
Canadian Immigrant Women in Transition

Gerda Wittebrood, Sharon Robertson

The University of Calgary

Abstract

The experiences of Canadian immigrant women as they move from one culture to another are examined. Making reference to relevant literature, the position of immigrant women in Canada, the barriers they encounter in their efforts to adapt to their new homeland, and the coping strategies they use to deal with these barriers are explored. In addition, the usefulness of different forms of support systems and the role of the counsellor as part of the adaptation process are examined. Immigrant women in transition represent a high-risk group in Canadian society. Elements that make them such a vulnerable group include race, language, and their roles as wives, mothers, and labourers. In addition, social, economic, and political policies in Canada contribute to an increase of gender and racial inequalities in the society. Six "transitional bridges" which immigrant women employ to make the transition from one culture to another are described. The role of the counsellor in working with these clients is explored.

Résumé

Les expériences d'immigrantes canadiennes dans leur transition d'une culture à l'autre sont étudiées. La littérature pertinente, la position des immigrantes au Canada, les barrières qu'elles rencontrent dans leurs efforts de s'adapter à leur nouvelle patrie et les stratégies utilisées pour contrer ces barrières sont explorées. De plus, l'utilité de certaines formes de réseaux de soutien et le rôle du conseiller dans le processus d'adaptation sont examinés. Les immigrantes en transition représentent un groupe à risque élevé dans la société canadienne. Les éléments qui rendent ce groupe tellement vulnérable comprennent la race, la langue et leurs rôles variés d'épouse, de mère et d'ouvrière. En outre, les politiques sociales, économiques et politiques du Canada contribuent à une croissance des inégalités sexuelles et raciales dans la société. Six "ponts transitionnels" utilisés par les immigrantes pour effectuer la transition d'une culture à l'autre sont décrits. Le rôle du conseiller dans son travail avec ces clientes est exploré.

Thousands of people migrate each year to Canada and they are a major contributor to Canada's multi-ethnic and multicultural character. Among the immigrants, women are important participants in this process. Numbering over two million since World War II, women immigrants entered this country as permanent residents, as temporary workers, or as students (Boyd, 1987). With them they bring their cultural traditions and customs including their traditional dress and core values pertaining to family, marriage, and religion (Naidoo, 1987). Until recently, however, immigrant women have tended to be a relatively neglected component of the immigrant population and did not obtain special attention as women or as immigrants. According to Naidoo (1988), women belong to one of the several "high risk" groups which are identified in the literature.

In this paper, we will discuss some of the causes contributing to the "high risk" nature of the lives of Canadian immigrant women in transition.

We will also explore the barriers immigrant women encounter in their efforts to adapt to their new homeland and the coping strategies they use to deal with these barriers. In addition, we will examine the usefulness of different forms of support systems and the role of the counsellor as part of the adaptation process.

IMMIGRANT WOMEN AS A HIGH RISK GROUP

Canadian immigrant women in transition encounter tremendous disadvantages when trying to adapt to their new environment. Elements which make them a high risk group include race, language, and their position as wives, mothers, and labourers (Naidoo, 1988). Seward and McDade (1987) identified the relatively recently arrived women from Southern Europe and Asia as one of the most disadvantaged demographic groups in Canada. They are characterized by limited education and job-related skills; they frequently lack knowledge of either French or English, and often require income to help support their families.

When coming to Canada, immigrant women often need to relearn almost everything, from how to do the household chores to how to take care of husband and children. In this process of relearning, the woman often loses the respect of others for her role as a housewife. In addition, her status as a wife and as a person may be undermined if she becomes physically and financially dependent on her husband. Therefore, immigrant women frequently struggle for self-worth, dignity, and a new sense of self in a culture so different from their own. Often this struggle is accompanied by much confusion, anxiety, and stress (Parson, 1983). As mothers, immigrant women may experience parenting problems as a result of different degrees of acculturation that may develop within a family. Many adolescent children are far more acculturated than their isolated and non-French or non-English speaking mothers. Those women need not only deal with a generation gap but also with an acculturation gap as far as parenting their children is concerned (Naidoo, 1987).

Although immigrant women have expertise in many areas of employment, they frequently end up working as cheap labour because of stereotypical attitudes, ethnocentrism, and a tendency to view immigrant women's ethnic and cultural differences as problems (Naidoo, 1988). Racism and discrimination are particularly problematic for ethnic immigrant women. Not only do they face racism and discrimination as members of a visible minority group and as immigrants, but also as women. The term "triple disadvantaged" refers to the tripartite base of discrimination against those women (Boyd, 1987). Therefore, immigrant women are more likely to work in low-wage occupations with little control over working hours and conditions (Seward & McDade, 1987), the

potential for sexual and physical abuse, and fear of deportation (Naidoo, 1988).

In conclusion, immigrant women experience many adaptation stresses during their transitional and settling down period into Canada. They represent a "high risk" and often forgotten group.

CANADIAN SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL POLICIES

The problems immigrant women encounter are not only related to "adjustment processes" because of cultural differences. Rather, to some extent, the social organization of the Canadian society and the location of immigrant women in that society are responsible for many of their problems. Institutionalized practices, such as government policies, contribute to an increase of gender and racial inequalities in the society.

Admission into Canada is regulated by the 1976 Immigration Act and associated regulations (Boyd, 1987). The Canadian government follows the principle of universality, and therefore, sex per se is not being used as a prerequisite for becoming a permanent resident in Canada. Males or females may receive permanent residency if they meet all the necessary criteria for acceptance. However, in reality, females tend to be admitted as dependents of the principal applicant, or as a member of the Family Class being sponsored by a close relative (Boyd, 1987; Canadian Task Force, 1988). The consequences of admitting immigrant women as "dependents" or as members of the Family Class have advantages and disadvantages. The policy allows the women admission into Canada even if they do not meet the required entrance criteria; however, it can leave them vulnerable to deportation during the first three years of their stay, if husbands or sponsors are deported (Boyd, 1986). Women who are sponsored by families or relatives can be denied access to welfare assistance and employment-related programs. The federal and provincial governments consider a sponsorship as a commitment by the sponsor to take care of the immigrant financially. This leaves immigrant women vulnerable in case of marital violence or breakdown. No alternative housing, income, or legal aid will be offered until the sponsorship relation is broken (Boyd, 1987; Seward & McDade, 1987).

Language related policies are of fundamental importance to immigrant women who do not speak either of the official languages. A lack of language proficiency leads to isolation and loneliness and results in a sense of being a "marginal" person in the society (Canadian Task Force, 1988). The funding for language training programs is provided by two federal departments: the Secretary of State and Employment and Immigration Canada (CEIC). The department of the Secretary of State provides funding "to help prepare permanent residents for citizenship and to enable them

to adapt to Canada" (Boyd, 1987, p. 30). This language training is offered during the day or in the evening, primarily on a part-time basis. Although the programs are designed to be flexible, there are serious problems in gaining access to them. Many low income women are excluded from the program because no living and travel allowances are provided to the participants, and as soon as the immigrants obtain their citizenship, they are no longer eligible for Secretary of State language training (Seward & McDade, 1987).

The language training program of the CEIC is part of the Job Entry component: the Canadian Jobs Strategy Program. Participants must have been out of school for one year and the program is restricted to immigrants who plan to enter the labour force. The program is offered on a full-time basis for about twenty weeks. Immigrant women may have problems getting access to the CEIC programs for two reasons. First, because sponsored immigrants are not eligible for the basic training allowance, this may prevent women who need to earn an income from participating in the programs. Secondly, if immigrants are unskilled and have limited qualifications, they will not likely qualify for the language training programs because language skills will then not be considered necessary for employment (Boyd, 1987; Seward & McDade, 1987).

Even women who do qualify for the CEIC training programs identify a number of problems. The classes, organized on a full-time basis, pose difficulties for all women who have additional family responsibilities and a part-time job. Immigrant women also indicated that the programs do not take into account the specific experiences of the immigrant women and fail to address the specific needs arising from them (Paredes, 1987).

Employment related policies and programs are another important area for immigrant women. Employment and Immigration Canada implemented a series of training and skill upgrading programs known as the Canadian Job Strategy (CJS). The CJS has been criticized for not taking into account the needs of certain groups of immigrant workers (Seward & McDade, 1987). The Canadian Task Force (1988) identified the following categories of immigrants as seriously disadvantaged in their struggle for employment: "visible minority" immigrants, immigrant youth, older immigrants, and immigrant women. Low skilled immigrant women are often directed toward employment in specific industries, such as the garment and textile industry (Boyd, 1986). No program in the CJS is designed to "de-ghettoize" low skilled immigrant women. They often do not have the language skills necessary to take part in the programs and the training allowances are fairly low (Seward & McDade, 1987). The Canadian Task Force (1988) identified several barriers to entry to employment such as language proficiency, evaluation of academic credentials, and allocation of credit for foreign experience and examinations. Lack of recognition of non-Canadian

educational qualifications and work experience is an area of great concern and frustration to immigrants, men as well as women. Impartial evaluation of non-Canadian credentials is difficult to achieve. Many trades and professions require Canadian experience in the field and both employers and credentialing bodies are unable or unwilling to assign Canadian equivalencies to immigrant experiences (Boyd, 1987; Canadian Task Force, 1988). Bureaucratic problems that prevent immigrants from entering their professions include certain requirements demanded by the government. Immigrants are requested to provide original certificates and/or transcripts which is often impossible, especially for refugees. Translation and interpretation of foreign credential documents pose difficulties, and this often results in a devaluation of credentials (Seward & McDade, 1987). The implications of these practices are serious. Failure to obtain recognition for academic and/or work experiences usually means underemployment or unemployment, and for women immigrants, this may even be compounded when female-role stereotypes come into play (Boyd, 1986, 1987).

Child care is a concern for all women, but it is even more important for immigrants for two reasons. First, immigrant women participate in the labour force more than Canadian-born women. Second, the needs of immigrant children are different from the needs of children of Canadian-born women. Preschool immigrant children often speak their native language; this isolates them from the other children in a regular child care centre (Seward & McDade, 1987).

Racism and discrimination in Canada can be found in all areas of life. Racism as defined by Brand and Sri Bhaggiyaddatta (1985) is a "system of ideas, laws, practices that regulates the presence, aspirations, actions, and livelihood of non-white people in Canada" (p. 3). Racism experienced by "visible minorities" can be observed in the general absence of Asians in the civil service, their job aggregation in science and the commerce fields, and their lack of access to health and social services (Chan, 1987). Main findings of the Chan study include discrimination against the Asian community, discrimination in job hiring, job advancement, and evaluation of education credentials and other skills. These forms of discrimination were also found in other visible minority groups (Henry & Ginzberg, 1985). Canada's response to racism has been to seek to combat this at both federal and provincial government levels. The 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the 1988 Multiculturalism Act are attempts to preserve the principles of equality, justice, and rights for all its people (Naidoo, 1989). However, the larger society tends to value the ethnic minorities negatively; therefore, the distinctive values they hold are also negatively valued (Solomon, 1983). Anglo-Saxon based customs, food, dress, and life style are apparently the only basis for acceptance (Naidoo, 1980). Hughes and Kallen (1974) refer to this as the *Anglo Conformity Model*

of ethnic integration, which means a one-way process of required acculturation. As a result the minority ethnic culture may become extinct. In contrast, the Canadian government promotes the *Cultural Pluralism Model*. This model requires that the acculturation and the assimilation process be limited and controlled. Increased communication and interaction between people on a preferably informal basis may promote a multicultural society (Naidoo, 1980).

COPING STRATEGIES

Ethnic people seem to be in a particularly vulnerable position as they face the numerous stresses in their new homeland. They frequently underutilize the community mental health services which could help them to cope with the stress. They receive services in less quantity and of inferior quality than the non-immigrant population. This is caused partly because social services in other countries take on different forms from those in Canada, and the readiness to seek assistance is different from culture to culture (Miller, 1983).

Different ways of coping used by immigrant women have been described by various researchers. Mercer, Nichols, and Doyle (1989) studied the details of the life course of 80 immigrant women. They discovered that many of the women maintained long-term ties with loved ones in their homeland, and were able to overcome overwhelming challenges. These women diminished their losses, and were able to cope as a result. Coping, then, is a process that occurs when a woman tries to satisfy her requirements in the face of difficulties and obstacles (Duckworth, 1976). Burnet (1986) describes women as essential contributors in the adaptation of ethnic groups to North American life. Women monitor the need for daily survival of the family; they set up immigrant homes, help maintain community cohesiveness, assist in business, school, and church; they teach and help to create a new identity by combining old and new values.

Naidoo (1985) portrays the challenges South Asian women encounter while trying to adjust to Canadian life. These challenges revolve around a dual demand of identification: (a) social acceptance within the host culture and (b) maintenance of those facets of the ancestral culture which are perceived as essential for one's identity and self-concept. In integrating these different values, they considered the belief in self, their knowledge of the English language, and helpful and supportive spouses as useful and facilitating factors. It was also found that contemporary, liberal, and outgoing individuals were better able to cope with the new experiences than their more traditional-bound counterparts (Naidoo, 1985).

Warren (1986) describes six processes or "transitional bridges" which immigrant women employ to make their transition from one culture to

another. These bridges portray the attitudes the women developed on the basis of their experiences. *The continuity bridge of familiar persons* involves the continuation of one's role in the new homeland. This results in a stabilizing and buffering effect on the negative consequences which are an integral part of the immigration process. *The traditional female bridge* allows women to view their stay in Canada as a continuation of their lives in the country of origin. They believe that their lives with the traditional roles are similar to those of women around the world. *The burning of traditional bridges* is a way of coping in which women break away from the traditional roles of their parents. Women adopting this coping strategy feel it is the best way to make the transition successfully. It often creates high degrees of anguish. *Support group bridges* are important in terms of identity and self-confidence. They create opportunities for women to build a sense of support with others. *The (negative) discriminatory bridge and the overcompensatory bridge* are two different strategies used to cope with prejudicial attitudes. Immigrant women, sensing the discrimination that exists in the Canadian society, may use the discrimination as a deterrent to growth. The (negative) discriminatory bridge does not seem conducive to a positive adaptation process. Immigrant women employing the overcompensatory bridge react toward discrimination in a more constructive way. They feel that they need to overachieve in order to be successful. This may result in a successful bridge of transition. *The positive and pragmatic bridge* is a way of coping in which characteristics such as confidence in oneself and in one's own abilities, resilience, and resourcefulness seem important in order to make the transition successfully.

It appears that many of the previously mentioned bridges involve a relatively strong sense of one's own ethnic identity. This supports the idea that a support network in the form of close relatives and friends, an ethnic community, and/or organized support which emphasizes the ethnic identity, is very important in the adaptation process. The ethnic identity provides the security, the belief in oneself, to be open to new ideas, to take risks, and to incorporate positive features of the new environment.

SOCIAL SUPPORT/SOCIAL NETWORKS

The term "social support" can be defined as an interpersonal transaction involving one or more of the following features: (a) emotional concern which involves caring, trust, and empathy; (b) instrumental aid which includes provision of goods and services; (c) informational support which involves giving information or teaching a skill which can provide a solution to a problem; (d) appraisal support which involves information that helps one evaluate personal performance. These categories should be viewed as interrelated components rather than independent entities (House, 1981).

The support may be accessible to the individual through social ties to individuals, community, and the institutionalized support systems. Social support generally is related to physical and mental well-being. Lin, Ensel, Simeone, and Kuo (1979) pointed out that social support may act as an antecedent factor that reduces the likelihood of life changes occurring, or as a buffering factor that, after the life changes take place, controls the interpretation of the events and the emotional response to them. Recent studies have shown that immigrants generally have smaller support systems available when compared to Anglo people (Vega & Kolody, 1985). Frequently, they lose part or all of their social network when they leave their country and settle into a new homeland. In addition, it appears that immigrants have more difficulties in initiating or sustaining supportive relationships (Vega, Kolody, & Valle, 1986). Immigrant women especially are more likely to be constrained by tradition from developing new social networks (Canadian Task Force, 1988).

Woon (1986) describes the advantages for Chinese immigrants of having close relatives living nearby. When a high degree of cooperation exists among relatives, both mutual aid and emotional support can be found. They help each other to find living quarters and employment, encourage and consult one another, and share the frustration experienced at work. Without emotional support, immigrants tend to lose their urge to succeed in the Canadian society; they drop out of courses, stop searching for employment, and give up their hopes and dreams.

Many immigrants arrive in the new country without family or friends, and depend on their ethnic community for support. Ethnicity is a major form of group identification and gives a sense of belonging (McGoldrick, 1987). The ethnic community may fulfil many supportive functions including preservation of the cultural heritage, companionship, and protection against hostility and discrimination (Nann, 1982). Nann and To (1982) describe how the ethnic community may deliver practical services similar to those provided by the Chinese relatives as mentioned above.

However, families and ethnic communities can not only be a form of support but also of stress. "Certain types of social networks among immigrants seem to work against their social mobility and psychological well-being" (Kuo & Tsai, 1986, p. 136). As mentioned before, immigrant women often become dependent on their husbands. Any dependent relationship carries the danger of abuse, and the immigrant husband-wife relationship is no different (Canadian Task Force, 1988). In addition, strong ties between the members of an ethnic group tend to discourage women from obtaining new information necessary to their social mobility (Kuo & Tsai, 1986). Walker, MacBride, and Vachon (1977) stated that a dense network may act as a trap, forcing an individual to behave within a limited set of normative expectations and social contacts rather than encourage her to

expand her horizons. Thus, whereas a high dense network is associated with fast and ready assistance, a low dense network allows an individual to manoeuvre and grow (Wellman, 1981).

In addition to relatives and community networks, institutionalized support systems are sometimes set up to respond to the settlement needs of immigrant people. Nann (1982) discussed two outreach projects in the city of Vancouver. Those projects provided educational and social services, thereby strengthening the immigrant families and helping to alleviate the confusion and disorientation that frequently accompanies the uprooting experience. To what degree organized help is facilitative to the adjustment process may be a topic of debate. Some people believe strongly in its usefulness, others are more doubtful. South Asian immigrant women considered organized help, Canadian as well as South Asian, among the factors that were less helpful in the adjustment process. Only a small percentage (33.3%) of the women perceived the church, social services, and volunteer groups as helpful (Naidoo, 1985).

THE ROLE OF THE COUNSELLOR

In a country with such cultural diversity, Canadian counsellors are beginning to acknowledge the need for intercultural counselling. North American practitioners typically have been trained in a variety of counselling techniques which emphasize the individuality of the person often without considering a socio-cultural perspective. These ethnocentric approaches often bewilder and confuse the culturally different client. As a consequence, the client frequently fails to benefit from the counselling process and does not return for future appointments. Rather than attributing these failures to the clients, the counsellor may want to look at the appropriateness of the counselling process (Draguns, 1989). Immigrant women who come to therapy carry their own "particular internalized combination of externally determined and intra-psycho conflicts" (Espin, 1985, p. 169). Espin stressed the importance of distinguishing between the conflicts that have their origin in societal pressures and those conflicts arising from internal psychological sources. Conflicts originating from socialization processes are better understood in light of their social contexts and structures. The counsellor needs to translate these cultural characteristics into subjective goals of the client (Draguns, 1989).

In reviewing the literature on cross-cultural counselling, some factors important to the effectiveness of the counselling process become apparent. Sue (1981) proposed that cross-cultural counselling effectiveness will most likely improve when client and counsellor share the same world view. This would facilitate the counsellor's use of counselling processes and definitions of goals consistent with the client's life style. The cross-cultural

counsellor needs to develop a deep understanding of the client's culture and its heritage. An effective way of learning about a new ethnic group is by cultural immersion or prolonged contact with that community (Dean & Rosen, 1955). The counsellor also needs a good understanding of the socio-political system of the new homeland, especially of the role cultural racism plays in the development of identity and world views among minority groups (Sue, 1981).

In the course of the counsellor's exploration, he or she should become aware of the value discrepancies between him or herself and the client and eliminate the value judgements that often go hand in hand with the cultural differences (Sluzki, 1979). The counsellor should also be aware of nonverbal differences in communication; intonation of language, facial expression, and bodily postures give different messages in different cultures (Sue & Sue, 1977) and may lead to misunderstanding and confusion in the counselling process.

The client's value system is very much related to the client-counsellor relationship. Solomon (1983) observed that some immigrant clients prefer a counsellor who provides structure, gives advice, and is more authoritarian in the counselling role. Others prefer a more egalitarian approach with a reduction of inequality between the counsellor and client. A match between client's expectations and counsellor's behaviour in the counselling relation is a significant factor in the counsellor's credibility (Sue, 1981). The counsellor's credibility is an important precondition for trust and understanding between the client and the counsellor. A counsellor perceived as trustworthy should be informed, capable, and intelligent (Sue, 1981).

In helping immigrant women, the counsellor together with the client will explore all life options to expand the range of possibilities available to the client. As part of this process, the counsellor should communicate to the client that the migratory process is intrinsically stressful and that conflicts are not an unusual by-product (Sluzki, 1979). Sluzki also suggested that it may be helpful for a counsellor to explore how the client dealt with previous conflicts; this may become a guideline for the intervention process of present and future complaints. Although some cultures are present-oriented, the counsellor may have to add some future orientation and planning in the intervention program.

Most exploration takes place through verbal exchange between counsellor and client, but other approaches are available. Espin (1985) described some techniques relevant for Hispanic women with somatic complaints as a result of stress and anxiety. Examples would be progressive relaxation, use of imagery and fantasy, and Gestalt approaches. As Hispanic women tend to rely on other women to discuss their problems, Espin

suggested the development of women's groups as a form of therapy. As such groups develop, they may also become support groups for women who feel isolated in their new country. A similar approach has been suggested by Vega, Kolody, and Valle (1986) for Mexican immigrant women. Their findings showed that the maintenance of well-being is closely related to the presence of confidante support. As this support is not always accessible to immigrant women, the counsellor may have to become instrumental in providing links between the client and the community (Gottlieb, 1983).

In summary, if cross-cultural counsellors are to be effective in counselling immigrant women, they need to be aware of their own values and the values of their clients. They need to be flexible in the counselling process so that they will choose the therapeutic interventions that fit the client's particular situation.

CONCLUSION

The social, political, and economic Canadian policies, and the absence and presence of social support groups are important factors in immigrant women's efforts to adjust to a new homeland. Canadian policies appear to place immigrant women in a disadvantaged position as far as educational and employment opportunities are concerned. Women often are ghettoized in low-paying and low-status jobs, because of insufficient opportunities to improve language deficiencies and work skills, and lack of appropriate and affordable child-care facilities.

The existing socio-economic inequalities make it difficult for immigrant women to make a successful transition from one culture to another. In order to alleviate the stress and dissatisfaction, women in transition can profit from support in the form of relatives/friends, ethnic community, and institutionalized support networks. Strong social support serves to prevent demoralization by alleviating the negative effects of a stressor by directly promoting well-being. Yet, a dense network has been found to be detrimental to the growth of immigrant women. Women may be especially vulnerable to the negative consequences of a dense support network because of their often isolated position in the traditional family. Cross-cultural counsellors can play an important role in alleviating stress as a result of isolation. They may become instrumental in assisting immigrant women to create a balanced support network that allows for support as well as personal growth.

References

- Boyd, M. (1986). Immigrant women in Canada. In R.J. Simon & C.B. Brettel (Eds.), *International migration: The female experience* (pp. 46-61). New York: Rowman & Allanheld.

- Boyd, M. (1987). *Migrant women in Canada: Profiles and policies*. Ontario: Carleton University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology.
- Brand, D., & Sri Bhaggiyadatta, K. (1985). *Rivers have sources, trees have roots: Speaking of racism*. Toronto: Cross Cultural Communication Centre.
- Burnet, J. (1986). *Looking into my sister's eyes: An exploration in women's history*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Canadian Task Force. (1988). *After the door has opened: Mental health issues affecting immigrants and refugees in Canada*. Toronto: Author.
- Chan, K.B. (1987). Perceived social discrimination and responses: An analysis of perceptions of Chinese and Indo-Chinese community leaders. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 19(3), 126-147.
- Dean, J.T., & Rosen, A. (1955). *A manual of intergroup relations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Draguns, J.D. (1989). Dilemmas and choices in cross-cultural counseling: The universal versus the culturally distinct. In P.B. Pedersen, J.G. Draguns, W.J. Conner, & J.E. Trimble (Eds.), *Counseling across cultures* (pp. 3-21). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Duckworth, D. (1976). Human coping. In J. Adams, J. Hayes, & B. Hopson (Eds.), *Transitions: Understanding and managing personal change* (pp. 54-61). London: Martin Robertson.
- Espin, D.M. (1985). Psychotherapy with Hispanic women: Some considerations. In P. Pedersen (Ed.), *Handbook of cross-cultural counseling and therapy* (pp. 165-172). London, England: Greenwood Press.
- Gottlieb, B. (1983). *Social Support strategies: Guidelines for mental health practice*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Henry, F., & Ginzberg, E. (1985). *Who gets the work? A test on racial discrimination in employment*. Toronto: The Urban Alliance on Race relations and the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto.
- House, J.S. (1981). *Work, stress, and social support*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Hughes, D.R., & Kallen, E. (1974). *The anatomy of racism: Canadian dimensions*. Montreal: Harvest House.
- Kuo, W.H., & Tsai, Y. (1986). Social networking, hardiness, and immigrant's mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 27, 133-149.
- Lin, N., Ensel, W.M., Simeone, R.S., & Kuo, W. (1979). Social support, stressful life events, and illness: A model and empirical test. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 20, 108-119.
- McGoldrick, M. (1987). Ethnicity and family therapy: An overview. In M. McGoldrick, J. Pearce & J. Giordano (Eds.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (pp. 3-30). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Mercer, R.T., Nichols, A.G., & Doyle, D.C. (1989). *Transitions in a woman's life: Major life events in a developmental context*. New York: Springer.
- Miller, S.O. (1983). Practice in cross-cultural settings. In A. Rosenblatt & D. Waldfogel (Eds.), *Handbook of clinical social work* (pp. 490-517). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Naidoo, J.C. (1980). New perspectives on South Asian women in Canada. In N.A. Nyiri & T. Miljan (Eds.), *Unity in diversity: Proceedings of interdisciplinary seminars at Wilfred Laurier University* (Vol. 2, pp. 199-266). Waterloo: Waterloo Lutheran University Press.
- Naidoo, J.C. (1985). A portrait of South Asian Canadian women. In J. Singh (Ed.), *Sikh women's seminar* (pp. 2-28). Willowdale, Ontario: The Sikh Social and Educational Society.

- Naidoo, J.C. (1987). Women of South Asian origin: Status of research, problems, future issues. In M. Israel (Ed.), *The Southern Asian diaspora in Canada: Six essays* (pp. 37-58). Toronto: Multicultural History of Ontario.
- Naidoo, J.C. (1988). *Mental health issues affecting immigrants and refugees: Special needs groups*. Waterloo, Ontario: Waterloo Lutheran University Press.
- Naidoo, J.C. (1989). *Canada's response to racism: Visible minority in Ontario*. Waterloo, Ontario: Waterloo Lutheran University Press.
- Nann, B. (1982). Settlement programs for immigrant women and families. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettling of migrant families and children* (pp. 85-94). Dordrecht, Holland: Reidel.
- Nann, R.C., & To, L. (1982). Experience of Chinese immigrants in Canada: (A) Building an indigenous support system. In R.C. Nann (Ed.), *Uprooting and surviving: Adaptation and resettling of migrant families and children* (pp. 155-164). Dordrecht, Holland: Reidel.
- Paredes, M. (1987). Immigrant women and second-language education: A study of unequal access to linguistic resources. *Resources for Feminine Research*, 16(1), 23-27.
- Parson, K. (1983). I'm an immigrant woman. *Multiculturalism*, 6(4), 8-13.
- Seward, S.B., & McDade, K. (1987). *Immigrant women in Canada: A policy perspective*. Ottawa: The Institute for Research and Public Policy.
- Sluzki, C.E. (1979). Migration and family conflict. *Family Process*, 18, 381-390.
- Solomon, B.B. (1983). Value issues in working with minority clients. In A. Rosenblatt & D. Waldfogel (Eds.), *Handbook of clinical social work* (pp. 866-887). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sue, D.W. (1981). *Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice*. New York: Wiley.
- Sue, D.W., & Sue, D. (1977). Barriers to effective cross-cultural counseling. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 24, 420-429.
- Vega, W.A., & Kolody, B. (1985). The meaning of social support and the mediation of stress across cultures. In W.A. Vega & M. Miranda (Eds.), *Stress and Hispanic mental health*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Mental Health.
- Vega, W.A., Kolody, B., & Valle, J.R. (1986). The relationship of marital status, confidant support, and depression among Mexican immigrant women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 48, 597-605.
- Walker, K., MacBride, A., & Vachon, L.S. (1977). Social support networks and the crisis of bereavement. *Social Science and the Medicine*, 11, 35-41.
- Warren, C.E. (1986). *Vignettes of life: Experience and self-perception of new Canadian women*. Calgary, AB: Datselig.
- Wellman, R.S. (1981). Applying network analysis to the study of support. In B. Gottlieb (Ed.), *Social networks and social support* (pp. 171-200). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Woon, Y. (1986). Some adjustment aspects of Vietnamese and Sino-Vietnamese families in Victoria, Canada. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 27(3), 349-370.

About the authors

Dr. Sharon Robertson is an Associate Professor at the University of Calgary in the Department of Educational Psychology. Her specialization is in counselling and school psychology; teaching counselling theories.

Gerda Wittebrood is a graduate from the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Calgary. Her specialization is in counselling immigrant women's issues.