack of intentionality in the transfer of culture in the ongoing socialization between carriers of culture and learners, others offer a different perspective that points to intentional teaching (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman, 1981). Perspectives that support intentional enculturation believe that agents of transmission regard the passing on of their ethnicity as a paramount parental responsibility. This idea suggests that active enculturation by the parents commences the moment when the children are born.

On the other hand, as motivation, the prime importance of teaching cultural values to children and what the failure of their transmission may result in are recognized both by the family and the community. As stated by Alba (2007), no issue carries greater weight for the survival of ethnic groups than the socialization of children to have a distinct consciousness of their ethnic background and identification with their ethnic group. Should the transmission of ethnicity from one generation to the next be interrupted, ethnic groups are obviously imperiled. Thus, it

is with this awareness of cultural responsibility that parents exercise childrearing practices, which motivates cultural identification among their children.

Because of differing perspectives and practices, the host and the culture of origin are bound to experience a conflict. A discussion on this theme follows.

3.1.2.1 Role of Parenting in Maintaining Strong Connections with Ethnicity

Concepts of culture and ethnicity

The definition or concept differences between culture and ethnicity is that culture is defined as the knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by individuals as a member of society (Tylor, 1974). As defined by James (2014), culture is a social domain that emphasizes the discourses, material expressions, and practices, which express the continuities and discontinuities of social meaning of a life held in common. Furthermore, Pyszczynski, Solomon and Greenberg (2015) defined culture, in their Terror Management Theory, as a series of worldviews and activities of humans to perceive themselves as "persons of worth within the world of meaning" above the merely physical existence. This definition attempted to tell the differences in the understanding of culture between Homo sapiens and other animals.

On the other hand, ethnicity is defined as a shared culture and lifestyle (Borak, Fiellin, & Chemerynski, 2004). As mentioned in Section 2.3.3, an individual may belong to a particular culture without sharing ethnic identity with others of that culture. In ethnicity, cultures, values, lifestyles, beliefs, and norms among individuals may be different. For example, two Canadian-Moroccans share a common heredity or ancestry, but it does not necessarily mean that they also share the same ethnic identity, as their cultures, values, lifestyles, beliefs, and norms may be very different (Schimmele & Wu, 2015).

Parenting and ethnicity

Many immigrants never completely abandon their ethnic identity and cultural values when they leave their original land and seek a new home on foreign soils. In fact, it has been observed that traditional values are even more strongly pursued by these families in their adopted countries (Poutignat & Streiff-Fénart, 2015). Interestingly, among Muslim immigrants, maintaining political and religious connections with their countries of origin remains strong, particularly in the United States. As Elver (2012) asserts, although American ideology is a very

powerful force affecting foreign cultures, there are groups that show some resilience. This tendency among many immigrants to show strong adherence to their traditional beliefs and cultural distinctiveness happens once they settle in their adopted countries. In fact, this devotion is even more evident in their newfound home than in their countries of origin. Similarly, Fong (2004) has found that immigrant and refugee families in new environments often cling to their cultural values with fresh intensity in reaction to the fear of losing the old culture in a new setting. This psychological response appears to be their way of coping with the threat of losing their identity - ethnic or religious or both - following a considerable loss during the time of immigration (Meintel, 1992). Rachédi (2008) and Arcand, Helly, Drainville, and Laaroussi (2009) have articulated this best, describing immigration as a painful process of losing one's country, employment, friendships, and so on. It is often this sense of loss or the fear of losing something valuable that drives immigrants to seek even more for a thread of connection with their country of origin (Montgomery, Le Gall, & Stoetzel, 2010).

To achieve and maintain this strong connectedness with their cultural identity, parents or leaders of the immigrant family almost instantaneously begin working on building some defenses. The goal is to fortify the family unit and community against the perceived threats to what they believe are values and traditions worth preserving and fighting for especially in a foreign land. Again, parents are credited for the transmission of religious beliefs, ensuring that their second-generation children are not alienated from their Islamic roots. In modern Europe, for example, Gungor, Fleischmann & Phalet (2011) found that second-generation Arab-Muslims are able to maintain their religious identity simply because of the intentional orientation of the heritage culture performed by the adults. Here again lie the significant roles of parents in the transfer of cultural traits.

Another significant point to raise is that while acculturating communities, particularly in Western Europe, do influence second-generation Arab-Muslims, the impact is negligible and is overshadowed by parental influence (Gungor, Fleischmann & Phalet, 2011). It appears on the one hand that the cultural orientation and perhaps reorientation being administered by immigrant parents to their European-born children far outweighs the pressures from all corners of the non-Muslim society. On the other hand, it is worth noting that although children of Arab-Muslim immigrants are able to maintain strong ties to their families' religious convictions due to parental influence, they nevertheless exhibit some autonomy and exercise a certain degree of freedom regarding assimilation. This leads to the enlargement or enhancement of original culture.

3.1.2.2 Clash between <u>Culture of Origin</u> and Host Cultures

While it appears that acculturating Muslim parents are making great strides in preserving their ethno-religious identity, much needs to be reviewed (Helly, Vatz Laaroussi, & Rachédi, 2001). Immigrant parents, particularly those who are still finding their way into the new environment, realize that maintaining their cultural threads such as their traditions and values in a new country is far from easy. In fact, Muslims are not immune from eventual transformation, because they are not "immutable givens but themselves subject to change and flux" (Khalid, 1998).

Hassan, Rosseau, Measham and Lashley (2009) provided another perspective on the dilemma and ongoing clash of Western and Muslim cultures' worldviews, explaining that cultural transmission in a foreign country is but a paradox. Parents perceive the passing on of cultural values as important in promoting their children's integration and success in their new home and is therefore more strongly motivated and pursued. But this task is simultaneously made more difficult, largely due to the host society's equally strong competing values as well as children's exposure to different role models in the new country at an early age. In this cultural clash, parents must double their efforts to contend with the powerful influence of schools and peers. In addition, the pervasive western media - a powerful tool with global impact - continues its onslaught on Muslim individuals and their identity (Armeli, Marandi, Ahmed, Kara, & Merali, 2007). The cultural clash, therefore, makes cultural transmission more challenging for immigrant parents because the host culture requires a reorientation or even transformation of their identity and its enlargement (Bérubé, 2000). Here, enlargement of identity means not only being able to identify themselves as members of a particular minority group, but also being able to locate their identity in a multicultural society where acceptance is very important.

In sum, the central points of cultural transmission are social change and innovation in modern societies, resulting in clashes in cultural transmission between the ethnic and host cultures. In the cultural transmission clashes, immigrant parent populations are playing active roles with motivation. There is, however, a striking research gap in addressing this active role played by immigrant parents and, more specifically, practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec.

3.2 Research Population – Practicing Moroccan Parents in Québec

In the section below, we describe the research population and the rationale for the selections.

3.2.1 Rationale for Selecting Practicing Moroccan Parents as Research Population

Despite the fact that not all Arab-Muslims come from the same regions of origin, most people from the host society often have a universal model of Arab-Muslims. Although historically the Arabs were a distinctive ethnic group, it is a fact that Arab-Muslims have become a conglomeration of ethnicities and nationalities, which are brought together by the same religion, which is Islam. Nevertheless, focusing on Arab-Mulsims as a group can be justified for several reasons. One is the relative "sociological unity" of the Arab world, a unity that has been maintained, according to Abu-Laban (1980, in Eid, 2007), in spite of cultural diversity and the fragmentation of the region into a score of politically independent Arab states. Most importantly, as heterogeneous as Arab communities may be, Arabs living in the West are confronted with the majority group's tendency to impose on them a one-size-fits-all label. This form of outside categorization forces the Arabs to engage the notion of Arabness when negotiating their ethnic identities in a Western context (Eid, 2007).

The former sub-sections have presented objective data that paint a picture of a complex but educated cosmopolitan group with a high potential of integration into Québec society. Despite the facts, the dominant public perception is not very favorable of Arab-Muslim immigrants, especially after the 9/11 attacks (Brodeur, 2008; Girard-Hurtubise, 2002; Helly, 2004a; Helly, 2009; Laaroussi & Rachédi, 2006; Labelle, Rocher, & Antonius, 2009).

This tendency has become more negative during the past years, although it is hard to determine if it was caused by international events such as terroristic attacks and the War on Terror, or by the increase of the Muslim presence in the migratory flux. Although just after 9/11 the majority of Canadians stated that recent events did not change their opinion about Muslims, the meta-analysis of public opinion polls and sampled interviews carried out in the past years show that Muslims systematically ranked as the least favored group compared with other religious or cultural communities (McAndrew & Bakhshaei, 2012). Moreover, this negative public opinion is more marked in Québec than in the rest of Canada, and within Québec, among francophone participants (McAndrew & Bakhshaei, 2012).

Survey data shows that Québec public opinion is more positive when surveys use non-religious categories (such as Arabs) or religious labels applied to individuals (such as Muslim) and more negative when participants are asked about religion (such as Islam). For example, in a poll conducted in 2010, 41 percent of Québec participants said that they have a very unfavorable

opinion of Islam (McAndrew & Bakhshaei, 2012). Although attitudes toward religion were quite polarized, data showed that Islam was clearly the least favored religion, followed by Judaism (LeBlanc, Le Gall & Fortin, 2008; McAndrew & Bakhshaei, 2012). Generally, younger people have a more favorable opinion, along with people who had contact with members of the target group or the immigrant population in general. The francophone population, especially outside Montreal, is much less exposed to this group and, consequently, they have a less favorable opinion of people of other religious or cultural backgrounds.

These realities confront both the Arab-Muslim immigrants and their Canadian-born children. On the part of the parents, two responsibilities related to cultural transmission come to the forefront. First, amidst these sad actualities, parents have to ensure that their children do not abandon their cultural heritage, something that is not far from happening because of the onslaught of negative reaction, feelings and publicity towards Islam as a religion, and Muslims as an ethnic and religious group. Second, as part of their task in transmission, parents will find it helpful to be proactive in educating their offspring regarding these realities, by making them more accepting, tolerant, and understanding. This entails constant teaching, reassuring the second-generation Muslims that such realities do exist, given the fact that media reportage, especially following the 9/11 events, has not been favorable. The added role of parents in cultural transmission is to make their Muslim children ready for such unfavorable treatment and how to live or deal with it and respond the way that the Quran prescribes (Helly, 2009c; Helly, Hmimssa, & Brodeur, 2014).

On the part of the young Muslim Québécois, living in such conditions poses a great challenge in a land where they do not only look different, but speak a unique language and adhere to certain practices unknown or even unwelcome to some (Brodeur, 2008; Bourque, 2008; Pelabay, 2013; Rousseau, 2012). Blending into the society, without setting aside one's religious convictions and the practice of such, may be considered a good strategy. Establishing friendships with other ethnic groups and educating others in a friendly and non-threatening manner will help diffuse the feelings of animosity towards Muslims in Québec.

To summarize, Arab-Muslim immigrants in Québec, particularly Muslim-Moroccan immigrant families, were selected as a sample of interest, because of the importance of religion found in the formation of identity. These families also face challenges / issues in culture adaptation and transmission of parenting practice in a secular host society, which is an essential item in terms of the relevance and originality of this research.

3.3 Theoretical Summary – Cultural Transmission in Childrearing Practice

3.3.1 Parenting and Its Practice in Childrearing

As reviewed in the literature of parenting, research suggests two childrearing goals as directing children towards proper behavior at home and in society; and teaching them to adopt acceptable values of parents (Le et al., 2008). These goals are achieved through the expression of parental warmth and affection, active monitoring, and psychological and behavioral control, which are deemed necessary in ensuring conformity to parental standards. Parents are also said to employ the use of certain communication strategies that ensure parent-child attachment. Moreover, achieving and ensuring self-efficacy among parents so that they are able to effectively carry out the roles are priorities (Hess, Teti, Hussey-Gardner, 2004, in Le et al., 2008). This study was designed to observe the parenting in achieving its childrearing goals, the ways parents communicating with their childrent, and the efficacy of these achievement and communication.

Since literature shows that parenting in childrearing is influenced by factors of religion (Oladipo, 2009), ethnicity (Menick, 2013), and socioeconomic status (Hoff, Laursen, & Bridges, 2012), this study was also designed to observe the influence of these three factors on parenting in childrearing practice.

3.3.2 Parenting and Its Practice in Cultural Transmission

In the literature on immigration, cultural transmission broadly refers to the process of perpetuating the behavioral features of a cultural group through teaching and learning (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981, in Idema & Phalet, 2007). Transmission is a dynamic process that never leads to a full replication of cultural repertoires from one generation to the next; rather, transmission results in varying degrees of cultural replication and adaptation in a changing environment (Boyd & Richardson, 1985, in Idema & Phalet, 2007). In the process of immigration, cultural transmission is influenced by many factors, along with the processes of identifications. According to Berry (2007), children of immigrant parents are facing vertical and horizontal cultural transmissions; the development of their national, religious identity is both influenced by their parents and the members of the host society. These influences often lead to conflicts.

The methods for transmission of cultural values chosen by immigrant parents are also influenced by many factors, in which very little information is available in the literature. Discusssion However, the literature converges to the fact that some immigrant parents are facing difficulties

and often conflicts in these processes. For instance, according to Hassan, Rousseau, Measham and Lashley (2009), cultural transmission in a foreign country is a paradox. Parents perceive the transmission of cultural values as important in promoting their children's integration and success in their new society, which, as consequence, is strongly motivated and pursued by immigrant parents. It is simultaneously difficult partially due to host society's competing values, as well as children's exposure to the competition with host society role models at an early age and in a more intense manner (through schools, friends and the media, for example).

Based on the above theories in cultural transmission, this study was designed to reflect parenting strategies in cultural transmission; to observe how these strategies were influenced by the religious, identity, and national factors in the host country; and to determine how the parents perceive the transmission of cultural values while handling cultural conflicts between their original and the host cutures.

3.3.3 Cultural Transmission Practice in Muslim Moroccan Immigrant Parents

As cited in Chapter 2, immigrants responded to their new predicament as transients by clinging onto their culture with renewed vigor (Fong, 2004), for fear of losing their identity. It is possible that their cultural values become deeply ingrained as immigrants reflect on the losses due to being uprooted from their original soil and transplanted into an environment that is deemed very threatening. As described by Rachedi (2008), immigration itself means losses of country, work, and friends, among others. Based on the literature review in Chapter 2, the identity of Moroccan immigrant parents was set as one of the subjects of this study to observe how the parents attempted to maintain their original identity while helping their childrent fit to the host society.

In describing the minority group, Schaefer (2007) refers to them as an "inferiorized" class whose members have significantly less control or power over their own lives than the members of a dominant or majority group. They are classified into race, ethnicity, religion and gender, and often need to deal with a number of issues related not just to being immigrants but also being adherents of Islam, in addition to issues of discrimination (Elver, 2012; Sayad, 2006). The practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents fell under this classification, and thus will be investigated in their control or power over their parenting and the lives of their children, and how race, ethnicity, religion and gender affected their control and power in parenting.

It is the purpose of this research to understand how practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents accomplish the task of cultural transmission in an adopted society such as Québec

through their childrearing practices. As Schönpflug (2008) stresses, it is imperative to study the processes of cultural transmission, as they may help understand the continuity or change of cultures, including those that have to cope with immigration. Thus, two justifications led the researcher to embark on this study. First, this study may offer research-based and objective information to practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec in their parenting. With the contribution to the literature on these topics, practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents may have greater understanding of the challenges of their immigration adaptation. In addition, related knowledge sharing with professionals, communities, and policy makers and advisors has been emphasized. Second, issues of cultural transmission and childrearing practices among immigrants are laden with cultural overtones that call for further research to understand the phenomenon (Falicov, 2007).

Following Falicov (2007), the direction of this research was guided by an approach that took into consideration the relations, in some cultures, connecting nurturance and control in parenting practices. These could be useful when trying to understand the behavior of immigrant parents with regard to the raising of their children without the support of families, social networks, and cultural institutions. This study brings into accounts of the Moroccan immigrant childrearing practices, particularly on how parents perceived their traditional practices and how they understood the host society's appraisal of such practices. Keshavarz & Baharudin (2009) emphasized that if the parenting behavior is consistent with the cultural values, children will accept it. For example, children respond differently if spanking signifies love and concern in their community than if spanking is seen as unacceptable behavior. It has been shown that cultural factors such as race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status may affect parenting styles. For instance, research on authoritarian parenting appears to be associated with positive development rather than pathology in adolescents if the social setting of family and community responds favorably to this parenting style.

It is thus of high interest to explore in depth some practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents' views of their roles as parents and what parenting strategies are used in order to inculcate cultural values and identity, transmit religious practices, and teach the handling of cultural relations to their children. Relative to these are the challenges confronting these immigrant parents in enculturating their children to ensure transmission of cultural values and traditions.

Since multiple components were involved in this study, to clearly show the relation between different research components theoretically, a graphic pyramid is used, as shown in **Figure 3.1**.

Figure 3.1 shows that the Canadian Québec area was chosen as the research area in this study. Québec is selected due to its unique feature of increasing Muslim immigrants from Arabic countries including Morocco; thus, results obtained from the area may be applicable to similar areas.

The area offered the researcher excellent opportunities to have free access to observations and interviews with key informants who provided useful information to facilitate this study.

Culture Transmission

Childrearing

Practicing Muslim Moroccan Immigrant Parents in Québec
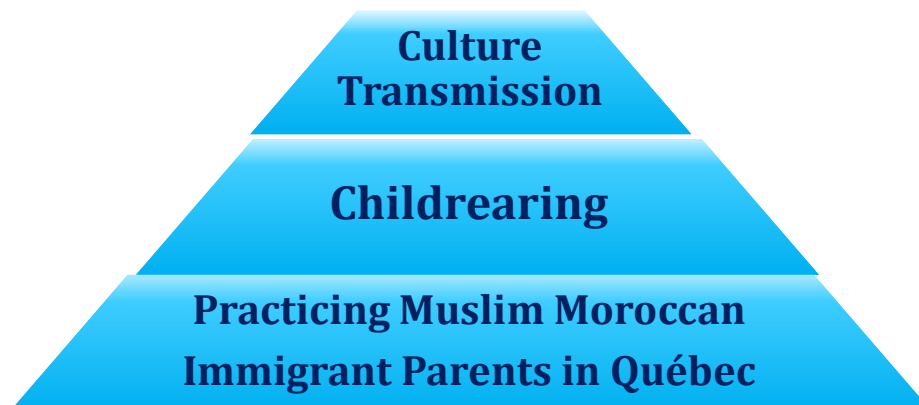
Fig. 3.1 Theoretical framework: research pyramid.

As shown by Figure 3.1, the study population consists of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents living in Québec. The design of the interviews focuses on the research subject of childrearing activities, cultural transmission, and the challenges of navigating between original and host cultures.

Chapter Summary

Based on the literature review, a research gap is found and taken as the research topic of this thesis to study practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents' childrearing practices and cultural transmission efforts. The results from this study seeks to contribute to cultural transmission research field by addressing some of the gaps in literature, which could benefit Moroccan and other immigrant parents, children and communities, as well as professionals such as social workers. The research methodology, with its theoretical background, research design, data collection and data analysis methods, is described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Research methodology is the systematic procedure that includes the principle and assumptions used to carry out a study to gain new knowledge. This chapter describes methodological theories to offer theoretical backgrounds of the methods used in data collection, data process and data analysis in this study. Because the main purpose of this study was to explore parenting strategies of childrearing in practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec, the methodology was built based on previous social studies in recent years to investigate similar research targets in immigrants (Nassar-McMillan & Hakim-Larson, 2003; Sirin & Fine, 2007). The primary data obtained from focus groups and interviews from the practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents were analyzed and scrutinized based on the Research Questions of this dissertation. The data collection time periods ranged from January 2010 to December 2011.

In this chapter, we will present the research philosophy as methodological theoretical support, including the research design and methods used in data collection and data analysis. At the end of this Chapter, research ethics, research reliability and validity are given.

4.1 Research Philosiphy

4.1.1 Inductive Qualitative Approach

Fundamental research methods include quantitative and qualitative approaches (Adamides et al., 2012; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011), in which qualitative method focuses on studying the process in order to understand phenomena as its context. This method fits the purpose of this study and was applied and discussed in this section and throughout the whole methodology chapter.

Qualitative research is a naturalistic approach suitable for data that view reality as being socially constructed, in which researchers focus on their research targets to investigate more deeply into the target context (Mangan et al., 2004; Golicic and Davis, 2012). Importantly, qualitative methods provide an in-depth approach in social experience focusing on obtaining and clarifying data from phenomena under observation. Wherever necessary, qualitative methods can be used to provide the project with measures of subjective data (Golicic and Davis, 2012), which is suitable to this research specifically and thus was chosen as its philosophical background of methodology.

Qualitative research approaches have been used in studies of immigrants to give researchers a space to involve actors in their migration trajectory (Laaroussi, 2008). In order to investigate current practices of practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents in Québec, qualitative data can offer a chance to access social phenomena to gain insights of related information. Therefore, a qualitative approach was used to obtain data for the purpose of answering the research questions.

In qualitative approach, three common philosophical reasoning principles can be applied in data analysis of a social study: deduction, induction and abduction reasoning. Deduction and induction are the most two common approaches (Robson, 2002; Ketokivi & Choi, 2014). Through the induction process, researchers move forward from sets of facts to sets of claims in which the reasoning process and the outcome claims need to be transparent and explicit to generate meaningful data evaluation with logical plausibility and consistency (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). Inductive reasoning approach is commonly used in ethnography studies as a form of qualitative research (Kolko, 2010). Inductive reasoning research derives from a specific instance to general inference; for instance, inducting a theory as inference according to collected empirical data as particular instances (Collis & Hussey, 2009). In this case, inductive reasoning can be used to obtain the meaning of a phenomenon being investigated, which meets the purpose of this study and thus was used in the data analysis.

In summary, we chose an inductive qualitative study design based on inductive reasoning to investigate cultural transmission in practicing Muslim Moroccan parents in Québec because they are the most suitable design for this purpose. It provides theoretical guidance to this study for its research design and theoretical framework. In this study, inductive reasoning was used to provide theoretical guidance to the data analysis.

4.1.2 Triangulation

Based on triangulation theory, a project begins with research questions and related qualitative data collection, and researchers review the collected data to discover repeated phenomena and ideas to form codes and then group codes into concepts with categories, resulting in new findings and theories (Verner & Abdullah, 2012). There are four methods in triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005): 1) data triangulation - the use of a variety of data in a study; 2) investigator triangulation - the use of several different evaluators or social scientists; 3) theory triangulation - the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data; and 4) methodological triangulation - the use of multiple methods to study a single problem or program. This study adopted data and investigator triangulation in its data analysis. Firstly, investigator triangulation was used because,

when more than one person is involved in data analysis, each person analyses the data separately and then the analysed results can be compared and discussed (Patton, 1987). Important insights can emerge from different data analysis way from different analysts working on the same set of data. To facilitate the researcher triangulation, an additional data analysis expert was invited to involve in the data analysis process to ensure the quality of data analysis. Based on the adopted investigator triangulation, the two analysts as the researcher and the data analysis expert agreed to hold discussions whenever they found major differences between their analysed results.

4.1.3 Typology

Typological analysis is described by Hatch and Wisniewski (2002) as an analytical model that integrates collected data into groups or categories on the basis of themes found from the whole phenomena under a study. Typology means that data analysis starts with integration of the overall data set into categories based on predetermined categories. It can be used as a complementary method after the inductive analysis in which patterns, themes, and categories of analysis emerge out of the data rather than being decided prior to data collection and analysis (Albertini, 2015). In fact, inductive typology analysis has been widely applied to studies in social science because the typological method assists in categorization of inductively analyzed data to reach clear theme identification and improve discussion and conclusion. As such, the typological analysis method was adopted in this study for its data analysis as a complementary method, in addition to inductive reasoning, and data categories were determined based on particular themes emerged from different participant groups.

4.2 Research Design

For the purpose of this research, qualitative case study with the collection of qualitative data is suitable as discussed in Section 4.2. In addition, focus groups and interviews are suitable in the qualitative approach based on information from literature search with an open mind. It allows creating new ideas and theories based on existing data. In this research design, qualitative data collection helped to obtain information from particular cases, and was used to seek empirical answers to the research questions (Higón, and Driffield, 2011). Focus groups and semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect qualitative data, which was established as a data profile to facilitate data processing and data analysis. Open-ended questions were applied to both focus groups and semi-structured interviews to facilitate the obtaining of additional data information.

4.2.1 Data Collection

Data collection included focus groups and semi-structured interviews from practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents, as well as information from the literature review. Focus groups and semi-structured interviews were used to obtain primarily qualitative research data. Second, the use of sampling strategy in participant recruitment helped to obtain in-depth data collection from practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrants. Furthermore, followed by interviewing different research objective groups, the open-ended questions used in semi-structured interviews enabled the collection of specific information and data, and avoided general and fuzzy data. Simultaneously, in the context of individual interviews, the open-ended questions also encouraged the interviewees to communicate more freely about their personal feelings and opinions. Finally, combined processing of data from both focus groups and semi-structured interviews helped save time in data collection.

Focus Groups

A focus group is one of the interview methods that puts together six to twelve participants and a facilitator in the context of a structured discussion on a particular subject (Geoffrion, 2003). Focus groups are well suited for certain types of studies where it is important to understand the "why" of things (Lenoir, 2009). Compared to other interview methods, a focus group has many advantages (Geoffrion, 2003). First, the questions are open. The role of the researcher is to present topics for discussion and questions. Participants are completely free to formulate their responses and comments at their discretion, and are not limited to specific categories of responses or progressive scales. Also, the researcher can determine whether participants have a common understanding of the question. Further, it allows a deeper understanding of the responses. It is often more important in research to understand the reasons for a response than to get the answer itself. Finally, this method provides preliminary results before the conductin of individual interviews.

There were at least three reasons that this study adopted focus groups. The first reason was that the interaction among participants can produce more information because when participants have similar experiences and are cooperative with one another, one-on-one interviews may cause hesitancy in the participants (Creswell, 2007). The second reason was that conducting focus groups prior to semi-structured interviews can offer the researcher preliminary information to assist in semi-structured interview and question design, and to avoid questions that miss the target.

The third reason was that the focus groups helped understand the importance of religion in identity, and actions/conflict in lay context.

The focus groups were conducted in two phases of two-hour length. The first phase allowed participant parents to openly discuss the issues of cultural transmission and childrearing, such as what it means to them, how they do it, and the difficulties they encountered in their families, the communities, the schools, and the society. Notes and tape recorders were used to record the impressions and inputs of parents and the observations of the researcher, which offered preliminary information to assist in the design and organization of the questions and discussions in the second phase.

The second phase of the focus groups was more specific, as it was built upon the responses of the parents who participated in the first phase. The parents selected for the second phase did not participate in the first phase. In the second phase, the researcher delved deeply into the themes identified during the focus groups discussions. Parents were given the opportunity to justify their responses, and explain the reasons and motivations for choosing particular strategies, finalities and negotiations that they came up with in order to live in their host society. A list of the focus group themes can be found in Appendix 5.

Data obtained from the first and second phases of focus groups were initially analysed to offer information to assist in the design and organization of the questions and conduction of the semi-structured interviews, as follows.

Semi-structured Interviews

Interview is considered as one of the important data sources in case study. Semi-structured interviews were used in this study as the researcher needed to modify the order and content of questions depending on the interview situations and answers (Dubois & Gadde, 2002; Saunders et al., 2009). For instance, sometimes it is necessary to add or skip some questions, or to use in-depth questions in each specific social context. Based on Saunders and colleagues (2009), "[The semi-structured interviews] provide you with the opportunity to 'probe' answers, where you want your interviewees to explain, or build on, their responses" (p. 324).

It is particularly necessary to use semi-structured interviews when conducting a case study in a complex situation with an intercultural approach, because researchers aim to understand the meaning from interviewees in a social interaction between cultures. In this case, interviewees or informants can express themselves in different ways according to each person and situation to

enhance the depth and significance of information and, thus, enhance the research depth of the subject (Yin, 2009). Data information from the focus groups conducted prior to the interviews was used to guide the design and organization of the semi-structured interviews, as follows.

Semi-structured interviews were used also in this study to assist the researcher in obtaining in-depth knowledge and to reach comprehensive understanding hard-to-measure concepts. For example, the strategies Moroccan immigrant parents used to understand their children's behaviours and to explain to the children the differences between the two cultures. In-depth interviews were useful tools for the researcher to effectively probe individual immigrant parents' needs, behaviours and attitudes towards the cultural changes in a host country. It assisted in the interpretation of information and in finding key concepts and realistic pictures in this study. In fact, semi-structured interviews had deepened the understanding of reasons and motivations of participants, as well as the most generic strategies in their cultural transmission.

To ensure data quality and accuracy, the interviews were 90 minutes in length involving parents at different locations; and interviewees were selected from Montreal and Gatineau to ensure data viability, in which data from the two cities can be compared to validate data viability (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Semi-structured interviews were employed after the second phase of the focus groups in order to determine the main themes that could be linked directly to the research questions. All interviews were recorded and transcribed as text in Microsoft Word files after obtaining permission from interviewees. In addition, all transcripts were returned to interviewees to verify data accuracy, and none of the interviewees made changes to the transcripts. A list of the semi-structured interview questions can be found in Appendix 6.

4.2.2 Data Sampling and Population

Sample sourcing and selecting, known as sampling, is a strategy in methodology to select a suitable research target and research population from which to obtain data. This step is required because data quality and richness are always more important than data volume and interviewee numbers (Robinson, 2014), which was confirmed as being critically important in this study during the data selection process.

In qualitative studies, researchers are often criticized for using too small a sample size to provide sufficient evidence to support their conclusions. Thus, it is particularly important for this study to justify data sourcing and selection based on the non-probability principle in which data samples were not processed through a random selection method indicating some data with higher selected

possibilities (Callegaro et al., 2014). Based on the research question, the main research topic is how cultural transmission was conducted, and the ways in which practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents handled it.

In the sampling methods from Patton (Robinson, 2014), purposeful sampling is described below. Qualitative research data originate from pre-determined samples on a small scale in order to reach the goal of study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013). The purposeful selection focuses its perspective on the research questions, events and processes with the clear purpose of allowing researchers to choose appropriate participants and events to explore in the research process. It is considered innovative and important that purposeful sampling offers chances to obtain data; this suits qualitative research, and in particular the needs of this study to generate rich, thick and varied data from practicing Muslim Moroccan parents, which helped the researcher to concentrate on specific events and participants to give a sufficient range of answers to this study (Turner, 2010). This can be achieved only by adopting the purposeful sampling method rather than any other conventional sampling method such as probability or non-probability sampling methods.

Based on the principle of purposeful selection and the research question of cultural transmission in practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrants, parents were selected as participants because they have the closest relationship with children (Rao, 2012). Accordingly, as the research questions of this study focus on parenting strategies in cultural transmission in practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents in Québec, selection of immigrant parents in their cultural transmission practicing period is critical for the success of data collection. According to the literature, the most intensive cultural transmission practicing time periods are the first ten years after immigration (Baum, 1994), and in children born in the host country or who came to the host country under the age of ten (Stevens et al., 2012). In addition, the roles a father and mother play in cultural transmission practice are considered different (Farver, 2007; Yagmurlu and Sanson, 2009); thus, participants should include both fathers and mothers. It is also ideal to recruit both parents from the same family, if possible, to give the researcher chances to identify the differences between the father and mother.

As such, the criteria for sample selection of participants for this study were specific. Participants must be from Morocco. They have been married and have lived in Québec for under ten years. They must have children who were born in Québec, or who came to Québec under the age of ten. Participants could be fathers and mothers, and it would be ideal if both parents from the same family could be recruited. If they were from different families, the number of fathers and mothers would be kept similar to allow for the comparison of their strategy differences in cultural transmission practice, and the evaluation of how cultural changes were handled, interpreted and

practiced by the parents. This purposeful selection allowed the researcher to access and interact with cultural transmission actors who had rich knowledge and who may have widely diverse perspectives on cultural changes, their implementation, and their success.

Sample size planning is an important part of the sampling design of this descriptive and analytic study, in which the goal is to determine an appropriate number of participants (Dworkin, 2012). Suitable sample size should be determined based on data saturation standards when data become repetitive, indicating that no more new information is obtainable by increasing sample size. In this study, a total of 34 parents participated in the research, in which 24 participants were recruited from Montreal (nine fathers, nine mothers and three couples), and 10 participants were recruited from Gatineau (one father, one mother and four couples). Eighteen of them attended the focus group discussions, and 16 of them participated in semi-structured interviews. Two focus groups were held in Montreal (one group of six mothers and one group of six fathers), and one focus group was held in Gatineau (one group of three couples). The semi-structured interviews were held in Montreal (three fathers, three mothers and three couples) and Gatineau (one father, one mother and one couple).

A sample size of 34 immigrant parent participants reached data saturation level when inductive reasoning, triangulation and typology methods were used for data analysis. Data saturation is used to ensure the quality and sufficiency of collected data to enhance liability of this study (Walker, 2012). The samples as fathers, mothers or couples were determined by the participants due to the fact that, after contacting the families, both couples, or only fathers or mothers, were willing to participate in this study. The general information of the participants with the ages of their children are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 General information of participants.

Categories	Focus Group Participants					Interview Participants			
Sex	Male	Children Ages	Female	Children Ages		Male	Children Ages	Female	Children Ages
Montreal	1	7, and 11	1	4		1	4	1	4
	1	8	1	7, and 11		1	3, 7 and 9	1	3, 7 and 9
	1	6, 8 and 11	1	3		1	7 and 10	1	7 and 10
	1	5 and 9	1	4 and 7		1	8	1	4 and 10
	1	5	1	9		1	6 and 9	1	7
	1	3 and 7	1	7 and 10		1	9	1	5 and 8
Gatineau	1	2, 5 and 10	1	2, 5 and 10		1	7 and 11	1	7 and 11
	1	8	1	8		1	5, 8 and 11	1	5
	1	6 and 10	1	6 and 10					

Note: Couples are indicated in red.

In this study, participant recruitment was conducted via advertisement in religious facilities such as mosques and non-religious facilities such as day-cares. Among all participants, 60% of participants were recruited from religious facilities, and 40% of participants were recruited from non-religious facilities. As a result, in the total of 34 parents participated, the average response rate was 75.6% when the voluntary participants were divided by the total invitations, which was an average of a response rate in Montreal of 64.8% (24/37) and a response rate in Gatineau of 100% (10/10).

The recruited participants were 100% Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents participating in parenting and childrearing, even though 40% of them were recruited from non-religious facilities. As such, the participants are named "practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents" throughout the whole thesis. Demographic information about the participants including gender, location number of years in Québec, employment status, and education levels is listed in Table 4.2 as follows.

Table 4.2 Demographic information of participants.

Categories	Focus Group Participants (N = 18)		Interview Participants (N = 16)	
Sex & Locations				
Sex	Male	Female	Male	Female
Montreal	6	6	4	4
Gatineau	3	3	4	4
Employment				
Employed	7	3	5	2
Unemployed	1	-	2	1
Stay home	-	6	1	4
Student	1	-	-	1
Education				
Secondary diploma	2	3	1	3
College	2	2	3	3
Bachelor degree	5	4	4	2

* Participants with less than a secondary diploma were not included in the education part of the above table.

4.2.3 Data Processing

Qualitative data were collected through focus groups and semi-structured interviews; on the other hand, secondary data were obtained from the literature. When processing interview transcript files, the importance step is the file format (McLellan et al., 2003). While most transcripts are produced in Microsoft Word format, a rich text format - using .rtf (RTF) as its filename suffix - is the standard file format for transcript files. Qualitative data are typically processed and distributed in RTF for better cross-platform usability and readability compared to plain text or Microsoft Word format files. As a consequence, all Microsoft Word format files were converted to RTF for data processing, archiving and dissemination procedures using the correct file naming convention (refer to Appendix 4 Interview Transcription Example) (Stuart, et al., 2002). In this study, focus group and interview data were processed in Microsoft Word format as categorised data before data processing.

For collected qualitative data, data processing was conducted using NVivo software, and inductive data analysis identified the resulting common themes and phrases (Yin, 2009). Use of NVivo

Qualitative Data Analysis Software assisted and supported the data categorization to generate relationships between theories and data to reach reasonable results. The inductive data analysis supported data information obtained from middle management activities because this method was suitable for analysis of data from business periphery environments.

Data files were imported into internals, externals and memos source folders for structured organisation of files, and related folders were created according to studied cases, time, location, subject, types and other conditions (Bergin, 2011). Among different formats of source folders, internal folders were used to organise observation notes, interview audio recording and transcripts and focus groups. Original files were stored separately from copied files in different folders, and only copied files were used for data organisation and coding processes, which was performed to ensure data availability and usability. Copied files were then coded, anonymized and annotated, and stored in their folders accordingly. Documented files were organised in folders under Memos entries. External folders were used to store larger audio and video files, as they took up too much memory and this helped to reduce memory usages. Data files were saved as Microsoft Excel and Word file formats.

4.2.4 Data Analysis

Initial data analysis of both data from focus groups and individual interviews were conducted using inductive reasoning. Based on the data collected and categorized using NVivo software mentioned above, the collected data were reviewed to discover repeated phenomena and ideas to form codes, and then codes were grouped into themes. The data analysis studied the language used in the focus groups beyond sentence boundary and analysed naturally occurring language instead of inventing examples, in which the purpose was to reveal socio-psychological characteristics of the language used in practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents in their parenting practices (Keller, 2011).

Data obtained from inductive data analysis were further analysed using triangulation. A triangulation method was used to analyse data collected from focus groups and semi-structured interview questions because triangulation increases assurance and validity when data are obtained from multi groups (Verner & Abdullah, 2012). By using triangulation, data from one source can be used to corroborate those data from a different source to reduce risks of data interpretation based on a single source. This study, with its descriptive multi focus-group design, aligns with qualitative research, and its triangulation methodology facilitates analysis of data from multiple sources to obtain comprehensive results (Heals & Forbes, 2013). Second, data triangulation was

applied to data analysis to integrate data obtained from focus groups and semi-structured interviews. Data triangulation is a powerful technique that facilitates the validation of data through cross verification from two or more resources, such as the focus groups and semi-structured interviews, to integrate the information into the study (Rothbauer, 2008). The triangulated integration in data analysis enhanced the theoretical utility by developing linkages to existing data, perspectives, research and contexts to discover themes from the data gathered from the first and second phases of the focus groups, and from the interviews.

The triangulation used in this study was the investigation triangulation, as mentioned in Section 4.1.4. In the investigation triangulation, another expert as a second encoder, examined the transcript data using the same analysis method. The purpose of this investigation triangulation is to take the advantage of this method to test the consistency of the analyzed results. Both the primary and secondary encoders compared and discussed the two sets of results derived from the two separate analyses. Consequently, no major differentces were noticed between the two sets of results from both the primary and secondary encoders.

In addition, typological analysis was applied after triangulation of inductive data analysis to assist in categorization of data themes found in triangulation. Themes derived from focus groups were also used to guide the typological analysis of semi-structured interview data to enhance the categorization, discussion and conclusion, as typology is helpful in enhancing data analysis to reach clear theme identification through data integration (Hatch & Wisniewski, 2002).

Meanwhile, to determine the empirical evidence and support of the above data obtained from focus groups and semi-structured interviews, secondary data analysis is necessary. Secondary data from the literature was analysed, combined with focus groups and interview data, because it could provide evidence and support to those data (Hair et al., 2015). During the secondary data analysis, important consideration was given to the balance between primary and secondary data; therefore, the secondary data results were based on the composition of primary and secondary data obtained from practicing Muslim Moroccan parent, which is presented in the discussions and conclusions.

Specifically, the collected data from the focus groups and individual interviews were analyzed and categorized using NVivo software. The collected data were then reviewed to discover repeated phenomena and ideas to form codes; and then codes were grouped into themes and sub-themes. Themes and sub-themes were collected and analyzed to generate theories, and results were categorized based on secondary data information from the literature review.

4.3 Research Ethics

This research was conducted following related ethic guidelines to ensure the data integrity, data security, data quality and transparency through collecting truthful data as follows. A certificate of ethics was obtained from the University of Montréal before the study was started.

1) Ethics Guidelines and Signed Consent

Ethics guidelines were followed in order to adopt privacy, confidentiality, accuracy, and informed consent and avoid deception in this research (Piper & Simons, 2005). All participants were required to sign the informed consent (Appendix 2, and Appendix 3), which was documented appropriately, and those who worked with the researcher were all informed about this ethnographic research and the roles of the researcher. All participations were voluntary and they could withdraw at any willing time with no penalty, compensation or incentives.

2) Confidentiality of Participant Information

The personal record and viewpoints of participants of this research are kept confidential to enable them to freely share their experiences and perceptions (Sillup and Klimberg, 2010). Confidentiality and privacy were safeguarded because there was no access to content of interviews for anyone other than the researchers; this was guaranteed to all participants and people who worked on the data (Yin, 2012). However only partial confidentiality was guaranteed given that we used participant verbatims as examples across the results section. Collected data was stored safely in a password guarded external hard drive in which data will be deleted five years post data collection. The requirement of accuracy of data in this study also ensured that data were processed and stored in the way that fabrications, misunderstanding, fraudulent claim and omissions were avoided.

3) Anonymity of Participant Identification

Accordingly, this research was set up as ethical research based on voluntary participation, willing observation and interview populations. For ethical concerns, prior approval from the University was obtained before the entire research started. The participants were assured that the information collected would be used for research purposes only, and personal information of participants would be kept confidential and anonymous (e.g., 01, 02, 03). Accordingly, all participants' names have been replaced with numbers to ensure anonymity.

4.4 Research Reliability and Validity

Qualitative case study can be evaluated for its reliability and validity because it forms the foundation of the study, in which the evaluation concepts include reliability, construct validity, and internal and external validity (Yin, 2014), as follows:

1) Reliability

Consistency is one of the important concepts in reliability of qualitative studies and the goal of reliability is to minimize errors and biases (Perry, 2012). To maintain reliability, it is important that the researcher help the participants respond with the same sort of answers to the same questions (Trotter, 2012). For this purpose, the researcher followed reliability criteria such as confirmability, dependability, credibility and transferability (Thomson et al., 2011). To ensure and increase confirmability and dependability, the researcher used similar interview methods in all phases of the study to make them stable and maintain similarity. Furthermore, accurate interpretation of participants' responses ensured and increased credibility and transferability of the data collected.

Reliability of data result discussion was validated by literature research and guidelines (Perry, 2012). The discussion of this study was conducted following strictly the literature reviewed information. Careful selection of subjects allowed the researcher to organize, and to explore relevant factors and topics within a chosen context, which further warranted the reliability of this study. Furthermore, a higher response rate of 75.6% (refer to the first paragraph in Chapter 5 Results) in its interviews also indicates that the data results obtained from this study are highly reliable because higher response rate indicates increased credibility and significance from data in social study (Baruch & Holtom, 2008).

2) Validity

Validity of a qualitative study includes construct, internal and external validity, in which construct validity means the accuracy of a file representing the reality of social phenomena (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013). The researcher conducted this study to produce results and finding that were reviewed by participants as useful and credible. In this case, all collected data were returned to participants to validate the data and ensure the construct validity of this study (Mero-Jaffe, 2011).

Second, internal validity can ensure the truthfulness of qualitative data, which can be done by the researcher to perform data collection, analysis and interpretation validly and correctly, because invalid internal validity may jeopardize the study (Gittoes et al., 2011). For this purpose, the research processes were documented at each step of data collection procedure to ensure validity

of the data and the study. In addition, secondary data collected from the literature were used to validate the data validity as well. On the other hand, external validity is not applicable to this study because external validity does not apply to qualitative case study (Yin, 2014).

Third, triangulation used in data analysis in this study can be also used to validate data validity. Triangulation was used as a validity strategy to strengthen a qualitative study because multiple sources of data comparison using triangulation could provide measures from multiple situations and environmental conditions to give explanation to the same phenomenon (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013; Yin, 2014). Overall, data validity was confirmed by member checking, documents collected from literature, triangulation analysis of data collected from focus groups and interviews, and thick description and verbatim transcribing of data, all of which verified the accuracy of collected and analyzed data in this qualitative case study (Yin, 2014).

Chapter Summary

This chapter describes the methodology used in this study. Research philosophy as the methodology theory is discussed as the evaluation of qualitative approach in which qualitative methods provide an in-depth investigation in social experience focusing on obtaining and clarifying data from phenomena under observation. Among qualitative approaches, a case study approach is evaluated because case study uses viable means to investigate emerging ideas from multiple resources. It also illustrates events within their specific context through focus groups and semi-structured interviews to provide meanings from themes and patterns of phenomena, which fits the requirement of this study attempting to unveil the dynamics of cultural transmission among practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents. In addition, inductive reasoning is applied, as it can be used to obtain the meaning of the phenomena being investigated, and typology can assist in categorization of inductive analyzed data to enhance data analysis to reach clear theme identification and improve discussion and conclusion.

Based on the discussed research methodology, this study was guided by the described research philosophy to conduct a qualitative case study by combining processes of focus groups and semi-structured interviews together in data collection. Data analysis was conducted using triangulation in inductive reasoning to obtain inductive data, which were further analyzed using typological analysis to categorize inductive data based on themes obtained from focus group data. Furthermore, research ethnic, reliability and validity in this study are described at the end of this chapter. Analyzed data results derived from focus groups and interviews are described in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

From the carefully prepared data files of focus groups and individual interviews, the researcher identified that the data could be categorised into the following themes derived from the codes to seek answers to the research question: 1) identity transmitted by parents; 2) cultural transmission strategies; and 3) culture integration strategies. Theme 1 is related to the Research Question (RQ) 1, Theme 2 is related to RQ2, and Theme 3 is related to RQ3. The relationships among RQs, codes and data grounded themes are summarized in Table 5.1 as follows.

Table 5.1 Data coding themes and their relation to research questions.

RQ	Themes / Categories	Codes	Description
RQ1	Identity Transmitted by Parents	MRI	Maintaining religious identity
		BEA	Belongingness & acceptance
		RFS	Religious Festivals & Socialization
		REP	Religious Practices
		RRP	Respect for religious practices
		NRP	No religious practices
		ROT	Religion obligation in transmission
		TAP	Transmission as protection
RQ2	Cultural Transmission Strategies	LLR	Learning language & religion
		CVT	Culture value transmission
		AAC	Attending Arabic classes & schools
		CCO	Contacting country of origin
		RMH	Role modelling & home teaching
		CCE	Controlling children environment
RQ3	Cultural Integration Strategies	CHC	Challenges from host culture
		TRV	Transmit religion & values
		THM	Transmit history of Morocco
		GCC	Giving children choices in religion
		MRC	Mother's roles in culture integration

Data collected from focus groups were analysed using inductive reasoning, and results are described in Part I; and data collected from individual interviews were analysed using inductive reasoning, and results are described in Part II. Data from Parts I and II were analysed together using triangulation and typology, and results are described in Part III. In this chapter, participants' names are replaced with numbers for anonymity, such that "FG" with numbers is used to replace

names of focus group participants, and "IN" with numbers is used to replace names of individual interview participants. Anonymous participant information is attached in Appendix 1.

Part I. Results from Focus Group Discussion

Focus groups were conducted in the first phase of this study, in which discussion topics were designed as identify identification, parent strategies in cultural transmission, and parent strategies in host culture integration (refer to Appendix 5). The collected data from focus group discussions were analyzed and categorized using NVivo software. The collected data were then reviewed to discover repeated phenomena and ideas to form codes; and then codes were grouped into themes and sub-themes. Themes and sub-themes were collected and analyzed to generate theories, and results were categorized based on secondary data information from the literature review.

As such, three themes were categorized as identity derived from focus groups, cultural transmission strategies from focus groups, and culture integration strategies from focus groups. These three themes and related codes are described as follows.

5.1 Identity Transmitted by Participants from Focus Groups

Under the theme of identity transmitted, six sub-themes were identified: 1) maintaining religious identity; 2) belongingness and acceptance; 3) observing religious festivals; 4) respecting religious practices; 5) daily religious practices; and 6) non-observance of religious practices.

5.1.1 Maintaining Religious Identity

Participants revealed significant efforts to transmit their identity and their values from the country of origin to their children. According to the participants, many religious practices, ceremonies and festivals have a Moroccan origin. They were proud of these religious activities and attempted to transmit them to their children.

"In the Moroccan culture, there are parties, prayers and ceremonies that are organized around religion. The Moroccan population is proud to organize these celebrations and prayers around religion, because these are the symbols of a practicing Muslim. The four parties and five prayers have a Moroccan origin. They are characterized by Ramadan, Ashura Aid Mawloud. Parents and friends contribute a lot to the socialization of their children to this culture" (FG 01).

"But when our children come back to us, we tell them that our religion, Islam, says that we are Arabs. Our children are proud to be Arabs and Muslims. When they watch TV5 where they hear

speaking of Moroccans, and about the fact that many people converted into Islam, then children feel proud to be Moroccans, Arabs and Muslims" (FG 02).

The focus group discussions showed that religion, as an identity, took a central place in the lives of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents. The identity and tradition of the practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents were determined by their religious activities such as the study of the Quran, the primacy of religious festivals, rituals and prayers. Religious activities like festivals, rituals, Quran study, and prayers were linked together because one explains another. Among the participants, teaching Arabic, passing on the Quran study and prayers to the next generations, and promoting religion were the main priorities in parenting.

"*Absolutely, because we raise and educate the child correctly based on the religious values, we are able to put them on the right track. Thus, the child can build his true identity and personality while speaking French and English well, but also mastering the 'original,' the Arabic language and practicing his religion. At this point, he can imbibe these values and transmit them to his future children. So, if we make our prayers in the presence of our children, we speak about religion in Arabic, and gradually teach them new values and knowledge in the principles of religion, as they grow, they begin to read and learn lessons in advanced Islam, about Moroccan culture, history, etc. And the child becomes capable of travelling alone, can communicate with others and makes his way all alone. He may be even able to explain to people in Québec his religion and his culture. And that only Allah knows everything" (FG 03).*

Parties, ceremonies, rituals and Muslim prayers organized in Québec with Moroccan origin included Ramadan, Ashura Aid Mawloud, Aid Seghir Mawloud, Aid Kebir Adohr, among others. Participants said that they made efforts to ensure that their children learned the principles of Islam. They said that parents have a responsibility to prepare their children to practice the Moroccan religion, and that participation in Muslim feasts, prayers and ceremonies show the importance of religion in their daily lives. Participants also mentioned that they had the courage to keep their religion in the host society, which respects other religions and facilitates identity transmission.

"*It is our duty as parents to pass on the faith to our children. From a very young age, they participate in prayers and the preparation of festivals; they watch us and learn how religion is practiced. We talk to them about what Allah expects from us as Muslims, but we also explain why their friends have different habits, different holidays. It is not easy at all, but we are proud to be Muslims and we have to preserve what we have and we have to keep the faith" (FG 04).*

Practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents contributed a lot to the socialization of children regarding these religious practices. They said that prayers and religious practices described the degree of their belief. Participants admitted that the Muslim and Christian religions coexist in separation because the practices and beliefs are different. They also said that the Moroccan and Canadian Islam religions remain the same despite the lifestyle changes in them in the host society.

"For this question, we do not celebrate these [Christian] holidays with them, but we share their joy and fun during the holidays. This is something they enjoy and motivate them to participate with us in our celebrations. For example, the Christian people in Québec respect our month of Ramadan; they often come and present their congratulations. I get messages from colleagues who say, 'Happy Ramadan.' We explain to our children the meaning of this holiday" (FG 05).

These results show that the identity of the practicing Muslim Moroccan parents was concentrated around the importance of religion and Arabic language in their parenting practices. This theme is therefore reflected in all themes and sub-themes collected from focus groups.

5.1.2 Belongingness and Acceptance

An important aspect of the participating Moroccan parents was the participation of religion with their children in different events organized by the community. This is the way that they can express and experience their sense of belonging to this community. Participants of the focus group discussions were preoccupied with social activities and the socialization within the Moroccan community in Québec, and exposed to the ways that they socialized in the new context of immigration. Rituals, religious festivals and Arabic are important elements in the socialization of the practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents with their children.

In practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents, the rituals were not only intended to create alliances and exchanges between families, but also to provide a social organization of the population. Community meetings organized around religious rituals and festivals allowed relationship development between the parents and their children. These meetings adapted to the dynamic and sociability of the Moroccan immigrants. Participants acknowledged that some Muslims of different origins have a stronger desire to socialize in the official places of worship than Moroccans. Nevertheless, the social networks and events of the individuals and families are organized around religious activities and holidays. In most cases, the desire to be a part of their Moroccan identity was imbued with the desire to mark the specific Muslim events, to strengthen social and family ties, and to pass on religious and cultural values to the younger generations. In

fact, the nostalgia of an intensive socialization as experienced in their country of origin was often the center of their community practices in cultural transmission.

Participants said that their sociability strategies reflected an active social life where ethnic markers including national denominations were valued. Different meetings were organized regularly, including those dedicated to children, women or all adults.

"As for the feast of Ramadan, adults try to meet each other in meeting places, at families or friends, so that children get socialized to the culture. This way, children get to see how the day of Eid is celebrated; during the feast day of Eid (sacrifice), they are brought to the farm to witness how a sheep is sacrificed. They also experience how to celebrate the evening with the family and they try to pray at home. ... Then they also learn that we pray five times a day. When there is the festival of 'Mawloud' (birth of the Prophet), there are parties organized at the mosque, and I take my children to celebrate with other people we do not know. In the month of Ramadan, we get together with the family and learn to spend the night in prayer" (FG 06).

Social events, connections and religious holidays were often mixed in their lives. Practicing Moroccan parents established connections around their identity by overcoming religious boundaries, even when the identity and religion are closely related. The attachment to the religion identity was explicitly stated through all the discussions. The majority of practicing Muslim-Moroccan parent participants also noted their involvement in organizing different community events in various places of worship or mosques for children. It should be noted that in the city of Montreal and Québec, there were very few Islamic centers and mosques. Nevertheless, participants who mentioned places of worship as venues for their community and religious meetings were proud to be Arab Muslims. In the mosques, prayers were often made in Arabic. Even though not everyone speaks Arabic, the prayers were organized by the Arab-Muslim communities including the Moroccan community. The participants applied sociability strategies highly focused around community activities for their children.

Participants mentioned that communities organized religious rituals, festivals, rituals related to cycles of life, the transmission of culture and religion, and women's discussion groups. These community activities were mainly organized in places of worship. In these places, religious and social activities are mixed together, and thus are considered places of worship for socialization between their children and the outside world. Most participants with their children went to the mosque at least for Friday prayers and religious festivals. Some participants stated that their families went to any mosques in order to pray; and others declared that they often go to the same

mosque for a social purpose of meeting their friends. The mosque thus represented a significant socialization environment for participants and their children who were making friends in the religious environment.

"I do not only go to the mosque to pray, but also to meet my best friends. I have friends from Morocco who immigrated in the same period as my family. We knew each other in Morocco, and our relationship became even stronger here in Québec. We help each other, whenever it is needed. After prayers at the mosque, we often talk about our country and our childhood" (FG 07).

Confessional and interethnic dynamics can be observed from the participants, but the Mosque seemed to be a unifier, as it gathers Muslim families from different cultures and ethnic groups, such as sub-Saharan Africans, Lebanese, Syrians, and Pakistanis. Participants said that Moroccans often organized prayer groups or study groups of the Quran particularly for younger generations, in order to socialize them to their parents' tradition. These gatherings were either organized at home or in locations rented for this purpose.

"We have a group of ten families who gather monthly at someone else's home for the study of the Quran and prayers. We have children about the same ages. This is a good opportunity for our children to make relationships with Moroccans and for us to pass on to them some knowledge. This way we keep the relationship with our people and not lose contact with the community" (FG 08).

Like other Muslims, the participants associated the mosque as a place designed specifically for prayer. Sociability was more consolidated in community associations, often frequented by immigrants. The practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents with their children attended neighbourhood associations, usually locally based, or associations based on interreligious dialogue and religious studies. These associations attracted a diverse audience such as women, Muslim immigrants, proponents of interreligious dialogue, and attendants of the mosques. The purpose of the attendance of these locations was to transfer information to children but not always a source of friendships, although some participants hoped to find friends there from the same country of origin.

"In the Moroccan culture, there are parties, prayers and ceremonies that are organized around religion. The Moroccan population is proud to organize these celebrations and prayers around religion, because these are the symbols of a practicing Muslim. The four parties and five prayers have a Moroccan origin. They are characterized by Ramadan, Ashura Aid Mawloud. Parents and friends contribute a lot to the socialization of their children to this culture. This is also an

opportunity to see other friends or an opportunity for gatherings with Moroccan families or families from elsewhere. Sometimes we receive non-Muslim friends. But these activities are primarily for the children to keep the contact with Morocco, the origin of their culture" (FG 01).

Another important aspect of getting involved in community associations was to share the experience between families of immigration and integration into the local society.

"When we first arrived here, we received very much help from the neighborhood Muslim association. We didn't know many people, so we attended different meetings; they introduced us to the local habits, they taught us how to behave during a job interview. We made a lot of friends, mostly Muslims, through this association" (FG 09).

5.1.3 Observing Religious Festivals

Religious festivals, ethnic or national holidays, were considered by the participants as mobilizing ways for formal or informal groups of the participants and their children. The Eid holidays were mostly occasions for reunions, where they could recall the country of origin. These holidays also represented a special time spent with the extended family of the same country of origin or elsewhere, and with local friends, Muslims and non-Muslims. However, many participants experienced a strong isolation during the traditional family events or during religious festivals, an isolation that they sometimes tried to compensate for through various local and social networks.

"In Morocco, culture was mainly taught by grandparents, but here... in Morocco, we always spent the holidays with grandparents. This is perhaps to make them feel that we also have a second family here, friends who are there for them. And the feast of Eid al-Adha, which is the feast of the sacrifice of the sheep, is the same thing: either we receive guests or visit friends, but we do not observe any religious rituals, and we do not pray together anymore or anything" (FG 01).

Participants were thankful for the variety of community activities in which social relationships were developed mostly around the dynamics of Moroccan religious and language. Affiliation with the community encouraged a form of solidarity and an affinity for immigration experience, and facilitated the sharing of the cultural and social experience with their children.

"Arab-Muslim meetings must be programmed without taking into account regions of origin or sects so that our children have a solid foundation of our identity. So your question makes me think of our young children because it is important that children know what our identity is. So I also find that Arabic is the most important thing to teach children for our identity" (FG 10).

Ramadan and other Muslim holidays were opportunities to increase the sociability and to renew or create new relations between family members. Indeed, during this holy month, meals were taken more often with family and friends. Meeting at the mosque and at the festivities of Ramadan and other holidays encouraged social gatherings and increased solidarity among the participants. As Ramadan focuses on community life, participants shared iftar (the meal of fasting) at the nearest mosque and invited friends, relatives and neighbours to iftar as a sign of sociability. These festivals codified space and time and captured the entire social lives of children. These religious events also arranged for records of everyday life and diverted the individuals from their normal rhythm. These holidays represented collective rituals and were lived publicly in the community.

"The Ramadan is the most important month of the year. We try to spend as much time with family as possible; we share prayer time during the night with family and relatives. We also share iftar at the nearest mosque with friends, relatives, family. We meet each other, pray together, and share things about our lives, because we have a lot in common" (FG 11).

Socialization had a strong relationship with religion, the religious practices and the Arabic language, and was therefore an important aspect of the identity transmitted to the children of the participants.

5.1.4 Respecting Religious Practices

All of the participants explained that the departure from the country of origin did not cause an abandonment of, or a lack of respect for, religious practices. No participant indicated a loss of religion as a result of immigration. The observation of religious practices by the majority of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents was evidence of a strong religious belief and a sense of identity that they tried to transmit to their next generations.

"Respecting the traditional religious practices is our way of showing to ourselves, to Allah and the Arab community our faith. I cannot imagine maintaining a good relationship with the Divinity without making my prayers, going to the mosque, or without respecting the holy month of Ramadan. Faith is important here in Québec, too, even more important than in Morocco" (FG 12).

Participants indicated that the decision to adhere to religious rules has always been done independently, meaning that it was an individual choice in accordance with their own beliefs. As an example, some female participants made the decision to wear the veil. The veil is a religious requirement and is a way to prove full commitment to Sharia. Thus, those who wore the veil

declared that they were not constrained by social or family pressure, but did it because they respected the Islamic law. For those participants, the veil also meant the non-repudiation of identity and, in this way, it was an expression of a search for maintaining the Muslim identity through the strict respect of religious rules.

"*As a Muslim woman, I wasn't pressured by my mother or father to veil. I made this decision myself. I am respecting the tradition because I feel like a whole person by doing so. This way everybody knows who and what I am, and what I am committed to*" (FG 13).

For the participants, respect of fundamental religious requirements was the first priority. Similarly, Ramadan or fasting was the most important sign of respect for religion. While they were the reflection of deep religious convictions, some religious practices were also a way to defend, maintain and display one's specific identity while distinguishing oneself from others. Among participants, religious practices such as Ramadan and the veil were signs of belonging to Islam, and they also appeared to receive a greater role in confirming their Moroccan identity. In addition, while being the most observed religious practice, Ramadan strengthened the sense of belonging to the community and contributed to a sense of collective identity. The participating immigrants were aware that they shared this moment with their children, and fasting was one of the main practices that expressed the commitment to the spiritual unity of Muslims.

"*All of our practices are very important to us, but Ramadan has a special place in our hearts. During the Ramadan, we are aware that every Muslim is fasting along with us, so we can stay connected with Muslims all over the world*" (FG 14).

As the quotation suggests, fasting and celebrating Ramadan and religion were important dimensions of the social identity of participants. As they identified themselves with their religion, they found it a great source of pride and gratification that needed to be transmitted to children.

"*But when our children come back to us, we tell them what our religion is. Islam says that we are Arabs. Our children are proud to be Arabs and Muslims. When they watch TV5 where they hear Moroccans and about the fact that many people convert into Islam, then children feel proud to be Moroccans, Arabs and Muslims*" (FG 05).

Participants said that religion had always played a central role in their identity. However, in the context of immigration, given their minority status, Islam became a source of distinction and value, perhaps even more than for those in Morocco.

5.1.5 Daily Religious Practices

Observance of Ramadan. Participants said that their families celebrated the whole month of Ramadan. Throughout the whole month, from dawn to sunset, participants stayed away from eating, drinking, smoking and having sexual relations. During this period, they invited families or visited relatives, friends and families, and they went to the mosque for the meal of fasting, iftar.

"Ramadan is the most important year of the month. We seek to spend more time with family, friends, and relatives. We don't eat, drink or smoke until sunset. We go to the mosque and pray a lot. It is a holy month, the most important period of the year. The end of Ramadan is celebrated by the whole community, it is our biggest celebration" (FG 15).

Performing Daily Prayers. Participants mentioned that if the majority of Moroccans performed the daily prayer three times a day, going to the mosque was not mandatory. Some families did not attend places of worship on a regular basis, but only during the holidays, unlike others who frequented them regularly.

"Here, in Québec, Moroccans practice religion differently. In Morocco everybody goes to the mosque for the daily prayers, but here, with the work and everything, it is not possible. There are some Moroccans who go to the mosque only on holidays, but they do their prayers at home. It depends on the person's situation" (FG 16).

Rules for Clothing. In the case of female participants, some wore the *hijab*, a scarf covering the hair off and neck completely, but the face was left uncovered. In addition, they wore specific clothes when they left home or in the presence of any men outside the family. For example, they wore long skirts or long, loose tunics covering their clothes. These women had specificity to obey all the ritual requirements. Other woman participants who did not obey all the ritual requirements wore long skirts, baggy pants and long sleeves.

"There are Moroccan women in Québec who wear the hijab, but other women only choose to veil and/or wear long skirts, dresses and long sleeves. Every person decides what she wants to follow" (FG 17).

Culinary practice. Participants and their children were particularly clear when it comes to culinary practices. Focus group discussions showed that the practicing Muslim Moroccan parents – men and women alike – adhered strictly to the prohibition for eating pork and drinking of alcoholic beverages. In addition, women participants consumed only halal meat that they purchased from Muslim butchers.

"At home, we cook respecting the religious prescriptions. We do not consume pork or alcohol generally. We try to use meat from Muslim butchers. It is important for us to follow these prescriptions to maintain our faith and identity" (FQ 18).

5.1.6 Non-Observance of Religious Practices

Participants revealed that there were Moroccan families who were believers but did not exercise all religious practices related to Islam. They followed several rituals and the main rules. In this case, religious practices were limited to major celebrations and the respect of Islam's most important tenets. Reasons were given by non-exercising participants such as the integration into the host society, and the limitations at work.

"There is a big difference between Moroccan identity and the practice of religion. A Moroccan can be a Moroccan without practicing religion at all. There are Moroccans who drink alcohol, do not pray or rarely or never fast during Ramadan. So we cannot say that a non-practicing Muslim-Moroccan is not Moroccan. Yes, he is still Moroccan because he speaks Arabic and he possesses Moroccan traditions. Only that he doesn't practice many values and teachings of Islam because there are times he cannot follow all these teachings and apparently because he is integrated. It is impossible to observe some practices as others do not accommodate them. For example, it is unthinkable when you are at work and it is mid- day (Adohr) prayer time you get up to go do it" (FG 19).

The above participant represents a unique one with a diverging view from the majority of participants in this study. This participant, participated in the couples's focus group. In this particular couple, one of the two parents (the mother) was practicing but the other one (the father) was not. He made a clear distinction between being Moroccan and being Moroccan Muslim. This participant's view was unique in this study, possibly due to the fact that 60% of the participants were recruited from mosques, which cannot be taken as a major view of the majority of participants.

Besides discussing religious identity, the focus groups also discussed cultural transmission strategies in their parenting practices.

5.2 Cultural Transmission Strategies from Focus Groups

Under the theme of cultural transmission strategies, four sub-themes were identified from focus group data, which included: 1) teaching Arabic language and religion; 2) transmitting culture values; 3) promoting Arabic school attending; and 4) keeping contact with Morocco.

5.2.1 Teaching Arabic Language and Religion as Cultural transmission Practices

Teaching Arabic to children was one of the modalities used by practicing Muslim-Moroccan parent participants to employ and retain their identity. According to the participants, Arabic language was essential to pass values on to their children. The Arabic language was considered a basic method in the teaching of religion and moral values to children, along with the basic principles of Islam and the Quran, which were also considered the most important values to teach and pass on to children.

"The first important thing is to follow a religious teaching, therefore, to know the religion, because this way it is easier for children to learn the values and the respect for others. The second important thing is to learn the Arabic language so that we can maintain our Arab Islamic identity. These two points are the most important in my opinion: learn the religion and the Arabic language" (FG 19).

"For me, the Arabic language is the starting point in the teaching of our children - in teaching the religion and how to behave from a moral point of view - for example, in the teaching of the basic principles of Islam. That's the most important thing to teach and transmit to our children. The Arabic language is a must" (FG 20).

One participant, FG 21, agreed and considered religion as paramount in educating children.

"Oh, it's imperative. This is because the values we are attached to and with which we grew up are taken from our religion. Love others, cherish those you love, respect your parents, listen to others, do not betray, do not lie, do not kill, all of this is taken from religion. There are extracts of Quran on this [...]. These are human values, but if we look back, they are extracted from religions. I'm not talking about the Muslim religion, but about all religions. Here we talk about Islam, but if I take theology in general, it states that all religions agree on that" (FG 21).

Religion and its main traditions and aspects, which, as already emphasized, had a central role in the participants' lives. The Quran, festivals, rituals and prayers were placed around the Arab-Muslim religion to describe or illustrate the transmission of values and the preservation of their religious identity in their children. Religion and its practices defined the Moroccan culture in the parent participants who were deeply involved in the transmission of this culture to their children at a very young age in the host country.

5.2.2 Transmitting Culture Values in Cultural Transmission

While most of the practicing Muslim-Moroccan parent participants were concerned about the transmission of the Arabic language and religion, others suggested a transmission more in terms of moral and cultural values associated with the country of origin. These participants highlighted common values such as honesty and respect, which were also described as Muslim-Moroccan values. Participants related these values to a humanism that transcends confessional affiliations and place of origin.

"For me at home, it's a must to raise them by putting a priority on respect, learning Arabic, the Quran, and to pray. In our own community, we must teach them how to respect older people. In our community, we explain and educate children the need to respect the older people, to not raise your voice when you talk to them, and to not disrespect them. In school, the first thing they are taught is discipline - to respect their teachers, classmates and that, as they must impose to their peers the same mutual respect. For the society, it's the same thing: respect and discipline" (FG 19).

5.2.3 Promoting Arabic School Attending to Ensure Cultural transmission

Parent participants considered attending Arabic schools as a way to maintain Moroccan identity. In Arabic schools, young children learned Arabic, the original language, as well as the principles of Islam. They also learned about their country of origin.

"I have insisted at the beginning that the children go to an Arab school [private] to really keep the religion, to acquire the basics. As Muslims, we must keep this attitude and keep the religious knowledge to know what it is to be Muslim. If I was in a Muslim country, I would not need this, because the children would then get this knowledge from the society and family, but not here, they must learn in school the basics. Now they go to Arabic school every Saturday to learn the language and religion. There are no schools that separate the Arabic language and religion" (FG 22).

Participants hoped that by engaging in these efforts, they would be able to transmit their linguistic or religious identity to their children. Parents made it a priority to transmit this identity to their offspring mostly because they considered it a religious duty.

"Allah wants us to pass on His teachings, which are in the Quran. The Quran is in Arabic, that's why we have to pass on to our children in the original language so they will be able to correctly understand it. It is our duty to preserve the knowledge which lies in our traditions" (FG 23).

"It is our task as true Muslims to follow the prescriptions of our religion. Therefore, we have to raise our children to become true Muslims, who respect the rules and traditions and who remain true Muslim Moroccans" (FG 24).

From the focus group participants, children must learn Arabic and practice religion to achieve a sense of attachment to their country. They achieved this attachment by attending classes organized by the Moroccan community where they learned Arabic and were educated about the country of origin. They also learned these at home in the family environment.

"The community organizes frequently classes for children, where they speak in Arabic, they read and learn from the Quran, and they discuss what they've learned. They are also learning about Moroccan history, traditions, etc." (FG 25).

"We often speak at home about the country of origin and how we used to practice religion back there. We also recall how things happen in Morocco, how people there celebrate, how they pray, feast, etc." (FG 26).

For Moroccan participants to maintain their identity in their children, they practiced religion mostly in the same way in Québec as when they were in Morocco by observing major festivals.

"Eid El Fitr [Eid, following the month of Ramadan], it starts around 9 am; we go out to prayer at the mosque. Thereafter we visit the family. Then we prepare small special dinners with desserts [...]. Then, the day after, [...] we would go to visit our friends and relatives. It's like that. This is a holiday more for family. But the community also organizes meetings and various activities so that Moroccans get to know each other and feel a sense of belonging" (FG 27).

Besides the major festivals, daily prayers were observed as well.

"I do not take my children to the mosque or to learn Arabic, but I try to pray with them, and they try to do it with me. Then they also learn that we pray five times a day. When there is the festival of 'Mawloud' (birth of the Prophet) there are parties organized at the mosque, and I take my children to celebrate with other people we do not know. In the month of Ramadan, we get together with the family and learn to spend the night with prayer" (FG 28).

Parent participants were aware that they were responsible in their homes for the education of their children according to the Moroccan identity and values. The establishment of Islamic schools in Québec was one of the objectives of the Moroccan community in order to help their children learn and improve their Arabic language, knowledge considered essential to maintaining their culture.

There were few Islamic schools in Montreal and these institutions helped new students, whose mother tongue was mainly French or English, acquire the Arabic language.

"The Arabic language is essential so that we can pass the values to our children. Before anything else they need to know Arabic so they can learn the religion. [...]. If we ignore the Arabic language and we want to pass on the values of Islam, there will come a time when these values will be uprooted, cut off from their origin, the religion will be lost because they cannot understand the Quran in Arabic. This is because a translated Quran does not offer the same meanings and answers to lead our lives as in the case of the original version of the Quran written in Arabic" (FG 29).

"For me, the Arabic language is the starting point in the teaching to our children the religion and how to behave from a moral point of view, for example, in the teaching of the basic principles of Islam. That's the most important thing to teach and transmit to our children. The Arabic language is a must" (FG 20).

With children learning the Arabic language, the parent participants thought that they could afford a tool that was necessary in the preservation and conveyance of their religious identity in Québec.

5.2.4 Keeping Contact with Morocco as Cultural Transmission

Participants of the practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents took visiting the country of origin as a way of assuring further generations to preserve their rituals, religious practices and original values.

"I like going to Morocco; we went there, both of us, in January 2011. My family and I loved everything. I thought it was a good idea because my daughter discovered the behavior of the other girls in Morocco. I know other parents who go to Morocco with their children to spend the holidays under other circumstances. I think this is the best solution for our children to discover the reality of Moroccan values" (FG 30).

"But it is for the children to keep the contact with Morocco, with their culture of origin. Especially in Morocco, culture was mainly taught by grandparents, but here... In Morocco we always spent the holidays with grandparents. This is perhaps to make them feel that we also have a second family here, friends who are there for them. And the feast of Eid al-Adha, which is the feast of the sacrifice of the sheep, is the same thing: either we receive guests or visit friends, but there is not any religious ritual there anymore, we do not do prayers together anymore or anything" (FG 31).

5.3 Culture Integration Strategies from Focus Groups

Under the theme of culture integration strategies, two sub-themes were identified as challenges from host society, and culture integration strategies, which include transmission of original culture values, religion, and history to accommodate host culture.

5.3.1 Challenges from Host Society

Cultural conflict as a dimension of culture and Moroccan values was viewed as an important concept by the participants. The way that a person or the family handled the conflict determined the degree of commitment to this culture. The participants stated that as a result of Moroccan families leaving their country to settle down in Canada, they struggled to maintain their culture that is rooted in their religion and religious practices. The Moroccan parents thought that their youth gained the knowledge of their origin through religion, and both the parents and the community encouraged children to practice their religion.

However, there were challenges and constraints regarding their religious practices. For example, it became natural for Moroccan children to learn about other cultures through local schools, friends, and media. This situation was often confusing because some young children of the participants were dealing with multiple cultures and values in their lives.

"But here, no, it must be understood that here we live in a different society. The schoolmates of my big girl are studying during the day but in the evening and at night, they go out, they go to restaurants, they meet each other in their homes, etc. That is the problem, that's the difference. In Morocco they [the children] listen. But here, it is because they grew up here in a period of adolescence! Now imagine, you cannot even sit down at the table and eat together; everyone eats alone! It is not easy to transmit values to our children" (FG 27).

Participating Moroccan parents and, particularly, their children were facing a great challenge from a society with multiple cultures because they had to face the cultural conflicts that may change their customs and their original values. Different local cultures brought them confusion as well. Furthermore, children of the participants experienced dilemmas in the context of cultural values, especially when they faced situations that forced them to be consistent with other values that dominated their environment. These dilemmas occurred quite frequently, particularly in the context of their relationships with friends, colleagues, classes, clubs, government agencies and communities.

"We educate our children according to our own values in our homes, but the kids always bring various other things from outside, from school or from elsewhere. So we try to do our best to explain the differences, etc. But the challenge for parents is to convince children when they begin to assimilate other values. It takes a long time to change the child in these situations, so he/she always remains attached to his/her religion and its practices and culture" (FG 20).

It was obvious that this situation created a conflict in values because children were facing different values between their schools and homes. It was stated as a challenge to the participating Moroccan parents, and they found that values from Moroccan and the host culture were in contradiction. Having to deal with different cultures, the children of participating Moroccan parents were still asking questions, and often asked similar questions to their parents about what were the better values between the original and host cultures.

"Yes, because the child notices things from us that are contradictory. We should explain things nicely without any violence, even if they make mistakes, until they assimilate. For this issue of conflict, my daughter saw her friends eat pork, and she asked me why she cannot do it, too. I had replied that since we are Muslims, our religion forbids eating pork. So we must explain in a very simple manner, respecting their age, to convince them to get away easily and avoid certain things" (FG 02).

It was mentioned that the influence of the host society and friends from the host cultures contributed to the behavior change of the participants' children as adolescents. In the host society, institutions such as schools, churches, and governments played important roles in the socialization and behavior change in the children. These were the constraints and challenges faced by the participating practicing Muslim Moroccan parents. For friends from the host cultures, it was difficult for the participants to deprive their children of socializing with friends from the host cultures because they were not Muslims or had different values. The cultural conflict seemed to be an important aspect for the participants, and culture integration strategies were needed.

5.3.2 Culture Integration Strategies

5.3.2.1 Transmission of Original Cultural Values and Religion to Accommodate Host Culture

From the focus group participants, parents struggled to maintain their heritage and identity in their children as immigrants. They responded to the pressures from the host society by organizing their lives and family around cultural values and religious beliefs, as well as practices. They were facing challenges from the host culture in childrearing when they were attempting to transmit their

religious identity and culture values; and they tried to be better understood by the host culture in order to fit to it well.

"I think this is the responsibility of everyone, this responsibility divides between Québec and the members of our community. There are different categories of people from both sides, reasonable and educated people, and others. In Québec, there is a social category of people who are tolerant and understand that we have our justifications, and who say that, indeed, we came from a foreign country with its own culture that must also be respected. After September 11th, there has been a change that I 'm sure our children will suffer from it, the consequences will show up later, because the policy is mixed. Actually, before September 11th, a lot of people here did not know Islam, but now everyone wants to discover this religion" (FG 20).

5.3.2.2 Transmission of History of Morocco to Accommodate Host Culture

All participants, regardless of whether they were practicing religion or not, wished to transmit values related to their religion and the country of origin to their children. The religious dimension was mentioned as the one that generated quality relationships and shared values, and served as the basis of relations between the participants and their country of origin. Parent participants were doing so to transmit their background, including the history of Morocco, to their children.

"In order to pass on to them (children) these values, the first important thing to do is to start it from the very young age. First, we start with religion and gradually as the child grows, he learns how to read alone. The child progresses and begins to understand things by himself. Then he will be aware of his identity. So, this child needs to know his history and his own culture and to be proud of his origins, his ancestors, his civilization, proud to be an Arab-Muslim" (FG 32).

Participants considered Islam as an important element of identity that must be transmitted to children. Religion and culture were deeply interconnected according to participants. For example, the practice of rituals served religious purposes, but also cultural ones because they were based on traditions. As they experienced the influences of different cultures in the multicultural society of Québec, children of the participants asked questions about the differences between them and peers from the host country, which happened frequently when they discussed with their parents. Participants indicated that Moroccan children were influenced by their environment, as the latter were exposed more frequently than their parents to the conflicting host culture. Some of these children chose to accept the host culture as the best for them even it was against the values of their parents or the Muslim community.

"[It] is always the problem, once the children grow up, parents try to do their best to provide everything they need, but these kids are always looking a [another] thing: they seek to be independent, and leave; to get away because of their environment that contributes to their behavior change. I know a lot of people who bought big houses for their children and then came the day when they told their parents that they are still young and they will not stay at home; they want to live alone" (FG 33).

Part I summary

Data results from the focus group discussion yielded three themes. The first theme reveals an identity that the participants attempted to transmit to their children, which is maintaining religious activities, practices and celebrations. Participants revealed significant efforts in their cultural transmission to preserve their identity and culture values from the country of origin. These efforts were shown as the belongingness through social activities and religious rituals; the religious festivals as socialization with family and friends; and the significance of and respect for religious practices such as observance of Ramadan, performing daily prayers, rules for clothing and culinary practice. It was also found that there were Moroccans who were believers but did not exercise all religious practices related to Islam, and reasons were given by non-exercising participants such as the integration to host society, and the limitations at work.

The second theme is the cultural transmission strategies from participants. These strategies include: 1) teaching Arabic language and religion to their children as one of the modalities used by practicing Muslim-Moroccan parent participants to employ and retain their identity; 2) highlighting cultural values as part of cultural transmission such as honesty and respect, which were also described as Muslim-Moroccan values; 3) facilitating Arabic school attending to ensure cultural transmission of the original language as well as the principles of Islam, and 4) keeping contact with families in Morocco as cultural transmission activities.

Finally, the third theme is the culture integration strategies from the participants. Due to challenges in culture transmission from the host society, they struggled to maintain their culture that is rooted in their religion and religious practices. When facing the challenges from the host society, participants' culture integration strategies included organizing their lives and family around religious values, beliefs and practices to be better understood by the host culture; generating quality relationships and shared values to serve as the basis of the relationship with children to help them not to accept both but not only the host culture. Nevertheless, results reveal more tensions than integration efforts from the participants.

More in depth-data results obtained from the individual interviews with a different set of participants are described in Part II below.

Part II. Results from Individual Interviews

The three themes found from the results of focus groups were used to design the individual interviews questions. The purpose of the individual interviews was to explore the complex phenomena in parenting of cultural transmission in practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents. Interview questions were designed to reflect the themes and sub-themes found in the focus groups as identity transmitted, original cultural transmission, and host culture integration (refer to Appendix 6).

As such, three themes were categorized from interviews as: motivation in identity ensuring transmission, cultural transmission strategies and culture integration strategies. These three themes and related sub-themes and codes are described below. Data coding themes and their relation to the Research Questions are the same as shown in Table 5.1 for Part I.

5.4. Motivations in Identity Ensuring Transmission from Interviews

Under the theme of motivation in identity transmission, three sub-themes were identified from the individual interviews: religious obligation, belonging to the community, and transmission as a protective factor, described below.

5.4.1 Primary Motivation for Transmission: A Religious Obligation

Religion had a central role in the lives of most of the participating Moroccan immigrants as a very important element of their identity. Passing on the religious values and the components of the religious identity to their future generations was considered a religious duty in the Moroccan families in Québec.

"Allah does not only want us to pray and to respect his laws, but He also wants us to pass on his will to our children and the children of our children. Therefore, we are obligated to teach our children how to pray, how to feast, how to behave and how to live in a manner that our religion prescribes it to us" (IN 01).

5.4.2 Secondary Motivation for Transmission: Belonging to the Community

The desire to belong to the Moroccan community was a very strong motivation in the case of participating Moroccan immigrant parents in their transmission activities. As shown in the earlier

sections, social contacts with other members of the community were made and maintained through different gatherings and meetings organized with religious purposes in mind. Transmitting religious values and values from Moroccan culture were therefore vital for the next generations, to promote continuity of this community.

"We seek and maintain constantly the contact with our [Muslim] community. We participate together in prayers, we go to the mosque, and we organize different events for ourselves so we can meet and discuss our current problems and help each other. We also take care together so that the next generation learn how religion is made, lived, what the Quran teaches, what this culture is all about. We often rent places to organize teaching sessions for our children, so that they will become active members of our community" (IN 02).

5.4.3 Tertiary Motivation for Transmission: Transmission as a Protective Factor

The participants felt that children and youth were facing many problems in the host society, and these included drug-related issues, and behavioral and emotional problems. They thus considered that by passing on the main religious and cultural background to their children, they would be able to build a solid identity and maintain a harmonic socio-emotional life.

"We teach our children through our religion, how to behave, what they should do and how they should live and what they should do in different situations. Our children learn how to respect older people; parents and children are not at the same level in the family as it is in many families here in Québec. Our children listen. This gives them a solid background and they'll know how to stay away from trouble. Drinking is not permitted, so they will be protected from addiction issues. Our religion and country gives guidance in a world where everything is so complicated and children often neglect to follow what is right and stay off track" (IN 03).

"For me at home, it's a must to raise them by putting a priority on respect, learning Arabic, the Quran, and to pray. In our own community, we must teach them how to respect older people. If they learn these from young ages, how to respect their family at home, by explaining what is good and what is wrong, when they grow up, they begin to distinguish between good and wrong. This is the base. If we begin this education at early ages, and show the children what to do or not do, and if they do or not do things by observing the consequences, then when they start to grow up a little they will be able to differentiate between good and bad things and make their own choices" (IN 04).

5.5 Cultural Transmission Strategies from Interviews

Under the theme of cultural transmission strategies, four sub-themes were identified from the interviews: role modelling and home teaching; keeping contact with the country of origin; controlling the child's environment; and taking the children to religious classes, further described below.

5.5.1 Transmissions through Role Modelling and Home Teaching

Several participating Moroccan parents wished to assure themselves of the transmission of religious values to their children in a family setting. Role modelling was mentioned as the first and most important transmission strategy revealed in this study. In most of the cases, the transmission of norms, values and practices was provided by the mothers in the home environment. In all cases, parents said that they provided a religious education for their children and answered their questions about religion.

Many parents believed that children would integrate the principles of Islam simply through their role modelling. The children would then learn to follow certain practices such as prayer by watching their parents. They simply grew up in an environment where religious festivals and ceremonies were celebrated, such as the Eid al-Adha and Ramadan, but they also learned by asking their parents about these events.

"*They wonder why they do not have access to other ceremonies or why their families do not celebrate ceremonies or festivals of Québec. Children often ask why Christmas is not celebrated in the family. They want Christmas party, they want the tree, but I said no! There is no tree; we have our own holidays; we don't celebrate the feast of Christmas, Santa Claus. We have our celebrations, although we give toys and candies, but to make a tree, I do not do it, to decorate. I do not decorate. But there are many questions: why do my friends decorate? But I told him no and we try to explain in the best way possible so that they can understand*" (IN 05).

Most of these parents insisted on the need to teach their children the standards of behavior that the participants received from their parents. In some cases, they even contacted the imam of the mosque for information on specific topics.

Other parents, both men and women, took a more active role, either by giving explanations of such practices as prayer, or on various aspects of daily life like gender relations and modesty. They also listened to or recited verses of the Quran to their children at different times of the day. Children were also encouraged to celebrate the holidays with family and participate in religious

ceremonies, whether at home or in the mosque. Some parents went there regularly with their children for the Friday prayer (especially fathers) or at parties and ceremonies.

"We must teach our values and religious principles as a basis for young children so they would grow up imbued with these values. So gradually as children grow, we must broaden their knowledge of these values and provide them more value. So when they grow up, we will have less difficulties to explain what they should do or not! Because they have already had the basics, which we impressed upon them throughout their growth" (IN 06).

Participants indicated that they always had the initiative to educate their children, according to the values and Moroccan culture, by using different methods they considered to be effective. Participants also stated that it was possible for a person to keep his identity and Muslim values; and at the same time, to be integrated into Québec society. Although most participants integrated and adapted to the host culture, it was a challenge for some Moroccans who found the practices of other cultures very dissonant to theirs, while others were able to coexist with other communities despite the differences in cultures and traditions.

"You should not be uprooted from your origins; otherwise, you risk losing your identity. If all the linguistic and religious identity is lost, we will find ourselves without any guidance. But that should not prevent you from living together with people of other culture because Canada is a multicultural society. We are talking about values that are not limited to language, religion. It is also important for this new generation to have a true identity, personality and marks where they go in this world, either here or elsewhere" (IN 07).

5.5.2 Keeping Contact with the Country of Origin

The fourth strategy employed by Moroccan parents in their cultural transmission activities was ensuring that their children kept in contact with the country of origin. Some families used strategies that could be passed-on values with the help from family members living in the country of origin. Others explicitly formulated their plan to send their children to Morocco on vacation in order to receive education similar to the one they themselves had received, or became aware of the strict regulations as prescribed by religion. Thus, participants made trips to Morocco during the holidays or social events and important rituals associated with the life cycle (marriage, death of a spouse or birth of a new child), for the socialization of their children with Moroccan values and Moroccan culture.

"I like going to Morocco; we went there, both of us, in January 2011. My family and I loved everything. I thought it was a good idea because my daughter discovered the behavior of the other girls in Morocco. I know other parents who go to Morocco with their children to spend the holidays under other circumstances. I think this is the best solution for our children to discover the reality of Moroccan values" (IN 08).

5.5.3 Controlling the Environment of Children

Participating Moroccan parents accomplished their cultural transmission role through controlling the child's environment. They did so by carefully planning the child's everyday schedule and restricting the children's relationships and contacts with the outside world. This control became more obvious during the adolescent years, which played a more important role in the case of girls compared to boys.

"*We would like the children to respect religion, to live and become as adults as real Muslims should be, to behave according to the rules of the Quran and religion. Therefore, we pay attention to who they become friends with, who they meet outside school or outside home. In adolescence we usually don't let them party, for example, with other kids, because here in Québec the use of alcohol is frequent among adolescents. Girls are not allowed to have boyfriends before marriage and to adopt sexual behaviors, because these are not the ways of a true Moroccan in terms of behavior" (IN 09).*

5.5.4 Taking Children to Religious and Language Classes

The transmission of culture also took place outside the protective family environment. In order to ensure cultural transmission, participating parents used the strategy of taking the children to religious and language classes.

The influence of host culture contributed to the behavior change of adolescent children. In the host society, institutions such as schools, churches, and government, as well as friends, can play important roles in the socialization and behavior change of children. Some participating parents were aware that their children did socialize with other people from different cultures who were not Muslims or had different values. To reduce the influence from the host society, some Moroccan families sent their children to Arab private schools to learn about the culture of origin including religion, and Arabic language.

"I have insisted at the beginning that the children go to an Arab school [private] to really keep the religion, to acquire the basis. As Muslims, we must keep this attitude and keep the religious knowledge for us to know what it means to be a Muslim. If I were in a Muslim country, I would not need to do this because the children would then get this knowledge from the society and family, but not here; they must learn in school the basics. Now they go to Arabic school every Saturday to learn the language and religion. There are no schools that separate the Arabic language and religion" (IN 10).

Many participating Moroccan parents wanted their children to be educated in Muslim private schools once they reached school age. The main argument of these families was the need to provide more strict educational principles that were consistent with the original society.

"It's just a question of learning the Arabic language because I think that if the child has not learned Arabic from a young age, he would not be able to speak it because it is a very difficult language [...] In Morocco, everyone speaks Arabic so it would be difficult to get there if they do not speak Arabic or do not understand what everyone says around them [...] in my parents' house, there are many children and everyone speaks Arabic" (IN 11).

Participants also indicated that they had made this choice for their children to learn the principles of the Islamic religion. These private schools mentioned by participants were founded mainly by Moroccans. Some participating parents were turning to the private education system because these Arab Islamic schools seemed to offer, in their opinion, a more serious education in matters of discipline, as evidenced by IN 11 who had school-aged children, including one that attended a private institution.

"I think that high school kids need more supervision and I do not find it in the public schools. This is my personal opinion. As far as I'm concerned, in high school, I prefer [that] children continue their secondary education in an Arab private school" (IN 12).

Though not everyone appeared to be satisfied with the qualities of the private and Saturday schools, participating parents complained about the low quality of lessons that were given to their children in private schools and Saturday schools from the Moroccan community. Parents said that teachers were not qualified to teach children because they were not trained sufficiently.

"They [teachers] have nothing to offer and despite this, they are hired as teachers of religious science and the Quran, which they do not know and do not understand much. In addition, the schools do not have a quality program. They have nothing, they hire people who have neither the training or education, nor the experience to teach. And they want to teach Islamic values they do

not even know! Even in the classroom, they put together 5-year-old children with children of 12-year-olds, which decreases their motivation" (IN 13).

Besides schools, families and the community frequently organized religious and language classes for children, which also played roles in cultural transmission, as mentioned in the sub-sections above.

Participating families attempted to play a central role in the socialization of children through the links to the original country and the transmission of religious and cultural values. Thus, the cultural transmission strategies included the parents' role modelling and home teaching, the families' influence from the country of origin, the controlling of children's environment, and the education delivered by private and Saturday schools.

5.5.5 Applying Mothers' Roles in Culture Transmission

Participant parents were also involved in their children's culture transmission through family education. In this case, it happened often that the mothers were those who provided the family education to their children because children were closer to their mothers than to their fathers.

"We, mothers, work more than fathers on issues concerning children here in Québec. It is for me as a mother to discuss with my two boys these things, while their father considers it a taboo. And as you know, fathers have a lack of communication with children. We have enough time to teach our children the customs, social roles and identities in our culture. Fathers still lack the time, but when they find some occasions, they complement the education of children" (IN 15).

"Most Muslim women stay at home to educate their young children and to do household tasks while men are more focused on the career world. Women provide education for children with the consent of their husbands because the Quran makes no prohibition on the professional activities of women. That's why the woman is considered the pillar of the family in education. This means that she has a place in society. Her assigned roles are taking care of the house and its components, giving birth and educating the children, maintaining relationships in the family and in society [...] this gives her some personal consideration, a prestige, but the merit of her dedication belongs to the husband, who gives his support regarding the values and identity to impart to children" (IN 16).

The freedom and choices in religion to children, together with a mother's help, played significant roles in the culture transmission, which enabled children of the participants to survive and develop their new lives in the host society.

5.6 Culture Integration Strategies from Interviews

Under the theme of culture integration strategies, two sub-themes were identified from the interviews as giving children choices in religious decisions, and applying mothers' roles in culture integration, which are described as follows.

Participants mentioned certain challenges that made acculturation more difficult when they attempted to integrate both original and host cultures. The first challenge was the lack of parental time and day-to-day routines of the children. For some participating parents, the transmission of religious values and the education of children were very difficult due to lack of time, busy work schedules, and new job search. They considered raising children in a non-Muslim environment as a big challenge. Participants were convinced that if children did not follow religious practices strictly, it was because parents were not sufficiently available during childhood to teach them religious principles, mainly during the time when their children were integrated into the host society. The second challenge was the cultural conflict caused by learning from both the school of the host society and the Islamic school.

"This is the first challenge: the amount of time spent with children. The time children spend with their parents is insufficient, which negatively affects the learning of the Arabic language. Children spend most of the time at day-care or at school and when they come home, they start doing homework. That is supposed to be the time for them to read Arabic at home with parents. But by that time, children and parents are all so tired! On weekends, when immigrants take their children to the Islamic school to learn Arabic and religion, we find that this is not enough. This has a negative impact on the learning of the language on the one hand, and on the other hand, this creates a conflict of values, because when children are in school they live their 'normal' lives throughout the days according to values around them, and when they return home, they encounter conflicting values. That's the challenge" (IN 14).

Strategies used by the participating parents to tackle these challenges in culture integration and acculturation included giving their 5.6.1 children choices and 5.6.2 applying mothers' roles in culture integration.

5.6.1 Giving Children Choices in Religious Decision

The participants pointed out that some Moroccans did not want to impose their religion onto their children, leaving them free to choose their religious identity and practice. For these parents, the aspect of prayer or fasting was considered as a personal decision, which should not be decided by

parents but children when they are old enough to do so. The choices given to their children was considered by some participants as a result of the influence from the host culture.

"I know many families who do not make such a big deal when it comes to Moroccan heritage. They really do not care if their children pray or fast. They do not even care if their kids party and drink. I personally know someone who thinks that in this country, we need to give our children the option in practicing Muslim, but we need to let them make that choice. I kinda agree somewhat" (IN 06).

5.6.2 Applying Mothers' Roles in Culture Transmission

Participant parents were also involved in their children's culture transmission through family education. In this case, it happened often that the mothers were those who provided the family education to their children because children were closer to their mothers than to their fathers.

"We, mothers, work more than fathers on issues concerning children here in Québec. It is for me as a mother to discuss with my two boys these things, while their father considers it a taboo. And as you know, fathers have a lack of communication with children. We have enough time to teach our children the customs, social roles and identities in our culture. Fathers still lack the time, but when they find some occasions, they complement the education of children" (IN 15).

"Most Muslim women stay at home to educate their young children and to do household tasks while men are more focused on the career world. Women provide education for children with the consent of their husbands because the Quran makes no prohibition on the professional activities of women. That's why the woman is considered the pillar of the family in education. This means that she has a place in society. Her assigned roles are taking care of the house and its components, giving birth and educating the children, maintaining relationships in the family and in society [...] this gives her some personal consideration, a prestige, but the merit of her dedication belongs to the husband, who gives his support regarding the values and identity to impart to children" (IN 16).

The freedom and choices in religion to children, together with a mother's help, played significant roles in the culture transmission, which enabled children of the participants to survive and develop their new lives in the host society.

Part II summary

Data results from individual interviews yielded three global themes, each with specific subthemes. The first theme is the motivation of cultural transmission, in which the primary motivation was religion served as a central role in the lives of most of the participating Moroccan immigrants and a very important element in their identity transmission. The secondary motivation for transmission was the desire to belong to the Moroccan community to transmit values from the Moroccan culture. A final motivation for transmission was building a solid identity to maintain a harmonic socio-emotional life in their children.

The second theme is the cultural transmission strategies of the participants. First, participating parents transmitted their culture through their role modelling to transmit norms, values and practices, and through teaching their children the standards of behaviour which the participants received from their parents. Second, they kept contact with the country of origin to pass on values with the help of the family members who are living back in the country of origin. Third, they attempted to control the environment of children, which became more obvious during the adolescent years, and played a more important role in the case of girls compared to boys. Fourth, they sent children to religious and language classes to receive education delivered by private and Saturday schools. Fifth, applying mothers' roles in culture transmission in which the mothers provided the family education to their children because of time convenience and closer relationship compared to fathers.

The third theme is the cultural integration strategies of the participants (El Abbady, 2006). Participating parents faced challenges in their cultural integration activities, such as the lack of parental time and day-to-day routines of the children, and the cultural conflict caused by learning from both schools of the host society and Islamic schools. The strategies used to tackle these challenges included giving children choices in religious decision, which was considered by the participants as a result of the influence from the host culture.

Due to the partial overlap of data results between the focus groups and the individual interviews, it was necessary to conduct a combination data analysis using triangulation and typology methods to filter unique data and integrate similar data from Part I and II. The data results from the combined analysis are described in Part III as follows.

Part III. Research Result Synthesis

Using triangulation and typology to analyze data derived from Part I and II, the purpose of Part III data synthesis was to understand how the practicing Muslim-Moroccan parents accomplished the task of cultural transmission in Québec; and how their childrearing practices were influenced by their attempts in cultural transmission.

The collected data from Part I and II were reviewed to discover unique and repeating phenomena and ideas to re-organize into new themes. Themes were collected and analyzed using triangulation and typology to generate new theories, and results were categorized based on secondary data information from the literature review. As such, three themes were identified from practicing Muslim Moroccan parents: transmitted identity, parenting strategies in cultural transmission, and integration strategies when facing host cultural challenges. These three themes are described as follows (Figure 5.1).

5.7 Identity Transmitted by Participating Moroccan Parents

Participants announced that the transmission of their religious identity was influenced by the host social environment and the host culture, and were bound by the requirements of the original religion and cultural expectations, all of which embodied the religious identity and culture values of the first-generation immigrants. Governed and guided by the tenets of Islam, participating Moroccan parents were motivated by a desire to reflect an Islamic way of life as Muslims. Their intent was not only to preserve their religious beliefs and culture values, but also to remain devoted to their ethno-religious heritage. This loyalty to their culture values and religion was the driving force behind the cultural transmission to the next generations.

The majority of participants' motivations for passing on their culture to the next generations were clear. It was part of their religious obligation to ensure that values, beliefs, and practices were transmitted. They announced that this was part of being an Arab-Muslim. It was taken as the immigrant parents' duty to usher their progeny into Muslim groups, as this ensured mutual positive acculturation and a sense of belongingness. This motivation connected the second generation with the first generation through reciprocity and supports. Thus, it was common for the participating immigrant parents to gravitate with fellow nationals in various places, and particularly strong among the participating Moroccans, although it was growing weaken for their children. The phenomenon of semi-separated and minimal-integrated acculturation appeared to be a process undertaken by the first and second generation of immigrants through the interaction with different

members of the local society. Through this process, participating Moroccan parents ensured that their children were accepted by and surviving in the host country.

Additionally, participants encouraged the second generation children to get involved in both the original ethnic groupings and host society was for acceptance of and belongingness to the host society. As the first generation, the participants realized that it was impossible to survive in a secular society without acceptance of the host culture. Belongingness and acceptance were necessary for the protection of their second generation. Participating Moroccan parents realized that while acculturating their own children, they must also ensure the latter are integrated into the host society without divesting their original culture identity.

As shown in Figure 5.1, based on the themes developed in the results, the participating practicing Muslim Moroccans parents adhered to their identity and culture values of origin as their culture/tradition, their religion as Islam, and their rituals. Based on their identity and values, they performed cultural transmission according to their religion duty, sense of belonging to their community, and their protective factors. As described in Section 5.8, their transmission was performed using strategies such as communication, monitoring, private schools, and trips to Morocco. The transmission actors included parents, teachers, Iman, friends, and relatives. As described in Section 5.7 and 5.9, their type of acculturation or culture integration belonged to minimal-integrated and semi-separated styles.
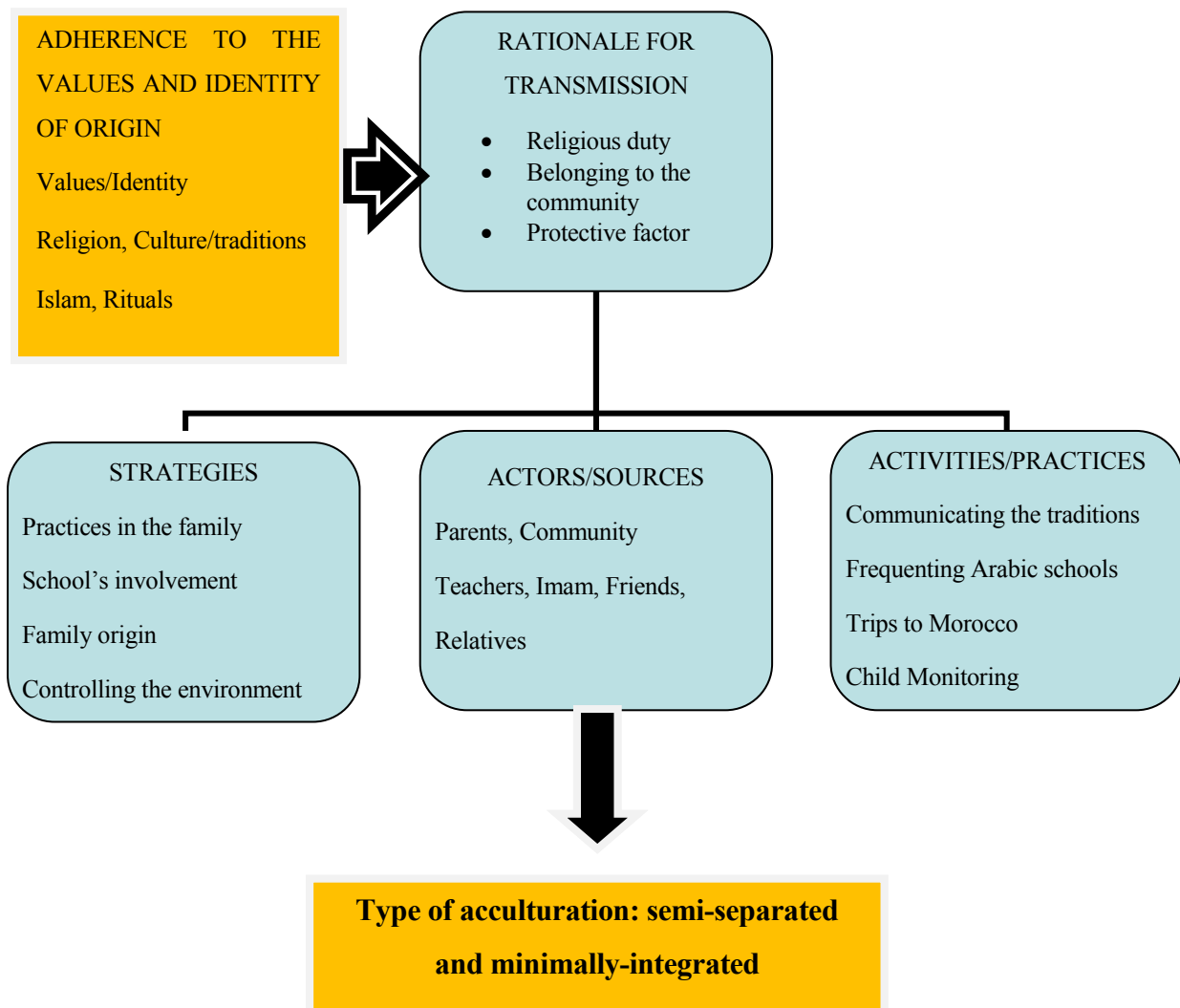
Figure 5.1: Components of Cultural Transmission

5.8 Cultural Transmission Strategies in Participating Moroccan Parents

The combination of results from focus groups and individual interviews under this theme yielded four different strategies employed in the culture transmission process, which are described below. Firstly, Practices in the family sought to emphasize the family's ethnicity and religion as a primary strategy in transmission to inculcate culture values and preserve traditions. A number of activities and practices were performed. For example, the participants communicated their Arab traditions to their children, as this was related to their transmission strategies motivated by a desire to preserve their culture values and religious identity.

The second strategy was School's involvement, parents were making that what their kids are been exposed to inschool is reframed in ways that will fit with their cultural, and religious values. Moreover, the participants also made sure to always ask their children about what they have seen,

and done in school, in order to assess the kind of influence the school environment is having on their childrens behavior.

The Third strategy was making regular trips to the country of origin to ensure a strong connection of the first and second generations with their national and religious roots while living in the host country. Moreover, the participants also applied the influence from family members living in the country of origin to their children to enhance the cultural influence.

The fourth strategy was the parents' attempt to control the living environment of their children, which included establishing behavior guidelines and a work ethic, as well as a requirement of religious practices. Monitoring of the children's behavior in the living environment of the host country protected the second generation from unwanted influences; and ensured the conformity to the religious practice from the country of origin.

5.9 Culture Integration Strategies for Host Cultural Challenges

The combination of results from focus groups and individual interviews in cultural integration strategies highlighted how acculturation involved multiple complex activities. Firstly, though participants who were not open to the host culture passed on only the original culture to their children. Conversely, participants with semi-separated and minimal-integrated opinions allowed their children to have choices in accepting norms and values, as well as their religious beliefs from the host culture, even though this attitude was reflected by a minority of participants. Members of the community also imparted aspects of the host society to the second-generation immigrants. These individuals included school teachers whose ideas and beliefs represented those of the host society. Peers and fellow workers also left an imprint on immigrant children in terms of cultural norms and values, as the latter attempted to coexist with the host populations.

Secondly, participating parents played their roles as acculturation agents via their ongoing interaction with their children in and outside the home. Participating Muslim-Moroccan parents were eager to maintain loyalty in their children to their heritage while also teaching methods and opinions to comply with the host culture. All these efforts contributed to the acculturation of the immigrant children of the participants.

An uncertainty emerged from this study that those parents who identified strongly with their religion and transmission strategies could be paramount and their acculturation process could be semi-separated. While for the parents who identified themselves with religion and perhaps more with their Moroccan ethnicity, their integration strategies were more predominant and the

acculturation process was more integration or semi-integration. This possibility was not investigated in this study, and thus needs to be proved by future studies.

Chapter Summary

Data results obtained from the focus groups and individual interviews are described separately in Part I and Part II, and summaries are given at the end of each part. As there are unique and overlapping contents between Part I and II, analysis methods of triangulation and typology were used to combined analyze data derived from Part I and II, and results from the combination analysis are described in Part III. The purpose of Part III data analysis was to understand more deeply how the practicing Muslim Moroccan parents accomplished their tasks in cultural transmission.

In Part III, participants announced that the transmission of their religious identity was influenced by the host social environment and culture, and were bound by the requirements of the original religion and cultural expectations. Their motivations for passing on their culture to the next generations were part of their religious obligation to ensure that values, beliefs, and practices were transmitted. Another motivation was for acceptance of and belongingness to the host society in which participants encouraged the second generation to get involved in both the original ethnic groupings and host society, even though this attitude was reflected by a minority of participants.

In addition, four different strategies were employed in the culture transmission process, the first of which was to engage in family practices which put more emphasis on the family's ethnicity and religion in transmission to inculcate culture values and preserve traditions. The second strategy was to be more engaged in monitoring and reframing the school's influence on their children. The third strategy was making regular trips to the country of origin in order to keep the links with the culture of origin, and the fourth strategy was the parents' attempt to control the living environment of their children including setting up behavior guidelines and a work ethic, along with a requirement of religious practices.

Furthermore, culture integration strategies were used by the participants for assisting in the acculturation of their children. First, those participants with semi-separated and minimal-integrated opinions allowed their children to have choices in the acceptance of the norms and values, as well as their religious beliefs from the host culture. Members of the community also imparted aspects of the host society to the second generation immigrants, such as school teachers, peers and fellow workers who left an imprint on immigrant children in terms of cultural norms and values for coexisting with the host populations. Second, participating parents played their

roles as acculturation agents via their ongoing interaction with their children in and outside the home. Participating parents were eager to maintain loyalty in their children to their heritage while also teaching their children methods and opinions to fit to the host culture. All of these efforts contributed to the developing of a semi-separated and minimal-integrated acculturation in their immigrant children.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

We begin this chapter by a note reminder that all participants were practicing Muslims mostly recruited from mosques. This was a purposeful choice because this research aimed to better understand this sub-group among Moroccan immigrant parents. It would thus be inappropriate to assume that the answers of the participants regarding the centrality of religion in their lives and their approaches to religious transmission are fully representative of the majority of the Moroccans in Québec.

The purpose of this study was to understand how Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec, Canada transmitted their cultural values through their childrearing practices amid secular environment. Three discussion topics were made based on the combination of the primary data results obtained from this study and the secondary data from the literature review: 1) identity ensuring cultural transmission; 2) cultural transmission strategies, and 3) culture integration strategies in sampled Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents.

This chapter discusses the predominant identity and its construction found from the participants together with multiple identities in the participating practicing Muslim Moroccan parents. In addition, their cultural transmission strategies and culture integration strategies were identified. At the end of this chapter, the limitation of this research is given, as below.

6.1 Identity Ensuring Cultural Transmission

The sociology of immigration traditionally distinguishes two issues of immigration: emigration and the settlement of immigrants in a new world. Acculturation and the acquisition of economic and social positions in the host country are most often the primary targets of research. Thus, the main bulk of research on immigration focuses on the facilitators and obstacles to integration for immigrants. These are historical, social, economic and political conditions stemming both from the host and the home countries. The society of origin do affect the forms of establishment in the host society, as well as in the context of arrival, because there is always a strong relationship between the societies of origin and the host society (Schnapper, 2001). This will be the first topic of discussion using the concept of country of origin identity and how it relates to the cultural transmission in the sampled Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents.

6.1.1 Construction of Identity in Sampled Moroccan Immigrants

In these practicing Muslim-Moroccan participants, their transmitted identity was mainly religion rather than ethnicity, which was constructed through connection and association within the same ethnic group.

6.1.1.1 Religion Taken as Identity Marker in Transmission

In this study, religion was identified as a predominant component of identity that participating parents worked hard to transmit to their children at all times. This result goes in line findings from other studies (Hogg et al., 2010; Ysseldyk et al., 2010) showing how the lives of the participants were organized around their religious beliefs, values, and practices, which provided them with certainty, belongingness, and meaningfulness. Considering this unique and powerful meaning of religion, the Muslim identity was used to shape the meanings and experiences associated with other social identities. Previous research has shown that religion is one of the most important markers of group identity and that religious groups differ from other groups (i.e., ethnic and national groups), because religion invokes the sacred and divine and provides moral guidance for daily life (Hogg et al., 2010; Ysseldyk et al., 2010).

A dominancy of religious identity was observed, but there were indications that the Muslim identity was strongly connected with the national/ethnic identity of origin as well. In fact, the participants were proud of the fact that many religious practices had a Moroccan origin. The fact that the participants were connected mostly with their fellow Moroccans and socialized around religious practices and rituals showed that their religious identity could not be divorced from their ethnic identity, and that the religious identity had a crucial role in their overall identity transmission.

In the transmission process of religious identity, three stages have been identified (Peers, 2005) as 1) religion as ascribed identity: specific to childhood, when religion is taken for granted, like a natural aspect of their lives; 2) religion as chosen identity: specifically toward, during and after the years of adolescence, when children and young adults critically view the aspect of religion and contemplate; and 3) religion as declared identity. Participants in this study revealed the presence of the elements of all three stages because they helped their children to take the Muslim religion as it was granted; some of them allowed their children to choose their religious beliefs when they grew up (refer to Section 6.3), and they also used the religion as declared identity to counter

outside influence. As such, the religious identity transmission process of the participating Muslim Moroccan parents was characterised by three stages.

6.1.1.2 Identity Transmission: Primacy of Religion over Ethnicity

This study revealed that participants valued more their religious affiliation than other forms of social identities such as being Moroccan or immigrants. The participants showed a high level of self-awareness in identity choice of religion and the transmission of religious values. Religious identities are actively constructed by individuals and groups in the society, in addition to being defined, challenged, accepted, or rejected by other people, communities and institutions. The development of a strong religious identity involves heightened reflection and self-awareness, individual choices, and the acknowledgment of others. Religious boundaries and meaning are in response to internal conflicts and choices and external pressures and rewards that drive identity formation.

Our results go in line with other studies among young Muslims conducted in Sweden, Scotland, Denmark, and the United States, which show that religious identity clearly predominates, followed by ethnicity (Saeed, Blain, & Forbes, 1999; Schmidt, 2004, in Stevens, 2012). In fact, the religious identity has primacy over other forms of social identities, with religion becoming a powerful base of personal identification and collective association (Peers, 2005). As found by Fong (2004) and Elver (2012), immigrants may have a point in highlighting the propensity of many Muslims to demonstrate some cultural resilience in their adopted countries, and this explains why most immigrants of such background hold on to their overall identity with such intensity.

This does not mean, however, that the participants were not open to certain elements of the host society, things that were deemed acceptable or non-threatening especially to their religious identity. Participants showed traces of biculturalism in their responses, as well as willingness to accommodate the host culture for coexistence, an indication of readiness to sacrifice certain aspects of their ethnicity (refer to Section 6.3).

6.1.1.3 Identity Transmission: Construction through Connection and Association

Persky and Birman (2005) describe identity or self-identification as having a "sense of belonging and commitment, and pride in one's group," and they believe that these "key aspects of ethnic identity … are present in varying degrees in all ethnic groups" (p. 2). In this study, we found that the participants maintained commitment to their religious identity acquired through family education. Their children mostly respected the Muslim practices learned from their parents and

took part in major festivals (ceremonies) and rituals that define the identity of these Moroccans in the Canadian province. Furthermore, perhaps related to the distance between the Moroccan participants and the socio-cultural factors of the host country which can influence their behaviour, the relationship between these immigrants and their families of origin (parents and siblings) remained strong.

This awareness of the Muslim identity was reflected in the participants' attachment and desire to belong to an Islamic community in contrast to what previous researchers called deterritorialized Islam (Roy, 2002; Eickelman & Piscatori, 2004). Indications showed that the sociability of the interviewed Moroccan parents was staunchly religious and used to define their ethno-religious identity. It would be worth the effort to examine the applicability of such indications to the Moroccan population in the province and perhaps on a nationwide scale in the future.

Although Islam may lead to a variability in behavior and power relations, it may also condition the exchange and identity practices (Cowan et al., 2001), which are locally and globally relevant (Hannerz, 1992). The religious, cultural and social aspects of life intimately bound the participants together, although there were very minor distinctions that were mentioned, namely the Sunnis and Shiites within the religious groups. These negligible distinctions, according to Mishalak and Saeed (2002), are the effects of the renegotiation of identity. Therefore, the perception of homogeneity of practices associated with the origins may define the internal borders of the sampled Muslim-Moroccan immigrants. But whether this applies to the majority of ethnic Moroccans in the province and the country is yet to be determined.

6.1.2 Religion, Language and Socialization as Core Identity Components

As revealed by this study, the participating Muslim-Moroccan immigrants used religion as their core identity components followed by language as it relates to the religion, and a segment on socialization.

6.1.2.1 Religion and Muslim-Moroccan Identity

As shown by the results, it was clear that religion or religious identity was a crucial part of what it meant to be Muslim for the Moroccan participants. The participants related their traditional culture values to religious values. As such, they took traditional ceremonies, festivals, and habits very important, and organized them around religious ceremonies, holidays and festivals. One of the reasons in maintaining their religion identity was to retain and pass it on to the next

generations, as they took it as part of their responsibility and most crucial components in their daily lives.

To highlight the findings of this study, participants transmitted their religious identity in a number of ways such as role-modelling and actively sending their children to religious classes and private Muslim schools, and by connecting them to their country of origin. Parents also socialized with fellow Moroccans in Québec on a regular basis. These were strong attempts to retain the Arabic language by teaching it to the children at home and via religious classes where it was acquired. This arose from the fear that the children may forget their Muslim identity with the loss of the religious language in the secular host society. The participants also practiced Islam by ensuring religious activities were observed. Practicing religion and transmitting religious identity as an organic part of being Moroccan were taken as high priorities among the interviewees. The transmission of religious values and practices was not only a religious duty, but also a form of shielding the next generations from what they considered as being harmed. In addition, transmission ensured attachment and belongingness to the Muslim community. It was obvious that the participants encountered some struggles in their attempts of keeping their ethno-religious identity, but they nonetheless tried to keep as much as possible the religious habits and practices brought from their country of origin.

This finding is different from the literature, as in many European countries, Muslim identity and national identity are polarized (Foner, & Alba 2008). In Europe, for example, Muslim immigrants confront the majority of the host populations who are secular and do not make equal room for Islam religion. Instead, this study showed that the Muslim identity of the participants was highly predominant from their national identity, indicating the major difference in the acceptance of the Canadian host society to Islam religion compared to European countries. This was reported in a previous case study that Muslim stendents were able to negotiate and maintain their religious identities within secular public schools in Canada, despite the challenges came with the negotiation (Zine, 2001). Unfortuanately, the study was conducted with a small number of 10 participaants and did not explore deeper into culture transmission and integration effect. It is worth studying in future research with sampling from different countries and regions to compare religion acceptance and its impact on cultural transmission.

6.1.2.2 Language Adjustment in Identity

As identified by this study, the language adjustment in the religious identity included two parts: language maintenance and language shift. Language maintenance refers to the situation where the

community continues to use its traditional language in the face of a host of conditions that might foster a shift to another language (Veltman, 1991). In fact, the teaching of the Arabic language was mainly encouraged in children by the participants because it helped in reading the Quran and performing the daily prayers. This study indicated that the language maintenance had a very important role in the construct of the Moroccan identity among the participants. The language was closely tied to religion because the Quran is written in Arabic, and the religious practices and prayers are in Arabic. As such, language maintenance was considered a religious duty. This finding supports the opinion of Grusec and Hastings (2007) that migrants have to deal with language shift and language maintenance issues in their chosen environment.

Veltman (1991) asserted that "language maintenance is the practice of speaking one's mother tongue throughout one's lifetime as the only language in daily use," and language maintenance is also referred to as "language survival" or "language retention" (p. 147). It is the product of language contact where a linguistic minority or a dominated ethnolinguistic group is successful in keeping its original language in spite of the pressure exerted on it by a dominant linguistic group.

The participating Moroccan parents succeeded in the process of language maintenance through religion, religious practices and by the attending of the Arabic private schools, or by the organization of Arabic classes. The key point was for the language to be maintained, passed on to, and acquired by each successive generation. This finding agrees that the language was tied not only to communication with family, but to cultural identity and religion as well, and it was often the parents who decided to teach their mother tongue to their children (Fishman, 1991). Fishman (1966, and 1991) also described the role of various institutions in language maintenance within an ethnolinguistic community, such as language schools, libraries, print and broadcast media, religious congregations, social clubs and ethnic restaurants and shops. Additionally, Mackey (2004) noted the significant impact of multilingual broadcasting, the language of computer software, and languages through wired and satellite networks on language maintenance today.

Language shift, on the other hand, means that a community gives up entirely its language in favor of another one (Fishman, 1966). According to Weinreich (1964), language shift is the "change from the habitual use of one language to that of another one" (p. 68). Jaspert and Kroon (1992) define language shift as "the gradual disappearance of a language in a community where it used to be spoken" (p. 293). It is clear that the participating Moroccan immigrant families in Québec struggled to keep the language alive in their families in their language shift. As shown by this study, language shift was obviously the source of worry for the participants who pushed for

bilingualism for their children by making them acquire Arabic by all means possible. For proponents of biculturalism, it was but logical for the immigrants and their children to resort to bilingualism in order to function in a new country, speaking the mother tongue within the family circles and religious group while using the host culture's language when outside the home (Dolby, 2000; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001, in Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005).

6.1.2.3 Socialization in Identity

According to the participants, the socialization of Moroccans in Québec was an important part of their religious identity. Discussions with the participants also indicated this kind of constant negotiation in the present context. Socialization is the process of acquiring culture. During socialization, children of the participants learned the language they were born into, as well as the roles they were expected to play in life (Hess et al., 1985). In addition, children learned about the occupational roles that the society allowed. Within the context of an original or host culture and a host one, socialization was recognized by the participants as a learning process for children of immigrants. This finding supports several ideas from the literature; for example, Duncan and Legg (2004) argue that socialization serves as a form of social group identification and identity formation, and Hess et al. (1985) acknowledged socialization as a field for the development of the "self." Therefore, socialization among second generation immigrants is considered by the literature as a basic concept that influences the identity creation of immigrants.

According to Gagen (2004), space and institutions that immigrant children experience affects the socialization process. Socialization at church, home, school and playground serves as spaces for children to negotiate, create and define their ethnicity. As such, socialization is considered by the literature as an identity strategy. This study confirms this aspect of socialization; for example, the children of the participants developed their religious identity by attending the events organized by the ethnic community and by participating in religious festivals and ceremonies, which tended to play an important role in socialization. But, beyond the role of socialization in the development of their identity, socialization is also itself an important part of the immigrant identity. As shown by this study, many participants expressed their attachment and involvement in the organization of different events in the Moroccan community, and their attending to social activities was shown as an expression of their belonging to this community, a venue wherein they expressed their identity through socialization.

The results of this study also corroborate the findings of Pels and Haan (2007), who compared the pre-immigration and post-immigration socialization practices of Moroccan families in the

Netherlands. Their main interest was in continuity and change in the reconstruction of socialization practices in new contexts and how the nature of this reconstruction can be understood. Their study addressed social organization in general, the social organization of the family, values and goals related to upbringing and practices of upbringing. In this study, the similarity was that the participating Morrocan parents had strong desire to belong to their community, which was the motivation of their cultural transmission activities. On the other hand, the difference was that, the participating Moroccn parents in Québec focused more on their own culture and religion while the Morroccan families in the Netherland focused more on how to integrate into the host culture. The reason behind this difference could be due to the fact that European countries are secular and do not make equal room for Islam religion (Foner, & Alba 2008). But the Canadian society gives more rooms for Islam religion and offers possibilities to the Morroccan parents to socialize within their own religion while living in a secular society, because the citizens' right to practice religion is protected by the Canadian Constitution and the Canadian Charter of Rights (Moon, 2002).

The desire to belong to the Moroccan community was a very strong motivation in the case of participating Moroccan immigrant parents in their transmission activities. As shown in the earlier sections, social contacts with other members of the community were made and maintained through different gatherings and meetings organized with religious purposes in mind. Transmitting religious values and values from Moroccan culture were therefore vital for the next generations, to promote continuity of this community.

Besides identity construction and its core components, multiple identities were expressed by the participants.

6.1.3 Multiple Identities: Ethnic (National), Muslim (Religious) and Canadian (Secular)

Based on the results, the participating parents were dealing with three identities: 1) their ethnic identity; 2) their religious identity; and 3) their Canadian identity. As shown by the results, the Moroccan participants were in the business of preserving two distinct identities, ethnic and religious, which were taken as one single entity by the participants. In addition, some participants realized that they were dealing with the third identity (the Québec or Canadian identity). Québec appeared to have a distinct social and cultural environment different from other provinces. For instance, while the rest of the provinces support the idea of multiculturalism, Québec espouses interculturalism (Citrin, Johnston, & Wright, 2012). Multiculturalism, in Canada's perspective,

guarantees equality in terms of race, ethnic background, language or religious beliefs. Québécois, however, lean more towards the idea of peaceful coexistence and cohesion, which is the very ideal interculturalism on the perspective of the host Québécois, or of biculturalism on the part of the immigrants (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008).

Following Persky and Birman (2005), it is of salience to this study to refer to the ethnicity of Moroccans in Québec as cultural heritage or ethnic identity (EI) and to their religion as their Muslim identity (MI). The intertwining of these two identities will be referred to as the ethno-religious identity or overall identity (OI). Their national identity will be referred to as Québec identity (QI). Living in this complex situation with multiple identities, it is interesting to find out how the participating Muslim-Moroccan parents did in their cultural transmission and culture integrating activities, which will be described in Section 6.2 and 6.3.

6.2 Cultural Transmission Strategies

This study identified four main strategies of cultural transmission among the Moroccan participants. The first strategy identified was the cultural transmission within the family, which included the strategies employed by the participating parents to ensure that the religious identity was passed on to their children. Here, role modelling was a central strategy and participants stated that the children, in time, by growing up and seeing their parents practicing religion, would adopt the same behaviours. The second strategy was the transmitting of culture values as part of cultural transmission. The third strategy was ensuring that their children attended Muslim private schools where religion, language and culture were taught as the important components of the strategy. Finally, the fourth strategy was ensuring that children maintained strong connections with the country of origin.

6.2.1 Parenting and Transmission Strategies

The first strategy identified was the cultural transmission within the family; and the second strategy was transmitting culture values as part of cultural transmission. There is a connection between cultural transmissions and parenting, as the latter has an impact on the identity development of children. This identity reflects the outcome of parent-to-child transmission. In fact, studies examining the relations between parenting practices and children's reports on ethnic identity have found that warmth, reasoning, monitoring, and autonomy-promoting parenting practices are associated with stronger feelings of ethnic belonging and more ethnic identity exploration (Davey, Fish, Askew, & Robila, 2003; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

In this study, the parenting practices used in the home established a family context that affected the children's perceptions of parental family obligations, expectations and, subsequently, the relations between parents' family obligation expectations and children's ethnic identity. For the children of the Moroccan participants, modalities and time frames of events marking the transition to adulthood expressed mostly the models provided by parents, and transmitted mostly by the mothers. This finding agrees with Nyirarukundo (2003), which indicates that "there is no doubt that without the contribution of women, the Moroccan home would hardly function. Women are the ones who take care of the education of children in the family. They watch over their health and provide all the care they need in a poor or in a rich environment, too" (p. 12).

Results showed that the cultural transmission to the children mainly by the mothers can be translated as the attachment to the Moroccan culture and identity through family education. This finding of maternal importance in cultural transmission supports the highlighted importance of the maternal education in the family (Su & Costigan, 2009). Their report underlines the importance of mothers in childrearing, and suggests that the immigrant mother's family identification, original culture, and learning opportunities encourage children's ethnic identity development. The mothers' roles in children's ethnic identity development were examined among 95 immigrant Chinese families with young adolescents living in Canada. Mothers' parenting practices moderated the relations between mothers' expectations and children's ethnic affirmation and belonging.

To best transmit their culture, the parent-participants ensured that their children attended Muslim private schools. According to the participants, it is difficult for Moroccan parents to deprive their children from the opportunities to socialize with other people from different cultures just because the latter are not Muslims or have different values. To overcome this difficulty, participating Moroccan families send their children to private schools to learn Arabic and the culture of origin and mostly interact with Moroccan peers. This contributes to the preservation of the main values of the country of origin or that are indicative of separated acculturation, meaning parents wanted their children to remain detached from the host country. Studies have found that the family is a key learning ground for feelings of ethnic identity (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993). But the influence of friends and the impact of the larger society contribute much to the behavior change of children, especially as the child gets older. In the host society, there are institutions such as schools, churches, government and friends that can play important roles in the socialization and behavior change. The influences exerted by these external socialization agents were perceived as constraints and challenges by the participating Moroccan parents.

While sending children to Arabic schools guaranteed the influence of societal institutions on their children in terms of preservation of original culture, as children were separated or distanced from the host culture, this transmission strategy had its own drawbacks due to the separation from the host culture. Indeed, Muslim students have been the subjects of an important number of educational controversies in the last 20 years, mainly because of their differences from those students of the host culture (McAndrews, 2010), which may affect their well-being. This may probably be the consequence of three factors: 1) the increasing numbers of Arabic students in schools; 2) higher socioeconomic status and the mastery of the French language increasing the differences; and 3) the amplification effects from the international media coverage usually targeting the Montreal regions (McAndrew, 2002, 2003). These three factors enhance and increase the differences of Muslim students compared to students from the host culture.

The participating parents used a fourth transmission strategy through the close contact with the country of origin, in order for their children to gain knowledge about the basics of religion from their family members and relatives living in the country of origin. Based on previous studies, this modality of keeping alive the tradition is employed by many of immigrant Moroccan families, and this goes in line with research in immigrant families from other origins (Waldinger, 2007). For instance, the Pew Hispanic Trends Research Project revealed the relationship of Latinos with their country of origin. It was discovered that most Latino immigrants maintain some kind of connection to their original country by sending remittances, traveling back or telephoning relatives; but the extent of their attachment varies considerably. Only one in ten does all three of these so-called transnational activities; and these immigrants can be considered highly attached to their home country. A much larger minority (28%) of foreign-born Latinos is not involved in these activities and can be considered to have a low level of engagement with the country of origin. Most Latino immigrants (63%) show moderate attachment to their home country; and they engage in one or two of these activities (Waldinger, 2007). Thus, it seems that Moroccans were more attached to their country of origin than other ethnic groups. To our best knowledge, there are currently no reports from the literature regarding the intensity of contact with the country of origin in Moroccan immigrants.

The results from the typology of cultural transmission parenting strategies are discussed below.

6.2.2 Typology for Cultural Transmission Parenting Strategies

A core strategy of cultural transmission highlighted in this study was the education within the family, which was achieved through parenting strategies. A typology for the parenting of Moroccan immigrants who participated in this study is discussed by presenting the main parenting strategies employed by the participants. We developed this typology based on Tuttle et al.'s relationship-oriented model (2012) (refer to Section 4.1.5 of theoretical background).

Tuttle (2012) identified four types of parent-child relational orientations: rule directed, position directed, independence directed and relationship directed. In this study, the parent-child relational orientation of the participants seemed to be mostly rule-oriented, which is defined by Tuttle (2012) as high hierarchy and high connection in parent-child relational orientation through cultural roles and rules. In this study, it is found that functional roles such as religious identity transmission influenced the manner of how attachment bonds were experienced and expressed between the participating parents and children, in which parental authority and decision making was defined by the original cultural rules. The role of the parents was to prepare their children to be a part of the social order of their authority and to be aware of their societal position. When the parent-child relationship is rule directed, decision-making is simplified, conflicts are minimized, and the relationship is characterized by stability motivated by the need to support and maintain the family whole (Tuttle, 2012).

In addition, parenting among Moroccan participants reflected their cultural and religious values, and the goal of childrearing was to conform to the main rules of Islam. However, decision-making was not as simplified as it would be in the country of origin because the cultural context was different. Immigrant parents needed to adjust their practices and values to the host society. The Moroccan participants accomplished their parenting goals mainly by employing behavioural control and selective socialization as parenting strategies. Results from this study are in line with other studies conducted among immigrant parents. For example, as Smetana & Daddis (2002, cited in Le et al., 2008) emphasized, Moroccan parents in Québec were consistent in communicating and enforcing rules and setting restrictions. Other studies also reported that character formation and identity formation were the key goals of parenting (Maiter, & George, 2003). Internalized cultural values, beliefs, and norms and external factors related to their social context and environment, such as collectivism, dual socialization, and environmental stress, guided the approaches to parenting.

Furthermore, Van De Pol and Van Tubergen (2014) examined the intergenerational transmission of religiosity within Muslim immigrant families who live in the Netherlands, a rather secular society. They studied whether transmission of religiosity within immigrant families is influenced by warm family relations on the one hand, and integration into the host country on the other hand. Two analyses were carried out on a nationally representative sample of first- and second-generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants aged 15–45 in the Netherlands. They found that warm family ties facilitate religious transmission. A stronger transmission is found within families that were strongly embedded in religious communities and were attending the Moroccan or Turkish community. Contrarily, some studies observed that when parents excessively pressure their children to adhere strongly to their original culture, children construct identities that are contrary to their parents' wishes (Cheng & Kuo, 2000).

This study reveals the strong wish on the part of the parents to adhere to Moroccan groups and respect religion, but the researcher could not find any conclusive information regarding the pressure that they exercised on their children. Furthermore, how their children responded to acculturation remained inconclusive, and deserves a later study to investigate and verify Cheng and Kuo's arguments.

Moreover, an important element of parenting in the group of Moroccan participants was behavioral control, which involved the use of child management techniques such as communication and reinforcement of rules in order to influence the child's behavioral functioning (Louise & Vacchelli, 2013). Moroccan participants communicated and reinforced rules that were mainly dictated by religion, such as the respect of elders and behavioral codes for girls. The research by Louise and Vacchelli (2013) showed that much of the concerns about girls focused on the body and its control in a culturally diverse context. The benefits of monitoring are proven across ethnicity and ages. Moroccan participants closely monitored their children's behaviors and carefully controlled their children's environment. The motivation for this high level of monitoring was that they perceived many aspects of the host culture as threats, if not dangers, for their children.

Finally, some studies focused on the dynamics of immigrant families. For instance, Renzaho, McCabe and Sainsbury (2010) explored cultural values, practices and behaviors relating to the family dynamics that Arabic-speaking migrants are confronted with and how they negotiate them in their host environment. Their findings revealed a state of family disharmony characterized by three major themes: 1) parenting and youth freedom; 2) parents' struggle to preserve cultural

values; and 3) changes in gender roles in the post-immigration context. Similarly, this study reflected some degree of disharmony. For example, the participating parents reported the discrepancy between generations and their struggle to maintain cultural values. These factors influenced the transmission of the original values and the identity development of the new generations in the Moroccan participants. The participants seemed to be attached to the values of the community of origin, but showed signs of difficulty in raising their children according to the rules of Islam and Moroccan values in Québec.

Strong religious orientation was crucial in cultural transmission practices of the Moroccan participants, but the challenge was how they can fit in a non-religious environment. We will discuss this through the participants' culture integration strategies in the section below.

6.3 Culture Integration Strategies

It was clear in this study that participants were committed to their cultural and religious identity; but in order to function in a secular host society, the Moroccan immigrant participants also considered some form of integration to be necessary. The culture integration strategies included their biculturalism strategies, their secularization as a form of adaptation, and their acculturation. However before we tackle these strategies, we find it necessary to discuss them in the specific social context of the secular religious environment in Québec. We will be doing this through the secondary data from the literature.

6.3.1 Secular-Religious Divide in Québec

To further understand the living situations of the participants, it is necessary to discuss the secular religious environment in Québec based on the secondary data from the literature. Following is a discussion of secularism in modern Québec, Canada, compared to the religious divide in Morocco.

6.3.1.1 Secularism in Québec, Canada

Based on the literature, whereas Muslims prefer to publicly demonstrate their religious beliefs and practices, the majority of the host Canadians believes that religion should not be openly practised in the society (Smith, 2007). As a consequence, a tendency among the majority populations in Canada is to confine religion to the private realm, which often may express itself in some degrees of religious intolerance. This appears to be related to the growing unpopularity of religion and public religous practices in Canada as well as many western countries. Across the western world, including Canada, secularism is on the rise. In fact, currently about eight

million Canadians, that is 24% of the total population, identified themselves as non-religious (Hildebrandt, 2014).

In secularism, the practice of religion should be a private matter meaning that religions should not be a part of the public or social aspects of life (Smith, 2007). In particular, the government is expected to be separated from religion, and thus supporting any spiritual group or promoting certain religious beliefs and practices is considered unacceptable as it violates the idea of separation of state and religion. Schools and government institutions, for example, are not to make any pronouncements on matters pertaining to the practice of religions.

Yet also as part of secularity, pluralism is advocated in Canada. The idea behind pluralism is that there are various views, religious or non-religious, that ought to be recognized by the state without making any stand on any of such ideas. In short, under pluralism, individuals and groups are allowed to access to the so-called public square to advocate certain convictions, philosophies, or religions . Nevertheless, this is an ongoing debate subject between Québec policies as interculturalism and Canada as multiculturalism.

6.3.1.2 Religious Divide between Moroccan Participants and Host Culture

There is a great divide between the Canadian and Moroccan heritages. Canada espouses the separation of state and religion that the United States upholds, resulting in secularist ideals, and the federal government operates under a secular philosophy. On the other hand, Morocco sees no distinction between the two (Smith, 2007). The Moroccan participants hailed from a nation whose government promotes and imposes one religion – Islam. The tenets of this state religion are connected with almost every facet of life, as already emphasized. The intent is to preserve and transfer the identity from one generation to the next.

As the Muslim participants perpetuated and passed on their beliefs and values, family involvement – typical in collectivist societies like Morocco – played a crucial part. Religious rituals and festivals were observed within the context of family, with the adults leading the way in transmitting ethnicity. In short, religion was intertwined with culture, which resulted in a total Muslim identity for the participating Moroccan parents.

Herein lies the dilemma. To what extent should these Moroccan participants maintain their identity without jeopardizing the political and community cohesion in the province? This is a general question to ask in the context of immigration. The challenge is how these individuals could

fit into a secular, modern world where they have chosen to live and work. In the interest of this study, the particular question is how these parents can keep their cultural transmission strategies while living in a secular society.

On the part of the host Québécois, the issue is whether they are willing to accommodate the values and practices of Moroccan immigrants in general and of the participants in particular, and to what extent (Stasiulis, 2013). Will they or are they willing to live with a group of active acculturating Moroccan parents (referring to the participants in this study whose beliefs and childrearing practices may be found incongruent without undermining mutual respect)? Breaking down the barriers and avoiding hostility are within reach, and experts believe biculturalism and multiculturalism provide some answers. These answers do not seem to disregard the ethnicity of the participants and the uniqueness of the host Québécois, as we discuss below.

6.3.2 Culture Integration Strategies #1 – Biculturalism

On the part of the host society, the apparent counterpart to biculturalism is intercultural coexistence. In Québec's context, the preferred approach in addressing immigration is somewhat akin to integration and interculturalism, a paradigm that espouses cohesion in society and promotes commonality in terms of values, while at the same time emphasizes diversity (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). This section discusses how Moroccan participants responded to immigration, how they used biculturalism as integration, enlargement, and alternation, as well as their psychological and sociocultural adjustment for biculturalism

6.3.2.1 Biculturalism: Moroccan Participants' Response to Immigration

The Moroccan participants revealed their needs to find a balance between the values brought from their country of origin and the values of the host society. These participants, in employing strategies in transmitting the core values of the country of origin, exhibited a partial degree of acceptance of the host culture. Even though some parts of the dominant culture were rejected, the idea of bicultural adjustment was evident. It has been reported that immigrants need to deal with their new environment with assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (Berry, 1998). Integration happens when immigrants become bicultural, maintain aspects of their culture, and embrace selectively some aspects of the host dominant culture. Migrants are separated when they reject the host culture and retain only their own. An individual is considered marginalized if he or she rejects both cultures.

In this study, it was found that most Moroccan participants integrated into the host society by acquiring new values such as work and lifestyle, but maintaining the main values, mostly religious, of their country of origin. This finding agrees with Khalid (1998) who believes that any given culture is susceptible to influences from other influences and tends to adopt some elements along its path. It would be too presumptuous to state that these Moroccan participating parents are bound to establish what Mchitarjan & Reisenzein called a "stable subculture" in Canada (2014, p. 194). While some were conservative as to lean towards the idea of traditionalism, the overall findings indicated that these Moroccan participants either employed biculturalism or remained open to it, which is explained further below.

6.3.2.2 Biculturalism as Integration, Enlargement, and Alternation

Studies have found that integration is the most psychologically adaptive pattern in immigration context (Berry, Kim & Boski, 1988, in Farver, Xu, Eppe, & Lonigan, 2007). Integrated individuals – those who are open to both origin and host cultures - tend to have less acculturative stress and anxiety than those who are marginalized, separated, or assimilated. Based on this study, Moroccan participant parents seemed to have adapted to the new environment through sociocultural adjustment, indicative of an apparent intent to acquire a sense of belongingness while at the same time holding on to their religious identity. In short, they resorted to biculturalism. Inman refers to this acculturation model as minimal-integrated and semi-separated (refer to 6.3.3.2) (Inman et al., 2007).

We found that the Moroccan participant parents were more accepting of what they considered minor matters like gift-giving during the Christmas season, but were non-conformists when it came to more overt practices such as setting up a Christmas tree or on matters pertaining to modesty, dating, culinary issues, and the practice of Ramadan and Eid, among others. These were considered non-negotiable and never set aside for the sake of belongingness and integration. The results of this study, although corroborative of Khalid (1998), deviated somehow from what he found earlier. While the participants emigrated from Morocco to adopt some cultural trappings, they were nevertheless selective. Furthermore, they did not leave the door widely open to changes, as suggested by Cavalli-Sforza & Feldmanm (1981). Clearly, many cultural values of Moroccan participants remained uncompromised. Whether the Moroccan culture, as exemplified by those in Québec, is going to be reshaped or not remains to be determined.

It is worth noting that a minority of the participants seemed to be more open to the host culture

and more "secular". They did not attend religious services regularly, accepted the host culture readily, and allowed their children to accept values and religion choices different from their original culture. These small number of participants were recruited from non-mosque locations, and more studies are required to deeply understand this unique group of Muslim Moroccans.

The findings of this study highlight the idea of vertical transmission wherein parents are major acculturating agents (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981; Harvey, 2010). But the same findings also acknowledge that the host society exerts tremendous pressure on immigrants and their offspring; thus, the idea of oblique cultural transmission. Therefore, both parents and society are the two major transmitters of not only one set of values but two or more.

Indeed, it was likely that the Moroccan participants exhibited alternation as an acculturation strategy to embrace the host culture to some extent while retaining their core values such as religion, family practices, and food, among others (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). The majority of the participants in this study showed no signs of abdicating their religious beliefs and practices, but adopted what Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil (1981) considered non-essential aspects of the western culture.

Other authors used an alternative theory to explain similar phenomena. For example, Bérubé (2000) did not use biculturalism to explain culture integration; instead, she observed cultural development, building on the idea of biculturalism, and called it cultural enlargement. The identity of these Moroccans in Québec, if Bérubé (2000) is to be reckoned with, is undergoing enhancement – growing and expanding to allow the religious to coexist with other members of a secular and individualistic society. Immigration theorists refer to this form of enlargement and biculturalism as alternation, a process that allows retention of cultural identity and the establishment of a positive relationship with the host culture (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005). Alternationists believe that it is not only possible, but also important for immigrants to function well in a new environment, because they ought to embrace alternation.

If the Moroccan participants continue to tread the path of resilience, it is not unlikely for their offspring to replicate the host culture, as found by Gungor, Fleischmann & Phalet (2011). Still, bicultural adjustment appears to be a necessity in any immigration context and this is true among the participants in Québec, a province considered secular.

6.3.2.3 Psychological and Sociocultural Adjustments for Biculturalism

For most of the Moroccan participants, adjusting to the secular milieu of the host society appeared to be very crucial if cohesion and harmony were to be maintained. In a number of ways, biculturalism is beneficial both to the immigrants, in this case the participating parents and their families, and to the host society. Aside from promoting community cohesion, which strengthened community ties and benefitted everyone, bicultural behaviors were mentioned as an important factor to the immigrants for their survival in the host society. This indicated that immigrants ought to open themselves to the Western way of life, becoming more like the other populations of the host community as they find necessary (Berry, 1998). The literature tends to describe this form of cultural adaptation by immigrants as biculturalism, while some of the related studies use the terms adaptation and bicultural adjustment (Berry, 1998; Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005).

It has been found that loyalty to one's heritage and strong bicultural behavior are associated with positive social and psychological adjustments among adolescent immigrants (Balsano, & Sirin, 2007). In fact, pursuing biculturalism and the strong ethnic association allow immigrants to function well in the host society. This may be the case on the part of the participants, although a more thorough investigation is needed to substantiate this observation. In addition, Lang, Munoz, Bernal, and Sorensen (1982) found that biculturalism was associated with higher levels of quality of life and coping with the demands and expectations of the host environment (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005). Bicultural immigrants are found to be more socially adjusted and less depressed while bicultural women have "wider repertoires of achievement behavioral styles" than those that are not. Among bicultural families, conflicts are minimal and family members tend to show "more commitment, help, and support" (p. 490). Furthermore, biculturalism leads to "increases in educational achievement, quality of life, and sociocognitive functioning" aside from decreasing anxiety and conflicts in the family of the newcomers (p. 491).

Based on the above literature reports, the findings from this study indicate that bicultural Muslim-Moroccan participants were quite successful in their childrearing and passing on their identity. In short, this study argues that, in order to transmit religious identity, the Moroccan participants made a right move to open to the host culture, which in fact would be beneficial to their purposeful cultural transmission.

There were however no indications in this study that parents emphasized to their children the importance of the integration into the host community as it is common for other immigrants (Holden, 1997). There were indications that a few participating Muslim Moroccan immigrants did

not conceive of religion as a central element of identity and therefore values to pass to their progeny were not be religion-centred. In fact, this study encountered two parents who appeared to be more integrated than the rest of the group and may suggest that integration is a welcome idea to the rest of the Moroccan immigrants, which is discussed in the next section.

6.3.3 Culture Integration Strategies #2 – Acculturation

This section presents the third culture integration strategy as acculturation, which starts with parenting and the type of acculturation process. It then describes the semi-separated and minimal-integrated form in acculturation, and concludes with evidence of stress in acculturation.

6.3.3.1 Parenting and Type of Acculturation

Results of this study revealed that most of the Muslim Moroccan participants tended to apply parenting strategies similar to the childrearing techniques used in their original culture. At least for the participants, this indicated that the participants might not adopt assimilated or integrated acculturation styles, although open to a possible biculturalism for themselves and for their progeny. Our results concurred with a study on the first- and second-generations Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands which shows that adaptation to the host society was favored with respect to social contact with the host populations and the host language (Arends-To´th and Van de Vijver, 2003, in Yaman, Mesman, van IJzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & Linting, 2010), but cultural maintenance was preferred in childrearing and cultural habits.

In addition, results from this study showed that a few participants seemed to have slightly different positions. One participant indicated some tolerance to the failure of other Moroccans in observing the religious practices. Another participant was less intentional regarding religious transmission allowing the children to exercise freedom of choices as to their religious expressions. Thus, it was not unlikely that certain parents may mirror Holden's (1997) conclusions that migrants are resorting to integrative acculturation processes in their cultural transmission, although this assumption deserves further study. The transmission paths chosen by both the majority of the participants and others reflected the ideas from Triandis (1990), Rhee et al (1996), and Lillard & Willis (1997), who suggest that the influences of culture affect transmission strategies of parents. Clearly, the two dissenting participants, recruited from non-mosque locations, have been influenced by the dominant culture so as to be disposed to a less restrictive type of parenting that mirrors limited acculturation as well. This behavior reflected shedding off of certain aspects of the

Muslim identity, as Berry (1998) found, which was shown as a combination of higher bicultural and different Muslim orientations.

In this study, the rest of the participants were open to biculturalism, yet wanted to proceed with extreme caution. The majority of participants will fit better in a society that favors multiculturalism. Conversely, the majority of the participants considered higher ethnic integrity and perhaps an averaged form of biculturalism. These findings are not surprising because, as Berry (1998) stressed, individuals adapt to their environments at different levels. Some adapt well to be able to manage in a host context while others find it hard to adjust to the new culture. Adjustment was both psychological and sociocultural, and the latter was of special significance to the participating Muslim-Moroccan parents, as it dealt with how they effectively expressed their identity in the host country without undermining the original culture.

In contrast with the findings from this study, acculturation is reported in the literature from the point of view of its impact on family life and parenting practices. For example, Patel, Power, and Bhavnagri (1996) found that assimilated Asian-Indian parents adopted relatively Americanized childrearing attitudes and behaviors and tended to encourage those characteristics in their children. Likewise, in a study of Korean-American immigrants, Farver and Lee-Shin (2000) found that mothers with assimilated or integrated acculturation styles began to resemble European-American families in their childrearing styles. Another study on acculturation and parenting values and practices in a sample of Turkish migrants living in Australia showed that the mothers were more willing to interact with the host culture and favored inductive discipline methods and child-centered goals that were more similar to the host society than other mothers who favored separation from the host society (Yagmurlu and Sanson, 2009).

6.3.3.2 Semi-Separated and Minimal-Integrated Form in Acculturation

As discussed in the previous section, the participating Muslim-Moroccan parents in Québec were cautious in adapting to the host lifestyle accommodating only non-threatening aspects of the host culture (minimal-integrated) while holding on to most of the ethno-religious values and practices (semi-separated). It is worth emphasizing that, while many Muslim immigrants in the world tend to be less separated and more integrated, the Muslim-Moroccan participants were minimally integrated by being selective in what to embrace in the host environment, and were strongly separated from the host culture. They remained detached from the host culture while maintaining the loyalty to their ethnicity. In other words, most of the participating Muslim-Moroccan

immigrants did not want to lose their core identity, even though they had accommodated certain aspects of the host culture to enable themselves to function well in the host society. Still, this showed the salience of acculturation among the participants in this study. This finding agrees with the literature that immigrants from Morocco tend to maintain their family values and parenting practices of their cultural heritage (Gungor and Bornstein, 2008) and pass them on to the next generations by adopting a minimal-integrated and semi-separated cculturation style (Phalet and Schonpflug, 2001).

6.3.3.3 Evidence of Acculturation Stress

This study did not specifically target the measurement of the stress level of the participating Muslim-Moroccan immigrants in Québec; however, acculturation stress was perceptible during the interviews. Participants were preoccupied with managing their new lives in the host contexts, trying to find a balance between the original and the host cultures. The presence of the intercultural conflict indicated the presence of acculturation stress. In particular, participating parents worried about losing their children to the influences of the dominant culture, as they themselves were busy with other concerns. This was compounded by the fact that their children seemed to be more exposed to the host environment than to their heritage culture. This finding is in agreement with Rousseau et al. (2009) regarding the difficulty of raising Muslim children in secular societies, given the influence exerted by the Western media (Armeli et al, 2007).

The stress and worries, as exhibited by the participants in this study, are normal reactions in immigration settings. These stress and worries of parents can be reduced by proper adjustment, as studies show connections between biculturalism and proper adjustment in a new society (Bacallao, & Smokowski, 2005). In fact, it seems probable that biculturalism will be more beneficial to children of immigrants, and experts think that parents must allow biculturalism to take place for the sake of the children. What Bacallao & Smokowski (2005) propose is that inter-cultural contact between the two cultures should be allowed, suggesting that parents need not be wary of the crises between the two cultures, as they are normal occurrences (Berry, 1998). Bacallao & Smokowski, 2005) argued that the migrants' children, while resorting to bicultural adjustment, will not lose or abandon their identity as feared by the parents, but rather re-embrace it later.

It is clear that as part of their responsibility as immigrants, the participating Muslim-Moroccan immigrants in Québec were expected to anticipate, understand, and even live with certain nuances of the host environment relating to social cohesion, such as the questions, "Are they like us?" and

"Could they be made to be more like us?" (Saggar, Somerville, Ford, & Sobolewska, 2012). Perhaps an equally pressing question to ask is, "Can we be like them?"

6.3.4 Culture Integration Strategies #3 – Secularization as a Form of Adaptation

An additional result from this study was the trend toward secularity. The relaxed approach to the Islamic practices by the two participants with different positions may as well reflect the growing secularization in the participants and perhaps the rest of the Moroccans in Québec. For example, in the United Kingdom, religious transmissions appeared successfully among Muslims; however, the rising secularization of British Muslims is becoming more evident (Scourfield, Taylor, Moore, & Gilliat-Ray, 2012). Similarly, as reported by the Pew Research Center, 34% of American Muslims never attended a mosque, 18% of them attended just a few times per year, especially for Eid prayers, 8% of them attended once or twice per month, and only 40% of them attended weekly or more (Ali, 2008). It is worth noting that this perceived downward trend in practicing their religious rituals among Muslims may yet indicate a coping mechanism similar to bicultural adjustment. It may mean that the religiosity among the participating Muslim Moroccan immigrants is also waning in the light of the immigrants' desire to coexist in a secular society. How this presumed decline in religiosity among Muslims in Québec influences childrearing and cultural transmission is worth investigating in future studies.

6.4 Limitation of this Study

Limits of this research due to its research and data collection methods are described as follows.

1) The relatively low numbers of the participants, which limited the applicability of the results and conclusions. The estimated responses from participants were 75%, which may not accurately represent the entire picture of the research topic. However, the sample size was big enough to draw reliable conclusions. In addition, greater use of open-ended questions increased the response rates and minimized the limitations of the overall research.

2) The results and conclusions were obtained and made only based on one area – Québec – and one immigrant source – Morocco – but did not include any other areas or immigrant sources. In addition, 60% of the participants were recruited through religious facilities. Thus, limitations may have been due to the specificities in area and geographic locations, and religion-related populations. The applicability may be limited to practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrants, even

though the results and conclusions can be applied to similar immigrants, and may help other immigrants to understand cultural transmission strategies in host countries.

3) <u>The limited availability of the secondary data sources, in which those secondary data closely aligned with the immigrant features of Moroccans with intercultural factors were difficult to find</u>. Limited secondary data were used because they were important in identifying the trends of parent strategies used in cultural transmission. Therefore, the results and conclusions drawn based on the secondary data may be used for immigrants with similar intercultural factors closely aligned with that of Muslim-Moroccans.

4) <u>The lack of children's perspective in this research</u>. Due to time and budget limits, this research did not collect perspective from the children of the participants, which may be used as confirmation evidence and enhancement data for the results obtained from the participating parents. Children's perspective should definitely be included in future studies.

5) One final limitation, is that the research methodology, and the research sample recruited for this research led to a perception of religion as a central point to identity. In Deed, the research started with the general theme of parenting in Quebec for Moroccan parents, and did not introduce parenting topics that may not be socially acceptable to the recruited parents. Some of the topics that would have allowed for more exploration of other identity factors could have been: Issue of hijab, gender based rule differences, and issues of patriarchy. As a result, the research uncovered a perception of identity predominately centered on religion as an identity factor, and did not allow the researcher to explore the effects of other identity factors such as gender, ethnic, or socioeconomic factors. Indeed, it should be pointed out that while the methodological perspective, and the focus on a more practicing population, allowed the research to develop a clear idea of the identity components of this population. It did not allow the researcher to present the diversity within Moroccan parents in Quebec.

6.5 Potential Solutions for the Limitation

The first limitation can be overcome by the design of a new study to recruit additional participants including practicing believers, non-practicing believers, and non-believers. The second limitation of single location and single population can be overcome by selecting our participants in a way which excludes the overrepresentation of subjects who share the same interests and activities, and to make our group of subject representative. The last limitation of limited secondary data can be

overcome by conducting a similar study with the children of the participating parents and by confronting the children's and the adults' representations.

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this study was to understand how sampled practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec, Canada transmitted their cultural values through their childrearing practices in a secular environment. Results from this study suggested three findings. First, a predominant religious identity was found in the participants with religion, language and socialization as their core identity components. Multiple identities were observed due to the fact that the participating Muslim-Moroccan parents were living in a secular host society. Second, three strategies were found from the cultural transmission strategies of the participating parents: ensuring that the religious identity passed on to their children; transmitting culture values as part of cultural transmission; and ensuring their children attended Muslim private schools where religion, language and culture were taught as the important components of the strategies. Finally, the culture integration strategies included their biculturalism strategies, their secularization as a form of adaptation, and their acculturation related strategy. Limitations of this study were given at the end of this chapter. Based on the Chapters of Results and Discussion, conclusions are drawn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the literature review, only a fraction of the existing body of research was found on cultural transmission to the second-generations of Muslim origin in North America (Eid, 2003). In relation to this literature gap, Canada Heritage (McAndrew, 2010) acknowledges that the increase in Muslim families in Québec and, more particularly, in Montreal, together with the increase in their population, reinforce the need for additional research on this visible minority population within a cultural context. This study was conducted on the purpose of filling the literature gap.

Based on the foregoing discussion, three findings were made from this study, which provided answers to the research questions (RQ) pertaining to: 1) identity ensuring cultural transmission; 2) cultural transmission strategies, and 3) culture integration strategies in sampled Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents. The first finding is about the identity construction, core components, multiple identities, and secular religious divide in identity transmission. The second finding is about transmitting culture values as part of cultural transmission, the insurance of their children attending Muslim schools, and the close contact with the country of origin. The final finding is about the biculturalism, secularization as adaptation, and acculturation in culture integration strategies.

7.1 Finding 1-RQ1: A Heavily Designed Muslim Identity in a Secular Society

The first finding of this study is that religious identity was ensured in cultural transmission in the sampled Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents living in a secular society. The religious identity was constructed through the parents' connection and association with the Moroccan community, and their identity primacy of religion was over their ethnicity.

Identity Transmission #1: Religion as Identity Marker in Transmission

The lives of the participants were organized around their religious beliefs, values, and practices, which provided them with certainty, belongingness, and meaningfulness while living in a secular society. Participants were more particular about their religious affiliation over other forms of social identities such as being Moroccans or immigrants. The development of a strong religious identity involved heightened reflection and self-awareness, individual choices, and the acknowledgment of others.

Identity Transmission #2: Identity Construction through Connection and Association

Participants maintained commitment to their religious identity acquired through family education. Their Muslim religion was linked to major Muslim festivals and rituals that defined the identity of these sampled Muslim-Moroccan parents in the Canadian province. The relationship between these participating immigrants and their families of origin remained strong.

Identity Transmission #3: Religion, Language and Socialization as Core Components

The participating Muslim-Moroccan parents used religion as their core identity components followed by language as it relates to the religion, and a segment on socialization. For them, the Arabic language was closely tied to the religion because the Quran is written in Arabic, and religious practices and prayers are also in Arabic. In addition, the socialization of Moroccans in Québec is an important part of their Moroccan identity.

7.2 Finding 2-RQ2: Cultural Transmission Strategies to Tackle Host Culture Challenges

The participating Muslim-Moroccan parents promoted their original culture values, practices and religious practices in their cultural transmission with strategies. This study identified five strategies of cultural transmission used by the Moroccan participants to tackle the challenges from the host culture, which included: cultural transmission within the family, transmitting culture values as a part of cultural transmission, ensuring their children attended Muslim schools, ensuring strong connections with the country of origin, and monitoring their children to perceive the host society as a threat to their cultural heritage.

Cultural Transmission Strategies #1: Cultural Transmission within the Family

A connection was established between cultural transmissions and parenting, as the latter had an impact on the identity development in children, and drew upon the strategies employed by the participating parents to ensure that the religious identity would pass on to their children. Participants used their role modelling as a central strategy and hoped that, by growing up and seeing their parents practicing religion, their children would, in time, adopt the same behaviors.

Cultural Transmission Strategies #2: Transmitting Culture Values as a Part of Cultural Transmission

In addition to the religious identity, the parenting practices used in the home established a family context that affected children's perceptions of parental family obligations, expectations and, subsequently, the relations between parents' family obligation expectations and children's ethnic identity. For the children of the Moroccan participants, modalities and time frames of events

marking the transition to adulthood expressed mostly the models provided by parents, and were transmitted mostly by the mothers.

Cultural Transmission Strategies #3: Ensuring Children Attended Muslim Schools

The participating parents ensured their children attended private Muslim schools where religion, language and culture were taught as the important components of the strategy. Because it was difficult for Moroccan parents to deprive their children of socializing with other people from different cultures in the host society, participants sent their children to private schools to learn Arabic and the culture of origin, which is the strategy used by these parents to ensure cultural transmission and to tackle cultural challenges.

Cultural Transmission Strategies #4: Ensuring Strong Connections with Country of Origin

The participants considered that close contact with the country of origin allowed children to gain knowledge about the basics of religion from their source. This modality of keeping alive the tradition was employed by the participating Muslim-Moroccan families, which is in line with research in immigrant families from other origins.

Cultural Transmission Strategies #5: Monitoring to Perceive Host Society as a Threat

The typology of parenting and cultural transmission showed that the parental authority and decision-making of the participants were defined by the original cultural rules and roles. The role of the parents was to prepare their children to be a part of the social order of their authority and to be aware of their societal position. In addition, Moroccan participants closely monitored their children's behaviors and carefully controlled their children's environment. The motivation for this high level of monitoring was that they perceived many aspects of the host culture as threats, if not danger, to their children. The participants seemed to be attached to the values of the country of origin, and showed signs of difficulty in raising their children according to the rules of Islam and Moroccan values in the host society.

7.3 Finding 3-RQ3: Culture Integration Strategies to Tackle Host Society Challenges

The participating Muslim-Moroccan parents were attempting to face the host society challenges with limited openness and integration strategies. The culture integration strategies of the participants included their biculturalism strategies, their secularization as a form of adaptation, and their acculturation strategies.

Culture Integration Strategies #1 – Biculturalism

The Moroccan participants revealed their needs to find a balance between the values brought from their country of origin and the values of the host society. These participants, in employing strategies in transmitting the core values of the country of origin, exhibited a partial degree of acceptance of the host culture. Moroccan participant parents seemed to have adapted to the new environment through sociocultural adjustment indicative of an apparent intent to acquire a sense of belongingness while at the same time holding on to their religious identity.

For the majority of the Moroccan participants, adjusting to the secular milieu of the host society appeared to be very crucial if cohesion and harmony were to be maintained. Besides promoting community cohesion, which strengthened community ties and benefits, bicultural behaviors were mentioned as an important factor to the participating immigrants for their survival in the host society.

Culture Integration Strategies #2 – Acculturation

Participants might not adopt assimilated or integrated acculturation styles, although they remained open to a possible biculturalism for themselves and their progeny. In addition, a few participants seemed to have a slightly different position that allowed the children to choose their religious identity. The rest of the participants were open to biculturalism, yet wanted to proceed with extreme caution. While many Muslim immigrants in the world tend to be less separated and more integrated, the Muslim-Moroccan participants were minimally integrated by being selective in what to embrace in the host environment; and were strongly separated from the host culture.

In addition, acculturation stress was perceptible in the participants who were preoccupied with managing their new lives in the host contexts, trying to find a balance between the original and the host cultures. The stress and worries, as exhibited by the participants in this study, are normal reactions in immigration settings.

Due to the limitation, we did not investigate the acculturation and culture transmission in second-generation immigrants, and this would be an interesting future topic for studies in similar immigrant populations.

Culture Integration Strategies #3 – Secularization as a Form of Adaptation

The relaxed approach to the Islamic practices and host culture by a few participants with different positions may reflect the growing secularization in the participants and perhaps the rest of the Moroccans in Québec. It is worth noting that this perceived downward trend in spirituality among Muslims may yet indicate a coping mechanism similar to bicultural adjustment. It may mean that the religiosity among the participating Muslim-Moroccan immigrants is also waning in the light

of the immigrants' desire to coexist in a secular society. This presumed decline in religiosity among Muslims in Québec and its implications in childrearing and cultural transmission are worth investigating in future studies.

7.4 Significance and Application of This Study

This study sought to develop knowledge that could benefit: 1) practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrant parents and other immigrant parents; 2) Moroccan immigrant children and other immigrant children; 3) professionals and social workers working with immigrant populations and benefits communities; and 4) the solving of issues of cultural transmission.

1) It benefits practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents and other immigrant parents.

Because immigrant parents are constantly confronted with issues of cultural transmission and childrearing, a general picture of the ethnic minorities' practices can shed light on their own specific actions. It is the purpose of this research to obtain in-depth information on which the participating Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents, and other parents, can reflect and see where their efforts stand in the Western setting.

Using a qualitative approach, this research provided significant data on how practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec integrated their offspring into the adopted society without setting aside their cultural heritage. Employing focus group discussions involving practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Montreal and Gatineau, both males and females, to avoid hesitancy among participants (Creswell, 2007), this research sought to highlight the immigration experiences of practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec and the actualization of Moroccan immigrant identity in a migratory context. The data shed light on the childrearing strategies of these parents in the context of cultural transmission, as well as the challenges they encountered in the process and the responses to the same.

The findings in this paper have far-reaching implications in benefiting social workers and policy makers in the formulation of intervention strategies, if any, that are responsive to the current needs and problems and are sensitive to cultural, religious and legal considerations. Other Arab-Muslim parents, besides those from Morocco, might also discover the findings relevant to their predicament as they try to nurture their children within the bounds of cultural

and religious standards, giving them an opportunity to reflect on their practices and relate them to the outcome of this study.

2) It benefits Moroccan immigrant children and other immigrant children.

This research used a contextualized approach, taking into consideration cultural specificities of the studied communities. Indeed, a contextual approach is the one that would consider culture as a source of meaning to observed behaviors and their causal links, because the "same" behavior may have different meanings in different cultural contexts (Fong, 2007). This means that social workers need to learn about multiple cultures of their clients, mostly immigrant children, and realize how each culture impacts their clients' social functions and behaviors. In the opinion of Dwairy (2006), practitioners who are aware of these components are better able to understand their child clients to better contribute their behaviors, emotions, and attitudes.

3) It benefits professionals and social workers working with immigrant populations and benefits communities.

Aside from parents and children who can be beneficial from this study, this research may also benefit professionals, social workers and communities. As shown by the literature, social workers or counselors with poor background on the immigrant families' religious beliefs and ethnic practices are less confident and less effective in dealing with behaviors under religious and cultural influences. Kağıitçıbaşıi (2006), for example, specifically discusses the cost of ignorance regarding cultural differences in childrearing practices. Not being able to tell the difference and define acceptability from non-acceptable childrearing practices can pose serious problems on evaluation, prevention, and treatment childrearing issues.

This research can bridge understanding within and outside the community. Communities have to be made aware of family issues such as challenges in childrearing, cultural transmission and attempts at integration in the society. Communities informed of the difficulties and struggles of immigrant families can provide support and offer culturally sensitive advice to their members. In the same way that those outsiders of the community are able to look into the world of the immigrants, communities will have a greater capacity in understanding and accepting the uniqueness of the practices seen.

4) It helps solve issues of cultural transmission in parenting.

Finally, this research can help resolve the public or family immigrant issues to assist in parenting strategies and cultural transmission in a world that is becoming increasingly multicultural. A study on cultural transmission and childrearing practice among practicing Muslim-Moroccan immigrant parents in Québec was warranted at this point in their immigration history because the issues of cultural transmission and childrearing impact affected not only the well-being of Moroccan children but also, more generally, inter-community relations. In addition, this study can benefit social workers and authorities that formulate interventions suited to handling issues derived from childrearing and cultural transmission in culturally, religiously and legally appropriate manners.

7.5 Implications of the Research

The conclusions and findings from this research are significant and meaninful, which can be applied from this research to the design of future research, the preparation of intervention strategies in the assistance of Moroccan immigrants or immigrants from other Muslam countries, and the design and preparation of social worker training or educational programs.

7.5.1 Implications for Future Research in Similar Fields

Three implications emerged from this research for future studies as relations between religion identity strength and acculturation strategies; relations between religion identity and sociability; and children's perspective from second generations.

7.5.1.1 Relations between Religion Identity Strength and Acculturation Strategies

A phenomenon was observed in this study but its meaning was uncertain. It was that those parents with strong religion and transmission strategies seemed paramount with lower tendency in their integration and semi-separation activities during their acculturation processes. On the other hand, those parents with less strong religious and Moroccan ethnicity seemed predominant with higher tendency in their integration or semi-separation activities during their acculturation processes.

The uncertainty was if relationship existed between stronger religion and original culture transmission and lower tendency of host culture integration; or vice verse. This relationship was not the target of investigation in this study and requires further investigation and confirmation by future studies. A search of the literature did not yield much answer to this uncertainty; but a similar study showed that Muslim immigrants do not fully reject their original culture, but neither fully

adopt the values of the host culture (Norris & Inglehart, 2012). Clearification of this relationship may assist in further understanding between the host culture separation and integration, as well as its relation to the original culture and values in Muslim immigrants.

7.5.1.2 Relations between Religion Identity and Sociability

This study showed that the awareness of the Muslim identity in the participating Muslim Moroccan parents was reflected in their attachment and desire to belong to the local Islamic communities. Indications showed that the sociability of the participating practicing Muslim Moroccan parents was used to define their ethno-religious identity. This was not included in the conclusion because of the limit of relatively small sample numbers.

We were unsure if the increased sociability from the participating Moroccans was simply for enhancing their ethno-religious identity or for additional purposes. A recent study showed that the social mobile activities in Muslim immigrants were stimultaneous rootedness and openness to human emotions, aspirations, and experience, rather than the tolerance for cultural differences or a Universalist morality (Schiller, Darieva, & Gruner-Domic, 2011). It is worth the effort of examing the applicability of such indications between social mobility and religious identity to larger Moroccan populations in the province and perhaps on a nationwide scale in future studies.

7.5.1.3 Children's Perspective from Second Generations

Due to time and budget limits, this research did not investigate the acculturation and culture transmission impact on the second generation, i.e., the children of the participating immigrants. From the participating Muslim Moroccan parents' viewpoints, the parents behaviors and opinions in their religious identity maintaining and cultural transmission performing activities had impact on their second generation. A study compared the religious involvement between the first and second Mulsim immigrant generations in the United States (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). The authors found that the religiosity was not necessarily reduced in the second generation under the influence of the secular host society. Some of them were seeking for a real Islam with specific cultural practice; and others increased their religious involvement as a reaction to the local hostility towards Mulsims.

Additionally, future data results obtained from the second generation can be used as confirmation and enhancement for the results obtained from the participating Muslim Moroccan parents. As such, perspectives from the second generation can be considered to be conducted in similar

Moroccan immigrant populations in further studies to offer confirmation and verification information for this study.

7.5.2 Implications for Intervention Strategies

Based on the three findings from this research, intervention strategies targeting Muslim Moroccans need to consider at lease three factors in strategy making process.

7.5.2.1 Consideration of Islam Religion and Its Tradition

This study found that the religion identity was considered important in the cultural transmission of participating Muslim Moroccan parents. The Muslim parents mentioned repeatedly that their religious identity was ensured to be transferable to their second generation. As such, intervention strategies towards the Muslim Moroccans need to respect and consider Islam and its related tradition, in order to intervene effectively and efficiently (Bérubé, 2004).

7.5.2.2 Focusing on Both Original and Host Cultures

The participating Musim Moroccans considered the culture values from their origin important in their culture transmission; but the host culture as a thread to their culture heritage. As a consequence, the intervention strategies with the Muslim Moroccan immigrants need to consider and include the original culture values, but not simply apply the host culture values (Cohen-Émérique, 1997). Intervening with both cultural values will fit to the cultural consideration and opinions of Muslim Moroccan immigrants, and will be accepted more readily.

7.5.2.3 Promoting Host Culture Knowledge and Learning

Due to the culture integration tendency was open limitedly to the host society in the participating Muslim Moroccans, intervention strategies need to focus more on how to trigger their desire and promote their effort in learning and understanding the host society. Particularly, the Muslim Moroccan immigrants need to learn about the fact that the Canadian society, compared to European countries, is not a threat but a helper to multicultural identities and religions (Legault, 2008).

7.5.3 Implications for Social Workers' Training or Education

The findings of this research may assist in training and educational programs for social workers. These programs should be designed considering the unique features of the Muslim Moroccans.

Specifically, social workers need to be aware and understand three important differences and features when working with practicing Muslim Moroccan immigrants.

7.5.3.1 Respect of Religious Identity

Muslim Moroccan immigrants took their religion identity significantly important, and thus social workers need to respect the Islamic beliefs, practice and holiday schedules (Hodge, 2005). Avoidance of these religious schedules while working with Muslim Moroccans may increase the work efficiency and improve the understanding of clients.

7.5.3.2 Significance of Original Culture and Values

This study found that Muslim Moroccan immigrants tended to stay within their original culture and values. Even though some of them may take and accept the host culture in their cultural transmission, the majority chose to transmit mainly their original culture values to their children to reduce the impact from the host culture. Social workers need to pay adequate attentions to the Moroccans' original culture and learn about what their values are, in order to work with them and provide appropriate assistance (Sam & Berry, 2010).

7.5.3.3 Understanding of Host Culture

Muslim Moroccan immigrants may take the host culture as a threat to their original culture transmission, and face acculturative stress (Thomas & Baek Choi, 2006). Social workers should fully understand the particular situations and make efforts in the introduction and explanation of the host culture and tradition to the Muslim Moroccan immigrants and their families. Social support activities are confirmed to be able to assist in their integration and survival in the host society smoothly and successfully.

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APPENDIX 1. ANONYMOUS PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Invitation à participer au projet de recherche intitulé :

Titre de la recherche : Preservation and Transmission of Cultural Values in a Culture Conflict Context. What Impact on Parenting Practice Choices in Immigrant Families? Case of Moroccan Families in Québec.

Traduction en français : Conservation et transmission des valeurs culturelles dans un contexte de conflit (ou de choc) culturel. Quel impact sur les méthodes de parentalité dans les familles immigrantes? Cas des familles marocaines au Québec.

Chercheure : Abdelfettah Elkchirid, Doctorant en service social, Université de Montréal.

Directrices de recherche :

Claire Chamberland, Ph. D., professeure titulaire, École de service social, Université de Montréal

Ghayda Hassan, Ph. D., professeure, Département de psychologie, Université du Québec à Montréal

Madame,

Monsieur,

Nous vous invitons à participer à la recherche en titre. Le but de ce projet vise à comprendre comment les parents arabo-musulmans parviennent à transmettre leur culture d'origine à leurs enfants dans le contexte de la société québécoise. Ainsi, nous nous intéresserons à saisir quels sont les valeurs transmises, leurs significations pour les parents, les façons dont elles sont transmises et les objectifs escomptés de cette transmission.

2. Participation à la recherche

Votre participation à ce projet consiste en une entrevue d'une durée maximale de deux heures selon le moment et lieu qui vous conviendra. Lors de l'entrevue, vous discuterez des stratégies utilisées par les parents arabo-musulmans afin d'accomplir la tâche de la transmission culturelle a leurs enfants dans la société québécoise. Enfin, vos propos seront enregistrés sur support audio.

3. Confidentialité

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4. Avantages et inconvénients

Votre participation est précieuse. Les bénéfices appréhendés concernent l'avancement des connaissances au sujet des stratégies utilisées et des défis rencontrés lors du processus de la transmission culturelle par les familles marocaines vivant au Québec.

Les risques associés à votre participation sont minimaux et le chercheur s'engage à mettre en œuvre les moyens nécessaires pour les réduire ou les pallier. Un des inconvénients est le temps passé à participer au projet, soit environ deux heures. Également, il est possible que le fait de raconter votre expérience suscite des réflexions ou des souvenirs émouvants ou désagréables. Si cela se produit, n'hésitez pas à en parler avec le chercheur. S'il y a lieu, il pourra vous référer à une personne-ressource.

5. Droit de retrait

Votre participation à cette étude se fait sur une base entièrement volontaire. Vous êtes entièrement libre de participer ou non et de vous retirer en tout temps sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision. Si vous désirez vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec le chercheur, au numéro de téléphone indiqué à la dernière page de ce document. Si vous vous retirez de la recherche, les renseignements qui auront été recueillis au moment de votre retrait seront détruits.

6. Indemnité

Aucune compensation d'ordre monétaire n'est accordée.

Pour avoir plus d'informations, ou pour toutes questions concernant la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec Abdelfettah Elkchirid, étudiant au doctorat en service social, au numéro de téléphone suivant : ######### ou à l'adresse courriel suivante :##########

Avec mes remerciements,

Abdelfettah Elkchirid.

APPENDIX 2. CONSENT LETTER FOR FOCUS GROUPS

Formulaire de consentement

(Groupes focus)

Titre de la recherche : Preservation and Transmission of Cultural Values in a Culture Conflict Context. What Impact on Parenting Practice Choices in Immigrant Families? Case of Moroccan Families in Québec.

Traduction en français : Conservation et transmission des valeurs culturelles dans un contexte de conflit (ou de choc) culturel. Quel impact sur les méthodes de parentalité dans les familles immigrantes? Cas des familles marocaines au Québec.

Chercheure : Abdelfettah Elkchirid, Doctorant en service social, Université de Montréal.

Directrices de recherche :

Claire Chamberland, professeure titulaire, École de service social, Université de Montréal

Ghayda Hassan, professeure, Département de psychologie, Université du Québec à Montréal

A) RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX PARTICIPANTS

1. Objectifs de la recherche

Nous sollicitons par la présente votre participation à la recherche en titre, qui vise à comprendre comment les parents arabo-musulmans parviennent à transmettre leur culture d'origine à leurs enfants dans le contexte de la société québécoise. Ainsi, nous nous intéresserons à saisir quels sont les valeurs transmises, leurs significations pour les parents, les façons dont elles sont transmises et les objectifs escomptés de cette transmission.

2. Participation à la recherche

Votre participation à ce projet consiste en une discussion de groupe d'une durée maximale de deux heures selon le moment et lieu qui conviendra aux participants. Lors des discussions, vous discuterez des stratégies utilisées par les parents arabo-musulmans afin d'accomplir la tâche de la transmission culturelle a leurs enfants dans la société québécoise. Enfin, vos propos seront enregistrés sur support audio.

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Aucune compensation d'ordre monétaire n'est accordée.

B) CONSENTEMENT

Je déclare avoir pris connaissance des informations ci-dessus, avoir obtenu les réponses à mes questions sur ma participation à la recherche et comprendre le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de cette recherche.

Après réflexion, je consens librement à prendre part à cette recherche. Je sais que je peux me retirer en tout temps sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier ma décision.

Signature : _____   Date : _____

Nom : _____   Prénom : _____

Je déclare avoir expliqué le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de l'étude et avoir répondu au meilleur de ma connaissance aux questions posées.

Signature du chercheur_____ Date : _____

Nom : _____ Prénom : _____

Pour toute question relative à la recherche, ou pour vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec Abdelfettah Elkchirid, étudiant au doctorat en service social, au numéro de téléphone suivant : ######## ou à l'adresse courriel suivante : #########

Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal, au numéro de téléphone ######## ou à l'adresse courriel ###############. (L'ombudsman accepte les appels à frais virés).

APPENDIX 3. CONSENT LETTER FOR INTERVIEWS

Formulaire de consentement

(Entrevues)

Titre de la recherche : Preservation and Transmission of Cultural Values in a Culture Conflict Context. What Impact on Parenting Practice Choices in Immigrant Families? Case of Moroccan Families in Québec.

Traduction en français : Conservation et transmission des valeurs culturelles dans un contexte de conflit (ou de choc) culturel. Quel impact sur les méthodes de parentalité dans les familles immigrantes? Cas des familles marocaines au Québec.

Chercheure : Abdelfettah Elkchirid, Doctorant en service social, Université de Montréal.

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5. Droit de retrait

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Signature : _____ Date : _____

Nom : _____ Prénom : _____

Je déclare avoir expliqué le but, la nature, les avantages, les risques et les inconvénients de l'étude et avoir répondu au meilleur de ma connaissance aux questions posées.

Signature du chercheur_____ Date : _____

Nom : _____ Prénom : _____

Pour toute question relative à la recherche, ou pour vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec Abdelfettah Elkchirid, étudiant au doctorat en service social, au numéro de téléphone suivant : ######### ou à l'adresse courriel suivante : ###########

Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal, au numéro de téléphone ######### ou à l'adresse courriel ####################. (L'ombudsman accepte les appels à frais virés).

APPENDIX 4. INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTION EXAMPLE

Researcher: The other topic I would like you to talk about, Madam, is the challenges parents of Moroccan origin are facing in Québec when it comes to children's education?

Interviewee: The problems?

Researcher: The challenges, it can be a problem or a difficulty.

Interviewee: The difficulties that Moroccans are facing here in Canada?

Researcher: Yes, ma'am, that Moroccan parents are facing, always in the context of children's education here in Québec?

Interviewee: The trouble is when children come here and want to do as Canadians do, they behave as Canadians kids. In our country, if we say yes, then its yes and if we say no, then it is not. But here they do not understand what that means, no! You understand what I mean?

Researcher: No, I didn't quite understand. Can you please clarify your answer?.

Interviewee: The children here, they want to follow the traditions and habits of Canadians here, they want to be Canadians, you know?

Researcher: Yes

Interviewee: For example, in our country, if we say to our kids no, it is shameful to do that because it is "hchouma" (inappropriate), they would listen, but not here, they want to be Canadians, they want to go out at night, etc. I have friends who complain that their children go out at night, they return home late. You understand? Here we have no influence over our children.

Researcher: And does that makes it difficult for parents?

Interviewee: Yes, what makes it even more difficult here is the environment, you know?

Researcher: Does the environment mean the laws, the neighbors, the schools, all of what I just mention, or is it something else?

Interviewee: Yes, it's the laws, the neighbors, the schools, the friends. You know, the law here is not like home. I have friends who whenever they talk to their daughters, their daughters would tell them: "I'll call the police! ". This is the case of a girl who did it and went to live alone! She is 24 now, she followed the traditions here. Here at 18 years the children can live alone.

Researcher: Apart from the fact that laws are different, anything else that would make this aspect of parenting challenging or different here in Québec?

Interviewee: Yes, here for example, you cannot hit the children. Even in Morocco, we did not hit our children because we didn't need to. But here children are protected by Canadian laws. Canadians schools, neighbors, and friends would also intervene if theu think you are parenting your child in a harsh way. In Canada, they give more importance to children and none to parents. It's the same in France. But in our country it's different, children do not say to their parents "we will call the police on you, or we are leaving home at the age of 18"

Researcher: Would say that it is a difference in values?

Interviewee: Yes, in values, and we are committed to our Moroccan values.

Researcher: Is this commitment to the values, justified by culture or religion? For example, gender relations, and dating. Are you against this because it is "hchouma" (inappropriate) or is it because its "hrame" (a sin), or is it because its both?

Interviewee: I am not against the fact that my daughter speaks with a boy! I am against my daughter having sex with a boy. According to our religion this is prohibited "hrame".

Researcher: In your talks with other parents, do you think that most parents are satisfied with their decision to come to Québec?

Interviewee: There are parents who are happy, others are not! Why? Because there are parents who have sacrificed their lives to come here, leave their country, leave their families, leave everything, and even leave their job in Morocco to come here for their children and for their children's education. However, sometimes children want the opposite! They do not want to study, they only want to have fun, go out with friends, etc. It is because of these problems that some parents regret their decision to come here. And others are satisfied, they do not care if their children succeed in their education or nor, or if they go out with boys or not! You understand?

Researcher: Yes

Interviewee: For example, me and my husband we came here to give our girls better education, nothing else, we didn't come here to be rich. When we were in Morocco we had a very good life, but if I have wanted to send my daughters here alone for education, for financial reasons, I couldn't have. And I cannot let my girls stay here all alone. For me, we came for my girls! My husband was well placed there, he was director of a newspaper, but we sacrificed our lives and we came for our girls.

Researcher: Would you say that the way in which children behave is the most determining factor in the satisfaction or non-satisfaction of the parents with their decision to come here?

Interviewee: Could you repeat the question?

Researcher: Does the way in which children behave is the factor that determines whether Moroccan parents are satisfied or not with their situation here?

Interviewee: No, I do not think a parent will be satisfied if the child does not follow the path the parent wants, this will not satisfy the parents of course!

Researcher: And if the child follows the path of the parents, will the parents be satisfied?

Interviewee: In my opinion, yes. I know a friend, she suffers with her daughter. Her daughter was 24, she left her mother to live alone! It's been 11 years that they came to Canada. The daughter has left to live alone! But her mom is suffering, because it is not in our culture. I also think that this is why we're not prepared for it either. The mother suffers a lot because of that! Will the mom ever be happy to have come here to Canada for her daughter? I'm not sure but in my opinion, she will never be satisfied.

Researcher: So in your experience, you had children in Morocco; you have started their education in Morocco then you have come to Québec. So, after coming here in Québec you've seen the way in which Québecors raise their children. What do you think of that way?

Interviewee: I will not lie, I do not think that way is appropriate for me. Québecors do not give a lot of importance to religion, but I do. Québecors tolerate more of their children using language that is not appropriate, but I don't. Québecors consider all people to have equal level of respect, I believe the age should also be considered. I will consider my 12 years old daughter opinion and will show her respect, but I will respect my mother's opinion even more, and show her more respect.

Researcher: Is this the reason why you seek to transmit your Moroccan identity to your daughters?

Interviewee: Yes, sometimes my 12 years old say she is not Moroccan, it hurts my heart to hear that! I love my country, I love Canada of course, and I love my family. My daughter doesn't like to say she is Moroccan, and it's all because of our decision to come here. We started raising them in Morocco, and we brought them to another country, and that created confusion for us and for them.

APPENDIX 5. FOCUS GROUP THEMES

Les thèmes explorés par les groupes de discussion:

1. La représentation des parents d'une identité arabo-islamique.

2. L'expérience migratoire des parents au Québec.

3. Les stratégies utilisées par les parents dans la transmission de l'identité arabo-islamique aux enfants.

4. Les situations et les effets des conflits culturels et kes réponses des parents à ces situations.

5. Les effets des conflits culturels sur les pratiques parentales.

APPENDIX 6. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Selon vous, en quoi consiste une identité arabo-islamique ?

2. Est-il important pour les enfants marocains au Québec de garder une identité arabo-islamique? Pourquoi ? Ou, pourquoi pas?

3. Est-il possible d'avoir une identité arabo-islamique et être intégrés dans la société québécoise? Si non, pourquoi? Si oui, comment?

4. Comment définiriez-vous l'intégration dans la société québécoise?

5. Quels sont les défis d'être un parent Marocain au Québec?

6. Pensez-vous que la plupart des parents marocains sont satisfait, ou non avec leurs décisions de s'établir au Québec? Et pourquoi ?

7. Selon vous quelle est l'image de la communauté marocaine dans la société québécoise? Pourquoi ont-ils cette image? Et comment vous sentez-vous à ce sujet?

8. Que pensez-vous de "la façon québécoise" d'élever les enfants?

9. Quelles sont les stratégies les plus utilisées par les parents marocains afin de transmettre une identité arabo-islamique à leurs enfants :

     - À la maison?

     - Dans leur propre communauté?

     - À l'école?

     - Dans la société?

10. Quels sont les problèmes communs auxquels sont confrontés les parents marocains dans la transmission de l'identité arabo-islamique à leurs enfants au Québec?

11. Comment réagissent les parents à ces problèmes?

12. Quelles sont les différences dans les défis de l'éducation des enfants au Québec et au Maroc?

13. Quelles sont les situations de conflits culturels vécues par les parents marocains au Québec?

14. Quelles stratégies utilisent les parents pour faire face à des situations de conflits culturels?

15. Pensez-vous que les conflits culturels pourraient affecter :
- La façon dont les parents jugent la société québécoise?
- L'identité culturelle d'un enfant? Si oui, comment?

16. Comment pensez-vous que les difficultés ou les conflits culturels influencent-elles, les pratiques parentales des parents marocains au Québec?

17. De quelles façons ces conflits culturels ont-ils affecté la façon de vivres dans des familles marocaines du Québec?