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On Becoming Women: Adolescent Female Muslim Refugees Negotiating Their Identities in the United States

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ON BECOMING WOMEN:
ADOLESCENT FEMALE MUSLIM REFUGEES
NEGOTIATING THEIR IDENTITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Abstract

On Becoming Women:
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The United States is becoming more diverse; numerous immigrants and refugees enter every year. Among the newer groups are those practicing the Muslim religion.

This qualitative research focused on the identity formation process of six adolescent female Muslim refugees from Afghanistan. Based on Erikson's paradigm of psycho-social development and Marcia's modifications to that theory, I used semi-structured interviews to understand how the participants negotiated their identities in the context of their families, the public school, and the community.

This cohort appeared to exist within a circumscribed Afghan community, retaining significant parts of their culture, traditions, and roles. The exception to that retention occurred in the Educational/Vocational Domain. Economic necessity impelled them to assume new roles and to plan for post-secondary education and vocations, for which they were inadequately prepared, and for which their parents could provide little guidance.

These young women needed assistance in educational and career planning and counseling programs to facilitate their entry into post-secondary education and to develop their job skills. It seems fair to generalize that this deficit exists for most foreign-born and limited-English students. Addressing this deficit is a daunting, but important, task for the educational system and for resettlement programs.

Chapter I: Introduction

Each thing in its time, in its place,
it would be nice to think the same about people.
Some people do. They sleep completely,
waking refreshed. Others live in two worlds,
the lost and remembered.
They sleep twice, once for the one who is gone,
once for themselves. They dream thickly,
dream double, they wake from a dream
into another one, they walk the short streets
calling out names, and then they answer.

From "Streets" in *Words Under the Words: Selected Poems*
by Naomi Shihab Nye

This dissertation is a report of a qualitative study of the identity formation process of six adolescent Afghan refugee females. It was undertaken to gain insight into the experiences of these young women engaging the public school system, their families and communities, and to ascertain how educational leaders and resettlement professionals might better assist these, and other refugee and immigrant youth, in the process of negotiating an adult identity in a new and very different culture. The study was based primarily upon the theory of psycho-social development of Erik Erikson and the empirical research testing Erikson's paradigm and modifications made to that paradigm by James Marcia. Marcia developed a semi-structured interview, beginning with research in 1966, 1970, 1976, and 1980. This interview was subsequently refined by Archer and Waterman (1993, p. 285-302).The purpose of the interview is to discover the

identity status of each participant. Additional background questions and other information sources were used in this study to help increase the understanding of each individual young woman. The first chapter of the dissertation presents a brief background of the term *refugee,* a story about an Afghan refugee female, the purpose and significance of the study, the research questions, the rationale for the research, and an overview of the methodology.

Background of the Study

Refugees are a special case of immigrants: they come to the United States not essentially voluntarily, not because they want, above all things, to live in the United States for economic gain, personal, political, religious freedom, or other attributes the society may offer. They come, in fact, because they have been forced to leave their homes by virtue of non-economic hardships, including war, genocide, or political or religious persecution. Their path to the United States is arduous. They must leave behind all that is familiar to them, including extended family, language, food, customs, values, and accepted practices to learn a new culture, a new language, and a completely new way of life. They have often been forced to live in exile in a neighboring country or in refugee camps for long periods of time before coming to the United States.

Most refugees arrive without much material wealth. Often all their personal possessions are packed in two suitcases. They arrive with a mandate from the U. S. State Department to attain self-sufficiency in the shortest time possible (Office of Refugee Services, 2003). Refugees are provided an adequately, but sparsely, furnished apartment, assistance in finding their first jobs, and help in enrolling their school-aged children in

school. Depending upon where they are relocated, because programs vary somewhat, the adults are given assistance for 3 months rent, basic medical attention, and often some temporary classes in cultural adjustment and English. Typically, adolescent youth are placed in school at their age-appropriate grade level, regardless of their educational background or English ability. Often they are placed in special English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) classes or sometimes they are provided tutors. The resettlement agency in the city where this research was conducted provided pre-enrollment classes to adolescents who were at least 16 years old to help them learn English, adapt to the culture and form a cohort as a support group, but that program had to be eliminated when the September 11 terrorist attacks nearly ended refugee resettlement. Resettlement was restarted in 2002, but at a rate and overall quantity much lower than before.

Adults are encouraged, but not required, by the resettlement agency to learn English. The local community college offers free English courses to refugees, but the other source of free English classes at the resettlement agency was recently denied continued funding by the State of Florida Office of Refugee Services and, therefore, that program was unfortunately terminated.

Adults must become employed to sustain the family, sometimes taking two or more jobs to do so. This leaves little time for English language classes, which are deemed by the refugees to be less important. The adolescents and younger children learn English more quickly than the adults and become the de facto "adults" in the family, translating and conducting family business with or for the adults. This creates a shift in the power relationships within the family because the adults must depend upon the children for many transactions and services.

Life, especially in the first few years, is not easy. Although refugees experience some euphoria in arriving in a safe haven, it is not long-lasting. The reality of their situation and their sometimes extreme economic difficulties often bring disillusionment, sadness at what they have lost, and longing for what is familiar. Generally refugees live at a very low economic level. Often their inability to function in English and their lack of formal education combine to keep them in low-paying jobs for the first few years or longer. These factors and sometimes larger family units can dictate that they live in low-income housing where their experience of American society is heavily weighted to Americans themselves of low economic status and low educational levels. The public housing sites are often areas of high crime, gang activity, drug culture, and danger.

Groups of refugees from a given country may form small sub-communities within these public housing groups that can function to support, to watch over, and sometimes to control its members, especially its adolescents.

Saira's Story

In a refugee resettlement agency in a middle-sized Florida city, one of the programs in the education department is a summer day camp for refugee children. The curriculum is similar to all day camps with arts and crafts, sports, games, and music. In addition this camp provides extra tutoring in English, cultural adjustment, and socialization—team building, conflict resolution, and self-discipline and esteem. The camp also provides swimming lessons. This camp is for children 8 to 14 years old, who are refugees from many countries, including the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Mauritania, Colombia, Cuba, Ukraine, and others. The resettlement agency

also hires summer help, a few junior counselors, from the pool of high-school-aged refugee youth to assist the regular staff in all camp activities and to provide interpretation and translation when it is needed.

One of the junior counselors two summers ago was a 17-year-old Muslim girl from Afghanistan; I will call her Saira. Saira lost her father when the Taliban—the Islamist ruling faction at that time—took him away in the middle of the night. Saira's mother understood that her husband would be killed and also understood that there was no way for a woman to support her children under the rules of the Taliban which did not allow women to work. Since she had no sons, Saira's mother and her two daughters would starve or have to eke out a living by begging. Under cover of night, Saira and her sister fled the country with their mother to live for several years in a refugee camp in Tajikistan. They arrived in the United States 2 or 3 years prior to this story. Saira attended the English classes and cultural adjustment classes at the resettlement agency and then was enrolled in the public high school at the beginning of the next full term. She learned English quickly and excelled in school, earning a state college scholarship. Saira had assumed more and more Western dress since she had arrived in the U.S. Her hair was cut in a pert bob and her demeanor was lively and pleasant, with a quick smile and hugs for the resettlement youth staff whenever she saw them.

She was an excellent junior counselor and enthusiastically joined in playing sports and games and was very good at them. The children were very fond of her, and she worked hard at her job which included joining in the swimming lessons at the pool. At first she was a bit shy about donning a regular bathing suit to go in the water to assist with swimming lessons. (Several of the female Muslim campers wear long sleeve shirts

and light weight long pants—similar to pajamas—in the pool.) But over the summer Saira had become more and more Westernized in her choice of bathing attire so that toward the end of camp, she was wearing a two-piece suit, not exactly a bikini, but a long way from her original swim wear.

On one of the last days of camp she brought her two-piece bathing suit to camp and was going to wear it swimming. It turned out, however, on that particular day the other summer program—a high school-aged group—had arranged to go to the same pool for a free swim. When Saira saw the older group, she opted to jump in the pool in her blue jeans and tee shirt. When she was asked why she had gone in the pool so attired, she replied that her contemporaries, especially the boys—other Muslims who live in her apartment complex and are a part of her community—would tell the other members of the community and their parents, and they would talk about her behavior among themselves. She was worried about the ostracism within her community.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to provide insight into the difficult journey in which these young women are engaged, the journey into a new and unfamiliar language and culture, the journey from child to adult, the journey into an unfamiliar educational system and into the world of work for which most have few role models. It is important for educational leaders and refugee resettlement professionals to better understand the lived experiences of the young refugees in their attempt to become educated and self-sufficient in their new environment.

The problem addressed in this study is the specific adolescent developmental task, creating an adult identity, of a group of young, foreign-born Afghan Muslim women. It is important to better understand how the young women comprehend and negotiate their identities—their plans for their future occupation and education, marriage and family, their ethnicity, religion, and gender—within the context of their families, their schools and their communities and neighborhoods. In short, I wanted to better understand the identity formation process of these adolescent refugee Afghan Muslim women, aged 15 to 19.

In order to create effective education and resettlement policies, programs, and curricula, it is necessary to better understand the needs and desires of particular groups of students. Self-sufficiency for the individual and family is the stated goal of all refugee resettlement programs, and it is, I believe, the underlying goal of education. Yet without a clear picture of how the individuals see themselves in relationship to their family, school and community, effective programming may elude us. We cannot know their goals or needs and cannot make policies that articulate with those goals and needs.

Conceptual framework. Adolescence is a period of major transitions: The individual changes physiologically from child to adult body form, in cognitive functions from concrete to formal operations (Piaget, 1952, 1960), in moral reasoning from conventional, dutiful, law-and-order reasoning toward post-conventional, principled reasoning (Kohlberg, 1981), and in psycho-social development through the "crisis" of moving from identity diffusion to identity achievement (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1965, 1968). These transitions coincide with society's expectations of the individual for which

rites of passage are often created, either formal or informal. In America the period of adolescence, or moratorium, has expanded over time for many young people through college to their first "real" job. Erikson (1963) refers to an extended period of time for adolescence as a socially sanctioned "institutionalized moratorium."

From identity formation theorists, beginning with Erik Erikson, it has come to be accepted that the process of individuation and identity formation is the primary psychological and maturational task of adolescents. Erikson (1950) identified eight stages of psycho-social development covering the human life span. Marcia (1994) noted that each of the eight stages of development is dependent upon three elements: the physical development with its concomitant changes in abilities and behaviors, the social context of the culture which creates demands and rewards associated with that stage of development, and finally the individual psychological development that interprets and gives meaning to the self. Erikson recognized identity formation as the fifth stage in his epigenesis of psycho-social development and the primary task of adolescents. Other theorists have suggested that this can be an on-going process and is not solely the provenance of adolescents. There is general agreement that the identity formation process for most people begins in adolescence. Although identity status researchers differ in their definition of identity, a certain commonality exists among those definitions.

> Identity refers to a coherent sense of one's meaning to oneself and to others within [a] social context. This sense of identity suggests an individual continuity with the past, a personally meaningful present, and a direction for the future.... [I]dentity is the expectable outcome of a particular developmental period. (Marcia, pp. 70-71)

Marcia empirically tested Erikson's psycho-social development theory and found in addition to Erikson's two statuses, "identity diffusion" and "identity achievement," two more statuses, "moratorium" and "foreclosure." Marcia (1975, 1976, 1980) and Schiedel and Marcia (1985) found that a person typically moves from "identity diffusion," that is having neither explored possibilities for one's future adult roles nor made any identity commitments, through an exploratory stage designated as "moratorium" into the committed stage of "identity achievement." The other possibility, and one that is more typical of traditional societies, is the movement from diffusion into foreclosure, which is a stage of commitment without prior exploration of alternatives.

The identity formation process is often complicated and difficult for youth who remain within the physical and cultural milieu of their origins, but how much more difficult is this task for refugee youth who are uprooted from the familiar homeland—usually because of war, genocide, or political and religious persecution—and have suffered great losses? Refugee adolescents feel a sense of loss and confusion when they leave the known—whether it is their home or a refugee camp—for the unknown country of the United States.

Research focus. The focus of this research was directed at identity formation among adolescent female refugees from the greater population of Muslim refugees, because of their occupation of the position that Simone de Beauvoir terms the "other" in their primary society as well as in American society. These adolescents are defined first by gender: "She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the

Subject, he is the Absolute - she is the 'Other' " (Beauvoir, 1953, p. xiv). Then they are defined in American society by their foreignness and frequently by their traditional Muslim dress.

The tasks of identity formation appear to be more complicated and difficult for refugee Muslim females than for males, being caught between their traditional background, family culture, community expectations, gender roles, and the stresses experienced in the contradictions between those and the American culture. Females are more marginalized; their plight is more difficult and often over-looked. Adolescent (and adult) Muslim males, whom I have observed, seldom wear clothing that sets them apart from Americans or from other foreign nationals. At least in public, they tend to adopt Western-style dress. Male youth may also have opportunities to excel at sports—such as soccer—that allow them some access to mainstream society. Traditional Muslim females rarely participate in American sports and often have required household duties of childcare, cooking, and cleaning that keep them focused more on the home than the outside world.

Exceptions to this observation from my experience are the refugee females of Muslim background from Bosnia-Herzegovina, an Eastern European country in the former Yugoslavia. Many of these high school girls excel at basketball and soccer. Their religious tradition is much less rigid and less well-defined since Yugoslavia was, for many years, a Communist country and during that time religion was deemphasized, as it has been in many Communist countries. Many who came to the United States as refugees were in "mixed" marriages, and few practiced a strict religious tradition—at least until the Yugoslavian civil war in the 1990's solidified and intensified group differences. I

have never observed a female from Bosnia-Herzegovina dressed in traditional Muslim clothing. Most—by appearance—could be taken for typical American teen-age girls.

The present study was focused on six Afghan Muslim refugee females who were between the ages of 15 and 19. They had all been in the United States less than five years, and attended the same ESOL Center high school. They were all capable of understanding and speaking English, although their reading and writing skills were not necessarily at the same level of competence. They had all been clients of the same resettlement agency. Their association with that agency and its staff facilitated my access to conducting interviews with them.

Rationale for Research

Why should one study Muslims in the United States at all? Consciousness of Muslims in the world and in the United States is growing daily. Once Muslims occupied just an alternative "other" in the world for most Americans, but not an other with which one needed to be particularly concerned. They mostly existed in another part of the world, the Middle East and Northern Africa. Their day-to-day existence did not generally concern Americans in an intimate way. But the world is changing. Those acknowledged phenomena of the "shrinking globe" and the "butterfly effect" are becoming more salient in our perceptions of world events: Events in another part of the world, we have learned, do affect our lives, sometimes profoundly.

Americans, as world citizens, need to better understand the Muslim other. An increased understanding and knowledge of the Muslim student can have immediate consequences to improve practice of educational leaders and resettlement professionals.

While in many areas of the country the Muslim student is still not a population that schools and other institutions need accommodate, in some parts of the country, there is a growing number of Muslims in the community and in the schools.

In order to provide appropriate programs and services to this growing community of Muslims, it is necessary to understand better their similarities and differences to other groups and their needs and difficulties in becoming successful residents and citizens of the United States. Therefore, this research project focused on understanding the lived experiences and self-perceptions of six young Afghan refugee women enrolled in public schools. The present study was needed to recognize how the school affected their lives, and, specifically, how the young women worked to form an identity in their family, school, and community.

Growing Muslim population in the United States. Because of conflicts and ethnic violence in the Middle East and Africa, economic struggles and other motivations for emigration, an ever-growing number of foreign-born Muslims make their homes in the United States. It is one of the fastest growing and perhaps, for some Americans, one of the most problematic, immigrant ethnic groups. Muslims are in the news daily in various parts of the world: Israel, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Saudi Arabia. There seems to be constant press coverage of suicide bombings, the attacks of September 11, the al Qaeda terrorist group, conflict between Palestinians and Israelis, and the suspicious regard for Muslim-looking people in the United States. It is small wonder that some Americans have little understanding of, and for some even less sympathy for, the Muslim people. It is evident from the media that many lack a general understanding of who these

people are and what their problems as refugees and immigrants resettled in the United States may be. Zine (2001) and others have referred to a current attitude in Canada—and it seems the term might apply equally to the United States—as Islamaphobia.

Islamaphobia. Many news items have provided examples of Islamaphobia. An Associated Press story in one Florida paper proclaimed in its headline: "Muslims increasingly targets of hate" (Shabazz, 2004). The article cited statistics from the Council on American-Islamic Relations, a Washington based Islamic civil rights group, which asserted that there were more than 1000 incidents of harassment or hate crimes directed against during 2003. Areej Zufari discussed her own experience in Central Florida. She had appeared on a local television news program and on Fox News to talk about hate crimes against Muslims, after recent beheadings of Americans in Iraq. Shortly thereafter, she herself was cornered in a convenience store by two men who were "spewing out a string of vulgarities and sexually inappropriate remarks" (Shabazz, p. B6).

Other incidents are reported frequently. A burning of a mosque in the Savannah-Chatham County, Georgia area in August 2003 was ruled to be arson (Larson, 2004). A story reported on CBS news on-line stated that in 2001 the FBI reported 481 hate crime incidents listed as anti-Islamic with a drop to 155 in 2002. This number is probably subject to under-reporting. In the same story, Ibrahim Hooper of the Council on American-Islamic Relations said, "There's an uneasy relationship between the Muslim community and law enforcement" (Larson, p. B3). Dalia Hashad of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) added, "Bringing yourself to the attention of the government if you are Arab or Muslim in this country puts you at risk of being questioned. You see

people less willing to trust the government. It's more your everyday, run-of-the-mill discrimination that Muslims are feeling" (Anderson).

Schools are having difficulty in understanding and accommodating Muslim cultural differences. The separation of church and state requires schools to achieve a delicate balance regarding students' religious practices. In November 2003 three separate stories appeared in a local newspaper about an allegation that about 20 Muslim children from a local middle school were removed from or not allowed to board their school bus one afternoon because of alleged disruptive behavior. Only the Muslim children were cited and disciplined. The issue was taken up by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Council on American-Islamic Relations and is now being investigated by the State Attorney's Office (Garza 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

In Muskogee, Oklahoma, a Muslim family filed a complaint against the public school district because their daughter had been suspended from school for refusing to remove her headscarf ("U.S. Defends," 2004, March 31). At the beginning of this school year, France has banned Muslims from wearing headscarves to public schools, as well as all other overt religious signs representing any religion. Charles Haynes (2004) stated, "Let's not forget that many Americans failed this test in the 19th century when the Protestant majority greeted waves of Catholic and Jewish immigration with widespread nativism and discrimination in school and elsewhere" (p. 2).

David Hodge (2004) discussed potential value conflicts between school officials and Muslim students. He outlined several areas of possible conflict including, dietary restrictions, peer pressure targeting dress, teachers' unwillingness to accept or support projects with an Islamic theme, and conflicts over sexual values including sex education

classes. Hodge suggested that "Social workers can serve as a bridge between Muslims and school officials to broker solutions that address the needs of all parties" (p. 12). One such conflict occurred in the local school two years ago. The story follows:

Ahmad's story. As the previous director of Education for Refugees at a resettlement agency, I was closely involved in the direction and support of the school liaisons. The school liaisons are employed by the refugee resettlement agency by means of a grant from the state Office of Refugee Services. Some of the school liaisons are themselves former refugees and some are Americans with various backgrounds in education and social work. Many speak other languages as well as English. They are stationed in several of the ESOL Center schools in the district and are mandated to advocate for and assist the refugee students and their parents and to facilitate communication between the school and the home. Their job is to solve problems, whatever the nature of those problems may be. They provide services to refugee students from many different countries of the world and from many different ethnic and religious groups, including the Muslim students in this study. After a certain early period of misgivings about the staff, the public schools came to value greatly the efforts of the school liaisons to help provide solutions to many problems arising between the schools and the students and parents.

The entry of Muslim students into public schools challenges those schools both to meet the complex educational needs of the refugee students and to cope with the cultural differences between the Muslim students and the larger mainstream student populations.

Differences in customs, values, and behaviors can cause significant misunderstandings and pain for students and new and complex problems for school personnel as well.

The experience of a young male African Muslim refugee, "Ahmad," provides an example of those challenges. Ahmad was apprehended in what appeared to be misconduct in the boys' restroom at a high school. He had accidentally let his trousers drag on the floor and was in the process of trying to clean them because he could not pray, as required by his Muslim religion, in soiled trousers. A school staff person discovered him and misunderstood—and the young man could not speak English well enough to explain—what he was doing. The student panicked and fled. The staff person called after him, but the young man kept fleeing in panic. He was eventually caught, taken to the dean's office, and suspended from school.

The young man and his mother were subsequently summoned to the dean's office to deal with Ahmad's insubordination. Ahmad brought the summons to the school liaison's attention. The mother and the student both were crying in the school meeting; their prior life experiences had taught them that such confrontations with authority preordained that they would have to leave the country. One of our agency's youth staff, a teacher who had taught Ahmad in an ESOL class, accompanied them to the meeting and intervened to explain to both parties—the school and Ahmad and his mother—what had transpired and what the school's expectations were.

Everyone concerned reassured the mother and son that they were welcome at the school and did not have to leave it or the country. This crisis was resolved with a better cultural understanding for both the school and the family. With more Muslim students

entering the schools, events reflecting cultural misunderstandings and conflicts can arise every day.

Significance of Research Project

The present study provides a better understanding of the lived experience of a particular group of young Muslim women refugees. The\is research contributes meaningful information to the knowledge base needed by educational leaders and refugee resettlement professionals interested in creating policy and implementing practices that facilitate success in school and in cultural adjustment. The data from this study can help break down stereotypes about Muslims and Muslim women in general and Afghan women in particular, by facilitating an understanding of the meanings these women have constructed about their world and their experience.

Very little research has addressed questions about Muslims living in the United States. This dissertation made inquiries into a population, adolescent Muslim females, that has been largely neglected in educational and social research, especially in the United States. This study also contributes to a growing body of knowledge regarding the lives of minority groups living within the United States. It helps expand the established knowledge base in minority studies of Black, Latino, and Asian studies to include Muslim groups. We cannot allow Muslim women (and men) to become an invisible minority in the United States.

From my experience working at the refugee resettlement agency, I have observed that many of the refugees' traditional female roles alter to a greater or lesser extent in the United States. Expectations about their roles they might have had in their home countries

and in traditional families may change significantly. This alteration of the traditional female role is almost surely necessitated, in part, by the fact of the economic condition of the family as refugees in the United States. It is almost imperative that every adult in a family be employed in order for the family to survive and to thrive in this country. It is, therefore, especially valuable to understand the complexity of the cultural adjustment and identity formation process for these young women. My concern and interest in the topic derived from my consideration of the obstacles faced daily by young Muslim women transplanted to the United States, because of their refugee status. For refugee women and girls, it is often necessary to take on what are for them non-traditional tasks; some adult females have never worked outside the home or learned to drive a car. But economic necessity and the requirements of self-sufficiency demanded by the rules and realities of resettlement create situations for the women and girls—and for the whole family—to which they are completely unaccustomed.

Until we achieve a better understanding of the cultural differences between the Muslim students, in all their diversity, and mainstream school personnel and student populations, cultural misunderstandings and conflicts will occur. Educational policy makers and leaders need (a) to understand the students' lived realities; (b) to confront the stereotypes; and (c) to address the issues and problems faced by Muslim students. The significance of this research, or as Marshall and Rossman (1995) characterized it, the "should do-ability," is located in its potential to influence policy and practice in the fields of education, counseling, and refugee resettlement. It is only through a more complete understanding of the Muslim student, and from this study, the female Muslim student, that professionals can make improvement to practices. Educational leaders and

resettlement professionals who can better understand this group may better meet their needs.

Finally, the instrument employed in the present study has not been widely used among the Muslim population. This research adds to the growing knowledge base employing Marcia's (1975, 1976, 1980, 1993, 1994) paradigm and the semi-structured interview as a vehicle for understanding the identity formation process among non-Western groups, especially among women from traditional societies.

Research Questions

This study focused on several research questions:

1. Current conceptions of identities: How do young refugee Muslim women—recently resettled in the United States—negotiate, create, and recreate their identities and gender roles in the context of their families, their schools, their peers and their communities? What is their sense of who they are? How do their family and religion shape their current identities? What influence does the school have upon their identities?
2. Reactions to their current milieu: How do these young women view and organize their world? What importance do they attribute to their families, peers, school, work, religion? What do they value most in their lives?
3. Plans for their futures: What future expectations do they have? How do they understand their present and future positions in society? How do they negotiate and construct possibilities for themselves? What importance do they give to education, vocation, marriage and family?

4. Current concerns: What are the problems faced by Muslim refugee high school females—in relationship to school, family and friends?
5. Similarities and differences: What are the differences and similarities in the experiences of the participants?
6. Conceptions of their gender roles: What is their growing understanding of their "womanness," given their ethnicity and their minority status in the United States?
7. Connections of their experience: How can these case studies inform us about our theoretical understandings of women's relationship to schooling and education?

Overview of Methodology

The present study utilized an instrument, a semi-structured interview, which was originally designed by James Marcia (1975) to test empirically Erik Erikson's theory of human psycho-social development. The stage of development examined was that of adolescence for which the major task is identity formation. The instrument used in the present study was developed by Marcia (1975, 1976, 1980) and Schiedel and Marcia (1985) and refined by Archer and Waterman (1993). The semi-structured interview has been used to study the identity formation process among many groups of adolescents, male and female, Western and non-Western. Questions pertain to three domains: Education/Vocation Plans, Family/Career Priorities, and Religious/Political Beliefs. For the present study additional background questions were added to help expand each participant's story beyond the scope of the adopted instrument. This led to a better understanding of the lived experience of each participant.

The heuristic value of this instrument is situated in its prior use with Western adolescent groups and the comparison of that norm with the group of young women in this study. The instrument has also been widely used with other groups of early and late adolescents, male and female, in Western and non-Western cultures, including cross-cultural studies. It has been used with such diverse groups as Maori and Pakeha boys in New Zealand, in the Israeli army and high schools, with managers in India, and in many other countries, among various ethnic groups, and for various purposes (Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer, and Orlofsky, 1993). It has not been previously used in the United States with foreign-born Muslim adolescent females.

The instrument, while limited in some ways that were unknowable before its employment, allowed for certain conclusions that might not have been evident in a less structured interview format. The interview instrument was useful in some respects and of less value in others. It allowed for comparisons among the participants and elicited conclusions about the developmental stages of the participants in relation to identity formation that might not have been immediately evident otherwise. The last chapter examines the strengths and weaknesses of the semi-structured interview format.

Each participant's responses were taped, transcribed, and evaluated using criteria that determined their identity status in each domain. One of four statuses in each domain was determined from the responses. Those statuses were: Identity Diffusion and Identity Achievement (which correspond to Erikson's theory (1950, 1963, 1965, 1968, 1974, 1980) of possible outcomes of the identity formation process); and Moratorium and Foreclosure (which correspond to two additional statuses formed by Marcia's theory). Finally each participant's story was enlarged by questions added to the interview, through

meetings with the parents, through interviews with their English teachers, and from other information such as school attendance and grade records.

In this chapter I have introduced the purpose of this dissertation; the rationale for doing the research; and the significance of the study to schools, teachers, educational leaders, and to refugee resettlement professionals. I have also introduced the questions for investigation and an overview of the methodology.

Chapter II presents a review of the literature in four areas: identity formation theory, the historical and political background on refugees, the research on Muslim female immigrants and refugees, and educational policy regarding refugees. Chapter III describes the methodology. The findings of the research are covered in chapter IV, and conclusions and implications for practice in chapter V.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This chapter includes a review of the literature in four primary areas: (a) identity formation theory, (b) a legal definition of and background information on refugees, (c) a review of research on Muslim female immigrants and refugees, and finally (d) a review of relevant literature on educational policy regarding refugees and immigrants.

Identity Formation Theory

> *Every man is like all other men, like some other men, and like no other man.*
>
> —Clyde Kluckhohn (1948, p. 35)

I want to clarify at the beginning how I am employing the term "identity" because of its highly politically charged connotation in post-structuralist, post-modernist theory in literature, and in post-colonial and cultural studies. I am not using the term in the manner of theorists in those fields, who address "identity politics." I use identity in this research project in the tradition of Erik Erikson and other psycho-social identity formation theorists. Ruthellen Josselson (1994) exemplified this definition when she described identity in this way:

> Working and loving, being and doing, narcissism and object relations, agency and communion, outer and inner, these are the fundamental dualities with which both philosophers and psychologists have wrestled. In my view, Erikson's concept of identity (1968) was a way of integrating these tasks, of transcending Cartesian polarities. Identity is the overarching synthesis of these dualities, bringing the individual to the social world and the social world to the individual in an indivisible wholeness. (p. 81-82)

The genealogy of identity formation theory, or ego identity theory, originated with Freud and psychoanalytic theory. Freud delineated five stages of affective development: oral, anal, phallic, latency, and genital. The first four of these stages roughly correspond to chronological ages of childhood, and the last stage encompasses adolescence to death. Freud made use of this developmental theory to help categorize and treat clinical cases having unresolved issues originating at one or more of these stages.

Piaget (1952, 1960), a cognitive development theorist, observed stages of human development and conceived a framework which he called "genetic epistemology." The stages corresponded to specific chronological ages: sensorimotor (birth-2 years), preoperations (2-6/7 years), concrete operations (6/7-11/12 years), and the final stage (12-15 years) of formal operations which involves abstract thinking.

As many others have recognized, Erik Erikson—a psychoanalytic theorist—adopted and adapted Freud's stages to codify his own theory of ego development. J.C. Gowan (1972) noted that Erikson expanded Freud's final (genital) stage into four separate stages, which roughly correspond to adolescence, early adulthood, later adulthood, and old age.

Erikson first wrote about identity formation in the early 1950s when he formulated his paradigm of psycho-social development, which he later labeled the "Epigenesis of Identity" (1968). Epigenesis is a concept Erikson borrowed from biology asserting that "the individual is developed by structural elaboration of the unstructured egg rather than by a simple enlargement of a preformed entity" (Webster's II: New Riverside University Dictionary, 1984). Erikson used this analogous theory to inform his own theory of stage-development to an ever-increasing complexity of ego identity. Erikson proposed that identity formation was the fifth of eight stages of psycho-social development and the primary task of adolescence (Erikson, 1950, 1963, 1965, 1968). Erikson (1968) described the ego development process in terms of:

> laws of inner development, laws which create a succession of potentialities for significant interaction with those persons who tend and respond to him and those institutions which are ready for him.... Personality, therefore, can be said to develop according to the steps predetermined in the human organism's readiness to be driven toward, to be aware of, and to interact with the widening radius of significant individuals and institutions. (p. 93)

The "readiness" that Erikson referred to is generally understood to be a chronological progression in which each sequential stage is dependent upon the more or less successful resolution of the tasks of the previous stages. However, each stage still incorporates within it the dilemmas of the previous stages, interacting with an ever expanding contextual radius.

In Erikson's schema (see Figure 1), one either is successful in identity formation or one becomes lost in identity diffusion and confusion. Erikson referred to "the identity

crisis as the psychosocial aspect of adolescing" and as "a necessary turning point, a crucial moment, when development must move one way or another, marshaling resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation" (1968, p. 16). Adolescence, stage five, which is the stage this study addressed, recapitulates, albeit with content more relevant to adolescence, all the prior stages. Erikson's recognition of this fact is evidenced by the column underneath the stage five cell in Figure 1.

Erikson recognized the identity formation process, a mostly unconscious process, as one of observation and reflection by which an adolescent judges "himself" in relation to others and to relevant typologies, roles, and role models. (At this stage Erikson had paid little heed to the "herself" in this process, although he later wrote about how this process differed for females.) Identity formation is a process of increasing differentiation and separation from the family in order to make the transition into adulthood. Peter Blos (1962), also in the field of psychoanalysis, emphasized that the adolescent's process of identity formation necessitates an increasing emotional disengagement from and conflict and tension with his/her parents.

VIII Old age								Integrity vs. Despair
VII Adulthood							Generativity vs. Stagnation	
VI Young adulthood						Intimacy vs. Isolation		
V Adolescence					**Identity vs. Identity Confusion**			
IV School age				Industry vs. Inferiority	**Task Identification vs. Sense of Futility**			
III Play age			Initiative vs. Guilt		**Anticipation of Roles vs. Role Inhibition**			
II Early childhood		Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt			**Will to Be Oneself vs. Self-Doubt**			
I Infancy	Trust vs. Mistrust				**Mental Recognition vs. Autistic Isolation**			
Stages	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Figure 1. The epigenetic chart of ego-developing crises over the life cycle (Erikson, 1968, p. 94).

Largely through the observations and writings of Erikson and subsequent theorists in identity formation, it has become accepted that the main task of adolescents is to begin the process of becoming the individuals they will be as adults, to address the normative crisis, in Erikson's terms, of "Identity vs. Identity Confusion." The ultimate task of the adolescent—if successfully completed—is to develop a healthy personality as an adult. Erikson quoted Marie Jahoda's definition of a healthy personality as one which "*actively masters* his environment, shows a certain *unity of personality,* and is able to *perceive* the world and himself *correctly*"[italics in original] (Erikson, 1968, p. 92).

Erikson understood the growth of the individual ego identity as a movement along a developmental path. Each progressive temporary disequilibrium provides the favorable conditions for a further integration and autonomy of the individual, broadening the social radius "beginning with the dim image of mother" (Erikson, 1980, p.59) and ending with the abstract notion of humankind.

Erikson recognized that one could return to the stage of identity formation at other times in one's life, particularly stressful times. Erickson (19680 recalled that the term 'identity crisis' was first used for a specific clinical purpose in Mt. Zion Veterans' Rehabilitation Clinic during the Second World War with patients whom he and his colleagues characterized as,

> neither being 'shellshocked' nor ... malingerers, but had through the exigencies of war lost a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity. They were impaired in that central control over themselves for which, in the psychoanalytic scheme, only the 'inner agency' of the ego could be held responsible. Therefore, I spoke of a loss of 'ego identity' ... then, the term 'identity confusion.' (p. 17)

Today many are working in the area of identity formation, representing fields as diverse as literature, psychology, sociology, post-colonial theory, cultural studies, and education. Although each field may define identity for its own particular uses, a certain commonality exists among the definitions. Raissiguier (1994), whose research focuses on Arab and French working class females in a vocational school in Paris, provided a particularly germane definition of identity as the "product of an individual or a group of individuals' interpretation and reconstruction of her/their personal history and particular social location, as mediated through the cultural and discursive context to which they have access" (p.26).

Using Erikson's model as a basis for systematic empirical investigations into the process of identity formation, James Marcia "developed the identity status paradigm as a 'methodological device' used to operationally define and empirically investigate Erik Erikson's (1968) construct of identity" (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999, p. 558). Marcia (1975, 1976; and Schiedel and Marcia, 1985) also developed the Identity Status Interview. After face-to-face interviews, Marcia assigned subjects to one of four statuses based on two variables, exploration and commitment, which Marcia considered the operational definitions of Erikson's alternative outcomes, "identity achievement" and "identity confusion."

> Exploration refers to the extent to which an individual has genuinely looked at and experimented with alternative directions and beliefs .... Commitment refers to the choice of one among several alterative paths ... [and is] one that the individual, at least at the time of the interview, would abandon only with great reluctance. (Marcia, 1994, p.73)

While Erikson saw identity formation as a mainly divergent process, of achievement or confusion, Marcia saw the process as having a more complex set of resolutions, or phases, as illustrated in Figure 2. Marcia understood the identity formation process to begin in the diffusion stage, the same as Erikson described the process, but Marcia proposed an intermediate step, moratorium, in which an adolescent explored possibilities, and finally moved into identity achievement as the final stage. Alternatively, Marcia noted some individuals, particularly in traditional societies, accept the identity that is ascribed to them by their family and culture, and move from diffusion into foreclosure without passing through an exploratory period.

Commitment	**Exploration**	
	Low	High
Low	*Identity Diffusion:* Least developmentally advanced: Low Exploration Low Commitment	*Moratorium:* Exploring options: High Exploration Low Commitment
High	*Foreclosure:* Traditional: Low Exploration High Commitment	*Identity Achievement:* Autonomous resolution: High Exploration High Commitment

Figure 2. Marcia's Identity Statuses (adapted from Patterson, Sochting, & Marcia, 1992, p.12.)

The individual least involved in exploring his/her identity and least committed to the status quo was assigned the status of identity diffusion and one who had participated in the exploration of his/her identity and then had become committed to certain values

and goals at that time, was assigned the status of identity achievement. These two ego identity statuses correspond to the two alternative outcomes of the task of adolescence in Erikson's theory. Marcia formulated two other possible statuses, one exhibiting commitment without exploration and the other exploration without—perhaps, yet—reaching commitment.

The four identity statuses are as follows:

1. *Identity Diffusion* is normally the beginning stage and the least developmentally advanced, with no commitment to an internally consistent set of values and goals and little interest in exploration thereof. "People in identity diffusion tend to follow the path of least resistance, and may present as having a carefree, cosmopolitan lifestyle, and/or as being empty and dissatisfied" (Patterson, Sochting, & Marcia, 1992, p. 11).
2. *Identity Foreclosure* is characterized by a high commitment to a set of values and goals, but is often a received, or ascribed, identity, as opposed to an achieved identity. This identity status is typical of traditional societies in which one normally follows the same life script as one's parents. However, for some individuals, identity foreclosure may precede identity exploration.
3. *Moratorium* "is arguably considered a stage, rather than a resolution, of the identity formation process, although some people apparently remain in moratorium over many years" (Patterson, et al., 1992, p. 12). People may return to this stage at critical points of change in their life. This is the stage that Erikson called "identity crisis," although it is not always experienced as a crisis as suggested by the most extreme connotation of that word.

4. *Identity Achievement* "represents an autonomous resolution of identity, incorporating a set of commitments adopted during a period of exploration (moratorium)" (Patterson, et al., 1992, p. 12).

Today Marcia's paradigm has become widely employed and accepted as part of the theory of identity formation. Marcia began his attempts to empiricize Erikson's theory by researching college males, but later expanded the research to include females. Sally Archer has been especially instrumental in trying to understand how Marcia's model fits females. Research (Archer, 1989a, 1989b; Matteson, 1993; Meeus, Iedema, & Vollebergh, 1999; Waterman, 1993) with American and other Western females has found no differences with respect to vocational choice, religious beliefs, and political ideology. However, the development of identity appears to be a more complex process for females than males because they are attempting to negotiate several aspects of their identity at once, including the relational, or intimacy, aspects of identity. Intimacy is the phase succeeding identity formation in Erikson's paradigm, and females often seem to work on both intimacy and identity simultaneously, while males tend to work out their societal identity—education and career—before their relational identities.

Using Marcia's model as a basis for this inquiry, it was my intention in the present study to better understand where and how the participants—adolescent Muslim females who have come to the United States as refugees—fit into the process of identity formation. Identity formation is a universal phenomenon. Although the manifestations and outcomes may differ from culture to culture, all humans pass from childhood to adulthood, and most arrive at an identity. How that process evolves for individual Muslim female adolescents is of interest to me and has implications for resettlement and

educational policy and practice. Practitioners may need to adjust existing programs or create new ones to assist this population in achieving academic success, in attaining self-sufficiency, in coping with change, in adjusting to life in the United States, or in finding solutions to various other problems.

Background on Refugees

> *One of the basic problems facing exiles lies precisely in how to resolve the acute tension between being uprooted, of which they are victims, and the need to put down new roots, which can only be within certain limits. If you put down roots too deeply in your new environment, then you run the risk of denying your origins. But if you put down no roots at all in your new environment, then you run the risk of being annihilated in a nostalgia which it will be difficult to free yourself from.* (Paolo Freire, 1998, p. 190)

The term *refugee* denotes a legal immigration status, recognized by the United States government, and defined by Article 1 of the United Nations' *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* as "a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution" (United Nations High Commission on Refugees [UNHCR], 1951).

Delegates from 26 countries, under the auspices of the United Nations, met in Geneva in December 1950 to face the problem of hundreds of thousands of "displaced

persons" still wandering aimlessly across Europe residing in makeshift camps. They had been made homeless by the events that led up to and included World War II.

"The international community had, on several occasions earlier in the century, established refugee organizations and approved refugee conventions, but legal protection and assistance remained rudimentary" (UNHCR, 1951). By July 1951, the gathered body of nations had written the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and Stateless.* "It was adopted on 28 July 1951 by the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons convened under General Assembly resolution 429 (V) of 14 December 1950 *entry into force* 22 April 1954, in accordance with article 43" (UNHCR, 1951).

Currently, the UNHCR (2004) estimates that there more than 17 million "persons of concern" (see Table 1). These are people who are living either outside or inside their own country in refugee camps or are at risk because of persecution, civil wars, torture, or other imminent danger and who fall under the commission's mandate.

Table 1. Estimated Number of Persons of Concern under the Mandate of UNHCR—End of 2003

Africa	4,285,100
Asia	6,187,800
Europe	4,268,000
Latin American & Caribbean	1,316,400
Northern America	962,000
Oceania	74,100
Total	**17,093,400**

To become a refugee resettled in the United States, after being designated to have refugee status by the UNHCR, candidates are interviewed by agents from what used to be

known as the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), but is now called Customs and Border Protection (CBP), a part of the Department of Homeland Security. After being accepted into the refugee resettlement program by that agency, the person or family is referred to an international voluntary agency (VOLAG) for processing. Many such VOLAGs--Catholic Charities, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services, International Rescue Committee, Episcopal Migration Ministries, Church World Services, World Relief, and others—contract with the U. S. State Department to process refugees in the countries of first exile, in established refugee camps, or in stations established in neighboring countries. These VOLAGs, in turn, contract with local resettlement agencies, which actually accept and assist the newly arriving refugees in the United States. Over the past 7 years, more than 5,000 refugees were resettled directly in the metropolitan area where the present study was conducted (Florida Department of Children and Families, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004). As previously noted, the number of refugees diminished greatly after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Until that time, the number resettled per year in this district hovered at about 1,000. After the attacks, resettlement was immediately terminated. People who had scheduled flights, had sold their personal goods, and were packed and waiting to come to the U.S. were left stranded, some in refugee camps. Nearly all refugees resettled locally, whether by this agency or another, are provided services by the agency with which I was associated.

In addition to those directly resettled in this particular metropolitan area, many others migrated from other parts of the United States to rejoin family and friends, to access a better job market, and to enjoy the climate of the region similar for some to the

region from which they came. It is difficult to estimate exactly how many refugees resided within the district at the time of the study, but the 2000 census indicates that there were almost 46,000 foreign-born people in the county, originating from well over 100 different countries.

Refugees differ from immigrants in many ways, including the reasons for which they have come to the United States and the expectations of the government for self-sufficiency when they arrive. Immigrants, generally speaking, come to the U.S. because of a desire to live here, for economic advantage, for a better life, or to rejoin family. They must promise to be immediately self-sufficient, or have a sponsor who will guarantee their immediate self-sufficiency, and promise not to accept any type of government assistance for the first 5 years of residence within the country. Refugees, by contrast, cannot go home to their country of origin because of their fear of persecution, torture, or death. They do not necessarily desire to live in the United States, but most are very grateful for a safe home and the care that is given to refugees. They come to the U.S. with some immediate benefits, including assistance in resettling (which means an apartment with basic furnishings with rent paid for 3 months), and often other assistance such as employment services and educational services. Refugees must repay the loan given to them by the VOLAG for air-fare for themselves and their family to the United States. Other assistance is terminated if payments are not forthcoming. Self-sufficiency in as short a time as possible is the stated goal of the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), part of the U.S. State Department, and its representative, Office of Refugee Services (ORS) in the Department of Children and Families, State of Florida. Refugees, in comparison to immigrants, get more public assistance in attaining that self-sufficiency.

The United States is one of a very few Western countries (Canada, United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, New Zealand, Finland, Denmark, Netherlands, and Ireland) that accept refugees from nearly all parts of the world, although at any given time the U.S. does not accept refugees from certain countries. Those countries designated "non-acceptable" change as international political relations change. In 2002, even with the number of refugees much diminished, the United States received more than all the other Western countries combined. Receiving refugees has been a long tradition (an admirable one, from my point of view) in the United States. That tradition is well symbolized by the words of *The New Colossus* by Emma Lazarus, inscribed at the base of the Statue of Liberty,

> Give me your tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

Review of Research on Muslim Female Immigrants and Refugees

Raissiguier's qualitative study (1994) of the lived experiences of working class girls of Algerian and French descent in the French school system, specifically in a Parisian vocational school, contributed a perspective founded on theory regarding the construction of ethnic female identity. Her comprehensive study provided a historical and sociological examination of the French school system and how it perpetuates socio-economic class differences, as well as how the young women studied functioned in the public and private spheres of school and home to create their personal identities.

Little research has been done on the topic of identity formation among diasporic Muslim women and adolescents. Most of the research has originated in Great Britain or Canada. Only a few such studies have begun to appear in American journals and books. Muslims represent nationalities that are more recently settled in the United States, although those populations are growing, particularly in urban areas. The greater Detroit area, in particular, has experienced a quickly growing Muslim community.

Several studies (Abbas, 2002; Ahmad, 2001; Ajrouch, 1997; Husain & O'Brien, 1998; Khan 1997, 1998, 2000) discussed how Muslim women negotiate their "otherness." That otherness variously includes their ethnic, race, gender, religious, and linguistic differences; family structures; cultures; and role expectations. Most of these studies have focused on the condition of living in two worlds, attempting to straddle two cultures, or some variation on that theme. All but a very few have used qualitative, interview methods, and many take a post-modernist theoretical stance. None of them have used Marcia's model for identity formation or the concomitant semi-structured interview.

Ajrouch (1997) studied identity formation in adolescents, male and female. Her research focused on second-generation adolescent Muslims and their parents of Lebanese descent in Dearborn, Michigan, where resides a large population of Arab Americans. Ajrouch found that,

> Parents and adolescents regard the cultural mores of America as consisting of freedom, opportunity, and education. They describe the Arab cultural mores in their discussions of family, religion, and respect. Freedom is seen as the dimension of American culture which clashes with the traditional Arab value of

> respect.... The tension between respect and freedom affects family interactions and therefore is a principal site of identity negotiation. (p. 245)

Ajrouch studied ethnic identity formation. She found differences in identity between male adolescents who saw themselves as having more opportunities than their parents for education, work choices, and the delaying of marriage and family responsibilities. Marcia classified this as an extended moratorium phase, similar to American adolescents. Females, however, although seeing themselves, too, as having more opportunities, feel restricted by parentally imposed dating patterns, dress codes, and public behaviors. Ajrouch stated, "The girls' behavior is not only scrutinized by the family, but also by the community which pressures the brothers into assuming [the] responsibility [for monitoring their sister's behavior]" (1997, p. 250). In a later article discussing this same ethnic group, Ajrouch (2000) described a process of selective acculturation of adolescence in which the adolescents pick and choose aspects of the dominant culture.

Abbas and Ahmad, both working in England, researched the identity formation of Muslim women in higher education. Tahir Abbas (2002) conducted a retrospective quantitative study of Muslim college students, male and female, aged 16 to 19 in Birmingham, England, and found that Muslim students had developed mixed educational identities that combined home-life and mainstream culture elements that allowed them to make the transition into higher education. Fauzia Ahmad (2001) also studied Muslim women in British higher education and found, through interviews, that their motivations for entering college were to gain and maintain social prestige, independence, and personal satisfaction. These women were, in fact, encouraged to enter higher education

by their parents. Ahmad also found that female Muslim students had to continually negotiate and renegotiate their cultural, religious, and personal identities. Both Abbas and Ahmad noted the difficulty of living in two different cultures with differing expectations. Louise Archer's analysis (2002) found that perceptions of post-age-16 choices for British Muslim males and females were bound up with the production and reproduction of identities and inequalities, both gender-bound and racial. Females saw their own "post-16" options as being wider than males perceived them to be for females.

Other researchers have looked at the difficulties for Muslim women leading bifurcated or dualist lives. Husain and O'Brien (1998), sociologists also working in Great Britain, noted that the maintenance of faith, family, and community is a constant challenge for Pakistani Muslim families living in a highly secular and individualistic society. The researchers noted that women's roles in the family have shifted by their entering into the workforce. This and other challenges have, in turn, shaped a renewed interest in religion and focus on the family.

While most of the previous researchers characterized the dilemma of Muslims living in a secular and individualistic society as being one of negotiating two worlds, or a bifurcated identity, Shahnaz Khan (1997, 1998, 2000), also working in Canada, viewed the situation of the Muslim woman somewhat differently, describing a dialectic between the essentialized image of *Muslim woman* as seen from the position of the mainstream culture and the lived experience of the actual women. Khan drew upon the writings of Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak and others in discussing the "Orientalist" and "Islamist" discourses on the Muslim woman which leads to stereotyping and reductionism of the complexities and differences among individuals. "For each of the women interviewed,

being a Muslim meant a different reality, both in terms of their understanding of Islam and in the daily practices of their lives" (2000, p. 20).

Khan was interested in the way Muslim women enter the political sphere to position themselves "to demand changes in lack of education, violence, poverty, and lack of employment opportunities" (p. 20). She described this as negotiating a "third space"—not the essentialized Western view and not the traditional life experience they have left behind. Khan credited Homi Bhabha with identifying this "third space." Khan stated, "Women's hybridized identity then becomes a grounding space, not a final space. In this space identity is always in the process of formation. And in this third space identity is always constructed through ambivalence and splitting—between self and other" (2000, p. 130). This process of always being in the process of identity formation, Marcia would label as a state of continuing moratorium.

One research article, with a rather different but somewhat provocative focus, was entitled "To Veil or Not to Veil? A Case Study of Identity Negotiations Among Muslim Women in Austin, Texas" (Read and Bartkowski, 2000). They found "women who veil are not typically disdainful toward their unveiled Muslim sisters, and unveiled women in our sample seem similarly reluctant to impugn their veiled counterparts. Such findings were unanticipated in light of elite Muslim debates about the propriety of veiling" (p. 416). The researchers concluded that "It is these women, rather than the often combative elite voices within Islamic circles, who creatively build bridges across the contested cultural terrain of veiling" (p. 412). This, at a more practical level, seems to reinforce the more political and philosophical conclusion of Khan (2000) above.

Read and Bartkowski's report also seems, from the somewhat disparaging remarks about "elite Muslim debates," to indicate that it is not only the Western cultural actor who may essentialize and judge Muslim women. Yet nearly all the above researchers agreed that Muslim women are among the most stereotyped groups in the Western culture. Muslim women come from many countries in East Asia, Africa, India, and the Far East, and are certainly not a uniform group in their racial background, their practices of their religion, their education, their class, or their world views. Their backgrounds differ, but each woman must negotiate for herself, and in her own way, her identity.

A number of researchers have looked directly at Muslim adolescents enrolled in public schools. Tehmina Basit, working in England, where there has been a larger population of Muslim women for a longer period of time, has been publishing work on British Asian Muslim adolescent females. Basit (1996) found that these women possessed

> phenomenal aspirations to upward social mobility through the route of education and careers. However, career aspirations are contingent on religious and cultural values too. Thus while the chosen job has to be of a high socio-economic status, it should be respectable and not involve them in un-Islamic activities. (p. 239)

In another article, Basit (1997) concluded that young Muslim women receive ambiguous messages about freedom from home and school. They feel ambivalence about various features of their Asian and British ethnicities, adopting and rejecting various aspects from both. Basit found that most of the young women desire more freedom than is allowed by their parents, but eschew what they see as too much freedom that British girls are allowed. Basit observed,

> ...the main objective of the [Muslim] parents seems to be to enculture the girls to become effective members of British society, without losing their Islamic religion. Thus, these parents are helping their daughters to construct a British Muslim identity by means of a subtle combination of freedom and control. (p. 435)

Basit also observed that "while teachers are not racist, a misinterpretation of religio-cultural values is not uncommon" (1997, p. 436). The teachers tended to form stereotypical impressions about the young women's desire for more freedom that, in fact, did not reflect their true feelings. Basit cautioned against stereotyping Muslim females and suggested that "more contact and dialogue between the ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups is crucial" (1997, p. 438).

In North America, research has followed similar lines of inquiry. In a qualitative study of three adolescent Muslim females, born and raised in the United States, Sawar Sharif and Yasmin Nighat (1997) found that the young women led bifurcated lives characterized by feelings of being marginalized by their otherness. This research, influenced by a postmodern perspective, concluded that schools needed to include a plan for expanding multicultural understanding and appreciation. Popular culture representations of Muslims, as well as patriarchy in the home, tended to reify their identities as "other." Each of the young women assumed different identities at home and at school. One of the major conclusions of Sharif and Nighat's study is that it is necessary for schools to employ a multicultural education philosophy and to play a central role in assisting marginalized youth to cross identity borders, affirm their voices, and live multifaceted lives.

Jasmin Zine (2001) conducted an ethnographic analysis of the experiences of seven Muslim youth in Toronto public schools and three parents who are consciously committed to maintaining their religious identity. They developed strategies using religiosity as an anchor to face the challenges of displacement, "Islamaphobia," peer pressure, and racism. Zine concluded that,

> [R]eligious identification and the coalescence of Muslim students within schools served to anchor their sense of identity and provided a framework for resisting social pressures that threatened to rupture their distinct lifestyles. The interplay between the strategies of social interaction and social distance, as well as students' negotiations of ambivalence and role performance for these students, helped to reinforce boundaries of religious identification. These various strategies were used by Muslim students to avoid assimilation and maintain their religious identities as sites of spiritual praxis as well as resistance. (p. 421)

Only Jean S. Phinney at California State University and several associates have adopted Marcia's paradigm to investigate specifically ethnic identity formation. These studies did not include Muslim students, but are relevant for both the methods employed and for the findings on the process of identity formation in minority groups. In a 1989 study of Asian-American, Black, Hispanic and White subjects, tenth graders aged 15 to 17, Phinney found that among minorities, one-half had not explored their ethnic identity (Marcia's diffusion/foreclosure stage); one-quarter were involved in exploration (moratorium); and one-quarter were committed to an ethnic identity (achievement).

In a 1988 study, Phinney and Tarver found in interviews with Black and White middle-class eighth graders that Black females were particularly involved in an ethnic identity search.

In other studies on ethnic identity, Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001) found that indigenous language proficiency and in-group peer interaction were predictors of stronger ethnic identity. In a 1999 study, Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, and Romero found that the process of exploration of one's own ethnic identity, as well as those of other ethnicities, leads to a positive ethnic identity and to insight into the meaning of ethnicity in a diverse culture. The researchers also found that "ethnic identity is positively related to measures of psychological well-being such as coping ability, mastery, self-esteem and optimism, and negatively to measures of loneliness and depression" (p. 301).

The present study follows in the tradition of many of the above inquiries in its qualitative research methods. Many previous studies focused on women, not adolescents, or on male and female participants. Only Phinney and her associates, however, were working in the tradition of Erikson and Marcia; most were working in a postmodernist, multicultural tradition, examining ethnic identity and/or religious identity. It is of particular interest to understand how the normal developmental process of adolescent identity formation intersects with the experience of being uprooted and displaced to a very different religious and ethnic culture. The heuristic value of Marcia's paradigm and the semi-structured interview is to provide a different lens to view many of the same issues explored in the above studies. Do the young women simply assume a role ascribed or assigned to them by their parents, their community, and their religion, or do they

embark on a search for their individual identity? Are they torn by two cultures? Findings of the present study and implications thereof are discussed in chapters IV and V. In the next section of this chapter, I examine some of the educational policies addressing ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) instruction and LEP (Limited English Proficient) students. Most of those policies address only the acquisition of English language skills.

Educational Policies Regarding Refugees

In an attempt to find literature on educational policy addressing refugees, I discovered that little is available. The preponderance of the literature addresses English language acquisition. Most educational policy publications have been produced in Great Britain, Australia, and Sweden. Still those publications primarily focus on language acquisition, adjustment, acculturation, and dealing with grief and loss. Little has been written on educational and vocational planning, counseling, and instruction. Virtually nothing has been produced in the United States. An Australian study found that provisions for career education were unsatisfactory for all students, but were especially deficient for those born overseas (Davis, 1986).

In a book entitled, *Educational Interventions for Refugee Children,* Hamilton and Moore (2004) mentioned career and vocational services only once, listing the topic along with other services needed by refugees, including medical, housing, and educational services. No further explanation or expansion on those vocational services was included. In *Best Practices for Social Work with Refugees,* Potocky-Tripodi (2002) provided a section on "Enhancing Human Capital" in which she called for job search assistance, job

coaching, mentoring, self-employment assistance, vocational education, career counseling, and recertification assistance. (pp. 404-407) This section focused on the adult refugee population with no stipulations for adolescents or acknowledgement of differences presented by females, especially females from Muslim or other traditional cultures. Potocky-Tripodi noted in the section on "Academic Achievement of Children" that "children of immigrants are ambitious. Two-thirds aspire to advanced degrees and one-fourth would be dissatisfied with less than a college degree" (p. 231). Still, nowhere in her best practices did she call for the schools to provide educational or vocational planning or counseling for refugee or immigrant children or adolescents.

Language acquisition is the main focus of the literature on educational policy. Most everything else, including educational and career counseling, is addressed as an "equal access" issue. In the location where the present study was conducted, the LEP Plan does not address the issue of educational and career counseling. The *School Administrators' Guide to the ESL Standards* (Buchanan, 2001), published by Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), Inc., addresses only three student goals: a) to use English to communicate in social settings, b) to use English to achieve academically in all content areas, and c) to use English in socially and culturally appropriate ways. It does not have as a goal to use English in a work-place setting, for resume preparation, for job applications, or for seeking post-secondary education admission.

The issue of equal access to educational services is directly affected by the landmark lawsuit of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC); Aspira of Florida; The Farmworkers' Association of Central Florida; Florida State Conference of

NAACP Branches; Haitian Refugee Center; Spanish American League Against Discrimination (SALAD); American Hispanic Educators Association of Dade (AHEAD); and Haitian Educators' Association; Carolina M.; Claudia M.; Delia M.; Lydie L.; Sammy L.; Seth L.; and Juan Carlos G. (Plaintiffs) vs. Florida Board of Education and Florida Department of Education; Honorable Bob Martinez, Governor, Chairman of the State Board of Education; Jim Smith, Secretary of State; Bob Butterworth, Attorney General; Tom Gallagher, Treasurer and Insurance Commissioner; Gerald A. Lewis, Controller; Doyle E. Conner, Commissioner of Agriculture; and Betty Castor, Commissioner of Education, Executive Officer and Secretary of the Board of Education (Defendants).

This case is commonly referred to as LULAC vs. Board of Education (1990). The case set a precedent "regarding children's rights to equal education opportunities." It further stipulated that "All students with limited English proficiency (L.E.P.) must be appropriately identified in order to ensure the provision of appropriate services" (Section I., A.). The lawsuit agreement further stipulated that all school districts must have in place an LEP Plan, make annual reports, and be evaluated periodically on their compliance.

A 1985 U.S. Government document, *Educating the Minority Language Student: Classroom and Administrative Issues,* includes one paragraph on "Education/Career Needs" with one sentence addressing those needs: "For students who are not aware of the variety of career choices available to them, a career education or career awareness segment in the curriculum could be instituted" (Predaris, 1985, p. 33). In the same document, it is recommended as a goal that school districts

> develop partnership relationships between the local education agency, public and private service providers, business and industry, and civic and social service organizations ... for the comprehensive delivery of health-, social-, cultural-, and employment-related services to minority language populations as well as to the total community. (Bender, 1985, pp. 60-61)

An article in the *Journal of Counseling and Development,* specifically addressing *The Afghan Refugee Client,* addressed the adjustment problems of the male head of household in coming to the United States, but gave little attention to female adjustment issues, and gave no attention to the problems of educational and career planning or counseling. This excerpt provides an example of the general orientation of the article:

> The father was not able to put his daughter's desire to go to school in the context of her career development or her self-actualization. Rather, he described it as a repudiation of the family: "Why does she want to leave us and her brothers?" This parental attitude often fills young men and women with feelings of guilt. They become disillusioned and fail to carry out a more optimal career plan. Although this attitude toward youngsters is articulated for both sexes, there seems to be much more tolerance shown young men. (Firling, 1988)

This passage also provided some insight into the problem of identity formation for young women and the manner in which it may differ from the experience of a young man. However, it provided no insight into counseling specifically engaging the female client. The major focus remains on the father in the family.

Thus, educational policy makers and practitioners have largely focused on the acquisition of English for the LEP students. All other issues appear to fall into the

category of equal access. Unfortunately, without explicit direction concerning the issue of educational and career guidance, it tends to become overlooked.

This chapter has presented a review of information and research on Identity Formation theory, the background of refugees, research on Muslim female adolescents, and educational policy regarding the important area of educational and vocational career planning and counseling for refugee students. In the next chapter, I review the methodology used in this dissertation.

Chapter III: Methodology and Methods

> *Studying identity in adolescence is not a task for the methodologically hypersensitive.* (Marcia, 1980, p. 159)

> *Science condemns itself to failure when, yielding to the infatuation of the serious, it aspires to attain being, to contain it, and to possess it; but it finds its truth if it considers itself as a free engagement of thought in the given, aiming, at each discovery, not at fusing with the thing, but at the possibility of new discoveries; what the mind then projects is the concrete accomplishment of its freedom.* (Beauvoir, 1948, p. 79)

Methodology

As Sandra Harding discussed in her chapter titled "Is There a Feminist Method?" (1987), a distinction must be made between methodology and method. This chapter initially addresses methodology, which Harding defines as "a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed," then the researcher as instrument, and finally the method, again quoting Harding, "a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence" (p. 3). As a presage, let me provide Harding's answer to the above question: Harding writes that one practices not a feminist method, but employs feminist analyses and epistemologies.

The inquiry reported here—how adolescent Muslim female refugees achieve their identity in the United States—exists at an nexus of gender and ethnic/"race" positions. I examined how young Muslim female refugees negotiate their various roles at home, in

school, and in the community; how they understand their changed lives after being transplanted to the United States; and how they conceive their evolving identity as females, Muslims, and adults. I sought to construct an understanding of the larger issues by examining the particular cases (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). In this project I wanted to answer the research questions using qualitative methods and a feminist epistemology. Jürgen Habermas (1988) stated, "the phenomenological approach leads to an investigation of everyday life-practice" (p. 95). This approach is evidential, descriptive, reflective, and interpretive. This characterization expresses the process I used in gathering data, describing informants and settings, and reflecting on the individual and larger meanings of the data collected.

This information would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to capture using quantitative research methods. Habermas supported the use of the qualitative, or hermeneutic, method in this way: "Paul Lorenzen (*Methodisches Denken,* 1968) has outlined the transcendental framework of the object domain of physics in the form of a protophysics, that is, a nonhypothetical theory of time, space, and mass" (1988, p. 97). Habermas contrasted this protophysics, or protoscience, with the social sciences which he believed could not achieve the same kind of hard, predictive quality of physics. Because of this non-predictive quality of the social sciences, Habermas maintained that what is called for in what he names the "action" sciences is a phenomenological and interpretive, hermeneutic, method:

> The standards of measurement that we develop for interviews, participant observation, and experiments in order to produce ordered data (behavior and symbols) do not establish anything like a transcendental framework.... For this

> reason, in the sciences of action there is no theory of measurement that would preexplicate the relevant segment of possible experience as protophysics does for nature.... Therefore the relationship between objects that have been identified as something in communicative experience, on the one hand, and measured data, on the other hand, must be established after the fact. The relationship is not predefined by the measurement operations themselves. (1988, p. 102)

In the present study, I employed a feminist epistemology in that I made inquiries into the lives of females from their own point of view and the concerns that are particular to their gender. Feminism enters the research process at the level of analysis and, specifically, in the choice of epistemologies, the theories of knowledge, employed in that analysis (Harding, 1987). "Feminist researchers have argued that traditional theories have been applied in ways that make it difficult to understand women's participation in social life, or to understand men's activities as gendered (vs. as representing 'the human')".... [A feminist epistemology] "answers questions about who can be a 'knower' (can women?)" (Harding, p. 3). Alcoff and Potter (1993) complicated this straightforward definition by pointing out that feminist epistemology "marks the uneasy alliance of feminism and philosophy, an alliance made uneasy by this contradictory pull between the concrete and the universal " (p. 1). This seems to mirror the uneasy alliance between qualitative inquiry and social science, the use of the specific case to make inferences about the general population. However, feminist inquiry follows in the evolving tradition of other "underclass" approaches, such as Black and Latino Studies, "in insisting on the importance of studying ourselves and 'studying up,' instead of 'studying down' " (Harding, p. 8). Discussing the phenomenon of "studying down," Gallegos-Castillo

(2002) pointed to the example of Latinos: Much of previous social science research "views Mexican culture and Mexican adolescents as burdened by certain pathological behaviors, orientations, and values that inhibit social mobility and success " (p. 4). The model is one that she considers to be "stereotypical and racist." Those pitfalls, stereotyping and racism, could hamper the non-Muslim researcher studying Muslim women if the researcher held preconceived ideas and judgments about Muslim cultures.

Sociologists Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1987) make an argument for a specifically feminist perspective in the social sciences. The reasons they believe such a perspective is useful include:

1. Important areas of social inquiry have been overlooked because of the use of limited field-defining, often male, models.
2. Social research has often focused on the public, official, highly visible actors and situations, while more invisible spheres of social life may be equally important.
3. Sociology often assumes that men and women comprise a single society, when they may in reality inhabit very different social worlds.
4. Gender—male or female—may be overlooked as an important factor in behavior.
5. By explaining the status quo, social science may, in fact, provide rationalizations for unequal power distributions.
6. Some methodologies (frequently quantitative) and research conditions (such as having male social scientists studying areas involving women) may systematically prevent the elicitation of certain kinds of information. (p. 31-35)

Taking into consideration the above list of caveats delimiting good methodology, I opted to employ feminist methodology—theory and analysis—because that

methodology seemed best to fit the participants and the data I collected. The research procedures and analysis provided space for the heterogeneity within the female Muslim population, the multiple social identities each young woman assumes within and across the primary social worlds she inhabits, as well as her developing adult identity. The researcher must, of course, interpret all those data.

As Merriam noted, "A major concern in all research is the validity, trustworthiness, or authenticity of the study" (2002b, p. 422). Several strategies supported validity or "structural corroboration" (Eisner, 1998, p. 10) in this research: data from multiple sources, including primarily the interviews with the participants; observations of their appearance, tone and demeanor; meetings with parents; interviews with the participants' English teachers; and examination of grade and attendance records. In order to maintain validity, I sought to avoid making pre-judgments on the data. When I found data that conflicted with the research literature, I was prepared to recognize those divergences. The reporting of discrepancies between the literature and one's own findings Merriam termed, "having to handle the unanticipated encountered in the field." It is important to "stave off the tendency to draw conclusions prematurely and be flexible and adaptive" (p. 423).

As a final strategy to build validity into the data collection and analysis, I heeded the advice of Worthen:

> [In phenomenological analysis] you look for meaning in the data and for its repetition and redundancy across cases. You see whether there are patterns to the data, and whether you can match the data with the emerging meaning and take the meaning and impose it back on the data to see whether it holds up." (2002, p. 140)

I did, indeed, find repetition and redundancy across cases as well as themes and patterns, which are reported in chapter V.

Personal Background

The present research grew naturally out of my work as Director of Education for Refugees, creating and administering educational and cultural adjustment programming for refugee youth and adults under the auspices of a refugee resettlement and social services agency. It also continued my interest in women's issues and connected with my former position with the state department of education with funding from the Carl D. Perkins program to promote gender equity in education and vocational training and educational services to displaced homemakers, single parents, and single pregnant women. I have been concerned with education for underserved populations in formulating policy, writing and monitoring grants, and creating programming for over 10 years.

Before beginning this research, I had had extensive experience with the schools, particularly the ESOL center schools. The refugee education programs for youth benefited from regular meetings with school personnel at the district and the school level. I was acquainted with many of the administrators and teachers; I had observed several ESOL classes prior to initiating this research. I made site visits to the school liaisons in their assignments in two high schools, two middle schools, and three elementary schools. The leader of another refugee resettlement agency and I organized a district-wide task force comprised of major stakeholders working with refugee and immigrant youth. This task force focused on school attendance, behavior problems, and the high drop-out rate

among refugee and immigrant adolescents. The task force included representatives from the School Attendance Office, the State Attorney's Office, the Sheriff's Office, resettlement agencies, and recreational and social service providers, as well as teachers, school administrators, the school liaisons, apartment managers where concentrations of refugees lived, and refugee students and parents. The meetings produced several recommendations and interdictions directed at reducing some of the articulated problems. A final report, with action plans, was published and distributed to the School Board, to other ESOL center schools, and to other appropriate persons and agencies.

As the program director for the refugee youth programs, I did not provide direct services to clients, but I became acquainted with and had on-going interactions with many adolescent Muslim youth and their families. The youth program provided intensive English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), cultural adjustment, and socialization classes for newly arriving refugee youth from all over the world.

After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, the government abruptly halted the entry of refugees. Since that time the United States has admitted only a very small fraction of the previous number of entrants. Because of the diminished numbers, this preparation class was suspended, but the agency still provided a similar program in the summer to assist enrolled high school refugee students with English, math, geometry, cultural adjustment, and recreation. After some weeks or months in these classes, the refugee youth then enrolled in the public school system, usually assigned to one of the high schools designated as centers for providing ESOL. At that ESOL center high school, students normally entered those special English classes and continued to be served as clients by one of the resettlement agency staff, a school liaison, to support their

continuing adjustment and language acquisition. The school liaisons, located at seven such ESOL center elementary, middle, and high schools, facilitated communication between the schools and the parents; involved parents in their children's education; assisted with any problems that arose with those students in the schools; provided after-school tutoring; and generally acted as case-workers and problem-solvers. These school and summer programs have been funded by grants from the Department of Children and Families, ORS, and by additional private foundations.

After the recent resettlement of many young women of Muslim faith into the community, I became interested in how these particular young women formulated and negotiated their own sense of identity within their new community, within their families, and within the public school setting in the United States. Some of the Muslim women appeared to come from very traditional Muslim families, some from moderately traditional families, and some from much less traditional families. At the same time that I was developing programs for refugee youth and completing coursework for the doctorate, I read Catherine Raissiguier's study, *Becoming Women/Becoming Workers: Identity Formation in a French Vocational School.* Raissiguier's inquiry concerned young women of North African origin matriculating in a vocational school in Paris. This study influenced me to observe more closely the process of identity formation that Muslim female adolescents were experiencing in a new light. I was interested in how the young Muslim women negotiated the varying cultural codes they received from their families, peers, and communities. How did they accommodate both inwardly and outwardly the dynamic processes of socialization and acculturation?

During the last few years, I have observed young Muslim women dressed in varying degrees of traditional Muslim and Western clothing. Some young women, when out in public, wear a heavy full-length gray, navy blue, or black coat (chaddor) and heavy cloth head-covering (hijab). Other Muslim women wear a variety of clothing, including a full-length dress, skirt or pants, a long-sleeve blouse or shirt, and a scarf covering the head and neck. Still others dress in common Western-style clothing, including blue jeans, and do not cover their heads except to enter the Mosque or for prayer. I have not encountered any women in this community who wear a veil, although I am aware that that custom is practiced in some other U.S. cities.

From my experiences in speaking with and observing the young women and their actions, there seemed to me to be some correlation between the outward clothing choice and the behaviors of the young women—including their freedom to come and go without a male family escort, their interaction with males in the classroom, and their willingness or perhaps ability to participate in play and game activities. This observation helped me to shape the cohort I wanted to study, thus I selected a group of young women who represented a variety of clothing choices, which may represent their interpretation and their commitment to their religion and culture.

This section has provided some of the background and experience I brought to this study. The next section addresses more theoretically the role of the researcher as instrument and issues that interface with the interpretational act.

Researcher as Instrument

> *I am a man: I think nothing that is human is alien to me.* [Terence (Publius Terentius Afer), 154 B.C.]

> *Should the white researcher stay at home?* (Kaye F. Haw, 1996)

What constitutes the reflective practices and ethical issues that arise from my conducting cross-culture research? Harding (1987, p. 9) wrote that "the best feminist analysis"—and I would amend, the best fill-in-the-blank analysis—"insists that the inquirer her/himself be placed in the same critical plane as the overt subject matter, thereby recovering the entire research process for scrutiny in the results of the research." This is to be done in the manner

> not [of] soul searching, ... but [is to be] explicitly told by the researcher what her/his gender, race, class, culture ... and sometimes how she/he suspects this has shaped the research project.... Thus the researcher appears to us not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests." (p. 9)

Thus, with the intention—not of soul searching— but of being explicit about my bias, my entry position, my desires and interests, I shall proceed. First, allow me to restate that I worked with and created educational, recreational, and cultural adjustment programming for this population of young Muslim females and other refugee groups for almost 4 years. Therefore, I entered into this inquiry with forethought and concern for the participants and with the hope of obtaining information that would improve educational and resettlement practices. My biases included my commitment not to exploit these young women in any way, nor to make their lives more difficult. I did not want to engage

in what Foucault called "dividing practices," which he described as "the objectivizing of the subject ... [in which] the subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivizes him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the 'good boys'" (Foucault, 1982, p. 208). I strove not to approach the participants in the binary conceptualization of "us" and "them," thinking that dominated much social science inquiry until recent times. I sought to establish a partnership in inquiry, not an objectification that sees the participants as "objects" to be manipulated (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). It was important to establish a criticality, an understanding that more than one truth existed and that these "truths" needed to be examined in a procedure that employed a back and forth interplay, and an "understanding that both researcher and participants are active producers of meaning..." (Haw, 1996, p. 324).

If there was a researcher effect, and there always is, I believe that one effect on these young women who participated in the inquiry may, in fact, have been beneficial, if a little disquieting. I posed questions that they had mostly not considered very seriously at this point in their lives but may need to consider in the near future. One participant, whom I called Aziza, so stated:

> I have 2 more years and I have to decide what I should be in the future. I should plan—start planning—my future. And, that [my interview question] helps me. 1 have to decide what I should be after I finish my school and where I should go off to school and what should I do.

Adolescence is the time to begin to negotiate who one is and make decisions that will lead to one's adult identity. While identity formation is normally a largely unconscious

process, the act of participating in the interviews may have had the effect of making the process more purposeful and conscious. The expectations of these young women, I believe, may be changing from what they would have been if they had not been uprooted and relocated to the United States. The requirement for self-sufficiency made on all refugees exerts burdens on them to which they are often unaccustomed.

I have a feminist bias, in general, and my career has included work for and about women's issues, particularly those of disadvantaged women. But this was not designed to be action research. I did not presume, that is, "engage [myself] without authority or permission" (Soukhanov, 1984), to bring that bias, as a program, judgment, or agenda, to this study. I entered into a culture and religious background that were largely alien to me, and I endeavored to make no value judgments about that culture and background. I suspended any opinion on whether the participants should "Westernize" or not; I was interested only in their own perceptions, plans, and lived realities. Beauvoir stated:

> Let the 'enlightened elites' strive to change the situation of the child, the illiterate, the primitive crushed beneath his superstitions; that is one of their most urgent tasks; but in this very effort *they must respect a freedom which, like theirs, is absolute* [italics added]." (1948, p. 138)

I do not consider myself one of Beauvoir's "enlightened elite," but I do believe in working to end illiteracy, exploitation, and poverty. However, I entered into this research rationally, as a reflective participant, respecting the absolute freedom of the participants to choose a life that I, given my life position, would not.

At the beginning of this section, I quoted Haw's question, "Exploring the educational experiences of Muslim girls: tales told to tourists—should the white

researcher stay at home?" (1996, p.319). Haw's answer was, emphatically, no. I entered into this research project because I wanted to understand the complexities of the life experience of a young Muslim woman transplanted to the United States. I did so as "the white researcher" that Haw described, the only way I could enter, for it is who I am. Understanding my position in relationship to the participants' is important. Had I not assumed that intellectual stance, there would have been no point in my conducting this research project. The intention was to better understand the world by understanding better small elements of it. Antonio Faundez, in dialogue with Paolo Freire (1998, p. 200), stated, "the 'I' creates the 'not-I' in order to know itself." By studying the not-I, in this case the young Muslim woman, we come to better understand both ourselves and the process of identity formation for them, for American females, and for all females. Surely, this is one of the main objectives of anthropology and ethnography. We study other cultures to better understand our own. For it is in contrast that we best see ourselves. "[K]nowledge is a process whereby we re-create our worlds so that through explorations with others, we can critically explore our own" (Haw, p. 323).

Other concerns included my age and difference in power and status; the participants knew me as a teacher or leader, but they also knew me as an interested and sympathetic friend. With a M.Ed. in counseling, I am trained and have had experience in creating a non-threatening environment for students and other people, younger and older. I had also already developed some rapport and trust with several of the young women and with their families from my work with them as refugees. I believe the differences in status and age were mitigated by my demeanor and by my previous experiences with these families. The one exception to this assumption was two young Iraqi women who

together declined to participate in the research. It is possible I knew these two young women too well for their comfort. (I discuss this further in chapter V.) For my part, however, I entered into this inquiry with the intention of becoming a partner with the participants. Habermas discussed the researcher and participant relationship or "framework:"

> In that framework the "observer" is just as much a participant as the "observed." Here experience is mediated by the interaction of the two partners. Its objectivity is threatened from both sides: by the influence of the "observer," whose instruments distort the answers, just as much as by the reactions of the partner, which make the participant observer self-conscious. But the role of the disengaged observer may be a false model for the experiential domain of communication; perhaps the role of the reflective participant is more appropriate. (1988, p. 93)

I entered the research as reflective participant with the other participants.

In addition to the above caveats, I need to address my religious bias. I am a non-religious person looking at a religious community that is alien to me. Yet, I believe I might make more assumptions about a group of young Christian women, a group with whom I am more familiar, than I did about the young Muslim women. Because of my lack of familiarity with this culture, I was prepared to explore and learn. I approached this inquiry with excitement and curiosity.

I return, once again, to Haw's question with which I started this section: Should the white researcher stay at home? Can a white, middle-class, non-religious, older woman conduct research with young Muslim females? My response is that if we limit what

groups of people any given category of person may study, we limit our knowledge to an incomplete picture. What I learned may be different from what a Muslim woman or man might learn, but it does not make the data invalid or irrelevant. Pertinent and parallel to this question of who may research whom, bell hooks (1993), in an assessment of the life and works of Paulo Freire, referenced Freire's response to feminist critiques of him:

> If the women are critical, they have to accept our contribution as men, as well as the workers have to accept our contribution as intellectuals, because it is a duty and a right that I have to participate in the transformation of society. Then, if the women must have the main responsibility in their struggle, they have to know that their struggle also belongs to us, that is, to men who do not accept the machista position in the world. The same is true of racism. As an apparent white man, because I always say that I am not quite sure of my whiteness, the question is to know if I am really against racism in a radical way. If I am, then I have a duty and a right to fight with black people against racism. (p.153)

I feel that I have a duty and a right to conduct research with people who differ from me.

Finally there was the issue of language differences between the participants and me. Most of the young women in the study had been in the United States, and in an ESOL center high school, for up to 5 years. They understood and spoke English fairly well, but not with perfect fluency. I thought that if it was necessary I would use a translator, but I wanted to attempt the interviews alone so that the responses would be less influenced by a third party to the conversation. "Having to depend on an interpreter's translation ... doubles the hermeneutical process, namely the conversation: there is one conversation between the interpreter and the other, and a second between the interpreter

and oneself" (Gadamer, 2003, p. 385). I found, in fact, that the participants and I were quite able to communicate in English.

I found Gadamer's insights about language, translation, and interpretation useful in this approach. He described translation and interpretation as the basis of the hermeneutic experience:

> The hermeneutic experience is the corrective by means of which thinking reason escapes the prison of language, and it is itself constituted linguistically.... Certainly the variety of languages presents us with a problem. But this problem is simply how every language, despite its difference from other languages, is able to say everything it wants. (p. 402)

Habermas (1988) wrote more about language and the conveyance of meaning across differing indigenous languages:

> We appropriate foreign languages through translation. As soon as we know them, of course, we no longer require translation. Translations are only necessary in situations where understanding is disturbed. *On the other hand, difficulties of understanding also arise in conversations within one's own language* [italics added]. Communication takes place in accordance with the rules that the partners to the dialogue have mastered. These rules, however, not only make consensus possible; they also include the possibility of setting situations right in which understanding is disturbed.... The role of the partner in dialogue contains in virtual form the role of the interpreter as well, that is, the role of the person who not only makes his way within a language but can also bring about understanding between languages. (p. 145)

In other words, differing positions of race, gender, age, power, status, language, and religious belief do not have to be insurmountable barriers to communication; they can be negotiated and transcended. Gadamer (2003) discussed overcoming barriers to communication through a process of "transposing ourselves," which he described in this way:

> Transposing ourselves consists neither in the empathy of one individual for another nor in subordinating another person to our own standards; rather it always involves rising to a higher universality that overcomes not only our own particularity but also that of the other. The concept of "horizon" suggests itself because it expresses the superior breadth of vision that the person who is trying to understand must have. To acquire a horizon means that one learns to look beyond what is close at hand—not in order to look away from it but to see it better, within a larger whole and in truer proportion. (p. 305)

I attempted to place myself in an overlapping horizon with the participants to acquire a better understanding of their lived realities as the gendered, ethnic, racial, religious, indissoluble individual persons that they are and to gain from that a wider understanding about the larger population from which they come. Haw stated, "A commitment to the responsibility 'to trace the other in self' must become central to our practice so that alliances might then be possible between white, able-bodied, heterosexual and middle-class women and women on the margins" (1996, p. 326). I attempted to forge that alliance to tell the stories of each of the participants and to understand from those individual stories, the larger group that contains those stories.

Methods

Finally, I come to the mechanics, the method of my research. I began this chapter noting the distinction between methodology and method. I again quote Harding's description: Method is "a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence" (1987, p. 3). This, then, is how I gathered my data.

Informed consent. The most difficult part of obtaining informed consent from the parents and the assent of the students was working my way through the Institutional Review Board of the university. It took more than 3 months after submitting the English, Dari, and Arabic translations of all the parent and participant forms to get the final approval to proceed with the research. The board asked for repeated changes in the wording and each change meant having to get the forms retranslated into the participants' language, back-translated into English, resubmitted, and reviewed at the monthly meeting. The parents were much less concerned with the wording of the documents than with my personal demeanor and my informal explanation of the project. All the parents and participants signed the forms quickly and virtually without questions.

I met with eight young Muslim females attending a designated ESOL center high school, six of whom consented to participate in this research project. All eight were refugees between the ages of 15 and 20, all were in 11^{th} or 12^{th} grades, and all had been in the United States between 2 and 5 years. The six young women who participated were all from Afghanistan. The other two students initially agreed to participate, and I had obtained the consent of their parents; but finally the students themselves opted not to

participate. Both were from Iraq and are best friends in an environment where the Iraqi population is very small.

My original intention was to select participants who varied in their adherence to Sharia, Islamic Law, concerning modesty and appropriate dress. I am acquainted with young women who individually interpret and observe Sharia over what I would consider to be a range of clothing choices, from completely "Westernized" to completely, save the hands and the face, covered. It was my intention to select participants, a purposive sample, from various points on that spectrum, but that was not possible because of the reluctance of the two Iraqi women to participate. The Afghan women were Sunni Muslims, the Iraqis were Shi'ite Muslims. The Shi'ites tend to be more conservative in their observance of conservative dress for women. And, indeed, the Iraqis were the more conservative in their choice of clothing; one wore a chaddor, or full-length coat, and both wore scarves that covered their head, hair, and neck. The participant Afghan women all dressed in Western clothing, although some chose to cover their arms and legs completely.

I shall call the participants in the study by the pseudonyms I have given to them which I selected from a list of names common to Afghan women: Zoya, Narja, Alya, Sima, Mina, and Aziza. I met with three mothers of four of the young women who participated in this study in the apartment of Narja's mother along with Akbar, the school liaison who had helped me arrange the meeting and acted as interpreter. When he and I arrived, two mothers were already there, and the third soon joined us after returning from her English class at the community college. We took off our shoes when we entered which is the custom of Afghans, as well as of people from many other countries. I had

brought small gifts of candy, cookies, and nuts for each mother. We were asked to sit down in the living room. The apartment we met in was pleasant, clean, and sparsely furnished with only a sofa, a chair, and a large, thick, beautiful deep red Afghan rug covering the living room's wall-to-wall beige carpet. I sat on one end of the sofa with the mother of two of the participants; Akbar sat in the chair next to me. The hostess and the mother who came in from English class sat on the floor.

All of these particular mothers lived alone with their children. One father had been dead for many years; one was recently released from prison but had not yet been able to come to the U.S. One had died, but the mother had remarried her husband's brother by long distance. It is unlikely he will ever come to the U.S. because he also had a wife and family in Pakistan. The women were neighbors and friends; the Afghan people tend to socialize with each other, support one another, and collectively look after the children of the group.

The apartment was in a subsidized housing complex; many other refugees from Afghanistan, as well as other countries, lived in the housing complex, as did low-income American families. The apartments were clean and well-maintained but very basic and small. This one had little decoration or ornament. The red Afghan rug dominated the room and the atmosphere. I thought about the scenes I had seen reproduced of rooms in Afghanistan that were furnished with layer upon layer of rugs and colorful pillows, low carved tables, and men gathered round to drink tea and talk.

The hostess served cup after cup of tea and an assortment of nuts, dried fruits, and small candies, and we chatted for quite some time about general subjects. We also discussed how their daughters were doing in school, where the mothers worked, where

the daughters worked, how many children were in each family, where they came from in Afghanistan, where else they had lived and for how long, and what jobs they had held in Afghanistan. They wanted to know if I had children and how old they were. It was a friendly discussion of the personal and the public. Two of the mothers could speak some English, and we chatted in English. The third mother could speak none, and so Akbar acted as translator for her and for me as the conversation moved back and forth between Dari and English.

Two of the mothers were dressed in Western dress. Narja's mother, the hostess, wore a short-sleeved, open-necked red sweater, black slacks, and interesting Afghan jewelry. She was a slim and attractive woman, tall by Afghan standards, and probably about 40 years old with well-styled medium long dark hair. She also wore make-up. She looked "Western," but a bit more exotic. The mother of Mina who came a bit later from her English class was dressed very stylishly, in business attire, a gray pants suit. Her hair was cut in kind of a short page-boy style. Both women had warm, nut-brown skin and facial features resembling Europeans.

The third mother, of Alya and Sima, was dressed in traditional dress, a long, full embroidered skirt and a shawl that she wore over her head outside, but which she had dropped to her shoulders inside. She looked very different from the other two mothers; she had the round face and features of the Mongolian people who had entered Afghanistan with the conquest by Genghis Khan.[1] She was shorter and fuller of figure.

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1 Afghanistan is composed of many different ethnic groups entering the region of what is now Afghanistan in different waves of conquest. Afghanistan was originally part of the Persian Empire, but was invaded by Alexander the Great, the Scythians, White Huns, Turks, Arabs, and Mongols. Latter-day invaders included the British—there were a series of Anglo-Afghan wars—and the Soviet Union who also fought a series of territorial wars

She spoke no English and had never attended school. She came from a small remote village in Afghanistan but had most recently resided in Pakistan. It was she who had remarried her husband's brother, which is a tradition among some Muslims. I knew her younger children from their attending the resettlement agency's summer camp program and had met her before at family night events. One child in particular stood out because of her energy and delightful demeanor at camp. She joyously participated in everything—games, sports, arts and crafts.

After chatting socially for a while, I explained to the three mothers who I was, although we already were somewhat acquainted from my work with the resettlement agency, and we had met on prior occasions at the agency.[2] I then explained in informal terms my research, including my desire to understand better the issues of concern to refugees coming to the United States and especially those of young Muslim women. I explained my intended procedures and the need for their consent as well as the consent or assent of their daughter. I emphasized that the findings would be reported anonymously, using a pseudonym for each participant. I would not name the school nor the city in which they resided. At that point I gave a copy of the Informed Consent Form translated into Dari to each of them, and Akbar proceeded to read it to them in Dari. I asked for questions. They all wanted to know if they could read the report when I was finished, and I told them they could, but it would be produced only in English; however I offered to

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with Afghanistan, the last between 1979 and 1989. Afghanistan has for centuries been subject to invasions, wars, and political upheavals.

[2] At the end of each term of activities at the agency, we had had a family night potluck dinner, an occasion for the young participants in the programs to demonstrate what they had learned; to display some of their academic and art work; and to perform songs, skits, dances and the like.

discuss the results with them in general terms, but not their daughters' specific answers, when I was finished. I asked if they had any more questions. There were none, and each mother signed the Informed Consent Form (see Appendix B). They did not seem to hesitate to sign the consent forms. Akbar and I visited a while longer and then left.

I met separately with the fathers of the other two Afghan participants in a more formal setting at the high school in Akbar's office, which is in a social-service building off to one side of the actual campus and accessible without going through the main campus of the high school. It is in this building that all the interviews with the participants took place. Both fathers were dressed in Western attire. Their demeanor was pleasant but quite formal. Both gentlemen were well-educated and had held professional positions in Afghanistan before their exile; one had been a civil engineer, and the other had held several governmental positions.

The procedure was similar to my meeting with the mothers, if more attenuated. I explained to them in informal terms the nature of my research, and Akbar interpreted for us, although they both spoke and understood some English. Then I gave each of them a copy of the Informed Consent Form and their daughters' Informed Assent Forms, again translated into Dari. Akbar read it to them in Dari, and I asked for questions. No questions were forthcoming, and again there was no hesitation on the part of the fathers to sign the forms.

Finally, I met with the parents of the two young women who later decided not to participate. This meeting was very pleasant. My interpreter, Dzenana, who also had worked at the resettlement agency and who was well-acquainted with one of the families, and I went to the apartment of one of the families, who both live in the same subsidized

housing complex. The families are from Iraq, and their language is Arabic. We were greeted very warmly by the father and mother of one of the young women. Dzenana and I had both brought small gifts of treats for the families.

The father had been taking English classes at the resettlement agency and spoke some English; the mother spoke virtually no English. The mother was dressed all in black, a long black dress, and she donned a black head scarf when she walked out on her front porch to bid us goodbye after our visit. The father wore Western clothes, khaki pants and a short-sleeve button shirt. This young woman, their daughter, and her whole family—mother, father and nine children—are very familiar to me. The father had suffered injuries while in Iraqi prisons for four years that placed him on permanent disability. I had visited them in their home on a few occasions and had frequently encountered them at the refugee resettlement agency and in the schools. The young woman and her father had attended separate classes offered by the agency. After classes, they stayed for lunch served by the agency, and I had a chance to visit with them often.

Dzenana and I spent two or three hours visiting with the father, mother, and their two pre-school children. We were served a delicious lunch of chicken, salad, rice pilau with fruit, nuts, and small vegetables. The father sat on the floor and fed his little son and daughter in a most affectionate manner. It was obvious that he enjoyed being a stay-at-home father. The mother never joined us in this lunch but stood and talked to us continuously. She moved back and forth between the living room and kitchen as she saw to the needs of her family and guests. The father and mother laughed and teased one another. Dzenana translated the jokes for me. The mother offered to give her husband to either one of us.

All the time we were there, a television played scenes of the Iraqi war and gave news updates in Arabic. The satellite was attached to the railing of the porch outside the door and was aimed to receive Arabic television. Talk turned serious as we discussed the war and what was going on in Iraq as the scenes flashed on the screen.

After lunch the father called the parents of the other young woman to come join us. The father came, and we greeted one another. Again, I explained informally who I was and the nature of my research. Dzenana interpreted for us, and then she read the Informed Consent Form and their daughters' Informed Assent Forms to both fathers in Arabic. (See Appendix B.) Both fathers signed the consent forms and had no significant questions.

I had met with all the potential participants briefly at the high school to explain the research and to inquire whether they would be willing to participate before I met with their parents. All the young women originally agreed to participate. In fact, they seemed eager to tell me their stories, including their difficulties in adjusting to the United States and to the education system. Later when I tried to make appointments with the young Iraqi women to meet with me, they sent word to me that they did not want to participate. The seeming leader of the two close friends conveyed through the other school liaison, Amna, that they did not want to participate; they said they did not want to be tape-recorded. I requested one more time to meet with each of them, but they sent word again that they did not want to participate. I did not want to pressure them, so I stopped pursuing the interviews. I do not really think the issue was tape-recording, but, not wanting to apply pressure, I did not investigate what the real reason might have been. I was, in fact, more familiar with both of these young Iraqi women than I had been with the

Afghan students, and that very familiarity may have affected their decision. I do not know.

As I mentioned previously, both of these young Iraqi women dress more conservatively than any of the Afghan participants. The young woman whose home I visited wears a chaddor, a full-length coat and head scarf, a hijab; the other typically dressed in long pants and blouse and head scarf. Both were a bit older than some of the other participants; one was 20 and the other 19. I was very interested in their progress in identity formation, since their perspective would probably have been different.

Before beginning my interviews with each student participant, I again explained the nature of the research project and that the data would be reported anonymously. I also told them I would be recording the interview and that the recordings, transcriptions, and all other data would be kept in my home office and destroyed when the project was finished. I presented them with the Informed Assent Form in English and in Dari; we reviewed the form together. Each agreed to be interviewed and signed the form.

I had already obtained permission from the school principal to be in the school for the purposes of observing classes and interviewing students and teachers. I obtained the Informed Consent from each teacher to question them about the particular students, to observe classes, and to obtain information on the attendance and grades of those students. (See Appendix B.)

Data collection. It was important for me to see the participants as individuals, not as a monolithic group. This required a qualitative approach to viewing each participant's experience as it is lived. For this qualitative inquiry, I used a semi-structured interview

based on one that has been empirically tested and refined by identity formation researchers for more than 30 years with many different groups of adolescents and adults—in North America and in other countries (Archer & Waterman, 1993). It has been created to interface with Marcia's Ego Identity Status paradigm (Marcia, 1975, 1976, 1980; Schiedel & Marcia, 1985.)

I selected this instrument because of its history of use by many researchers who investigated the process of identity formation among a variety of people—males and females, Western and non-Western ethnic groups, young adolescents, older adolescents, and adults. Its genealogical lineage of the underlying theory moves from Freud to Erikson to Marcia and his colleagues and followers. The heuristic value of the semi-structured questionnaire lies in its potential to elicit responses in the recognized major domains of identity development: Educational/Vocational, Family/Career, and Religious/Political. The recursive nature of the questionnaire assured that answers were not spurious; responses were checked and rechecked through repeated iterations of the essential questions. The questions were also open-ended, a format allowing for a variety of responses and follow-up questions. It was possible to follow what seemed like tangential responses to elicit the information needed to evaluate the status of identity formation and at the same time to obtain interesting details of the participant's life that could not have been foreseen in the creation of the original questionnaire. By using the same set of questions with each participant, it was possible to discover the similarities and differences in their perceptions of themselves in relation to the three domains and in relationship to their family, friends, and community.

One of the criticisms of the questionnaire in relationship to the population for which it was employed for this study, adolescent Muslim females, was that all the questions had counter questions about how one's "boyfriend" would answer the same question. This is a small criticism, however, because until one asks that question of each participant a couple of times, one could not know that, in fact, these young women are not allowed and, in fact, do not at this time have boyfriends. That is not to say that that might be true if one asked an older group of Muslim females, ones who had been in the United States longer or, for that matter, this same group of young women in a few years.

In addition to the semi-structured interview, I created additional questions intended to discover the personal history and background of each of the participants, their hobbies and interests, how and with whom they spent their out-of-school time, and with whom they associated in school. The semi-structured questions along with my additional prepared questions are in Appendix C. Other questions were included on a spontaneous basis as the interview conversation developed. I also observed each participant in one class session as well as some other ESOL classes before I met with the students or their parents. After interviewing the students, I interviewed each of their ESOL teachers. The questions I asked the teachers are also in Appendix C. I reviewed the students' grades and attendance records. All the findings from these data sources are included in chapter IV.

The interview—consisting of both the published version (Archer & Waterman, 1993) and my own additions —were composed of semi-structured, open-ended questions that allowed the participant to speak about and reveal how she experienced her life in school, at home, and in the community, and what her expectations were for the future. Often the participant took verbal directions not anticipated by the questions, which I both

allowed and encouraged, and then came back to the original question at the appropriate time. Sometimes the tangential information was very useful in understanding more about the background of the participant and her thinking and emotional tone. I wanted to encourage any path the participant wished to pursue.

I interviewed each student in a private office or meeting room in the social services building, which lies at the outside edge of the high school campus. This building houses the offices of the school liaisons. I received permission from their teachers to call students from class. I interviewed each student twice for 90 minutes in each session. The first interview included my background questions, and the questions in the domains of Education/Vocation and Family/Career. The second session included questions on Religious/Political and Gender Roles. This arrangement allowed me to collect 18 hours of participant interviews and about 4 hours of teacher interviews.

I recorded all the interviews with a digital recorder and transcribed them myself. It would have been very difficult for someone else to transcribe the interviews because of the accents of some of the participants. I am accustomed to their accents, and I took notes on their responses on the questionnaire as I interviewed each student. These notes were especially useful at times when the meaning was invoked by gesture rather than words. I also made notes immediately following each interview about the setting, the appearance and demeanor of the participant, and any other relevant details.

I did not feel the need for a third interview because the structured interview had a certain amount of redundancy designed into it which worked as a means of testing and confirming the meaning of the responses. At times when I was uncertain that I

understood the response I immediately clarified the participant's meaning and my understanding, before proceeding.

All the digital recordings were downloaded to my personal computer and then erased from the recorder. No one has access to my computer, and I have not transmitted the files over the internet. I transcribed, replayed, and reviewed the transcriptions to compare the recordings with the accuracy of the transcriptions.

Analysis and interpretation. I interpreted the transcriptions in terms of the identity status classification. As I listened to the interviews, the recordings, and wrote the transcriptions, themes began to emerge across the various interviews. Those themes occurred as repetitions of words and phrases. I developed a thematic coding system (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Themes were organized initially around categories directly addressed in the Archer and Waterman (1993) semi-structured interview: vocational and educational choices, religious and political beliefs, family and career priorities. Other themes—including the importance of education to the participants and their families and the great value the individuals and the family placed upon "respect"—developed both within the structured interview and from the questions I added. I noted these themes beginning to emerge in the first interviews and was alerted to listen for them in subsequent interviews. After transcribing all of the interviews I could search for the occurrence of those themes in all the interviews.

To assist further in data management, I used a summary sheet for each participant that included demographic data and key responses to thematic questions. Important quotes were noted, coded, and sorted for use in the final report. This process was

facilitated by the use of the word processor that allowed all the transcripts to be searched for key words and phrases that exemplified the themes.

To help complete the stories, the everyday details of the lives of the participants, I interviewed their ESOL teachers concerning their observations of the students in the classroom. I used open-ended questions with the teachers that included the following topics: attendance and grades, classroom participation, general demeanor, interactions with other students, interactions with the teacher, general level of maturity, insight into adaptation to the school culture, and any particular problems or issues observed by the teacher.

The data on attendance and grades was used to help to complete the picture of each participant in relationship to the school. The interviews with the teachers helped answer some of the research questions, such as Question 4: What are the problems faced by Muslim refugee high school females in relationship to school and friends? It also contributed information to Question 3: What importance do [the participants] give to education? The teachers' comments about the participants provided insight into the students' academic success, level of maturity, interactions with the teachers and other students, and problems they might have been experiencing in school. Their comments provided additional insight into the attitudes of the teachers toward the participants.

Besides the teacher interviews, I also observed one English class for each of the participants and with each of the ESOL teachers. Prior to beginning this research, in my capacity as Director of Education for Refugees, I had had several occasions to meet with some of the teachers and observe their ESOL classes. I had also had several occasions to speak with administrators of the school and county administrators of the ESOL program.

The purpose of these additional data collection techniques was to better understand the students by talking to those teachers who interact with them everyday, to triangulate various pieces of information, and to add to my understanding of the students' maturity, their adaptation to the school environment, and their level of identity formation. The definition of identity formation includes the community acceptance of one's persona and role. From these data, I constructed each participant's story, as I understood it. I present those stories in chapter IV.

Finally, I made an analysis of the identity status of each participant. The basic semi-structured interview is printed in *Ego Identity: A Handbook for Psychosocial Research* (Marcia, et al., 1993). In the "Epilogue" James Marcia stated,

> The purpose of this work is to provide a handbook useful for persons interested in conducting investigations into Erikson's psychosocial states, especially identity and intimacy. As aids in this task, it furnishes a theoretical foundation, research reviews, interview schedules and scoring criteria, suggestions for interviewer training, and discussions of pertinent issues. There would be no point in assembling this material were there not questions still to be answered, issues still to be explored. (p. 273)

The handbook includes a chapter about the scoring criteria for interviews with early and middle adolescents by Alan Waterman (1993). I created a scoring

sheet (see Figure 4) to present a summary of the scoring criteria that I extracted from that chapter.

I used this scoring sheet as I read and evaluated the transcriptions of the interviews to determine the identity status of each participant in each domain. I show how each participant scored in the three domains in the findings in chapter IV. Given the two variables, exploration and commitment, one can be low or high on each of those variables in each domain. If one is low in exploration and low in commitment, one is classified as identity diffusion. This classification corresponds to Erikson's category of unsuccessful outcome of the task. If one is low in exploration, but high in commitment, one is classified as foreclosure. If one is high in exploration, but low in commitment, one is in a status of moratorium. These two classifications are those developed by Marcia. Finally if one is high in exploration and commitment, one is said to be in the status of identity achievement. This status would represent the successful outcome of one's task in Erikson's schema. Each of these variables can take place in the past, present, or not at all, "never." The criteria to judge each variable are summarized in the second and fourth columns. The domains, or areas of life, are represented in the first column. One can score differently in each of the three domains (e.g., a foreclosure in the religious and political domain, a moratorium in the educational and vocational domain, diffusion in the family and career domain.)

Table 2. Identity status scoring sheet adapted from the chapter in *Ego Identity: A Handbook for Psychosocial Research,* "Identity Status in Early and Middle Adolescents: Scoring Criteria" (Archer, S. L., 1993).

Domains:	**Exploration Criteria: (Applied to each Domain) Past, Present, or Not at this Point in Time**	**Commitment Criteria: (Applied to each Domain) Past, Present, or Not at this Point in Time**
Educational/ Vocational Plans **Religious/ Political Beliefs** **Family/ Career Priorities**	• Knowledgeability • Activity directed toward gathering information • Considering alternative potential identity elements • Emotional tone • Desire to make early decision	• Knowledgeability • Activity directed toward implementing information • Identification with significant others • Emotional tone • Projection into one's future • Resistance to change

I employed an interpretive qualitative methodology using a semi-structured interview of identity formation research as a tool to better understand how the refugee female Muslim adolescent negotiates her identity within the structure of the family, the school, and the community. How does she accommodate both inwardly and outwardly the dynamic processes of socialization and acculturation? I also wanted to better

understand what areas, or domains, of her identity might have implications for better educational and resettlement policy and practice. What could we do as educational leaders and resettlement professionals to support such a student in what must surely be a difficult transition?

Leaving the field. Bogdan and Biklen (2003) indicated that the manner of leaving the field is important to the emotional well-being of the participants and the researcher. It is necessary to say a "right goodbye," and I have experienced this in my work with refugees. My experience has been that Middle Eastern refugees are extremely hospitable and want to welcome friends and acquaintances into their homes and to feed them. While I may continue to see the participants on a non-fieldwork basis, I let all parties—the participants, the families, and the school personnel—know that my data-gathering was finished and thanked all for participating. It may be necessary to reenter the field for further studies, so I wanted to keep all relationships and doors open for that possibility.

In summary, this chapter has addressed the methodological concerns, my personal background and why I am interested in this research, the researcher as instrument, and the specific methods employed. The next chapter presents the findings from the research.

Chapter IV: Findings

The Taliban was an oppressive, tyrannical Islamic fundamentalist regime that ruled Afghanistan from the mid 1990s until the United States invaded the country after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The Taliban still exists in parts of the country, along with other territorial tribal rulers. The Taliban regime were ethnic Pashtuns whose stated aim was "to set up the world's more pure Islamic State, banning frivolities like television, music and cinema" ("Analysis: Who," 2000). At the refugee agency with which I was affiliated, one family reported that an older brother was executed for possessing a television and selling video tapes; their father had already been killed in the war with Russia. Public executions were common. One refugee reported to me he feared for his life because he had not grown a beard; he was spared because he worked for an international corporation as an engineer. The Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) is an international organization whose mission is and was to bring human rights to women. Below are just some of the restrictions placed on women in Afghanistan under the Taliban (RAWA, 2004):

1. Women could not work outside the home. Only a few female doctors and nurses were allowed to work in some hospitals in Kabul.
2. Women were completely banned from activity outside the home unless accompanied by a close male relative.
3. Women could not deal with male shopkeepers or be seen by male doctors.

4. Women could not study at schools, universities, or any other educational institutions.
5. Women had to wear a long veil (Burqa) covering them from head to toe and could not wear make-up.
6. Women who failed to comply were whipped, beaten, and verbally abused, including whippings for non-covered ankles.
7. Women accused of having sex outside marriage were subject to public stoning.
8. Women and girls were not allowed to play sports or ride bicycles or motorcycles even with male relatives.
9. Women were not allowed to wash clothes next to rivers or in public places.
10. Women could not appear on balconies of their houses or apartments.

For this research project, I interviewed six young Muslim refugee females. Each of them began life in Afghanistan, although they had all lived in an interim country before making their homes in the United States. All the participants had been in the United States between 2 years and 5 years; none had lived in Afghanistan for the last 5 years or more. All were born during Afghanistan's war with the Soviet Union which ended in 1989. Afghanistan has been at war for more than 25 years. The Taliban began to rule in large areas of Afghanistan in 1995, capturing Mazar-i-Sharif in the North in 1998. All the participants in this study had had relatives killed in Afghanistan—some in the war with Russia, some at the hands of the Taliban.

I have given pseudonyms to each of the participants for this report; those names are Zoya, Narja, Alya, Sima, Mina and Aziza. Three of the participants were

19 years old at the time of the interviews, two were 16, and one was 15 years old. They were enrolled in school from the ninth grade to the twelfth grade. Two were sisters. Four of them lived with only their mother. The father of one of the participants had been in prison for 4 years and had not yet been able to rejoin his family. The fathers of three, including the two sisters, were killed in Afghanistan. Two participants lived with their mother and father here in the United States. The education of the parents ranged from illiterate in their own language to college educated. One participant's mother had been a high school teacher of world and Afghan history before such work by females had been forbidden by the Taliban government; one had been a banker. Two of the mothers had not graduated from high school and had never worked outside the home before coming to the United States. The education of the fathers of the participants had ranged from illiterate to having attended college; their professions in Afghanistan included a civil engineer, a government official, and a teacher. One participant's father had been killed 17 years ago, and she did not remember him at all.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, I provide a brief biography drawn directly from my interviews with the participants and my meetings with their parents. In the second section, I analyze the semi-structured interviews with each participant and classify their answers in terms of Marcia's paradigm of identity status. And finally, in the third section, I address the research questions posed in chapter I.

Participants' Stories

The following section presents the individual stories of the participants. It includes information from my meetings with parents, teachers, and the participants, as well as information from school grade and attendance records. It represents by no means a complete picture of their lives but rather the information that the participants felt comfortable sharing with me at this time.

Sima and Alya. Sima and Alya were sisters, aged 19 and 16, and were respectively in the twelfth and eleventh grades. They had been living in the United States for about 2 1/2 years; they arrived with their mother from a first resettlement in Pakistan where they had spent 7 years. They came originally from Afghanistan. Alya was round-faced like her mother and had the look of one of the Asian or Mongolian groups that settled in ancient Afghanistan after the occupation by Genghis Khan. Sima looked more European in her facial features.

Having left Afghanistan almost 10 years ago, Alya had no memory of living there, and Sima remembered very little. Neither could remember exactly when, where, or how their father had been killed, only that their little sister had been just a baby at the time. They had been living with only their mother for those 10 years of exile. The family included Sima, Alya, a brother in ninth grade and the little sister in the fourth grade. Neither young woman could read or write in her own language when she entered the United States as a refugee. In Pakistan, the family lived in the countryside near Islamabad before coming to the United States more than 2 years ago. When they arrived they entered the intensive English and cultural adjustment classes provided by the resettlement

agency. After about 3 months, at the beginning of the semester in the fall, they were enrolled in the ESOL Center high school. They both still took ESOL classes and a sheltered math class (i.e., one especially designed for limited-English students).

Sima's and Alya's mother dressed traditionally in a long dark skirt and dark shawl over her head when out in public. The family came from a small and remote village in northern Afghanistan. None of the adults in their family, their father, their mother, or their uncle, had been educated. Their mother remarried their father's brother, their uncle, who still lived in Pakistan with his first wife and family. It is not uncommon for men to take their brother's widow as a second wife, which is not only allowed in Islam, but for some groups is an obligation. When I asked what work the uncle did, Sima replied that he had only a part-time, or "small job." Sima and her mother worked nights at assembly line labor, along with several other Afghan women who lived in the same government-subsidized housing complex. They car-pooled together. In the evening, Alya had the responsibility to look after her younger brother and sister, cook meals, and clean the apartment. Her mother and sister got home from work after midnight.

My interviews with these two sisters could hardly have been more different. Sima, the older sister, was dressed in dark jeans and a long-sleeve t-shirt. Her demeanor was solemn and earnest and her emotional tone, flat. She seemed shy and a bit nervous. She said she had only attended school through the fourth grade in Afghanistan and did not attend school at all in her 7 years in Pakistan. She said she could not afford to go to school; she and her brother and sisters worked making rugs to support the fatherless family in exile. She was having a difficult time in school. Last semester she had failed two courses, geometry and critical thinking skills, but received a C in "English III

through ESOL" and a B in Earth/Space Science. Her grades for the current spring semester were looking better, and her attendance was fairly good.

Sima's English teacher remarked that Sima was very introverted, needed a lot of assistance, almost never participated in class, and kept to herself with almost no interaction with classmates or the teacher. She never volunteered answers and seemed afraid to make mistakes. She said Sima was not progressing well, and the teacher thought she exhibited signs of depression. I asked Sima if she had many friends, and she indicated she did among the female Afghan students but none among the other ESOL students or American students. Her realm of contacts was circumscribed by her Afghan friends from school and the apartment complex and from acquaintances from her night job. She seemed to have had no outside contacts, except with teachers, and that, too, was self-limited. Sima presented what appeared to be behaviors and the demeanor of possible depression. At the end of our conversations, I suggested to Sima that she might want to see Miss Amna, one of the school liaisons, for counseling.

In our interviews, Alya, Sima's younger sister, was an opposite personality type; she was animated, smiling, talkative, and energetic. Her face was round like her mother's and bright; her eyes sparkled, and she laughed and giggled over some of our conversation. Her answers to the interview questions were expressive and expansive. Alya was the only participant who thought the American way of dating and finding one's future husband were better than having one's family arrange her marriage, but she was prepared to accept the tradition: "In Afghanistan, you don't have a boyfriend, so I will marry someone I don't know. In America, it is better; I don't know who it is that I will

marry." She wished for the freedom of men to be out and about in the world; she said she would have chosen to be a boy if she had had the choice at birth.

Alya was 16 and seemed to be adjusting to her life in the United States more adroitly than her sister. Her attire was similar to her sister's, long-sleeved shirts and jeans. Her face was round and her dark hair was long and straight. Among her favorite pastimes were watching movies, some American, but mostly Indian movies. She also spent some part of each day talking on the phone to her best friend who had recently moved to the other side of the city and now attended a different high school.

Her grades were somewhat better than those of her older sister, with a B in "English III through ESOL" and only one failure—probably not surprisingly—in Business Systems and Technology. She was making Cs in Biology, World History, Art, and Geometry. Her English teacher reported that Alya was pleasant to have in class; she seemed to like school, liked to study, was inquisitive and readily participated in class discussions. She was lively, respectful, and liked to help others. The teacher added that Alya was popular with the other students, even being invited by a group of Latino students to join them on a group project. Alya had attended school in Afghanistan 1 year and 5 years in Pakistan. It appeared that the schooling of the oldest child, Sima, had been sacrificed to work for the benefit of the younger children and the family as a whole.

Alya and Sima both had attended the high-school age summer program last year to help them increase their abilities in English and math and to provide opportunities for socialization and recreational activities. Their brother and sister both had attended the summer camp organized by the resettlement agency, as well.

Aziza. Aziza was a very bright, articulate, mature 16-year-old; she was quite small even by Afghan standards, with dark almond-shaped eyes and dark hair worn often in a long single braid down her back. Although she had only been in the United States about 2 years, her English was exceptionally good. Aziza's family first resettled in Baltimore, but they had moved to this city after a year because they had had friends in residence here. Her father was a civil engineer in Afghanistan, having studied at the University of Moscow, and now he worked at Wal-Mart. Her mother, who had not finished high school, before coming to the United States stayed home to take care of the family, which included three boys and three girls. Aziza was the third oldest. Aziza assumed a lot of responsibility, working part-time as a grocery cashier on weekends and after school caring for a younger brother who had been born in exile in Kazakhstan and who had experienced serious health problems. Aziza described his condition this way:

> My little brother was born and 3 days old. He was sleeping and the nurse came and gave him injection. He got the shot and was in coma. After 6 months he was in coma and he has seizure. That was the big problem. We came here, to cure him. Yeah, and now he's going to doctor. He is getting better. He used to not walk when we came here. He started walking and we were happy. America helped. Yeah, and that's the big problem we have now because my mom has difficult with him. He has a tumor in his stomach. He takes a lot of care. He's going to special school. He's 5.

Aziza's oldest brother lived in England. Her older sister worked in a restaurant washing dishes and studied English at the community college; she was engaged to an Afghan man who lived in England whom she had never met. Aziza's mother worked at a hotel as a

housekeeper. I saw Aziza recently at her job at a grocery store, and she said the family was thinking of moving again to another city.

The family left Afghanistan about 8 years ago, living in Kazakhstan for 6 years, fleeing the Taliban regime, which assumed power in about 1996. Aziza's friends were members of the family of her parent's friends. The families spent holidays and other occasions getting together to share meals, conversation, and Afghan traditions.

Two major themes arose in the interviews with Aziza: the importance of education, both to her and to her family, and the prominence that "respect" played in her value-system. Aziza mentioned education in her interview 15 times, usually stated as "to get a good education." She mentioned "respect" and "respectful" 11 times discussing her relationship to her parents and a future husband's general nature and relationship to his wife, her future children's attitude, and her own attitude and that of other Afghan students toward their teachers.

While Aziza was among the most articulate and thoughtful of the participants, she was also among the most traditional. She made it a practice to always cover her arms and legs with long clothing, and she said before she came to the United States she and her mother and older sister wore scarves to cover their hair and neck. Asked about the difference she saw between Afghan and American girls, she said: "Afghan girls are really simple. I don't know how to say it, simple, they have to wear scarf when they go out of the house and they should." I asked her why she was not wearing a scarf these days and she replied: "It's hard, because people ask you about it. I used to wear it; at Ramadan [Muslim holy fasting days] I still wear it. But in my country when you're older, you should wear it when you go out."

Aziza's answers to the other questions about career, marriage, family, gender roles, and religion also tended to be more traditional. She scored an identity status of foreclosure in all three domains, the only participant to do so; all the others were in diffusion in the domain of Education/Vocation. Currently her identity was the ascribed identity of her family and her culture. The only major changes she saw between her life and that of her mother were education and career. She understood—especially because of the economic hardships imposed on the family by living in the United States with parents who do not speak English—the importance of having an education and a career that paid well. One of her most frequently used refrains were the words, "It's hard...." She used this phrase or a variation on it more than 20 times. For example:

> I think it's a little hard for newcomers. It's a little hard. Pretty hard when they come first, and then things will get much better and better as it goes along. Yeah, I like it. I want to get good education, the most important key of life. And that's pretty good, but the only thing is the language is difficult and the culture and customs. Everything is difficult for us. When I came here I didn't know anything in English, like I told, like I know only, 'hi, how are you?' When I came from school, I used to sit until 2:00 nights to look up every word in the dictionary and find what's my homework all about. So I used to learn it to help my family because nobody in my family could communicate with my sponsors, to help with the people who sponsor us.

Aziza was an exceptional student, making all A grades in the fall semester and on her way to making all As again in the spring, with one absence all year. Her teacher had many positive comments about Aziza. About her academic ability, the teacher made the

following comments: "Positively delightful and wide-eyed;" "enjoys learning;" "leaves no stone unturned and will pursue difficult problems until she understands;" "she is at the highest level of the ESOL program;" "competitive;" "very sophisticated writing;" "understands the intent of the material and can quote from the reading;" and "understands the way culture is embedded in the material." The teacher said Aziza actively pursued good grades and worked hard and intently at learning English.

About her demeanor and interactions with other students, the teacher commented that Aziza was pretty and confident, not shy, not self-conscious, not unwilling to talk to boys, but she did not touch boys. Overall she said her interactions were healthy and that she seemed to get positive feedback from home. The teacher commented that Aziza "dresses like the other girls," "buys the right clothes," and wears her hair "like American girls," "it's pretty, but it's always controlled."

Indeed, Aziza seemed very comfortable in talking with me and was very forthcoming in her answers. Every answer included a lot of detail, with both factual and emotional content. Her English was easy to understand and her vocabulary and grammar were more sophisticated than the other participants'.

Aziza expressed especially her feelings of loneliness, of not having a social life with friends. She lived in an apartment that had no other Afghan, nor any other Muslim students. She did not live in the government-subsidized apartments where four of the six participants live, and she felt isolated. She also told me about her interactions with American students and teachers:

> When I'm in school, some girls ask me about arranged marriage. And I'm saying yes, and they start laughing at me and that really hurts me. 'Cause I'm saying,

> "you shouldn't laugh at somebody's culture 'cause every culture is different. If they were all the same, there wasn't any problems. And you shouldn't laugh." I remember laughing and learning something strange about America culture and that's strange for me and new for me to learn and experience with people. And some people have different feelings and thinking. They're all good, that's all different and nice for that people, I think. You think that American culture is best culture and I think Afghan culture is the best culture because you have been living in that culture and I have been living in mine. There are some things that I don't like about American culture and I don't like about Afghan culture. But that is your culture and you have to accept that.

We continued to talk about problems she has had with people at school. Aziza said some of the ESOL students and one of her teachers chastised her about her traditional customs:

> All the people who are against, not only Americans, but the other students, like Bosnians, and especially different kids, laugh about marrying cousins, arranged marriages. A teacher was asking me if you can marry your cousin, and I said, "Yes, we can, but not often, but sometimes." But they were refusing me, say, "It's wrong." I said, "I didn't create this." They say "wrong," like to do some action. So, it hurts you, you know. They think I created that culture and it's wrong. It's interesting for me to tell them, but it hurts me when they refuse me. It hurts me when they say it's wrong. It's OK, I don't like to fight with anybody and I really want to be friendly 'cause I don't have any friends here. I want to be friendly if I

> have friends or something. I say it's OK with me, but you shouldn't refuse me 'cause I didn't create that.

Aziza can be a serious person: she expressed her loneliness and pain, but her overall demeanor was generally upbeat and optimistic. She seems to enjoy her job at the grocery store, perhaps because it combats the loneliness and isolation she feels in her apartment:

> Friday evenings and weekends, I go to work—I'm working at Publix. I work Sunday, Saturday, and Fridays 'cause the other days I have to study a little bit and my dad has somewhere to go, so I have to go with him to translate. I love [working at Publix], but it's a little hard, you know, because you have to remember all the codes. That's what I hate. I love working there. Nice people there.

I have twice had the opportunity to observe Aziza at work at the grocery store when she did not notice my presence, and both times she was engaged in conversations with other workers, smiling and talking in an animated manner. On one of the occasions she was in conversation with two young men who also worked in the store, and her manner appeared quite open and spirited.

From the interviews, it seemed evident that Aziza drew her strength from her family, especially her parents, and her religious traditions. Her center was located within her family and home. She was working hard to learn the language, to respect her family, to care for her brother, to earn money for the family, and to cope with the loneliness.

Mina. Mina was the youngest participant in the study, at 15. She lived with her two younger brothers and two younger sisters and her mother, having come to the United States 2 years ago from exile in Peshawar, Pakistan, where they had spent two years. Her father had been imprisoned in Afghanistan for several years but has since been released and was living in Pakistan. Her mother was making efforts to reunify the family in the United States, but she had been unable as yet to make the arrangements for her husband to rejoin the family. He had never seen his youngest child, a little boy. The family talked on the telephone every Sunday. The family expected their father to be able to come to the United States sometime soon. Mina greatly looked forward to that family reunification.

Mina's father had worked as a teacher and her mother as a banker in Kabul, Afghanistan, before the Taliban barred women from working outside the home. The Taliban also had required that women wear burkas, a garment that completely covered one head to foot, when in public. Her mother had a high school education, and her father had attended college. Probably because of, among other things, her age, Mina had not considered much about her future plans. When I asked her if she planned to get married some day, she giggled and said, "Yeah, but not now." I asked if her marriage would be arranged by her parents, and she said, "Yeah, I will do what my mother says." I asked if Mina and her mother had discussed her getting married, and she giggled again and responded, "No. Sometimes my mom say 'I'm going to pick your husband.' And I say, 'Nooooo.'" I asked if her mother was teasing her and she said, "Yeah." I also asked her what her mother did with her and her brothers and sisters when she worked as a banker and she responded, "We went to day care at the bank where my mother worked. And

when she came home she picked us up. My aunt was the daycare teacher. My aunt had children there, too."

Currently her mother was unemployed, but she was assiduously studying English at the community college so that she will qualify for a better job. The family lives in subsidized housing where many other refugees, including many Afghan families live, or have lived until they moved to other housing. A growing number of Afghan refugees, lived in the community; they gathered for special holidays, helped each other by sharing rides, looked after each other's children, and generally supported one another in whatever way was necessary.

Mina was still very young, a girl really. She reported that she enjoyed riding her bike, playing soccer and basketball, and visiting friends. These sports activities were rather unusual for Afghan females. She also enjoyed, as many of the participants reported, watching Indian movies and videos. Mina wore short sleeved t-shirts and blouses and said she never wore a scarf because she had been just a child in Pakistan. She wore her long dark hair in a pony tail, her skin tone was warm brown, and she had large dark eyes and a ready smile. She dressed in Western clothing, jeans and t-shirts, sometimes a short dark jacket. Her mother dressed stylishly with a chin-length page-boy style haircut and Western clothes. Mina said in Pakistan her mother used to cover her head but allowed some of "her hair to show a little bit." Mina's brother and sister both had attended the summer camp organized by the resettlement agency, and Mina had attended the high-school age summer program to help her increase her fluency in English and her math skills and to participate in socialization and recreational activities. One day a week the refugee high school group played games and sports with a group of Christian

youth who came from around the United States—a different group each week—to volunteer services to different non-profit agencies. The one day each week spent with the refugee high school students was always the volunteers' favorite day, their favorite task. The refugee youth enjoyed that day especially, as well.

Mina's ESOL teacher reported that her attendance and classroom participation were both excellent, her demeanor was open, and she "likes school, likes to study and is inquisitive." She added that Mina was lively, respectful, and liked to help others who were having difficulties. She said, "Mina is a student you really want to help." Mina's grades were good; she made an A in ESOL English in the fall—a 98 on her final exam—and was on her way to making another A for the spring semester. Her other grades were Bs and Cs.

In conversations with me, Mina was lively, cheerful, and eager to participate in my research. She was not shy and felt comfortable making eye-contact. She was forthcoming and fluent in answering the questions, but she did not really volunteer a lot more detail than I inquired about. She had a bit of a self-conscious giggle, especially if she did not quite understand the question. I spent time restating questions until she understood the meaning, and then she answered each question readily. As the youngest participant, many of her ideas about life, her place in the world, and her identity were not yet well formed.

Mina's mother was extremely pleasant, confident, and quite humorous in her conversation with me and the group of mothers and the interpreter when we met. Her English was better than that of the other mothers, and it was evident from our conversation that she was a very supportive mother to Mina.

Narja. Narja was a serious, seldom smiling, 19-year old senior in high school who lived in the United States alone with her mother. She reported that not only her mother and father, who was killed in the war with Russia 17 years ago, but all her relatives—her "aunties," her uncles, even her grandmother—were very well educated. Looking down in what seemed like shame, she added, "except for me." Her mother had taught high school in Afghanistan—before the Taliban assumed power—Afghan and world history. The family lived in the northern region of Afghanistan in a city called Mazar-i-Sharif which was ethnically different from the dominant Pashtun region of the South. Many are Hazara who are more closely ethnically linked to Iran; their language, Dari, also more closely resembles that which is spoken in Iran, identified as Farsi. In fact, many Afghans use those two terms interchangeably; although differences exist between the two languages, they are mutually understandable. The Hazara ethnic group was singled out for extermination by the Taliban because they were not considered to be Muslim by the Taliban.

Narja's mother had lost two brothers, killed by the Taliban about 2 years ago; she also had lost uncles and cousins in the war with Russia. She understandably felt these losses deeply, as did Narja. Narja and her sister and mother fled Afghanistan when the Taliban captured their city of Mazar-i-Sharif in 1998, fleeing to Turkmenistan where they lived for 4 years.

Narja had a 20-year-old married sister with two sons still living in Turkmenistan. Her mother was trying to file the paperwork needed to allow them to come to the United States, but so far she had been unable to make those arrangements with the United States governmental agency, part of Homeland Security. She could not bring them on a family

reunification visa because the sister had married and was no longer considered to be "immediate family." Many refugee families faced this same predicament, having married sons and daughters still living in the country of first exile and being unable reconnect the family.

Narja attended high school until 2:00, and then she and her mother worked together on the night shift, starting at about 4:00, on an assembly-line, ending their work about midnight or 1:00. On weekends, Narja worked at a fast food chicken restaurant, 11 hours each day, Saturday and Sunday. Needless to say, working 66 or more hours a week left little time for Narja to have any leisure activities or much time to study either.

Narja did not attend school in Turkmenistan, because, she said, she would have had to start in the first grade. When she came to the U.S. in 2001 she had not attended school for more than 4 years. In exile, her mother had continued to teach her and her sister, and currently Narja was making average grades in the high school. She came within four points of passing the English part of the Florida Comprehensive Assessment Test [FCAT] and had already passed the math section. Passing grades in both portions are required for high school graduation.

Narja's ESOL teacher reported that she occasionally fell asleep in class. He said she was serious and somber, but he did not think she was depressed. He described her demeanor as well-mannered, reserved, and quiet. Narja worried about her grades and tried hard, but the teacher felt she might have had some cognitive deficits. My feeling, in talking with Narja, was that she was, in fact,

quite possibly depressed; she was certainly overburdened for a 19-year old. She had to have been completely exhausted by her schedule and the demands made upon her mentally, emotionally, and physically. She was certainly her mother's main support.

Narja was a very pretty young woman with warm brown skin and straight black hair cut to shoulder length. Her dark eyes were cool and somber. She smiled little. Her demeanor in the interviews was pleasant but low-key. Her understanding of English was good, and she could respond well verbally, but her emotional tone was very flat. At the end of our conversations, I suggested she might want to meet with Miss Amna, one of the school liaisons, for some counseling. It seemed she might be feeling some depression and could certainly use some attention and affection from Miss Amna.

Narja had adopted Western dress including short sleeves. She said in the city of her origin, Mazar-i-Sharif, women did not wear scarves or long coats or dresses before the Taliban came. Her mother, when we met in her home, was dressed in Western clothes, stylish and feminine: black slacks, a red short-sleeve, open-necked sweater and jewelry. Her hair was cut shorter and more styled than that of many of the Afghan women whom I had met.

Even at the age of 19 and with an older sister married with two sons, Narja seemed reluctant to speculate about the future or to make plans. She was in the status of identity diffusion in education, career, and marriage plans. Her immediate goal was to pass the FCAT and was putting off all other plans until she had passed

that barrier. She rated the importance of the following on a 1 to 7 scale: college and career, 7; marriage, 4; and having children, 3. Her Muslim religion rated 7. She did not foresee any conflicts between career and marriage or between career and having children.

Zoya. The final participant, Zoya, was almost 20 years old and, at 5 years, had been in the United States longer than the others. Zoya worked full-time as an assistant manager at a grocery store. Her spoken and comprehended English was very good, but her grades in school were poor. During the fall semester she made three Fs, and one each B, C, and D. The D was in her ESOL English class. Her grades for the spring semester were somewhat better, but it was unlikely she would have enough credits to graduate from high school. Her attendance was sporadic, and, in addition to her full-time job, she had health problems that keep her from attending school regularly.

She complained of stomach problems and reported that she had some problems in maintaining her blood sugar level. My understanding from Zoya, the school liaison, and Zoya's ESOL teacher was that her father was reluctant to have her see a doctor because the family had no health insurance. This is a common problem among refugees; often their jobs, which are generally low-paying, provide no health insurance or other benefits. After the interview I discussed with Akbar, the school liaison, who also came from Afghanistan, Zoya's medical problems and the potential seriousness of them. He agreed to meet with the father

again—he had discussed this issue before—to repeat these concerns about her health.

Zoya began school in the United States in the ninth grade and is now in the twelfth grade. The ESOL teacher described Zoya as "not well," "with stomach problems," "a nervous disorder," and "panic attacks." She said Zoya was absent 2 or 3 days a week. Her report card reflected that she had missed fourteen days the first semester, but none half way into the second semester. The teacher went on to say that Zoya "likes to participate in class and frequently volunteers." Her demeanor was good when she was feeling well, but she could be quiet and sleep in class when she was not. The teacher also described Zoya as "argumentative when she feels slighted" and "has a need for a large personal space." The teacher reported that Zoya had had a fight in class with an African girl that involved hair-pulling.

Zoya was a strikingly beautiful young woman with dark almond shaped eyes, long dark hair, and exotic features. She was tall and had a more womanly body than the other participants. She was well-spoken and very forthcoming about her self and her family. She, at times, seemed too world-weary for her age; but she had lived a complex and difficult life for a 20-year old.

She was quite mature in some respects, taking on responsibility for supporting her family. Her father, who was significantly older than her mother, could not work due to a disability he experienced in his first year in the United States; her mother worked at a low-wage job because of her limited education and

skills in English. From the interview, it was obvious that Zoya felt deeply her obligation to take care of her family. She reported that she did not feel she could get married until one of her younger brothers was old enough to help share the burden of supporting the family. And she expressed reservations about being able to continue her education for the same reasons. Zoya reported that recently her younger sister became part of the work force, too. Zoya described her sister this way: "she's 16; she's in [a different high school]. She's really smart; her report card is great. She gets all As. She works at Publix. She started a few weeks ago. She works at home too; she cooks."

In the interview, she frequently mentioned her feeling of obligation to her parents, especially her concern for her father. Zoya reported that her father had been a high city official, perhaps the equivalent of a mayor in Harat, which is a city close to the Iran border, before the Taliban came to power. She also reported that the Taliban had shot her older sister and an uncle and that someone had drowned a younger brother. It was difficult to follow Zoya's family lineage because her father had another family, whom she referred to as her step-mother and step sisters and brothers who were older than she. That family lived now in Iran. Zoya's family left Afghanistan because her father feared being killed by the Taliban. Zoya's mother was his second wife in a polygamous arrangement. Zoya and her family had lived in several other places before settling in the United States, including time in Harat, Ukraine, Iran, Kabul, and most recently, Pakistan. Zoya reported that she could speak Persian (Farsi) which is close to Dari, Russian,

and English. She also said she could speak Hindi from watching many Indian movies.

Zoya, although almost 20 years old and a resident of the United States for 5 years, had made no real plans for her future. She tacitly accepted the obligation placed on her by her family and the traditional expectations of her family and her culture. Still, her response led me to think that a growing difference appeared to be developing between her own desires and the expectations of the family. Zoya's age, the length of her time in the United States, and her aunt who had been in the country for 15 years, probably gave her a little different understanding of alternative ways of living than the other participants possessed at this point.

The three themes that I found common to all six young women were the importance of family, respect, and education. Every participant talked about these three values, which to them were the guiding values of their lives. The young women often quoted their parents directly about these values or talked about how actions against any of these values would hurt or disappoint their parents. Other researchers (Ajrouch, 1997, 2000; Basit, 1996, 1997; Husain & O'Brien, 1998; Sharif & Nighat, 1997) have noted the importance of these same values among other Muslim groups, not just Afghans. These salient values—family, respect, and education—help explain, I believe, the identity status findings that I report in the next section.

Table 3. Summary of Significant Demographic Information

Pseudo-nym	Age	Grade in School	Education of Parent(s) & Employment in Afghanistan	Yrs in U.S./ Yrs in Other Country	Student Currently Employed
Zoya	19	12	Mother: high school, never worked Father: college, high government position	5 years/ 5 years in Pakistan	Full-time, assistant manager at grocery store
Narja	19	12	Mother: college, high school history teacher Father: (deceased at least 17 years)	3 years/ 4 years in Turkmenistan	Full time, assembly labor, night shift with mother and week-end fast-food (66 hours/week)
Sima	**19**	**12**	Mother: illiterate, never worked Father: (deceased) illiterate Mother remarried to uncle, who lives in Pakistan	2 ½ years/ 7 years in Pakistan	Full time, assembly labor, night shift with mother

Alya (Sister of Sima)	16	11	Mother: illiterate, never worked Father: (deceased) illiterate Mother remarried to uncle, who lives in Pakistan	2 ½ years/ 7 years in Pakistan	No
Aziza	16	10	Mother did not graduate from high school, never worked Father: civil engineer	3 years/ 6 years in Kazakhstan	Part-time, grocery store cashier
Mina	15	9	Mother: high school graduate, banker. Father: college, teacher. (Imprisoned and separated from family for 4 years)	2 ½ years/ 2 years in Pakistan	No

Identity Status Findings

To assist the reader in recognizing the participant discussed at any given time, I am introducing this section with a table (see *Table 3*), summarizing some of the significant biographical data of each participant.

In looking at the identity statuses of each of the six participants, I found a perhaps surprising similarity among their responses to questions concerning the three domains: (a) Education/Vocation Plans; (b) Family/Career Priorities; and (c) Religious/Political

Beliefs. I address each domain separately and indicate the identity status for each participant in each domain.

Domain: Education/Vocation Plans. In the Education/Vocation domain, five of the six participants scored low in exploration and low in commitment, resulting in the status of identity diffusion. Only Aziza scored in identity foreclosure. "The typical vocational identity diffusion expresses lack of commitment to any career. Little or no urgency is felt about a time by which one might make such decisions; thus, activity directed to that end is minimal" (Marcia, 1993, p. 187). None had done any real career exploration on the internet; they had no computers in their homes, and most did not know how to use the computers in the library to do research. None had visited post-secondary institutions in the community. None had made any specific plans for continuing their education, although all expressed the desire to do so. None had made any serious attempts to investigate their future educational or vocational options. The reasons for this lack of exploration of educational or vocational options I shall discuss further in chapter V, Conclusions and Implications.

When asked about a future vocation, Zoya, who was 19 and currently working as an assistant manager in a grocery store as well as attending—rather irregularly—high school, reported considering many more vocational possibilities than the other respondents. Zoya made the following responses to the interview questions:

Have you thought what you will do after high school?

I would love to go to college. If you are educated you can do something in the future. But if my mom is sick, there is no one to take care of the family, and it is hard for me to take care of the college, the house, my little brothers and sisters. But if my mom is trying to be better, I would like to go. I would like to apply for nursing, to be a nurse.

How did you decide on nursing?

I don't know; when I was little I held medicine needles with my hands. And my mom was telling me I was looking at people's temperature and stuff. I decided then, I don't know. I think I've always wanted to be a nurse.

What do you think you would like about nursing?

I think it's good if somebody gets sick in your family, you can take their temperature, blood pressure, everything. If you continue in nursing you can become a doctor.

What do you think you would not like about nursing?

The bad part is that I don't know which kind of position I'd choose to be a nurse 'cause there's a lot of choices. You know, like somebody getting pregnant and stuff. To touch their (*she gestures toward the genital area*), I think that wouldn't be good. Maybe a doctor, I don't like to be in surgery, seeing blood.

Are you working on picking out a career? Are you thinking about it a lot?

I think about a lot. I think to be a manager. That's the first thing. The first thing was nursing. Thinking I might to be a manager, manager for anywhere. That's a good thing. My third thing is to travel to help people and to talk to each government and stuff. And you can just learn different languages.

When do you want to have decided?

I think that when I finish high school and pass the FCAT [the standardized test necessary to graduate from high school]. I will be so happy. And I can decide anything I want.

Are you looking for information on those three careers?

For nursing I found a lot of information. Someone said you have to get a high school diploma if you want to be a nurse. But some people are taking 6 months and then a test. If you pass, you can do nursing. If I pass FCAT, I can go ahead and study for that. If I don't pass that, I have to go take the nursing test to study nursing.

Have your parents told you anything about what they'd like you to do?

My parents, my dad, always thought about to be a lawyer. I don't know why he thinks to be a lawyer. And then he said a lawyer or a journalist. I think it would be hard to be a journalist, but I'd love to be a journalist. I write stories and things.

What about your mother?

She told me that my thing is just to be something to take care of your future later on, to be something to take care of your child later on.

What do your parents think of nursing?

My dad thinks that's a good idea. My mom likes that one and my aunt.

What about the plan to travel around?

They all like that. I just pray to God. If I had money, I would help poor people in my country. If I had extra money.

While Zoya showed signs of exploration, the exploration was very shallow. She has done little to gather information on any of the vocations mentioned and does not seem motivated to make an early decision. She appeared to lack seriousness in her exploration and little commitment to any one vocation. In a later question about marriage and family, she stated that she just wants to stay home and take care of her home and family.

All the other participants answered the question about what they would do after high school with the intention to continue their education. Most of them expressed concern about passing the FCAT, the standardized test one must pass in order to receive a high school diploma rather than a certificate of attendance at graduation. At this point none had passed the English part of the FCAT, although three had scored very well and were intending to take it again in the next 2 months. Three participants mentioned nursing, one a dentist, one a doctor or engineer, and one a banker like her mother. None had done anything to actively gather information on those vocations, but all knew they needed to continue into post-secondary education in order to attain those vocations. In each case their commitment to the stated vocation seemed extremely low. With low exploration and low commitment, each is, for now, in an identity diffusion status in regards to educational and vocational planning.

Alya was just 16 at the time of the interview and had only attended school for 5 years (in Pakistan) before coming to the United States; she came from a small, remote Afghan village. Her parents were illiterate. She indicated that she wanted to be a doctor or an engineer; she suggested engineer because she knew that Akbar, the school liaison

from Afghanistan, is a civil engineer, but when I asked her what an engineer does, she had no idea.

Mina's mother graduated from high school and worked in a bank in Afghanistan before it was disallowed by the Taliban regime. Mina's mother is ambitious and is actively pursuing English language education in the United States so that she may again seek such work here. Mina was 15 years old and in the ninth grade, perhaps a little young to have thought much about a future vocation. It was evident from her interview that Mina had not explored her future vocation yet.

Do you think your mother has plans for what she'd like you to do?

Just my mother said, "You should go to college. You can work in a bank." I thought about being a doctor, but my mom said it's hard. My mom said nurse is good, too....But she likes me to work in a bank. That's what she did.

Aziza was a very mature 16-year-old; she already worked as a cashier in a supermarket and helped care for a younger brother with significant health problems. Aziza had given her future somewhat more thought and formulated a more committed plan. I classified her as a foreclosure in the area of vocation, but she does not fully meet the criteria because, although she is committed and has a strong emotional tone and resistance to being swayed, her real knowledgeability and activity directed toward implementation is minimal at this stage. But she was only 16. The influence of her family is evident in her statements which also help classify her status as foreclosure. This is how she answered the questions on plans after high school:

Have you thought about what you will do after you graduate from high school?

The most thing I'm thinking about is being a nurse after high school. And that's why my parents came here for us to get our education. And I'm trying hard to reach my goal. 'Cause America is (pause) it's easy here to reach your goal with more freedom and more rights. I like it. I'm learning to be a nurse. I have to go to college. I think it's 4 years to be a nurse.

How did you decide you wanted to be a nurse?

'Cause (pause) Can I think a minute? Ah, actually my family wanted me to be a doctor and I hated to be a doctor. Then I decided to become a nurse. So that's much easier. And it's a few years to go. So I'd like to be a nurse to help. When I go to hospital, and I'm looking at the nurse, they're friendly, and helping the kids, and checking stuff, check-up stuff. And my family likes that.

When did you decide to become a nurse?

I heard that my family likes me to be a doctor. I decided to be a nurse, not a doctor. When I came in America, a couple of years ago.

What do you think you would like about being a nurse?

That's a hard question. I never thought about why I'd like to be a nurse. There's so many good things. You get good money. Respect from people. Good to work in hospital. I love to work in hospital. The only thing I'm thinking about is to get my good grades and pass the FCAT. I'm not thinking about 2 years from now. It helps me to remember to think about it.

Have you thought about other jobs, other careers, you might like?

First I thought I like computer science. Then I changed my mind. My family changed my mind. 'Cause I love computers. And then my family changed. But I love nursing, too. As soon as I get the good grades and pass everything.

Did you give computer science serious consideration? Did you think about it much?

Not really very much because 2 years ago I was in high school and I thought maybe that's the first position I saw so I can think about it to see what happens. Then my family decides me to be a nurse or doctor.

Was it difficult, then, to decide to be a nurse?

Not really. My family think that to be a nurse is a good thing and giving encouragement. So I decide to be a nurse.

Do you think it is important to decide now?

Yeah, because 2 years is gone too fast and I have 2 more years and I have to decide what I should be in the future. I should plan—start planning—my future. And that helps me. I have to decide what I should be after I finish my school and where I should go off to school and what should I do.

In contrast to 16-year old Aziza, Narja, at age 19, had given almost no thought to her future. Her mother, a former high school history teacher in Afghanistan before the Taliban took power, was well educated and well spoken in English. Narja was working a burdensome schedule of 66 hours a week at two jobs—one at night on an assembly line with her mother and the other a week-end job at a fast-food establishment—besides going to school full-time. Her emotional tone was flat throughout our interviews which may

have reflected her exhaustion or may have been an indication of other problems. She seemed to show signs of possible depression, and I suggested that she talk to the school liaison for counseling. Here are her responses in the domain of future plans for her education and vocation:

> *Have you thought about what you will do after you graduate from high school?*
>
> I have no idea. For right now I just want to pass the FCAT. When I pass that, then I am going to think, you know. I am thinking about taking something for two years because I don't like the job that I have now. And I want to do something better, you know. To study something. But I want to keep studying and keep working. I have to.

Unlike other participants Narja could not name any particular vocation she had even considered, she was focused merely on passing the FCAT and leaving assembly line work. Her exploratory activities, even her exploratory thoughts, were nil.

Table 4. Summary of Identity Statuses in Education/Vocation Domain

Pseudonym	Age	Grade	Education/Vocation	Exploration	Commitment
Zoya	19	12	Diffusion	Low	Low
Narja	19	12	Diffusion	Very Low	Low
Alya	16	11	Diffusion	Low	Low
Sima	19	12	Diffusion	Low	Low
Mina	15	9	Diffusion	Low	Low
Aziza	16	10	Foreclosure	Low	High

Table 4 summarizes results of the analyses of the individual participants' interviews in the domain of education and vocation plans with each of the participants.

All the participants indicated that they did not want to get married immediately after high school and that they wanted to attend college. For some, this is not a realistic expectation because they have missed so much schooling. The Taliban did not allow female students to attend school in Afghanistan, and the refugees' education was additionally disrupted in the place of their first resettlement in another country. Narja described her education in Turkmenistan this way: "[I didn't go to school there] because they just put you in first grade, even at 18, and I didn't like that. I stayed at home." By the time they reached the United States, their educational deficit was so great that it is unrealistic to think that they will be able to graduate and continue into college immediately. Educational remediation will be required. As refugees they can continue to access free English (ESOL) classes at the community college or at the refugee resettlement agency. For some, the deficit was somewhat compensated by a parent's education, but for others whose parents were illiterate the deficit may be insurmountable. Significantly, education was one of the dominant themes that persisted throughout all the interviews. It was obvious that education had a high valence for these young refugee women and their families.

Domain: Family/Career. In the domain of Family and Career Priorities, again, all six participants scored similarly. I found them all to he in the identity status of foreclosure, low in exploration and high in commitment. Each participant seemed not to be thinking about marriage very much, but each planned to get married at some date in the distant future.

The two youngest participants Mina and Aziza, ages 15 and 16, especially, had not given much thought to marriage yet. Aziza's answers were typical:

Do you have plans to be married some day?

Yes, that's in my parents' hands and I really don't think about that much. I think after I get graduated and I'm starting on my own, independent, I will think about marriage.

What do you mean by "independent"—not living with your parents?

Still living with my parents, that's part of my culture. A girl should live with their parents until she gets married. I have to get my own things to be on your own so you can run your life yourself.

Do you expect to get married some day?

Yeah and my parents will choose my husband. In my culture girls not looking for husband, the boys are coming to the girl's house and they're asking for the girl if they want to marry with them. If the girl and the families agree with them, then they are really looking for their background, their character, not money. Just character and background. Good person, good personality, and family. Then they will get engaged.

When do you think that will be? How old would you like to be when you get married?

Let me think. (Pause) Ah, I think I have 2 more years and 4 more years. In 6 years, after college.

What kind of person would you like to marry?

That is really hard. The most important thing, I think, he should be respectful—a little respectful, a little cheerful; the more cheerful, the more happy the family.

What are the responsibilities of a woman, a wife, in a marriage?

A woman should take care of the kids, should take care of the house and stuff. Same as here [in the United States], I think. Woman is equal. A wife is equal to husband.

How important is it to you to get married?

I think all girls should get married 'cause that's like a dream. That's like a goal to get married and have a whole family. I think that's 6 [on 7-point scale]. 'Cause if you see all girls go to school, get education to build a family, to create a good family. That's what is important thing for all women. Because if you get a good education, you get a better job and you can create a nice family with a nice husband, and kids and nice job.

Aziza worked at the time of the interview as a part-time cashier at a grocery store. Her mother worked as a housekeeper in a hotel, but it was her first employment outside the family, and Aziza reported that her mother resented having to work. So while Aziza was in foreclosure status on marriage planning for a traditional pattern of marriage and family, she had accommodated to the fact that education and employment opportunities were also important in the United States for women. I asked Aziza next about having children and the priorities of career, marriage, and children.

So, you plan someday to have children. Why would you want to be a mother?

A hard question. I would want to have nice kids.

Suppose you have a child. What is your responsibility to the child?

Same responsibility as my parents have with me. They take care of me and they really work hard to get my education to make me. To feel that I have education and I'm a nice person. What else? They came here for me to get my education and to learn something and to know much better all different cultures and all different customs. And to be, *(pause)* and to have good behavior and you have to respect your elders and stuff.

What responsibilities would your husband, their father, have?

He should advise the kids. And advise in good ways. He should discipline in right ways. He should set an example. And, what else? Yeah, he should discipline and teach how to respect, how to be a respectful kid.

Later, I asked:

Would you consider not having children?

No, even if you don't like it, one day you will be a mother. Even if you don't like to get married, it is my parents' responsibility to marry you. It's your responsibility.

Even if you don't want to?

Yeah. And usually the girl agrees with that. Usually in my country even if you don't want.

What if you don't like who your parents choose for a husband?

You will tell your family you don't like him. The family will tell his family we don't want them to get married together. Some girls are not getting married if parents decide. They can get married by themselves. I know some girls that decide for themselves. It was OK for some families.

Would that be OK for your family?

I don't think so. Because they have more experience about those things and know more about those things.

Did your father and mother know each other?

After they came to ask for her hand, they look at my dad's background and find out much more. And then they decide to marry.

Do you think that works well?

Yeah, it works well 'cause I have experience of my sister. My sister got engaged here and she didn't see her fiancée yet. He's in England and she's so happy and the boy is really happy even if they didn't see each other.

Later I asked:

Would you consider not having children? Would anything make you change your mind?

No, 'cause children make a family. They're important. I don't like to be alone. That's the only thing I hate in this world. I have to have people. It's really important to have a family. That's the main point of the life, to have kids, to be a mother, to have a nice family and to have a good education.

Later, I asked:

What do you think are some of the problems that might come up being married and having a career? Do you think there might be problems?

Yeah, there is a little problem because if you concentrate on your career and then you lose your marriage by concentrating on that. You have to think about both of them equally.

What about problems with career and children?

Like you can't take care of your kids if you have kids and you can't take of your house and you get tired. And you don't have time to spend with your husband. You get tired and you just want to sleep, chill out, and you're stressed. It's a big responsibility. Very huge 'cause you have to think of three things, three big things. You have to take care of your kids. You have to take care of your husband, and you have to take care of your career. You wouldn't know what to do, you know. You'd get messed up with three big things.

How do you think you might solve some of those problems?

You have to plan it, how what's the right time to take care of your husband, and what's the right time to take care of your kids, and the right time to go to work. And to get more sleep. You have to schedule everything.

Aziza was very mature for her age and assessed the dilemma of many families in which both parents work. Other participants did not analyze the situation so fully nor have a solution—like scheduling—in mind.

The one traditional protocol that all but one of the six agreed upon was that they did not want to have a boyfriend nor choose their husband themselves. They preferred the traditional way of having a parent select the marriage partner. Only Alya, age 16, disagreed with the practice, but she did not consider not complying with it: "People in America got boyfriend and girlfriend and they get married. In Afghanistan, it's not like that. In America, it's good. In Afghanistan, we don't have boyfriends, so I will marry someone I don't know. In America, it's better. I don't know who I will marry."

When asked if she would one day marry, Narja, who also resisted speculating on her vocation, responded "Not now. Not for a long time." Mina said, "Yeah, but not now." Alya replied, "I don't know. Someday." Only Sima, who is 19 and whose mother married at 14, responded that she would never marry, but indicated in a later question that she would if she met a nice man. I asked if many Afghan women did not get married and she answered, "No." When I asked about the advantages of being married, she still responded: "I'm not thinking about marriage at all." And she rated marriage as a "3" on a scale of 1 to 7. However, subsequently she rated being a mother as a "7." When I checked that she intended these answers as they stood, she said she did. I said, "Maybe I don't understand, would you like to get married some day?" And she replied, "Some day." I asked her if her mother would choose her husband and she said,

> No, he will come to my home and ask, 'Please give me your daughter for me.' His father, mother, auntie, uncle will come to my home and ask 'Please give your daughter to my son.' My father [in fact, a step-father who is an uncle, brother to her dead father, living in Pakistan] and mother will come to me and ask, 'Do you like him?' I will live my life like in my country.

When I asked Mina about being a mother, she replied that "Everybody is a mother. I like big families." When I asked her about possible conflicts between being married, having a career and being a parent, she said she had not thought about that and did not know what problems or conflicts could arise.

All the respondents had given more thought to having a family than to having a husband, perhaps because they are not allowed to date or choose a husband, so they do

not really have to be concerned about that facet of their lives and make no specific and independent plans for marriage.

Zoya, who was also 19, but had been in the United States longer than the others, demonstrated more complex thinking on the subject of family and career priorities. Her mother was the second wife of her father in a polygamous family, and Zoya had a step-mother and family living in Iran.

Do you plan to be married some day?

Uh (pause) yeah, if my other brothers are older so they can take care of my family. I mean, I think none of the girls live with their parents. Especially in my country if the girls turn more than 20 or 25 or 26 years old, they think they are bad or something. Why they are not getting married? That's why (pause) they think daughters growing up should get married. Everyone thinks you should get married. Right now I don't think I should get married. I don't want to with my life. Everything will change a lot if get married. But right now I don't want because I work hard for my parents. I just want more freedom to do with my life and then I'm going to get married. 'Cause if you get married, you have to take care of your parents and you have to take care of your child.

When do you think you might want to get married?

If I have a chance, I want to be educated. When my parents says no you have to get married and stuff. I mean I love my family. I just don't want to break their heart. But they love me very much, whatever you want to do. I will marry to my country[man]. If they say if we find the right person for you, if you like them, you can marry, if you don't, don't marry. You have a choice if you want to or not.

What kind of person would you like to marry?

Intelligent, work in the home, children, wife and everything. Of course, no cheating. If I want to live with my parents, he should say yes. 'Cause I don't want to leave my parents alone. If they said you have to get married right now. I respect my family. I think a lot of people are looking for a cute man, a cute guy. But not everything for cute. You have to know the person, if nice. 'Cause I know a lot of men who are cheating their wife. I don't want that kind of guy.

Could he have another wife? (As her father does.)

No. I kill him.

How old would you like to be when you marry?

27 or 28. That's a good age.

What would be your role as wife?

When I was telling my mom, I said when I get married, my husband to work outside, I work inside. I cook and stuff. I can do part time, be a nurse. 'Cause I'm tired right now. I've been working a lot. I'm going to marry a man with a good career, more money, so they can take care of the family so I can stay at home and do the house work.

[This was the same young woman who was working full-time as an assistant manager in a grocery and who named six or seven possible careers, including traveling to other countries to talk about peace.]

Could you change your mind about getting married, or are you sure you will marry some day.

Nine or ten years. Well, yeah, when I was in my country, oh my God, my dad, some people walk into my house, I was 15. They say you have to get your daughter married to my son. I cry a lot; my father say you have to get married some day. I say if I get married now I can't take care of anything. 'Cause I was working in the house, cooking, cleaning. People think I was good to be a wife, to take care of everything. My mom was unhappy if I get married. My dad was happy with that. Afghan people are getting married at 15 years old. Some people get their daughter married at 13 years old. I think that is not a good idea. My dad said to them, "Not right now."

What are your parents' opinions about your idea of getting married at 27 or 28?

Yeah, my mom she was asking my dad when I was 15. My mom say my daughter not getting married until she turn 20. And now I tell them I'm going to be 20 next month. And I tell them don't think about me getting married right now. They said, "I'm proud of you. It's a really good thing that you don't want to get married right now."

Do you have boyfriends?

No. There's a lot of people asking me out. No. My dad doesn't like it. I just don't want to break his heart.

Have you met any boys who you are attracted to?

There are some that look very nice, some are from my country, some from different country. But I just tell the truth. I just can't break my family heart. I work hard for my family till now. If I do something bad they're going to hate me forever. Till I get married.

What do you think are the advantages of getting married?

My thing is to wait till 27 or 28 to get married. You can have a lot of family love. You have children. I love children. And life is going to be changed. Another life is going to come. I think it's good, interesting. I love to learn [teach] little kids.

What do you think are the disadvantages of getting married?

I think it's good to be married. And not be alone. Your parents are not going to be alive forever. And you cannot live by yourself all the time. When you get sick who's going to take care of you? Nobody. If you broke your leg or your arms, it's hard if you have nobody around. I think it's good to be married.

How important to you is marriage on a 7-point scale.

I think on 6.

I continued the interview and asked about the conflicts between career and marriage and family. Zoya responded:

I want to stop working to take care of them [children]. When they get older, I could start working again. I want, when I have babies, you can just stop working till they get older and they know what they're doing. I think like five years old. I think the second child when he be old, I might go back to work. I think if kids are in school, someone has to go pick them up, making food, cleaning the house, a lot of problems.

How would you solve those problems?

Um (pause), I think there's, it's hard. Feeding the children, wash the dishes, and after that clean something else, then clean something else, it's hard.

All six participants planned to be married and have children. All six expected their parent(s) or other relatives to select or approve their husbands when he and/or his relatives request the marriage. All expected to have children, but not too many; most responded that they wanted one boy and one girl. They seemed to expect to work; although for most, that is a departure from tradition in their home country and many of their own mothers had never worked before coming to the United States. One mother still did not work because of her lack of education, English language skills, and other issues. The participants had not, for the most part, explored alternatives to marriage and family, but they were fairly firmly committed, or resigned, to fulfilling that role in life, combining that role in whatever way they could with their education and career plans. This result was similar to what one might have found in the United States before the 1970s and the feminist movement of that era. In the domain of Family/Career priorities, they all fit into the status of foreclosure, accepting their traditional cultural roles.

Table 5. Summary of Identity Statuses in Family/Career Domain

Pseudonym	Age	Grade	Family/Career Priorities	Exploration	Commitment
Zoya	19	12	Foreclosure	Low	High
Narja	19	12	Foreclosure	Low	High
Alya	16	11	Foreclosure	Low	High
Sima	19	12	Foreclosure	Low	High
Mina	15	9	Foreclosure	Low	High
Aziza	16	10	Foreclosure	Low	High

Table 5 summarizes the identity status of each participant, revealing both the low exploration of alternatives and the high commitment or acceptance of each to the

expected role in their culture, which places each in the identity status of foreclosure in this domain.

Domain: Religious/Political. The Political domain had little relevance to the young women I interviewed. None understood the words or concepts of the semi-structured interview questions like "conservative," "moderate," or "liberal." Even attempts to translate or explain the concepts did not change their responses. They had no knowledge of or interest in United States politics. We did discuss situations in their homeland and general topics of war and peace, poverty, education—particularly education of females—homelessness, and similar topics, but these were, generally speaking, topics I suggested on which some participants held opinions, but most had little to say. I do not believe the questions on politics led to any useful information about the young women themselves. This may reflect their age, their lack of exposure to political discussions at home or at school, or their compliance with cultural expectations regarding women and politics. It is impossible to determine from my interviews the reasons for this apolitical stance. However, all the participants had strong feelings and opinions about religion. The participants were specifically selected for this study because they were Muslim. When asked, each of them indicated that their parents were Muslim also.

In terms of customs of dress as it may have been affected by the beliefs and customs of their religion, all of the young women had long hair which they wore in a pony tail, a braid, or straight down. Some of the young women chose to always wear long sleeves and long pants, but this was often jeans and t-shirts, blouses, or sweaters. I never saw any of them wear a skirt, but some reported wearing long skirts or dresses. This long-

sleeve, long-pants or skirt was the only choice of dress that differed from the main stream society, and all seemed to be conscious in selecting their clothes of current teenage styles. They all dressed within the boundaries of typical teenagers; none stood out for their clothing choices.

The participants' answers to questions about religion were quite similar. They all believed in one God, Allah, and had never questioned that belief. They practiced daily prayer and discussed religion with Muslim friends and reinforced each others' understanding about religion. And they intend to marry a Muslim and bring their children up as Muslims. None of them regularly attended the local mosque, which they call the "masjid," except on special holidays. This may be due to the specific sect and nationality of the Imam who is leader of the only local mosque. He is from Pakistan and is a Shi'ite Muslim, and these young women are Sunni Muslims.

They accepted Islam as "the one true religion" as stated in one of the questions. Still, Narja stated:

> I don't hate people who are not Muslim. I think they are Muslim, too, in my mind, because they are praying in a different way and we are praying in a different way. They think there is one God, and we think there is one God.

And several mentioned discussing Islam with American students who asked questions about their religion and said they liked to talk about it, not to convert others, but to inform them so that misunderstandings were corrected.

Aziza said, about the importance of visiting the mosque,

> Yeah it's really important because it's the place where (pause) especially for the men pray there. Because the masjid is like Allah's home or something that they

go there and think if you pray there (pause). It's really important to pray there because they're more happy and if you wish something in masjid, it will, like it will feel sooner than if you pray at home. It's a special place to pray in Muslim religion.

Would you like to go to school at the masjid?

I used to go in my country. I used to go when we have a holiday. The Qur'an we studied that. I can read it. Yeah, in Arabic, and now I'm teaching my little brothers, now that we're here.

Is Islam the one true religion?

I think so. Reading those books, I have the feeling it is the true religion.

Is there a difference between the way you believe and they way your parents believe?

No, no all the same. When you're a Muslim you get all feeling, believe the same. Some, like you have Christian and Catholic, we have different parts, Sunni and Shi'a. I'm a Sunni. They [Shi'a] believe more in another prophet and we believe in Mohammed, which was the last prophet and they believe in another one.

On a 7-point scale, how important to you is your religion?

7—Very important to have.

I asked the participants whether they could fulfill the expectation of making prayers five times a day. None of them said they did that, but most said that they prayed in the morning and when they got home from school and in the evening, three prayers a day. I asked if they prayed with their family or alone, and they said they prayed alone.

Narja who lives alone with her mother, and they both work together on the night shift in an assembly-line job, made an interesting comment when I asked her how important religion is to her mother: "You know my mom, I don't know, she's different. She is not praying five times a day. She says if our heart is clean, God will make good with her. She's not praying. She's not fasting. And she's Muslim."

All participants gladly talked with me about their religion, and all were firm in their commitment to Islam. That was the religion of their family, and that was their religion, too, without question. Therefore, all would be classified as Identity foreclosure in the domain of Religion. Table 6 summarizes those findings.

Table 6. Summary of Identity Statuses in Religious Domain

Pseudonym	Age	Grade	Religion	Exploration	Commitment
Zoya	19	12	Foreclosure	Low	High
Narja	19	12	Foreclosure	Low	High
Alya	16	11	Foreclosure	Low	High
Sima	19	12	Foreclosure	Low	High
Mina	15	9	Foreclosure	Low	High
Aziza	16	10	Foreclosure	Low	High

I also discussed with each participant their understanding and attitude toward gender roles. Although this is not formally codified in the identity domains, it is included in Marcia's semi-structured interview. The questions seemed difficult for the participants to conceptualize and understand. Being a woman was so much a part of who they were, so intrinsic to their identity, that it was difficult for them to analyze the foundations of those female identities; they had never given much thought to how they understood the

role of women in their culture or where they learned the role. The one question that produced significant answers was this: *If you could have chosen when you were born to be a boy or a girl, which would you have chosen to be?* Apparently this question allowed the participants to comprehend better the gender role differences. Three of the six young women would have chosen to have been born male.

Aziza volunteered: "If it was my choice, I'd be a boy. 'Cause when woman has, you know, (*menstrual periods*). I hate that. I'd be a boy. I love to work outside. I love to help my dad. It's a more comfortable life when you're a boy. You know in Muslim religion, woman has to wear those scarves and to cover all the face and men doesn't have to. That's one reason I'd want to be a boy. Table 7 shows their individual answers to that inquiry.

Table 7. Answers to preferred gender question

Pseudonym	Age	Grade	Chosen to be boy or girl?
Zoya	19	12	Boy
Narja	19	12	I don't know
Alya	16	11	Boy
Sima	19	12	Girl
Mina	15	9	Girl
Aziza	16	10	Boy

It is my conclusion that none of the young women had gone through a period of significant identity exploration at this point in their life. In the three domains the young women were in a status of foreclosure for two of the domains, Religious and

Family/Career, indicating that they were accepting the traditional values and identities received from their parents and their culture. In the area of Education/Vocation, all but one was in an identity status of diffusion, the other in a status of foreclosure. All but one of the young women had mothers who had a high school education or less, and all but two had mothers who had never worked outside the home before coming to the United States. None of the mothers had worked in the years immediately before coming to the United States. Education and career planning for women is a relatively new phenomenon for these families. Therefore it is little wonder that, given their background and the participants' ages, they are in a state of confusion, or diffusion in this area. The only one who had made up her mind about a career had been instructed by her parents what she would become and was, therefore, in foreclosure in that domain. In chapter V, I shall further interpret these findings.

In this chapter I have presented the individual stories of the six participants and analyzed their responses in the semi-structured interviews to determine the identity status of each individual within each of the three primary domains that comprise one's identity. While their stories differed in the details, the larger picture of each young woman was remarkably similar. In the next chapter I endeavor to interpret these findings and to delineate the implications I take from the data in this chapter. I make some recommendations for improvement in educational and resettlement practices.

Chapter V. Conclusions and Implications

The first section of this chapter presents the social, cultural, and familial circumstances affecting the identity statuses of the participant young female Muslim refugees from Afghanistan; how their identity statuses differ from Western women of the same age; the possible factors explaining those differences; and the changes one might expect from this cohort in the next 5 years. The next section addresses the original research questions and the implications of this research for education and refugee resettlement policy makers and practioners. Finally, I evaluate thc methodology, look at the need for further research, and offer some concluding remarks.

In this research—while I entered it open to any discoveries—I did expect to find, both from the literature and from my own informal observations of other refugee Muslim women, that the participants might be in a state of internal dissonance and external conflict with their families and communities. I had reason to expect them to be negotiating their identities in a more confrontational manner. Blos (1962) emphasized that the adolescent's process of identity formation necessitates an increasing emotional disengagement from, and conflict and tension with, parents. But, in fact, this is not what I found at all: I found the young women living almost completely within the fold of the Afghan Muslim community, with little meaningful interaction with the majority society of the United States. With some notable exceptions, they were reproducing in the United

States their traditional roles brought from Afghanistan. This conclusion, while at some divergence from other research, is important information and insight for teachers of refugee and immigrant students and leaders in both education and refugee resettlement policy formation.

Identity Status

Using Marcia's paradigm of ego identity development, I found that the six participants could each be categorized as being in foreclosure in two of the three domains, Family/Career and Religious. Foreclosure is the state of identity formation in which one's identity is ascribed rather than achieved; it is the culturally defined and determined identity received from the family and the community within which one originates. Each of the participants accepted, virtually without question, the gender roles and religious beliefs of her family and cultural group. This type of identity foreclosure is a collective identity (Marcia, 1993), which, although held individually, reflects the behaviors and values of the culture. In the Family/Career and Religious domains, I found little or no dissonance or conflict between the young women and their parents. The participants reported that they were firm in their belief in Islam and intended to marry within their religion and to bring their children up within the Muslim religion. They also were committed to assuming the traditional gender role of becoming wives and mothers. All accepted that their parents would have a greater hand in selecting their husbands than they themselves would.

The differences the participants reported between their mothers' lives and their own were the age at which they believed they would marry, the number of children they

expected to have, and their intention to continue their education past high school and to acquire a vocation. Most of them planned to be older than their mothers were when they were married; in fact, several of them were already older than their mothers were at the time of marriage. All but one stated that the ideal family size was two children, a boy and a girl. This view reflects a choice for a much smaller number of children than is typical for Afghan families, which often may consist of eight or more children. Only one participant stated that she wanted "maybe four children."

The reasons for these particular changes in expectation of age at marriage and number of children appeared to exist in the changed circumstances of their living in the United States. They fully expected, in fact felt the absolute need, to attain more education than their mothers had. They also understood the economic necessity to have a vocation, or at least a job. Several already were providing financial support for the family by holding a job while still in high school. Had they been in their country of origin, in their traditional society, it is likely that only the individuals from a higher socio-economic and educational background might have had such expectations.

The findings of this research differed from those of many other researchers (Abbas, 2000; Ahmad, 2001; Sharif & Nighat, 1997) who described as the participant's uneasiness of living with one foot in each culture, that of the family and of the outside world. There were only small hints of possible areas of future conflicts between the family and the young woman concerning her behavior or her developing sense of a separate identity. While Ajrouch (1997) found a conflict between the Muslim value of *respect* and the American value of *freedom*, I found only the expression of and the emphasis on *respect*. Only one participant, Zoya, who was the oldest and had been in the

U.S. the longest time, talked about wanting more freedom before settling down to (a still-arranged) marriage. Each participant expressed the importance to them of respect; each wanted the respect of her family and her community. Each noted that her family's respect, the public family face, was dependent upon her own individual behavior and reputation. None expressed a great desire for the greater freedom of American women, in particular the freedom to date or select one's husband. Only the youngest participant, Mina, made a comment about the discomfort of marrying someone she did not know, but she accepted the practice of arranged marriage nonetheless.

In the third domain of Education/Vocation, all participants save one were clearly in the status of identity diffusion. Identity diffusion is normally the beginning stage of identity formation and the least developmentally advanced. An individual in identity diffusion experiences no commitment to an internally consistent set of values and goals and exhibits little interest in exploration. Others have described diffusion in this way: "People in identity diffusion tend to follow the path of least resistance, and may present as having a carefree, cosmopolitan lifestyle, and/or as being empty and dissatisfied" (Patterson, et al., 1992, p. 11). However, this particular group of young women presented quite differently: They appeared unfocused and confused, uncertain and unknowledgeable about the possibilities for their future education or vocation.

The young woman, Aziza, who was in a status of foreclosure in the Education/Vocation domain, had been in a diffusion status before her parents had decided what career path, nursing, she would follow; she had accepted that decision, although she had done nothing yet to implement it. She had moved, I would assess, barely over the line into identity foreclosure.

The status of diffusion in the domain of Education/Vocation is quite understandable given the personal histories of these young women. The Afghan society and culture provided no clear-cut pathway to education or a career for women. Only two of their mothers had, prior to coming to the United States, held any outside employment, and only one mother had had any post-secondary education. Education and vocations were rare practices for women in Afghanistan. These practices were limited before the Taliban regime to urban dwellers and to families of a higher socio-economic status and non-existent in families from small traditional villages. It is, therefore, unsurprising that at this stage in their lives, their identity status in the domain of *Education/Vocation* is diffused. While one might expect an American female of this age to be engaged in exploration, or Moratorium, it is not surprising, for the above reasons and others I will examine more closely in the next section, that these young women hardly know where to begin that exploration.

Two factors led these Afghan daughters into the desire to consider future education and careers. One factor, expressed by each and reportedly shared by their families, was the high value placed on education. Education was seen as the means to respectability, upward social mobility, and, especially, economic security. This norm was also noted by Ahmad (2001) in her study of Muslim women in British higher education. The other factor was that life was difficult for these young refugee women; several lived in a public housing complex with its attendant social problems, and they worked for minimum wage or slightly above. Three were working full-time while attending high school, and one was working part-time. They understood the difficulty of supporting themselves and their families in low-paying jobs. Most of their parents were also working

for low wages, even those with an education and work experience, because of their deficits in the English language. Typical of most refugees, none wanted to be relegated to public housing and low-income jobs forever. Nearly all the refugee families living in public housing planned and saved to buy houses of their own. Their families encouraged the young women not only to finish high school, which for some was a difficult enough task, but they also wanted them to go on to post-secondary education and take jobs in a "respectable" field. Several mentioned nursing as a career possibility. The young women and their families, having come from a repressive, fundamentalist governing regime, where opportunities for women were quite limited, saw not only the economic necessity of education and career but also the opportunities provided by the open society of the United States. The experiences of four of the participants' mothers being the heads of their households may also have affected their daughters' perceptions of the necessity of attaining more education and assuming a vocation or career. Although these young women expressed their desires for continuing their education and for a vocation that would provide economic security, they were receiving in school and from the refugee resettlement agency, little or no practical preparation for either. This is a topic to which I will return later in this chapter.

The essential difference between the cohort of young women I interviewed and those in other research was this: The participants I interviewed expressed not so much their feeling of being *pulled* by the lure of the alternative mainstream society as feeling *pushed* by economic necessity to make changes in their identities. While other researchers (Abbas, 2002; Ahmad, 2001; Khan ,2000; Sharif & Nighat, 1997) found their participants possessing bifurcated identities, or straddling or negotiating two worlds,

I found that the young women in my study did not report experiencing their lives in that way. They may have been—particularly in work situations—doing so, but they did not report that they were experiencing the conflict with the family or the internal dissonance associated with negotiating two worlds.

There may be several reasons for differences between the results of other research and those of my own. Some of the differences may be in the populations studied. Most of the other research focused on immigrants, not on refugees. The very different life experiences between the two may account for the differences in their attitudes toward the mainstream society. Immigrants are normally not as impoverished as refugees when they reach their final destination, nor have they typically suffered the same losses, experienced the same brutalities, or lived in fear for their lives and physical well-being. Immigrants desired to leave their country of origin to live in their country of immigration; refugees often just landed here as the only receiving country available after years in exile and refugee camps. Ajrouch (1997) specifically studied second-generation Muslim adolescents, male and female, who may feel more the conflict of the two cultures than newly arrived immigrants.

A second difference may be situated in the ages and educational locations of the populations studied. Abbas (2002) and Ahmad (2001) both studied women in British higher education. Since these women were already enrolled in post-secondary education, they have moved more toward the exploration phase of identity formation, Moratorium. In that setting, they may feel more tension between their lives within the family and their lives within the larger community.

Other differences may be the size of the ethnic community, the length of time they have been in a country, or the specific ethnic group studied. Both Great Britain and Canada have had larger populations of Muslims residing within those countries for a longer time than those in this dissertation. Husain and O'Brien (1998) focused their research on Pakistani Muslim families living in Great Britain, where they found families challenged to maintain their faith and family, partly because of the shifting roles of women caused by their entrance into the workforce. Khan (1997, 1998, 2000), working in Canada, found Muslim women to be living a hybridized identity of the two cultures.

Finally, it is difficult to know what influence differences in socio-economic background may play in the differences found between the young Afghan women in this study compared to the Muslim women in the other studies.

To summarize, the six young Afghan women I interviewed were in the identity status of foreclosure in the domains of Family/Career and Religion. Marcia (1993) noted, "The only context in which one can speak of the adaptive deficit of the foreclosure status is one that calls for flexibility, that is, adjusting to a change in their own culture; adjusting to a new culture; creating new solutions to intransigent problems; and so on" (p. 274). However, I would submit that, in fact, foreclosure may be functional for these young women—at least for now—in those areas of the participants' lives where tradition holds its greatest power: family and religion. Foreclosure in those domains may be adaptive in the circumstances in which these young refugee women find themselves because it provides a solid base of support from which to cope with the one domain in diffusion status, Education/Vocation. Diffusion in the domain of Education/Vocation, while if not

functional, is understandable given the participants' background and the absence of individual, familial, or cultural experiences of women in that domain.

Difference from a Western model. An American or Western model of identity formation in young women in this age group—15 to 20—finds more of them actively engaged in the process of exploration, or Moratorium. It is expected that the late teen years are a time to begin shaping the adult person one will become by considering future education, vocation, marriage and family plans, and religious and political belief systems. It has been noted that differences exist in Western society in the identity formation process for women and men. Sally Archer has been especially instrumental in trying to understand how Marcia's model fits females. Research (Archer, 1989a, 1989b; Matteson, 1993; Meeus, et al., 1999; Waterman, 1993) with American and other Western females has found no differences with respect to vocational choice, religious beliefs, and political ideology. However, the development of identity appears to be more complex for females than males because they are attempting to negotiate several aspects of their identity at once, including the relational aspects of identity. Women in Western cultures tend to take into account their real or potential significant intimate relationships and family obligations as they plan for their education and careers. Intimacy is the next phase of Erikson's paradigm and females often seem to work on both intimacy and identity simultaneously, while males tend to work out their societal identity—career, education—before their relational identities.

Again, foreclosure in the Family/Career domain may be functional for the participants in this study: These young Afghan women are freed from the balancing act of

working on identity and intimacy simultaneously by knowing that their future marriage is out of their hands. They may begin to concentrate on and explore their future educational and vocational lives. But most have not yet done so. The reasons for their lack of exploration of vocational and educational choices could well be due to the deficit in their knowledge about such options.

Factors of difference

From the research literature, I had some expectation of finding more participants to be in an identity status of Moratorium. However, many factors may have contributed to the participants being in foreclosure in the domain of Family/Career and Religion. These included their age, the relatively short time they have been in the United States, and their apparent isolation within the Afghan community and the resulting lack of significant interaction with the majority community. Most reported that all their friends are Afghan and primarily other young Afghan women. Four of the six lived in an isolated community, within a public housing development where many other Afghans lived, and formed their own insulated subset of the Afghan community.

Several of the participants spent much of their time and energy merely coping with the demands of education and family maintenance. Those who worked full-time and went to school full-time had little time to participate in the mainstream community of the school or of the city. For all, learning English and passing the FCAT were the most immediate and consuming goals.

The one area of diffusion, in the domain of Education/Vocation, is unsurprising because that identity could not, or would less likely be, handed down or assigned to the

young woman. Some participants were born in small villages where alternative life-styles would have been out of the norm, and both they and their parent(s) lack the education or experience to have had access to alternative life choices. The American educational institutions, especially post-secondary, for some, are very much an unfamiliar territory. The very idea of selecting a future career is alien; they have very limited exposure to possible alternative vocations. Large deficits exist in their knowledge of possibilities for themselves. Education and career are not common identity issues for Afghan women; therefore, the family and the culture are less likely to assign an educational or vocational role to the young woman. Economic necessity dictates the importance of these decisions in this new setting, but tradition has little to offer in guiding the young woman, therefore diffusion, or confusion, might be expected.

The next 5 years

The young Afghan Muslim women seemed to be in a state of delayed development of their identities. That delay may have derived from their lack of knowledge about alternative courses of action. They could not explore that for which they have only the haziest idea exists—i.e. opportunities for education and vocational choices. To revisit them in 5 years, after they have left high school, would be very interesting. I believe they will have experienced many changes. They may more closely resemble the women found in other research populations of young Muslim women who have one foot in each culture and are living more dualistic lives, negotiating their lives within the family and their lives within the mainstream culture. Unless they are married, economic necessity dictates with near certainty that they will all be employed, that their English

will be improved, and their understanding of the mainstream culture will be more developed. The choices in their lives may be more conscious and less ascribed by the family and culture. The conflict and dissonance may be greater. It is likely that some domain of the identity status may be in Moratorium, or exploration; it is possible that in some domain may be in the achieved status.

Findings on the Research Questions

I began this research with several questions in mind to better understand the position of the young Muslim refugee woman in the United States. In this section I will examine the data I found in response to those questions. I combined the first two questions because I found that the answers overlapped and are better engaged together:

1. Current conceptions of identities: How do young refugee Muslim women—recently resettled in the United States—negotiate, create, and recreate their identities and gender roles in the context of their families, their schools, their peers and their communities? What is their sense of who they are? How do their family and religion shape their current identities? What influence does the school have upon their identities?
2. Reactions to their current milieu: How do these young women view and organize their world? What importance do they attribute to their families, peers, school, work, religion? What do they value most in their lives?

I found that for this group of young Afghan women, the values of their families, their religion, and their community were accepted almost completely without question. The importance of the family was among their highest values. It provided them with

support, and they in turn provided the family with support. Within that family structure, gender roles remained largely the same as they would have been in their homeland, with the exception that refugee women in the United States are expected, or compelled by circumstances, to work outside the home to help support the family. Some families had no father, and none in this sample had older brothers in the home.

The young women and their families were affected little by the majority society. They lived in a bubble with little close interaction with mainstream Americans. They were truly divided from the majority society by, among other things, their religion. The church has often been a force for integration for previous generations of immigrants and refugees and even for current ones who practice either a Christian or a Jewish religion. The house of worship is where many immigrants and refugees find close interactions with American families as well as with other refugee and immigrant families. The Afghan community has, according to an adult informant, very loose ties to the mosque. He stated that Afghans do not often attend the local mosque because the Imam is from a different country and they do not like the country from which he came. He further stated that the Afghans sometimes attend a mosque in a neighboring city. Even if they did attend the mosque, this would not connect them to the mainstream majority community.

Employment was the only other location where they might interact with the mainstream society, but many refugees were hired by the same companies and therefore still could remain within their community. The assembly line company that employed Sima and Narja and her mother also employed other Afghan women, and they often shared rides to work. The refugee agency with which I was associated assisted in job placements and often worked with the same employers and businesses. In fact, employers

would often request a certain ethnic group for jobs either because they already employed several people from that group or because they thought that group had a better work ethic than some others. The agency cooperated with the businesses in this arrangement because they were dependent upon their good will to help refugees find necessary employment.

School had little influence on the identities and gender roles of the Afghan females. There was little in the school or in the educational curriculum to challenge their assumptions about themselves or their world. The Afghan students, and in particular this group of Afghan females, stayed within their group of Afghan friends. Most of them lived in the same public housing complex, rode the school bus together, had classes together, ate lunch together, rode home together, and, if they saw anyone in the afternoon or evening, it was each other. They even talked on the telephone together in the evening if they could not see each other. Even in ESOL classes, it seemed little attempt was made to integrate the groups or even to teach them to value cultural diversity. One of the ESOL teachers remarked that there was "no formal teaching about respect for other cultures in the curriculum." The same teacher told me that inter-group conflicts arise in the classroom, and I know from my work at the refugee resettlement agency that racism and suspicion exist among many refugee groups. The young women reported having no American friends, and their Afghan peers did not challenge their identities or their gender roles.

In the Afghan community, the importance of "respect," as noted in the literature and as reported by the participants themselves, became both a support for the status quo and a control on their behavior. Like Saira in the beginning of this report who went swimming in her tee shirt and jeans when her Afghan peers were present, it is felt that

one must present a respectable face to the community at all times. There was a certain amount of tolerance with regard to male behavior. Boys were expected to be exuberant, while girls were expected to be demure. This difference was very evident at such events as family night at the resettlement agency. The family's respect was especially dependent upon the females' respectability. This fact has made rape such a reprehensible weapon of war because, in many traditional societies, the victim is often made to pay dearly, sometimes with her life, for that perceived loss of respect.

In summary, for Questions 1 and 2, regarding their current conceptions of identities and their reactions to their current milieu, little pressure existed from within these young Afghan women or from their family, school, or community to make changes, to explore possibilities, or to establish an identity that was outside the traditions that they brought with them to the United States.

3. Plans for their futures: What future expectations do they have? How do they understand their present and future positions in society? How do they negotiate and construct possibilities for themselves? What importance do they give to education, vocation, marriage, and family?

The expectations of these young Muslim women were traditional in relationship to marriage and family. They were similar to the expectations they might have held in their former country. Marriage and family have been postponed for some of them because of their exile in another country, their immigration to the United States, and their enrollment in school. Outside pressure from the structure of schooling and economic difficulties are probably delaying marriage and family for some of them, but not changing their overarching traditional plans.

In the United States, traditionally, many immigrant groups have made progress toward attaining the "American dream" through education. Education has acted as an equalizing force. While all of the participants expressed hope for further education, it appeared that they had unformed ideas about the meaning and reality of education. More than any of the others, Aziza stressed her desire for an education. Perhaps as a reflection of her father's education and former occupation as a civil engineer, she made the following statements:

1. I want to get good education, the most important key of life.
2. And that's why my parents came here for us to get our education. And I'm trying hard to reach my goal. 'Cause America is—it's easy here to reach your goal with more freedom and more rights.
3. 'Cause if you see, all girls go to school, get education to build a family.
4. Because if you get a good education you get a better job and you can create a nice family with a nice husband, and kids and nice job.
5. They [her parents] really work hard to get my education to make me, to feel that I have education....
6. That's the main point of the life, to have kids, to be a mother, have a nice family and have a good education.

Neither Aziza nor the others seemed to have an authentic conception of education. They held a romantic image of education, not a realistic understanding of what education could and should mean to them. Their conception of education was almost magical thinking; education would produce a good job and a "nice family." They saw education as a way to make more money, but they seemed unclear about how that actually happens.

Some of their assigned classes appeared to be of little current value to these students because of their deficiency in English, their lack of educational background, and the limited education of their parents. For instance (and this is probably the most blatant example), Alya, who came from a small village and who had an illiterate mother, last semester failed a class called "Business Systems and Technology." In the semester in which I interviewed her, she was failing a class in "Emerging Technology in Business." These classes taught the use of computers and other business technology, a class assignment that was probably too advanced, too technical, and too unfamiliar for this student. Before coming to the United States Alya and her family were weaving rugs in Pakistan.

The director of the LEP Programs in the school district noted that this ESOL center school is embarking on new teacher training and the institution of sheltered classes especially designed for LEP students in content (non-English instruction) areas. Teachers were being given training in special techniques for teaching content to LEP students. This change may provide for more appropriate instruction for many LEP students.

In the domain of vocation, again the responses indicated that the participants had only an abstract awareness of the means of attaining a vocation. Some mentioned aspiring to vocations with which they were completely unfamiliar, like engineering. The more knowledgeable ones made vocational choices similar to what American women might have chosen in the 1950s or 1960s—nurse or teacher. However, after experiencing classes in the U.S., two had decided they did not want to be teachers, because teachers

did not get the respect from students that they would have received in their own country. Here are two comments:

> Mina: Some students are good, but some are not good. Some students I see in classrooms don't listen to the teacher when she says stop talking. In here [U.S.] the teacher doesn't have anything to say to the student. Like the student misbehave and the teacher can't do anything, but there [in Afghanistan] they give punishment and if a student misbehave or get up without teacher's permission, he will get in big trouble. Punishment—like hitting or like the principal will kick out of the school or send to another school.
>
> Aziza: When the boys and girls enter the class they should get permission from the teacher so they can enter the class. Or when they put trash in can, or they should misbehave, or shouldn't get up, or use bad words. It's big respect to give to the teacher because the teachers, they think that the teachers spend their time to teach to us to learn something to improve. And we should give them respect. So it will be equal they spend their time to teach something new to us. To help them to feel good to be proud to be a teacher, to be a nice teacher. When I came here, I thought, Oh my God, I shouldn't be a teacher. I'm not saying it's a bad culture. It's really different. It's really hard to teach them. It's really hard.

All the young women seemed unaware of real vocational possibilities; they lacked knowledge about the nature of specific vocations, about the methods to plan and realize vocations, and about the procedures for entering post-secondary education and vocational training.

Future possibilities for these young women were intangible to them. From their responses to the interview questions, it appeared that they were not aware of many possibilities for their lives. They had little exposure in their culture to options, and they had only limited interactions with the mainstream society. Their parents could provide little guidance, and few female role models existed within their community. There was little in the way of vocational or educational awareness, planning, and counseling in the schools. Those who create school policy and those who create resettlement policy and grant funding objectives and goals ought to understand the need for programs and curriculum that address these deficits. Moreover, these students were perhaps too marginalized to receive the career awareness, planning, and counseling that existed, such as an annual career fair. They did not know who they wanted to be when they grew up because they did not know who they could be.

4. Current concerns: What are the problems faced by Muslim refugee high school females—in relationship to school, family, and friends?

In school, the main concerns of the participants were focused on acquiring enough competence in English and math to pass the FCAT and to graduate; the two participants in the twelfth grade discussed their concern about the FCAT four times each in their interviews. The younger participants mentioned it less frequently probably because they had more time ahead to prepare. It appeared from the data that the school had made the goal of passing the FCAT clear to these students. The emphasis of the school curriculum seemed to be on learning enough English and math to pass the FCAT. The school liaisons used to talk to me often about which of their clients had passed the FCAT and which

were still having difficulties. The issue was prominent in their concerns about their refugee clients.

In the classrooms that I visited, some students seemed to be neglected in the ongoing class discussion, especially, although not exclusively, if they were quiet females. Some males also were allowed to engage in unrelated activities as long as they remained quiet. It has been documented, in the American Association of University Women (AAUW) report *How Schools Shortchange Girls* (1992), by Sadker and Sadker (1994), and by Kathryn A. Wheeler (1993) that

> in general, although girls and boys may be sharing the same classrooms, they are not receiving the same education. Whether one is examining student or teacher attitudes and expectation, role models, teaching techniques, student participation in class, curriculum design and materials, or athletics and extra-curricular activities, it is evident that girls are being shortchanged in terms of both the quantity and quality of their education. (Wheeler, p. 3)

In the classes that I observed, teachers attended to males at a rate double that of females, although there was nearly an equal number of males and females in the classes. The Latino and African females, however, received more attention than the Muslim females, because of what I interpreted to be differences in their cultural definitions of acceptable and "respectable" behavior. The Latino and African females were generally more extroverted and demanding of attention; the Muslim females tended to be quiet and reserved. In my few classroom observations, I detected little effort made to involve those students who appeared to be disengaged. Off-task students who acted out and disrupted the class captured more teacher time and attention than the quieter students.

The school liaisons reported that the ESOL students receive little school guidance counseling; after enrollment and class assignment, the students seldom see a school counselor. The participant students, the Muslim females, may be particularly marginalized in this regard. If they do not create trouble and do not seek out counseling, it is unlikely they will receive services from the school counselor. They do, however, seek out and receive counseling and other assistance from the two school liaisons, a man who speaks their language and a woman who provides very positive support for them when problems arise. But they, too, have many students to oversee. They check on all their student clients regularly, but unless a problem is apparent, they move on to those who present behavior that is more problematic.

In the past, the school liaisons and I have had to lobby school personnel at the school and the district level to have LEP students' attendance problems treated as aggressively as those of the mainstream students. We regularly attended the city-wide truancy task force meetings that were composed of representatives from the school district office, the Sheriff's office, the State Attorney's Office, and other agencies providing youth services. We encouraged school personnel to send home poor attendance notices in home languages and to call or visit parents who had language barriers. The school liaisons have assisted school officials in these tasks.

In the family, the young woman often became the "adult," carrying out business transactions, translating and interpreting, and providing emotional support to her parent(s). These activities are among the causes of poor school attendance. Often adult family members are challenged by their own personal losses; by the diminishment of their power and respect; by their dependence upon a child for assistance in financial and

business matters; and by their loss of status by virtue of their underemployment. For example, Aziza's father, trained to be a civil engineer, works at a Wal-Mart store. Shifting power relationships and shifting roles create personal and family tensions.

School did not bring them new friends; there was little interaction with other ESOL students or mainstream students. They remained the "other," the strange one in the larger group. They may have seemed unapproachable because of their own tendency to stick together and to speak their own language outside the classroom. There were no school level clubs in which they participated, no "buddy" program to help them integrate. The resettlement programs designed to assist youth helped them integrate with other refugee youth, but not with majority youth. They were left, more or less, to find their own way.

It appears from their own report that all of their friends were from within their own community. Aziza, who did not live in the public housing group that four of the others did, lamented her loneliness because no other Afghan or Muslim young women lived in her apartment group. The apparent lack of inclusion in the larger totality of the school created a situation of a separate, parallel school, for the population of LEP students. However, inclusion is not the sole responsibility of the school; these young women, themselves, shun much of the culture and the other students. They seem to want to remain within their comfort zone, as does the larger school body, by remaining disengaged.

5. Similarities and differences: What are the differences and similarities in the experiences of the participants?

I found these six young Afghan refugee women to be remarkably similar. Small deviations were attributable to differences in their backgrounds of coming from a rural village or city, the education levels of their parents, and in resulting socio-economic class differences.

6. Conceptions of their gender roles: What is their growing understanding of their "womanness," given their ethnicity, their minority status in the United States?

The questions on gender roles elicited looks of incomprehension on the faces of the participants no matter how the questions were phrased to explain the concept. It seemed none had considered their gender actions to be a socially constructed reality. Their reactions to the questions indicated that they had not considered being a woman to be a "role" and could not tell me how they learned that role. All said, when asked, that they had not learned it from their mothers. Two said that their grandmothers had taught them what good Muslim women should and should not do. The only question that seemed to make them think about differences in men's roles and women's roles was the one which asked that if they had had a choice, would they have chosen to be born a girl or a boy. I could see by the light entering into their eyes that this question had registered a meaning to them about gender roles, although I think they still saw the differences as completely innate and not socially constructed. They had definite opinions on which gender they would have chosen; some saw advantages to being male; some saw them to being female.

7. Commonalities of their experience: How can these case studies inform us about our theoretical understandings of women's relationship to schooling and education?

I want to change this question to address both the commonalities of the refugee and immigrant student experience as well as the explicitly female experiences. For the foreign-born student and other LEP students as well, English acquisition is the main goal of the school. Nearly everything else, especially preparation for post-secondary education or the workforce, is covered under "equal access" provisions. Education for these students gave less attention to self-fulfillment, change, or preparation for adulthood. Emphasis was placed on the FCAT; the students' passing that test was the primary goal of the school. Great pressure was exerted on administrators and teachers to meet the state-established quotas of passing students to keep the school's funding and to keep their own jobs. These consequences are realities for teachers and administrators with performance-based funding.

An administrator from the school referenced in the present research and some of his staff met with me and some of my staff more than 2 years prior to my research, while I was Director of Education for Refugees. We met to discuss how we could work together for the benefit of the refugee students in his school. At that time, the administrator informed me that he intended to have the students in the ESOL program redistributed to other schools and that he felt the school was being unfairly judged in the grading system instituted by the state government because of the school's large population of LEP students. Perhaps when he found he could not redistribute these students to other schools, this same administrator, to his credit, has worked diligently to make improvements to the program to assist the LEP students. It is he who has lobbied for funding to support sheltered classes for the LEP students in science, social studies, and math.

Still, I think it is fair to say, that these students were not receiving needed education and skills training to plan for their lives after high school, their continuing education and vocations. While preparation for self-sufficiency is a proper goal for schools and resettlement agencies, it seems little effort has been expended to that end for foreign-born and other LEP students.

For female students, all of the above is true, only more so. Female students, especially LEP students, are more marginalized than the males by virtue of the cultural beliefs of the majority, by their own behavior in keeping with their traditions, and by the beliefs of their own community and family. Self-sufficiency for many of these females was not seen as an important goal, and schools seemed to lack an awareness of the special needs of these female students. One teacher actually referred to them, not in criticism but with affection, as "babies." These young women, perhaps even more than the young men, needed assistance in shaping their future goals and plans.

I found the identities of this cohort of young Afghan refugee women remained fixed within the boundaries of their family, religion, and Afghan community. School had little effect in helping them establish adult identities or cope with their current concerns. Their future plans for education and career seemed naïve and nebulous.

Implications for Practice

In my capacity as Director of Education for Refugees I had the responsibility to write grant applications for funding for educational programs for youth and adults. The grant applications asked the agency to address the "Risk Factors" and the "Protective Factors" that affected the successful adjustment of the clients. After reviewing the

interview data, I came to a clearer understanding of those risk and protective factors affecting this particular cohort of young Afghan women.

Protective factors. Some of the protective factors are the same as those that placed the participants in the identity status of foreclosure. The protective factors that this group of young women share include their strong religious beliefs and traditions; their strong family and community ties; their reluctance to jump too quickly into the mainstream American society; and the predictability of certain aspects of their lives, including arranged marriages, motherhood, and the importance of the extended family.

Arranged marriages may free these young women from certain stresses that American women face, including the searching, screening, flirting, dating, and competing for the attention of young men. It may free them also from the pressures of the American tendency to elevate certain standards of beauty, though it is unclear how these women may view the situation. The culture and traditions of their family and community may—at least for a while—act to protect them from stress and uncertainty.

The young women appeared to live in families filled with traditions and love. The family and community provided validation and support for their traditional values and self-worth. All but one whom I interviewed demonstrated solid self-esteem; the exception, Narja, seemed likely to be in a state of depression, stress, and perhaps, exhaustion. This state of mind and body probably resulted to a great measure from her demanding 66-hour weekly work schedule.

Risk factors. These young women face risk factors by virtue of their being refugees and by virtue of their nationality and religion. The interviews with the students uncovered many of those risk factors.

As refugees, they had lost much. They had lost their homes and their homeland; they had experienced the deaths of family and friends. They may have suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder and depression. Two of the young women I interviewed exhibited behaviors that I interpreted as possible indicators of depression. For example, Narja seemed overwhelmed with the burdens she bore, burdens of loss, lack of success in school, working 66 hours a week, and needing to care for her mother, who had suffered great losses, too. The risk of depression and other emotional stresses on some of the young women is great. All had experienced the loss of family members—brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, grandmothers and grandfathers—left behind in the country of origin or in another country of exile. They had experienced the loss of all that was their known world—the language, the food, the customs, the institutions—and had to adapt to a completely new world.

Another risk factor was the refugee youths' need to take care of the adults in their lives, their parent(s). This need to care for the adults involved translating and interpreting for the adults in diverse situations. These situations could include medical facilities, the school, the driver's license office, the various assistance offices, and the telephone, electric, and rental offices.

These young women experienced the increased economic burden on the family. That burden usually required working while attending school—part-time, full-time, or more than full-time—to help support the family. The jobs that these young women and

their parents qualified for were low-paying, and working may have meant foregoing study time and recreational activities. In the economic and institutional sphere, the young women must grow up quickly and learn to cope with the mainstream community.

Another risk factor was the educational deficits that the refugees may well have brought to the educational system in which they must now try to succeed. That success was integral to their ability to eventually succeed in a vocation and to make a living wage.

The lack of acceptance by the mainstream culture or criticism of their traditions was another risk factor. That criticism was a heavier burden if it came from a person in a position of authority, such as a teacher. Aziza's experience with a teacher's condemnation of the custom of marrying one's cousin was an example of this type of lack of cultural understanding and acceptance. One ESOL teacher, a male, described his Afghan student as having "cognitive issues." He said sometimes they (the Afghans) "don't have enough formal education and just don't get it, especially the girls." These comments seem to reflect a possible lack of understanding of the Afghan student, her cultural behavioral norms, or other reasons for her failure to succeed. His ascribing her academic problems to "cognitive issues" seemed to condemn her to inevitable failure in his eyes.

Not only was there a problem of lack of understanding by the mainstream students and teachers, but there was a lack of understanding among the LEP students themselves. As an ESOL teacher described, there was "no formal teaching about respect for other cultures in the curriculum." This oversight seemed to exhibit a serious deficiency in an ESOL class that contained students from all parts of the world.

In my interviews with teachers, it became evident that the bright, attractive students received more assistance and encouragement from the teachers. The teacher of Aziza, one of the more obviously successful students, described her in glowing terms and proudly brought out several pieces of her work to show me her excellent progress. She also noted very enthusiastically how pretty and confident Aziza was and that she "dresses like American girls" and "buys the right clothes." Those who had difficulty with English, or were shy about attempting to use the language, were, it seemed, at risk of being overlooked in the classroom. In classes I observed, female students, in particular, were allowed merely to sit quietly. They caused no disruptions for the teacher, but at the same time, they were not challenged to join in the lesson.

Finally, the risk factor that explains, at least in part, why the participants in this study were in the identity status of diffusion in the domain of Education/Vocation is their lack of knowledge about educational and vocational choices, opportunities, and procedures. These young women have little knowledge of vocational choices because the whole concept of vocation for women is relatively alien to them. They know little about how one enters a particular vocation or what training or education is needed. Further, they lack understanding of the procedures for entering into post-secondary educational institutions.

Practice. Given these protective factors and these risk factors, what do practitioners—teachers, counselors, resettlement professionals, education policy makers—need to do to assist in the successful transitioning of young Afghan female refugees and others similar to them? First, practitioners need to have an awareness of the

issues outlined in this study and a compassion for the young women (and men) who are refugees and the potential barriers they face to success. These practitioners need to look for signs of depression and stress and give or find counseling for that person. They may need to seek out community health services for those who are in need of them. They need to accept cultural differences and not sit in judgment of them.

Teachers need to assist all students, not just those who are pleasurable to have in class, those who are bright, outgoing, and attractive in personality or appearance. Often it is the shy or less appealing student who needs to be actively engaged by the teacher. If the student is not succeeding, it is necessary for the teacher to ascertain the reason. It may be necessary to seek special assessment to discover underlying cognitive or emotional issues. One should not assume the student is not trying or is not learning because of the language deficiency alone; limited English students may have learning disabilities that go undiagnosed because they are attributed to the language barriers. In the classrooms, quiet students tend to be overlooked. It is important to engage those students in the learning activities.

Policy-makers in education need to be cognizant of the need for students to attain not only competency in English, but also the skills to go on to post-secondary education and vocational training programs. Those proficiencies need to be incorporated into the policies, plans, and programs for all LEP students. Foreign-born LEP students often are not aware of the means to attaining higher education and vocational training in the United States. In addition, those LEP students born in the U.S., such as children of migrant workers, temporary workers, and illegal aliens, often do not understand the processes of attaining post-secondary education or higher-paying jobs.

Educational professionals and refugee resettlement program leaders and those officials who construct the parameters of monetary grants need to establish priorities that assist refugee and immigrant students in attaining self-sufficiency, in gaining more education, and in entering the workforce. I have worked in programs for single mothers, displaced homemakers, and single pregnant women; those programs promoted training for non-traditional vocations and high-skill, high-wage careers. Many in that group are deficient in the knowledge and experience to achieve self-sufficiency. The same might be said, not just about the young Afghan women, but also about many LEP students. It is important to provide for all LEP students, refugees and immigrants, the programs for educational and career awareness, planning, and counseling. These females did not understand the procedures for entering post-secondary education, seeking scholarships, and gaining admission. Many others do not know what vocational possibilities are available to them, nor the track that one must take to achieve them.

Finally, it is inevitable that change will come for all refugees, including the young women in this study. That change will happen at its own rate, as the individual is ready to embrace or accept change. It is important for the emotional well-being of the individual not to push change upon her, no matter how well intentioned one might be. Each of these young women was likely to make many changes in her identity—as do most people—over time. Some changes may cause conflict within the family and dissonance within the individual. It is important that educational and resettlement professionals be ready to support change when it is self-initiated, but not to impose change aggressively.

Evaluation of Methodology and Need for Further Research

The use of a qualitative method and a feminist epistemology, working to understand the lives of the women as they themselves understand them, is a valid and useful approach to an enhanced understanding of the identity formation process for women. I believe Marcia's Ego Identity Status paradigm using the semi-structured interview provides a lens through which to focus on separate elements that make up the complete adult identity. I came to understand that some parts of the semi-structured questionnaire were of no use with this population—specifically all the questions concerning how one's boyfriend would answer the same questions. For this group of young Muslim women, those inquiries were irrelevant. But, of course, that could not have been ascertained without asking the question. I had conducted a small pilot study using this instrument with a young Muslim woman, 23 years old, from the former Yugoslavia, and the questions appeared to be useful in that pilot.

The questions on politics also provided little useful information about this cohort. These young women, possibly like many Western adolescents, had not yet formed substantive political opinions.

Using the semi-structured interview, which is an instrument that has been tested over 35 years, probably facilitated somewhat the approval of the University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) to conduct the study. The IRB appeared to be reticent about my studying this particular population of minors given the political climate and the perceived sensitivity of the Muslim population.

Further research into the identity formation process with other groups of Muslim women refugees—from Arab and North African groups, from Iran, from Iraq, and from

other Middle Eastern countries, and from Sub-Saharan Muslim groups—would be useful in better understanding how the identity formation process is both universal and divergent. Further research with older populations of Afghan or other refugee women, perhaps from 20 to 25 years of age might result in different conclusions and provide useful information on the adjustment and identity formation process; women in that age group might be more meaningfully involved in the process.

Conclusion

The face of the United States is changing. The nation continues to receive immigrants and refugees; the country is becoming more diverse. After the civil rights movement, there has been a growing commitment to accepting and embracing the diversity of this country. The outdated concept of a "melting pot" has given way to that of diverse groups living side-by-side, who create the complex and enriched fabric of society. Among the newer groups making their home in the U. S. are those from the Middle East and Africa who practice the Muslim religion.

At this point in this nation's history, particularly after the tragic attacks of September 11, 2001, educators and citizens must make a commitment to understand other cultures within and outside the nation's borders. It is important to study one another as well as ourselves with a critical eye. Understanding persons of other cultures is necessary to accepting them and to assisting them in becoming successful residents and eventually contributing citizens of the United States.

This qualitative research engaged six adolescent Muslim female refugees from Afghanistan. The purpose was to learn from these young women about their lives in their

own words. Specifically, it addressed the issue of how the participants began to negotiate their adult identities in the midst of the American society and how they interacted with the public school system in that process. For Muslim women, generally, more profound changes are necessitated by life in the U.S. than for Muslim men, whose basic role as breadwinner and head of household remains fixed.

These six young Afghan women existed within a rather circumscribed Afghan community; they have retained significant parts of their culture, traditions, and roles. The exception to that retention of traditional roles and identities occurs in the economic sphere. Economic necessity, the self-sufficiency for the family, required that these young women assume new roles and expectations about their continuing education and work lives for which neither they nor their families were prepared.

These young women need specific services in the area of educational planning, career awareness, and counseling. They need programs that explain the mechanics of entering into post-secondary education and the skills needed for a successful work life. That knowledge and those skills are very often cannot be obtained from their family but must be found in educational and resettlement programs. This deficit exists not only for these six Afghan women but may exist for other foreign born and limited English students. Meeting such needs remains a daunting task for the educational system and for resettlement programs.

Appendix A: Institutional Review Board Approval

Appendix A: Institutional Review Board Approval

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA
ACADEMIC AFFAIRS
4567 St. Johns Bluff Road, South
Jacksonville, Florida 32224-2665
(904) 620-2455 FAX (904) 620-2457
Division of Sponsored Research and Training

MEMORANDUM

TO: Kathleen McKenzie
Educational Leadership

VIA: Dr. Joyce Jones
Educational Leadership

Signature Deleted

FROM: James L. Collom, Institutional Review Boar

DATE: April 5, 2004

RE: Review by Institutional Review Board IRB#04-004
"On Becoming Women: Muslim Female Refugee Adolescents Negotiating Their Identities in the U.S."

This is to advise you that the back-translated consent forms for your project, "On Becoming Women: Muslim Female Refugee Adolescents Negotiating Their Identities in the U.S." were received and have been reviewed. Please note the following:

> The originals consent forms state, "You may get further information about UNF policies, the conduct of this study, the rights of research subjects from the Chair of the UNF Institutional Review Board, Dr. Kathaleen Bloom, at (904) 620-2684." It is crucial that the concept of obtaining information about the **rights of research subjects** be included in the two non-English versions of the various consent forms. Once you have made this change, you may begin your research. Please email Sheila (sheim@unf.edu) with the assurance that this change has been made so that our files will be kept updated.

This approval applies to your project in the form and content as submitted to the IRB for review. Any variations or modifications to the approved protocol and/or informed consent forms must be cleared with the IRB prior to implementing such changes. Any unanticipated problems involving risk and any occurrence of serious harm to subjects and others shall be reported promptly to the IRB. If your project extends beyond 12 months in length, you must provide an annual status report to the IRB. The above annotated approval date of February 19, 2004 establishes the baseline date for this required annual status report.

If you have any questions or problems regarding your project or any other IRB issues, please contact this office at 620-2498.

Attachments

Appendix B: Informed Consent and Assent Forms
English Versions
Dari Translations

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA
HUMAN RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

TITLE: On Becoming Women: Adolescent Female Muslim Refugees Negotiating their Identities in the United States

INVESTIGATOR: Kathleen McKenzie

AFFILIATIONS: University of North Florida

CONTACT INFORMATION: Dr. Joyce Jones, 620-2990. Kathleen McKenzie 725-8009

APPROVED BY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD:

This is an important form. Please read carefully. It tells you what you need to know about this research study. If you agree to take part in this study, you need to sign this form. Your signature means that you have been told about the study and what the risks are. Your signature on this form also means that you want to take part in this study.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Refusal to participate in this research will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you otherwise are entitled.

You may discontinue participation in this research study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits you are otherwise entitled to.

What is the purpose of this study?
Adolescence is a time when people start to form who they will become as adults. I am interested in high school age Muslim women coming to the United States within the last three years. I want to understand how your daughter thinks about herself as she becomes an adult. What her plans are for the future. And what are her feelings about marriage and family, education and jobs, politics and religion.

How many participants will take part in this study?
Four to six female high school students will participate in this study.

What will happen in this study?

This is a basic outline of the intended procedures. Further explanation follows.
The researcher will:

- Observe English classes for a week;
- Select potential participants;

- Speak to potential participants in private to establish their willingness to participate;
- Make an appointment with parents (with a translator) to visit their home to explain to the parents and youth the intent and procedures of the research project and obtain parental consent and youth assent to participate;
- Meet with the young woman twice for the initial interviews in a private office at school;
- Interview teachers, one at a time, in private about their perceptions of the students' maturity, acculturation, classroom performance;
- Review the student's school records on grades and attendance;
- Conduct a third interview with the young woman to gain additional information, clarify any questions, and confirm understanding of the answers;
- And if it seems necessary, a fourth interview may be arranged.

The interview touches on your daughter's

- vocational, educational, employment, and marriage plans;
- how the she understands the role of spouse and parent;
- her political and religious beliefs;
- and her viewpoint about gender-roles.

I will be interviewing your daughter in English (unless she and I think we need a translator). We will have two meetings and I will record each interview for later transcription.

I shall conduct a third, and perhaps a fourth interview, after transcribing the first interview. This interview will be used to confirm my understanding and interpretation of the answers given by your daughter and to follow-up on any questions that may arise.

With permission from the school and consent of you and your daughter, I will interview teachers about their students and look at the teacher's records on attendance and grades. Teacher interviews will be used to compare your daughter's self-perceptions and those of the teachers involved in their education. Open-ended questions to the teachers will include the following topics:

- Attendance
- Classroom participation
- Interactions with other students
- Interactions with the teacher
- General level of maturity
- Insight into adaptation to school culture
- Any particular problems or issues observed by the teacher

Data from all of these sources will be analyzed to look for common ideas from all the young women. I want to better understand their experience of becoming an adult woman.

I will look for similarities and differences, and to better understand the process of becoming a unique adult.

All information from this research will remain in my control at all times. Access shall be limited to those assisting in the study (translators and transcribers, if there are any). All information will be reported anonymously, using pseudonyms to identify the participants. The school and the city in which the research is conducted shall go unnamed. Data may be retained for up to a year for later research purposes and then shall be destroyed.

How long will your daughter be in the study?
The study will not exceed three months.

Are there reasons we might leave the study early?
Taking part in this research study is your decision. You and your daughter may decide to stop at any time.

What are the risks of the study?
None. All interviews will be kept confidential. All interview materials will be kept under lock and key and once transcribed, all audio tapes will be destroyed.

Are there benefits to taking part in this study?
No known benefits.

Are there any monetary or other compensation or inducements for my taking part in this study?
None

Are there any financial costs to me to take part in this study?
None

What are my rights if I take part in this study?
You and your daughter do not have to take part in this study, but if you do, you can stop at any time. You do not give up any of your rights by taking part in this study.

What about confidentiality?
Data from this study may be published or used in publication. However, your name, your daughter's name, the school's name, and other identifying information will not be used in any material. Fictional names will be used to replace your daughter's name.

Who can answer my questions?
You may talk to Kathleen McKenzie at any time about questions and concerns you may have about this study. You may contact her at 725-8009.

You may get further information about UNF policies, the conduct of this study, the rights of research subjects from the Chair of the UNF Institutional Review Board, Dr. Kathaleen Bloom, at (904) 620-2684.

I agree to allow my daughter to participate in three or four interviews with Ms. McKenzie and those interviews will be tape-recorded. The audio tapes will be destroyed after the study is completed.

I agree to allow Ms. McKenzie to observe my daughter in her school classroom with the understanding that Ms. McKenzie will not disturb my daughter's work or participation in the class. My daughter will not be singled out from the other students in the class.

I agree to allow Ms. McKenzie to examine my daughter's school records on grades and attendance.

I am at least 18 years old. _____ (initials)

I have had the study that I am agreeing to allow my daughter to participate in explained to my satisfaction. _____ (initials)

I have had the opportunity to ask any questions that I may have had regarding this study.
_____ (initials)

I agree to allow my daughter to participate in (On Becoming Women: Adolescent Female Muslim Refugees Negotiating their Identities in the United States) being conducted by Kathleen McKenzie and the University of North Florida.

_____
Printed Name of Participant

_____ _____
Date **Printed Name of Parent**

_____
Signed Name of Parent

_____ Kathleen McKenzie
Date **Printed Name of Individual Obtaining Consent**

_____
Signed Name of Individual Obtaining Consent

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA
HUMAN RESEARCH ASSENT FORM

TITLE: On Becoming Women: Adolescent Female Muslim Refugees Negotiating their Identities in the United States

INVESTIGATOR: Kathleen McKenzie

AFFILIATIONS: University of North Florida

CONTACT INFORMATION: Dr. Joyce Jones, 620-2990. Kathleen McKenzie 725-8009

APPROVED BY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD: 2/16/04

This is an important form. Please read carefully. It tells you what you need to know about this research study. If you agree to take part in this study, you need to sign this form. Your signature means that you have been told about the study and what the risks are. Your signature on this form also means that you want to take part in this study.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Refusal to participate in this research will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you otherwise are entitled.

You may discontinue participation in this research study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits you are otherwise entitled to.

What is the purpose of this study?
Adolescence is a time when people start to form who they will become as adults. I am interested in high school age Muslim women coming to the United States within the last three years. I want to understand how you think about the future as you become an adult. What your plans are for the future. And what are your feelings about marriage and family, education and jobs, politics and religion.

How many participants will take part in this study?
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- Review the student's records on grades and attendance;
- Conduct a third interview with the young woman will be used to gain additional information, clarify any questions, and confirm my understanding of the answers;
- And if it seems necessary, a fourth interview may be arranged.

The interview touches on your

- vocational, educational, employment, and marriage plans;
- how the you understand the role of spouse and parent;
- your political and religious beliefs;
- and your viewpoint about gender-roles.

I will be interviewing you in English (unless you and I think we need a translator). We will have two meetings and I will record each interview for later transcription.

I shall conduct a third, and perhaps a fourth interview, after transcribing the first interview to confirm my understanding and interpretation of your answers and to follow-up on any questions that may arise in analyzing the information.

With permission from the school and consent of you and your parents, I will interview teachers about their students and look at the teacher's records on attendance and grades. Teacher interviews will be used to compare your self-perceptions and those of the teachers involved in your education. Open-ended questions to the teachers will include the following topics:

Attendance
Classroom participation
Interactions with other students
Interactions with the teacher
General level of maturity
Insight into adaptation to school culture
Any particular problems or issues observed by the teacher

Data from all of these sources will be analyzed to look for common ideas from all the young women. I want to better understand their experience of becoming an adult woman.

I will look for similarities and differences, and to better understand the process of becoming a unique adult.

All information from this research will remain in my control at all times. Access shall be limited to those assisting in the study (translators and transcribers, if there are any). All information will be reported anonymously, using pseudonyms to identify the participants. The school and the city in which the research is conducted shall go unnamed. Data may be retained for up to a year for later research purposes and then shall be destroyed.

How long will you be in the study?
The study will not exceed three months.

Are there reasons you might leave the study early?
Taking part in this research study is your decision. You and your daughter may decide to stop at any time.

What are the risks of the study?
None. All interviews will be kept confidential. All interview materials will be kept under lock and key and once transcribed, all audio tapes will be destroyed.

Are there benefits to taking part in this study?
No known benefits.

Are there any monetary or other compensation or inducements for my taking part in this subject?
None

Are there any financial costs to me to take part in this study?
None

What are my rights if I take part in this study?
You and your parents do not have to take part in this study, but if you do, you can stop at any time. You do not give up any of your rights by taking part in this study.

What about confidentiality?
Data from this study may be published or used in publication. However, your name, the school's name, and other identifying information will not be used in any material. Fictional names will be used to replace your name.

Who can answer my questions?
You may talk to Kathleen McKenzie at any time about questions and concerns you may have about this study. You may contact her at 725-8009.

You may get further information about UNF policies, the conduct of this study, the rights of research subjects from the Chair of the UNF Institutional Review Board, Dr. Kathaleen Bloom, at (904) 620-2684.

I agree to participate in three or four interviews with Ms. McKenzie and those interviews will be tape-recorded. The audio tapes will be destroyed after the study is completed.

I agree to allow Ms. McKenzie to observe my classroom with the understanding that Ms. McKenzie will not disturb my work or participation in the class. I will not be singled out from the other students in the class.

I agree to allow Ms. McKenzie to examine my school records.

I am _____ years old. _____ (initials)

I have had the study that I am agreeing to participate in explained to me to my satisfaction. _____ (initials)

I have had the opportunity to ask any questions that I may have had regarding this study.
_____ (initials)

I agree to participate in (On Becoming Women: Adolescent Female Muslim Refugees Negotiating their Identities in the United States) being conducted by Kathleen McKenzie and the University of North Florida.

_____	_____
Date	**Printed Name of Participant**
	_____
	Signed Name of Participant
_____	Kathleen McKenzie
Date	**Printed Name of Individual Obtaining Consent**
	_____
	Signed Name of Individual Obtaining Consent

دانشگاه فلوریدای شمالی
هکسن ویل ، فلوریدا
اجازهٔ نامه تحقیقات انسانی

عنوان : زنان شایسته : دختران جوان مسلمان و مهاجر درباره هویت خویش در ایالات متحده آمریکا بحث می نمایند .

محقق : کاتلین میکنزی

ارتباط : دانشگاه فلوریدای شمالی

تلفن های ارتباط : داکتر جویس 620-2990

خانم کاتلین میکنزی ۷۲۵-۸۰۰۹
725-8009

تصویب شده : توسط بورد تحقیقات تعلیمی

این یک فورمهٔ خیلی مهم است ، لطفاً دقیق مطالعه کنید . این برای شما در مورد تحقیق مطالعوی معلومات می دهد .
درصورتیکه شما موافق باشید که دراین تحقیقات سهم بگیرید ، باید این فورمه را امضاً کنید .
امضاً شما مفهوم این را خواهد داشت که شما این فورمه را مطالعه نموده و از رسیک آن باخبر شده اید .
همچنین امضاً شما هم چنان مفهوم را میدارد که شما میخواهید که درین تحقیق سهم بگیرید .
سهم گرفتن شما درین تحقیق کاملاً رضا کارانه و اختیاری می باشد . انتخاب از اشتراک دراین تحقیق هیچ نوع صدمه به شما نخواهد داشت .
شما هرگاه خواسته باشید ، می توانید از اشتراک و همکاری با این تحقیق خود داری نمائید .
این انتخاب هیچ نوع خساره به شما و عواید شما نمی رساند .

دانشگاه فلوریدای شمالی
هکسن ویل ، فلوریدا
اجازهٔ نامه تحقیقات انسانی

عنوان : زنان شایسته : دختران جوان مسلمان و مهاجر درباره هویت خویش در اضلاع متحده آمریکا بحث می نمایند .

محقق : کاتلین میکنزی

ارتباط : دانشگاه فلوریدای شمالی

تلفن برای ارتباط : داکتر جویس 620-2990

خانم کاتلین میکنزی ۷۲۵-۸۰۰۹
725-8009

تصویب شد : توسط بورد تحقیقات تعلیمی

این یک فورمهٔ خیلی مهم است ، لطفاً دقیق مطالعه کنید . این برای شما در مورد تحقیق مطالعوی معلومات میدهد .
درصورتیکه شما موافق باشید که دراین تحقیقات سهم بگیرید ، باید این فورمه را امضاء کنید .
امضاء شما معنیوم این را خواهد داشت که شما این فورمه را مطالعه نموده و از رسیک آن باخبر شدید .
همچنین امضاء شما هم چنان معنیوم خواهد داشت که شما میخواهید که درین تحقیق سهم بگیرید .
سهم گرفتن شما درین تحقیق کاملاً رضاکارانه و اختیاری میباشد . انتخاب از اشتراک دراین تحقیق هیچ نوع صدمه به عواید شما نخواهد داشت .
شما هرگاه خواسته باشید ، می توانید از اشتراک و همکاری با این تحقیق خودداری نمائید .
این انتخاب هیچ نوع خساره به شما و عواید شما نمی رساند .

• - درصورت ضرورت مصاحبه چهارمی نیز تنظیم می گردد .

مصاحبه ها درین موارد خواهد بود :

• - حرفوی ،تعلیمی ، استخدام وبرنامه های ازدواج .

• - چگونه شما رول والدین وهمسر را می دانید ؟

• - عقاید سیاسی ومذهبی شما .

• - و نظر شما درمورد رول جنسیت .

من با شما به زبان انگلیسی مصاحبه خواهم کرد (درغیر آن درصورتیکه من وشما فکر کنیم که به ترجمان ضرورت است) . ما دو ملاقات یا نشست خواهیم داشت که درآن صدای شما ضبط می گردد تا بعداً رونوشت انجام گیرد.

من شاید مصاحبه سوم وچهارم را بعداز اینکه مصاحبه اول رونوشت گردید انجام می دهم . واین به خاطر این است که درنظر برداشت ونتیجه گیری خویش از جوابات شما مطمئن گردم .

بعداز موافقه مدرسه وراجازه شما والدینتان ، من با معلمین مصاحبه نموده درمورد شاگردان ودرمورد شاگردان ،حاضری ونمرات شان معلومات حاصل می نمایم .

مصاحبه با معلمین جهت این صورت می گیرد تا از معلومات شما درمورد عملکرد در کلاس با آنچه معلمانتان می گوید ، ارزیابی گردد .

ازمعلمین درموارد ذیل پرسیده خواهد شد :

حاضری

سهم گیری درصنف (کلاس)

برخورد با همصنفان

برخورد با معلمین

حد عمومی رشید گی وبلوغ

لطفاً در مورد غلط شدن در کلتور و فرهنگ مدرسه .
هرگونه شکل خاص که از جانب معلم مشاهده شده است .
اطلاعات که از این منابع جمع آوری می گردد ، بعداً جهت ارزیابی و تحلیل نظرای همکاران خانم ای جوان مورد
استفاده قرار می گیرد . می خواهم که راجع به تجربه آنها درباره بلوغ آگاهی بهتر بدست آرم .
من در شباهت ها و مخالفت ها و آگاهی و فهم فرد از یک بالغ خیلی خوب دقت خواهم کرد .
تمام این معلومات در نزد من در تمام مدت خواهد بود . تنها متر همین و آنهائیکه مرا در نوشتن یاری
می کنند می توانند به آن دست رسی داشته باشند .
تمام معلومات به طور ناشناس گذارش می شود و برای کسانیکه در این تحقیق سهم گرفتند نام مستعار انتخاب می گردد
نام مدرسه و نام شهر نیز افشا نمی گردد . تمام این معلومات برای مدت یکسال جهت استفاده آن
بتحقیق حفظ می گردد و بعد از یکسال از بین برده می شود .
این تحقیق بیشتر از سه ماه طول نخواهد کشید .
آیا می توانید از تحقیق زودتر خارج شوید ؟!
سهم گیری در این تحقیق کاملاً بتصمیم خود شماست . شما می توانید هرگاه بخواهید توقف دهید .
رسک برای این مطالعه و تحقیق چه خواهد بود ؟
هیچ . تمام معاصبه ها محرم حفظ می گردند . تمام مواد مصاحبه قفل گردیده در محل محفوظ نگهداری می گردد .
و بعد از اینکه رونوشت گردید ، تماماً چیزای ضبط شده تخریب می گردند .
آیا در سهم گرفتن در این مطالعه و تحقیق کدام مفاد مادی موجود است ؟!
تخمیر هیچ نوع .
آیا هیچ نوع پول و یا مفاد دیگر در سهم گرفتن در این مضمون منظور است ؟!
تخمیر

آیا در سهم گرفتن در این مطالعه و تحقیق من پول می پردازم ؟
نخیر .

حقوق من در صورت سهم گرفتن در این تحقیق چه خواهند بود ؟
شما و والدین تان مجبور به سهم گرفتن در این مطالعه نیستید ، مگر شما می خواهید . می توانید در هر وقت توقف بدهید
(از آن خارج شوید) . در صورت اشتراک در این تحقیق ، هیچ یک از حقوق شما پایمال نخواهد شد .

محرم بودن یعنی چه ؟
اطلاعات حاصله در این مطالعه شاید نشر شده و یا در یک نشریه استفاده شود . اما نام شما ، نام مدرسه تان
و غیره معلومات که منجر به شناسائی شما گردد محرم باقی خواهد ماند .
از نام تخیلی به عوض نام شما استفاده خواهد گردید .

به پرسش کی من که پاسخ خواهد داد ؟!
شما می توانید به تلفن 725-8009 با خانم کاتلین میکنزی هر گاه که خواسته باشید
تماس بگیرید .
شما می توانید که معلومات بیشتر در مورد پالیسی دانشگاه فلوریدای شمالی (UNF)
با تماس به تلفن 620-2455 با داکتر کاتلین بلوم به شماره
(904) 620-2684 درتماس شوید .

من موافقم که در سه یا چهار مصاحبه که با خانم مکنزی که صدایم نیز ضبط می گردد سهم بگیرم . ضبط صوت بعداً تخریب خواهد گردید .

من موافقم و اجازه می دهم که خانم مکنزی از صنف درسی من بازدید کند بدون اینکه درس مرا مزاحمت کند . و من از بین همصنفان خودم بیرون کشیده نخواهم شد .

من اجازه می دهم که خانم مکنزی که از نمرات درسی من بازدید کند .

من حداقل ۱۸ ساله هستم _____ مخفف اسم

در مورد تحقیق و مطالعه که صورت می گیرد به اندازه کافی معلومات دارم و طرف رضایت من است _____ مخفف اسم

به من فرصت داده شد که هر نوع سوال در مورد تحقیق داشته باشم بپرسم . _____ مخفف اسم

من موافقم که در تحقیق و مطالعه دختران جوان مسلمان مهاجر درباره هویت خویش در امریکا سهم بگیرند

سهم بگیرم . این تحقیق از طرف خانم مکنزی و دانشگاه UNF صورت می گیرد .

_____ تاریخ

_____ اسم کامل، اشتراک کننده

_____ اسم کامل والدین

_____ امضاء والدین

کاتیلین مکنزی

_____ نام اجازه گیرنده

_____ تاریخ

دانشگاه فلوریدای شمالی
میکسن ویل ، فلوریدا
موافقت نامه تحقیقات انسانی

عنوان : زنان شایسته : دختران جوان مسلمان ومهاجر درباره هویت خویش در ایالات متحده امریکا بحث می نمایند .

محقق : کاتلین مکنزی

ارتباط : دانشگاه فلوریدای شمالی

ارتباطات : داکتر جویس جونز 620-2990

خانم کاتلین مکنزی 725-8009

توسط هیت تحقیقات تعلیمی منظور شد .

این یک فورم خیلی مهم است . لطفاً اینرا دقیق مطالعه نمائید . این در مورد تحقیق مطالعوی برایتان معلومات می دهد . درصورت سهم گرفتن دراین تحقیقات ، باید این فورمه را امضا کنید . امضا شما این مفهوم را ارائه می دهد که شما این فورمه را مطالعه نموده واز رسیک احتمالی آن آگاهی یافتید . همچنان امضاءشما این مفهوم را دارد که شما می خواهید درین تحقیق سهم بگیرید . سهم گرفتن شما درین تحقیق کاملاً رضاکارانه واختیاری می باشد . اجتناب از اشتراک درین تحقیق هیچ نوع صدمه بعواید شما نخواهد داشت . شما هرگاه خواسته باشید ، می توانید ازاشتراک و همکاری با این تحقیق خودداری نمائید .

این خودداری کردن هیچ نوع خساره به شما وعوایدتان نمی رساند

هدف این مطالعه چیست ؟!

دورهٔ جوانی دوره ایست که انسان ها به دوره رشد و بلوغ خویش ، که آیا چو خواهند شد می اندیشند . من علاقه ام در مورد دختران مسلمان جوان شامل لیسه (دبیرستان) می باشد که در طی سه سال اخیر به امریکا آمده اند .

من می خواهم بدانم که شما در مورد آینده تان ، وقتیکه بالغ گردیدید چه فکر می کنید ؟ برنامه های شما در مورد آینده چیست ؟! احساس شما در مورد ازدواج ، خانواده ، تعلیم و تربیه وظیفه ، سیاست و مذهب چیست ؟

چه تعداد می توانند در این مطالعه سهم بگیرند ؟

به تعداد ۴۰ الی شش نفر از دختران دانشجو (دبیرستان) درین مطالعه سهم خواهند گرفت .

درین مطالعه چه صورت می گیرد ؟

این خلاصه اموراتیست که انجام می گردد محققین کاری زیرا انجام خواهند داد :

- برای یک هفته از کلاس آی انگلیسی بازدید می نمایند .
- اشتراک کننده گان را انتخاب می نمایند .
- با اشتراک کننده گان در خفا حرف می زنند تا از خواست شان مطمئن گردند .
- وعده ملاقات با والدین می گذارند (با ترجمان) تا با درمیان گذاشتن مراحل تحقیق از والدین جهت اشتراک در تحقیق اجازه کسب نمایند .
- با دختر جوان (اشتراک کننده) جهت مصاحبه ابتدائی در یک دفتر خصوصی در مکتب دو بار ملاقات می نمایند .
- بطور علیحده با هر معلم ملاقات نموده در مورد شاگرد معلومات اخذ می نمایند .
- نمرات صنفی شاگرد و حاضری اش مورد مطالعه قرار خواهد گرفت .
- مصاحبه سوم با دختر جوان ، برای اضافه نمودن معلومات بیشتر ، روشن نمودن سوالات و فهمیدن درست جوابات صورت می گیرد .

- در صورت ضرورت مصاحبه چهارمی نیز تنظیم می گردد .

مصاحبه ها درین موارد خواهد بود :

- هرفوی تعلیمی ، استخدام وبرنامه های ازدواج .
- چگونه شما رول والدین وهمسررا می دانید ؟
- عقاید سیاسی ومذهبی شما .
- ونظر شما درمورد رول جنسیت .

من با شما به زبان انگلیسی مصاحبه خواهم کرد (درغیرآن درصورتیکه من وشما فکر کنیم که به ترجمان ضرورت است) . ما دو ملاقات یا نشست خواهیم داشت که درآن صدای شما ضبط می گردد تا بعداً رونوشت انجام گیرد .

من شاید مصاحبه سوم وچهارم را بعدازانکه مصاحبه اول رونوشت گردید انجام می دهم .
واین به خاطر این است که ازطرز برداشت ونتیجه گیری خویش از جوابات شما مطمئن گردم .

بعدازموافقه مدرسه واجازه شما ووالدینتان ، من با معلمین مصاحبه نموده درمورد شاگردان ودرمورد شاگردان ، حاضری ونمرات شان معلومات حاصل می نمایم .

مصاحبه با معلمین جهت این صورت می گیرد تا ازمعلومات شما درمورد عملکرد در کلاس با آنچه معلمانتان می گویند ، ارزیابی گردد .

ازمعلمین درموارد ذیل پرسیده خواهد شد :

حاضری
سهم گیری درصنف (کلاس)
برخورد با همصنفان
برخورد با معلمین
حد عمومی رسیده گی وبلوغ

بصیرت درمورد خلط شدن در کلتور وفرهنگ مدرسه .

هرگونه مشکل خاص که از جانب معلم مشاهده شده است .

اطلاعات که ازین منابع جمع آوری می گردد، بعداً جهت ارزیابی وتحلیل لنگرهای همسان خانم های جوان مورد استفاده قرار می گیرد. می خواهم که راجع به تجربه آنها درباره بلوغ آگاهی بهتر بدست آرم .

من در شباهت ها و مخالفت ها و آگاهی ومفهوم خوبتر از یک بالغ خیلی خوب دقت خواهم کرد .

تمام این معلومات در نزد من درتمام مدت خواهد بود. تنها مترجمین وآنهائیکه مرا در نوشتن یاری می کنند می توانند به آن دست رسی داشته باشند .

تمام معلومات به طور نا شناس گزارش می شود وبرای کسانیکه درین تحقیق سهم گرفتند نام مستعار انتخاب می گردد. نام مدرسه ونام شهر نیز افشا نمی گردد. تمام این معلومات برای مدت یکسال جهت استفاده آن به تحقیق حفظ می گردد وبعدازیکسال ازبین برده می شود .

این تحقیق بیشتر از سه ماه طول نخواهد کشید.

آیا می توانید از تحقیق زودتر خارج شوید ؟!

سهم گیری در این تحقیق کاملاً تصمیم خودشما است. شما می توانید هرگاه بخواهید توقف دهید .

ریسک های این مطالعه وتحقیق چه خواهند بود ؟

هیچ . تمام مصاحبه ها محرم حفظ می گردند . تمام مواد مصاحبه قفل گردیده درمحل محفوظ نگهداری می گردد .
وبعدازانکه رونوشت گردید، تماماً چیزهای ضبط شده تخریب می گردند .

آیا در سهم گرفتن درین مطالعه وتحقیق کدام مفاد مادی موجود است ؟!

نخیر هیچ نوع .

آیا هیچ نوع پول ویا مفاد دیگر در سهم گرفتن درین مضمون متصور است ؟!

نخیر

آیا در سهم گرفتن در این مطالعه و تحقیق من پول می پردازم ؟
نخیر .

حقوق من در صورت سهم گرفتن در این تحقیق چه خواهند بود ؟
شما و والدین تان مجبور به سهم گرفتن در این مطالعه نیستید ، اگر سهم می گیرید می توانید در هر وقت توقف بدهید
(از آن خارج شوید) . در صورت اشتراک در این تحقیق ، هیچ یک از حقوق شما پایمال نخواهد شد .

محرم بودن یعنی چه ؟
اطلاعات حاصله در این مطالعه شما به نشر شده و یا در کدام نشریه استفاده شود . اما نام شما ، نام مدرسه شما
و غیره معلومات که منتج به شناسائی شما گردد محرم باقی خواهد ماند .
از نام تخیلی به عوض نام شما استفاده خواهد گردید .

به پرسش کی من که پاسخ خواهد داد ؟!
شما می توانید به تلفن 725-8009 با خانم کاتلین مسکینزی هر گاه که خواسته باشید
تماس بگیرید .
شما می توانید که معلومات بیشتر در مورد پالیسی دانشگاه فلوریدای شمالی (UNF)
با تماس به تلفن 620-2455 با داکتر کاتلین بلوم به شماره W
(904) 620-2684 در تماس شوید .

من موافقم که در سه یا چهار مصاحبه که با خانم مکنزی که صدایم نیز ضبط می‌گردد سهم بگیرم . ضبط صوت بعداً تخریب خواهد گردید .

من موافقم و اجازه می‌دهم که خانم مکنزی از صنف درسی من بازدید کند بدون اینکه درس مرا مزاحمت کند .

من از بین محصلان خودم بیرون کشیده نخواهم شد .

من اجازه می‌دهم که خانم مکنزی که از نمرات درسی من بازدید کند .

من _____ ساله هستم _____ محصل اسم

در مورد تحقیق و مطالعه که صورت می‌گیرد به اندازه کافی معلومات دارم و طوعاً رضایت من است _____ محصل اسم

به من فرصت داده شد که هر نوع سوال در مورد تحقیق داشته باشم بپرسم . _____ محصل اسم

من موافقم که در تحقیق و مطالعه دختران جوان مسلمان مهاجر درباره هویت خویش در امریکا بحث می‌نمایند سهم بگیرم . این تحقیق از طرف خانم مکنزی در دانشگاه UNF صورت می‌گیرد .

_____ تاریخ

_____ اسم کامل اشتراک کننده

_____ امضاء اشتراک کننده

_____ تاریخ

کاتلین مکنزی

_____ نام کسیکه خواهان اجازه است

_____ امضاء کسیکه خواهان اجازه است

Appendix C: Identity Status Interview Questions

Identity Status Interview: Early and Middle Adolescent Form

based on a form developed by Sally L. Archer and Alan S. Waterman

in Marcia, J.E., Waterman, A.S., Matteson, D.R., Archers, S.L., & Orlofsky, J.L. (Eds.). (1993). Ego Identity: A Handbook for Psychosocial Research. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Date/Time of Interview_____ Interview Participant _____

Interpreter _____ Location of Interview _____

General Opening after greeting and establishment of comfortable atmosphere:

How old are you?

And you are in what grade?

What country are you from? Did you spend time in a refugee camp or other country before coming to the United States?

How long have you been in Jacksonville?

How many years did you attend school in your home country?

[If appropriate] Why did you not attend school?

How do you feel about living in Jacksonville?

In the United States?

What do you do in your spare time when you are not in school?

What do you do for fun? Do you have any hobbies?

Do you see many friends? Where do you meet with them? Do you talk on the telephone with them?

How often? For how long?

Do you have tasks that you must do at home?

What are those tasks? How long do they take you?

Are both of your parents living?

[If not] At what age were you when your (father) (mother) died?

Have your parents ever been separated or divorced?

[If yes] At what age were you when your parents separated?

[If appropriate] Whom have you lived with?

[If appropriate] Has either of your parents remarried?

[If yes] At what age were you at that time?

Can you tell me something about your father's educational background?

And what type of work does he do?

What did he do in your home country?

And your mother, what was her educational background?
And has she been employed outside of the home?

[If appropriate] Doing what?

Was she employed in your home country?

Do you have any brothers and sisters? How many? Which are older and which are younger than you?

Are they all in school? In what grades? Or working? Doing what?

Vocational Plans—Opening:

And you are _____ years old, and in the _____ grade. Right?

What school program are you enrolled in here at Englewood?

Do you have any ideas about what you'd like to do after graduation from high school in terms of work, school, and/or marriage?

[Proceed to the appropriate block(s) of questions: college or other education, work, and/or marriage.]

[If "don't know," ask:
Do you think it is more likely that you will continue with your education after high school or that you will seek employment?
[Proceed to the appropriate block(s) of questions.]

[If the answer is again "don't know," proceed to the closing block of questions on vocational plans—p.5.]

Vocational Plans—Further Education

[If appropriate] Do you have any plans for a college major at this time?

What type of work would you like to do?

How did you come to decide on _____?
[Ask about future plans, if known; otherwise ask about major field.]

[If no definite interests are mentioned, then omit this question and ask:
What do you hope to gain by attending college?
Then skip to the closing block of questions on vocational plans—p.5.]

When did you first become interested in_____?

What do you find attractive about _____?

Is there anything not so attractive about this field?

[If several fields are mentioned spontaneously, ask about each of in turn.]

Have you ever considered any other fields besides _____?
[List all the fields previously mentioned.]

[If yes, repeat questions about when interested and nature of attraction.]

How seriously are (were) you considering each of the fields you mentioned?

[For students who have specified a decision, ask:]
Did you ever feel that you were actively deciding between _____ and _____?

Was this a difficult decision to make?

What may have helped you make your choice here?

[For students who have not specified a decision, ask:]
Do you feel that choosing a career is something that you're trying to work out now, or do you feel that this is where you can let time take its course and just see what happens?

Do you have any ideas as to when you'd like to have this decision made?

How are you going about getting the information you'd like to have to make a decision?

Do you feel that this is an important decision for you to make now, or are you more concerned with other things right now?

[Proceed to closing block of questions on vocational plans—p. 5.]

Vocational Plans—Employment:

What type of employment would you like to find?

How did you come to decide on _____?

When did you first become interested in that type of work?

What do you find attractive about _____?

What do you find not so attractive about this field?

[If several alternative possibilities are spontaneously mentioned, ask about each in turn.]

Have you ever considered any type of work besides_____?
[List all the fields previously mentioned.]

[Repeat cycle of questions above for each field mentioned that has not been previously discussed.]

How seriously are (were) you considering each of the plans you mentioned?

[For students who have specified a decision:]
Do you feel that you were ever actively deciding between _____ and _____?

Was this a difficult decision for you to make?

What may have helped you make your decision here?

[For students who have not specified a decision:]
Do you feel that choosing a career is something that you're trying to work out now, or do you feel that this is something where you can let time take its course and just see what happens?

Do you have any idea as to when you'd like to have this decision made?

How are you going about getting the information you'd like to have to make a decision?

Do you feel that this is an important decision for you to make now, or are you more concerned with other things right now?

Have you ever seriously considered continuing your education after high school?

[If yes:] Could you describe your thinking at that time?

[If appropriate:] Why did you decide not to go on with school?

[Proceed to closing block of questions on vocational plans, p. 5.]

Vocational Plans—Marriage:

How did you come to decide on marriage as the best plan for you?

Do you plan to have children?

[If yes:] Do you plan to work or remain at home until you have children?

[If appropriate:] After you have children, would you continue to work?
When did you first become interested in these plans?

What do you find attractive about marriage (and work)?

What do you find unattractive about marriage (and work)?

Have you ever considered any other type of plan?
[If yes, repeat questions about when interested and nature of attraction.]

How seriously were you considering each of the plans you mentioned?

Have you ever seriously considered continuing your education (or going to work) after high school?

[If yes:] Could you describe your thinking at that time?

Why did you decide not to go on with school (work)?

Vocational Plans—Closing:

Marriage and the Role of Spouse Most parents have plans for their daughters, things they'd like to see them go into, things they'd like to see them do. Did your parents have any plans like that for you?

Do you think your parents may have had a preference for one plan over another, although they would never have tried to pressure you about it?

[If yes:] Did you ever consider _____?

[If appropriate:] How do your parents feel about your plans to go into _____?

As you think about your activities in your coursework in school and any part-time work or hobbies you have had in the fields) you might like to go into, what would you say is most satisfying or rewarding for you (for each of them)?

Is there anything about these activities that you would consider to be not so good?

How would you describe your feelings while you are engaged in these activities?

Why do you think you feel that way?

How willing do you think you'd be to change your plans from _____ (the strongest one or two plans mentioned), if something better came along?

[If asked: What do you mean by better? Respond: "Whatever might be better by your standards."]

[If respondent indicates the possibility of change:]
What might you change to?

What might cause you to make such a change?

How likely do you think it is that you will make some change?

[Repeat all the possibilities mentioned.]

On a 7-point scale, how important do you see you vocation as being to you in your life, where 7 means "extremely important" and 1 means "not at all important"?

[For those who were interviewed on the *Marriage—Vocational Plans*, use this beginning to the marriage domain:]

I'd like to ask you more specific questions about marriage and parenting now.

[Go first to "Why do you plan to marry," and so on within the marriage domain, and then on the parenting domain begin with, "Why do you plan to become a parent," and so on.]

[For all others, begin:]

Do you plan to marry some day?

[If yes:]

Why do you plan to marry?

When do you think would be a good time for you to marry?

When then?

What kind of a person would you want to marry?

How do you picture what marriage might be like for you?

What do you see as your role as a wife?

[If no:]

Have you ever thought about the idea of marriage?

Why do you think you would prefer not to marry?

[For all:]

What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of being single versus being married? [If only one side is asked about, ask about the other position.

Has your decision about (not) marrying come easily to you or has it been a difficult decision to make?

Why?

Who may have influenced your decision?

[If not already evident:] Have you ever gone through an important change in your thinking about marriage for yourself?

[If yes:] Please describe that change.

What started you thinking about these questions?

Who may have influenced your thinking?

How would you compare your ideas about marriage with those of your mother?

What is your parents' marriage like? How do you feel about the kind of marriage your parents (have) (had)?

Would you like your marriage to be similar to theirs?

How do your parents feel about your ideas on marriage? [If parents do not know:] How do you think they would feel about them if they did know?

Are you currently in a romantic relationship with someone?

[If yes:] How does your boy friend feel about your ideas about marriage?

How do your ideas about marriage compare with his?

What do you think are the best and worst things about marriage in terms of what you would be doing in the marriage in your roles as a wife?

How willing would you be to change your plans about marriage?

[If appropriate:] What would it take to change your ideas about marriage?

Do you think you might think again about your decision at some time in the future?

[If yes:] When? Why then?

On a 7-point scale, how important do you see marriage and your having the role of wife as being to you in your life? Again, 7 means "extremely important" and 1 means "not important at all."

The Role of Parent

[Remember, for people who answered vocational plans in terms of marriage and parenting, to begin with:]
Why do you plan to become a parent?

[For all others, begin with:]
Do you plan to become a parent some day?

[If yes:]

Why do you plan to become a parent?

When you do think would be a good time in your life to have children?

How do you picture your role in parenting?

What type of behavior in your child would give you pleasure?

If you ever did become a parent, what role do you think your husband should have in parenting with you?

What role do you think your husband will have in parenting with you?

[If any difference is mentioned:] Why do you think that would be?

[If no:]

Is this because you have never thought about the role of parent for yourself or that you definitely do not want to be a parent?

How did you figure out that decision?

What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of having children?
[If only one side is given, ask about the other.]

Has your decision about parenting come easily to you, or has it been a difficult decision to make?

Why?

Who or what has had a part in helping you to make your decision about this?

Have you ever gone through an important change in your thinking about having children?

[If yes:] When was that in your life?

Please describe the changes.

What started you thinking about these questions?

How did you go about working out your ideas?

How would you compare your ideas about parenting with those of your own parents?

How would you describe your parents' thinking about parenting?

What do you think of the parenting you have had?

Would you like your parenting to be like theirs?

Would your parents like to see you be a parent some day?

How do you feel about that?

How do your parents feel about your ideas on parenting? [If parents do not know:] How do you think they would feel about them if they did know?

[If presently in a romantic relationship:] How does your boy friend feel about what you think about parenting?

How do your ideas about parenting compare with his?

Do you believe your ideas about parenting are now fairly well worked out, or do you feel that you are sill working on your thinking about parenting?

[If still working out ideas:] What questions are you still thinking about?

What are you doing now to work out your thinking about these questions?

As you think about being a parent yourself, what would you like best and least about your role of parent?

How willing would you be to change your plans about parenting?

Do you think you might reconsider your decision at some time in the future?

[If yes:] When? Why then?

What do you think might influence your decision about whether to have children or not?

On a 7-point scale, how important do you see the role of parent as being to you in your life? Again, 7 means "extremely important" and 1 means "not important at all."

Family and Career Priorities:

Looking over the numbers you gave from 1 to 7 for each of the areas we have talked about so far, I notice that you rated career _____, in importance, marriage _____ and parenting _____, which seems to suggest that you value (_____ more) (each area about equally). How do you feel about that?

I would like you to share with me the types of problems you feel could develop because you have a career and a marriage, specifically with your being a wife.

Now I would like you to tell me about possible problems you feel could happen because you have a career and are a mother.

I'd like you to give me a time line for how you plan to fit your education, employment, marriage, and parenting into your life relative to one another.

I'd like you to examine your time line about career and children more carefully. If you were to have children, when would you want to fit them in with your education, career, and marriage?

How many children would you like to have?

How many years between them?

Would you plan to take time off from work to have children?

[If yes:] For how long?

Would you go back to work after having each child?

So the approximate total time off from work would amount to _____years?

[If this is a considerable length of time:] Do you think it would be necessary for you to develop new or extra skills in your profession to get a similar job back?

What might some additional problems be for you that could arise about (marriage and career) (parenting and career) [in that order] as you look into your future?

How would you try to solve each of the problems you have mentioned?

How much have you thought about marriage and career conflicts before?

Have you ever gone through an important change in your thinking about marriage and career conflicts before?
[If yes:] Please describe that change.

What started you thinking about such questions?

Who may have influenced your thinking about this question?

How are your thoughts about marriage and career problems like and not like those of your parents?

How do your parents handle such problems?

How does the way they do it make you think about how you would want to do it?

[If in a romantic relationship:] How does your boy friend feel about handling marriage and career conflicts?

How are your ideas similar and different?

How does your boy friend feel about your ideas on what the problems might be and how to handle them?

How much concern do you have now about this question? [If little or none:] Do you think it will become a serious question for you in the future?

[If yes:] At what time in your life?

[If no:] Why not?

[If not previously addressed concretely:] If you were confronted with a conflict between your work responsibilities and your responsibilities as a wife, which would you give priority to? Why?

How much have you thought about parenting and career conflicts before?

Have you ever gone through an important change in your thinking about parenting and career conflicts before?

[If yes:] Please describe that change.

What started you thinking about such questions?

Who or what may have helped you to make your decisions about this question?

How are your ideas like and not like those of your parents about how to handle problems or conflicts between doing things for your career and doing things for your children?

How do your parents handle such conflicts with you (and your brothers and sisters)?

Would you like your handling of parenting and career conflicts to be like theirs?
[If in a romantic relationship:] How are your ideas about handling parenting and career conflicts like and not like those of your boy friend?

How does your boyfriend feel about your ideas on the handling of parenting and career conflicts?

How much concern do you have now about this question? [If little or none:] Do you think it will become a serious question for you in the future?

[If yes:] At what time in your life?

[If no:] Why not?

[If not previously addressed concretely:] If you were confronted with a conflict between your work responsibilities and your responsibilities as a parent, which would you give priority to? Why?

Religious Beliefs:

Do you belong to a religion?

How about your parents, do they belong to a religion?

Were both of your parents brought up as _____?

How important would you say religion is to your parents?

Have you ever been active in a mosque?

[If not already evident:] Do you go to religious services regularly now?

[If yes:]

What are your reasons for going?

How do you feel while you are doing things at your mosque?

Why do you feel that way?

[If no:]

Did you ever attend religious services fairly regularly?

[If appropriate:] What led to your attendance at services falling off?

Do you talk about religion to other people?

[If yes:] What kinds of things do you talk about? Do you get into discussions or arguments?

[If appropriate:] What do you argue for and against?

I'd like to find out something about your ideas in the area of religion, for example on such questions as the existence of God, or Allah, and the important of having a mosque to worship in and to go to school in to learn about your religion. What are your ideas?

Do you believe Islam is the one true religion?

Was there ever a time when you came to question, to doubt, or perhaps to change your religious beliefs?

[If yes:] What types of things did you question or change?

What started you thinking about these questions?

[If not already in evidence:] How old were you at the time?

How serious were these questions for you?

Do you feel that you've solved these questions for yourself, or are you still working on them?

[If resolved:] What has helped you to answer these questions?

[If not resolved:] How are you going about trying to answer these questions?

How do your parents feel about your religious beliefs?

[If parents do not know:] How do you think they would feel about them if they did know?

Are there any important differences between your beliefs and those of your parents?

At this time, how well worked out do you think your ideas in the area of religion are?

Do you think your ideas on religion are likely to remain the same, or do you believe they may very well change in the future?

[If they may change:] In what direction do you think your beliefs might change?

What might bring about such a change?

How likely is it that such a change might occur?

[If you see evidence of continued thought being given to religious questions:] How important is it to you to work out your ideas in the area of religion?

Are you actively trying to work out your beliefs now, or are you more concerned with other things?

How would you like to see your own children brought up with respect to religion?

On a 7-point scale, how important do you see your religious beliefs as being to you in your life? Again, 7 means "extremely important" and 1 means "not important at all."

[For agnostics and atheists, the last question in this domain should be phrased thus:]

On a 7-point scale, how important do you see your ideas about (agnosticism) (atheism) as being to you in your life? Again, 7 means "extremely important" and 1 means "not important at all."

Political Beliefs:

Do you have any political preference?

[if asked, "What do you mean by political preference?" Respond: Either party preference or a position on the liberal to conservative scale. For example do you consider yourself as a liberal, a moderate, or a conservative?]

[If appropriate:] Have you heard of these terms before?

[If yes:] Can you tell me which terms you have heard about, and how?

Do your parents have any political preferences?

[If appropriate:] Do they belong to any political party?

[If appropriate:] Where would they fall on a scale from liberal through moderate to conservative?

[Ask questions above separately for father and mother.]

How important would you say political questions are to your parents?

Are there any political or social issues that you feel pretty strongly about?

[If asked, "Such as?" Respond: "Whatever might be important issues for you." If asked again, suggest issues as the economy, how much weaponry is needed for defense, foreign policy, the environment, and so on.]

What would you like to see done about _____?

[Repeat each issue raised.]

Are there other issues that you have views about?

What would you like to see done about _____?

[Repeat for each issue mentioned.]

Have you ever taken any political actions, like joining groups, participating in election campaigns, writing letters to government or other political leaders, signing petitions, participating in demonstrations?

[If yes, elicit a description of each if necessary.]

How did you get involved in these activities?

[Repeat for several of the activities mentioned]

[If no issues or activities were discussed:]

Do you feel that you are actively trying to arrive at a set of political beliefs, or do you feel that the area of politics isn't very important to you at present?

[If trying to work out ideas:]

Can you tell me something about the types of things you are thinking about?

How are you going about getting the information you need to form political beliefs?

How important is it for you to work out these ideas?

Was there ever a time when you found your political ideas undergoing change, when you believed one thing on an issue and then, months or years later, you found you had very different ideas on the same issue?

[If yes:] Please describe the circumstances.

What led you to make that type of change?

Was there anyone or anything that may have influenced your thinking at the time?

How do you feel while you are engaged in activities related to your political beliefs?

Why do you think you feel that way?

How do your parents feel about your political ideas?

[If parents do not know:] How do you think they would feel about them if they did know

Are there any important differences between your views and those of your parents?

At this time do you believe that your political beliefs are likely to remain the same for some time, or do you feel they may very well change in the future?

[If they may change:] In what direction do you think your beliefs might change?

What might bring about such a change?

How likely is it that such a change will occur?
[If appropriate:] Do you feel these changes would occur just on specific issues, or might there be a change in your general political attitude?

On a 7-point scale, how important do you see your political beliefs as being to you in your life? Again, 7 means "extremely important" and 1 means "not important at all."

Sex-Role Attitudes:

Changing topics again, I'd like to talk with you about your ideas of men's and boys' roles and women's and girls' roles.

What advantages and disadvantages do you see associated with the roles of men and women?

[Ask advantages and disadvantages of both genders.]

[Possible Question:] Are these different in the "American" community than in your own?

What do you think is good and bad about being a boy versus being a girl?

How do you think things should be in terms of what women and girls are supposed to be like and what men and boys are supposed to be like?

If you could have chosen to be a boy or a girl, which would you be?

Why?

[If appropriate:] What is best and worst for you yourself being a female?

How do you feel while you are doing things that go with your being a girl?

Why do you think you feel that way?

How did you come to learn what it means to be a woman?

Do you feel this is something that came rather naturally for you, or were there times when you were uncertain how you should act?

[If there were uncertainties:] Can you describe the circumstances for me?

How did you go about working out what you should do?

Who or what may have helped you with your thinking at the time?

Was there ever a time when you came to question, to doubt, or perhaps to change your ideas, your expectation, and /or how you acted in terms of you female roles?

[If yes:] What types of things did you question or change?
What started you thinking about these questions?

[If not already evident:] How old were you at the time?

How serious were these questions for you?

Do you feel you've solved these questions for yourself, or are you still working on them?

[If resolved:] What has helped you to answer these questions?

[If not resolved:] How are you going about trying to answer these questions?

How have your mother and father expressed their female and male roles, respectively?

How were your ideas, expectations, and behaviors in this area influenced by your parents?

Are there any important similarities and differences between the ideas, expectations, and behaviors you and your mother have in expression your role and female?

[If appropriate:] How about the effects your brothers and sisters may have had?

Are there any important differences between their ideas, expectations, and behaviors and yours about men's and women's roles in society today?

How are they similar to or different from yours?

How does (he) (she) feel about your ideas, expectations, and behaviors about your role and a girl in today's society?

How has (his) (her) perspective influenced yours?

How do your parents feel about your views on your role as a female?

[If parents do not know:] How do you think they would feel about them if they did know?

Do you see your ideas about the roles of men and women in today's society remaining stable or do you see your ideas possibly changing in the future?

[If ideas may change:] In what direction might your ideas change?

What do you think might cause such a change?

How likely is it that such a change might occur?

[If you see evidence of continued though being given to these questions:] How important is it to you to work out your ideas in this area?

Finally, o a 7-point scale, how important do you see your role as a female as being to you in your life? Again, 7 means "extremely important" and 1 means "not important at all."

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