

ETHNIC IDENTITY RETENTION:
A Cross Generational Analysis of Malayalees in Toronto

by
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ETHNIC IDENTITY RETENTION:
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BY

LEENO LUKE KARUMANCHERY

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

The realities of generational decline in ethnicity, contradict the current Canadian notions of nearly automatic immigrant success in ethnic identity maintenance. In discussing sociocultural scenarios in Multicultural Canada, the identity of future post-1965 immigrant generations remain uncertain at best. In this Toronto study of the Malayalee ethnic group, the impact of immigration on ethnic identity maintenance was explored, and generational patterns of ethnic identity varied markedly. Two main aspects of identity were looked at in this research. The subjective aspects of ethnicity in relation to Malayalee feelings and attitudes, and objective ethnic identity with respect to Malayalee behaviour were examined.

A cross generational analysis indicated that first generation Malayalees display consistently higher levels of both subjective and objective ethnic identity than their children. Similar disparities were found to exist with respect to religious affiliation. Marthomites tend to score higher on ethnic identity than do Roman Catholic Malayalees. Neither gender nor duration of stay, were deciding factors in maintenance of ethnic identity, however, they should not be discounted in future research.

Overall, second generation Malayalees do tend to display lower levels of both subjective and objective ethnic identity than their parents, and these patterns of identity decline cannot be overlooked. It is clear that as the second generation moves away from their traditional Malayalee culture and heritage, future generations will increasingly develop their sense of Nomos and community, from outgroup Canadian

culture and institutions. Further research is needed in order to more fully explore the influence of assimilation and sociocultural change on ethnic identity. A larger sample size, and a more inclusive study, will allow for a clearer understanding of Malayalee identity, and generational shift in Canada.

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I would like to extend a special thank you to Heather Tredree, for your encouragement, support, forbearance and love...*I went towards school with heavy looks, and return as a schoolboy from my books.*

This work is dedicated to the two guiding influences of my life. To my father, whose passion for education and discovery gave me a desire to learn about the world, and to my mother, whose boundless love and conviction gives me the strength to reach for that goal.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine the ethnic identity retention of a visible minority group in Toronto. This research will provide a context for understanding the role of 'race' in ethnic identity retention among visible minorities, and specifically among South Asians. My focus will be the Malayalee community in Toronto, how they perceive themselves as members of the South Asian diaspora, and how their ethnic identity changes from generation to generation.

In examining ethnic identity retention patterns among Malayalee Canadians I will: a) measure the degree of positive ethnic identity manifested in both objective and subjective terms, b) determine the associations and relationships between religious affiliation, gender, generation, and duration of stay in Canada with respect to Malayalee identity retention, and c) address Malayalee behavior and attitudes with reference to their ethnic group, and compare the consistency between the objective and subjective aspects of Malayalee identity.

Previous research suggests that positive subjective ethnic identity will greatly contribute to the maintenance of ingroup loyalty and cohesion (Borhek, 1971; Barth, 1969; Gans, 1979; Isajiw, 1974; McCall, and Simmons, 1968; Mackie and Brinkerhoff, 1984). However, a review of the literature indicates that other

sociological and psychological factors are also associated with ethnic identity retention. These factors play an integral part in the maintenance of ethnic group boundaries (Driedger, 1987, 1989; Edwards and Dourcette, 1987; Gans, 1979, 1994; Isajiw, 1974, 1990; Nahirney and Fishman, 1965). The question that arises then is whether subjective ethnic identity retention alone is a sufficient condition for the continuance of ethnic group solidarity, or whether objective ethnic identity retention is necessary for the perpetuation of ethnic group cohesion. This issue is of particular importance with reference to second generation Malayalees in Canada as their levels of objective ethnic identity decline.

The association between overt behavior and subjective attitudes is of paramount importance. Religious affiliation, gender, generation, and duration of stay in Canada are the four independent variables used in this study. Indicators of the dependent variable (ethnic identity retention) are measured to describe the degree of consistency between both its subjective and objective aspects. This study attempts to determine some of the possible types of ethnic identity patterns that emerge among second generation Malayalees, and consequently, whether those patterns will lead to continued solidarity among Malayalee-Canadians or whether this community is destined to disperse and lose cohesion in the generations to come.

THEORETICAL FRAME AND ORIENTATION

The Conceptual Frame

Various theories have been developed to analyze and explain processes of ethnic change and persistence. The six main theories are presented by Driedger (1989) as: 1) assimilation, 2) amalgamation, 3) modified assimilation, 4) modified pluralism, 5) pluralism and 6) ethnic conflict.

Theories of Ethnic Change and Persistence

Each theory presents a useful perspective to the analysis of ethnic identity and change. The assimilationist model advocated by Robert Park is interested in the pervasive forces of industrialization. This model assumes that all ethnic groups will assimilate to the dominant culture (via conflict and competition, or by way of accommodation). However, it overlooks un-meltable immigrants (ie. Asians, Africans, South-Asians, etc.) who can not follow the same routes towards fusion as European immigrants. As a deterministic macro theory, the assimilationist model can explain some of the general facets of ethnic modification and shift experienced by certain groups, but it fails to consider many other dimensions of cultural and ethnic change (Driedger, 1989:38).

Amalgamation is the second theoretical approach to the study of ethnic identity loss. In Canada, the British represent the largest group and so amalgamation in the Canadian context refers to Anglo-conformity. Like assimilationist theory, this approach tends to be deterministic. It assumes that the temptation to join the majority

group will be too much for a minority group to resist, and that eventually, minorities will disappear into the majority. Similar to assimilationist theory, this approach tends to ignore issues of race and ethnic diversity. In contrast, the approaches taken by Gordon and Glazer/Moynihan take these issues of ethnic variation into consideration.

Gordon approached the study of ethnic adjustment with the understanding that assimilation could not be looked at as a single social process. He saw assimilation as a number of sub-processes classified as the cultural and structural variables of assimilation: cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitudinal, behavioural, and civic (Driedger, 1989:42). Each of these sub-processes reflect a particular stage in the assimilation process. Unlike the aforementioned theoretical approaches, Gordon's modified-assimilation process views ethnicity in multi-leveled terms. Ethnicity to Gordon is dependent upon the various factors that influence change or adaptation within the individual and his/her ethnic group (Gordon, 1970:64). However, the modified approach to assimilation, while complex and multidimensional, is still oriented towards assimilation and amalgamation.

Glazer and Moynihan, in their study of New York ethnic adjustment patterns, determined that some ethnic groups (ie. Jews, Blacks), depended upon religion, historical origins and cultural patterns to retain their ethnic identities. This theory of modified-pluralism, takes into account processes of change and assimilation while at the same time allowing for degrees of pluralism (Driedger, 1989:44). They contend that while an ethnic group might assimilate in several objective aspects of their ethnicity, subjective aspects of their identity could still be nurtured for generations. In

this respect, given the right circumstances, the modified-pluralist model leaves open the possibility of ethnic identity retention in some new forms of ethnic identity. The ethnic mosaic theory goes a step beyond Glazer and Moynihan's model in that an alternative to assimilation and ethnic change is possible in ethnic solidarity.

Advocates of the multicultural pluralist model would suggest that there are alternatives to losing identity within the larger core group of a society. Particularly in Canada where a federal policy of multiculturalism has been adopted, many groups have the resources necessary to retain their ethnic identities, cultures and sense of ethnic *Gemeinschaft*. As noted by Driedger (1989), multicultural pluralism tends to focus on the idea that within a democratic and free society, all people should have the freedom to choose a distinct quality of life (Driedger, 1989:47). This model comes into conflict with assimilationist models that assume ethnic minorities must be neatly tucked into a version of majority conformity.

Conflict theorists also disagree with the idea that conflict is a temporary phenomenon that exists in-between contact and fusion. Conflict theorists tend to accentuate the importance of individuality and ethnic persistence. Various conflict theorists will posit the significance of class struggles and racial stratification as fueling factors behind such social conflict, so the end result may be resistance to change and a retention of ethnic pride and heritage. Examples of such communities can be drawn from North American native communities, and smaller groups like the Amish or Hutterites in Canada, but the great majority of Canadian ethnic groups cannot be fit

into this narrow mold. Like the assimilation model on the opposite end of this linear spectrum, such ideal models are rare in reality.

A Conformity - Pluralist Model

With reference to these six theories, my task is to determine which model best suits the Malayalee community's present and future situations. To this end, I will be using Driedger's Conformity-Pluralist model to develop my conceptual frame. My brief summary of the linear model shows that we need multi-dimensional approaches to social research. The conformity-pluralist model is multi-dimensional and will aid in understanding how and where the Malayalee community fits into the Canadian mosaic. Figure 1.1 illustrates that as visible minorities, members of the Malayalee community in Canada fit into either Cell D or Cell E. Placement of the Malayalee community within these two cells will be justified as I briefly re-introduce the six theories of ethnic change and persistence with reference to the Driedger model.

Wsevolod Isajiw suggested that the center of Canadian society was a marketplace where all groups had to come together and meet in order to make a living. This marketplace is represented in Cell A, the melting pot where the pervasive influence of industrialization brings all groups together in order to compete in the economic arena (Driedger, 1989:50-52).

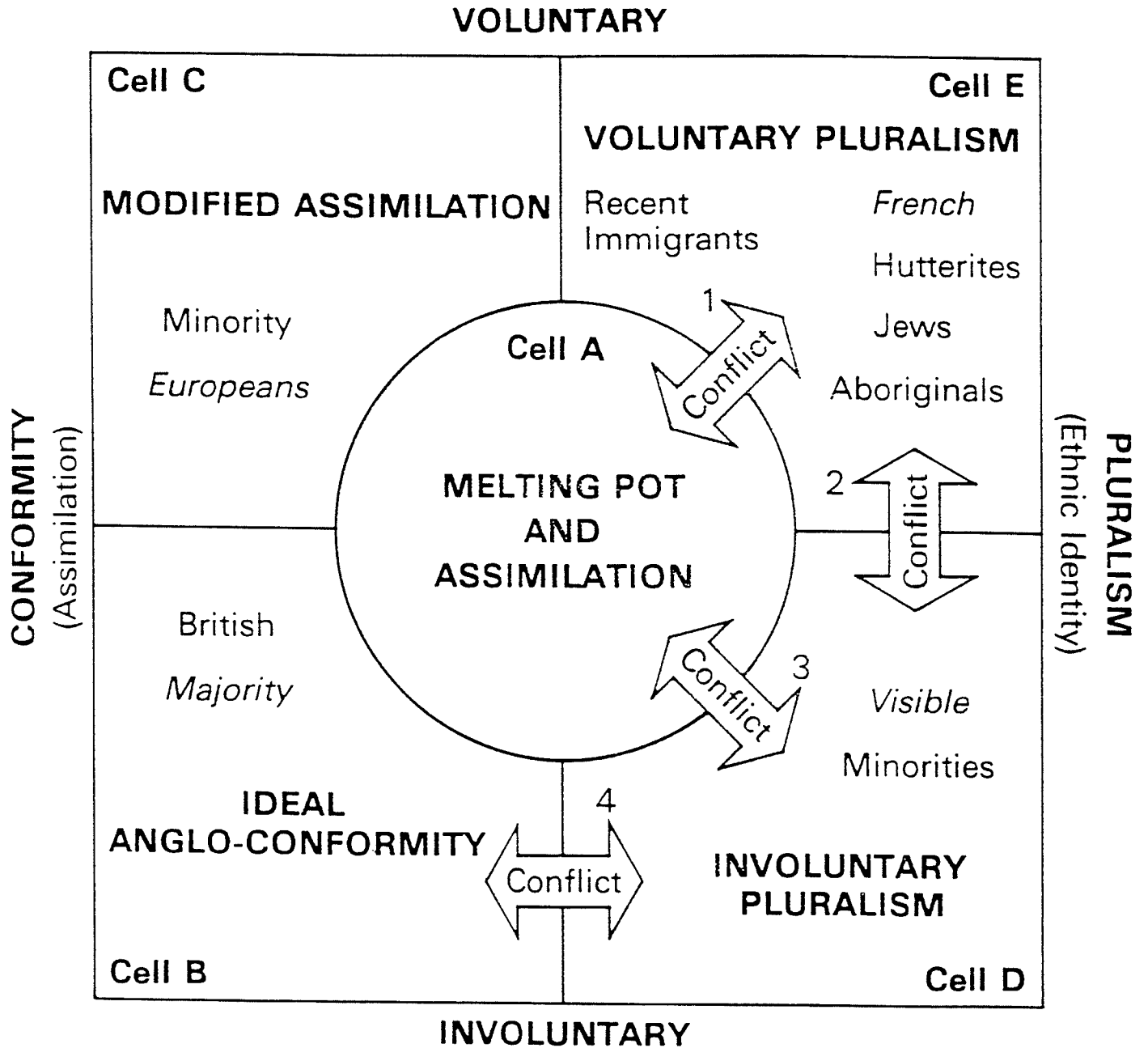
Cell B symbolizes the largest and most powerful group's influence over the whole. In Canada, this cell refers to Anglo-conformity, and like all ethnic groups, the dominant majority will seek to preserve and perpetuate its own culture, traditions, language and institutions etc. (Driedger, 1989:53). This cell seeks to influence all the

of the others, including Cell A. With the power that accompanies majority status the majority group in Cell B are often able to force conformity on minorities. It is important to note that this forced conformity does not come by way of 'overt' repression or subjugation, rather, the movement of minorities towards Anglo-Conformity arises through the influence of Canada's ideological and cultural institutions. 'If you can change the way people think, coercion becomes unnecessary.'

Cell C houses the older more northerly European groups. These are groups that tend to have lived in Canada for several generations. With reference to Gordon's seven indicators of assimilation, members of these groups tend to lose many of their structural and cultural group characteristics. As Caucasians adopting the English language, they voluntarily conform to the assimilationist goal in Cell A and take Park's path of least resistance. Their similarities to the British majority allow them a great deal of access to, and success in the industrial cell.

Cell D is an intermediary process where individuals and groups remain pluralist involuntarily due to race. This cell has the greatest potential for conflict as its members are stuck between wanting to retain ethnicity and culture and wanting to compete in the economic fray in Cell A. Quite often, visible minorities in Cell D (particularly second generation) will conform in all facets of Gordon's structural and cultural indicators to find that they are still marginalized and unable to freely enter and compete in Cell A. Cell E represents ideal pluralism where groups seek to retain their ethnic heritage without amalgamating into the larger whole. These are traditionalists in many ways, they insist on opting against Anglo-conformity and seek to remain

Figure 1.1 Driedger's Conformity-Pluralist Conceptual Model



distinct and separate from the majority group. Recent Malayalee immigrants would most likely fit into the Cell E category (Driedger, 1989:54-57). Interestingly, Driedger has placed Cell E (Voluntary Pluralism) beside Cell C (Modified Assimilation) anticipating the possibility of movement from Cell E to Cell C.

There is often severe conflict between Cells E and A as children are assimilated and acculturated toward the mainstream. As generations remain in Canada, for many ethnic groups the shift towards amalgamation is almost inevitable. For visible minority groups in Cell E, the shift to Cell C is not so simple. However, while racial features may block the passage of most visible minorities to Cell C, this factor may be less of a barrier to Malayalee assimilation than it is to the assimilation of other visible ethnic groups.

The essential difference between South Asians and most other visible minority groups is the traditional categorization of South Asians within the Caucasoid Racial group. Understandably, Hooton's three racial subgroups, (Caucasoid, Mongaloid, and Negroid), are used less often as racial lines are crossed more and more (Driedger, 1989:297). However, as skin colour remains the single most prominent difference between South Asian and White Canadians (facial features are similar), a shift to Cell C and modified assimilation for future Malayalee-Canadians may not be arrested if exogamy between the two groups becomes a norm. For this reason, if endogamy and other identity variables are not stressed within the Malayalee community, future generations (if intermarriage between Anglo-Canadian and Malayalee becomes a

norm), will find themselves either marginalized without an ethnic group or they will ease increasingly into Cell C and modified assimilation.

Riesman's Ideal Ethnic Types

David Riesman developed three ideal ethnic types that could be seen to function in and throughout cells A, D, and E: 1) tradition-directed ethnics, 2) inner-directed ethnics (*the marginal*), and 3) those that are other-directed (Brokers or *Middlepeople*). Each ideal type can be used to characterize ethnic groups in general, but perhaps their most useful application can be found in an analysis of the variations and contrasting types within individual ethnic groups. Similar to the cells in Driedger's conformity pluralist model, these types are not static, rather, ethnics have been noted to evolve and move throughout the types. These images are to be used as prototypes and ideal models of ethnicity. The degree to which they are reflected in a society will vary dependent on each specific individual or group, but the variations will tend to be grounded in one or more of these three fundamental themes.

The Tradition-Directed Ethnic

The tradition-directed ethnic represents the great majority of those who immigrate from nations with limited levels of industrialization as well as rural people from industrialized countries. They derive their historical understandings of peoplehood and sense of we-ness from their ethnicity and heritage. The tradition-directed ethnic or group tends to be a relatively static type of social order whose people

are disposed towards existing social relations that are for them, dictated by matters of culture, custom and caste (Driedger, 1989:59).

For the tradition-directed ethnic, a dichotomy is drawn between their sense of ethnicity and the larger society. Ferdinand Tonnies' distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (primary community) and *Gesellschaft* (association or secondary community) clarifies the importance of peoplehood and the significance of community in relation to feelings of belonging. Therefore, we pose the question: within what *domain* or *gateway* of existence do people declare their *nomos* (an ordering of experience into a meaningful order)?

Is human nature divided into the primordial and the epiphenomenal, and if so, what role is played by history in the formation of human nature?...The primary or the primordial would seem to signify a connection or a relationship that is at once more real, more valuable, more lasting (if not permanent) than the secondary, which somehow connotes a "falleness" into artificiality, inauthenticity, and the transience of historical duration. (Radhakrishnan, 1991:3)

The concept of *Gemeinschaft*, as naturally occurring human collectivity, seems to authenticate ethnicity and ethnic heritage in terms of the primordial. As noted by Radhakrishnan, the permanence of ethnicity is not in question, rather, its value and fundamental connection between self and community is what binds the tradition-directed ethnic to their heritage.

Forces of industrialization and socialization may exert pressures upon the tradition-directed ethnic. As they become conscious of their traditional state amidst other non-traditional forms of existence, a great deal of inner turmoil and self-evaluation may develop. However, ethnic tradition and dedication to ethnicity is of

primary importance to the tradition-directed ethnic. While out-group influence is rarely avoidable, this type of social order is often reluctant to change, and is most commonly found in the pluralist Cell E of Driedger's Conformity Pluralist Model (Driedger, 1989:59-60).

The Inner-Directed Ethnic : The marginal

Cell D of the Conformity-Pluralist model houses many ethnics whose characteristics are consistent with those of the inner-directed ethnic type. Many of these people are typical of what Park defined as *the marginal man*. In this social order we find individuals that are in a relatively constant state of crisis and self-examination, further, this marginality tends to become a permanent personality characteristic (Driedger, 1989:61).

It is suggested that *the marginal* person is a racial hybrid, (ordinarily a person of mixed blood, similar to the Mulatto in the United States), whose marginality originates in his/her biological existence between two worlds. However, marginality is not unique to those of mixed racial heritage. *The marginal* can be understood as both a racial and cultural hybrid. They live between worlds, as they aspire to, but are excluded from full membership within the desired societies.

It is in the mind of *the marginal* man that the turmoil which new cultural contacts occasion, manifests itself in the most obvious forms. It is in the mind of *the marginal* man - where the changes and fusions of culture are going on - that we can best study the processes of civilization and of progress.

(Park, 1950:356).

Race plays an important role in the marginalization of ethnic and racial minorities in Canada. Traditionally, many racial minorities are consigned to the

periphery of industrial power and opportunities. Due to their visibility, many of these minorities find it difficult to compete for jobs within Cell A, and as a result, they are noted to occupy the lower levels of the socio-economic order. For many minorities, socialization and assimilation towards Anglo-conformity appears to be a realistic route through which socio-economic acceptance and status may be attained. However, the dynamics that exist within Cell D only serve to support marginalization as their visibility continues to act as a barrier to full participation and acceptance in society.

Park notes that in many circumstances, marginality can be traced to immigration and the cultural upheavals that occur when home ties, traditional rural values and norms are broken. He further postulates that industrialization, and the urbanization of ethnics often cause schisms between old kinship groups, schisms that replace social relations of culture and custom with social organizations based on rational interests (Driedger, 1989:61). Once the dichotomy between their sense of ethnicity and the larger society is severed, the individual may consequently lose their sense of nomos. It is from this inability to find order and stability that *the marginal* become caught between worlds.

These marginalized people of the socio-economic periphery, struggle to succeed in what is a veritable catch-22 situation. In order to gain acceptance in the marketplace (Cell A), they adapt to mainstream culture and unravel the ties with their ethnic heritage. However, the industrial center is only partially open to them, and by virtue of their visibility, they are consigned to predetermined levels of social access.

The marginal at this point make little distinction between their primary and secondary community, and they cannot share a sense of peoplehood with either.

Other-Directed Ethnics (Brokers or Middlepeople)

The Middleperson is typically an ethnic that enters the industrial center in Cell A from the voluntary pluralist Cell E. Regardless of their visibility, these minorities tend to compete well in the industrial core, and as a result they occupy relatively high levels in the socio-economic strata. The Middlepeople are able to separate their social and economic lives when competing in the marketplace, and this deliberate division allows them to retain their individual sense of ethnic identity (Driedger, 1989:62).

Van den Berghe suggests that there are a set of characteristics typical of the ethnic Middleperson. He proposes that Middlepeople arise from voluntary immigrants who enter a country without having been previously enslaved. Their motivation originates in a desire to escape from difficult economic or political situations in their previous homeland and/or the prospect of a brighter economic future in their country of destination. Further, Van den Berghe suggests that the ethnic Middleperson usually maintains strong ties with his/her sense of *Gemeinschaft* and ethnic community. Traditional norms and values are maintained through the upholding of strong extended family ties, the perpetuation of endogamy, and the attempt to sustain their ethnic culture, institutions, and territory. This dedication to the continuance of ethnic heritage allows the Middlepeople to establish slower rates of acculturation and assimilation than most other groups (Driedger, 1989:62).

Van den Berghe classified the Middlepeople as an urban petty bourgeoisie social class, far from wealthy, but of a higher socio-economic status than the majority of the population. While they are often recognizable by their distinctive religions or visibility, these ethnics manage to succeed economically where marginalized ethnics fail. The socio-economic success of this group may reside not only in their drive for economic success, but in their ability to function well in both primary (ingroup), and secondary (out-group) communities.

The unity of nearness and remoteness involved in every human relation is organized, in the phenomenon of the stranger, in a way which may be most briefly formulated by saying that in the relationship to him, distance means that he, who is close by, is far, and strangeness means that he, who also is far, is actually near. (Simmel, 1950:402).

Simmel's *Stranger* is a concept similar to that of the Middleperson in that he/she is able to exist and function effectively between worlds. The Stranger, or Middleperson, gains stability by retaining a grounding and identification with ethnicity. Simmel feels that this type of ethnic could maintain a separate identity by retaining ethnic values and norms even while physically performing economic functions within the out-group's industrial sphere. The Middleperson is socially and psychologically motivated by the norms and networks of his/her reference group, and it is this connection that affords this ethnic type such a strong sense of nomos.

With Driedger's Conformity-Pluralist model in mind, this study will seek to determine which ethnic type and Cell best reflects the future of Malayalee-Canadian ethnic identity in the greater Toronto area. Malayalee immigrants with short durations of stay will almost certainly fit into Cell E as voluntarily pluralist and traditional-

directed ethnics. However, first generation Malayalees living in Canada for extended periods will likely find themselves in Cell E as the typical example of the Ethnic Middleperson, or they may exist in Cell D as the Marginalized. Second generation Malayalee-Canadians presently exist in a grey area where their level and type of ethnicity is uncertain at best. Are second generation Malayalee-Canadians voluntarily pluralist, do they tend to be marginalized and torn between Canadian culture and their ethnic heritage, or are they an ethnic group whose unique characteristics have yet to be classified? Since levels of ethnic identity, and the various forms of ethnicity, are invariably linked to both macro and micro sociological influences, both ontologies will be employed in researching the reality of second generation ethnicity.

Dashefsky's Theoretical Orientation

Dashefsky outlines several theoretical frameworks that may be used to operationalize and conceptualize the study of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Due to the

		Methodology	
		Sociology	Psychology
Ontology	Macro-	Sociocultural	Group Dynamicist Psychoanalytic
	Micro-	Interactionist	Behaviorist

Figure 1.2 Dashefsky's Theoretical Orientation in the Social Psychology of Ethnicity

emergence of these frameworks from sociology and psychology, they are classified along two axes, their ontology (theory of reality), and their methodology.

Ontologically, the emphases of the theoretical orientations are placed on whether individual behavior is best understood in its relation to the larger society (macro) or apart from it (micro) (Driedger, 1987:173). The methodological axis is derived from the framework's reliance on sociological or psychological methods.

For the purpose of this study we rely on sociological survey research methodology, and so the two ontological approaches within the psychological framework will not be used. However, both the micro and macro sociological ontologies will be used to develop my theoretical framework. Either approach used individually would leave gaps of understanding in an analysis of the Malayalee-Canadian community, therefore this research will incorporate components of both designs.

The Sociocultural Framework

The sociocultural (macro) framework conceptualizes the world in terms of social and cultural systems. The major assumptions within this frame are twofold. First, it assumes that an individual's behavior occurs within the context of the larger society's on-going social and cultural systems. Secondly, it presumes that social systems define associations between individuals, and that cultural systems define the mutual expectations that people share (Driedger, 1987:174). Concepts of social and cultural boundaries are often intertwined, but they are in many ways distinct, and these differences should be noted.

In looking at cultural systems, it should be apparent that our everyday interactions, and the development of our identities are determined to a great extent by the cultural patterns that we learn during processes of socialization. Culture dictates what acts will win us prestige, what table manners to use when eating in public or what gestures and words to use when meeting someone for the first time (McCall, 1966:23). These types of cultural criterion however, are not static, they shift from one culture to another. For example, if we ranked all the possible methods of displaying masculine friendship from A-Z, we would find that various societies would employ only a few of each, and that many possibilities would not even be recognized as alternatives, (ie. one society might employ A-E, while another used D-Q). Case in point, it is common practice for young men in Kerala to hold hands with male friends when walking, this display of masculine friendship is certainly not the Canadian norm.

Each culture holds within itself preferred norms of belief and conduct, and these norms are used as a template to be imitated and emulated. Norms determine for society what is acceptable, unacceptable and even unthinkable. However, in complex societies this issue is often complicated by the existence of subcultures that deviate from the norm. As noted by McCall and Simmons, subcultures may be treated as miniature cultures within themselves, but issues of insulation and 'partial culture' pose serious problems. With respect to ethnic minority groups, insulation from the pressures and influence of the surrounding society is difficult, and as 'partial cultures', derived from a larger core, they may not have sufficient support to grow and prosper independent of the mother culture (McCall, 1966:25).

It is important to note that individuals tend to find the greatest connection with their culture of origin. Even when internal differentiation and subcultural divergence occur, the effects of one's first cultural socialization are deep and difficult to overcome. With respect to ethnic groups in Canada, unless the influence of the ethnic culture permeates the individuals initial experiences of socialization, the greater Canadian cultural systems are more than likely to overcome the influence of the subculture. So membership in specific subcultures or minority groups will expand one's range of alternatives with respect to what is considered acceptable behavior, but generally, the cultural boundaries of the core society can only be transcended partially and with great difficulty (McCall, 1966:25).

With respect to social boundaries, as noted by McCall and Simmons (1966), each individual has a number of positions in the social structure of a society, and the importance of these positions can be demonstrated in the fact that aside from the personal characteristics of the individual, one's social position will determine to a great extent who, where, why and in what way we will carry out our social interactions. For example, the great majority of newly arriving immigrants to Canada will not be able to claim politicians or captains of industry among their acquaintances. Our set of social positions determine the shape of our world, they define for us the size and extent of our personal sphere with respect to where we may move freely and where we may stray (ie. there are greater social constraints placed upon a garage mechanic than there are upon a mechanical engineer), (McCall, 1966,26).

An important feature of social boundaries is that they are bi-directional. These boundaries not only keep individuals and groups within their specific social spheres, but they also keep others out. More or less ascribed status's such as age, gender, race, region of origin, and achieved status's such as religion all help to determine the similarly positioned individuals and subgroups from which we will draw our friends, acquaintances, spouses and even our enemies. Similarly, these boundaries will also establish who we cannot, should not or must not associate with. Even in a society characterized by high mobility rates, most individuals will not stray too far from the paths that their particular social positions engender (McCall, 1966:27).

It is important to note that most boundaries are differentially permeable dependent upon one's point of origin relative to the sphere. For example, it is easier for the upper-class to impinge on lower-class territories than it is for lower-class individuals to encroach on upper-class territories. Whenever there is a power differential relevant to the interaction, the more favored group will have a greater ability to penetrate barriers. The minority group will have less freedom to cross barriers, and their penetrations into the dominant sphere will tend to be fleeting and superficial (McCall, 1966:28). As we have noted, the social boundaries that constrain us limit not only who we are able to interact with, but also what we can do in a given society. Our socially stratified positions influence not only our privileges, but our life chances as well. The social order of a society establishes with great authority, the possibilities of interaction within its culture.

The Interactionist Framework

The Interactionist framework views identity in relation to the mediating symbols in social associations, it is a subjectivist sociology that concerns itself with the actor's conception of reality. Rose (1962), tried to establish some of the main assumptions of the interactionist approach:

- 1) people live in a symbolic world,
- 2) humans are stimulated and stimulate others through symbols,
- 3) humans learn expected behavior through symbolic communications,
- 4) the meanings and values of symbols often occur in complex clusters,
- 5) the human ability to think permits one to assess their course of action
(Driedger,1987:175).

This ontological scheme emphasizes social process rather than social structure. In fact, Fred Mathews describes Symbolic Interactionism as a *process model of culture*, rather than a *pattern model of culture*. He suggests that historical, cultural, and social features of specific groups must be taken into consideration in any analysis of race and ethnicity (Lal, 1995:423). Driedger (1989), notes that the sharing of symbols, values and meanings is very important with respect to ethnic identity retention and ingroup identification. It is through the acquisition of culture that people are oriented to a pattern of symbolic meaning. Religious institutions, newspapers, and ethnic schools can all symbolically engender a sense of ethnic identification (Driedger, 1989:140).

Communication, in the form of language, socialization and education, transmits group experience into the subjective world of meanings and values.

From the actors point of view, the world consists of social objects - that is, anything that the actor can name. An object can be a physical thing such as a

snooker table, a pizza, or a person. An object can also be a concept such as justice or equality, or it can be an emotion such as love or fear. The meaning of an object is conferred on it on the basis of the ways in which people are prepared to act toward the object. This in turn reflects past socialization and social interaction. Old meanings may be reinforced or emergent meanings may arise on the basis of current and future interaction or on the basis of imagination. (Lal, 1995:423)

The sociocultural and interactionist frameworks are not meant to be isolated from each other by nature of their ontological differences. Rather, they should be seen as a collective device through which the alternative assumptions of each method are heuristically separated (Driedger, 1987:174). There are areas of knowledge with reference to identity that can only be approached through the use of both ontological methods. Therefore, this study will attempt to use components of both sociological approaches in order to develop a complete and comprehensive theoretical frame.

This research will investigate the inter-relation between sociocultural systems and symbolic Interactionism as they apply to ethnic identity and ethnicity within the Malayalee-Canadian community, and specifically among those of the second generation. With the use of this theoretical guide, I will examine Malayalee ethnicity, and trends of ethnic identity retention and/or decline within the conceptual frame of Driedger's conformity-pluralist model. In this cross-generational study, we will focus on four main concerns:

- 1) Patterns of ethnic identity retention within Toronto's Malayalee community.
- 2) The classification of second generation Malayalee-Canadian ethnicity with reference to Riesman's three ideal ethnic types.
- 3) The movement of Malayalee youth towards forms of symbolic ethnicity, and their subsequent place within Driedger's Conformity-Pluralist Model.
- 4) Whether a dichotomy can be drawn between subjective and objective ethnic identity.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research into ethnic identity among visible minorities (particularly South Asians) in Canada has been limited. While numerous articles and texts focusing on the visible minority experience have dealt with issues of racism, discrimination and feelings of 'otherness', the concept of identity for these groups has rarely been considered. This area seems particularly important given that existing research into ethnic identity retention has dealt almost exclusively with Canadians of European origin. The unique racial and cultural qualities of Malayalees would suggest that their rates and levels of identity retention or decline may not follow the same paths of European groups studied previously.

Ethnic Identity

Fredrik Barth attempted to define ethnicity in terms of the socially relevant factors of group membership. In this respect, he suggests that it is the ethnic boundary that defines the group and not the cultural factors that enclose it (Barth, 1969:14-15). Therefore, as ethnics are assimilated or acculturated into a core group, cultural features that signal the boundaries may change. However, while the cultural characteristics and organizational forms of an ethnic group may evolve, so long as there is a continuing dichotomy between members and outsiders, the nature of that ethnic continuity can be distinguished and the changing cultural form may be investigated (Isajiw, 1975:115).

Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group - large or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of "groupness", or by some combination of both.
(Edwards, 1985:10).

This definition implies that beyond a continued sense of group belonging that may be sustained through symbols, there are no visible (objective) components necessary for the continuance of identity (Edwards, 1987:57). Within the framework of this definition, the features of ethnicity that are taken into account are based on the characteristics and beliefs that the group members themselves feel are of importance (Isajiw, 1974:115). Barth's definition is particularly applicable to the Malayalee ethnic group, as a community in flux.

This definition of ethnicity differs from others in that it specifically allows for the interpretation of "ethnicity in transition". This unstable stage of ethnicity that Bhabha calls the 'beyond', refers to the marginalized people of the second, third and subsequent generations living in both cultures but belonging in neither.

The beyond is neither a new horizon, nor a leaving behind of the past... Beginnings and endings may be the sustaining myths of the middle years...we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion (Bhabha, 1994:1).

The Malayalee youth in Canada are in the midst of such a transformation, a shift that could leave them marginalized and receptive to forces of assimilation and acculturation. As mentioned earlier, first generation Malayalee immigrants tend to fall into Cells D and E of the conceptual model dependent on their durations of stay, while

second, third and future generations will likely find themselves in Cell D and possibly Cell C. The question that remains is whether there is a place for ethnicity and ethnic identity in the psyche of the marginalized.

In this age of diaspora, rigid definitions of ethnicity and culture cannot encompass the transitory, evolutionary nature of human inter-relations. With reference to ethnicity, both objective and subjective definitions are necessary. The objective approach may adequately deal with the structural nature of ethnicity while the subjective approach will encompass the ethereal qualities not so easily grasped. In Canada, a nation where there are many immigrant generations, issues of ethnicity and claims to ethnic heritage are often placed in question. It is often assumed that ethnic group boundaries and ethnics in general will be consumed by the larger society, this conclusion however is unjustified (Isajiw, 1974:121).

There is a great deal of evidence that suggests ethnic identity persistence in Canada extends far beyond cultural assimilation. Furthermore, it has also been postulated that the persistence of ethnic identity is not necessarily related to the persistence of traditional ethnic culture (Isajiw, 1974:121). Isajiw suggests that identity maintenance over generations may be attributed to a form of ethnic re-discovery, or in other words, the development of a symbolic relation to the culture of one's ancestors. Isajiw proposes that items from a cultural past such as folk art, music and even literature can develop into symbols of ethnic identity (Isajiw, 1974:121).

Interestingly, this symbolic re-discovery is not without direction since there seems to be a process of selection as to which elements of the cultural past are kept

and which are discarded or disregarded. This selection process appears to dispense with some of the excess baggage of ethnic tradition while retaining those items that correspond to immediate or future needs in the context of the society as a whole (Isajiw, 1974:121). This picking and choosing of ethnic symbols may result in new hybrid cultural forms, and it may support ethnic identification to a degree, but is it a realistic basis for the retention of ethnic identity?

Gans (1979), in his research into identity and ethnic salience suggested that in the United States, this ethnic re-discovery or revival was no more than a minimization of ethnic culture and a fall back to an ethnicity of last resort (Edwards, 1987:54). This form of ethnic identity retention is seen by Smolicz (1979) as a type of residual ethnicity, an ethnicity that obscures the fact that ethnic heritage and culture are being degenerated and attacked by forces of acculturation and assimilation. However, as noted by Isajiw and Edwards, this type of Symbolic Ethnicity, in its non-obtrusive private nature, may come to anchor ethnicity for future generations as it can be maintained indefinitely without cost to the individual (Edwards, 1987:54).

It should be noted at this point that in using Driedger's conformity-pluralist model for my conceptual frame, this study will deal with levels of ethnic identity retention, not levels of assimilation. Whether or not Malayalee youth are moving towards Cell D or C, a decline in levels of Malayalee ethnic identity cannot be interpreted to measure levels of assimilation on its own because retention of some forms of ethnicity, and assimilation into the larger society can take place concurrently (Isajiw, 1990:35).

As previously discussed, within the framework of this study, the retention of ethnic identity from generation to generation does not necessarily imply the retention of all objective and subjective aspects of ethnicity in similar degrees or patterns. As noted by Isajiw, different components of ethnicity will influence the development of various forms and levels of ethnic identity. For example, high levels of objective ethnic identity, accompanied by low levels of subjective components could lead to forms of ritualistic ethnic identity. By contrast, high positive levels of subjective ethnicity and feelings of ingroup obligation, accompanied by low levels of objective ethnic identity would be classified as a form of ideological ethnic identity, (Isajiw, 1990:37).

This study will attempt to determine some of the prospective types of ethnic identity patterns that emerge from the statistical data, (ie. ritualistic identity, ideological identity, etc.). As ethnic identity is an amalgamation of several components, various factors (ie. factors of identification and ethnocentrism) will be employed to assist in explaining the realities of identity maintenance within the Malayalee community in Canada. In our discussion of ethnicity and ethnic identity, structural and cultural identity maintenance arise as fundamental measures of ingroup cohesion. Since ethnic identity is directly effected by levels of ethnocentrism, dimensions of ethnocentrism, both behavioural and attitudinal, are used as indicators to measure emerging patterns of ethnicity and ethnic identity.

Ethnocentrism was defined by Sumner as:

...the view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled with reference to it...Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities and looks with contempt on outsiders. (Swartz, 1961:75)

Adorno agreed with this definition and further, suggested that ethnocentrism is based on persuasive and rigid ingroup/out-group boundaries. At its extremes, ethnocentrism promotes stereotyped negative imagery and hostile attitudes towards out-groups while encouraging stereotyped positive imagery and submissive attitudes towards ingroups. This perspective does more than draw a dichotomy between ingroup and out-group, it promotes an active hierarchical and authoritarian view of interaction where ingroups are seen to be rightly dominant and inherently virtuous (Adorno, 1950:150)

These extremes of ethnocentric attitude and behavior will greatly influence the degree and nature of ethnic identity retention. However, studies by Rothman (1960, 1962) and Swartz (1961) suggest that this rigid definition of ethnocentrism cannot be applied to all ethnic groups. While Certain groups (ie. Aborigines, Hutterites) will remain in Cell E as voluntarily pluralist, the great majority of minority groups in Canada will show varying levels of ethnocentric behavior and attitudes.

Studies have shown that out-group values and practice can be held simultaneously along with positive ingroup loyalty (Peters, 1971:3). However, this type of mixing and matching of ethnocultural attitudes and behaviors will inevitably have some detrimental effect on ethnocentrism and eventually, ingroup cohesion will begin to deteriorate. Just as ethnocentrism helps to maintain the stability of ingroup culture, the intrusion of out-group influences within ethnic group boundaries must

destabilize that cohesion to some degree. Identification with ethnicity and culture is of vital importance if positive levels of ethnocentrism are to be reinforced.

As second generation Malayalees mature within Canadian society, it is reasonable to assume that a great deal of their ethnic identity will develop based on Canadian ethnic and cultural norms. Whether second generation Malayalees perceive themselves to be Canadian or Malayalee is of paramount interest here. If second generation Malayalees show lower levels of ethnocentrism than those of the first generation, that decline may be the result of a reduction in their Malayalee ethnic identity, or it may be the result of positive Canadian ethnocentrism? Second generation Malayalees are surely marginalized between two worlds, but the uncertainty of which world they identify as ingroup clearly leaves room for new interpretations on the question of generational decline, retention, and resurgence.

Factors of Ethnic Identification

All people have a self-image or self-identification, a way of locating themselves socially. The image may consist of personality attributes, status characteristics or any number of qualities held by the individual. Self-image can also include identification with various groups; the interest here is in ethnic groups. If a person is of Malayalee ancestry, for example, to what extent does that person feel Malayalee? Dependent upon salience in the overall self-image of identification between in and out-group, ethnic identification will vary in intensity (Reitz, 1980:109).

Levels of ethnic identity retention and patterns of ethnicity that develop among minority groups can be understood in terms of their relationships with various ethnic identification factors. With reference to the two sociological ontologies used in this research, three sociocultural forms of identification (territory, institutions, and culture), and three interactionist forms of identification (history, ideology and leadership) will be addressed. Each set of macro and micro forms of identification are interwoven, and they serve to strengthen and reinforce each other. In the macro sociocultural interplay, territory acts as a crucible in which ethnic institutions are constructed, and where ethnic culture is sustained. In the micro symbolic-interactionist frame, historical symbols and ideologies are seen as the means through which leaders can establish a sense of ethnic *Gemeinschaft* (Driedger, 1989:143-47). These theoretical perspectives constitute a structural-symbolic continuum, within which the foundations of identity maintenance are encapsulated (Driedger, 1989:143).

Identification with a Territory

Previous research suggests that the concentration of ethnic group members within a particular territory is fundamental to the maintenance of ethnic culture (Driedger, 1989; Isajiw, 1974; Devos, 1975). Ethnic territory becomes a crucible in which out-group influences are kept to a minimum and ingroup activities are encouraged. As ingroup formations of *Home Territory* afford a relative freedom of behaviour and a sense of intimacy to the members of the ethnic community, this type of control over communal space becomes central to the survival of ethnic culture (McNall, 1974:134-135).

French Provincial control in Quebec, and the Hutterite's rural enclavic communities are good examples of ethnic dominance within territorial boundaries. These communities are characterized by boundary maintenance and controlled systemic interactions with out-groups. While most minority groups are unable to maintain this type of exclusive control over a territory, the proliferation of ethnic block settlements (particularly in the West), would suggest that it is a model to which many groups aspire (Driedger, 1989:143).

A *home territory* can effectively encapsulate ethnic groups within needed social and cultural boundaries. If high levels of segregation from out-group communities are achieved, processes of ingroup socialization may impel conformity to ethnic norms with very few exceptions. However, for most ethnic communities (living in close proximity to, or among, out-group communities) a continuous oscillation between openness and closedness is necessary if a sense of ethnic community is to be upheld. This type of fluctuating community system allows for the intake of wanted or needed information and interactions, while guarding against intrusive and unwanted influences (Driedger, 1989:220-223). Ethnic territories, whether segregated, partially penetrable, or open, are an essential component of ethnic identification.

Institutional Identification

Having examined the 'push' from outside the ethnic community, we can now examine the 'pull' from within it. In many ethnic communities, organizations spring up shortly after the first wave of immigrants arrive. The initial aim of such organizations is often to help immigrants adapt to the new society. But as the immigrant group grows larger, ethnic enterprises and professional services can be better supported by markets within the group. (Reitz, 1980:215).

Previous research suggests that ethnic integration into mainstream society will largely depend on the forces of attraction (positive and negative) that stem from the ability of ethnic communities to hold members within their socio-cultural boundaries. Breton (1964) argued that the diversity of organizations within the infrastructure of an ethnic community was more important than any particular type of organization. He used the term *institutional completeness* in reference to a community's ability to generate institutional and organizational options (ie. economic, social, religious, political), that would allow its members to exist, function and grow within the relative confines of group boundaries. (Driedger, 1989:144).

In institutionally complete societies, ethnics are able to live within the confines of their group boundaries indefinitely. The greater the range and diversity of needs that an ethnic community can meet, the more time its members will spend within the community, and consequently, the more connection and identification the individual is apt to have with his/her ethnicity and heritage. Institutional completeness is not an infallible method of preventing entropy and ethnic identity decline, but integration of ethnics into their own communities will reinforce solidarity. A strong sense of institutional identification can help to establish linkages within the community. Sometimes these connections last for only limited periods, but they can also persist over lifetimes and even generations. Whether their effects result in short or long term cohesion, ethnic institutions work to create networks and informal contacts that increase the salience of ethnicity within their communities (Reitz, 1980:219).

Cultural Identification

Previous research suggests that people need to have a firm sense of identification with their ethnic heritage and culture if they are to establish a secure sense of self and nomos. As aforementioned, ethnics derive their historical understandings of peoplehood and sense of we-ness from their ethnicity and heritage. Driedger (1975) found several cultural factors that tend to differentiate levels of objective and subjective ethnic identity (parochial education, ethnic language use, ethnic religion, endogamy, choice of friends, and voluntary organizations). (Driedger, 1989:145).

Ethnics that are either uninterested or unable to maintain ingroup relationships and cultural retention, tend to assign low priority levels to these factors. Conversely, those with higher levels of cultural retention will tend to relate with one or more of these factors. A strong sense of identification with ethnic culture will tend to intensify feelings of Gemeinschaft and ethnic community.

Identification with Historical Symbols

Driedger (1989) suggests that knowledge of historical origins and a pride in heritage are essential if urban ethnics are to retain a sense of purpose and direction. Without this type of historical understanding, it becomes decidedly difficult for ethnics to perpetuate their culture. Historical symbols can create a sense of belonging, a sense of tradition, and a sense of continuity that is worth perpetuating (Driedger, 1989:146).

Research suggests that Historical Identification can either work positively as a rallying point for an ethnic group, or it can function negatively. For example, in a

study by Driedger (1976) Ukrainians, Poles and Germans in Canada are inclined to deny their ethnicity, while Jewish and French Students showed positive levels of ethnic identity. Jews have rallied around the tragedy of the Holocaust, and used its memory to effectively bind the members of their ingroup together, (Driedger, 1989:146). As with the hardships experienced by the Jewish people in World War II, historical tragedies and burdens are often extremely effective in establishing historical identifications, and ingroup bonding.

For those individuals that display low levels of ethnic identity (ie. the marginalized), a connection with a historical past may advocate a resurrection of pride in ethnic heritage (Hebdige, 1991:37). A symbolic identification with ingroup history allows ethnics access to a living record of their people, and further, it can instill a desire to contribute to the continuation of that record. Through historical symbols, ethnics make a connection with their past, and this can act as a vital factor in developing a sense of personal and shared identity (Hebdige, 1991, 31-9).

Charismatic Leadership and Identification

Charismatic Leadership is an important factor in any social movement. Individuals with a sense of purpose and mission are often able to motivate a people beyond their normal expectations and boundaries. Just as Martin Luther King Jr. in the American Civil Rights movement, and Mahatma Ghandi in India's non-violent struggle for independence, Charismatic Leaders can create a cohesive loyalty to both themselves and ingroup. By meshing ideology, social issues and symbolic links to the

past, *true* leaders can develop a collective sense of mission and purpose among their people (Driedger, 1989:147).

Identification with Ideology

Political and religious ideologies can act as a focal point around which ethnics rally. While institutional and cultural values are treated as means to an end, ideologies are often seen as part of a greater purpose to be perpetuated indefinitely, a goal beyond the banality of everyday structures (Driedger, 1989:146-7). For the Malayalee community, political ideologies have done little to sustain ingroup connection and solidarity, however, religious ideology and identification with a sacred past, supports and emphasizes the importance of maintaining their ethnic culture. This section will focus on religious ideologies and identification with *the sacred*.

Religion is the varied, symbolic expression of, and appropriate response to, that which people deliberately affirm as being of unrestricted value for them.

(Hall, 1978:16)

The unrestricted value of religion is reflected in commitment to a religious ideology. As noted by Driedger (1989), *True believers* will often see religion as more important than economic and political power, and they will tend to sort their priorities and order their reality around this focus. As social cohesion and other forms of ethnic group solidarity are often traced to religious origins, sociologists have been interested in how belief in *the sacred* acts as a mechanism through which ethnic groups stave off anomie and alienation (Durkheim, 1912; Nisbet, 1974; Driedger, 1989).

Religion, as a form of social behaviour, distinguishes various groups from one another by custom and through action, not just by doctrine and belief. Religion, along

with race and language, acts as a unifying principle, helping to define a sense of ingroup identity according to the nuances of their ethnic group norms (Hall, 1978:217).

O'Dea suggested that religion sacralizes the norms and values of an established society by maintaining the dominance of group goals over individual wishes (Driedger, 1989:199). Hans Mol defined sacralization as a process rather than a state:

the process by which man has preeminently safeguarded and reinforced this complex of orderly interpretations of reality, rules and legitimations...It is a sort of brake applied to unchecked infinite adaptations in symbolic systems...for the emotional security of personality and the integration of tribe or community...It safeguards identity, a system of meaning, or a definition of reality; and it modifies, obstructs, or legitimates change (Driedger, 1989:199).

This definition suggests that *the sacred* must be seen as more than religion. *Sacralization* involves a process whereby religious or secular symbols are set apart from the profane, and are so cloaked with tradition and ritual, that they become functionally sacred. In this respect, specific symbols, norms and values are set apart and preserved as significant aspects of life (ie. ethnicity) that should endure (Driedger, 1989:199). As suggested by Mol, changes in ethnic group cohesion and group solidarity may be obstructed, modified or legitimated dependent upon one's understanding of, and identification with, *the sacred*.

Identity Maintenance and the Sacred Canopy

Ethnocentrism and factors of ethnic identification have been discussed in terms of their relationship to ethnic identity retention. Both components are influential in the maintenance of ethnic identity, but neither function as a base for the creation of that

identity. Berger's concept of *the Sacred Canopy*, establishes a foundation for the development of ethnic identity and identification by bridging the gap between the macro and micro realities of ethnicity.

Theoretically, *the sacred canopy* is merely a large blanket held up by a series of long stakes attached to its four corners. The canopy is a symbolic shield used to protect those under its roof from the influences of the outside world, and the stakes are important in that they give the canopy balance and strength (ie. with fewer or weaker stakes, the stability of the canopy decreases. Interestingly, if the stability of the structure does not falter, the stakes in the canopy can be replaced or substituted by new and better ones. While its components are adjustable, and while the canopy itself is mobile, the purpose of the canopy remains the same, to create for its people a sense meaning and understanding of the world (Driedger, 1989:202).

There are four main stakes that support the canopy : 1) religion or ideology; 2) ethnic community; 3) ethnic culture; and 4) land or territory in which the group resides. All four fundamental components exist as part of a symbiotic relationship, each individually and collectively supporting the community and shielding against meaninglessness and anomie. The land acts as a crucible in which ethnic culture and community develop. Religious and ideological foundations develop from within these circumstances, and then in return, shape the community and culture (Driedger, 1989: 202). The *sacred canopy* plays an integral part in ethnic Nomos-building and maintenance; it provides structure and support in the early stages of ethnocultural

development, and it can sustain a meaningful and stable construct of reality when circumstances require its reconstruction, transferal, or transformation.

CHAPTER III

THE MALAYALEE GROUP

The term South Asian refers to people whose origins lie in the Indian sub-continent, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal (Das Gupta, 1994:59). Malayalees are a group of South Asians originating in India's southern State of Kerala. In many ways, migrant Malayalees in Canada seem to occupy a grey area between established definitions of ethnicity. In order to best understand the fundamental differences between this community and other similar South Asian groups, we will address both its historical origins, and its present state of cultural renewal/decline. This chapter is organized in two main parts: Section one will detail the historical and the traditionally accepted origins of Christianity in India; and section two will outline the unique natures of the two religious groups of interest in this study.

The History of Christianity in India

Our identity is intimately connected not only with the culture in which we grow up, but also with our religious affiliation. We received our faith through a particular church: the Syro-Malabar Church...our liturgy, spirituality, church structure and discipline make us different from other churches.

(Mundadan, 1995:10)

The unique history of Christianity in Southern India is what separates the Christian Malayalee community from other similar churches. Contrary to general belief, the Christian church in India did not originate in the 16th century with St.

Francis Xavier and the Portuguese missionaries. The Christians of Kerala trace their origins to the Apostolate of St.Thomas in 52 A.D. (Mundadan, 1995:21). In fact, Portuguese documents of the 16th and 17th century can be found to refer to the traditions of the St.Thomas Christians, and even further, they often note pilgrimages to the tomb of St.Thomas in Mylapore. Whether or not the Apostolic origin of the St.Thomas Christians is in fact a historical reality, it is the collective faith and symbolic identification that Malayalees have with their ancient, continuous and strong tradition, that binds religion into their sense of identity (Mundadan, 1995:22).

The 4th century A.D. marked a turning point for the St.Thomas Christians as their church came under the influence of the East Syrian Church of Persia. The accounts of how this shift occurred are varied, but the end result was approximately eleven centuries of Persian influence. During this time the St.Thomas Christians lived in two worlds, one based on the political and sociocultural influences of their Indian homeland, and the other was the ecclesiastical world of the East-Syrian Church (Mundadan, 1995:25).

After the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498, the St.Thomas Christians began to feel the influence of the Portuguese missionaries and the Christianity of the West. At first, the Portuguese accepted the Indian Christian's claim to apostolic origin, this however did not prevent their slow takeover of the church in India. By blocking the arrival of Persian bishops to India, the Portuguese set in motion a series of initiatives that would bring the St. Thomas Christians under the Latin rule (Mundadan, 1995:26).

In order to bring the St. Thomas Christians under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church, the Portuguese brought forth evidence of Nestorian heresy¹ within the Syriac liturgical texts. The Portuguese convened the *Synod of Diamper*² in 1599, at which point, this issue was used as motive to sever ties with the Syrian church. As a result, the Church of St. Thomas became a colonial Portuguese church, and both their liturgy and ecclesiastical lives were Latinized (Mundadan, 1995:26). For more than 1600 years the St. Thomas Christians were a single faith community, and this was reflected in their degree of ethnic solidarity and cohesion. However, the Portuguese overthrow produced divisions within the community, divisions that culminated in what is known as the Coonan Cross Oath of 1653 (Mundadan, 1995:27-28).

The significance of the Coonan Cross Oath is that it signaled the first great split in the one ancient Christian Church of India. A great number of St. Thomas Christians demonstrated in protest against the Latin rule by rejecting the foreign missionaries and Portuguese authority. At *the Church of Our Lady of Life* at Mattanchery, The Archdeacon Thomas Parambil led a group of priests and lay people in an oath that they would no longer be subject to the Portuguese rule. According to tradition, the crowd shared in the oath by holding onto a rope tied to a cross in the churchyard, and

¹ Nestorianism is the Doctrine that there are two separate persons in Christ; one divine, and the other human. Mary is understood to have given birth only to the human person in Christ, therefore, she is not considered to be the Bearer of God. The term *Nestorian* comes from Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople (428). Its supporters in Syria and Persia eventually established the Nestorian Church (Mandadan, 1995:63).

² The Synod of Diamper (Udayamperur Soonahados): A church council of senior clergy and officials that gathered at Diamper in order to discuss the situation involving the Nestorian heresy of the St. Thomas Christians (Mandadan, 1995:26).

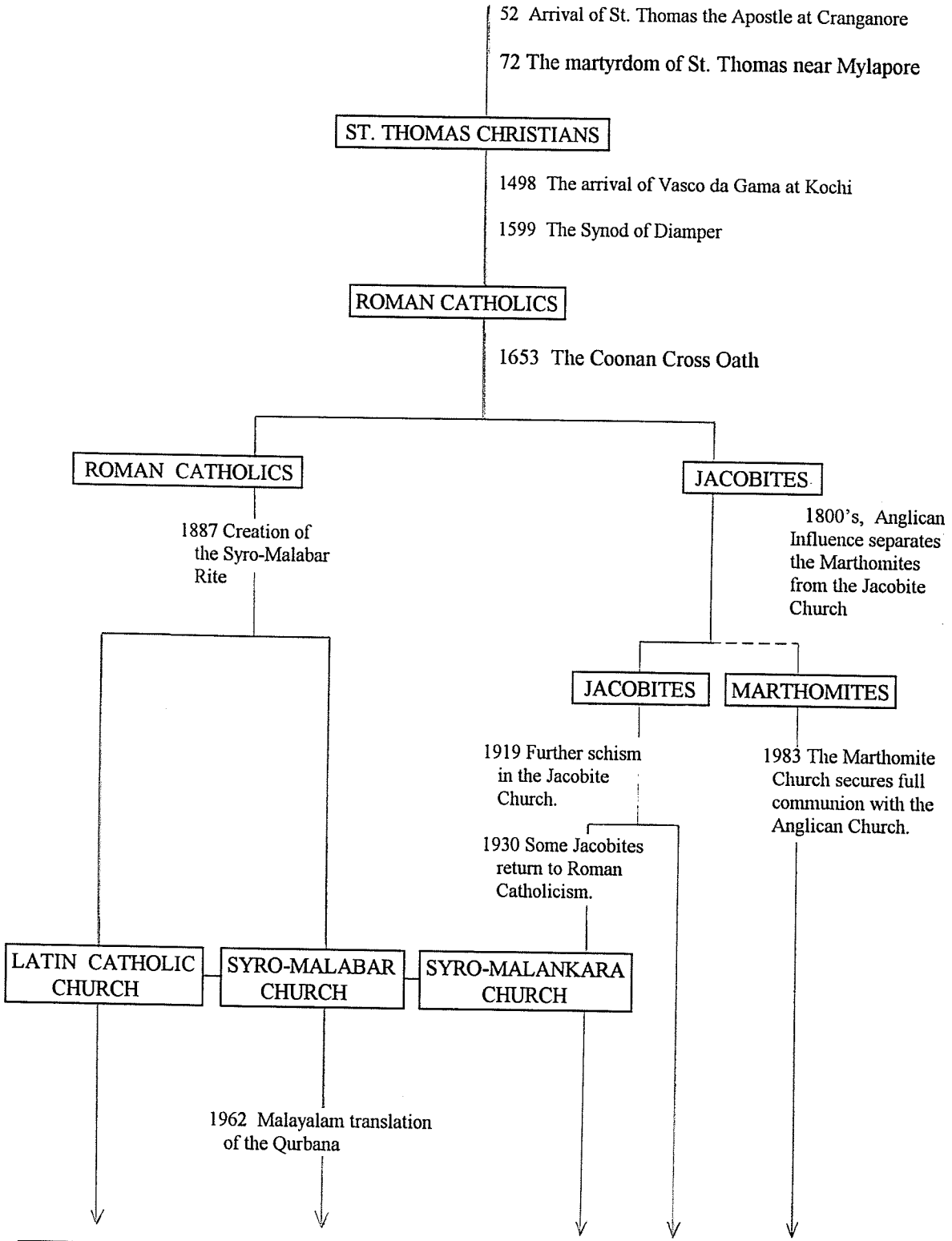
that the sheer weight of numbers upon the rope, caused the cross to bend, thus, the oath is known as the Coonan (Bent) Cross Oath (Mundadan, 1995:28). The origins of the Marthomite, Jacobite and Roman Catholic Churches in India can be traced to this event (Mundadan, 1995:28).

There have been a large number of schisms in what was the one great Church of India. The three major religious populations in Kerala now are Hindu, Christian and Muslim, (50% Hindu, 30% Christian, and 20% Muslim). However, the large number of Catholic (Eastern and Latin) Rites, and the existence of non-Catholic (ie. Marthomites and Jacobites) St.Thomas Christians, can be extremely confusing. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 and 3.3 attempt to visually summarize and clarify the major religions of India, and the Status of Christians in that order.

After the Coonan Cross Oath, as the community of St. Thomas Christians separated, two main churches arose. The first rejected the Portuguese influence and entered into communion with the West-Syrian Jacobite Church of Antioch, the other continued to recognize the prelates appointed by Rome and remained Latin Catholic. Further branching occurred in the 19th century when Anglican influences split the Jacobite Church, giving birth to the Mar Thoma Church (St. Thomas Church) (Mundadan, 1995:28).

The main differences between the three groups lie in an acceptance of the Papacy and in Nestorianism. The Roman Catholics accept both the Pope as the head of the church, and Mary as the mother of God; the Jacobites accept Mary as the

Figure 3.1 Chronological History of Christianity in India *



* This chronology is based on the traditional records of the St. Thomas Christians (Mundadan,1995).

Table 3.1 THE MAJOR RELIGIONS OF INDIA *

RELIGION	ADHERENTS	PERCENT
Hindu	549 779 481	82.64
Muslim	75 512 439	11.34
Christian	16 165 447	2.43
Sikh	13 078 146	1.96
Buddhist	4 719 796	0.71
Jain	3 206 038	0.48
Other Religions	2 766 285	0.42
Religion not stated	60 217	0.01

* Source: Indian Census of 1981. The 1991 census data on religious communities are not yet available (Mundadan, 1995:80).

Table 3.2 CHRISTIANS IN INDIA *

RELIGION	ADHERENTS	TOTALS
Catholics		14 000 000
Latin Rite	10 000 000	
Eastern Rite	4 000 000	
Protestants	10 000 000	10 000 000
Orthodox		3 000 000
(Jacobites & others)	3 000 000	
Total	27 000 000	27 000 000

* These are approximate figures. The 1981 census showed that there are 685 million people in India, of whom 16.1 million are Christians. The population of India in mid-1994 was 896.6 million. There are about 27 million Christians in India today (Mundadan, 1995:80).

Table 3.3 CHRISTIANS IN KERALA *

RELIGION	ADHERENTS	TOTALS
CATHOLICS		5 200 000
Syro-Malabar	3 000 000	
Syro-Malankara	500 000	
Latin	1 700 000	
OTHER CHRISTIANS		2 719 000
Syrian Orthodox	1 100 000	
Jacobite Syrian Orthodox	1 000 000	
Independent Jacobites	9 000	
Marthomites	500 000	
St. Thomas Evangelical & Others	10 000	
Nestorian Church of the East	100 000	
Church of South India (C.S.I.) & Other Protestants	700 000	700 000
TOTAL		8 619 000

* The exact figures are not available. These figures are approximated from various sources (Mundadan, 1995:80).

Bearer of God, but they do not accept the Pope as the head of their church; and the Marthomites accept neither the Pope as head of their church, nor do they accept Mary as the Holy Mother.

The Mar Thoma Church

Some 2000 years after the Coonan Cross Oath, a split in the Jacobite Church saw the emergence of the Mar Thoma Church of India. Marthomites are St. Thomas Christians, but they differ from the other main churches in India. As previously mentioned, the Marthomites are one of the Eastern churches that do not recognize the Pope as the successor of Peter, and as a result they are not in communion with the church of Rome. The Mar Thoma theology reflects the Anglican influence that initiated their split from the Jacobites, but their distinctly Indian heritage and culture are reflected in their liturgy and their ecclesiastical lives (Mundadan, 1995:28).

The Roman Catholic Church in India

With the aforementioned *Synod of Diamper*, the long-standing relationship between the St. Thomas Christians and the East-Syrian Church of Persia was severed. As a result of the Portuguese action, all of the St. Thomas Christians came under the Latin rule in 1599. The Roman Catholic Church in India presently houses three Major divisions; the Latin, Syro-Malabar, and Syro-Malankara Rites³. Those Keralites that remain Roman Catholic today, have a unique connection and tradition with the history of Roman Catholicism in India, and it is this diversity that we wish to explore.

³ Rite: A heritage made up of liturgy, theology, spirituality and discipline - a heritage that is defferentiated by the culture and circumstances of the history of peoples and is expressed by each church sui juris (autonomous) in its own manner of living faith (Mundadan, 1995:16).

The Latin Catholic Rite

The Latin Rite consists of a portion of the Kerala Christians who remained under the Portuguese influence after the Coonan Cross Oath. These Latin Catholics have seen very little change to the structure of their church since the creation of the Syro-Malabar Church in 1887. In fact, the only other significant development in the history of the Latin Rite in India occurred in 1962 when a transition in liturgy was undertaken. This change translated the Latin Catholic religious services (Qurbana) from the accepted Latin-Syriac to Malayalam (Mundadan, 1995:45-54).

The Syro-Malabar Rite

As previously suggested, The Syro-Malabar and Latin Rites did not develop at the same time. Rather, the Syro-Malabar Church arose from within the Latin Catholic Rite two centuries after the Coonan Cross Oath. Divisions within the Latin Catholics began to form in the aftermath of the Oath in 1653, as a great number of St. Thomas Christians (within the Latin Rite) rejected the Latin rule. They listed grievances against foreign missionaries and Latinization of their liturgy and ecclesiastical lives. The situation worsened until two major occurrences demanded an acceptable response from Rome (Mundadan, 1995:30).

The first major development occurred in 1787 when representatives from 84 churches gathered at Angamaly and drew up a document in protest of the Latin rule. At this assembly, the congregation made demands for the empowerment of native bishops, and they put forth a list of grievances, sighting the sins of commission and omission inflicted upon their St. Thomas community by the foreign authority

(Mundadan, 1995:30). This protest in itself did not influence Rome to take the complaints of these St. Thomas Christians seriously, and real change did not occur until almost a century later.

Two Chaldean Catholic bishops, Thomas Rokkos and Elias Melus, were sent by the Chaldean patriarch to seek converts among the St. Thomas Christians. Neither Rokkos in 1861, nor Melus in 1874, are accepted by the Latin Hierarchy, in fact, Rokkos was excommunicated by the Carmelite vicar Apostolic of Varapuzha upon his arrival. This blatant abuse of power by the Latin vicar, and the insult to their native bishops, furthered the schism that was forming in the Latin Church. Due to the seriousness of these developments, Rome had to take action. Delegates were sent to India to study the situation, and this eventually led to the creation of the Syro-Malabar church from within the Latin Catholic Rite (Mundadan, 1995:31).

In 1887, the Syro-Malabar Church was created. The first part of the new title 'Syro' was chosen for two reasons: 1) the church's liturgical language was Syriac; 2) it was an appropriate title due to their historical connection with the East-Syrian Church. The title of Malabar was chosen in reference to the area known today as Kerala, the original home of St. Thomas Christians on the Southwest coast of India (Mundadan, 1995:33).

The Syro-Malankara Rite

The Syro-Malankara Rite finds its connection to the Roman Catholic Church by way of the Jacobite church of India. Followers of Fr. P.T. Varghese split from the Syrian Orthodox Jacobites (Methran Kakshi) in 1919, and became Catholics in 1932.

When this section of the Malankara Jacobite Church joined the Catholic Church, they were allowed to retain both their name (Malankara) and the Antiochene Rites. The Term Syro-Malankara is in part, derived from their Jacobite heritage in Kerala, but unlike the Syro-Malabar Rite, *Syro*, in Syro-Malankara, refers to their West Syrian connection (Mundadan, 1995:65).

According to research conducted by Mangalam, the majority of Malayalee immigrants to Canada are Christian. More specifically, the majority of this Canadian population is affiliated with either the Catholic, Jacobite or Marthomite religion, (some smaller groups are Pentecostal, C.S.I. Hindu and Seventh Day Adventist) (Karumanchery, 1992:47). This study will focus on both the Roman Catholic and Marthomite communities in the GTA. The Jacobite and Hindu Malayalee groups are also of interest to this research but unfortunately their sample populations are too small to analyze adequately. The next sections address the immigration and development of Malayalee culture in Canada, and the transformation of Malayalee sacred canopies, in relation to these two distinct religious groups.

Immigration

The state of Kerala is approximately the size of Nova Scotia, and contains a population of about 27 million, similar to that of Canada. Mangalam (1985), suggests that Kerala's agricultural base and limited level of industrialization, prove unable to adequately sustain a population of this size. This level of population density, rising

unemployment levels and resulting scarcity of resources (ie, food, fuel etc.), were significant *push factors* influencing Malayalee emigration (Karumanchery, 1992:48).

As Malayalees immigrated to Canada in search of better lives, healthier living conditions and improved economic opportunities, their immigration patterns would seem to parallel those of other South Asian immigrant groups, but significant differences become apparent upon closer analysis. As in the 1920's and 1930's, the majority of South Asian women in Canada enter as family members of migrant South Asian men. This is fairly typical of most South Asian women, who find it virtually impossible to be accepted as independent immigrants, (Das Gupta, 1994:62). This trend of step-by-step familial immigration is reflected in Malayalee migration patterns, however within the Malayalee community, it is not uncommon for female family members to be the initial immigrant. While male family members tend to immigrate first, a study by Karumanchery (1992), suggests that a large percentage of female Malayalees immigrate before their husbands. Similar research conducted by Mangalam (1985) also found that Malayalee immigration patterns do not necessarily reflect generally accepted South Asian models.

Malayalees of both gender tend to attain moderately high levels of education. In the Malayalee community, females that immigrate before their male family members, tend to hold higher levels of education and training. Thus, opportunity, employability and economic factors tend to guide immigration patterns within the Malayalee community, more than traditional gender roles. In this sense, the Malayalee patriarchal family structure appears dissimilar from that of other South Asian groups.

In 1962, the Canadian government began to phase out discriminatory features in its immigration policy, (Gov. of Canada., 1974:27). The new immigration regulations served to remove racial discrimination as a major feature in its policy, and except for the fact that European immigrants were able to sponsor a wider range of relatives than non-Europeans, the new regulations were a tremendous step forwards in official policy (Hawkins, 1972:125). In 1967, two of the most important events in the history of Canadian immigration occurred. First, regulations were put in place, introducing non-discriminatory elements into immigration law (Gov. of Can.,1974:33), and the Canadian Manpower and Immigration Council Act was passed, marking the government's dedication to non-discriminatory policy (Hawkins, 1972:167). The majority of Malayalees surveyed in the present research immigrated to Canada in the late 1960's and early 1970's shortly after Canadian immigration policy was made more inclusive and open to Asians and other non-European groups.

With the changes to Canadian immigration policy in the early 1970's, the South Asian population has increased to well over 400,000 (Census Canada, 1991). South Asians in Canada are not identified by ghettos and pools of unemployment; rather, their education levels are much higher compared to other immigrant groups and they tend to find employment quickly. This is particularly true of the Malayalee community in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (Karumanchery, 1992:46).

It was estimated by Mangalam in 1985 that approximately 600 Malayalee families lived in the GTA (Mangalam, 1985). However, in a more recent study by Karumanchery (1992), it was estimated that in 1990, 1260 Malayalee families are

residing in the same area (Malayalee Samajam, 1990). This increase of over 100 percent in a five year period, would suggest that the Malayalee community in Toronto, is growing through both natural increase and immigration (Karumanchery, 1992:47).

The Malayalee Sacred Canopy

The Malayalee sacred canopy is in the process of a massive transformation. While their ideological and community components have been transplanted with some degree of success, their cultural and territorial components have undergone extensive changes. The Malayalee canopy has been transformed from a traditional South Asian extended family community, into an urban ethnic group without territorial connection. As religious ideologies and identifications provide important ingroup motivation and inspiration, variations within the Malayalee canopy are differentiated according to religious affiliation.

The Roman Catholic Canopy

The Sacred Canopy of Roman Catholic Malayalees is supported by an unstable set of stakes. As a foundation for the development of ethnic Nomos and community, the Catholic Canopy has failed to maintain a sufficient shield against forces of assimilation and anomie. In fact, degrees of ethnic cohesion and ingroup solidarity among second generation Catholic Malayalees, reflect the precarious nature of their ethnic identity and identification.

As discussed previously, religion plays a very important role in Malayalee

ethnic identification. For Roman Catholics, the importance of their Apostolic origins, and their historical ties to the one great church of India, have functioned in the past, as a strong ideological connection that bound their community together. However, the influence of the Latin rule, and the ongoing connection with Rome, serve to diffuse their sense of belonging and community.

Catholic Malayalees, whether Latin, Syro-Malankara or Syro-Malabar Rite, are not defined by their ethnicity. Rather, they are defined in relation to the larger community of Roman Catholics that place their (non-Indian) religious center in Rome. This is reflected in the very title of their religious affiliation. The titles, Hindu, Buddhist and Moslem, to name a few, reflect an ethnicity, they identify a culture and a history. Roman Catholic Malayalees must add the postscript - Malayalee - in order to give ethnic identity to their religious denomination. Catholic Malayalees that display high levels of church attendance, do not necessarily strengthen their levels of ethnic identification. Religious practice, as a form of social behaviour, distinguishes various groups from one another by way of custom and action. However, as the great majority of Catholic Malayalees frequently attend non-Malayalee (mainstream) religious services (Table 5.5), religion ceases to act as a unifying principle for them.

Previous research suggests that identification with ethnic heritage and culture are crucial if a strong ethnic identity is to be developed. Interestingly, The Roman Catholic community appears to assign low priority to factors of cultural identity: ethnic language proficiency is not actively encouraged; ethnic institutions are relatively non-existent, and endogamy does not appear to be the norm for the second generation.

While cultural traditions such as ethnic cooking and dress seem to be upheld by the first generation, the second generation seems to have embraced Canadian culture.

The Roman Catholic Malayalee community in the greater Toronto area is tied together by the thinnest of strands. They are a community without leaders, without structure and without solidarity. Short of the ethnic friendship ties held by the first generation, the community displays very little cohesion. This relative, *non-community* situation, is reflected in their lack of ethnic institutions and their dispersal throughout the GTA. Unlike many ethnic groups in Toronto that seek to establish some form of *ethnic home territory*, Malayalees are spread out across the GTA, and are brought together only through religious functions or ingroup friendships.

The Mar Thoma Canopy

The Sacred Canopy of the Mar Thoma Church is supported by a relatively stable set of stakes. The Marthomite canopy has managed to maintain a certain amount of protection against the forces of assimilation, and as a result maintenance of ethnic cohesion and solidarity within the community have extended beyond the first generation and into the second.

Religion is of fundamental importance to the Marthomite community. As aforementioned, Roman Catholic Malayalees have used their Apostolic origins to bind their community together in the past, in contrast, the Marthomite community continue to do so even today. From their historical secession from the Latin rule, to the formation and expansion of their own church, Marthomites have bound the fabric of their identities to their religion. They are defined by their religion and their religious

belief system. Any solidarity or identity maintenance within the Marthomite community is inexorably tied to the ethnic heritage reflected and entwined in their religious origins. Marthomites display very high levels of church attendance, and as their religion is specifically an Indian religion, such high levels of religious participation act to strengthen their levels of ethnic identification. Religious practice within the Mar Thoma church, is distinct, in custom and action, from other Christian churches in Canada.

Since 1983, the Mar Thoma Church has been in full communion with the Anglican Church. However, this connection has not had the same effects on Marthomites as the connection to the Roman Catholic Church has had on the Roman Catholic Malayalees. The Marthomites have managed to retain a great degree of their religious heritage. In fact, in July 1987, the Mar Thoma Church of Toronto opened its own church building. This private place of worship allows for a great degree of cohesiveness and ethnic boundary maintenance among Marthomites. This place of worship acts as a crucible, an ingroup territory that provides Marthomites a place where strong primary social networks and ethnic heritage may be reinforced.

With respect to the cultural stake in the Marthomite Canopy, cultural maintenance is relative to that of Roman Catholic Malayalees. Other than their dedication and commitment to religion, Marthomites tend to reflect the same level of cultural barriers to assimilation as Catholics. However, the strong sense of identification with their religious community transfers into a broader sense of

Gemeinschaft with respect to their ethnic community, which are in fact, one and the same.

Marthomites in the greater Toronto area are a cohesive ethnic group. However, while their religious identification works to maintain a sense of ethnic pride and identity, forces of assimilation still penetrate the Marthomite canopy. Marthomites, like Roman Catholic Malayalees, must deal with influences beyond the scope of religious affiliation. While their church does act as a form of ethnic territory, the relative dispersion of community members throughout the GTA effects the quality of protection afforded them by their sacred canopy. With respect to non-religious identity factors, second generation identity decline among Marthomites parallels the decline seen among second generation Catholics. Consequently, the Marthomite canopy may not be as stable as it seems.

There are aspects of Malayalee culture in Canada that extend beyond religious borders. While Marthomites and Catholic Malayalees display different religious and territorial identifications, the deterioration of their cultural identification has progressed along similar paths. The cultural stakes in both canopies are seriously splintered and in need of minor modifications. In the transferal and transformation of the Malayalee canopies, the cultural stakes have weakened in their ability to sustain and support Malayalee ethnicity. Since the beginning of Malayalee immigration to Canada and settlement in the GTA, cultural features of Malayalee ethnicity and identity have been declining. Of the identity indicators noted in this research, the most drastic declines have been in areas of ethnic language, and endogamy.

Ethnic language use has not been structurally supported by the Malayalee community. The generational decline in Malayalee ability to use their ethnic language may be due in part to a lack of parochial or ethnic language education. However, it is likely that similar rates of decline would occur naturally as the second generation are compelled to assimilate and acculturate to Canadian norms. A study by Klassen (1969) indicates that in spite of persistent efforts to maintain ethnic language use among second generation ethnics, such programs tend only to reach a minority of the youth (Peters, 1971:19).

Second generation Malayalees who employ English as their first language, tend to have strong ability to understand Malayalam, but weak abilities to speak, read and write in their ethnic language. Cummins suggested that this type of bilingual pattern among ethnic children is indicative of their sense of marginalization. It is also common for Malayalee households to have two first languages. Children will in almost all cases speak to parents in English and parents will tend to respond in Malayalam or a combination of Malayalam and English (Karumanchery, 1992,76).

Previous research suggests that the preservation and continued use of an ethnic mother tongue is one of the most important, if not the most important component of ethnic identity retention (Driedger, 1989:180). The linguistic accommodation experienced by first generation Malayalees, and the second generation's decline or inability to use Malayalam reflects a wane in Language continuity. The degree to which this shift effects ethnic identity retention must be looked at in conjunction with similar shifts in ethnic religion and other diverse ethnic customs.

Attitudes towards endogamy and arranged marriages have shifted a great deal within the Malayalee community in Canada. Arranged Marriage has traditionally been an important instrument used in the Malayalee community to both sustain their sense of peoplehood and to maintain their ethnic and social boundaries. Malayalee parents commonly search out partners for their children on the basis of religion, race, ethnicity and social class.

Traditionally, Malayalee arranged marriages have been employed in order to match people from compatible family types, and similar social strata. For instance, marriages would rarely be arranged between people of the same race, religion and ethnicity if the social classes are too divergent. Similarly, in the Christian Malayalee community, arranged marriages between Christians and members of out-group religions would be rare.

Contrary to popular opinion, arranged marriages within the Malayalee community are neither forced nor coerced. It has always been considered to be the parent's duty to find and select appropriate suitors for their children, but it is the ultimate choice of the child as to who he/she will marry. Since dating is not the norm within Kerala's Christian Malayalee community, arranged marriages continue to be employed in India today, however, this is not the general practice among migrant Malayalee Christians in Canada.

The degree to which endogamy is practiced within an ethnic group is a strong indicator of the extent to which the members of that group are bound by their ethnic heritage and ethnocultural networks (Peters, 1971:20). First generation Malayalees in

the GTA tend to display very high positive attitudes towards endogamy and arranged marriage, but these attitudes are not shared by those of the second generation. The primary social and cultural networks of second generation Malayalees tend to originate within Canadian culture and ethnicity.

As noted in our discussion of the Marthomite and Catholic sacred canopies, without an ingroup territory or strong ingroup networks, the demographic realities of Malayalee dispersal in the GTA suggest that endogamy and the tradition of arranged marriage among Canadian Malayalees is due to decline. Malayalees in the GTA are a rapidly growing group whose ethnic language and endogamous traditions are declining, and since Malayalee religious and racial characteristics are not wholly incompatible with those of the Canadian majority, the extent to which the Malayalee community is an ethnic group in the process of change and decline is uncertain. Our major research will focus on religion and the ethnic identity retention of second generation Malayalees in the Greater Toronto Area.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In using the Conformity-Pluralist model as my conceptual frame, both sociocultural and interactionist theoretical approaches are used to describe and understand patterns of ethnic identity retention within the Toronto Malayalee community. Both ontological approaches are used in defining the characteristics and motives of the sample population.

Population

The population consists of all individuals of Malayalee heritage living in the Greater Toronto Area, with the following qualifications: 1) either their presence in the GTA was recorded in the files of the Malayalee Samajam, or they can be reached through a search of Samajam records as a result of familial or social connections (eg. an individual may not be listed in the Malayalee Samajam records, but may be living in the home of one who is); and 2) all participants must be at least 15 years of age. The Malayalee Samajam predicted in 1990 that there were approximately 1260 Malayalee families living in the GTA. Unfortunately, due to a lack of census data collected with specific reference to those of Malayalee heritage, we cannot be more specific. We can however deduce from previous growth trends that in the last five years, this number has at the very least doubled.

Sample

This sample of Malayalee cases ($N = 334$) was collected specifically for this research during the 1995-96 academic session. The participants were contacted through the use of the Malayalee Telephone Directory as recorded by the Toronto Malayalee Samajam Community Group. A total of 550 surveys were distributed and 343 were returned. Nine of the returned surveys were rejected due to inadequate completion, this left a total sample of 334. Each participant was contacted initially by phone, and upon giving consent to take part in the research, surveys were distributed to the participants at home or at a more convenient agreed upon locale. There was a 62.3% return rate. While this was a fairly high rate of return, it is reasonable to believe that returns might have been higher if the questionnaire had not been so long, and had the questions not been so personal.

According to the statistics from Karumanchery's 1990 study, 1260 Malayalee families reside in the Greater Toronto Area, (Malayalee Samajam, 1990). There was an increase of over 100% in the five years between the Mangalam and Karumanchery studies. Assuming that a similar increase has taken place over the last five years since the Karumanchery study, the N for this study would include approximately 6% of the Malayalee population in Toronto.

Instrument

The instrument for this study was an eight part, structured questionnaire. The majority of the questionnaire was based on a survey design used by the Ethnic

Identity Research Team during their 1970-71 study of University of Manitoba students (Driedger, 1971). This questionnaire was designed to compare first and second generation Malayalee attitudes and behaviors in order to see if their levels of ethnic identity are comparable.

The questionnaire was distributed to all participating Malayalees in the Greater Toronto Area. The Malayalee Samajam Telephone Directory was used to find participants, and cases were chosen based on selection through a random numbers table. Once contacted, each potential participant was assured that participation in the survey was both voluntary and confidential. The survey was distributed with an attached cover letter that explained the basic premise of the research, and it included within each section, a brief introductory statement explaining how to complete each section.

There are eight specific sections to the questionnaire, each using a specific methodology and each focusing on relevant aspects of ethnic identity, the sections may be outlined as follows:

- PART 1) A Personal Inventory Section:** It was here that we obtain all pertinent personal information with reference to the participant's family history and vital statistics. All independent variables used in the study are found in this section.
- PART 2) A 31 Question Likert Scale:** This section was based on a five point Likert Scale, and it focuses on the dependent indicators of subjective ethnic identity retention - Attitudes towards 1) Parochial Education, 2) Ethnic Language Use, 3) Ethnic Religion, 4) Endogamy, 5) Ingroup Friends, 6) Ethnic Organizations, 7) Ethnic Territory, and 8) Ethnic Media and Publications.
- PART 3) Personal Inventory Section:** Section three also tries to determine specific facts about each participants feelings towards his\her ethnic heritage and

traditions. This section was designed to determine the degree to which the participant has undergone structural assimilation.

PART 4) A 15-Item Worschel Scale: Section four measures the general attitudes and aspirations of participants with respect to their ethnicity and the experience of being a visible minority in Canada.

PART 5) A 23-Item Cultural Rating Scale: In section five, the participant responds with respect to his/her attitudes about the Malayalee culture.

PART 6) A 23-Item Cultural Rating Scale: In section six, the participant responds with respect to his/her attitudes about the Canadian Culture.

PART 7) A 5-Item Ethnic salience Scale: Section seven consists of a set of measures to determine the nature of a participants subjective ethnic identity.

PART 8) A Questionnaire evaluation page: In this section, participants are able to comment on their feelings about the study and the survey.

The data are drawn from sections I, II, and III of the survey (Appendix B).

Dependent Variables

Subjective Ethnic Identity

Subjective ethnic identity can be defined as the way in which an individual views his/her ethnic heritage, and the holding of positive attitudes toward the value of that ethnicity. In this study subjective ethnic identity was measured separately by six indicators: parochial education, ethnic language, ethnic religion, endogamy, ingroup friendships and ethnic organizations. Each indicator was operationally expressed in terms of attitudes. Therefore, the dependent variables used with reference to Malayalee subjective ethnic identity are all measured by attitudes toward the six indicators.

All of the six indicators are measured on a five point Likert-type scale (Appendix B, Part II,) using attitudes towards their ingroup ethnicity, culture and traditions. We analyzed the thirty-one Likert questions to determine if they met the required assumptions for the statistical tests to be used in this research. The questions that satisfied all the statistical assumptions were then chosen and composite attitudinal scores were generated for each indicator of subjective ethnic identity. All of the scales used to measure Malayalee attitudes were measured by three separate indicators together in one composite scale.

VAR200 Parochial Education: The attitudinal scale measured how Malayalees felt about parochial education with reference to their ability to help perpetuate ethnic culture. Operationally, attitudes towards parochial education were measured on a 15 point scale, 1-5, 6-10 and 11-15 indicating low, medium and high subjective ethnic identity respectively (Appendix B, Part II, questions 2,3 and 4).

VAR201 Ethnic Language: The attitudinal scale measured how Malayalees felt about their ethnic language in reference to their ability to help perpetuate ethnic culture, language use outside of ingroup situations, and the importance of continued ethnic language use. Attitudes towards Malayalam were defined in terms of the total scores achieved on three of the Likert-type questions (Appendix B, Part II, questions 6,7 and 9). They were measured on a 15 point scale, 1-5, 6-10 and 11-15 indicating low, medium and high subjective ethnic identity respectively.

VAR202 Ethnic Religion: The attitudinal scale measured how Malayalees felt about their ethnic religion in terms of its symbolic, cultural and personal importance.

Religion is of fundamental importance to ingroup cohesion, and positive attitudes towards ethnic religion can serve to strengthen group bonds even when other factors suggest that ethnic identity is declining. Operationally, attitudes towards ethnic religion were measured on a 15 point scale, 1-5, 6-10 and 11-15 indicating low, medium and high subjective identity respectively (Appendix B, Part II, questions 12,13 and 14).

VAR203 Ethnic Endogamy: The attitudinal scale measured how Malayalees felt about endogamy with reference to the following factors: the importance placed on ethnicity when dating; the acceptability of out-group marriage; and the importance of ingroup marriage for the preservation of ethnic culture and heritage. Operationally, attitudes towards endogamy were measured on a 15 point scale, 1-5, 6-10 and 11-15 indicating low, medium and high subjective ethnic identity respectively (Appendix B, Part II, questions 16,17 & 18).

VAR204 Ingroup Friends: The attitudinal scale measured how Malayalees felt about close ingroup friendships with reference to the following: the importance placed on ingroup friendship; the value placed on the presence of ingroup friends; and the preference for time spent with ingroup rather than out-group members. Operationally, attitudes towards ingroup friendships were measured on a 15 point scale, 1-5, 6-10 and 11-15 indicating low, medium and high subjective ethnic identity respectively (Appendix B, Part II, questions 19, 20 and 22).

VAR205 Ethnic Organizations: The attitudinal scale measured how Malayalees felt about their ethnic organizations in reference to the following factors: the importance of involvement in such organizations; the benefit of being involved in

the affairs of one's own ethnic group and the narrowness of such organizations. Attitudes towards Malayalam were defined in terms of the total scores achieved on three of the Likert-type questions (Appendix B, Part II, questions 23,24 and 25). They were measured on a 15 point scale, 1-5, 6-10 and 11-15 indicating low, medium and high subjective ethnic identity respectively.

Objective Ethnic Identity

Objective ethnic identity can be defined as the involvement and dedication that individuals show towards their ethnicity and ethnic group. This was operationally different from subjective indicators of ethnic identity in that behaviour was measured rather than attitudes. This study measured objective ethnic identity by five indicators: language proficiency in Malayalam; active participation in ethnic religion; endogamous behavior and expectations related to ingroup marriage, active participation and support of ethnic organizations; and ingroup friendships. Each indicator was operationally expressed in terms of objective behavior. Some of the five indicators were measured on a Likert-type scale (Appendix B, PartIII) and the others were dichotomous variables. All of the variables used were tested to assure that they meet the various statistical assumptions necessary for this study. The questions that satisfied all the statistical assumptions were used to generate composite behavioural scores for each indicator of objective ethnic identity. All of the scales used to analyze Malayalee ethnocentric behavior were measured by separate indicators together in a composite scale.

VAR210 Language Proficiency in Malayalam: This indicator was defined as fluency in Malayalam, the ability to understand, read, write and speak in Malayalam. Participants were grouped into one of three categories. They were measured on a 12 point scale, 1-4 indicating inability, 5-8 suggesting limited ability and 9-12 indicating a strong ability to use Malayalam. The composite measure was constructed from responses to question 5 in Part III of the questionnaire.

VAR211 Active Participation in Ethnic Religion: This indicator was defined as dedication to and attendance at Malayalee church services. Participants were grouped into one of three categories. They were measured on a 12 point scale, 1-4 indicating infrequent attendance, 5-8 suggesting moderate attendance and 9-12 indicating a frequent attendance at ethnic church services. The composite measure was constructed from responses to question 20 in Part III of the questionnaire. These questions measure dedication to ethnic group religion and attendance at ethnic religious services respectively.

VAR212 Active Participation in Ethnic Organizations: This indicator was defined as activity level in Malayalee ethnic organizations. Participants were grouped into one of three categories. They were measured on a 12 point scale, 1-4 indicating very inactive levels, 5-8 suggesting moderate activity levels and 9-12 indicating very active participation in ethnic group organizations. The composite measure was constructed from responses to question 23 in Part III of the questionnaire.

VAR213 Endogamous Behavior: This indicator reflects dedication to the tradition of endogamy and arranged marriage. Participants were grouped into one of

three categories. They were measured on a 6 point scale, 1-3 reflecting low levels of endogamous behavior, 4-5 suggesting moderate endogamous behavior and 6 indicating high endogamous behavior. The composite measure was constructed from responses to questions 79,83 and 84 in Part III of the questionnaire.

VAR61 Ingroup Friendships: This indicator was defined as voluntary involvement of Malayalees with members of their ethnic group. Operationally, this indicator was measured by the number of the five closest friends that belonged to the Malayalee community. Participants were grouped into one of six categories. They were measured on a 31 point scale, 1-6 indicate that all five closest friends were Malayalee, 7-12 verify that 4 of 5 closest friends were Malayalee, 13-18 denote that 3 out of 5, 19-24 indicate that 2 out of 5, 25-30 denote that only one of 5 were Malayalee, and a score of 31 indicates that none of the respondents five closest friends were Malayalee. The composite measure was constructed from responses to question 8 in Part III of the questionnaire.

Independent Variables

Four independent variables were used including gender, duration of stay in Canada, religious affiliation and generation of participant.

VAR4 Gender of Participant: Operationally, the gender of the respondent was determined by his/her response to question 3 in Part I of the questionnaire.

VAR7 Duration of Stay: Operationally, duration of stay was determined by the participant's response to question 7 in Part I of the questionnaire. The respondents

were grouped into categories dependent on their length of stay in Canada. Those respondents whose duration of stay was (less than a year to 10 years), (11 to 25 years) and (26 to 51 years) were respectively grouped into categories short, medium and long duration of stay. Smaller groupings for the extreme cases of duration (ie. 0-5 and 40-50 years) may have been more appropriate for the study. However, the limited sample size, and the low numbers of participants at those extremes, made it statistically difficult to work with such groupings.

VAR5 Religious Affiliation: Religious affiliation was defined as being affiliated with any religious denomination. Operationally, religious affiliation was determined by the participant's response to question 4 in Part I of the questionnaire. For the purposes of this study four specific religious groups were to be studied, but unfortunately, due to problems of sample size, we could study only the Roman Catholic and Marthomite Malayalees. Religion has traditionally been a very strong mechanism in the maintenance of ethnic identity, and it will be of great interest to determine the extent to which levels of ethnic identity will vary between these groups.

VAR176 Generation of Respondent: Operationally, the generation of the respondent was determined upon reflection of his/her age, and length of stay in Canada. Respondents who were born outside of Canada but immigrated within their first 5 years of life were considered to be second generation Malayalees. Since 15 years of age was the minimum requirement for inclusion in this research, the five year stipulation would still allow for the great majority of their formative years to have been spent in Canada.

Statistical Techniques

There were several statistical procedures used in the course of this study. The type of tests and techniques employed were determined by the nominal and ordinal nature of the independent and dependent variables. The test of proportions was used in order to determine whether attitudinal indicator variables in the study behave as interval level (Appendix A). Those dependent variables that were found to be suitable were then used with reference to the independent variables in both ANOVA and MCA operations.

Test of Proportions

Before conducting any type of ANOVA or MCA analysis of the attitudinal measures used in this study, it was necessary to determine whether or not they behave as interval level data. Most of the dependent variables in sections II through VI of the survey were measured on Likert or other types of attitudinal scales, and most of those items were measured on an ordinal level. In order to determine the extent to which these variables approximate interval level measurement, a Spearman's rho correlation was calculated against a Pearson's correlation for each of the dependent variables against two independent interval level variables (age and duration of stay). Spearman's rho is a statistical method for analyzing ordinal level variables, and Spearman's correlation is a similar method used with reference to interval level data. If a Spearman's rho and a Pearson's r were calculated for the same dependent variable, and the difference between the two was found to be insignificant, then it follows that the variable behaved as interval data. Simply subtracting the Spearman from the

Pearson is not sufficient to determine the level of significant difference between the two correlations. The test of proportions was used for this purpose.

The Z score in the test of proportions (Appendix A), determines whether there was a significant level of difference between the two calculations. If the Z score was below 2 for the dependent variable against both age and duration of stay, then it was determined to act as interval data. If the Z score was below zero against only one of the two independent variables, then that variable was cautiously accepted to act as interval, these variables merit careful scrutiny. The variables that have Z scores above 2 against both independent variables were not used in analysis, as they cannot be employed as interval level data.

ANOVA and MCA

ANOVA, an acronym for Analysis of Variance is a statistical technique used to compare more than two group means. ANOVA is a simple extension of the T-test, and like the T-test, it requires that the dependent variables used in analysis were of interval level measurement while allowing for any level of measurement with reference to the independent variables. The ANOVA technique tests the null hypothesis by determining if division of respondents based on their responses to the independent variable will explain any variance in the dependent variable (Dometrius, 1992:241-45).

The ANOVA technique is limited in its ability to develop relationships and correlations, this problem was handled through the use of the Multiple Classification Analysis. MCA is a powerful extension of ANOVA that allows for the establishment

of both associations and relationships between variables. The MCA technique was used in examining the interrelationships between several independent variables and an interval level dependent variable. The MCA provides ETA and Beta coefficients as well as Multiple R and R squared analyses which were used.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were developed based on a review of all the relevant literature with respect to ethnic identity retention and the Malayalee community in the Greater Toronto Area. The first four hypotheses deal with the dependent variable, subjective identity retention, as it was measured by the seven aforementioned ethnic identity factors and the independent variables, gender, religion, generation, and Duration of stay in Canada. The next four hypotheses deal with the dependent variable objective ethnic identity retention as it was measured by the objective identity indicators, and the same four independent variables.

HYPOTHESIS 1 Marthomite religious affiliation will be associated with higher positive attitudes towards parochial education, ethnic language use, ethnic religion, endogamy, ingroup friends, and participation in ingroup organizations than Roman Catholic religious affiliation.

HYPOTHESIS 2 Females and males will tend to be associated with similar positive attitudes towards parochial education, ethnic language use, ethnic religion, endogamy, ingroup friends, and participation in ingroup organizations.

HYPOTHESIS 3 First generation respondents will score higher on positive attitudes towards parochial education, ethnic language use, ethnic religion, endogamy, in-group friends, and participation in ingroup organizations than second generation respondents.

- HYPOTHESIS 4** There will be a high negative association between duration of stay in Canada and positive attitudes towards parochial education, ethnic language use, ethnic religion, endogamy, ingroup friends, and participation in ingroup organizations.
- HYPOTHESIS 5** With respect to: ability to use Malayalam, higher dedication and participation in ethnic religious services, levels of ingroup dating, numbers of ingroup friendships and participation in ingroup organizations, Marthomite religious affiliation will be associated with higher positive levels of objective ethnic identity than Roman Catholic Affiliation.
- HYPOTHESIS 6** With respect to: ability to use Malayalam, higher dedication and participation in ethnic religious services, levels of ingroup dating, numbers of ingroup friendships and participation in ingroup organizations, females will tend to show higher levels of objective ethnic identity than males.
- HYPOTHESIS 7** With respect to: ability to use Malayalam, higher dedication and participation in ethnic religious services, levels of ingroup dating, numbers of ingroup friendships and participation in ingroup organizations, first generation Malayalees will tend to be associated with higher levels of objective ethnic identity than second generation Malayalees.
- HYPOTHESIS 8** With respect to: ability to use Malayalam, higher dedication and participation in ethnic religious services, levels of ingroup dating, numbers of ingroup friendships and participation in ingroup organizations, there will be a high negative association between duration of stay and levels of objective ethnic identity.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Independent Variables and Factors of Identity

An overview of the interactions between independent variables (generation, religious affiliation, duration of stay, and gender), and dependent variables (parochial education, ingroup language, ingroup religion, endogamy, ingroup friends and ingroup organizations), suggests that a dichotomy can be drawn between attitudes and behaviors as they relate to the six factors of ethnic identity (Table 5.1).

Considerable variations exist in relation to the six identity factors and the independent variable, religious affiliation. Marthomites consistently ranked much higher than Roman Catholics in every behavioural category, and with the exception of attitudes towards ingroup language and organizations, Marthomite attitudinal scores ranked higher as well. The data suggest that there is a great deal of disparity between Behaviour and attitude. Marthomite behaviour ranked higher than attitude in relation to all of the factors, and Roman Catholics display similar tendencies in relation to 3 of the six identity factors. Data in Table 5.1 tend to support the notion that Religious affiliation is an important factor in increased levels of objective ethnic identity. Furthermore, the data suggest that Marthomites tend to display higher levels of both objective and subjective ethnic identity than Roman Catholics.

TABLE 5.1 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (GENERATION, RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, DURATION OF STAY AND GENDER) BY ETHNIC IDENTITY FACTORS

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	GROUP N	IDENTITY FACTORS (PERCENTAGES - HIGH POSITIVE)											
		PAROCHIAL EDUCATION		INGROUP LANGUAGE		INGROUP RELIGION		ENDO GAMY		INGROUP FRIENDS		INGROUP ORGANIZATIONS	
		Behaviour	Attitudes	Behaviour	Attitudes	Behaviour	Attitudes	Behaviour	Attitudes	Behaviour	Attitudes	Behaviour	Attitudes
RELIGION													
Roman Catholic	208 (62.3%)	N/A	37.6	80.3	42.4	12.6	30.7	44.2	27.4	44.1	31.7	20.4	33.3
Marthomite	69 (20.7%)	N/A	38.7	84.6	39.1	93.8	56.7	60.8	36.1	55.0	34.8	87.1	23.2
GENDER													
Male	154 (46.1%)	N/A	32.2	79.3	44.7	33.8	40.3	49.1	32.1	49.2	34.0	35.8	30.1
Female	180 (53.9%)	N/A	36.5	80.0	39.9	29.0	35.2	50.0	29.6	41.6	30.9	32.4	28.1
GENERATION													
1st Generation	203 (60.8%)	N/A	38.4	96.5	42.6	36.9	46.2	75.5	46.7	65.9	41.5	36.4	4.2
2nd Generation	131 (39.2%)	N/A	28.9	50.0	41.1	23.3	24.4	13.5	9.2	12.3	18.6	12.3	21.5
DURATION OF STAY													
Short (0-10)	38 (11.4%)	N/A	41.7	97.3	51.4	27.8	52.6	70.0	44.4	63.9	35.1	35.1	23.7
Medium (11-25)	230 (68.8%)	N/A	33.5	74.2	40.5	33.6	35.3	42.5	25.0	41.8	31.4	36.3	29.7
Long (26-51)	64 (19.2%)	N/A	35.6	87.3	40.6	22.6	35.9	62.5	41.8	43.9	34.9	24.2	29.0

Substantial variations exist in relation to Generation and the six identity factors. First generation Malayalees ranked considerably higher than second generation Malayalees in every category. Attitudinal scores are comparable for several of the factors, but behavioural scores, (with the exception of *participation in religious services*), are completely divergent. Data in Table 5.1 suggest that second generation Malayalees display considerably lower levels of ethnic identity retention than the first generation.

With respect to the independent variable gender, in most cases, attitudinal scores are consistent with those of behaviour. Disparities between attitude and behaviour are found for both males and females in relation to the factors of endogamy and ingroup language. However, these incongruities are likely due to generational influence within the categories of gender, rather than the influence of gender alone. Data in Table 5.1 do not tend to support the theory that females will display higher levels of identity maintenance than males. Considerable variations are present among the six identity factors in relation to duration of stay. With only one attitudinal exception, scores for short duration of stay are consistently higher than the scores for long duration of stay.

While the data in Table 5.1 does not present any overwhelming support for the assimilationist theory that ethnic identity declines with time, some evidence does point to a related conclusion. Second generation Malayalees do indeed appear to retain some ethnic identifications, but which features are kept and which features are

TABLE 5.2 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

RELIGION	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	ETA
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION					
CATHOLIC	2.0	60.4	37.6	197	
MARTHOMITE	6.5	54.8	38.7	62	0.02
ETHNIC LANGUAGE					
CATHOLIC	4.9	52.7	42.4	205	
MARTHOMITE	1.4	59.4	39.1	69	0.03
ETHNIC RELIGION					
CATHOLIC	5.9	63.4	30.7	205	
MARTHOMITE	1.5	41.8	56.7	67	0.25
ENDOGENY					
CATHOLIC	18.3	54.3	27.4	197	
MARTHOMITE	9.8	54.1	36.1	61	0.12
INGROUP FRIENDS					
CATHOLIC	7.3	61.0	31.7	205	
MARTHOMITE	7.2	58.0	34.8	69	0.03
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS					
CATHOLIC	1.4	65.2	33.3	207	
MARTHOMITE	0.0	76.8	23.2	69	0.04

dropped seem to be influenced by a desire to lose their 'more Indian' behaviors and traits. This selection process may lead to a minimization of ethnicity, favouring non-obtrusive, symbolic relationships with their heritage.

Religious Affiliation

Subjective Identity Factors

In hypothesis one, we state that Malayalee-Canadians affiliated with the Mar Thoma Church will tend to be associated with higher levels of subjective ethnic identity than those affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. Data in Table 5.2 show the relationships between religious affiliation and the indicators of subjective ethnic identity for Marthomite and Roman Catholic Malayalees in the GTA. Roman Catholic and Marthomite Malayalees tended to indicate similar levels of subjective ethnic identity. Table 5.2 suggests that the majority of both religious groups possess mid-range levels of subjective ethnic identity with a tendency towards high ethnic identity.

The differences between the two groups as stated in hypotheses one, are not fully supported by the data. The lack of notable disparity between group scores may, in part, be attributed to the subjective nature of the attitudinal responses. The hypothesis is based on the concept that Marthomites being no more or less religious than Roman Catholics, would nevertheless, show higher levels of positive subjective ethnic identity due to the more mainstream nature of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada. We expect that Roman Catholics would show lower levels of ethnocentrism and ethnic identity because of their ability to cross over to mainstream churches and

TABLE 5.3 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENERATION

GENERATION	ROMAN CATHOLIC				MARTHOMITE				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION									
FIRST	2.8	52.8	44.4	18	6.7	53.3	40.0	45	0.06
SECOND	1.1	69.7	29.2	89	5.9	58.8	35.3	17	0.00
ETHNIC LANGUAGE									
FIRST	5.2	52.2	42.6	115	2.1	55.3	42.6	47	0.02
SECOND	4.4	53.3	42.2	90	0.0	68.2	31.8	22	0.04
ETHNIC RELIGION									
FIRST	2.6	56.9	40.5	116	2.2	35.6	62.2	45	0.18
SECOND	10.1	71.9	18.0	89	0.0	54.5	45.5	22	0.27
ENDO GAMY									
FIRST	3.7	51.4	44.9	107	2.6	46.2	51.3	39	0.06
SECOND	35.6	57.8	6.7	90	22.7	68.2	9.1	22	0.10
INGROUP FRIENDS									
FIRST	0.9	57.8	41.4	116	4.3	53.2	42.6	47	0.01
SECOND	15.7	65.2	19.1	89	13.6	68.2	18.2	22	0.00
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
FIRST	0.9	59.8	39.3	117	0.0	68.1	31.9	47	0.05
SECOND	2.2	72.2	25.6	90	0.0	95.5	4.5	22	0.16

organizations more easily than Marthomites. This hypothesis did not take into account the degree to which attitudes are influenced by heritage, tradition and symbolism. The data imply that regardless of objective ethnic identity levels, both groups hold moderately high subjective ethnic identity.

The only statistically significant difference between Catholic and Marthomite attitudes, is in relation to their religious affiliations. The strength of the Marthomite sacred canopy surely has a significant influence upon the interaction with this specific ethnic identity factor. The results from our ANOVA I test (Appendix C), suggest that the religious attitudinal means for Roman Catholics and Marthomites are not equal. Further, with an ETA of 0.25 (showing a low correlation but a small relationship), the cross tabulation in Table 5.2 suggests that in comparing the two religious groups, Marthomites tend to show slightly higher levels of positive attitudes towards their ethnic religion.

Further interactions between religious affiliation and our two independent variables (generation and gender) were analyzed. In controlling for gender and generation against religious affiliation, the data suggest that further statistically significant differences exist between these two religious groups. While in most cases attitudinal levels are quite consistent, correlation coefficients indicate other differences between religious groups with respect to their attitudes towards ethnic religion.

An ETA of 0.27, (showing a low correlation, but a small relationship) in Table 5.3, indicates that second generation Marthomites display higher positive attitudes towards their ethnic religion than do second generation Roman Catholics. High

TABLE 5.4 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENDER

GENDER	ROMAN CATHOLIC				MARTHOMITE				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION									
MALE	3.6	59.9	36.9	84	5.9	58.8	35.3	34	0.03
FEMALE	0.9	61.6	37.5	112	7.1	50.0	42.9	28	0.00
ETHNIC LANGUAGE									
MALE	5.7	53.4	40.9	88	2.9	45.7	51.4	35	0.10
FEMALE	4.3	51.7	44.0	116	0.0	73.5	26.5	34	0.10
ETHNIC RELIGION									
MALE	6.8	63.6	29.5	88	0.0	38.2	61.8	34	0.30
FEMALE	5.2	63.8	31.0	116	3.0	45.5	51.5	33	0.16
ENDO GAMY									
MALE	9.8	61.0	29.3	82	0.0	62.1	37.9	29	0.14
FEMALE	24.6	50.0	25.4	114	18.8	46.9	34.4	32	0.08
INGROUP FRIENDS									
MALE	1.1	62.9	36.0	89	2.9	62.9	34.3	35	0.03
FEMALE	12.2	60.0	27.8	115	11.8	52.9	35.3	34	0.05
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
MALE	1.1	62.9	36.0	89	0.0	80.0	20.0	35	0.13
FEMALE	1.7	67.5	30.8	117	0.0	73.5	26.5	34	0.02

positive attitudes towards ingroup religion are shown by 45.5% of second generation Marthomites, but only 18% of second generation Roman Catholics hold similar attitudes. Interestingly, with respect to positive religious attitudes, first and second generation Marthomites display comparable scores, but first generation Roman Catholics show considerably higher scores than second generation Catholics (Table 5.3). These results indicate different patterns of religious identity maintenance and decline.

Further variations in relation to religious affiliation are displayed in Table 5.4. An ETA of 0.30, (showing a low correlation, but a small relationship) suggests that Marthomite males display higher positive attitudes towards their ethnic religion than Roman Catholic males. Almost two-thirds (61.8%) of Marthomite males displayed high positive attitudes towards ingroup religion, only 29.5% of Roman Catholic males show similar attitude levels. Tables 2 through 4 indicate that the statistically significant associations between religious affiliation, and the six factors of subjective ethnic identity, are limited to *attitudes toward ethnic religion*. The Beta coefficient of 0.22 in MCA 3 (Appendix D), indicates that when controlling for the other three independent variables, the correlation between religious affiliation and attitudes towards ingroup religion shows a slight decline. However, an adjusted Beta of 0.22 is still significant enough to suggest a low correlation and small relationship.

Our MCA 3 test also resulted in a Multiple R of 0.392, we suggest that there is a moderate correlation between positive attitudes towards ingroup religion and the four independent variables. This number also suggests that a moderate portion of the

total variance in attitudes can be associated with the variance in the independent variables (particularly religious affiliation and generation). The Multiple R Squared coefficient, suggests that 15.4% of the variance in attitudes towards religion can be explained by the variance in the four independent variables.

Objective Identity Factors

Hypothesis five states that Malayalee-Canadians affiliated with the Mar Thoma Church will be associated with higher levels of objective ethnic identity than those affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. Data in Table 5.5 show that Roman Catholic and Marthomite Malayalees display very dissimilar levels of objective ethnic identity with reference to participation in and dedication to ethnic religion and ethnic organizations. Marthomites show high levels of objective ethnic identity, while Roman Catholics tend towards moderate levels of objective identity in relation to participation in religious services and ethnic organizations.

The differences between the two groups as stated in hypothesis five, are partially supported by the data. The hypothesis is based on the theoretical assumption, that due to the religious center and strong sacred canopy of the Mar Thoma community, Marthomites would display higher levels of positive objective ethnic identity than Catholics. Most ethnic organizations (with exception of the Malayalee Samajam) in the Malayalee community tend to be religion centered, and as a result, association with, and participation in these types of organizations are greatly influenced by dedication to ingroup religion. Differences in Marthomite and Roman Catholic dedication to ingroup religion are reflected in this way.

TABLE 5.5 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND INDICATORS OF OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

RELIGION	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	ETA
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY					
CATHOLIC	7.1	12.6	80.3	198	
MARTHOMITE	6.2	9.2	84.6	65	0.13
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES					
CATHOLIC	37.4	50.0	12.6	206	
MARTHOMITE	0.0	6.2	93.8	65	0.72
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS					
CATHOLIC	5.8	73.8	20.4	206	
MARTHOMITE	0.0	12.9	87.1	62	0.63
ENDOGENOUS BEHAVIOR					
CATHOLIC	6.7	49.1	44.2	197	
MARTHOMITE	2.0	37.3	60.8	51	0.17
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS					
	CATHOLIC %	MARTHOMITE %	TOTAL N	ETA	
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	18.6	3.30	37	0.01	
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND	14.4	11.7	34		
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	13.3	13.3	3		
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	9.6	16.7	28		
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	11.7	10.0	28		
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	32.4	45.0	88		
TOTAL N	60	152	212		

The results from ANOVA VIII (Appendix C), suggest that Marthomites are considerably more active than Roman Catholics in their ethnic religious services. With a high ETA of 0.72 shown in Table 5.5, we see that Marthomites show significantly higher levels of positive religious ethnocentric behaviour. As previously suggested, these results may be partly attributed to the structural assimilation of Roman Catholics into Canadian society, (displayed in their large-scale entrance into mainstream Roman Catholic churches), and to the cohesive tradition of the Marthomite religious group. Whatever the intervening variables may be, the results show that 93.8% of Marthomites in the sample score high levels of ethnocentric behaviour in contrast to only 12.6% of Catholic Malayalees. This contrast in religiosity is one of our strongest findings.

In analyzing the data in Table 5.5, the expected association between participation in ethnic organizations and religious affiliation are also strongly supported. The results from ANOVA IX (Appendix C), indicate that the means for Roman Catholics and Marthomites are dissimilar in relation to their participation in ethnic organizations. Further, the MCA analysis produced a high ETA of 0.63, indicating a moderate correlation and a substantial relationship. Table 5.5 suggests that in comparing the two religious groups, Marthomites show significantly higher levels of ethnocentrism than Roman Catholics with respect to their ethnic religion.

Comparing religious affiliation and controlling for gender and generation, we see that there are significant differences between Marthomites and Catholics. Marthomite objective identity levels are high for all of the identity factors, the

strongest being participation in ethnic religious services and organizations. Conversely, Roman Catholics display moderately high objective identity levels, with distinct declines with respect to participation in ethnic religious services and organizations.

In controlling for generation, Table 5.6 shows several high ETA scores involving religious affiliation and the five objective identity factors. First generation Marthomites display significantly higher scores than first generation Catholics in two of five objective identity factors, and second generation Marthomites also rank higher than second generation Catholics in three of the five indicators.

An ETA of 0.63, (suggesting a moderate correlation, and a marked relationship) in Table 5.6, indicates that first generation Marthomites are considerably more involved and active in their religious services than first generation Roman Catholics. Most first generation Marthomites (95.5%) participate in religious services, while the same is the case for only 17.2% of first generation Roman Catholic Malayalees. With an ETA of 0.66, relationship), data in Table 5.6 also indicate that second generation Marthomites (95.5%) display considerably higher levels of religious participation than second generation Roman Catholics (6.7%). These results indicate that Marthomites have significantly higher religious identification and maintenance than Catholics.

Two substantial coefficients were also calculated in relation to religious affiliation and participation in Malayalee organizations. An ETA of 0.61, (suggesting a moderate correlation, and a marked relationship), in Table 5.6, indicates that first

TABLE 5.6 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENERATION

GENERATION	ROMAN CATHOLIC				MARTHOMITE				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY									
FIRST	0.0	1.7	98.3	117	2.1	4.3	93.6	47	0.14
SECOND	17.3	28.4	54.3	81	16.7	22.2	61.1	18	0.03
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES									
FIRST	33.6	49.1	17.2	116	0.0	4.5	95.5	44	0.63
SECOND	42.2	51.1	6.7	90	0.0	9.5	90.5	21	0.66
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
FIRST	5.2	75.7	19.1	115	0.0	9.8	90.2	41	0.61
SECOND	6.6	71.4	22.0	91	0.0	19.0	81.0	21	0.46
ENDOGENOUS BEHAVIOR									
FIRST	0.0	26.4	73.6	87	0.0	12.1	87.9	33	0.15
SECOND	14.1	74.4	11.5	78	5.6	83.3	11.1	18	0.06
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS									
	FIRST GENERATION				SECOND GENERATION				
	ROMAN CATHOLIC		MARTHOMITE		ROMAN CATHOLIC		MARTHOMITE		
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	4.7		0.0		37.0		10.5		
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND	3.7		7.3		28.4		21.1		
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	10.3		9.8		17.3		21.1		
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	10.3		17.1		8.6		15.8		
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	16.8		7.3		4.9		15.8		
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	54.2		58.5		3.7		15.8		
TOTAL N		107		41		81		19	
ETA		0.02				0.32			

generation Marthomites are considerably more involved and active in Malayalee organizations than are first generation Roman Catholics. Only 19.1% of first generation Roman Catholics show high levels of participation in ethnic organizations, while 90.2% of first generation Marthomites do.

The ETA of 0.46 Table 5.6 indicates that second generation Marthomites are considerably more active in Malayalee organizations than second generation Roman Catholics; 2.0% of second generation Catholics show high levels of participation in Malayalee organizations, in comparison to 81.0% of second generation Marthomites. Most Malayalee organizations are religion centered, therefore, a considerable amount of the variation between groups, can be tied to factors of religious commitment and identification.

Hypothesis five is partially supported by the data in relation to religious affiliation and choice of Malayalee friends. An ETA of 0.32, denotes that second generation Marthomites tend to reflect higher ingroup choice than Catholics. The data in Table 5.6 show that moderately-high levels of ingroup choice are displayed by 47.4% of second generation Marthomites, but only 17.2% of second generation Catholics show similar levels. In all cases in Table 5.6, we see that Marthomite religious affiliation is associated with significantly higher levels of religious identification and identity maintenance, than Roman Catholics. In controlling for gender, we see several high ETA scores in Table 5.7 involving religious affiliation and the five objective identity factors. Both male and female Marthomites display significantly higher scores than male and female Catholics in two of five objective

identity factors. These ETA scores in Table 5.6 show the contrasting levels of Marthomite and Catholic religious identification.

The data in Table 5.7, (ETA of 0.68), show that male Marthomites are considerably more involved and active in their religious services than male Roman Catholics. High levels of participation in religious services are displayed by 94.3% of male Marthomites, in contrast to only 12.4% of male Catholics. We also see that female Marthomites (93.3%) are much more involved in their religion than female Roman Catholics (12.1%).

Two substantial coefficients were also calculated in relation to religious affiliation and participation in Malayalee organizations. An ETA of 0.61, (suggesting a moderate correlation, and a marked relationship), in Table 5.7, indicates that male Marthomites are considerably more involved and active in Malayalee organizations than are male Roman Catholics. Only 19.5% of male Roman Catholics display high levels of participation in Malayalee organizations, in contrast, 90.3% of male Marthomites display similar levels. With an ETA of 0.51, (indicating a fair correlation, and moderate relationship), Data in Table 5.7 indicates that female Marthomites are also considerably more active Malayalee organizations than female Roman Catholics. Only 22.3% of female Catholics display high levels of participation in Malayalee organizations, 83.9% of female Marthomites show similar behaviour.

Tables 5.5 through 5.7 indicate that the statistically significant associations between religious affiliation, and the five factors of objective ethnic identity, tend to

TABLE 5.7 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENDER

GENDER	ROMAN CATHOLIC				MARTHOMITE				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY									
MALE	3.6	16.7	79.8	84	9.4	3.1	87.5	32	0.01
FEMALE	9.7	9.7	80.6	113	3.0	15.2	81.8	33	0.05
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES									
MALE	34.8	52.8	12.4	89	0.0	5.7	94.3	35	0.68
FEMALE	39.7	48.3	12.1	116	0.0	6.7	93.3	30	0.62
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
MALE	4.6	75.9	19.5	87	0.0	9.7	90.3	31	0.61
FEMALE	6.8	72.9	20.3	118	0.0	16.1	83.9	31	0.51
ENDOGAMOUS BEHAVIOR									
MALE	2.9	54.4	42.6	68	0.0	36.4	63.6	22	0.19
FEMALE	9.2	45.4	45.4	77	3.4	37.9	58.6	23	0.12
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS									
	MALE				FEMALE				
	ROMAN CATHOLIC %		MARTHOMITE %		ROMAN CATHOLIC %		MARTHOMITE %		
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	20.3		0.0		17.6		6.9		
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND	15.2		12.9		13.9		10.3		
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	8.9		12.9		16.7		13.8		
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	5.1		22.6		13.0		10.3		
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	8.9		9.7		13.9		10.3		
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	41.8		41.9		25.0		48.3		
TOTAL N	79		31		108		29		
ETA	0.14				0.18				

focus around religious dedication. Degree of religious commitment and participation, influences participation in Malayalee religious organizations, which in turn, reflects upon ingroup cohesion and choice. Tables 5.5 through 5.7 reflect that Marthomite religious affiliation is associated with higher degrees of religious dedication and commitment than Roman catholic.

There are three pertinent Beta coefficients for the association between religious affiliation and the objective factors of ethnic identity. The Beta coefficient of 0.71 in MCA 8 (Appendix D), indicates that when controlling for the other three independent variables, there is still a strong correlation between religious affiliation and participation in Malayalee religious services. A Multiple R coefficient of 0.722 for this interaction can be interpreted to suggest that there is a strong correlation between ethnocentric religious behaviour and the four independent variables. This number also suggests that a large portion of the total variance in behaviour can be associated with the variance in the independent variables (with particular emphasis on religious affiliation). The Multiple R Squared coefficient indicates 52.1% of the variance in ethnocentric religious behaviour can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables.

The Beta coefficient of 0.62 in MCA 9 (Appendix D), indicates that when controlling for the other three independent variables, there is still a moderately high correlation between religious affiliation and participation in Malayalee organizations. We can interpret the Multiple R coefficient of 0.629 to suggest that there is a moderately high correlation between participation in ethnic organizations. and the four

independent variables. Furthermore, the R also suggests that a large portion of the total variance in behaviour can be associated with the variance in the independent variables (with particular emphasis on religious affiliation). The Multiple R Squared coefficient indicates 39.5% of the variance in ethnocentric religious behaviour can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables.

While the ETA of 0.32 in Table 5.6 indicates a low correlation and a small relationship between religious affiliation and ingroup choice, the Beta coefficient of 0.04 in MCA 11 (Appendix D), indicates that when controlling for the other three independent variables, the correlation between religious affiliation and ingroup choice declines. The Multiple R coefficient of 0.263 reflects that only a very small relationship exists between ingroup choice and the four independent variables. The Multiple R Squared coefficient indicates that only 6.9% of the variance in ingroup choice of friends can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables.

Interpretations

Religious affiliation plays a substantial role in our understanding of ethnicity and ethnic identity retention/maintenance. Behavioural and attitudinal variations concerning parochial education, religion, ethnic organizations, and choice of ingroup friends, can best be understood in the context of their relationships with religious affiliation. Marthomites tend to display consistently high levels of ethnic identity, and are set apart from Roman Catholic Malayalees by the strength of their sacred canopy, and their strong sense of religious cohesion. The Marthomite community score higher than Roman Catholic Malayalees in several objective identity factors; They display

considerably higher participation in religious services and ethnic organizations, and their second generations tend to retain a greater sense of ethnic identity than second generation Catholic.

The Hansen hypothesis suggests a rebellion by the second generation, and a return to ethnicity by the third. However, the data suggest that the decline in Malayalee identity comes not through rebellion, but through acculturation. Second generation rebellion would imply a rejection of ethnic heritage, however, moderately high subjective identity among second generation Malayalees indicates that this is not the case. Therefore, that if rates of objective identity decline and acculturation continue, the third generation may not have a culture to which they can return.

Gender

Subjective Identity Factors

Hypothesis two states that females and males will display similar attitudes to the indicators of subjective ethnic identity. In Table 5.8, we see that the expected associations, between gender and the indicators of subjective ethnic identity, are largely supported. Data in Table 5.8 (the two highest ETA scores are 0.14 and 0.15) show that gender appears to have insignificant influence on subjective ethnic identity. Further interactions between gender and two independent variables (religious affiliation and generation) were analyzed. Tables 5.9 and 5.10 display the associations between gender and the six subjective identity factors, when controlling for religious affiliation and generation. The data in both tables suggest that statistically significant

differences concerning gender and subjective ethnic identity factors, are few and generally slight in nature.

In Table 5.9, high positive attitudes towards Malayalam are displayed by 51.4% of Marthomite males, and only 26.5% of Marthomite females display similar attitudes. An ETA of 0.21 indicates that a low correlation and a small relationship exists in relation to this interaction. While the statistical coefficient suggests a small correlation, it should be noted that there do not appear to be any definite patterns emerging with reference to these variables. This incongruity may be attributed, in part, to the subjective nature of the attitudinal responses.

Data in Table 5.10 show the associations between gender and the six subjective identity factors, when controlling for generation. The only statistically significant coefficient concerns the interaction between gender and attitudes towards endogamy. An ETA of 0.24 indicates that a low correlation and a small relationship exists between second generation females and males, in relation to their endogamous attitudes. The data denotes that high positive attitudes are held by 10.0% of second generation males, only slightly higher than the 5.6% of second generation females that hold similar attitudes. This statistic contradicts the assertions made in Hypothesis one. However, a possible explanation may be found with reference to the Hansen Hypothesis and a backlash effect, resulting in the extreme movement of second generation females against rigid cultural traditions of endogamy.

The Beta coefficient of 0.01 in MCA 2 (Appendix D), indicates that when controlling for the other three independent variables, the correlation between gender

TABLE 5.8 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENDER AND INDICATORS OF SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

GENDER	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	ETA
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION					
MALE	4.2	59.3	36.5	118	
FEMALE	2.1	59.3	38.6	140	0.03
ETHNIC LANGUAGE					
MALE	4.9	51.2	43.9	123	
FEMALE	3.3	56.7	40.0	150	0.02
ETHNIC RELIGION					
MALE	4.9	56.6	38.5	122	
FEMALE	4.7	59.7	35.6	149	0.02
ENDOGAMY					
MALE	7.2	61.3	31.5	111	
FEMALE	23.3	49.3	27.4	146	0.15
INGROUP FRIENDS					
MALE	1.6	62.9	35.5	124	
FEMALE	12.1	58.4	29.5	149	0.14
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS					
MALE	0.6	67.7	31.5	124	
FEMALE	1.3	68.9	29.8	151	0.02

and attitudes towards Malayalam shows a slight decline, and further, a Beta of 0.01 indicates that the correlation is insignificant. MCA 2 also calculates a Multiple R of 0.104 for this interaction, suggesting that only a slight portion of the total variance in attitudes can be associated with the variance in the independent variables. As only 1.1% of the variance in attitudes towards Malayalam can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables, the Multiple R Squared coefficient of 0.01, shows that the influence of these variables is negligible.

The Beta coefficient 0.07 in MCA 4 (Appendix D), suggests that there is a slight decline in the correlation between gender and attitudes towards endogamy, when the four independent variables are controlled for. The Multiple R coefficient of 0.528 suggests that there is a moderate correlation between endogamous attitudes and the four independent variables, however, the influence of gender in that relationship is secondary to generational factors.

Objective Identity Factors

Hypothesis six states that Malayalee females will show higher positive ethnocentric behaviour than Malayalee males in relation to the indicators of objective ethnic identity. As seen in Table 5.11, none of the suggested relationships between gender and Malayalee ethnocentric behaviour were supported by the data. The analysis shows negligible relationships with reference to all of the dependent variables.

Interactions between gender and two independent variables (generation and religious affiliation) were also analyzed. Hypothesis six is based on the idea that social pressures, cultural mores and ethnic traditions will influence females to work harder at

TABLE 5.9 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENDER AND SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

RELIGION	MALE				FEMALE				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION									
CATHOLIC	3.6	59.5	36.9	84	0.9	61.6	37.5	112	0.03
MARTHOMITE	5.9	58.8	35.3	34	7.1	50.0	42.9	28	0.05
ETHNIC LANGUAGE									
CATHOLIC	5.7	53.4	40.9	88	4.3	51.7	44.0	116	0.03
MARTHOMITE	2.9	45.7	51.4	35	0.0	73.5	26.5	34	0.21
ETHNIC RELIGION									
CATHOLIC	6.8	63.6	29.5	88	5.2	63.8	31.0	116	0.02
MARTHOMITE	0.0	38.2	61.8	34	3.0	45.5	51.5	33	0.12
ENDOGAMY									
CATHOLIC	9.8	61.0	29.3	82	24.6	50.0	25.4	114	0.13
MARTHOMITE	0.0	62.1	37.9	29	18.8	46.9	34.4	32	0.17
INGROUP FRIENDS									
CATHOLIC	1.1	62.9	36.0	89	12.2	60.0	27.8	115	0.16
MARTHOMITE	2.9	62.9	34.2	35	11.8	52.9	35.3	34	0.06
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
CATHOLIC	1.1	62.9	36.0	89	1.7	67.5	30.8	117	0.05
MARTHOMITE	0.0	80.0	20.0	35	0.0	73.5	26.5	34	0.07

ethnic identity maintenance than males, however, hypothesis six is not supported by the data. This concept is particularly significant with reference to second generation females, as they are expected to pass on cultural traditions and resist forces of assimilation. With respect to objective ethnic identity retention, second generation females do consistently rank higher than second generation males. For each indicator, high levels of ethnocentric behaviour are displayed by larger percentages of females than males, but those differences were not statistically significant. Similarly, In controlling for religious affiliation (Table 5.13), ETA coefficients ranging from 0.00 to 0.09 show that while males and females show comparable rankings in relation to every indicator, any correlations are insignificant.

Interpretation

Research into South Asian gender disparities indicate that hierarchies of sex and age are still prevalent in the home. Buchignani and Indra (1985), indicate that women are expected to pass on cultural traditions and nurture their South Asian heritage in the new land. In this respect, women are often prevented from cutting their hair, or dressing in *Canadian* clothing. These types of rigid constraints, are held in place to ensure the reproduction of Indian culture, in what is sometimes a hostile environment. (Buchignani & Indra, 1985:158). Research suggests that Westernization is often seen as a threat to gender relations in the home, as Western women are often portrayed as being promiscuous, and of low morality. These types of cultural constraints are placed upon men as well, but women (particularly young women) are the main recipients (Das Gupta, 1994:64).

TABLE 5.10 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENDER AND SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENERATION

GENERATION	MALE				FEMALE				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION									
FIRST	5.0	53.8	41.3	60	2.7	52.8	44.5	72	0.04
SECOND	2.6	71.1	26.3	38	1.5	66.2	32.4	68	0.07
ETHNIC LANGUAGE									
FIRST	6.0	47.0	47.0	83	2.5	59.0	38.5	77	0.04
SECOND	2.5	60.0	37.5	40	4.2	54.2	41.7	72	0.02
ETHNIC RELIGION									
FIRST	2.4	49.4	48.2	83	2.6	53.2	44.2	77	0.03
SECOND	10.3	71.8	17.9	39	6.9	66.7	26.4	72	0.10
ENDOGAMY									
FIRST	1.4	54.9	43.7	71	5.4	45.9	48.6	74	0.01
SECOND	17.5	72.5	10.0	40	41.7	52.8	5.6	72	0.24
INGROUP FRIENDS									
FIRST	1.2	53.6	45.2	84	2.6	60.3	37.2	78	0.09
SECOND	2.5	82.5	15.0	40	22.5	56.3	21.1	71	0.11
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
FIRST	1.2	59.5	39.3	84	0.0	65.8	34.2	79	0.04
SECOND	0.0	85.0	15.0	40	2.8	72.2	25.0	72	0.08

TABLE 5.11 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENDER AND INDICATORS OF OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

GENDER	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	ETA
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY					
MALE	5.2	31.9	62.9	116	
FEMALE	10.3	35.6	54.1	146	0.11
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES					
MALE	25.0	39.5	35.5	124	
FEMALE	31.5	39.7	28.8	146	0.08
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS					
MALE	3.4	58.5	38.1	118	
FEMALE	5.4	61.1	33.6	149	0.06
ENDOGAMOUS BEHAVIOR					
MALE	2.2	50.0	47.8	90	
FEMALE	7.9	43.7	48.4	126	0.04
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS					
		MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL N	ETA
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		14.5	15.3	37	0.07
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND		14.5	13.1	34	
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		10.0	16.1	33	
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		10.0	12.4	28	
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		9.1	13.1	28	
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		41.8	29.9	87	
TOTAL N		110	137	247	

These findings, while likely accurate in relation to the South Asian community in general, cannot, and do not reflect the reality of gender relations in the Malayalee community. While female, and particularly young females, undoubtedly feel some pressures to resist Westernization, the oppressive cultural features noted by Buchignani are not a determining factor in the Malayalee household with respect to ethnic identity. Malayalee females are encouraged to pursue higher education as are young Malayalee males, and they tend to compete both academically and economically with other Malayalees, and with the Canadian population in general. While issues of sexism and gender disparity must be addressed as aspects of Malayalee culture, these factors appear to have little influence with respect to ethnic identity. In most cases, male and female Malayalees, both first and second generation, show similar levels of both subjective and objective ethnic identity.

Hypotheses two and six were developed under the premise, that cultural pressures to resist Westernization would be directed at young females more so than young males. While this may be true, the Malayalee family's hybrid form (between Canadian and Indian culture), leaves greater room for women to acculturate to Western norms. First generation Malayalees have undergone a certain amount of assimilation themselves, as a result, cultural pressures upon second generation females have lessened considerably. Regardless of any intervening variables, ultimately, the data in this research indicate that gender is not an influential factor with respect to Malayalee identity retention.

TABLE 5.12 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENDER AND OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENERATION

GENERATION	MALE				FEMALE				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY									
FIRST	1.2	11.9	86.9	84	0.0	5.1	94.9	79	0.15
SECOND	15.6	84.4	0.0	32	22.4	71.6	6.0	67	0.01
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES									
FIRST	19.0	38.1	42.9	84	30.7	36.0	33.3	75	0.14
SECOND	37.5	42.5	20.0	40	32.4	43.7	23.9	71	0.06
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
FIRST	2.5	57.0	40.5	79	5.3	60.5	34.2	76	0.08
SECOND	5.1	61.5	33.3	39	5.5	61.6	32.9	73	0.01
ENDOGENOUS BEHAVIOR									
FIRST	0.0	29.8	70.2	57	0.0	15.9	84.1	63	0.17
SECOND	6.1	84.8	9.1	33	15.9	71.4	12.7	63	0.06
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS									
		FIRST GENERATION			SECOND GENERATION				
		MALE %	FEMALE %		MALE %	FEMALE %			
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		5.2	1.4		36.4	29.9			
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND		3.9	5.7		39.4	20.9			
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		7.8	12.9		15.2	19.4			
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		11.7	12.9		6.1	11.9			
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		13.0	15.7		0.0	10.4			
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		58.4	51.4		3.0	7.5			
TOTAL N		77	70		33	67			
ETA		0.30			0.23				

TABLE 5.13 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENDER AND OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

RELIGION	MALE				FEMALE				ETA	
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N		
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY										
CATHOLIC	3.6	16.7	79.8	84	9.7	9.7	80.6	113	0.04	
MARTHOMITE	9.4	3.1	87.5	32	3.0	15.2	81.8	33	0.00	
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES										
CATHOLIC	34.8	52.8	12.4	89	39.7	48.3	12.1	116	0.03	
MARTHOMITE	0.0	5.7	94.3	35	0.0	6.7	93.3	30	0.01	
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS										
CATHOLIC	4.6	75.9	19.5	87	6.8	72.9	20.3	118	0.01	
MARTHOMITE	0.0	9.7	90.3	31	0.0	16.1	83.9	31	0.09	
ENDOGENOUS BEHAVIOR										
CATHOLIC	3.0	54.4	42.6	68	9.3	45.4	45.4	97	0.02	
MARTHOMITE	0.0	36.4	63.6	22	3.4	37.9	58.6	29	0.07	
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS										
		ROMAN CATHOLIC				MARTHOMITE				
FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE		MALE					
		%	%		%	%				
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		20.3	17.6		0.0	6.9				
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND		15.2	13.9		12.9	10.3				
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		8.9	16.7		12.9	13.8				
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		5.1	13.0		22.6	10.3				
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		8.9	13.9		9.7	10.3				
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		41.8	25.0		41.9	48.3				
	TOTAL N	79	108		31	29				
	ETA	0.06			0.00					

Generation

Subjective Identity Factors

Hypothesis three states that first generation Malayalees will show higher positive attitudes toward subjective ethnic identity than second generation Malayalees. As seen in Table 5.14, three of the suggested relationships between generation and Malayalee attitudes were supported by the data. First generation Malayalees scored higher than second generation Malayalees on ethnic religion, endogamy, and choice of ingroup friends.

The results from ANOVA III (Appendix C), suggest that first and second generation Malayalees hold different attitudes towards ingroup religion. With an ETA of 0.25, the cross-tabulation in Table 5.14 suggests that in comparing the two generations, first generation Malayalees tend to display higher positive attitudes towards their ingroup religion. As previously suggested, this decline may be partially attributed to the instability of the Malayalee Sacred Canopy. Whatever the intervening may be, the data in Table 5.14 show that 46.6% of first generation Malayalees hold high positive attitudes towards ethnic religion, in contrast to only 23.4% of the second generation.

The data in Table 5.14 strongly supports hypothesis three. ANOVA IV (Appendix C), indicates that the means for first and second generation are not equal in relation to endogamy, and first generation attitudes towards endogamy are considerably higher than those of the second generation. An ETA coefficient of 0.52 indicates that a moderate correlation and a substantial relationship exist in relation to

generation and endogamy. The data in Table 5.14 show that while high positive attitudes towards endogamy are held by 46.6% of first generation Malayalees, only 7.1% of second generation Malayalees hold similar perspectives.

In analyzing the relationship between generation and subjective attitudes towards ingroup friends, a strong dichotomy can be drawn between generations. An ETA score of 0.31, indicates that a low correlation, but a small relationship exists in relation to endogamy and generation. Table 5.14 shows that 98.2% of first generation Malayalees display medium to high positive attitudes towards ingroup friendships, while 81.1% of second generation Malayalees in the sample display a low to medium range in similar attitudes. As with all of the statistically significant interactions noted in Table 5.14, generation is a strong indicator of attitudes towards the choice of ingroup friendships. First generation Malayalees show consistently higher positive attitudes towards their ethnicity than those of the second generation.

Second generation Malayalees find themselves between two cultural worlds. With which ethnic group do second generation Malayalees feel they belong? If second generation Malayalees equate their ethnic and cultural identity with being Malayalee, then the data would suggest that their sense of subjective Malayalee ethnicity is declining. If they identify more with Canadian culture and ethnicity, then their patterns of subjective identity will closely match those of out-group Canadians.

Interactions between Generation and two independent variables (religious affiliation and gender) were analyzed. In controlling for these two variables against

TABLE 5.14 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENERATION AND INDICATORS OF SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

GENERATION	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	ETA
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION					
FIRST	3.9	52.9	43.1	153	
SECOND	1.9	67.9	30.2	106	0.10
ETHNIC LANGUAGE					
FIRST	4.3	53.1	42.6	162	
SECOND	3.6	56.3	40.2	112	0.15
ETHNIC RELIGION					
FIRST	2.5	50.9	46.6	161	
SECOND	8.1	68.5	23.4	111	0.25
ENDOGAMY					
FIRST	3.4	50.0	46.6	146	
SECOND	33.0	59.8	7.1	112	0.52
INGROUP FRIENDS					
FIRST	1.8	56.4	41.7	163	
SECOND	15.3	65.8	18.9	111	0.31
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS					
FIRST	0.6	62.2	37.2	164	
SECOND	1.8	76.8	21.4	112	0.17

generation, the data indicate that a number of statistically significant variances exist. In controlling for religious affiliation, ETA scores ranged from 0.12 to 0.52 for attitudes towards ethnic religion, endogamy, ingroup friends and ethnic organizations.

Hypothesis three is partially supported in relation to ethnic religion. Data in Table 5.15 display an ETA of 0.27 for ethnic religion. This coefficient (indicating a low correlation, but a small relationship), suggests that second generation Roman Catholics hold lower positive attitudes towards their ethnic religion than the first generation. Of first generation Catholics, 40.5% display high positive attitudes towards ingroup religion, and only 18.0% of the second generation reflect similar attitudes.

Table 5.15 displays two substantial coefficients in relation to endogamy. An ETA of 0.52, indicates that there is a considerable disparity between Roman Catholic generations. Of first generation Catholics, 44.9% hold high positive attitudes towards endogamy, and only 6.7% of the second generation feel the same. Further, with an ETA of 0.47, data in Table 5.15 suggest that for endogamy, second generation Marthomites also display considerably lower scores than first generation Marthomites. Of first generation Marthomites, 51.3% hold high positive attitudes towards endogamy, second generation Marthomites are considerably lower with only 9.1% holding similar attitudes.

For the interactions involving ingroup friends, hypothesis three is supported by two significant coefficients. An ETA of 0.26 in Table 5.15, indicates that for attitudes towards ingroup friendships, second generation Marthomites display lower

TABLE 5.15 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENERATION AND SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

RELIGION	FIRST GENERATION				SECOND GENERATION				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION									
CATHOLIC	2.8	52.8	44.4	108	1.1	69.7	29.2	89	0.13
MARTHOMITE	6.7	53.3	40.0	45	5.9	58.8	35.3	17	0.02
ETHNIC LANGUAGE									
CATHOLIC	5.2	52.2	42.6	115	4.4	53.3	42.2	90	0.00
MARTHOMITE	2.1	55.3	42.6	47	0.0	68.2	31.8	22	0.07
ETHNIC RELIGION									
CATHOLIC	2.6	56.9	40.5	116	10.1	71.9	18.0	89	0.27
MARTHOMITE	2.2	35.6	62.2	45	0.0	54.5	45.5	22	0.12
ENDOGAMY									
CATHOLIC	3.7	51.4	44.9	107	35.6	57.8	6.7	90	0.52
MARTHOMITE	2.6	46.2	51.3	39	22.7	68.2	9.1	22	0.47
INGROUP FRIENDS									
CATHOLIC	0.9	57.8	41.4	116	15.7	65.2	19.1	89	0.32
MARTHOMITE	4.3	53.2	42.6	47	13.6	68.2	18.2	22	0.26
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
CATHOLIC	0.9	59.8	39.3	117	2.2	72.2	25.6	90	0.15
MARTHOMITE	0.0	68.1	31.9	47	0.0	95.5	4.5	22	0.30

scores than first generation Marthomites. Of first generation Marthomites, 42.6% hold high positive attitudes towards ingroup friends, second generation Marthomites are considerably lower with only 18.2% holding similar attitudes. Furthermore, with an ETA of 0.32, data in Table 5.15 show that for ingroup friends, second generation Catholics also display considerably lower scores than the first generation. Of first generation Catholics, 41.4% hold high positive attitudes towards ingroup friendships, but only 19.1% of second generation Catholics hold similar views.

For the interactions involving ethnic organizations, hypothesis three is only partially supported by an ETA of 0.30. The data in Table 5.15 indicate that for attitudes towards ingroup organizations, second generation Marthomites display lower scores than first generation Marthomites. While 31.9% of first generation Marthomites hold high positive attitudes towards ethnic organizations, second generation Marthomites are considerably lower with only 4.5% holding similar attitudes.

In controlling for gender, Table 5.16 displays several significant ETA coefficients (ranging from 0.23 to 0.56) for attitudes towards ethnic religion, endogamy, ingroup friends and ethnic organizations. The data indicate that second generation males and females score consistently lower than first generations. These results clarify the data in Table 5.14, by showing that the generational decline noted in the aforementioned table, is not skewed by any large gender differences.

Hypothesis seven is partially supported in relation to ethnic religion. Data in Table 5.16 show an ETA of 0.31 for ethnic religion. This suggests that second

generation males hold lower positive attitudes towards their ethnic religion than the first generation males. Of first generation males, 48.2% display high positive attitudes towards ingroup religion, and only 17.9% of the second generation reflect similar attitudes.

Table 5.16 displays two substantial coefficients in relation to endogamy. An ETA of 0.42 indicates that there is a considerable disparity between male generations. Of First generation males, 43.7% hold high positive attitudes towards endogamy, and only 10.0% of the second generation feel the same. Furthermore, with an ETA of 0.56, data in Table 5.16 suggest that for endogamy, second generation females display considerably lower scores than first generation females. Of first generation females, 48.6% hold high positive attitudes towards endogamy, while the scores for second generation females are considerably lower with only 5.6% holding similar attitudes.

For the interactions involving ingroup friends, hypothesis seven is supported by two significant coefficients. In Table 5.16, an ETA of 0.29 shows that for attitudes towards ingroup friendships, second generation Females display lower scores than first generation females. While 37.2% of first generation females hold high positive attitudes towards ingroup friendships, only 21.1% of second generation hold similar attitudes. Furthermore, with an ETA of 0.29, data in Table 5.16 show that for ingroup friends, second generation males also display considerably lower scores than the first generation. Of first generation males, 45.2% hold high positive attitudes towards ingroup friendships, and only 15.0% of second generation males hold similar views.

TABLE 5.16 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENERATION AND SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENDER

GENDER	FIRST GENERATION				SECOND GENERATION				
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	ETA
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION									
MALE	5.0	53.8	41.3	80	2.6	71.1	26.3	38	0.11
FEMALE	2.8	52.8	44.4	72	1.5	66.2	32.4	68	0.10
ETHNIC LANGUAGE									
MALE	6.0	47.0	47.0	83	2.5	60.0	37.5	40	0.05
FEMALE	2.6	59.0	38.4	78	4.2	54.2	41.7	72	0.01
ETHNIC RELIGION									
MALE	2.4	49.4	48.2	83	10.3	71.8	17.9	39	0.31
FEMALE	2.6	53.2	44.2	77	6.9	66.7	26.4	72	0.19
ENDO GAMY									
MALE	1.4	54.9	43.7	71	17.5	72.5	10.0	40	0.42
FEMALE	5.4	45.9	48.6	74	41.7	52.8	5.6	72	0.56
INGROUP FRIENDS									
MALE	1.2	53.6	45.2	84	2.5	82.5	15.0	40	0.29
FEMALE	2.6	60.3	37.2	78	22.5	56.3	21.1	71	0.29
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
MALE	1.2	59.5	39.3	84	0.0	85.0	15.0	40	0.23
FEMALE	0.0	65.8	34.2	79	2.8	72.2	25.0	72	0.12

For the interactions involving ethnic organizations, hypothesis seven is only partially supported by an ETA of 0.23. The data in Table 5.16 indicate that for attitudes towards ingroup organizations, second generation males display slightly lower scores than first generation males. Of first generation males, 39.3% hold high positive attitudes towards ethnic organizations, only 15.0% of second generation hold similar attitudes.

There are four pertinent Beta coefficients for the association between generation and the factors of subjective ethnic identity. Three indicate slight to low correlations, only the Beta concerning endogamy, suggests a moderate to substantial relationship. The Beta coefficients of 0.30 in MCA 3, 0.37 in MCA 5 and 0.25 in MCA 6 (Appendix D), all indicate that when controlling for all independent variables, a low correlation exists between ethnic religion, ingroup friends, ethnic organizations and generation. Similarly, the Multiple R coefficients of 0.392 in MCA 3, 0.355 in MCA 5, and 0.260 in MCA 6, all further the assertion that a small proportion of the variance in these subjective indicators can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables.

The Beta coefficient of 0.47 in MCA 4 (Appendix D), indicates that when controlling for the other three independent variables, a moderately high relationship continues to exist between generation and attitudes towards endogamy. Further, we can interpret the Multiple R coefficient of 0.528 to suggest that there is a moderately high correlation for the same interaction. The Multiple R Squared coefficient indicates that 27.9% of the variance in attitudes towards endogamy can be associated with the

TABLE 5.17 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENERATION AND INDICATORS OF OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

GENERATION	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	ETA
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY					
FIRST	0.6	8.5	90.9	164	
SECOND	20.2	75.8	4.0	99	0.81
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES					
FIRST	24.4	36.9	38.8	160	
SECOND	34.2	43.2	22.5	111	0.17
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS					
FIRST	3.8	58.3	37.8	156	
SECOND	5.4	61.6	33.0	112	0.06
ENDOGENOUS BEHAVIOR					
FIRST	0.0	22.5	77.5	120	
SECOND	12.5	76.0	11.5	96	0.65
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS					
		GENERATION 1 %	GENERATION 2 %	TOTAL N	ETA
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		3.4	32.0	37	0.64
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND		4.7	27.0	34	
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		10.1	18.0	33	
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		12.2	10.0	28	
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		14.2	7.0	28	
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		55.4	6.0	88	
TOTAL N		148	100	248	

variance in the four independent variables (with emphasis on generation).

Objective Identity Indicators

Hypothesis seven states that first generation Malayalees will show higher positive ethnocentric behaviour than second generation Malayalees with respect to the indicators of objective ethnic identity. As seen in Table 5.17, three of the suggested relationships between generation and Malayalee behaviour are supported by the data. The expected associations between language proficiency, endogamous behaviour, choice of ingroup friends, and independent variable generation, are highly significant.

Hypothesis seven is strongly supported by a majority of the statistical tests. The results from ANOVA VIII (Appendix C), suggest that the mean ability of first generation Malayalees to use Malayalam is significantly different than that of second generation Malayalees. A very high ETA of 0.81, (suggesting a strong correlation and a marked relationship), denotes that second generation Malayalees have considerably lower proficiency in Malayalam than first generation. For example, the data in Table 5.17 indicates that high levels of ethnic language proficiency are displayed by 90.9% of the first generation, while only 4.0 % of second generation Malayalees display similar levels. Hypothesis seven is further supported by a high ETA of 0.65 in Table 5.17 as a moderate correlation and a substantial relationship are indicated to exist between generation and endogamous behaviour. The data in Table 5.17 show that high levels of endogamous behaviour are displayed by 77.5% of first generation Malayalees, and only 11.5% of second generation Malayalees display similar behaviour.

A substantial coefficient is calculated in relation to generation and choice of ingroup friends. An ETA of 0.64 in Table 5.17, indicates that first generation Malayalees are considerably more disposed to ingroup friendships than are second generation Malayalees. This indicator measures what percentage of an individual's five closest friends are drawn from within the Malayalee community. The data in Table 5.17 indicates that 55.4% of first generation Malayalees list other Malayalees as their five closest friends, only 6.0% of second generation Malayalees make the same assertion.

In controlling for religious affiliation, Table 5.18 displays several high ETA coefficients for the cross-tabulations involving generation and the five objective identity factors. Once again, the suggested relationship between generation and Malayalee behaviour is supported by the data, as associations between language proficiency, endogamous behaviour, choice of ingroup friends, and generation produced highly significant coefficients. However, while only the interactions involving the three aforementioned indicators proved to be statistically significant, first generation Malayalees consistently ranked higher than second generation Malayalees in all categories. Six strong coefficients were calculated in relation to generation and behaviour when controlling for religious affiliation.

Two substantial coefficients were calculated in relation to generation and ethnic language proficiency when controlling for religious affiliation. ETA coefficients of 0.38 and 0.51, (suggesting moderate correlations, and marked relationships) were calculated for Marthomites and Catholics respectively. Data in Table 5.18, indicate that first generation Marthomites are considerably more proficient

TABLE 5.18 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENERATION AND OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

RELIGION	FIRST GENERATION				SECOND GENERATION				ETA
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY									
CATHOLIC	0.0	1.7	98.3	117	17.3	28.4	54.3	81	0.51
MARTHOMITE	2.1	4.2	93.6	47	16.7	22.2	61.1	18	0.38
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES									
CATHOLIC	33.6	49.1	17.2	116	42.2	51.1	6.7	90	0.14
MARTHOMITE	0.0	4.5	95.5	44	0.0	9.5	90.5	21	0.09
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
CATHOLIC	5.2	75.5	19.1	115	6.6	71.4	22.0	91	0.01
MARTHOMITE	0.0	9.8	90.2	41	0.0	19.0	81.0	21	0.13
ENDOGENOUS BEHAVIOR									
CATHOLIC	0.0	26.4	73.6	87	14.1	74.4	11.5	78	0.62
MARTHOMITE	0.0	12.1	87.9	33	5.6	83.3	11.1	18	0.74
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS									
	ROMAN CATHOLIC				MARTHOMITE				
		FIRST GEN	SECOND GEN		FIRST GEN	SECOND GEN			
		%	%		%	%			
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		4.7	37.0		0.0	10.5			
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND		3.7	28.4		7.3	21.1			
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		10.3	17.3		9.8	21.1			
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		10.3	8.6		17.1	15.8			
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		16.8	4.9		7.3	15.8			
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		54.2	3.7		58.5	15.8			
TOTAL N		107	81		41	19			
ETA		0.68			0.43				

in Malayalam than second generation Marthomites. High levels of ethnic language proficiency are displayed by 93.6% of first generation Marthomites, in contrast, 61.1% of second generation Marthomites display similar levels. In relation to the Roman Catholic Malayalee community, data in Table 5.18 indicate that 98.3% of first generation Malayalees display high language proficiency, and only 54.3% of the second generation are as proficient.

Two strong coefficients were also calculated in relation to generation and endogamous behaviour when controlling for religious affiliation. An ETA of 0.62 in Table 5.18, indicates that first generation Roman Catholics are considerably more endogamous than second generation Roman Catholics. Statistics suggest that 73.6% of first generation Catholics display high levels of endogamy, while only 11.5% of the second generation display similar results. Analogously, an ETA of 0.74 suggests that first generation Marthomites are considerably more endogamous than the second generation. Of the first generation, 87.9% show high endogamous behaviour, in contrast to only 11.1% of the second generation, in this respect, rates and degrees of generational decline appear to be similar in both groups.

Two coefficients are also calculated in relation to generation and choice of ingroup friends. ETA coefficients of 0.68 and 0.43 were calculated for Catholics and Marthomites respectively. The data in Table 5.18 indicate that 54.2% of first generation Roman Catholics list other Malayalees as their five closest friends, in contrast to only 3.7% of second generation Roman Catholics that do the same. An analysis of the Marthomite community yields similar results. While 58.5% of first

generation Marthomites list other Malayalees as their five closest friends, only 15.8% of second generation Marthomites make the same assertion.

In controlling for gender, Table 5.19 displays several high ETA coefficients for the cross-tabulations involving generation and the five objective identity factors. Associations between language proficiency, endogamous behaviour, choice of ingroup friends, and independent variable generation produced highly significant coefficients once again. Six strong coefficients were calculated in relation to generation and behaviour when controlling for gender.

Two substantial coefficients were calculated in relation to generation and ethnic language proficiency. ETA coefficients of 0.77 and 0.82 (both suggesting moderate correlations, and marked relationships), were calculated for males and females respectively. Data in Table 5.19, indicate that first generation males are considerably more proficient in Malayalam than second generation males. High levels of ethnic language proficiency are displayed by 86.9% of first generation males, in contrast, no second generation males display high proficiency in Malayalam. Table 5.19 indicates that 94.9% of first generation females display high language proficiency, and only 6.0% of the second generation display similar levels. In this respect, males and females are very similar.

Two strong coefficients were also calculated for generation and endogamy. An ETA of 0.60, (suggesting a moderate correlation, and a substantial relationship), in Table 5.19, indicates that first generation males are considerably more endogamous

TABLE 5.19 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN GENERATION AND OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENDER

GENDER	FIRST GENERATION				SECOND GENERATION				
	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	ETA
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY									
MALE	1.2	11.9	86.9	84	15.6	84.4	0.0	32	0.77
FEMALE	0.0	5.1	94.9	79	22.4	71.6	6.0	67	0.82
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES									
MALE	19.0	38.1	42.9	84	37.5	42.5	20.0	40	0.25
FEMALE	30.7	36.0	33.3	75	32.4	43.7	23.9	71	0.07
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS									
MALE	2.5	57.0	40.5	79	5.1	61.5	33.3	39	0.08
FEMALE	5.3	60.5	34.2	76	5.5	61.6	32.9	73	0.01
ENDOGENOUS BEHAVIOR									
MALE	0.0	29.8	70.2	57	6.1	84.8	9.1	33	0.60
FEMALE	0.0	15.9	84.1	63	15.9	71.4	12.7	63	0.69
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS									
		MALE			FEMALE				
		FIRST GEN	SECOND GEN		FIRST GEN	SECOND GEN			
		%	%		%	%			
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		5.2	36.4		1.4	29.9			
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND		3.9	39.4		5.7	20.9			
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		7.8	15.2		12.9	19.4			
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		11.7	6.1		12.9	11.9			
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		13.0	0.0		15.7	10.4			
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS		58.4	3.0		51.4	7.5			
TOTAL <i>N</i>		77	33		70	67			
ETA		0.70			0.58				

than second generation males. High levels of endogamy are displayed by 70.2% of the first generation, while only 9.1% of the second generation display similar results. An ETA of 0.69 suggests that the generational decline noted in males is paralleled in the female population as well. This assertion is substantiated in that 84.1% of the first generation show high endogamous behaviour, as opposed to only 12.7% of second generation females.

We also calculated the relationship between generation and choice of ingroup friends. ETA coefficients of 0.70 and 0.58, (suggesting moderate correlations, and marked relationships), were calculated for males and females respectively. The data in Table 5.19 indicate that 58.4% of first generation males list other Malayalees as their five closest friends, in contrast, only 3.0% of second generation males do the same. A similar analysis of the female population yields very similar results. While 51.4% of first generation females list other Malayalees as their five closest friends, only 7.5% of second generation females make the same assertion.

Three significant Beta coefficients for the association between generation and the factors of objective ethnic identity were calculated. The Beta coefficients of 0.82 in MCA 7, and 0.67 in MCA 10 (Appendix D), both indicate that when controlling for all independent variables, a moderate correlation continues to exist between ethnic language proficiency, endogamous behaviour and generation. Similarly, the Multiple R coefficients of 0.784 in MCA 7, 0.665 in MCA 10, both show that a relatively large proportion of the variance in these objective indicators can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables: More specifically, a

Multiple R Squared coefficient of 0.670 in MCA 7, indicates that 67.0% of the variance in ethnic language proficiency can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables (particularly generation). A Multiple R Squared coefficient of 0.437 indicates that 43.7% of the variance in endogamous behaviour can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables, and once again, generation is particularly influential.

The Beta coefficient of 0.71 in MCA 11 (Appendix D), indicates that when controlling for the other three independent variables, the correlation between generation and choice of ingroup friends rises dramatically. We can interpret the Multiple R coefficient of 0.665 to suggest that there is a high correlation between choice of ingroup friends and the four independent variables. The Multiple R Squared coefficient indicates that 44.2% of the variance in choice of ingroup friendships can be associated with the variance in the four independent variables, and again, generation is of paramount importance here.

Interpretations

Some of the literature written in the area of ethnic identity retention has been associated with the Hansen Hypothesis. According to this concept, second generations will rebel against the ethnic heritage of their parents, and the subsequent generation will return to it with some form of ethnic resurgence (Isajiw, 1990:38). This hypothesis has been tested in several studies with varying results. However, in one of the first such studies, Gans (1956) observed that even if the third generation had an ethnic resurgence of sorts, it was not the same type of traditional ethnic culture that

TABLE 5.20 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN DURATION OF STAY AND INDICATORS OF SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

DURATION	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL <i>N</i>	ETA
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION					
SHORT (0-10)	3.4	48.3	48.3	29	0.09
MED (11-25)	2.2	60.0	37.8	180	
LONG (26-51)	6.1	61.2	32.7	49	
ETHNIC LANGUAGE					
SHORT (0-10)	10.0	36.7	53.3	30	0.06
MED (11-25)	2.7	56.3	41.0	188	
LONG (26-51)	3.8	60.4	35.8	53	
ETHNIC RELIGION					
SHORT (0-10)	6.5	38.7	54.8	31	0.10
MED (11-25)	4.3	61.6	34.1	185	
LONG (26-51)	5.7	58.5	35.8	53	
ENDOGAMY					
SHORT (0-10)	10.3	37.9	51.7	29	0.24
MED (11-25)	20.2	57.9	21.9	178	
LONG (26-51)	6.3	54.2	39.6	48	
INGROUP FRIENDS					
SHORT (0-10)	0.0	67.7	32.3	31	0.06
MED (11-25)	8.0	58.3	33.7	187	
LONG (26-51)	9.4	62.3	28.3	53	
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS					
SHORT (0-10)	3.2	71.0	25.8	31	0.05
MED (11-25)	1.1	67.7	31.2	189	
LONG (26-51)	0.0	69.8	30.2	53	

was practiced by the first generation. Levels of ethnocentrism among the third generation are sure to be lower than that of the first (Isajiw, 1990:39). Studies have shown that while some members of the second generation may rebel against their ethnic heritage, they are often the minority. Also, other studies suggest that while the second generation may rebel in some ways, they tend to remain ethnic in others (Isajiw, 1990:39).

The data in this research do not tend to support the Hansen hypothesis, even though a serious decline in Malayalee ethnic identity is indicated. Second generation Malayalees have not rebelled against their culture or their heritage, in fact, they indicate surprisingly comparable levels of subjective identity to those of the first generation. The fact that subjective and objective attitudes are so divergent among the second generation lead to the conclusion, that while second generation Malayalees have relatively positive attitudes towards their ethnicity, forces of assimilation and acculturation still influence their behaviour toward Canadian norms.

Duration of Stay

Subjective Identity Factors

Hypothesis four states that there will be a negative association between duration of stay and subjective ethnic identity. The data in Table 5.20, shows that the expected associations between respondent's duration of stay and subjective ethnic identity are largely unsupported. In fact, the coefficient concerning duration of stay and attitudes toward ingroup friends is the only significant statistic in Table 5.20.

TABLE 5.21 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN DURATION OF STAY AND SUBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENERATION

POSITIVE ATTITUDES	FIRST GENERATION				SECOND GENERATION			
	SHORT %	MED %	LONG %	ETA	SHORT %	MED %	LONG %	ETA
PAROCHIAL EDUCATION								
LOW	3.4	3.7	4.9	0.09	0.0	1.0	12.5	0.16
MEDIUM	48.3	51.2	58.5		0.0	67.3	75.0	
HIGH	48.3	45.1	36.6		0.0	31.6	12.5	
TOTAL N	29	82	41		0	98	8	
ETHNIC LANGUAGE								
LOW	10.0	3.5	0.0	0.05	0.0	2.0	20.0	0.20
MEDIUM	36.7	57.0	60.5		0.0	55.9	60.0	
HIGH	53.3	39.5	39.5		0.0	42.1	20.0	
TOTAL N	30	86	43		0	102	10	
ETHNIC RELIGION								
LOW	6.5	2.4	0.0	0.04	0.0	5.9	30.0	0.20
MEDIUM	38.7	52.4	58.1		0.0	69.3	60.0	
HIGH	54.8	45.2	41.9		0.0	24.8	10.0	
TOTAL N	31	84	43		0	101	10	
ENDOGAMY								
LOW	10.3	1.3	2.6	0.04	0.0	34.0	22.2	0.02
MEDIUM	37.9	57.3	48.7		0.0	58.3	77.8	
HIGH	51.7	41.3	48.7		0.0	7.8	0.0	
TOTAL N	29	75	39		0	103	9	
INGROUP FRIENDS								
LOW	0.0	1.2	4.7	0.16	0.0	13.9	30.0	0.18
MEDIUM	87.7	50.0	60.5		0.0	65.3	70.0	
HIGH	32.3	48.8	34.9		0.0	20.8	0.0	
TOTAL N	31	86	43		0	101	10	
ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS								
LOW	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.14	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.14
MEDIUM	71.0	59.8	62.8		0.0	74.5	100.0	
HIGH	25.8	40.2	37.2		0.0	23.5	0.0	
TOTAL N	31	87	43		0	102	10	

Theoretically, duration of stay should be a strong indicator of either ethnic identity maintenance or decline. The lack of significant results in this research with respect to duration of stay, may be attributed to the large number of second generation Malayalees occupying the medium grouping, thereby skewing the data. Of interest however, is the consistent decline in high positive attitudes over duration of stay, when the medium duration category is omitted. More generations need to be examined, the limitations of this sample do not allow for adequate analysis of this issue.

In controlling for generation, Table 5.21 displays two significant ETA coefficients. For the cross-tabulations involving generation and the five objective identity factors, the associations concerning ethnic language and ethnic religion both produced small ETA coefficients of 0.20. The ETA would seem to suggest that first generation Malayalees display higher levels of long term identity maintenance with reference to both ethnic language and religion.

The data in Table 5.21 indicate that a trend does occur within the second generation category. Second generation Malayalees that are associated with long durations of stay display lower levels of subjective identity than those with medium durations of stay. With reference to each indicator, higher levels of subjective ethnicity are displayed by Malayalees associated with medium durations of stay than those associated with long durations of stay.

Objective Identity Factors

Hypothesis eight states that there will be a negative association between duration of stay and the indicators of objective ethnic identity. This hypothesis is

TABLE 5.22 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN DURATION OF STAY AND INDICATORS OF OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

DURATION	LOW %	MED %	HIGH %	TOTAL N	ETA
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY					
SHORT (0-10)	0.0	22.6	77.4	31	0.31
MED (11-25)	11.3	41.8	46.9	177	
LONG (26-51)	1.9	15.4	82.7	52	
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES					
SHORT (0-10)	30.0	46.7	23.3	30	0.10
MED (11-25)	26.3	39.2	34.4	186	
LONG (26-51)	36.5	38.5	25.0	52	
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS					
SHORT (0-10)	6.7	60.0	33.3	30	0.14
MED (11-25)	3.3	57.6	39.1	184	
LONG (26-51)	7.8	68.6	23.6	51	
ENDOGENOUS BEHAVIOR					
SHORT (0-10)	0.0	28.0	72.0	25	0.24
MED (11-25)	7.3	52.3	40.4	151	
LONG (26-51)	2.6	36.8	60.5	38	
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS					
	SHORT %	MEDIUM %	LONG %	TOTAL N	ETA
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	6.9	17.3	12.2	37	0.11
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND	13.8	15.5	8.2	34	
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	10.3	13.7	14.3	33	
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	6.9	8.9	22.4	28	
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	17.2	9.5	14.3	28	
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	44.8	35.1	28.6	86	
TOTAL N	29	168	49	246	

based on the theoretical concept that the longer one lives in a given area, the more that individual is likely to adopt some of the attitudes, behavioural patterns and norms of that society. However, as seen in Table 5.22, none of the suggested relationships are supported by the data. While ANOVA VI and IX do support the existence of a variance between the means of at least two of the groups, Table 5.22 does not suggest a directional relationships compatible with the proposed hypothesis.

Interpretations

The small relationships noted between ethnic language proficiency, endogamous behaviour and duration of stay, are spurious at best. A visual analysis of the table suggests that the statistical significance surrounding these interactions stems from the fact that nearly all second generation Malayalees are found within the grouping of 11-25 years duration of stay. Since 15 years of age was the cut-off point for participants, there are no second generation Malayalees within the first grouping. Furthermore, since Malayalee immigration did not begin enmass until the early seventies, there will be very few second generation Malayalees within the third grouping of 26-51 years duration of stay. This issue is problematic due to the relatively small sample size of this research. As with the other independent variables, controlling for intervening variables may provide needed interpretive data, but the size of the sample population will draw the statistical significance of that data into question.

In controlling for generation, Table 5.23 displays no statistically significant interactions. Keeping the spurious nature of this data in mind, it should also be

TABLE 5.23 THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN DURATION OF STAY AND OBJECTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY WHEN CONTROLLING FOR GENERATION

POSITIVE BEHAVIOUR	FIRST GENERATION				SECOND GENERATION			
	SHORT %	MED %	LONG %	ETA	SHORT %	MED %	LONG %	ETA
ETHNIC LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY								
LOW	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.21	0.0	21.1	11.1	0.11
MEDIUM	22.6	6.9	2.3		0.0	75.6	77.8	
HIGH	77.4	92.0	97.7		0.0	3.3	11.1	
TOTAL N	31	87	43		0	90	9	
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC RELIGIOUS SERVICES								
LOW	30.0	16.5	38.1	0.28	0.0	34.7	30.0	0.05
MEDIUM	46.7	34.1	38.1		0.0	43.6	40.0	
HIGH	23.3	49.4	23.8		0.0	21.8	30.0	
TOTAL N	30	85	42		0	101	10	
PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS								
LOW	6.7	1.2	7.3	0.24	0.0	4.9	10.0	0.04
MEDIUM	60.0	52.4	70.7		0.0	61.8	60.0	
HIGH	33.3	46.3	22.0		0.0	33.3	30.0	
TOTAL N	30	82	41		0	102	10	
ENDOGAMOUS BEHAVIOUR								
LOW	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.07	0.0	12.5	12.5	0.07
MEDIUM	28.0	20.6	23.3		0.0	75.0	87.5	
HIGH	72.0	79.4	76.7		0.0	12.5	0.0	
TOTAL N	25	63	30		0	88	8	
CHOICE OF INGROUP FRIENDS								
0 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	6.9	1.3	5.1	0.28	0.0	31.1	40.0	0.09
1 MALAYALEE FRIEND	13.8	2.6	2.6		0.0	26.7	30.0	
2 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	10.3	7.7	15.4		0.0	18.9	10.0	
3 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	6.9	9.0	23.1		0.0	8.9	20.0	
4 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	17.2	11.5	17.9		0.0	7.6	0.0	
5 MALAYALEE FRIENDS	44.8	67.9	35.9		0.0	6.7	0.0	
TOTAL N	29	78	39		0	90	10	

mentioned that a trend similar to the one noted in Table 5.21 does occur within the second generation category. Second generation Malayalees that are associated with long durations of stay, display lower levels of objective identity than those associated with medium duration of stay. Also, the same trend is noted in the first generation category, between short and long durations of stay. These trends cannot be statistically supported given the limitations of this data set in relation to duration of stay, therefore, further investigation with a larger sample size is definitely warranted.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The main purpose of this study is twofold; to examine levels and patterns of ethnic identity retention within Toronto's Malayalee community, and to investigate whether a dichotomy can be drawn between subjective and objective ethnic identity. Furthermore, we examined how religious affiliation, gender, generation and duration of stay were associated with those aspects of ethnic identity maintenance.

In researching ethnicity and ethnic identity maintenance, Driedger's conformity Pluralist Model was used to develop our conceptual frame. Theoretically, Malayalees in different stages of development and natural adaptation to Canadian society will fit into various cells of the Driedger model. For example, newly arriving Malayalee immigrants are sure to fit into Cell E of the model, and second generation Malayalees would tend to occupy Cell D. One of our major concerns in this research, is whether the second generation react to their marginalization by strengthening ingroup bonds (moving towards cell E), or by abandoning their ethnic heritage in the hopes of greater acceptance within Canadian society. Theoretically, visible minorities by virtue of their physical differences alone, should be unable to cross beyond the barriers of Cell D, however, future generations of Malayalees may find themselves transcending racial boundaries and evolving into Cell C of the Driedger model.

Identity is central to an understanding of ethnic boundary maintenance and movement throughout the Conformity-Pluralist model. As ethnics are assimilated or acculturated towards conformity with a core group, changes in cultural features and characteristics may signal shifts in ethnic boundaries. In relation to forms of ethnic identity, a review of the literature suggests two contradicting theories that may denote the direction of such shifts. The first proposes that a sense of group belonging is the only component necessary for the continuance of ingroup identity; the second maintains that symbolic and subjective identity alone are nothing more than a minimization of ethnic culture and a fall back to an ethnicity of last resort.

The study focuses on the maintenance of Malayalee ethnicity over two generations in Canada. Eight hypotheses were developed in order to specifically address the dichotomy between objective and subjective Malayalee ethnic identity. An analysis of the data gathered from the sample of Malayalee-Canadians in the GTA resulted in partial support for several of the hypotheses, however, the level of associations and relationships were generally substantial. As expected, a strong dichotomy exists between subjective and objective ethnic identity, and a definite trend exists with respect to the two most influential independent variables, religious affiliation and generation.

Second generation attitudes towards their ethnic group were not significantly different from those of the first generation. Other than attitudes towards endogamy (ETA 0.52), all other coefficients revealed either insignificant or low correlations. However, first generation Malayalees show substantially higher levels of objective

identity than the second generation with respect to ethnic language proficiency, endogamous behaviour and choice of ingroup friends. These results indicate that while both generations tend to share similar symbolic and subjective attitudes towards their ethnicity, second generation Malayalee behaviour reflects little ingroup cohesion.

Religious affiliation was also found to be an important variable in analyzing Malayalee ethnic identity retention. Hypothesis one was partially supported and hypothesis two was substantially supported by the data. In relation to subjective identity, other than ethnic religion (ETA 0.25), all coefficients were insignificant. However, Marthomites display substantially higher levels of objective identity than Roman Catholic Malayalees with respect to participation in ethnic religious services and organizations. The unexpectedly high participation in ethnic organizations was attributed to their religious nature.

As aforementioned, levels of subjective ethnic identity may be attributed to nothing more than a feeling or a symbolic connection to one's heritage. Statistical coefficients generated through the MCA analysis suggest that of the variance found in the indicators of subjective ethnic identity, only a slight percentage can be attributed to the variance in the independent variables. Previous studies have used indicators of objective ethnic identity as control variables to better understand subjective attitudes, but this research has determined that the arbitrary nature of subjective identity makes such analysis difficult at best.

Conclusions

The Malayalee community is very unique within the framework of Riesman's Ideal Ethnic Types. First generation Malayalee immigrants can be understood in terms of Riesman's model, dependent upon their durations of stay and rates of acculturation. The second generation however, is harder to place within the model as they tend to fit somewhere between the marginalized and the middleperson ethnic types.

While the second generation does tend to be marginalized in terms of their cultural position between two world, they also manage to compete relatively well in the economic fray. As noted by Mangalam, Malayalees are not typified by pools of unemployment, rather, they are a very successful immigrant group that value education, and promote economic competition within the industrial core (Cell A). Although economically successful, second generation Malayalees do not fit into the ethnic model of the Middleperson. They are socially and psychologically motivated by the norms and networks of Canadian society rather than those of their ethnic group. It is this connection to Canadian culture, and their apparent inability to separate their economic and social lives, that leaves the second generation with such a precarious sense of nomos. If a definition is required, then they must be understood as a Marginalized-Middlepeople.

Second generation Malayalees enter the industrial core without a secure grounding in their ethnic reference group. As we have considered the importance of the sacred canopy in protecting a sense of ethnic Gemeinschaft, we must reflect that the Malayalee canopy's relative state of disrepair, results in a type of 'partial culture'

that cannot instill ethnic grounding and identification. Of the four major stakes in the sacred canopy, spatial proximity (territory) is of prime importance in this phenomena. Malayalee dispersal throughout the GTA does not allow the second generation to establish any sense of *Gemeinschaft* with their ethnic community. The Malayalee canopy provides little insulation from the pressures and influence of the surrounding society, so although economically prosperous, second generation Malayalees are an ethnic group in the midst of decline, and this decline is reflected in their patterns of identity maintenance.

Isajiw and Edwards in their discussions on ethnicity assert that symbolic ethnicity, in its non-obtrusive and private nature, may come to anchor Malayalee ethnicity for future generations, since it can be maintained indefinitely at little cost. This interpretation however, does not look at the reality of ethnic degradation and decline. An ethnic group that devalues or minimizes the importance of culture, tradition and ritual within their ethnic milieu, relegates their sense of ethnicity and we-ness to a type of residual ethnicity. A firm dichotomy must be drawn between the objective and subjective forms of Malayalee ethnicity.

The assertion that the persistence of ethnic identity is not necessarily related to the persistence of traditional ethnic culture, seems particularly relevant for Malayalees in the GTA. Hybrid forms of ethnicity have formed within the Malayalee community in relation to both generations. With specific reference to the Marginalized-Middlepeople of the second generation, the data in this research clearly indicates that these Malayalees show similar levels of subjective identity to their parents, but

considerably lower levels of objective identity. This transition indicates the move of the second generation towards new forms of ideological-symbolic ethnicity. Contrary to the research conducted by Isajiw and Edwards, this study shows that objective ethnic identity is necessary if ethnicity is to be secured for future generations.

It was suggested earlier that second generation Malayalees may consider themselves more Canadian than Malayalee, as they tend to behave as Canadian regardless of their subjective ethnic identity. Levels of ethnocentrism, both subjective and objective, would appear to indicate that they do indeed show lower levels of Malayalee identity than the first generation. Low levels of identity maintenance, and strong out-group participation would suggest that second generation Malayalees reflect a certain amount of ethnocentrism with respect to their Canadian cultural heritage. This connection between second generation Malayalees and their Canadian heritage, results in the minimization of their Malayalee ethnic identity, and a move away from their ethnic heritage.

The assimilationist model developed by Park, while a deterministic macro theory, may hold some insights into Malayalee community development, and identity maintenance in Canada. Though assimilationist theory generally overlooks the barriers faced by un-meltable visible minorities, future Malayalee-Canadians may find themselves assimilating into the dominant group via Park's 'conflict-competition-accommodation' pathway. With Driedger's framework in mind, it becomes clear that as future Malayalee generations make ties of solidarity with Canadian society, members of the Malayalee community will be located in almost every cell of the

Conformity-Pluralist model.

Conflict theory suggests that some first generation Malayalees (Tradition-Directed Ethnics) will be reluctant to acculturate to the Canadian Majority. For these people, ethnic heritage and culture is the grounding that brings a sense of nomos and meaning to life. Located exclusively in Cell E of the Driedger model, these ethnics are generally newly arriving immigrants that have no interest in the cultural norms of their surrogate homeland, and have no desire to interact with the Canadian out-group.

Also located in Cell E of the Driedger model are those first generation Malayalees that have spent a moderate amount of time in Canada. These Malayalees compete in the economic centre, but they manage to retain a strong connection with their ethnic community and heritage. These Malayalee Middlepeople are the perfect example of Simmel's Stranger. They retain a sense of ethnicity by grounding themselves in their heritage and culture even while interacting outside of their community.

Taking into account processes of change, Modified Pluralism theory suggests that first generation Malayalees with long durations of stay may find themselves located between the involuntary pluralist Cell D, and the voluntary pluralist Cell E of Driedger's model. These Malayalees are able to shift from their original cultures to new interest foci in order to maintain a distinctive ethnicity (Driedger, 45:1989). This Hybrid-Pluralist ethnic type, more than any other, reflects Isajiw and Edwards' theories of ethnic identity maintenance through evolving symbolic ethnicity. While some of the first generation may evolve into in Cell D as marginalized ethnics, the

great majority will retain sufficient levels of ethnic identity to prevent such personal ethnic decline.

Gordon's Modified Assimilation model, in its assertion that assimilation is not a single process, outlines the stages through which ethnic groups in the midst of decline must evolve. This model seems most appropriate for an analysis of second generation Malayalees since their placement within Cell D of the Driedger model is determined almost exclusively by discrimination from the host society, what Gordon refers to as 'Structural Assimilation.' These Malayalees that display moderate levels of subjective identity and low levels of objective identity (the Marginalized), are caught between Canadian society and their cultural roots. Unlike other visible minority groups in the GTA, second generation Malayalees have assimilated with respect to almost all seven variables noted by Gordon, and they have accepted nearly all of the cultural characteristics of Canadian society.

Despite efforts of the first generation to act as an anchor, tying them to their heritage and culture, second generation Malayalees are neither dedicated nor disposed to concepts of endogamy, ingroup friendship maintenance or ethnic language proficiency. As a result of ethnic identity decline in the second generation, future generations will have little sense of heritage and culture to which they may attach themselves. As out-group marriage, and further ethnic dispersal take place, future Malayalee generations may not find themselves marginalized and involuntarily pluralist, instead, they may find themselves as modified assimilationist within Cell C of the Conformity-Pluralist model. Malayalee culture, as it has been, will undoubtedly

come to an end with the passing of the first generation, and the hybrid forms of symbolic-ethnicity that develop afterwards, may reflect similar patterns of generational identity decline.

As members of the South Asian diaspora, separated and independent of their mother country, the Toronto Malayalee community must struggle with issues of ethnic insulation and cultural interchange. The reality of generational decline is of paramount importance to this ethnic group as assimilation and acculturation stand in the forefront of the Malayalee-Canadian experience. While the first generation may hold strong ties with their Indian 'culture of origin', second generation Malayalees have no such tie to their South Asian heritage, and future generations will find Canadian cultural socialization deep and difficult to overcome.

Suggestions for Future Research

The research findings presented in this study represent a first step in the exploration of South Asian Identity in Canada. As previously noted, we have not attempted to provide definitive or exhaustive answers to all the complex issues surrounding race and the Canadian experience. There are still areas and methods of research that need to be addressed if we are to fill in the missing gaps of knowledge. As a result of this study, three main suggestions for future research are advanced.

First, there are aspects to the study of culture and ethnicity that cannot be approached through the use of quantitative methods. Qualitative research (ie. in-depth interviews, participant observations) may provide valuable information that would not

be attainable through the use of general survey research. Whereas, quantitative investigation will often provide answers that researchers are looking for, qualitative study is often surprising in its ability to generate rich, unexpected information. With reference to this work, qualitative methods may have been useful in explaining the lack of territorial cohesion in the Malayalee community. Where survey research can indicate that such a trend exists, qualitative research may explain why it exists.

Second, a more inclusive study needs to be collected in order to establish further trends in Malayalee ethnic identity retention. A larger sample size would build upon this research in two ways: it would allow for the study of other religious groups within the Malayalee community, thereby improving our understanding of the Malayalee sacred canopy; and it would allow for a statistically significant analysis of 'duration of stay.'

Third, as second generation Malayalees form their sense of nomos from within the Canadian social sphere, it is important that we gain an understanding of Malayalee ethnic salience. How important is ethnicity to this community? While this research has made conclusions as to how Malayalees feel about their ethnicity and nationality, future research needs to address whether the generations to come will see themselves as Malayalee, as Canadian, or as a combination of both.

Policy Implications

Researching the Malayalee community in the GTA has been problematic. As with many smaller minority groups, studies are often based on limited references

attained through the community, and even lesser information from governmental sources. In state surveys or census data, small ethnic communities will generally be absorbed under categories such as South Asian or Indian. These categorizations are not legitimate and do not express the true multicultural nature of the South Asian diaspora. Although some efforts are made to delineate these groups by religious affiliation, or by mother tongue, small groups are often lost in the shuffle. This research would have been greatly improved had we been able to analyze the territorial cohesion of this community through the use of census tract data. These types of governmental data must be available if ethnicity and ethnic groups are to be adequately studied, and the quality of future research hinges on the incorporation of such sources.

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APPENDIX A

VARIABLES	PEARSON	SPEARMAN	N1	N2	WEIGHTED AVG. OF PROP.	1 - WEIGHTED AVG.	STANDARD ERROR	Z SCORE
VAR2 W/ VAR13	0.02939	0.06437	323	334	0.047172831	0.952827169	0.016544789	2.1142609
VAR2 W/ VAR14	0.0593	0.06047	323	334	0.059894795	0.940105205	0.018517867	0.06318222
VAR2 W/ VAR15	0.0777	0.0749	323	331	0.076282875	0.923717125	0.0207614	0.13486566
VAR2 W/ VAR16	0.05838	0.04887	323	312	0.05370737	0.94629263	0.017895259	0.53142568
VAR2 W/ VAR17	0.04969	0.03327	323	332	0.041367191	0.958632809	0.015563401	1.05503932
VAR2 W/ VAR18	0.07322	0.06611	323	332	0.069616153	0.930383847	0.019890076	0.3574647
VAR2 W/ VAR19	0.05057	0.05405	323	333	0.052336524	0.947663476	0.017392341	0.20008807
VAR2 W/ VAR20	0.12315	0.13293	323	332	0.128107191	0.871892809	0.026119728	0.37442963
VAR2 W/ VAR21	0.25096	0.24639	323	334	0.248636743	0.751363257	0.03372996	0.13548786
VAR2 W/ VAR22	0.21597	0.2307	323	334	0.223458311	0.776541689	0.032507894	0.45312071
VAR2 W/ VAR23	0.24348	0.23752	323	335	0.240445653	0.759554347	0.033325538	0.17884182
VAR2 W/ VAR24	0.26891	0.27168	323	334	0.270318189	0.729681811	0.034658725	0.07992215
VAR2 W/ VAR25	0.22118	0.22815	323	330	0.224702358	0.775297642	0.032669043	0.21335183
VAR2 W/ VAR26	0.04202	0.05904	323	332	0.050646931	0.949353069	0.017137237	0.99315895
VAR2 W/ VAR27	0.17036	0.18559	323	335	0.178113875	0.821886125	0.029836233	0.51045319
VAR2 W/ VAR28	0.37366	0.36504	323	313	0.369417767	0.630582233	0.038281142	0.22517615
VAR2 W/ VAR29	0.43987	0.43828	323	331	0.439065275	0.560934725	0.038814529	0.04096404
VAR2 W/ VAR30	0.35723	0.35086	323	335	0.353986915	0.646013085	0.037290958	0.17081889
VAR2 W/ VAR31	0.26147	0.26113	323	334	0.261297154	0.738702846	0.034285494	0.00991673
VAR2 W/ VAR32	0.25709	0.25954	323	333	0.258333674	0.741666326	0.034184036	0.07167088
VAR2 W/ VAR33	0.11148	0.13309	323	331	0.122417171	0.877582829	0.025635326	0.84297738
VAR2 W/ VAR34	0.24788	0.24999	323	331	0.248947905	0.751052095	0.033819165	0.06239066
VAR2 W/ VAR35	0.25083	0.23331	323	335	0.241910243	0.758089757	0.033394637	0.52463514
VAR2 W/ VAR36	0.05968	0.04713	323	334	0.053299939	0.946700061	0.017529832	0.71592244
VAR2 W/ VAR37	0.09048	0.08109	323	332	0.085720489	0.914279511	0.021879236	0.42917403
VAR2 W/ VAR38	0.33826	0.32986	323	332	0.33400229	0.66599771	0.036860518	0.22788611
VAR2 W/ VAR39	0.14396	0.14922	323	332	0.146626137	0.853373863	0.02764558	0.19026549
VAR2 W/ VAR40	0.06392	0.0644	323	332	0.064163298	0.935836702	0.0191511	0.02506383
VAR2 W/ VAR41	0.13919	0.14925	323	327	0.144250954	0.855749046	0.027562214	0.36499245
VAR2 W/ VAR42	0.02131	0.03582	323	333	0.028675595	0.971324405	0.013033676	1.11327
VAR2 W/ VAR43	0.03947	0.05499	323	332	0.047336626	0.952663374	0.016596585	0.93513214
VAR2 W/ VAR44	0.04163	0.04157	323	332	0.041599588	0.958400412	0.015605165	0.00384488
VAR2 W/ VAR55	0.16371	0.16371	323	335	0.16371	0.83629	0.028853954	0
VAR2 W/ VAR56	0.22827	0.23934	323	335	0.233905942	0.766094058	0.033010413	0.33534873
VAR2 W/ VAR57	0.80922	0.80922	323	316	0.80922	0.19078	0.0310889	0
VAR2 W/ VAR58	0.82162	0.82162	323	316	0.82162	0.17838	0.030291042	0
VAR2 W/ VAR59	0.70774	0.70774	323	328	0.70774	0.29226	0.035651177	0
VAR2 W/ VAR61	0.54572	0.57849	323	296	0.561390307	0.438609693	0.039927285	0.82074201
VAR2 W/ VAR68	0.2974	0.2974	323	321	0.2974	0.7026	0.036025806	0
VAR2 W/ VAR70	0.01132	0.01132	323	335	0.01132	0.98868	0.008249742	0
VAR2 W/ VAR71	0.05445	0.05445	323	326	0.05445	0.94555	0.017813673	0
VAR2 W/ VAR72	0.48363	0.48363	323	291	0.48363	0.51637	0.040389972	0

VARIABLES	PEARSON	SPEARMAN	N1	N2	WEIGHTED AVG. OF PROP.	1 - WEIGHTED AVG.	STANDARD ERROR	Z SCORE
VAR2 W/ VAR73	0.25695	0.25695	323	276	0.25695	0.74305	0.035817143	0
VAR2 W/ VAR75	0.02222	0.02222	323	327	0.02222	0.97778	0.011563096	0
VAR2 W/ VAR76	0.1093	0.1093	323	325	0.1093	0.8907	0.024514349	0
VAR2 W/ VAR78	0.01889	0.01889	323	334	0.01889	0.98111	0.010623877	0
VAR2 W/ VAR79	0.09243	0.09243	323	334	0.09243	0.90757	0.022602409	0
VAR2 W/ VAR80	0.12948	0.12129	323	332	0.125328733	0.874671267	0.025876057	0.31650881
VAR2 W/ VAR81	0.16885	0.17064	323	326	0.169749137	0.830250863	0.169749137	0.01054497
VAR2 W/ VAR82	0.0751	0.0751	323	333	0.0751	0.9249	0.020582395	0
VAR2 W/ VAR83	0.14593	0.14593	323	333	0.14593	0.85407	0.027570686	0
VAR2 W/ VAR84	0.12273	0.12415	323	327	0.123444369	0.876555631	0.025805182	0.05502771
VAR2 W/ VAR85	0.161	0.19337	323	332	0.177407389	0.822592611	0.029855792	1.08421172
VAR2 W/ VAR95	0.26335	0.28145	323	329	0.272483282	0.727516718	0.034875144	0.51899428
VAR2 W/ VAR101	0.33353	0.33235	323	293	0.332968734	0.667031266	0.038021575	0.03103501
VAR2 W/ VAR104	0.24231	0.2423	323	293	0.242305244	0.757694756	0.034568762	0.00028928
VAR2 W/ VAR139	0.26753	0.23226	323	324	0.249867743	0.750132257	0.034041006	1.03610333
VAR2 W/ VAR163	0.05491	0.05909	323	314	0.056970471	0.943029529	0.01836924	0.22755433
VAR2 W/ VAR165	0.04579	0.05342	323	237	0.049019125	0.950980875	0.018466613	0.4131781
VAR2 W/ VAR166	0.15413	0.13022	323	227	0.144261691	0.855738309	0.030430785	0.7857175
VAR2 W/ VAR167	0.0368	0.02182	323	249	0.030278986	0.969721014	0.014450775	1.03662258
VAR2 W/ VAR171	0.25664	0.27354	323	233	0.263722194	0.736277806	0.037874976	0.4462049
VAR2 W/ VAR172	0.04144	0.0579	323	247	0.048572667	0.951427333	0.018170692	0.90585431
VAR2 W/ VAR173	0.09102	0.08118	323	243	0.086795406	0.913204594	0.023907614	0.41158436
VAR2 W/ VAR174	0.09278	0.09278	323	234	0.09278	0.90722	0.02490588	0
VAR2 W/ VAR175	0.19265	0.17554	323	236	0.185426458	0.814573542	0.033281251	0.51410327
VAR7 W/ VAR13	0.0429	0.05907	332	334	0.051009279	0.948990721	0.017051022	0.94833025
VAR7 W/ VAR14	0.14603	0.13752	332	334	0.141762222	0.858237778	0.027032045	0.31481155
VAR7 W/ VAR15	0.03044	0.03051	332	331	0.030474947	0.969525053	0.013351336	0.00524292
VAR7 W/ VAR16	0.03364	0.02727	332	312	0.030553913	0.969446087	0.013570375	0.46940487
VAR7 W/ VAR17	0.16656	0.14506	332	332	0.15581	0.84419	0.028149049	0.76379135
VAR7 W/ VAR18	0.02019	0.00078	332	332	0.010485	0.989515	0.007905719	2.45518471
VAR7 W/ VAR19	0.07723	0.07945	332	333	0.078341669	0.921658331	0.02084016	0.10652509
VAR7 W/ VAR20	0.07594	0.07651	332	332	0.076225	0.923775	0.020595758	0.0276756
VAR7 W/ VAR21	0.05168	0.09879	332	334	0.075305736	0.924694264	0.020450689	2.30358984
VAR7 W/ VAR22	0.01834	-0.00727	332	334	0.005496547	0.994503453	0.005729846	4.46957919
VAR7 W/ VAR23	0.00484	0.01412	332	335	0.00950087	0.99049913	0.007512426	1.23528673
VAR7 W/ VAR24	0.03923	0.01107	332	334	0.025107718	0.974892282	0.012124861	2.32250082
VAR7 W/ VAR25	0.14365	0.10362	332	330	0.123695468	0.876304532	0.025592187	1.56414923
VAR7 W/ VAR26	0.02839	0.0361	332	332	0.032245	0.967755	0.013710707	0.56233423
VAR7 W/ VAR27	0.05416	0.05509	332	335	0.054627091	0.945372909	0.017598558	0.05284524
VAR7 W/ VAR28	-0.00272	0.03973	332	313	0.017879767	0.982120233	0.010440034	4.06607875
VAR7 W/ VAR29	0.04941	0.09891	332	331	0.07412267	0.92587733	0.020348199	2.43264772

VARIABLES	PEARSON	SPEARMAN	N1	N2	WEIGHTED AVG. OF PROP.	1 - WEIGHTED AVG.	STANDARD ERROR	Z SCORE
VAR7 W/ VAR30	0.0212	0.05485	332	335	0.038100675	0.961899325	0.01482527	2.26977315
VAR7 W/ VAR31	0.08886	0.08643	332	334	0.087641351	0.912358649	0.02191453	0.11088533
VAR7 W/ VAR32	0.02527	-0.00277	332	333	0.011228917	0.988771083	0.008172153	3.43116439
VAR7 W/ VAR33	0.07461	0.04368	332	331	0.059168326	0.940831674	0.018326281	1.68774018
VAR7 W/ VAR34	-0.00955	0.00712	332	331	-0.001227572	1.001227572	ERR	ERR
VAR7 W/ VAR35	0.0851	0.09275	332	335	0.088942204	0.911057796	0.022044405	0.34702683
VAR7 W/ VAR36	0.11603	0.10701	332	334	0.111506456	0.888493544	0.02439338	0.36977245
VAR7 W/ VAR37	0.03667	0.04595	332	332	0.04131	0.95869	0.01544588	0.60080747
VAR7 W/ VAR38	0.06766	0.08696	332	332	0.07731	0.92269	0.020729637	0.93103415
VAR7 W/ VAR39	0.08254	0.08918	332	332	0.08586	0.91414	0.021744416	0.30536575
VAR7 W/ VAR40	0.03484	0.02466	332	332	0.02975	0.97025	0.013186552	0.7719986
VAR7 W/ VAR41	0.03009	0.02495	332	327	0.027539499	0.972460501	0.012750106	0.4031339
VAR7 W/ VAR42	0.06971	0.06971	332	333	0.06971	0.93029	0.019750422	0
VAR7 W/ VAR43	0.06807	0.0775	332	332	0.072785	0.927215	0.020163092	0.46768621
VAR7 W/ VAR44	0.06153	0.06153	323	332	0.06153	0.93847	0.018780364	0
VAR7 W/ VAR45	0.06824	0.06824	323	335	0.06824	0.93176	0.0196635	0
VAR7 W/ VAR46	0.05888	0.04776	323	335	0.053218602	0.946781398	0.017504345	0.63527083
VAR7 W/ VAR47	0.10001	0.10001	332	316	0.10001	0.89999	0.023578462	0
VAR7 W/ VAR48	0.08237	0.08237	332	316	0.08237	0.91763	0.021606939	0
VAR7 W/ VAR49	0.03103	0.08209	332	328	0.056405273	0.943594727	0.017960508	2.84290405
VAR7 W/ VAR50	0.06486	0.0622	332	296	0.063606242	0.936393758	0.019509406	0.13634449
VAR7 W/ VAR51	0.09962	0.09962	332	321	0.09962	0.90038	0.023443434	0
VAR7 W/ VAR52	0.03788	0.03788	332	335	0.03788	0.96212	0.01478397	0
VAR7 W/ VAR53	0.12502	0.12502	332	326	0.12502	0.87498	0.025788371	0
VAR7 W/ VAR54	0.16072	0.16072	332	291	0.16072	0.83928	0.02949286	0
VAR7 W/ VAR55	0.07971	0.07971	332	276	0.07971	0.92029	0.022062106	0
VAR7 W/ VAR56	0.34135	0.34135	332	327	0.34135	0.65865	0.036942569	0
VAR7 W/ VAR57	0.26411	0.26411	332	325	0.26411	0.73589	0.034400982	0
VAR7 W/ VAR58	0.04601	0.04601	332	334	0.04601	0.95399	0.016236517	0
VAR7 W/ VAR59	0.05187	0.05187	332	334	0.05187	0.94813	0.017186479	0
VAR7 W/ VAR60	0.01062	0.00721	332	332	0.008915	0.991085	0.007295618	0.46740386
VAR7 W/ VAR61	0.1015	0.10216	332	326	0.101826991	0.898173009	0.02358015	0.02798964
VAR7 W/ VAR62	0.05437	0.05437	332	333	0.05437	0.94563	0.017585712	0
VAR7 W/ VAR63	0.00604	0.0064	332	333	0.006220271	0.993779729	0.006097747	0.0590382
VAR7 W/ VAR64	0.01658	0.01512	332	327	0.015855539	0.984144461	0.009732395	0.15001447
VAR7 W/ VAR65	0.02932	0.01326	332	332	0.02129	0.97871	0.011203683	1.43345724
VAR7 W/ VAR66	0.01377	0.01597	332	329	0.014865008	0.985134992	0.009413783	0.23369989
VAR7 W/ VAR67	0.1705	0.17007	332	326	0.17028696	0.82971304	0.029308241	0.01467164
VAR7 W/ VAR68	0.02167	0.021	332	293	0.021355904	0.978644096	0.011588001	0.05781843
VAR7 W/ VAR69	0.13531	0.13472	332	324	0.135018598	0.864981402	0.026687664	0.02210759
VAR7 W/ VAR70	0.06102	0.07502	332	314	0.067824954	0.932175046	0.01979365	0.70729755
VAR7 W/ VAR71	0.14514	0.15582	332	334	0.150496036	0.849503964	0.027710226	0.38541728

VARIABLES	PEARSON	SPEARMAN	N1	N2	WEIGHTED AVG. OF PROP.	1 - WEIGHTED AVG.	STANDARD ERROR	Z SCORE
VAR7 W/ VAR166	0.12548	0.09405	332	332	0.109765	0.890235	0.024262203	1.2954306
VAR7 W/ VAR167	0.07345	0.10497	332	333	0.089233699	0.910766301	0.022109941	1.42560306
VAR7 W/ VAR168	0.14675	0.14933	332	233	0.147813965	0.852186035	0.030332078	0.08505847
VAR7 W/ VAR169	0.09624	0.11639	332	247	0.104835941	0.895164059	0.025741164	0.78279288
VAR7 W/ VAR170	0.02639	0.01677	332	243	0.022324504	0.977675496	0.0124724	0.77130305
VAR7 W/ VAR171	0.0455	0.02616	332	234	0.037504311	0.962495689	0.016217027	1.19257371
VAR7 W/ VAR172	0.20253	0.24245	332	236	0.219116479	0.780883521	0.035219223	1.1334719
VAR7 W/ VAR173	0.12765	0.11943	332	237	0.124226204	0.875773796	0.028048878	0.29305985
VAR7 W/ VAR174	0.06692	0.0162	332	227	0.046323506	0.953676494	0.018101943	2.80190922
VAR7 W/ VAR175	0.0273	0.02187	332	249	0.024972857	0.975027143	0.013081629	0.41508593

APPENDIX B

14. Mother's mother's country of birth : _____

15. Mother's religion :

denomination _____

branch _____

16. Estimate your total family income : (check one)

- | | |
|--|--|
| Under \$ 20,000 <input type="checkbox"/> | \$ 20,000 - \$ 24,999 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$ 25,000 - \$ 29,999 <input type="checkbox"/> | \$ 30,000 - \$ 34,999 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$ 35,000 - \$ 39,999 <input type="checkbox"/> | \$ 40,000 - \$ 44,999 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$ 45,000 - \$ 49,999 <input type="checkbox"/> | \$ 50,000 - \$ 54,999 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$ 55,000 - \$ 59,999 <input type="checkbox"/> | \$ 60,000 - \$ 64,999 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$ 65,000 - \$ 69,999 <input type="checkbox"/> | \$ 70,000 - or more <input type="checkbox"/> |

PART II

INSTRUCTIONS : TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING ATTITUDE QUESTIONS, KEEP YOUR OWN ETHNIC GROUP AND RELIGION IN MIND. CIRCLE THE ANSWER WHICH BEST INDICATES YOUR ATTITUDE AS FOLLOWS :

1 - STRONGLY AGREE

2 - AGREE

3 - UNCERTAIN

4 - DISAGREE

5 - STRONGLY DISAGREE

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------|
| 1. | A parochial (religious) education education is one of the most important gifts a family can give to its children. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 2. | One of the best ways to ensure that my ethnic culture is perpetuated is through parochial (religious) education. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 3. | A parochial education tends to give one a narrow one-sided view of life. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 4. | The parochial education system of my ethnic group does not measure up to the public school standards. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 5 | I would be interested in attending a Malayalee School instead of the mainstream separate or public school | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 6. | All those in my ethnic group should make an honest attempt to learn to speak their ethnic language. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7. | It is more important for me to learn my ethnic language than it is to learn another second language. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 8. | It is of tremendous importance to speak my ethnic language in the home so that it may be preserved for future generations. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 9. | It is embarrassing for me to see members of my ethnic group conversing in their native language in a mixed group. | 1 2 3 4 5 |

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| 10. | For me, my religion is a real source of strength. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 11. | It is important for members of my ethnic group to attend church regularly. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 12. | For me, my religion helps me to remember my ethnic heritage. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 13. | It is important to attend Malayalee religious services instead of a regular mainstream church. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 14. | Being a member of my ethnic group religion is something I acknowledge because of my birth, but I do not feel it important enough to actively participate in it. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 15. | The idea of God has tremendous significance in my daily life | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 16. | For me, it makes little difference what ethnic group the person I date belongs to. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 17. | Unless a person in my ethnic group has good reasons, he/she should not marry an outsider under any circumstances. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 18. | Endogamy (marriage within your ethnic group) is the best way to ensure the future of my ethnic culture | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 19. | It is important for me to have most of my close friends within my ethnic group. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 20. | The presence of other members of my ethnic group close by gives me a feeling of warmth and security. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 21. | I prefer not to spend leisure time with members of my ethnic group. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 22. | I prefer to spend time with members of my ethnic group. | 1 2 3 4 5 |

23. Those in my ethnic group should be considerably more involved in their own ethnic organizations than other organizations. 1 2 3 4 5
24. Ethnic organizations are wonderful because they allow one to take an active part in the affairs of one's own ethnic group. 1 2 3 4 5
25. The organizations of my ethnic group seem to be too concerned with narrow issues instead of the important issues of the world. 1 2 3 4 5
26. Every member of my ethnic group should subscribe to at least one of his/her ethnic newspapers. 1 2 3 4 5
27. Receiving ethnic newspapers at home is a tremendous asset because it informs one about the current activities of his/her ethnic group. 1 2 3 4 5
28. Ethnic newspapers present a narrow one-sided point of view. 1 2 3 4 5
29. It would give a member of my ethnic group a good feeling to live in a community composed almost entirely of one's own ethnic group. 1 2 3 4 5
30. For me, being a member of my ethnic group is far more important than being merely a Canadian (or resident of this country) 1 2 3 4 5
31. Living in a community composed almost entirely of my ethnic group would not be a desirable thing 1 2 3 4 5

PART III

INSTRUCTIONS : PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS USING A CHECK MARK WHERE APPROPRIATE. PLEASE PRINT ALL OTHER RESPONSES CLEARLY.

1. Have you had any parochial (church operated) education?
 yes no If yes, how many years? _____

2. Have you attended any extra language classes (outside school hours) in your ethnic language?
 yes no
 If yes : language : _____ months\years,etc. : _____
 language : _____ months\years,etc. : _____

3. Did your parents receive any parochial education?
 father : yes no unknown
 mother :yes no unknown

4. What language is used most often :
 a) when speaking to your parents? _____
 b) when speaking to your sibling(s)? _____
 c) when speaking to your grandparent(s)? _____
 d) when speaking to your children? _____
 e) in your church services? _____

5. Do you personally have any ability to use Malayalam? yes no
 If yes, rate your ability to use Malayalam. (check)
 Understanding : well limited
 Reading : well limited
 Writing : well limited
 Speaking : well limited

6. Will you encourage your children to learn your ethnic language?

yes no

7. List your five closest friends (first names only).

a) _____ b) _____ c) _____

d) _____ e) _____

8. With reference to question #7, what ethnic background and religion are they?

ETHNIC GROUP	RELIGION
e.g. Malayalee	Christian (Catholic)
a) _____	_____
b) _____	_____
c) _____	_____
d) _____	_____
e) _____	_____

9. Does your family subscribe to any ethnic publications? (ie. newspapers, magazine or journals)

yes no

If yes, do you find them worth reading?

yes no undecided

10. Are any of your relatives married to a person of a different ethnic background than your family?

yes no

If yes, please indicate who married into which group and religion.

eg. relative : sister ethnicity : Ukrainian religion : Catholic

a) relative : _____ ethnicity : _____ religion : _____

b) relative : _____ ethnicity : _____ religion : _____

c) relative : _____ ethnicity : _____ religion : _____

11. Are you presently or have you ever dated a person outside your own ethnic group or religious background?
yes no
12. Are you, or have you ever been married? yes no
if yes :
a) Was it an arranged marriage? yes no
b) Would you like an arranged marriage for your children? yes no
13. If you have never been married, would you :
a) consider marrying outside of your ethnic group?
yes no
b) prefer to marry outside your ethnic group?
yes no
14. Does your ethnic group subscribe to arranged marriages?
yes no
15. Do you expect to take part in an arranged marriage?
yes no
16. If given an option, would you agree to an arranged marriage?
yes no
17. Do you attend mainstream (non-Malayalee) church services?
yes no
18. Do you belong to any Malayalee associations, clubs, or organizations (including religious)?
yes no
19. Do you attend Malayalee church services?
yes no

20. Are you an active participant in mainstream religious group activities?

yes no

21. Are you an active participant in Malayalee religious group activities?

yes no

If you answered yes to either or both #17 and #19 please check the approximate number of times you attend church in the appropriate list.

MAINSTREAM CHURCH

MALAYALEE CHURCH

Every week (or nearly)

Every week (or nearly)

About twice a month

About twice a month

About once a month

About once a month

Several times a year

Several times a year

About once a year

About once a year

If you answered yes for either or both # 20 and #21, please check the appropriate box in the appropriate list.

MAINSTREAM CHURCH GROUP

MALAYALEE CHURCH GROUP

Very active

Very active

Fairly active

Fairly active

Uncertain

Uncertain

Fairly inactive

Fairly inactive

Very inactive

Very inactive

APPENDIX C

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE I

VAR 200 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	2.036	5	0.407	1.475	.199
VAR4	0.014	1	0.014	0.051	.821
VAR7	0.572	2	0.286	1.037	.356
VAR5	0.043	1	0.043	0.154	.695
VAR176	1.407	1	1.407	5.098	.025
EXPLAINED	2.036	5	0.407	1.475	.199
RESIDUAL	61.280	222	0.275		
TOTAL	63.316	227	0.279		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE II

VAR 201 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	0.783	5	0.157	0.486	.786
VAR4	0.001	1	0.001	0.002	.966
VAR7	0.493	2	0.247	0.766	.466
VAR5	0.065	1	0.065	0.201	.654
VAR176	0.224	1	0.224	0.696	.405
EXPLAINED	0.783	5	0.157	0.486	.786
RESIDUAL	71.476	222	0.322		
TOTAL	72.259	227	0.318		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE III

VAR 202 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	11.264	5	2.253	8.067	.000
VAR4	0.138	1	0.138	0.494	.483
VAR7	1.480	2	0.740	2.649	.073
VAR5	4.834	1	4.834	17.308	.000
VAR176	4.812	1	4.812	17.232	.000
EXPLAINED	11.264	5	2.253	8.067	.000
RESIDUAL	61.999	222	0.279		
TOTAL	73.263	227	0.323		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE IV

VAR 203 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	28.600	5	5.720	17.169	.000
VAR4	1.946	1	1.946	5.841	.016
VAR7	8.273	2	4.137	12.416	.000
VAR5	1.674	1	1.674	5.026	.026
VAR176	16.706	1	16.706	50.144	.000
EXPLAINED	28.600	5	5.720	17.169	.000
RESIDUAL	73.962	222	0.333		
TOTAL	102.561	227	0.452		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE V

VAR 204 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	10.251	5	2.050	6.414	.000
VAR4	1.718	1	1.718	5.376	.021
VAR7	0.442	2	0.221	0.692	.502
VAR5	0.037	1	0.037	0.117	.733
VAR176	8.053	1	8.053	25.193	.000
EXPLAINED	10.251	5	2.050	6.414	.000
RESIDUAL	70.960	222	0.320		
TOTAL	81.211	227	0.358		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE VI

VAR 205 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	3.132	5	0.626	2.795	.018
VAR4	0.164	1	0.164	0.732	.393
VAR7	0.578	2	0.289	1.290	.278
VAR5	0.100	1	0.100	0.448	.504
VAR176	2.290	1	2.290	10.217	.002
EXPLAINED	3.132	5	0.626	2.795	.018
RESIDUAL	43.029	192	0.224		
TOTAL	46.162	197	0.234		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE VII

VAR 210 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	56.516	5	11.303	77.933	.000
VAR4	.565	1	.565	3.899	.050
VAR7	10.093	2	5.047	34.795	.000
VAR5	1.189	1	1.189	8.199	.005
VAR176	44.668	1	44.668	307.978	.000
EXPLAINED	56.516	5	11.303	77.933	.000
RESIDUAL	27.847	192	.145		
TOTAL	84.364	197	.428		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE VIII

VAR 211 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	50.192	5	10.038	29.288	.000
VAR4	.000	1	.000	.000	1.000
VAR7	1.179	2	.589	1.720	.182
VAR5	48.469	1	48.469	141.414	.000
VAR176	.544	1	.544	1.587	.209
EXPLAINED	50.192	5	10.038	29.288	.000
RESIDUAL	65.808	192	.343		
TOTAL	116.000	197	.589		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE IX

VAR 212 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	19.505	5	3.901	19.630	.000
VAR4	.077	1	.077	.386	.535
VAR7	.529	2	.264	1.330	.267
VAR5	18.898	1	18.898	95.094	.000
VAR176	.002	1	.002	.009	.924
EXPLAINED	19.505	5	3.901	19.630	.000
RESIDUAL	38.156	192	.199		
TOTAL	57.662	197	.293		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE X

VAR 213 BY VAR4 GENDER
 VAR7 DURATION OF STAY
 VAR5 RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
 VAR176 GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	29.886	5	5.977	29.428	.000
VAR4	0.390	1	0.390	1.920	.168
VAR7	3.806	2	1.903	9.369	.000
VAR5	2.463	1	2.463	12.125	.001
VAR176	23.227	1	23.227	114.353	.000
EXPLAINED	29.886	5	5.977	29.428	.000
RESIDUAL	37.780	186	0.203		
TOTAL	67.667	191	0.354		

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE XI

VAR 61 BY	VAR4	GENDER
	VAR7	DURATION OF STAY
	VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT
	VAR176	GENERATION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM of SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF. of F
MAIN EFFECTS	14292.228	5	2858.446	3.958	.002
VAR4	32.870	1	32.870	0.046	.831
VAR7	2057.362	2	1028.681	1.424	.242
VAR5	0.349	1	0.349	0.000	.982
VAR176	12201.647	1	12201.647	16.894	.000
EXPLAINED	14292.228	5	2858.446	3.958	.002
RESIDUAL	192835.450	267	722.230		
TOTAL	207127.678	272	761.499		

APPENDIX D

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 1

VAR 200 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.342	
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY		
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT		
		VAR176	GENERATION		
VARIABLE + CATEGORY	N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA
VAR4					
1 MALE	102	.01-		.03-	
2 FEMALE	126	.01		.02	
			.01		.04
VAR7					
1 SHORT (0-10)	26	.08		.00	
2 MEDIUM (11-25)	158	.01		.04	
3 LONG (26-51)	44	.09-		.15-	
			.09		.14
VAR5					
1 CATHOLIC	176	.01-		.00	
2 MARTHOMITE	52	.02		.00	
			.02		.00
VAR176					
1 FIRST GENERATION	128	.06		.08	
2 SECOND GENERATION	100	.07-		.10-	
			.12		.17
MULTIPLE R SQUARED	0.032				
MULTIPLE R	0.179				

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 2

VAR 201 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.390	
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY		
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT		
		VAR176	GENERATION		
VARIABLE + CATEGORY	N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA
VAR4					
1 MALE	102	.00		.01-	
2 FEMALE	126	.00		.01	
			.00		.01
VAR7					
1 SHORT (0-10)	26	.03		.00	
2 MEDIUM (11-25)	158	.02		.03	
3 LONG (26-51)	44	.09-		.12-	
			.08		.10
VAR5					
1 CATHOLIC	176	.01		.01-	
2 MARTHOMITE	52	.03		.02	
			.03		.02
VAR176					
1 FIRST GENERATION	128	.02		.03	
2 SECOND GENERATION	100	.02		.04-	
			.03		.06
MULTIPLE R SQUARED	0.011				
MULTIPLE R	0.104				

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 3

VAR 202 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.316	
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY		
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT		
		VAR176	GENERATION		
VARIABLE + CATEGORY		N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N BETA
VAR4					
	1 MALE	102	.03		.01-
	2 FEMALE	126	.02		.01
				.04	.02
VAR7					
	1 SHORT (0-10)	26	.22		.09
	2 MEDIUM (11-25)	158	.02-		.02
	3 LONG (26-51)	44	.04-		.13-
				.14	.12
VAR5					
	1 CATHOLIC	176	.08-		.07-
	2 MARTHOMITE	52	.26		.22
				.25	.22
VAR176					
	1 FIRST GENERATION	128	.15		.15
	2 SECOND GENERATION	100	.20-		.19-
				.31	.30
MULTIPLE R SQUARED		0.154			
MULTIPLE R		0.392			

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 4

VAR 203 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.123	
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY		
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT		
		VAR176	GENERATION		
VARIABLE + CATEGORY		N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N BETA
VAR4					
	1 MALE	102	.10		.05
	2 FEMALE	126	.08-		.04-
				.14	.07
VAR7					
	1 SHORT (0-10)	26	.34		.07
	2 MEDIUM (11-25)	158	.12-		.03-
	3 LONG (26-51)	44	.24		.07
				.28	.07
VAR5					
	1 CATHOLIC	176	.04-		.02-
	2 MARTHOMITE	52	.15		.07
				.12	.06
VAR176					
	1 FIRST GENERATION	128	.31		.28
	2 SECOND GENERATION	100	.39-		.36-
				.52	.47
MULTIPLE R SQUARED		0.279			
MULTIPLE R		0.528			

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 5

VAR 204 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.237	
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY		
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT		
		VAR176	GENERATION		
VARIABLE + CATEGORY	N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA
VAR4					
1 MALE	102	.10		.06	
2 FEMALE	126	.08-		.05-	
			.15		.09
VAR7					
1 SHORT (0-10)	26	.11		.08-	
2 MEDIUM (11-25)	158	.00		.06	
3 LONG (26-51)	44	.06-		.17-	
			.07		.16
VAR5					
1 CATHOLIC	176	.01-		.01	
2 MARTHOMITE	52	.03		.03-	
			.03		.03
VAR176					
1 FIRST GENERATION	128	.16		.19	
2 SECOND GENERATION	100	.21-		.25-	
			.31		.37
MULTIPLE R SQUARED	0.126				
MULTIPLE R	0.355				

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 6

VAR 205 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.283	
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY		
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT		
		VAR176	GENERATION		
VARIABLE + CATEGORY	N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA
VAR4					
1 MALE	82	.03		.01	
2 FEMALE	116	.02-		.01-	
			.06		.02
VAR7					
1 SHORT (0-10)	23	.15-		.27	
2 MEDIUM (11-25)	138	.02		.06	
3 LONG (26-51)	37	.01		.04-	
			.11		.22
VAR5					
1 CATHOLIC	154	.01		.02	
2 MARTHOMITE	44	.03-		.07-	
			.04		.08
VAR176					
1 FIRST GENERATION	111	.07		.11	
2 SECOND GENERATION	87	.09-		.14-	
			.16		.25
MULTIPLE R SQUARED	0.068				
MULTIPLE R	0.260				

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 7

VAR 210 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.424		
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY			
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT			
		VAR176	GENERATION			
VARIABLE + CATEGORY		N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA
VAR4						
	1 MALE	82	.06		.03-	
	2 FEMALE	116	.04-		.02	
				.08		.05
VAR7						
	1 SHORT (0-10)	23	.31		.16-	
	2 MEDIUM (11-25)	138	.15-		.00	
	3 LONG (26-51)	37	.36		.12	
				.35		.12
VAR5						
	1 CATHOLIC	154	.03		.00	
	2 MARTHOMITE	44	.12		.01	
				.10		.01
VAR176						
	1 FIRST GENERATION	111	.47		.48	
	2 SECOND GENERATION	87	.60-		.61-	
				.81		.82
MULTIPLE R SQUARED		0.670				
MULTIPLE R		0.818				

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 8

VAR 211 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.000		
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY			
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT			
		VAR176	GENERATION			
VARIABLE + CATEGORY		N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA
VAR4						
	1 MALE	82	.00		.02-	
	2 FEMALE	116	.00		.01	
				.00		.02
VAR7						
	1 SHORT (0-10)	23	.13-		.08-	
	2 MEDIUM (11-25)	138	.05		.05	
	3 LONG (26-51)	37	.11-		.13-	
				.10		.09
VAR5						
	1 CATHOLIC	154	.27-		.26-	
	2 MARTHOMITE	44	.93		.91	
				.65		.64
VAR176						
	1 FIRST GENERATION	111	.07		.05	
	2 SECOND GENERATION	87	.09-		.07-	
				.11		.08
MULTIPLE R SQUARED		0.433				
MULTIPLE R		0.658				

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 9

VAR 212 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.328		
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY			
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT			
		VAR176	GENERATION			
VARIABLE + CATEGORY		N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA
VAR4						
	1 MALE	82	.02-		.03-	
	2 FEMALE	116	.02		.02	
				.04		.04
VAR7						
	1 SHORT (0-10)	23	.07-		.00	
	2 MEDIUM (11-25)	138	.03		.02	
	3 LONG (26-51)	37	.09-		.08-	
				.10		.07
VAR5						
	1 CATHOLIC	154	.17-		.17-	
	2 MARTHOMITE	44	.58		.58	
				.58		.58
VAR176						
	1 FIRST GENERATION	111	.01		.00	
	2 SECOND GENERATION	87	.02-		.00	
				.03		.01
MULTIPLE R SQUARED		0.338				
MULTIPLE R		0.582				

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 10

VAR 213 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 2.444		
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY			
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT			
		VAR176	GENERATION			
VARIABLE + CATEGORY		N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA
VAR4						
	1 MALE	82	.04		.03-	
	2 FEMALE	116	.03-		.02	
				.06		.04
VAR7						
	1 SHORT (0-10)	23	.29		.04-	
	2 MEDIUM (11-25)	138	.08-		.02	
	3 LONG (26-51)	37	.12		.05-	
				.23		.05
VAR5						
	1 CATHOLIC	154	.05-		.03-	
	2 MARTHOMITE	44	.19		.11	
				.17		.10
VAR176						
	1 FIRST GENERATION	111	.34		.35	
	2 SECOND GENERATION	87	.43-		.44-	
				.65		.67
MULTIPLE R SQUARED		0.437				
MULTIPLE R		0.661				

MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS 11

VAR 61 BY		VAR4	GENDER	GRAND MEAN = 3.943		
		VAR7	DURATION OF STAY			
		VAR5	RELIGION OF RESPONDENT			
		VAR176	GENERATION			
VARIABLE + CATEGORY	N	UNADJUSTED DEV'N	ETA	ADJUSTED FOR INDEPENDENTS DEV'N	BETA	
VAR4						
1 MALE	109	.14		.18-		
2 FEMALE	136	.11-		.15		
			.07			.09
VAR7						
1 SHORT (0-10)	29	.54		.54-		
2 MEDIUM (11-25)	167	.12-		.23		
3 LONG (26-51)	49	.10		.46-		
			.11			.18
VAR5						
1 CATHOLIC	185	.19-		.11-		
2 MARTHOMITE	60	.59		.33		
			.18			.10
VAR176						
1 FIRST GENERATION	145	.99		1.11		
2 SECOND GENERATION	100	1.43-		1.61-		
			.63			.71
MULTIPLE R SQUARED	0.442					
MULTIPLE R	0.665					