THE EXPERIENCE OF BICULTURAL CONFLICT BY VIETNAMESE

ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN GREATER VANCOUVER

by

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THE EXPERIENCE OF BICULTURAL

CONFLICT BY VIETNAMESE ADOLESCENT

GIRLS IN GREATER VANCOUVER

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ABSTRACT

Studies on the acculturation of immigrants and refugees
have been particularly concerned with the experiences of
adults to the detriment of children and adolescents.
Research which focus on the experiences of adolescent
females is confined to a few studies. This thesis examines
the acculturation experiences of a group of twenty-two
adolescent Vietnamese girls of Chinese ethnicity living in
the Greater Vancouver area of British Columbia, Canada.

Semi-structured interviews of approximately forty-five
minutes each elicited information regarding the girls'
perceptions of their adjustment to life in Canada. The data
have been analyzed qualitatively with respect to the
subjects' relationships with their families, and with the
school and their peers. The focus of this research is on
bicultural conflict, and the extent to which this conflict
is felt by the girls varies. While some girls appear to
have rejected completely their traditional culture, the
majority have in fact attained bicultural identity.

Findings from the study indicate that there is no
single cause of conflict for the subjects interviewed.
While the conflicts experienced can be classified as: (a)

intergenerational, (b) authority, and (c) bicultural, the sources of conflict are related to: (a) misunderstandings in parent/adolescent communication patterns, (b) gender: particularly with respect to role evaluations, (c) the girls' relationships and mobility outside the home, (d) disparity in values between the girls and their parents, and (e) differential rates of acculturation between parents and their daughters.

The findings indicate a link between the division of household labour and acculturation with respect to the girls' responsibility for housework and child care. While parents advocate delegating sizable amounts of housework and child care to girls, where there are male siblings, conflict based on unequal expectations from household duties exists. The girls' perceptions of unequal treatment in the family between themselves and their male siblings reflect other interpersonal and child rearing issues beyond the division of household tasks, but gender relations complicate this burden.

This thesis argues that while Canadian adolescent girls generally, are confronted with choices related to traditional versus non-traditional values, these Vietnamese girls seem to be faced with the dilemma of coping with parental expectations and the appeal of adolescent culture as they strive to balance the norms and values of their Vietnamese culture with those of Canadian society generally.

The combination of these elements appear to contribute to adjustment difficulties for some girls. While the majority of subjects expressed traditional views regarding the primacy of family life, these girls also have plans to combine their occupational and family roles, and they indicate their awareness of structural changes in gender relations in Canadian society, especially with respect to the growing impact in selective families on the traditional division of labour in the home. The Vietnamese girls who were youngest upon their arrival in Canada appear to experience a greater degree of bicultural conflict.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

for always making time for my requests and keeping me
informed of relevant issues at S.F.U.

DEDICATION

To the memories of my mother Florence Mae Gordon-Mogg, and
my grandmother Martha Lawrence-Gordon who modeled love,
compassion, initiative, and independence.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have not yet adequately explored the acculturation experiences of the Vietnamese families who began arriving in Canada during the mass departure following the Vietnam War. This "exodus" peaked during the mid 1970's and early 1980's. Since few studies to date address the impact of the cultural dislocation on the children of these refugees, this research explores the experiences of some of these adolescent girls living in Greater Vancouver. This study is a descriptive, exploratory exposition of the girls' perceptions of difficulties they face in their adjustment to life in Canada.

The data are grouped into three categories: relationships in the family, relationships with the school and peers, and acculturation attitudes and ethnic identity. Throughout the study, the impact of gender issues on the girls' experiences are highlighted and discussed. While the overall approach to this study is eclectic, the basic tenets of social learning theory are employed in discussing the assumptions which underlie the data.

This thesis posits that several factors could contribute to the girls' sense of bicultural conflict: family interactions and expectations, the decline in the families' socioeconomic status, the division of labour in the home, the employment status of the mother, and the girls' ages at the time of immigration. By examining the girls' perceptions of their experiences, this research aimed to discover their adjustment difficulties, their coping strategies, and how they might like to improve their situation.

Context of the Research Problem

The Vietnam War ended with the fall of Saigon in April 1975 at which time the American Army pulled out of the country and the American Government requested that its allies, including Canada, aid in the settlement of refugees. In the panic that ensued, thousands of persons were air lifted to Canada, and these formed the "first wave" of Vietnamese refugees to arrive in the country. The numbers continued to escalate, and by the middle of 1977, the number of persons who took to the sea in boats and overland into neighbouring countries grew to several hundred thousands. All persons leaving Vietnam did not qualify to enter Canada under the status of conventional refugees, and the Canadian Immigration Act was amended by Parliament on December 11, 1978 to accommodate this newly designated class of persons (Adelman, 1982, p. 138).

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From the perspective of immigrants and refugees as well as that of the host society, immigration is a process of social change and adaptation and the response to this change is variable and contextual. Berry (1982; 1987), and Suh (1980) do not specifically discuss women and children but they argue that drastic cultural change places the immigrant's perception and coping strategies under strain. Conversely, Beiser and Collomb (1984), Chance (1965), Murphy (1977), and Sluzki, (1978) contend that while immigrants, migrants, and refugees go through a transitional process of stressful adjustment, factors such as the pre-migration stress level, the conditions of the exodus, and several post migration variables all contribute to the adaptation experience. This thesis employs an integration of these two comparative approaches to examine differences in the impact of immigration on the subjects being investigated.

For the Vietnamese, immigration plans were sudden, and the process involved drastic cultural change even for those refugees from an urban background. Recent research indicates that one can reasonably assume that immigrant children and adolescents face unique problems in adjusting to life in Canada, and therefore are prone to an elevated mental health risk. Furthermore, refugee women, in addition to being faced with high risk situations antecedent to their arrival in Canada must cope with "Canadian policies and programs which are a disadvantage to their adjustment".

Women are therefore more vulnerable to pathology than their male counterparts (The Canadian Task Force on the Mental Health of Immigrants and Refugees, 1988, pp. 65 & 73).

Being interested in the experiences and concerns of immigrant women and children, I decided to study what adjustment difficulties the Vietnamese adolescent girls might be experiencing. The challenge was to identify how these girls were coping with acculturative change, and to learn what strategies for environmental mastery they employed as they attempt to balance the opportunities available in Canada, against the increased vulnerability and possible erosion of their traditional culture. I was also interested in learning whether there are specific familial and cultural expectations for these girls, and whether these demands were based on their social identity as females. How do the girls perceive their traditional cultural gender identity, and what decisions and plans are they making within the context of their traditional culture and the general societal gender expectations for females?

Scope and Focus of the Study

This thesis addressed exploratory questions to a sample of twenty-two ethnic Chinese Vietnamese adolescent girls living in Greater Vancouver. The girls were interviewed regarding their perception of living between two cultures. It was not assumed that the exposure to both the Vietnamese

and Canadian cultures would be a negative experience for all of them.

The focus of the study is on specific difficulties the girls face, and the intent was to learn from their stance, how they felt about their adjustment to life in Canada, and how they balanced the two cultures, Canadian and Vietnamese. Given the premise that child rearing patterns and family dynamics impact on the adjustment of adolescents, it was assumed that many of the adjustment factors identified would be related to family structure and would to some extent be due to where each family fits on the spectrum of acculturation i.e., on a high or low acculturation level (Danziger, 1971, pp. 26-27). Family dynamics implies the interaction between family members which reflect the quality and nature of the relationships between the persons comprising the group (Elkin and Handel, 1979); while acculturation refers to the ability and the capacity to retain one's cultural heritage, while successfully participating in another culture, usually that of the dominant community (Anderson & Frideres, 1983).

The expectations were that the girls' responses would indicate differential rates of acculturation within families; and the children would notably have a mastery of English, adjust to Canadian values, and adopt Canadian attitudes and behaviours more readily than their parents. In those families where the parents cannot understand or

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speak English, there would be more tension between the adolescent girl and her parents (Colalillo, 1974, p. 65). Those parents with a limited knowledge of English would be found to be marginal to the social life of Canada and the mothers, especially, would be described by the girls as particularly isolated (Johnson, 1984). Girls from the such families would be caught acutely between Vietnamese and Canadian expectations of acceptable behaviour.

Based on the literature on Vietnamese culture which describes differential treatment relative to hierarchical structure and gender in Vietnamese families, (e.g., Chan and Lam 1983, Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy 1987, and Nguyen, 1980) specific questions were posed to elicit how the girls saw their treatment by their parents in comparison with their brothers' treatment. Are they comfortable relating to both parents, and is there a dual standard of expected behaviour based on the sex of family members? For instance, how is the division and allocation of tasks dealt with in the home?

It was expected that an hierarchical relationship between the sexes would become evident, with those girls having male siblings reporting that their brothers have more privileges than they do, and with the bulk of the housework being the responsibility of the women in the family. More specifically, whether the mother was employed outside the home or not, the adolescent girl would carry the major load of domestic responsibilities.

Literature on the Vietnamese in North America suggest that parents have high expectations for their children's academic achievement (Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy, 1989; Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy, 1987; Nguyen and Williams, 1990). In addition to these patterns of family interactions and expectations, it was assumed the girls would report considerable pressure to achieve academically while encountering parental restrictions on their mobility outside the home, and this would curtail their participation in the social life of the peer group. These demands could lead to considerable tension between the girls and their parents as some girls resist parental direction.

In all interview situations, the girls were asked to give some indication of their adherence to Vietnamese culture: such as language use, dietary habits, and religious practices. How Vietnamese do they feel, and how Canadian do they want to be? Are they encouraged by their parents to integrate into Canadian society or to retain their Vietnamese identity? Given the ideal of multiculturalism in Canada, how do these Vietnamese girls integrate both sets of values?

Review of the Literature

To examine possible adjustment difficulties the Vietnamese adolescent girls might be experiencing, several bodies of literature seemed relevant. They are classified and discussed under four main categories: cultural values of

the Vietnamese, adolescent socialization, acculturation

processes and ethnic identity, and feminist analyses of

gender socialization. While an extensive body of literature

exists within each category, little is known about the

underlying sources of stress for female immigrant

adolescents, and the impact of minority group status and

gender on their acculturation. This study extrapolates from

applicable studies in the areas consulted, but this research

aims at synthesizing those studies which address the

specific focus of the thesis.

Cultural Values of the Vietnamese

One crucial concept that needs to be examined initially

is cultural values. When individuals move to an alien

culture, they bring with them their own ethnic identity with

its norms and values, which might be more broadly termed

their value orientations, and these are based on underlying

philosophical perspectives which different societies

develop. Value orientations are typified by patterns of

preferences and standard for judging persons and situations.

Values are not only related to individual perspectives and

social processes, but are attached to roles individuals

occupy in society. Kitwood (1980) argues that since there

are proscriptions for every role in society, as children

grow the individual child begins to be constrained by the

conventional expectations of the culture. Given these

assertions, it therefore follows that immigrant and refugee

children and adolescents are faced with differing cultural demands.

Three themes are conspicuous in the literature regarding cultural values of the Vietnamese in North America. The first one highlights the extent to which the traditional structure of the Vietnamese family serves to perpetuate respect for parents and conformity to parental expectations. The second theme relates to asymmetry between the sexes in the family and society, and suggests that females are accorded an inferior status compared to males. The third theme concerns the impact of North American culture on Vietnamese beliefs, values, and behaviours.

Research on the question of Vietnamese family structure is unanimous in indicating that aspects of Vietnamese social organization which place value on obedience and conformity rather than individual assertiveness are central features in the socialization of children, and these values are enshrined in family interactions and relationships (Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy, 1987; Nyugen, 1980; Van Esterik, 1980). The question of hierarchy between the sexes is also a significant feature in the family, and ideals of hierarchy, obedience and social inequality find expression and are perpetuated in the larger society (Chan & Lam, 1983; Haines, 1986; Van Esterik, 1980; Woodside, 1988).

The studies reported thus far present a somewhat contradictory picture of the hierarchical functioning of the

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sexes within the Vietnamese family. Whereas Chan and Lam,
(1983) argue that this historical asymmetry is based on
Confucian traditions and that it is accepted and sanctioned
by the women themselves, Woodside (1988) conversely notes
that traditional Vietnamese law encoded the right to equal
inheritance of property to daughters and sons, and thereby,
matrimonial property was managed on the basis of equality
between husband and wife. Furthermore, he contends that
female devaluation in Vietnam increased as a result of later
colonial influences which transformed the political and
economic structure of the country. Van Esterik (1980)
argues that today, despite their inferior status compared to
men, Vietnamese women (among others from Southeast Asia) are
valued in the society for their financial competence and
enterprise relative to the welfare of the family.

Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy (1989) highlight the general
impact of North American culture on the family life of the
Vietnamese refugees. They suggest that there are three core
values: education, a cohesive family life, and hard work,
which influence the Vietnamese in their adaptation to life
in North America. Other studies point to the extraordinary
progress of Vietnamese and other Indochinese children in the
academic programmes of Canadian and American schools and
universities (Bell, 1985; Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy, 1987;
Hsia, 1987; Vernon, 1984). Collectively, these studies
conclude that the high scholastic achievement of Vietnamese

children indicate that they, like other Oriental students in North American schools, are motivated by their parents to achieve high academic goals.

Besides this impetus towards high academic achievement, significant differences exist between parents and children in the endorsement of a range of other culturally derived beliefs and values. Nguyen and Williams (1989) assert that many Vietnamese adolescents receive conflicting messages from their parents regarding traditional family values, resulting in the experience of considerable strain in some families.

In analyzing the impact of North American culture on traditional Vietnamese family values, Chan and Lam (1983) argue that signs of strain in many Chinese Vietnamese families in Canada are manifested by children and adolescents challenging the authority of their parents, although most of this oppositional behaviour remains muted. Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) found that a number of women reported serious changes in their marriages with the weakening of their husbands' control over their lives, while a few men expressed dismay over the threat to their traditional authority as household head, husband, and father. Kimbria (1990) reports similar strains among Vietnamese families in the United States.

In sum, the literature suggests that while the Vietnamese refugees in Canada and the United States regard

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the family as a key institution and source of support, there are indications of some strain on the traditional structure, and many values and practices associated with traditional family life are being eroded. The above review of findings on Vietnamese cultural values offers some understanding of the general problems in interpreting respective cultural values.

This body of literature has been most useful in the formulation of initial ideas for this thesis. The findings suggest that migration from one cultural context to another could have considerable impact on traditionally held views, yet present conflict for parents as well as children and adolescents.

Adolescent Socialization

The literature on adolescent socialization which is characterized by both psychological and social definitions of adolescence, emphasizes that this transitional stage of human development is marked by the individual's quest for identity and independence. This is a phase of increased internal, familial, and social conflict which is considered normative (Erickson, 1967; Golembeck, Marton, Stein and Korenblum, 1989; Rosenthal, 1987). In addition to the inner processes that adolescents experience, Kitwood (1980), argues that adolescents forge a separate social world with their peers in order to evaluate the boundaries of their

identity. This phenomenon often causes parent/adolescent conflict.

In evaluating the literature on adolescent socialization, several characteristics may be noted: First, researchers generally agree that the peer group has its impact through the informal teaching of youth culture (Campbell, 1969; Mackie, 1987). Second, the perspectives and values of youth culture often contribute to intergenerational conflict between parents and their adolescent children (Erickson, 1968; Danziger, 1971; Rosenthal, 1987; Traub and Dodder, 1988). Third, the conflict between immigrant adolescents and their parents is further compounded by identity and intercultural crises (Danziger, 1971; Kim, 1980; Rosenthal et al., 1983; Rosenthal, 1987; Sluzki, 1979).

In discussing adolescent socialization, Campbell (1969) argues that there are socially defined rights, duties, and a set of expected behaviours that accompany the status of adolescence, and that the function of youth culture is to expose its members to their new role with its specific values and perspectives. Mackie (1987) suggests that the primary aim of adolescent socialization is the learning of values, motivations, skills and roles in preparation for adulthood. In contrast to Campbell's view which espouses the rights of adolescents, Mackie's perspective embodies the possibility of a more global application. Given that belief

systems, child rearing practices, and family dynamics vary from culture to culture, there can be no definitive explanations of cross-cultural adolescent development. Rosenthal et al., argue that because of significant differences in the psychosocial dynamics of adolescents, "the influence of specific aspects of culture on adolescent development is still open to question" (Rosenthal, Moore, and Taylor, 1983, p. 121).

In attempts to clarify the influence of cultural forces on adolescent interactions with their parents, Danziger (1971) asserts that while individual adolescents conform to peer demands and attempt to gain control over their activities, parents are reluctant to relinquish their directiveness, often resulting in intensified conflicts over independence issues. Besides, with respect to immigrant adolescents, immigration threatens the effectiveness of the transmission of family norms.

The work of Csikzentmilahy and Larsen (1984) suggest that while there are a number of internal forces which channel and structure the adolescent's psychic energy in terms of past experience, values shape the adolescent's interest in terms of future expectations. Clarifying the dynamics of instinctual versus socially imposed psychic demands, they argue that adolescents' real interests lie in their ability "to mediate between these two competing principles" (Csikzentmilahy & Larson, 1984, pp. 18-19).

Besides, Traub and Dodder (1988) note that youth generate an emerging definition of present situations while adults tend to reject emergent norms and values, and intergenerational conflict reflects this divergence between parents and their adolescent children.

Given these views, the implications are significant for the girls in this present study. Based on the responses during the interviews, generational differences in value congruence can be expected to be most evident where the maintenance of culturally derived Vietnamese values and interests of the parents collide with the girls' acquisition of the Canadian adolescent values of their peer group. Adjusting to these varying influences could pose the possibility of increased tension, and conflict for some girls.

The literature suggests that the values held by Canadian adolescents generally, are in marked contrast to those deemed to be significant to the Vietnamese refugees (values such as obedience, and conformity to parental expectations outlined earlier in this review). Bibby and Postereski (1985) found that friendship and being loved are the salient values of Canadian adolescents, and they contend that given the high priority placed on relationships and love in Canadian society generally, these findings could be considered normative.

With respect to immigrant adolescents, however, Danziger (1971) argues that while interpersonal situations are crucial for the transmission of values, those adolescents who are from families where "familism" is stressed are disadvantaged in terms of value congruence of both cultures. Familism refers to the primacy of family obligations over all others, and he contends that this perspective is at variance with the universalistic ethic of modern industrial societies; and where immigrant parents explicitly reject the values of the new society, the adolescent has to choose, which increases the possibility of increased parent/adolescent conflict (Danziger, 1971, p. 76).

In summary, the work of Danziger (1971) which highlights the differential experiences of immigrant families is of particular relevance to this thesis. He notes that besides normative expectations about values, cognitive processes such as attitudes, preferences, and choice impinge on family systems and processes, and these are significant findings which bring credence in attempting to understand the dimensions of meaning to the responses provided by the girls in this study. The findings of Kim (1980) related the experiences of Korean adolescent girls and boys in Canada, while Bibby and Postereski (1985) provide comparative material on adolescent values in Canada. These studies are especially useful to the present study

because of the portrayal of contrasting parental expectations which impact on the values held by adolescents in plural societies. Rosenthal et al., (1983) and Rosenthal's, (1984 and 1987) studies of Greek and Italian adolescents of both sexes in Australia, by focusing on the socialization experiences of minority adolescents, contributed insightful material for comparative purposes also.

Given the premise that both parents and peers are important influences in adolescent socialization, the literature indicates that the question of choice is not easily resolved for adolescents. Without the endorsement of youth culture by their parents, the insecurities of the adolescent years could be more stressful for such young people, and even more so, for immigrant adolescents.

Acculturation Processes and Ethnic Identity

The third body of literature that was examined relates to immigrants' preferences in identifying with their country of origin as against the degree of identification with the host country. The literature regards refugees as a special category of immigrants, and a striking feature of this collection of works is the paucity of material which relates to children and adolescents. Extant studies focus for the most part on the adaptation of boys and young men while making global generalizations in their references to females. (Polgar, 1960; Taft & Johnston, 1967; Taft, 1973).

Despite this omission, researchers generally agree that acculturation is a multidimensional process which effect changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups which come into contact, and the phenomenon embodies psychological and behavioural components (Beiser & Collomb, 1984; Chance, 1964; Murphy, 1977; Teske & Nelson, 1974). Due to the differential appraisal of norms across cultures, acculturation is related to high levels of stress for those persons uprooted for another culture (Berry, 1987; Chataway & Berry, 1989; Suh, 1980). The disruptive effects of acculturation on effective family functioning, particularly differences in the linguistic competence of parents and children, and the resultant impact of these differences have also been widely noted (Colalillo, 1974; Danziger, 1971; Rosenthal, 1984 and 1987; Sluzki, 1979; Szapocnik & Kurtines, 1980).

Related to the above findings on acculturation, is a recurring theme which addresses the acculturation of children and adolescents. It concerns the idea that the age at which individuals emigrate, and the length of their exposure to the host culture are significant socio-demographic variables (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Danziger (1971), and Inbar, (1977) respectively note that parent/adolescent conflict, and learning difficulties in immigrant children and adolescents, might reflect the negative impact of immigration experiences that are related

to the age at which children emigrate. Kim (1977) cites children's shorter reinforcement history, and the lesser degree of discrepancy in their expectancies in the new society as the major underlying factors in their higher rate of acculturation in comparison with their parents.

Colalillo (1974), Kim (1983), Nguyen and Williams (1989), and Rosenthal (1984; 1987) have identified sex as another significant variable in the acculturation of immigrant adolescents. Because female adolescents, in comparison with males, are subject to more parental restrictions in most cultures, this leads to increased conflict with parents, and probably the experience of more stress by girls. Furthermore, Naditch and Morrissey (1975), contend that due to the stress of ambiguity regarding their role evaluations by parents, many immigrant adolescent girls are more prone to the development of psychopathological coping mechanisms in comparison to adolescent boys.

The literature on the ethnic identity of immigrants indicates that the concept is multifaceted and is but another aspect of the acculturation process. Ethnic identity is defined as having two components: ascribed characteristics such as race, language etc., and a subconsciously internalized body of beliefs whereby the individual assimilates into the self concept, ethnic characteristics and feelings of belonging, leading to the

development of a social identity and expressed solidarity with one's ethnic group (Rosenthal, 1987, p. 159).

The relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation hinges on the definition assigned to both concepts. For instance, researchers present conflicting views regarding the nature of the ethnic boundary between minority groups and the larger (dominant) society. While Bretton (1976) argues that the degree of ethnic boundary minorities maintain serves to reinforce the ethnic identity of the individual and group; Rosenthal et al., (1983), and Rosenthal (1987) contend that ethnic identity is contingent upon the extent to which adolescents cross the ethnic boundary. Furthermore, Driedger (1975) states that in addition to the external boundary placed on the ethnic group within the larger society, the individual is also constrained by the internal boundaries within the particular ethnic group. He cites parental modelling and input as significant influences on the degree of ethnic identity adolescents portray and affirm. Besides, Berry (1987) asserts that there can be varying shifts in an individual's orientation towards ethnic identity during the life span.

Research into the nature of ethnic identity points to the significance of individual choice in the ethnic presentation of self. While intrapsychic and interpersonal processes such as socialization underlie the reasons for such choice, structural factors involving social, economic,

and political realities are fundamental considerations (Beiser, 1982; Chance, 1965; Clarke, Kaufman, & Pierce, 1976).

Most studies conclude that there is an interplay between social stratification factors and ethnic identification, and Andersen and Frideres (1981) note that such factors which are inherent in the wider Canadian society affect the value individuals and groups place on ethnic identity. As well, Akoodie (1984) contends that the children of immigrants and minorities in Canada learn to perceive the culture of their parents as inferior based on the assessment of the larger community. These are useful insights in analyzing the responses to the questions posed to the girls interviewed for this thesis. They serve in assessing the perception of and the value placed on ethnic identity by the adolescent Vietnamese subjects.

The findings of Padilla (1980) are of particular relevance to the present study. Padilla argues that there are two essential aspects to ethnic identity: ethnic awareness and ethnic loyalty. These two categories involve specific knowledge of cultural material. e.g., language, values, and customs; and a preference for one cultural orientation over another. Although Padilla fails to explain why an individual develops a preference for one culture over another, the model lends itself to describing the degree of ethnic awareness and loyalty of the girls interviewed for

this study. Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) report that the Vietnamese community in Quebec City successfully asserts its ethnic identity by transmitting the language, inculcating family values, and perpetuating cultural survival activities among its members, and children are particularly targeted for involvement.

A number of studies suggest that immigrant and minority adolescents who undergo concurrent socialization in plural societies are likely to experience bicultural conflict. This conflict is more marked when the central values of the larger community are incompatible, and when pressure to accommodate to both influences is stressful (Colalillo, 1974; Danziger, 1971; Rosenthal et al., 1983; Rosenthal, 1987; Sung, 1985; Szapocznik & Kurtines , 1980).

Rosenthal et al., (1983) argue that differential perceptions and concerns relative to this conflict are manifested by children of different ages, and individual adolescents develop strategies for coping with divergent messages in their environment. Notably, the stress some immigrant adolescents place on assimilation might be a strategy to improve their self image through identification, and attempting to move into the dominant social group. These assertions served initially in formulating questions on ethnic identity and later aided in making sense of particular responses generated by the interviews.

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) explain that stable biculturation involves accommodating to the host culture as well as retaining the culture of origin, and where conflict exists, it is related to issues that are considered to be important in the particular cultures which come into contact. Furthermore, structural changes in the family unit contributes to family dysfunction, and adolescents and their parents need to develop skills for effective functioning in different value contexts. These assertions imply that while acculturation processes embody cultural learning, individuals and families differ in their receptivity and responses to that learning, and specific intervention skills can be aimed at developing skills in healthy bicultural adaptation.

In sum, the literature on acculturation and ethnic identity has identified a number of interdependent variables and highlights the dynamic interplay of these processes. The degree of acculturation and ethnic identity can be selective for both individuals and groups, thereby, denoting "individual choice" to be of significance in both processes.

Where ethnic institutions exist, the efforts to preserve the language and traditional customs are more concerted. Linguistic competence in both cultures is of particular relevance to immigrant adolescents who need the

communication and negotiation skills to deal with the
challenges entailed in growing up between cultures.

This study focuses on the perceptions of the girls
interviewed and the data base did not allow for an
examination of parental modelling or the impact of the
ethnic community on the girls' ethnic self identification.
The variables that are stressed are ethnic awareness and
ethnic loyalty, as well as the degree to which the girls
claim to cross the ethnic boundary.

Collectively, the studies reviewed offer guidance and
insight for the evaluation and analysis of the data in this
thesis. The approaches to the subject provided by Beiser
(1982), Chance (1965), Danziger (1971), Dorais, Pilon-Le,
and Huy (1987), Padilla (1980), Rosenthal et al., (1983),
Rosenthal (1987), and Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) were of
particular relevance to the present study. These studies
reflected the multidimensional aspects of acculturation and
ethnic identity which served in formulating the questions
posed in this study as well as interpreting the responses.

Feminist Analyses of Gender Socialization

Scholarly works which analyze socialization processes
from a feminist perspective, though representing a range of
paradigms, all aim to develop theories which place the
social identity of gender in its historical context, and to
develop explanations which adequately account for women's
role and status in society.

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Social learning theorists argue that parents and other agents of socialization stress different values for girls and boys, and reward and punish, depending what behaviours children exhibit (Bandura, 1969; Hall, 1987; Mackie, 1987). Mackie notes that in North American society, boys are rewarded for aggressiveness and exhibit more of this behaviour, while girls are rewarded for docility and dependent behaviours which are more evident among them. Bandura (1969) explains the relationship between parental modelling and the symbolic modelling of the media, which augments and reinforce direct reinforcement techniques.

This thesis seeks to clarify these issues by focusing on the impact of traditional explanations of socialization on women's lives. Criticizing such theories of socialization within the family as that of Parson & Bales (1955), feminists assert that the distinction between women's domestic orientation and men's public orientation has served to perpetuate women's subordination in societies generally (Rosaldo, 1974, pp. 17-42). McLaren (1985) notes that some women now actively resist traditional social sanctions which served to restrict their activities to the home. This implies that women's heightened awareness about occupational choices could have an impact on the adolescent subjects interviewed for this thesis.

Studies on the socialization of adolescent girls suggest that while the majority of girls retain traditional

notions of their domestic role, increasing numbers aspire to combine their occupational and domestic lives (Aneshensel and Rosen, 1980; Baker, 1985; Kostash, 1987). The implications are that as the number of working women increases, a shift in traditional domestic arrangements for housework and child care will become more evident. Families, especially women, will need supportive structures such as the option of delegating housework equally within the family, and accessible and affordable day care in order to accommodate these changes.

Two central concerns in the literature on socialization within the family is the significance which is placed on the transmission of the domestic ideology in the rearing of girl children compared to boys, and the major responsibility women have for housework compared to the male members of the family (Oakley, 1974; Salamon & Robinson, 1987). Fenstermaker-Berk (1985) presents substantive data showing that even when women are employed outside the home they carry sole responsibility for housework, while mothers delegate a greater share of domestic tasks to their daughters than their sons.

The family therefore provides an arena where girls rehearse for their future domestic responsibilities, and the household division of labour is clearly related to the symbolic perception of the status of the sexes. Yet, while most girls endorse the values of domesticity, Gaskell

(1983), Howard-Lindell (1982) , and Kostash (1987) argue that some adolescent girls reject their mothers as positive models with respect to their domestic role, and anticipate more occupational and economic opportunities for themselves.

These views strongly suggest that society's historical dictates regarding women's role have given rise to conflicts for some women, who, despite increasing opportunities for positive change in their status, are faced with psychological barriers to self determination. Indeed, Howard-Lindell (1982) cites poor self esteem as the outcome for some women who have submerged their authentic desire for occupational involvement in favour of the housewife role. According to Anyon (1983) the resistance to traditional gender socialization by some adolescent girls represents an optimistic note for improvement in the status of women generally.

With respect to gender socialization by educational agents and institutions, feminists analyze the social sanctions based on gender which keep women from achieving their educational potential. Some studies examine the social structure of schools, while others focus on the content, process, and outcome of education, and there are those which direct their attention solely to women's achievement motive.

The research on women's achievement motive suggests that sociocultural and historical forces have defined and

conditioned women's level of aspiration and subsequent

achievement. Horner (1970) and Hoffman (1972) identified

systemic variables inherent in the socialization of females

which serve to convey society's expectation that a woman's

primary commitment is to the family. Women soon learn this

value and lower their level of academic expectation and

achievement. Frazier and Sadker (1973), and Salamon and

Robinson (1987) indicate that the conflict between women's

affiliation and achievement goals first manifest itself

during adolescence when girls tend to downplay their

competitive needs as they strive to develop bonds of

friendship with males in their peer group.

Parsons, Kaczala, and Meech (1982) contend that there

is a link between female intellectual achievement and their

expectations, and girls lower their expectations in those

situations where they are treated in a qualitatively

different manner from boys. Kaufman and Richardson (1982)

challenge some of the assumptions of socialization and argue

that the achievement process is dynamically related to

social and structural changes in society, and they claim

that gender role socialization does not place immovable

limitations on women's achievement motive. They cite the

tradition of limited numbers of female role models as a

major factor in the stifling of women's achievement motive.

Baker (1985) endorses the positive relationship between

female role models and women's increased achievement. She

noted that adolescent girls with professionally employed mothers express higher occupational ambitions compared with their less privileged counterparts.

Baker (1985), and Russell (1979/80) have linked the inequities girls face in educational institutions with barriers to opportunities and resources females contend with in the labour force. Boyd (1985), The Canadian Task Force on the Mental Health of Immigrants and Refugees (1989), and Ng (1987) provide considerable evidence that immigrant women, even when they have attained outstanding credentials, experience additional difficulties in the labour force based on a combination of racism and sexism.

The foregoing findings were useful in formulating questions to solicit the perceptions and feelings of the girls interviewed with respect to their occupational goals. How do these Vietnamese girls envisage their chances for occupational advancement in Canada that will be in keeping with their credentials? How acute is their awareness of possible barriers to occupational success based on their gender and ethnicity?

In examining the factors that impinge on gender socialization, researchers agree that peer relations are a significant force, especially during adolescence when the directive role of the family declines (Mackie, 1987; Salamon and Robinson, 1987). Mackie argues that the peer group emphasizes gender-stereotyped behaviour and provides the

milieu for staging male and female roles. Furthermore, Frazier and Sadker (1973) and Kostash (1987) contend that the peer pressure girls face when they reach adolescence is a pivotal factor in the affiliation versus achievement conflict adolescent girls experience.

These studies reveal that compared with adolescent boys, girls have to contend with more family rules regarding socializing with friends, and are socialized to limit their mobility outside the home, although Canadian girls generally enjoy greater freedom in their friendships than their immigrant counterparts (Kostash, 1987). Mackie (1987) notes that in certain cultures the domestic confinement of women is supposed to protect them from interactions and situations that could possibly compromise their virtue. There is evidence that adolescent girls belonging to immigrant groups such as Italian, Korean, Hispanic, Vietnamese, Greek and East Indian for instance, are more actively constrained by these expectations (Colalillo, 1974; Kim, 1980; Naditch & Morrissey, 1976; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rosenthal, 1984; & Sharpe, 1976).

In sum, feminist research on gender socialization indicates that traditional approaches to socialization theory neglected the centrality of social forces which perpetuate gender inequality of all types in society. Inherent in feminist analyses, is the quest to expose the incompleteness, and correct the distortions in what

constitutes large areas of human knowledge. Many of these distortions represent the perspectives and interests of dominant groups in society and therefore have been unquestioned.

In reviewing the material for this thesis, the literature on Vietnamese culture consistently suggests that the primary sociocultural unit of the Vietnamese is the family. Therefore, the Vietnamese women's place in the traditional family and their transitional experience in Canada can be fully understood only within this familial context. It follows also, that any discussion of acculturation attitudes, and individual affirmation of ethnic identity among the Vietnamese, can be made intelligible only through reference to the changing role and functions of the family from Vietnam to Canada, and by examining the impact of these changes on individuals.

Much of the literature on acculturation and ethnic identity, although informative, offered only limited help in understanding specific features of the adjustment made by immigrant children and adolescents; with few exceptions, research efforts failed to consider sex as a variable in arriving at their explanations. Yet, a synthesis of the perspectives regarding cultural dislocation and contact, and the outcome of acculturative change provided by this body of research was useful in deepening the understanding and complexity of these phenomena.

The material on gender socialization indicates that the differentiation and ranking of the sexes which is an integral part of human social organization is transmitted and perpetuated by the primary socializing agents and institutions (Duveen and Lloyd, 1986; Mackie, 1987). This present research highlights the fact that social transformation impacts on traditional roles, yet, in the domestic realm, more equitable arrangements between women and men need to be addressed. While many women have surmounted structural barriers to their achievement in the public sphere, women still maintain sole responsibility for the domestic realm.

The studies which focus on the socialization of adolescent girls suggest that with few exceptions, future projections of their expectations and plans are based on traditional definitions of their domestic role, although increasing numbers are cognizant that economic necessity will make it incumbent that they forge an occupational role for themselves as well. In terms of this thesis, the work of Baker (1985), Gaskell (1983), Kostash (1987), and Mackie (1987) were most useful in generating ideas relevant to the topic. The major limitation of the majority of feminist studies is their neglect of ethnicity in their discussion of gender. Four studies were specific in their focus on the adjustment experiences of immigrant adolescent girls, i.e., Kim (1980), Rosenthal et al., (1983), Rosenthal (1984;

1987), and Sharpe, (1976), and their findings were most relevant in highlighting the social constraints which immigrant adolescent girls face in coming to terms with traditional role evaluations, yet, striving for the freedom and mobility that will equip them to function confidently in the public sphere. The work of Naditch and Morrissey (1976), and Nguyen and Williams (1989), also provided useful insights into the psychological responses of these adolescent girls to contradictory role expectations. This realization suggests that what is required by future researchers is a comprehensive, multidisciplinary, and integrated focus which would draw acculturation theory, adolescent socialization, and feminist analyses together.

Research Design and Methodology

This thesis employs the case study method of qualitative research, and this method was chosen for the detail it provides. By classifying the data and illuminating linkages, relevant variables for further research can be identified.

The task of case study research is to address some facts about persons and situations relevant to the issues under consideration and by classifying the data, identify patterns, linkages, social processes and their possible meanings (Bromley, 1986). Patton (1980) notes that: "The task of the qualitative methodologist is to provide a framework within which people can respond in a way that

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presents accurately and thoroughly, their points of view about that part of the world about which they are talking" (Patton, 1980, p. 29).

For the purposes of this study, although the interviews did not include observations of the subjects over time, the choice of method was influenced by Oscar Lewis' (1959) ethnographic and case study reportage of his observations of the daily life of single family Mexican households. He argues that the material generated from interviews does not speak for itself, and making sense of this material depends on the integrative ability of the researcher, who needs to fashion the necessary concepts and make the theoretical connections which make sense of the data.

This research was designed to provide data relevant to describing the relationships of a group of adolescent Vietnamese girls with their family, school, and peers, as well as to gain some understanding of their acculturation experiences and ethnic self identification. The subjects consist of twenty-two Vietnamese girls whose ages range between 12-19 years, living with their families in Greater Vancouver. They were mainly selected from a large non-clinical sample of Indochinese families provided by Dr. Morton Beiser, professor, and Department Head, Social and Cultural Psychiatry, University of British Columbia. The sample was deliberately chosen to fit the research goals, and the selection of the sample was based on the following

criteria: (a) Single family or joint household organization, (b) Chinese-Vietnamese ethnicity, (c) the subjects' corresponding length of stay in Canada, and (d) A range in the ages of the subjects which represent the early, middle, and late maturational stages of adolescent development.

The sample selection process revealed that in several instances, more than one subject belonged to the same family. This awareness led to a strategy to minimize the sharing of information between sisters, and they were interviewed sequentially, starting with the oldest girl to the youngest girl. Although the context of the interviews was important, the emphasis during the interviews was on the individual differences of each girl.

A letter requesting the parents' permission to interview their daughters for the purpose of collecting data for a Master's Thesis in Women's Studies at Simon Fraser University, was mailed to eighteen Vietnamese families with adolescent daughters on October 21, 1988. Four families had relocated with no forwarding address, while two families were out of the country on extended trips. Of the remaining twelve families, in all except two instances, the telephone was answered by the girl I was hoping to interview. These girls explained that their parents were unable or were uncomfortable speaking English, and hence could not respond to the letter of request. It appeared that a great deal of

initial suspicion about the purpose of my study was
generated in some of these families.

Eight families recalled their previous contact with the
research project at the University of British Columbia, and
they agreed to participate while the other four declined.
The remaining four families in this study were selected and
introduced through a contact at Vancouver Immigrant Services
Society. The sociodemographic profiles of these four
families, such as the time and circumstances surrounding
their arrival in Canada from Vietnam, were compatible with
those selected earlier, and they were supportive of the
project. Collectively, the twelve families include twenty-
two adolescent girls who agreed to be interviewed. The
confidentiality of the project was emphasized.

The twenty-two girls have been grouped into Early,
Middle, and Late adolescence (Golembeck, et al., 1989).
There are ten girls in the 12-13 year old group, four girls
in the 14-16 age range, and eight girls in the 17-19 age
bracket. Ten girls identified themselves to be in grades 6-
7, four girls said they were in grades 8-10, and five girls
were in grades 11-12. Of the remaining three older girls,
two are in the first year at a community college, while one
is employed in a bank, having completed high school a year
ago. In order to ensure anonymity, Vietnamese pseudonyms
have been assigned to the subjects who make up this sample.

TABLE 1

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION OF PARENTS AND ADOLESCENT GIRLS

FAMILIES	GIRLS	AGES (years)
Family 1 = Mother and Father	1 - THANH	15
	2 - HOA	14
Family 2 = (M) and (F)	1 - LIEN	19
	2 - TAM	20
Family 3 = (M) and (F)	1 - NGOC	12
Family 4 = (M) and (F)	1 - NGA	12
Family 5 = (M) and (F)	1 - NGLING	12
Family 6 - (M) and (F)	1 - THAU	13
	2 - HWONG	12
Family 7 = Separated Mother	1 - MINH	17
	2 - TUYET	15
	3 - ANH	13
	4 - TRANG	12
Family 8 = (M) and (F)	1 - YEN	18
	2 - HONG	16
Family 9 = (M) AND (F)	1 - HAHN	12
Family 10 = (M) and (F)	1 - VI	19
	2 - KIEN	18
Family 11 = (M) and (F)	1 - KAMU	17
	2 - MAH	13
Family 12 = (M) and (F)	1 - LINH	18

p.s.
Families 3 and 4 form a joint household comprising two sisters and their families. NGOC and NGA are therefore cousins.

Nine of the families are ethnic Chinese (16 girls), and the six girls from the remaining three families all claimed Chinese ancestry, so the entire sample has been analyzed as being ethnic Chinese. Given the possibility that there might be variations of structure and process between indigenous and ethnic Vietnamese families, the findings of this thesis need not necessarily apply in all its dimensions outside of the ethnic Chinese Vietnamese population.

The format for data collection consisted of a loosely structured interview which lasted approximately forty-five minutes, and each girl was interviewed in her own home at a time chosen by her and her parents. In all but two instances, the girls consented to the use of a tape recorder. All twenty-two interviews were conducted in December 1988.

The questions which make up the interview guide are modifications of those used by Danziger (1971) in his study of the socialization of adolescent Italian and German boys in the Toronto area. His questions were designed to measure levels of acculturation and assimilation of the families. Colalillo (M.A. Thesis, 1974) drew heavily on Danziger's work in her study of Italian adolescent girls, also in the Toronto area. Her focus was on language and the influence of the ethnic enclave on the adaptation of her subjects. Although she imp lied that her subjects were at a disadvantage in many ways compared to their brothers, she

did not consider the impact of gender related issues on her sample. One of the purposes of this research is to formulate specific questions relating to gender identity and gender role expectations of the subjects interviewed.

In addition to the question guide which was employed during the interviews for this thesis, the use of suitable probes were inserted to put the respondents at ease and to encourage rapport. Where suitable, probes were also inserted to encourage the girls to elaborate or clarify specific responses. Non-verbal aspects of communication such as body language, eye contact, and tone of voice were also noted. In addition, illustrative quotes from the interviews provide factual material, but more notably, serve to capture the feelings and attitudes the girls shared with me. Despite the semi-structured format of the interviews, the responses indicate how the girls viewed their experiences.

My work experience as a Community Mental Health Nurse which entails the assessment, counselling, and treatment of adolescents on a daily basis, enabled me to engage the attention of the subjects more readily, and to establish rapport with them during the interviews. It should be noted, however, that as a group, these Vietnamese girls were quite vague with respect to their parents' (especially their fathers') educational and occupational status. Blishen (1967) argues that social status and upward mobility are

closely tied to occupations (Blishen, 1967, pp. 41-53). It could be, that in some instances, the decline in the families' socioeconomic standing accounts for embarrassment, hence this unified ahistorical self presentation by many girls which served to discourage probing into these issues.

Conclusion

In this exploratory study, the twenty-two girls in the sample are not treated as representative of the population of Vietnamese adolescent girls in Canada. Guiding hypotheses were developed with the expectation that they will lead to further and more systematic comparisons. This thesis is a qualitative, small group study and the questions in the interview guide which consists of seventy items, were designed to elicit particular responses that would serve to identify any adjustment difficulties experienced by the girls. The focus of the analysis is on the attitudinal, rather than the behavioural aspects of the girls' responses, i.e., how they make sense of their perceptions and experiences, what is important to them, and finally, what traditional versus non-traditional dilemmas they might be grappling with. The purpose of this thesis is hypothesis formulation, not testing. Throughout the study, research findings relative to immigrant adolescents, and adolescent females generally, provide a measure of comparison, but no definitive answers.

Guiding Hypotheses

1.   The Vietnamese adolescent girls in this study will express opinions and attitudes which indicate their divergence from specific norms and values of their families and culture.

2.   Regardless of the mothers' employment status, the adolescent girls in this study will have responsibility for a major portion of the housework. The girls will express attitudes which indicate marked disagreement with the delegation of housework based on gender lines.

3.   The girls will report considerable restrictions on their use of leisure time, and those girls with brothers, will report that the boys enjoy greater freedom of mobility outside the home than they do. They will express attitudes which do not endorse male privilege, and which indicate resistance to traditional Vietnamese values and cultural expectations.

4.   Those girls who have been living in Canada the longest, will identify more strongly with Canadian norms and values and will express views which indicate their experience of an increased level of conflict..

5.   The girls in this study will perceive that the degree of conflict they experience in their families, is related to a large extent to their parents' ability to communicate in English.

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6.   The girls in this study will express views which give a high priority to educational achievement, but they will also share views which indicate their experience of tension and ambivalence, as they strive towards educational goals.

CHAPTER 2

THE GIRLS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FAMILY

According to Kitwood (1980), as adolescents assert themselves to achieve increased independence from their parents, they and their parents are not always successful in understanding and appeasing each other in their interactions. Kostash (1987) contends that these family interactions are emotionally laden, and the most prevalent issues are often related to trust, loyalty, power and independence. **This chapter examines the perceptions of the** twenty-two girls interviewed regarding their relationships in the family, especially with respect to the quality and tone of each girl's interactions with her parents and siblings, her participation in housework, and her use of leisure time.

This thesis posits that in those families where the parents' knowledge of English is rudimentary or non-existent, the ineffective communication which results serves to increase the intensity of the emotional climate in the home. Where mothers are employed outside the home, the adolescent girl assumes a major role in accomplishing family goals and tasks, specifically in relation to domestic

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duties, reinforcing family rules, and dispensing discipline
to younger siblings. Besides, the Vietnamese cultural
expectations regarding the use of leisure time, parental
demands with respect to adherence to family commitment by
children, serve to curtail leisure activities for the
majority of these Vietnamese adolescent girls.

Relationships with Mothers and Fathers: Responses to Parental Authority and Expectations

Specific questions were designed to elicit information
on the interpersonal relationship of the adolescent girl and
her family. Since Golembeck, Marton, Stein, and Korenblum
(1989) suggest that interpersonal conflict does not always
manifest overtly and often might be internalized, these
questions were posed to elicit qualitative aspects of the
parent/adolescent relationship. In constructing these
sections of the questionnaire, my interest was also in
learning what the norms and values of these Vietnamese
families are. More specifically, what limits do these norms
and values place on the behavioural, emotional, and value
autonomy of these girls?

The following questions were posed: (a) Can you tell me
something about your life at home, and your relationship
with your parents?...Mother?...Father? (b) Do you go out
often with your parents?... Mother?...Father? (c) Do you
talk with your parents freely? i.e., Do you approach them

about things you want to know? How often does this happen?

(d) Do your parents listen to your opinions?

The following excerpts regarding the girls'
relationships with their parents illustrate the variations
in the girls' responses. THANH, fifteen years, states:

> My life at home is happy and secure, but I have
> disagreements with both my parents sometimes. I
> find it easier to talk to my mother than my
> father, since she is more understanding of my
> point of view. I don't think my parents
> understand the needs and behaviours of teenagers
> today, as it was totally different when they were
> growing up in Vietnam, which is a country I find
> really difficult to relate to. My parents are
> beginning to listen to my opinions about
> activities the family can share. We enjoy
> shopping together, as well as eating out at the
> Burger King. We do strange things like going to
> Open Houses all over Vancouver, and we sometimes
> visit other Vietnamese families.

In contrast, twelve year old NLING reported ongoing
disagreements with both her parents. She states:

> I have a lot of problems at home, and they
> mostly concern how I get along with my parents. I
> feel closer to my mom than my dad, but I don't
> talk freely with either mom or dad because they
> always reject any ideas I have, or any suggestions
> I make. We eat out occasionally in Vietnamese
> restaurants, and sometimes when my dad is on
> holidays we drive to the U.S. to visit relatives.
> I spend my summers picking berries with my
> brothers, but otherwise, as a family we don't do
> much else together.

These responses indicate that some tension exists
between the girls and their parents; and the majority of the
twenty-two girls interviewed report that they have
difficulty being comfortable and open in their communication
with both parents. Yet, these descriptions of conflictual

relationships with parents seem to reflect in part, the experiences of adolescents generally. However, fifteen girls state that they feel more comfortable with their mothers than their fathers; and while two girls found both parents equally accessible, there was a general tendency for them to confide in their mothers more readily because they felt scared of approaching their fathers. As thirteen year old HOA explains, "Mom is available all the time, and she encourages friendliness with her children, especially the girls." Similarly, twelve year old TAM (LIEN's sister) feels, "Moms were little girls once, and they know how you feel."

Despite some disagreements, sixteen of the twenty-two girls in the present study identify their mothers to be friendly and supportive. Yet, the overwhelming assessment is that their mothers are old-fashioned, and "are not with it." As fifteen year old THANH explains, "My mom is only thirty-five, but her thinking as far as girls go, is twenty years behind the times." Colalillo (1974) and Sharpe (1974) found that differential levels existed between immigrant mothers and their adolescent daughters in their exposure and receptivity to the norms and values of the host society.

Previous researchers have documented that girls generally experience more attachment to their mothers than their fathers (Chodorow, 1974; Gilligan, 1982). In their greater ease with their mothers, these Vietnamese girls

resemble other Canadian girls. Kostash's (1987) study found that Canadian adolescent girls identified their mothers as friendly and warm, and the most influential person in their lives.

In contrast, responses in the interviews indicate that five of the twenty-two girls (from two families), are more comfortable with their fathers than their mothers. Three of these girls are sisters (MINH, TUYET & ANH), and as a result of the separation of their parents, they are always in close proximity with their mother and see their father only when he visits the family on weekends. They report that their father, unlike their mother, is always patient and kind. Similarly, thirteen year old THAU, and her twelve year old sister HWONG, find that they relate more easily to their father than their mother, although he works a permanent afternoon shift and has an additional job on weekends.

THAU and HWONG seemed particularly angry at their mother for delegating the care of their nine month old brother to them while she goes to work in a clothing factory. "She had him, and it is her job to look after him", THAU states. She described the relationship with her parents as follows: "I feel closer to my father then my mom, since mom is so mean. Mom doesn't understand when we tell her stuff, and she is always busy doing something else. Dad is more patient, and he doesn't yell at you. We never go

shopping with our parents, because we girls have to babysit
our brother."

While both these girls seemed angry at their mother for
being assigned the mothering role in her absence, Van
Esterik (1980) argues that it is customary in Vietnam and
throughout Southeast Asia for children to be given
responsibility for the care of younger siblings. In this
particular family, it might be argued that the father's work
schedule while limiting his time in the home, propels him to
strive for "quality time" in his interactions with his
daughters, and they respond by feeling more attached to him.
The mother, on the other hand, still has responsibility for
the home and the family in addition to her job. Her
apparent impatience could be due to the demands on her time
and energy.

In their study of Vietnamese families in Quebec City,
Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) found that regardless of
their economic and occupational level, when women work
outside the home, they still had full responsibility for the
home and family, since the males in the household seldom
helped with domestic tasks.

Let us now consider some of the factors that might
affect the relationship of adolescent girls and their
fathers. What influence, if any, does "shift work" have on
this relationship? According to Sharpe (1976), the
socioeconomic structure contributes to asymmetry in family

relationships. She argues that the fathers of non-white immigrant adolescent girls in her British study were for the most part engaged in shift work, and they had become isolated from their daughters who found it difficult to relate to them.

In the present study, ten of the twelve fathers work rotating shifts, but the opinions of the girls are polarized as to the impact these work rotations have on their relationship with their dads. Unlike the warm relationship described by thirteen year old, THAU, and her sister HWONG, LIEN, LINH, and KAMU who are nineteen, eighteen, and seventeen respectively, reported that they never approach their fathers except through the intermediary of their mothers or an older brother.

The data in this study suggest that while shift work does not appear to be a significant factor in the relationship of the girls and their fathers, certain cultural factors within these Vietnamese families might operate to foster a degree of constraint in particular father/daughter relationships. Chan and Lam (1983), Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987), Nguyen (1980), and Van Esterik (1980) contend that the code of behaviour within Vietnamese culture is based on hierarchical relationships determined by age and gender. This asymmetry between generations and the sexes is ritualized and rigorously incorporated into the family and the social fabric of the culture.

These findings suggest that there is a cultural precedent which mediates the relationship between fathers and daughters in the families of many girls interviewed for this study. For instance, five girls described limited contact and communication with their fathers, and two of these fathers do not work rotating shifts. Yet, while these five girls claimed to be ignorant of their father's occupation, they had some idea of their mothers' line of work. While the majority of girls described having some access to their fathers' attention, it seemed remarkable that nineteen year old, LIEN, who had no idea of her father's occupation in Canada (he operated a wholesale business in Vietnam), interrupted our interview in order to gain this information from her mother.

Several studies suggest that the relationship between immigrant adolescents and their parents is marred by conflict due to a number of factors. Danziger (1971) argues that where immigrant parents do not speak English, children take on a larger interpretive role than their parents and it is difficult to maintain a pattern of unchallenged parental authority.

In her study of Italian adolescent girls in Toronto, Colalillo (1974) argues that both language and cultural differences impact negatively on the relationship between those girls and their parents. "The girl admits on her part, that the gap is caused by her unwillingness to

conform, or to understand her parents' customs and traditions. The parents on the other hand, have trouble understanding Canadian norms and the society in which their daughter must learn to live" (Colalillo, 1974, pp. 68-69). This project shows that in ten of the twelve families Vietnamese or Cantonese is the language of the home, although in eight of these families, the children speak English amongst themselves, because they find it easier. In three families, the parents are comfortable using English; in seven families the girls state that their parents did not comprehend English, while in two families the father's knowledge of English was rudimentary, while the mothers' grasp of English was apparently non-existent. This finding suggests that the majority of mothers are disadvantaged in their contact with Canadian culture by their lack of English language skills.

Furthermore, fourteen girls in this study referred to the social isolation of their mothers, who unlike their fathers have had no access to English classes since their arrival in Canada. Twelve year old, NLING, reports that her mother's inability to speak English makes it difficult for her to understand Canadian lifestyles, and this increases her suspiciousness about the children's activities outside the home. "Besides, she cannot even talk to the neighbours who seem friendly, and who are always smiling at her over the fence." While lack of English does not appear to

prohibit close relationships between mothers and daughters, these mothers are clearly disadvantaged by the linguistic barriers which limit their participation in the wider Canadian culture which is a large part of their daughters' experience.

In a shift of focus, let us consider the impact that immigration during childhood has on later adolescent adjustment. Researchers such as Danziger (1971) and Inbar (1977) postulate that immigration in mid-childhood encompasses vulnerability to stresses which are likely to manifest at adolescence. Nevertheless, Danziger's work gives credence to the incidence of an increase of authority problems for those boys who emigrated between five and seven years old.

In his study of Italian adolescent boys in Toronto, Danziger (1971) found that recent immigrants, compared to earlier arrivals, i.e., those who fell into the age group 5-7 years old at the time they first migrated, adhered strongly to parental authority and were more readily in support of family norms. He speculates that when children emigrate beyond seven years old they have already internalized the basic norms relating to authority and individual autonomy and the individual child is protected from the full impact of the new culture.

Both Danziger and Inbar (1977) postulate that immigration in mid-childhood encompasses vulnerability to

stresses which are likely to manifest at adolescence.
Nevertheless, Danziger's work gives credence to the
incidence of an increase of authority problems for those
boys who emigrated between five and seven years old.

The data in the present study suggest that in selected
instances, there is also a probable link to the vulnerable
age phenomenon. The following illustrations are examples of
girls who are experiencing a high level of conflict in their
relationships in the family and this could be related to
stresses experienced in mid-childhood, similar to those
subjects described by Danziger. These girls emigrated
between six and eight years old, and their parents do not
speak English.

Eighteen year old YEN came to Canada when she was seven
years old, and she describes her life at home as miserable.
She also states that her parents are very unhappy with their
life in Canada, since her father who owned a large hardware
business in Vietnam, cannot visualize himself as a
successful businessman again. While she claimed to have no
idea of her father's occupation since his arrival in Canada,
her mother who worked in the home, as well as in the
family's business in Vietnam, now serves tables in a
restaurant in Vancouver's Chinatown. YEN feels that her
parents' unhappiness is due to their changed life
circumstances, and this is projected on to the children.

It seems that as I grow older, the family rules
are stricter, and I have more difficulty sticking

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to them. My family has a lot of rules, and these
relate to always showing respect for my parents'
authority, doing most of the housework, using my
spare time to study, and not going out on dates.
Since graduating from high school, I began getting
into more and more fights with them, and now I
ignore their rules and do whatever I feel like
doing anyways.

In contrast to the descriptions of parent/adolescent
conflict outlined above, VI and LIEN, who are both nineteen,
were eleven and ten years old respectively when they arrived
in Canada from Vietnam. Both girls deny any overt conflict
with their parents, and this finding is supportive of
Danziger's assertion (regarding migration in childhood),
that vulnerability to stress which manifests in increased
authority conflict with parents is relative to age at
migration.

In addition to possible stresses experienced during the
"vulnerable age" there are a combination of inter-familial
factors, such as the economic decline of the family, marital
conflict between the parents, and loss of support of the
extended family which may have contributed to the experience
of heightened conflict by at least four girls in this study.
Seventeen year old, MINH, arrived in Canada when she was
seven years old. While she describes a high level of
authority conflict with her mother especially, she reports
that the tone of these interactions has intensified since
her parents separated three years earlier, and following the
family's growing dependence on social assistance.

Similarly, eighteen year old LINH who emigrated from Vietnam at age seven, relates a story of ongoing authority conflict with her parents. She outlines a series of high stress factors which continue to impinge on the experience of all family members. Ten of her mother's sixteen children died prior to the family's arrival in Canada, and the parents continue to grieve for them.

> My family left Vietnam twelve years ago, and we went to a camp in Malaysia. It was awful! We divided into groups because there were so many of us, and we spent four years in West Germany before coming to Canada. We started a small restaurant business; but dad went bankrupt last year, so neither of my parents have a job. Both my parents are unhappy and "depressed" and there is little communication in our family. Actually, in our family, we don't talk to each other. I can't wait to get out on my own.

The descriptions of the conflicts experienced by YEN, MINH, and LINH, suggest that the socioeconomic decline of the parents and their responses to this experience is a contributory factor to the inharmonious interaction pattern of these three families.

Canadian data indicate that, while many Vietnamese parents deny any major disturbance in their relationship with their children, almost all agreed that their children were less obedient, and many attributed this change in the children's behaviour to Canadian influences. Chan and Lam (1983) report increasing family strains between Sino-Vietnamese adolescents and their parents in Toronto, as many

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youngsters attempt to undermine parental authority through defiance.

Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) found that ethnic Vietnamese parents in Quebec City tried to accommodate to some of the changes in their children's behaviour, but Sino-Vietnamese parents were less flexible in revising family rules, and this was more so where several fathers were intent on not having their authority challenged. This study shows a link between these findings and the attitudes and reported behaviours of some of the girls interviewed.

Given that strains between some Sino-Vietnamese adolescents and their parents might be due to acculturative changes on the part of the young people, other factors, such as the inability of these particular parents to speak English, do not allow them to understand the customs and values of the larger society to which their daughters gravitate (Colalillo, 1974). Besides, Danziger (1971) argues that the vast majority of conflicts between immigrant parents and their adolescent children are due to misunderstanding. We can extrapolate therefore, that the reports of inter-familial conflict by some of the girls in this study are nurtured by misunderstandings, despite a milieu of contributory factors.

Domestic Role and the Division of Labour in the Family

Danziger (1971) makes the assertion that individual behaviour is only partially regulated by social norms, since

individual desire also plays a role in what people do.
Based on this assertion, questions relating to the division
of labour in the family were designed with this tension
between social expectation and individual behaviour in mind,
since this thesis seeks to clarify the issues surrounding
the documented phenomenon of women's domestic role and its
attendant status.

The particular issues of the division of household
labour and its relationship to women's inequality prompted
the interest in its implications for the group of Vietnamese
adolescent girls who were interviewed for this study. The
work of feminist scholars indicate that as female children
grow, they are socialized towards a domestic orientation
which continues to be reinforced into adulthood (Oakley,
1974; Salomon and Robinson, 1987; Sharpe, 1976). White and
Brinkerhoff (1981) argue that children's involvement in
household tasks is "ubiquitous and value laden" i.e., the
parents are motivated to teach children specific values
through work (White & Brinkerhoff, 1981, p. 797). They cite
supportive literature indicating that children do more work
in the home when their mothers are employed. Fenstermaker-
Berk (1985) also found that children, especially girls, do
more work around the house when their mothers have jobs
outside the home.

Research on Vietnamese families in North America found
that parents advocate traditional patterns of delegating

sizable amounts of housework and child care to girls.
Caplan, Whitmore and Choy (1989), and Dorais, Pilon-Le, and
Huy (1987) indicate that all roles within the family are
defined by age and gender. In fact, Nguyen and Williams
(1989) contend that as girls become more educated, there has
been a shift in their daily roles which conflict with their
obligations as females, and this leads to intense conflict
in some families.

Informed by these studies, specific questions were
formulated to gain some understanding of just how much
housework was expected of the girls in this study, and what
were their attitudes towards this experience. The questions
are as follows: (a) Do your parents expect you to help
around the house?...What kinds of chores do you help with?
(b) Does your mother also work outside the home?... What
kind of work does she do?

With respect to their responsibility for housework, the
following responses were typical of the majority of girls in
this study. Twelve year old, NLING, stated almost
tearfully:

> I do a lot of housework. It is my job to clean
> four bathrooms everyday, and for washing and
> ironing the laundry. My mother does sewing jobs
> at home, and she is also teaching me how to cook
> so I'll be able to when I get married. Both my
> parents think girls should be responsible around
> the house, and I think I am expected to work
> harder because I am a girl. I also babysit my two
> year old brother.

Similarly, seventeen year old, KAMU, states: "I began taking over the housework when I was twelve. Both my parents work long hours, and I often feel angry that I have to shoulder so much responsibility for the house when there are four other people in the family". According to Oakley (1974), preparation for housewifery and motherhood begins in childhood when girls begin to identify domesticity as part of the female role. But the above responses suggest coercion on the part of the parents.

Although her findings are based on non-immigrants, Fenstermaker-Berk (1985) contend that the household tasks children are assigned increased by age eleven, and girls, compared with their brothers, are given an increasing number of tasks. These findings imply that the girls in the present study are carrying an assigned portion of domestic tasks within the family which increases with their mother's employment. Where there are male siblings, obviously, the potential for conflict based on unequal expectations in household duties exists.

Relationships with Siblings

The above data provided a context to examine the perception of the twenty-two girls interviewed, regarding their relationship with their siblings with respect to sharing household tasks as well as the general pattern of their interactions. While Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) note that young unmarried males were the only family members

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among the Quebec City Vietnamese who devoted noticeable time
to the pursuit of leisure activities, other researchers
stress that despite the hierarchical norms in Vietnamese
families, family harmony is a valued ideal (Caplan, Whitmore
and Choy, 1989; Nguyen, 1980; Van Esterik, 1980). This
implies that immigration to North America could impact on
cultural strategies for coping with conflict in these
Vietnamese families.

These findings suggested that the girls' relationship
with their siblings, particularly their male siblings, might
be grounded in a situation of inherent tension and possible
conflict. It was within this context that the following
questions were formulated and addressed to the girls: (a) Do
your sisters and brothers help around the house? What kind
of tasks do they have? (b) Do you think men should share
housework?...What do your Canadian friends think? Typical
responses to the questions follow:

Fourteen year old, HOA (THANH's sister), explained:
"We girls are angry and often complain that our brother
doesn't even wash dishes, while we do the laundry every week
and take turns helping around the house." Both HOA and
THANH state that their mother (a former high school teacher
who now does sewing jobs at home) always responds to their
complaints that their brother is a guy, and he doesn't have
to do housework. THANH states: "My sister and I go, uh,
uh, no way! We believe people are equal, and they should do

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the same work at home as well. When he grows up, his wife
is going to expect him to share the housework."

Both girls reported that their father (a helicopter
pilot) sometimes helps with the cooking, although ten years
ago he wouldn't do it. By their responses, these girls
indicated their awareness of some attitudinal and structural
changes in the traditional division of household labour
along gender lines.

Similarly, twelve year old NLING explained that her
three older brothers who are thirteen, fourteen, and twenty
respectively (as well as her father and her uncle), don't do
any work in the house either, although they work in the
garden. She states: "The reason I get into fights with my
brothers, is because there are so many people in the house,
and I have to pick up after them. My Canadian friends think
men should help with the housework, and I have seen that on
T.V. also. In our country, men don't do housework."

NLING's response demonstrates the influence both her
Canadian peers and the media have had on sharpening her
awareness of a shift in traditional gender relations in the
domestic realm, as more men are depicted as portraying
positive and egalitarian attitudes towards sharing
housework. Social learning theorists view gender role
socialization as a consequence of social responses. Bandura
(1969) addresses peer group modelling and the influence of

the media which augment the direct reinforcement techniques of other socializing agents.

The data gathered for this study suggest that divergent messages regarding the division of labour in the home is a source of conflict for the majority of girls who have been socialized into the traditional allocation of domestic tasks in the family. Nevertheless, the reactions to the demands of housework, and the expectation that women carry the sole responsibility for this, indicates a range of responses which encompasses marked resistance to compliance. Six girls between twelve and fifteen years old exhibited demonstrable resistance to their household tasks.

The tone of this antagonism is expressed by twelve year old, HWONG, and supported by her sister, THAU, thirteen. "It is always girls, girls, girls and women, women! They live in the house, they should do work too." Both girls complained about the demands housework and child care make on their time, and they claimed that their Canadian friends have influenced their thinking in their response to babysitting their brother. NGA and NGOC are twelve year old cousins who with their families, share a joint household. While both girls seemed frightened during the interview (with the entire family sitting and standing around in the room), their subdued indications of protest were evident as they revealed that their brothers did little or no work in the house.

Twelve year old NLING, while angry because of her workload at home, added that some of her anger is muted as she does not want to upset her eldest brother (aged 20) who is her best friend and confidant. These overt views surely indicate that some of these girls are bent on separating themselves from this aspect of their cultural expectation regarding the female's domestic role.

Even where the demands of housework seems overwhelming, the majority of girls in this study feel that this is the cultural expectation in their ethnic community. Yet, not all girls are complacent about this cultural prerogative. Eighteen year old, KIEN, pointed to ongoing conflict with her brother and three sisters who question her reliability in doing her share of household chores. "I have to do some work at home, like cooking and cleaning. There are four of us girls and we share it, but things don't run smoothly all the time. I don't like housework, and I resent the fact that my brother does nothing."

In contrast, YEN who is eighteen, feels that men can be excused for not helping in the house. "Women must ask, since the poor guy doesn't know what he is supposed to do." Twelve year old TRANG (the sister of MINH, TUYET, and ANH), also disagree with the idea of men sharing housework. "They do sloppy jobs, and women have to redo it anyway."

Fenstermaker-Berk (1985) found that besides giving a decreasing number of household tasks to their sons, compared

with their daughters, mothers rated certain tasks to be of high importance, and are reluctant to assign these tasks to boys whom they assume were unable or reluctant to devote the detailed attention these tasks involve. Furthermore, she argues that girls adopt their mothers' orientation regarding the allocation of domestic tasks in the family.

It could be argued, therefore, that because the prevailing ideology about housework places the accountability for men's orientation to housework on the shoulders of their mothers, who in most situations modeled such expectations in their role as primary socializers of their sons, the responses of YEN and TRANG cited above, are normative. This argument is supported by social learning theorists who contend, that behaviour that is reinforced persists (Bandura, 1969; Hall, 1987; Kim 1980). This persistence of the divergence in orientation towards housework by the sexes is expressed by its continuity between generations (Thrall, 1987, pp. 249-265).

By far the most interesting view of housework was expressed by thirteen year old MAH (KAMU's sister), who along with her brother, nineteen, was described by KAMU as lazy. Apparently MAH prefers to devote all her time to her studies, and the parents are so pleased with her "straight A" grades, that they do not assign her any chores. This of course, antagonizes KAMU. MAH asserts: "I don't like

housework, and I think I'll have a cleaning lady when I grow up."

Let us now consider the extent to which the girls in this study feel that their perception of unequal treatment in the family between themselves and their siblings reflect issues beyond the division of household tasks, and which affect their everyday interactions and relationships. Specific questions were posed to gain an understanding of the overall relationship between themselves and their siblings. The questions are as follows: (a) What is the relationship with your sisters and brothers like?...Do you have fun together? (b) Do you get allowance?...How does it compare with what your Canadian friends get? (c) Are there many rules in your family?...Are they difficult to keep? (d) Are there more rules for your brothers?...How do you feel about keeping these?

Twenty-one of the twenty-two girls in this study have male siblings. Twelve year old HAHN is the only girl from a family comprising two girls only. There are only two instances where the girls felt that one of their sisters had been singled out for preferential treatment by the parents based on high academic grades. These situations involved KAMU, seventeen, and her thirteen year old sister, MAH, and MINH, who is also seventeen, and her youngest sister, TRANG, who is twelve. It becomes obvious, therefore, that overall, the girls in this study felt that the relationship between

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themselves and their sisters was not only friendly, but
close.

In contrast, much frustration, irritation, resentment,
and even anger was expressed by a number of girls regarding
their relationship with their brothers. Much of the
friction is related to the girls' perception of unequal
treatment within the family with respect to domestic
responsibilities, and the leverage boys are allowed by
parents in interpreting, and even questioning family rules.
Twelve year old TAM (LIEN's sister) is typical of the
majority of girls in her response:

> There are lots of rules in my family about the
> time that I spend with friends. My brothers don't
> have those rules, and I think it is unfair. We
> all have rules that we show respect to our parents
> and always obey them, but my brothers are always
> goofing off, and often they are not punished.
> They always boss me around and I can't talk back
> to them because they are older than I am, and they
> can punish me.

The reactions of the older adolescent girls to
differential treatment in the family based on sex is
evidenced by much anger. Eighteen year old, LINH, stated
that she has learned to avoid confrontations by seething
silently. By her description, there is a feeling of
estrangement between family members since she is angry at
her brothers for the privileges they enjoy while her needs
are ignored. Seventeen year old MINH reported that she is
really mad at her brothers for the freedom they enjoy.

"That is because they are boys, and in our culture, boys are free to do what they want."

Seventeen year old, KAMU, divulged a specific grievance which appeared to be a singular experience compared with the other girls. She pinpointed dissatisfaction with her allowance to be the main source of anger at her nineteen year old brother.

> I used to get an allowance until I was twelve when I started my paper route, but my brother always got more than I did. I now work part-time three evenings per week and most weekends. I give my pay cheque to my parents who give me spending money out of it. I am not happy with the amount, as my brother has never had a job since all he does is spend his time studying. Yet, he gets more money than I, and I am really angry, but I keep these feelings bottled up.

While previous researchers such as Chan and Lam (1983), Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987), Nguyen and Williams (1989), and Van Esterik (1980) have highlighted a tradition of male privilege in Vietnamese families, there are no comparable descriptions of unequal treatment of adolescent children based on sex as that which KAMU described. Most girls in this study expressed some dissatisfaction with the amount of their allowance compared to that received by their Canadian friends, but the majority were consistent in stating that the amount was fair in relation to their siblings. Besides, they all stated that their allowance was based on their individual efforts to earn it, and that this expectation applied to their brothers as well.

Balancing Leisure Activities and Friendships with Domestic Demands

According to Baker (1985), variations in patterns of leisure are affected by how much time one has, and the education and income of one's family. The leisure activities of adolescents therefore differ with their family background. Although some activities are shared by adolescent girls and boys, others reflect interests based on gender lines. Bibby and Postereski (1985) found that the majority of Canadian adolescents of both sexes regard dating as a valued aspect of their friendships. In addition, they also regard freedom as an important value. The implication therefore, is that Canadian adolescents have a great deal of control over their activities.

It was with the above findings in mind that the questions relating to friendship and leisure were posed to the girls interviewed for this study. The questions were designed to gain some understanding of how much significance the Vietnamese girls place on these values, and whether they encountered any hurdles pursuing their realization and fulfilment. To what extent, for instance, did the demands of household duties, family rules, and parental expectations give rise to conflict for these girls as they engaged in leisure activities?

The questions follow: (a) Have you many friends?...Girls? Boys? (b) Do you visit friends in their homes, as well as invite them to your home? (c) What do you

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like to do most? (d) Do your parents give you advice about the friends you can choose? (e) How do you spend your free time?...How do your Canadian friends spend their free time? (f) Do you go out with friends on weekends?...How late are you allowed to stay out? (g) Do you go out on dates?...What about your Canadian friends?

The data reveal a range of responses, as the girls try to balance the influence of their friends and the attractions of adolescent culture, while they are expected to adhere to family norms and the cultural traditions within which they have been socialized. MINH, seventeen, states:

> I use whatever free time I have to catch up on
> my homework, and sometimes I watch T.V. I have
> lots of friends, girls as well as guys, but my mom
> doesn't allow me to go out with them. I have
> never been on a date, but my Canadian friends all
> have boyfriends, and they go out with them on
> weekends. My parents wouldn't allow any of us
> girls to go out until we are twenty or twenty-one.
> Besides, I am also in charge to see that the
> housework gets done, and I work three evenings per
> week and most weekends, so I haven't much time for
> a social life.

MINH's fifteen year old sister, TUYET, described the atmosphere of the home as a "war zone", and this is aggravated on weekends when three of the four teenage girls are denied permission to socialize with friends.

Nineteen year old VI gave a similar response which indicated that she found it difficult to pursue leisure interests because of the demands of school, housework, and a part-time job. "Sometimes I find it very stressful, and can hardly cope, but what can I do?" Despite VI's desire to

spend time with friends, her comments indicate that she saw herself in the role of "mother" to her siblings. Being the eldest of five children, her parents expect her to be an example of responsibility and obedience during their absences at work. Both MINH and VI made references to the increased stress they sometimes experienced, but neither of these girls gave any indication of discussing these unresolved feelings with anyone.

Canadian data indicate that the widespread dating behaviour among adolescents is monitored and sanctioned by the peer group (Bibby & Postereski, 1985; Kostash, 1987; Mackie, 1987). Among certain immigrant groups such as those from the Mediterranean and Asian countries, "it is the family which intervenes decisively to curtail this practice among adolescents, especially girls" (Kostash, 1987, p. 95).

This study shows that the majority of mid and late adolescent girls are preoccupied with issues of independence and freedom. All twelve girls between 14-19 years reported that their parents expect them to postpone dating until they are at least in college. The three explanations they gave for this stance are: parents see dating as disruptive to the girls' study habits and educational plans; parents would like a say as to whom their daughters date, and parental expectations that marriage would be the outcome of their first dating encounter. A number of girls also mentioned that their parents' marriages were arranged, or at least

approved of, by their extended families and this might be an additional factor.

Recently engaged to be married, nineteen year old LIEN (who arrived in Canada at ten years old) supports her parents' shared view that dating could be distracting to any girl who is serious about her studies. Besides, she thinks that most girls are not mature enough for the responsibilities involved in male/female relationships without parental guidance.

> When I was in high school, I noticed that the Canadian girls started dating much earlier, some as early as twelve or thirteen. My curfew is 10 p.m., but since I got engaged this year, I can stay out until midnight on Saturdays when my dad waits up for me. Before I got engaged, my four older brothers took turns collecting me whenever I went out with friends.

Colalillo (1974), and Rosenthal (1987) found that there was a cultural tension in the families of immigrant adolescent girls where the girls did not conform to the parents' customs and values with respect to friendships and mobility outside the home. Furthermore, Sharpe (1974) noted that the parents of the girls in her study were stringent in the measures they took to minimize the contact their daughters had with males. While those girls had restrictions on their mobility outside the home, many had strict curfews which were enforced by male relatives who acted as chaperons.

The responses to the interviews indicate that there are contrasting views among the girls with respect to their

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parents' expectations regarding time spent with friends and dating practices. In fact, three of the late adolescent girls (ages 17-19) revealed that they did not comply with traditional Vietnamese expectations regarding female friendships and activities outside the home.

Eighteen year old KIEN (VI's sister) stated that she leads an active social life without the knowledge of her parents, and she pursues her leisure activities at the expense of the housework that she is expected to share with her sisters. KIEN points to the laxity in adult supervision in the home which provides her with opportunities to organize her leisure activities as she wishes.

> I like going to movies, shopping in the malls, and partying with my friends. My Canadian friends do much the same things I do. I often go dancing with them in the teenage clubs, but my parents are not aware of this, as I try to fit these activities around my evening part-time job.

YEN, eighteen, reports: "My parents don't know this, but I spend what little free time I have with my boyfriend." Likewise, seventeen year old KAMU secretly meets her boyfriend briefly after her evening part-time job, and she claims that her mother has implicit knowledge of this behaviour and supports her in an indirect way. She describes the potency of this coalition with her mother as follows: "My mother always says that we are in Canada now, and it is important that I finish school and get a well paying job. But if we were in Vietnam, they would have married me off at least a year now."

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In discussing the influence of the new environment on the culture of immigrants, Danziger (1971) asserts that characteristic accounts of the relationship between immigration and socialization do not credit adult immigrants with the desire and ability to change. With regards to this study, while the changes made by adults in response to the challenges of the new society need to be addressed, this thesis indicates that a few mothers especially, are willing to accommodate in an indirect way, their daughters' gravitation to aspects of Canadian culture. In evaluating the adjustment of the younger girls with respect to their participation in leisure activities, this study posited that these younger girls would report difficulties in balancing their leisure activities with their schoolwork and with expectations in the home; but also that those parents who spoke English would show more flexibility about how the girls chose to spend their free time.

The responses to the interviews indicate that the fourteen girls between 12-16 years old, experience similar parental restrictions as their older counterparts. Twelve year old, HAHN, belongs to one of the three families where the parents speak English. She believes that sixteen would be an appropriate age to start dating, but agrees with her parents that this would interfere with her schoolwork. Conversely, according to twelve year old, HWONG (THAU's sister), "I believe I am old enough to start, but I haven't

discussed that with my parents yet, since I know that they wouldn't in their wildest dreams agree to this." Similarly, THANH, fifteen, feels that she is ready to start dating, while her sister, HOA, fourteen would like to start dating next year, "like my Canadian friends are doing. I know my parents won't allow this, but I am not going to tell them." These responses suggest that even in those families where the parent speak English, there is limited flexibility with respect to parental rules and expectations. Yet, four of these five girls indicate that they will develop strategies for circumventing some of these rules.

With the exception of twelve year old, HWONG, there was a consensus among the early adolescent girls (12-13 years.) that while their Canadian friends talk about dating, their belief is that those girls are just pretending to be grown up. As twelve year old, TRANG, concludes: "Dating is weird. Yuk!" These younger girls reported that the favourite past time of their Canadian friends is to go browsing in the shopping malls and sometimes attend a matinee. Most girls state, however, that they are denied these activities, and besides, unlike their Canadian friends, they often have no spending money.

Most of the younger girls in this study spend their time talking with friends on the telephone, watching T.V., and drawing fashion designs. A few of them are allowed to attend the odd birthday party, when they are collected by a

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parent or an older brother by 8 p.m. These girls state that they are expected to be in bed by 9 p.m. on weeknights, and may stay up a little later on weekends.

Thirteen year old ANH (the sister of MINH, TUYET, and TRANG) reports that she resists this expectation by sneaking out of bed late on Saturday nights to watch rock concerts on T.V. She manages to keep the volume of the television set low, and arranges these escapades after her mother is safely in bed.

Conclusion

This study indicates that there is no single cause of conflict for the Vietnamese adolescent girls in their relationship with their families. This finding supports the conclusion of Danziger (1971), and Kitwood (1980), who argue that the sources of conflict for adolescents in the family are related to: (a) unclear communication patterns, (b) relationships of adolescents outside the home, (c) disparity in values between adolescents and their parents.

In the context of this study, while there are other contributory factors, where the parents are unable to speak English, the frequency and intensity of the conflicts become more evident. It is also apparent that the traditional hierarchical structure of these Vietnamese families present a challenge for many girls, who straddle family expectations at home, and at the same time, attempt to cope with the attractions of North American adolescent culture.

The influence of friends and the media impact on traditional values regarding the division of labour in the home, often disrupting cultural norms based on gender lines. This disruption is most evident in the girls' relationship with their siblings.

Two significant issues have been raised, which were of particular concern to the mid and late adolescent girls in this study. One is the dichotomy in the majority of cultures which encourages differential socialization of girls and boys in the assumption of domestic responsibility, with girls being channelled to assume domestic and nurturing roles in the family, while boys are exempt from this expectation. All the girls found that they had much responsibility for housework, even when their mothers did not work outside the home. Where mothers worked, their input towards housework and child care increased appreciably.

Two, a few girls expressed an awareness of a shift in traditional domestic relations in Canadian society, whereby some men are beginning to portray more positive and egalitarian attitudes towards housework. However, being receptive in their attitudes to changes in the traditional division of labour in the home, does not necessarily mean that increasing numbers of men will exhibit behaviours which indicate their readiness for increased participation in all areas of housework. Employment outside the home has not

relieved women of the responsibility for housework and child care. This thesis suggests that while some women continue to view the household as their domain, adolescent girls need to be prepared for threats to the emotional climate of the household when male family members, previously exempt from housework, are coerced into domestic duties.

The data suggest that the girls experience of a sense of bicultural conflict in the family is related to the differential rates of acculturation between themselves and their parents. The English language deficits on the part of some parents translate into misunderstandings and possible rejection of aspects of Canadian culture which are outside their experience, and to which their daughters are exposed. In addition, the decline in the parents' social and occupational status contribute to the dynamics of inter-familial conflict. As these girls strive for value and behavioural autonomy, the instances of inter-generational and authority conflicts become heightened. While indicative of parent/adolescent conflict generally, this unprecedented challenge to parental authority within the Chinese-Vietnamese family, present in a few cases to be extreme.

CHAPTER 3

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SCHOOL AND PEERS

This chapter examines the relationship of the

adolescent Vietnamese girls with the school and their peer

group. The focus is on the girls' attitudes to education,

and their involvement with their schoolwork, as well as the

interaction in the classroom environment. Kostash (1987)

argues that students create a social environment within the

school in which peer group interactions flourish. She

refers to this adolescent enclave as "the unofficial

school."

Based on this assertion, the thrust of this study is to

examine the participation of the twenty-two subjects in this

milieu, to learn something of their perception of the

socialization experiences they encounter in their

relationships with the school and their peers.

Consideration is also given to the girls' views regarding

their future occupational and domestic roles, and the impact

of their gender in planning for the future.

In considering these issues, two specific expectations

came to mind. First, while these girls would divulge that

striving for a good education is of fundamental importance

to their parents, the peer group would stress "having a good time" as a crucial aspect of teenage experience. Second, these views could lead to considerable tension between the girls and their parents as some girls resist parental direction. Canadian data reveal that "having fun" is a normative expectation for teenagers of both sexes (Bibby & Postereski, 1985; Kostash, 1987). Bibby and Postereski (1985) note however, that while these young people strongly endorse values such as hard work, intelligence, and success, they strive for excellence in the activities they consider to be important, and even in those instances where some Canadian adolescents are not committed to achieving high grades in their schoolwork, "this does not necessarily mean that they lack motivation" (Bibby & Postereski, 1985, pp. 17-18).

In contrast, research on Vietnamese families in North America indicate that education and hard work, are among the salient values that these families brought with them (Caplan, Whitmore, & Choy, 1989; Dorais, Pilon-Le, & Huy, 1987). Furthermore, Oriental parents, including the Vietnamese, have been found to play a major role in encouraging educational ambition and scholastic competition in their children (Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy, 1989; Vernon, 1984). Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) contend that parents in their Quebec City study were unanimous in considering higher education for their children, and regard

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this approach as a strategy to ensure economic success and upward social mobility. While these parents expect their children to willingly delay gratification in favour of schooling, Danziger (1971) argues that the relationship between delayed gratification and educational aspiration is particularly cogent in the acculturation of immigrant adolescents, since the motivation to succeed reduces the possibility of ethnic marginality in the larger society.

Based on these studies, we can infer that the emphasis placed on education by the parents of the girls interviewed for this thesis is significant. This study attempts to understand the importance of education in the girls' repertoire of interests. Specific questions were developed to elicit an understanding of the extent to which the girls' achievement motivation reflect their own initiative, as against parental interests and pressure. In addition, questions were aimed at gathering a sense of how the girls are balancing the demands of school and their peers, with the expectations of their families.

Attitudes to Education and Achievement Orientation

Current data on Vietnamese families in North America indicate, that like their parents, the children and adolescents are highly motivated to achieve educational goals. Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy (1989) found that these tendencies toward high achievement were evident from the

initial entry into formal education and this standard was maintained throughout the school years.

To understand the attitudes of the girls, as well as the extent of parental input into their motivation to achieve, the following questions were posed: (a) What do you think of school?. (b) Do you discuss school with your parents?...Mother?...Father? (c) Do you think you should discuss school with your parents? (d) Do your parents expect you to get good grades? Do they expect this of your brothers also? (e) Are you able to do what the teachers expect at school? (f) Do you find the classes competitive?

The study indicates that seventeen out of the twenty-two girls were not only enthusiastic about school, but they denied having any difficulties coping with their studies. THAU, thirteen, states: "I am coping very well with my studies, and my parents are pleased with my grades. My sister (HWONG) is also happy about her grades. Last term we both got all A's, with the exception of one B."

The remaining five girls like being at school because of the opportunities available there for social interaction with peers. They were less enthusiastic about their involvement with the structured curriculum since they felt unable to attain the high academic level that their parents expect. Seventeen year old, MINH's, response crystallizes the general feeling of this group: "I like school a lot because of the freedom I have there, but I find most of the

subjects difficult, but that's where I can cruise around with my friends without any hassles."

Research on the question of the academic achievement of immigrant children examine several aspects ranging from: the impact of age at the time of migration compounded with the effects of school transfers on cognitive, emotional, and linguistic development influencing underachievement (Inbar, 1977), to the relationship of language skills and learning integration (Bhatagar, 1976), and finally, the impact of parental expectations on aspiration and achievement levels (Danziger, 1971). Most studies conclude that while immigrant children and adolescents are at a disadvantage in terms of the effects of immigration on the stability of their learning, immigrant parents generally, are motivated to propel their children towards high academic goals.

This thesis shows that while the majority of the twenty-two girls claimed to be high academic achievers, several of the mid and late adolescent girls who first started school in Vietnam described themselves as having learning difficulties, and their frustration is heightened by their inability to meet parental expectations for high academic standards. Let us now consider how the girls in the mid and late adolescent age group who first attended school in Vietnam found the transition to the Canadian school system.

This study shows that all eight girls in the 17-19 age group began school in Vietnam, prior to their arrival in Canada. Five of these eight girls noted that they initially had difficulty adjusting to the Canadian school experience, but excelled once they learned English. LIEN who is nineteen, has graduated from high school, and is presently employed by one of the major banks. She makes the following typical comments: "I enjoyed school in Canada, and I found the classes less stressful and competitive than in Vietnam. When I first came though, I had a lot of difficulty because I didn't know any English; but many teachers tutored me in their spare time, and I was able to catch up."

In contrast, seventeen year old MINH who attended school for four years in Vietnam prior to her arrival in Canada, is one of a pair of girls in the late adolescent group who has found it difficult to keep up with her classmates. She reports escalating parental displeasure at her school performance. MINH points out that while parental expectations are high, one of the reasons for her slow progress in school is because she lacks sufficient parental guidance and support, due to the separation of her parents and her mother's inability to speak English. Compounding this difficulty is the fact that neither parent has enough formal education to contribute to her understanding of her schoolwork. She feels that she is living in a "pressure cooker," with no input at home, and much anxiety at school.

Eighteen year old KIEN has been in Canada for nine years, and she also gives a history of difficulty coping with her parents' expectations to excel at school. KIEN stated that the family is under emotional strain due to the reduced availability of both parents who work extended hours. The father does shift work in a meat processing plant, and also holds a job as a janitor on weekends, while the mother is employed in a garment factory. Clearly, there are situational factors that serve to retard MINH's and KIEN's progress at school.

KAM (KIEN's sister) and TUYET (MINH's sister) are both fifteen, and they are two of the four girls in the mid adolescent group who started school in Vietnam. Both girls reported learning difficulties, but they also pointed out that their parents' expectations for their academic success are unrealistic in their view. TUYET seemed particularly frustrated by what she described as impractical goals on the part of her parents.

> My parents, especially my mother, wants us to associate with kids who study hard, and who are serious about their future. But you know how it is, parents want all their kids to be doctors and lawyers. But the problems that my parents can't understand, is that those kids who have such plans, don't want to associate with us, because we have nothing in common.

TUYET is clearly aware of social class divisions which permeate school life, and implicit in her response is her experience of rejection by her peers based on the stratification which exists in the peer group. As Baker

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(1985) points out, adolescents tend to choose friends with similar socioeconomic backgrounds as themselves, and who have comparable lifestyles and share corresponding aspirations. Furthermore, Kostash (1987) argues that cliques are a common feature of adolescent culture.

Assuming those girls with a history of academic failure might also experience feelings of helplessness when unable to emulate the high achievers among their peers, this study examines how the low achievers cope with this dilemma. In adapting to their situation, how does this difficulty influence the choice of school subjects by such girls?

KIEN (eighteen) and her sister KAM (fifteen) who failed to meet the standards set by their parents that they achieve and maintain high academic grades, explained that their parents are not pleased with their choice of school subjects, since they have both selected to be streamed into the vocational programme at school. KIEN states: "I am learning to get around the difficult school subjects by concentrating on the Business courses which I enjoy." The preference for vocational subjects has been expressed by all five girls who claimed to have difficulty excelling academically.

While four of these five girls who started school in Vietnam prior to their arrival in Canada, and who report learning difficulties, there isn't sufficient indication from the data that their learning problems are related

solely to the age at which they made their school transition from Vietnamese to Canadian schools. This study shows that the remaining six girls who emigrated at the "Vulnerable Age" (6-11 years) as described by Inbar (1977), did report initial linguistic difficulties which slowed their learning; yet they went on to achieve success in their schoolwork.

How do the girls in the early adolescent group who all started school in Canada cope with their schoolwork? In comparison with the mid and late adolescent girls described in the foregoing, nine out of the ten girls report consistently high grades. Furthermore, of the ten girls in this age group, no one made any reference to experiencing learning or comprehension problems due to a deficit in English, and this includes thirteen year old ANH, the only girl who reported having difficulty coping with her studies. Bhatagar (1976) argues that the immigrant child needs to understand the language of the host society in order to perform adequately in school. He found that the achievement of immigrant children he studied in the Montreal area, increased with their length of stay in the country. What is the significance of ANH's experience which represents the only case among the 12-13 year olds with difficulty learning?

Thirteen year old ANH (the sister of MINH, TUYET and TRANG), belongs to one of the two families which have been identified in the previous chapter to be under functional

strain (due to her parents' separation, and the economic decline of the family). During the interview, ANH displayed a fatalistic stance towards schooling which was similar to that of her two older sisters:

> I find schoolwork really difficult, and I believe the workload is too heavy, especially the homework. The classes are very competitive and some of the kids are smart, so that makes it tough for me. At first, I tried hard to do my best, but because most of the time I don't do well, now I hardly feel like bothering to study.

ANH's response suggest that the frequency of negative versus positive reinforcement of her efforts to learn has contributed to her lack of motivation at school. Of particular note is the fact that the fourth girl in this family of eight children, twelve year old TRANG, is also the youngest child and she assesses her academic performance more positively than her three older sisters, and also reports high grades in all her subjects, and hopes to pursue a career as a veterinarian.

TRANG has been described by her older sisters as, "the only Canadian in the family." (By that they meant that she identifies fully with being a Canadian, rather than a Vietnamese girl). They further divulged that in addition to her high acculturation level, TRANG is indulged by both parents, who reward her with money for achieving high grades. The expression of resentment towards TRANG was obvious, since of the four girls, she is the only one able to meet the parents' expectations of high academic

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achievement, and earn the monetary reward. The data suggest that TRANG's positive achievement level is clearly related to and contingent upon the parents' encouragement and the consistency of the rewards.

This study shows that there is almost a consensus that parental expectations are high regarding academic achievement. Twelve year old, NLING, comments: "School is really important for my parents, and my dad especially, wants all us kids to get a good education so we can enter the professions, or highly paid jobs. My parents reward us with money for our grades."

Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy (1989) note that rewarding children with money for academic achievement is a common practice among Vietnamese and other Indochinese parents in the United States (p.105). In the present study, seven of the ten girls who are too young to hold part-time jobs state that their only allowance comes from the rewards they receive from their parents for academic achievement.

Parsons, Adler, and Kazala (1982) argue that parents have their major impact as "conveyors of expectancies" regarding the abilities of their children. However, they found that parents held sex-stereotyped beliefs regarding their children's achievement potential (p. 311).

In contrast to these findings, the data gathered in the present study suggest that Chinese Vietnamese parents have the same expectations for high achievement for their

children of both sexes. Besides, the majority of girls interviewed are in accord with their parents regarding the emphasis placed on education as a tool in the socioeconomic advancement of the individual.

This thesis suggests that while the levels of aspiration in society are congruent with the value placed on education, and the prevailing ideology regarding the respective status that is accorded the sexes, the historical circumstances of the Vietnamese families who arrived in Canada as refugees have undergone transformation. In light of the prevailing social and economic opportunities in Canada, the Vietnamese parents of the girls in this study, have no doubt perceived the education of their children as an insurance against further economic deprivation, and the majority of girls have learned to adjust their level of aspiration accordingly and aim for high academic goals. Furthermore, Danziger (1971) places aspiration in its social and psychological context, and argues that the impact of socialization on the development of cognitive functions and individual motivation are areas for continuing extensive research.

Based on self reports of the girls in this study, the majority are doing well in school and are able to meet the expectations of their parents. Despite this fact, most of their concerns about achieving at school are related to fears of not meeting the expectations of their parents.

This suggests that parental pressure on the girls to achieve academic goals is not only high, but sustained. The five girls who fall short of meeting this expectation, report a history of learning difficulties coupled with minimal parental supervision in the two families they represent.

Let us consider the effect, if any, that being female has on the academic choices of the girls in this study. Baker (1985), Gaskell (1987), and Russell (1979/80) assert that schools influence adolescent girls into choosing vocational and business courses, and even high achieving girls are channelled into courses, many of which are sex-typed.

This study shows that the five under achievers out of the sample of twenty-two girls (i.e., those girls who, although they report average performance in vocational subjects, have difficulty earning passing grades in academic subjects, and therefore fail to meet their parents' expectations for academic achievement), were streamed or have chosen the vocational rather than the academic programme at school. Three of these girls are concentrating on business courses to acquire skills that are useful in a commercial or office setting. Besides, the interest in these courses has been expressed even by those girls who claimed to be consistently high achievers and who referred to the practicality of such courses in aiding them to pursue their own business ventures in the future.

Nineteen year old LIEN summarizes this focused commercial interest of the group generally: "Money is important to us Chinese. Regardless of our profession, we are always thinking of some sort of business, where we can make some money." It seems, therefore, that operating a business in addition to their anticipated professions holds strong appeal to many of the girls in this study.

The interest in business courses which many of these girls expressed, probably has a basis in cultural and gender traditions of entrepreneurship. Van Esterik (1980) argues that in Southeast Asia including Vietnam, women are valued by the society for their astuteness in managing the financial affairs of the family, which often involve business transactions even on a small scale. Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) note that although the social ideology in Vietnam served to confine women to the domestic sphere, traditionally, they always had access to economic autonomy. These assertions imply that the marked interest in business and economic pursuits which the girls in the present study express represents behaviours that are learned within the cultural context of the Vietnamese Chinese Family.

Aside from being concerned about the achievement motive in females, researchers such as Mackie (1987) and Salamon and Robinson (1987) argue that there are cultural explanations for the passivity which most girls portray in school, since controlled aggressiveness is considered gender

appropriate for females, and this behaviour is reinforced by all agents of socialization. How do the girls in the present study assess their performance at school, compared with other students in their classes? In an attempt to understand how the girls perceive themselves performing in the competitive environment of the school, the following question was raised: Do you find the classes competitive?

Twelve year old NGOC and her cousin, GNA, who is also twelve, stated that they have no difficulty getting their schoolwork done. According to NGOC: "I like school, and I do very well in all my subjects. The girls in my class work harder, and get better grades than the boys. The boys goof around a lot, and they are only interested in hockey." NGA also perceives girls to be at the academic forefront in the classroom, while she considers that boys are distracted by sports and other non-academic interests. Salamon and Robinson (1987) argue that the school and the peer group overlap with their emphasis on sports for boys, while the play activities for girls are less structured and emphasize negotiating skills.

Conversely, the responses to the interviews indicate a consistent theme among the mid and late adolescent girls, which highlights the superior academic performance of adolescent boys generally, relative to the girls in their classes. Fifteen year old, THANH, states: "In my classes, the boys are more aggressive than the girls. Most girls act

really dumb. The boys in my class call me a nerd, because I like school and I always get good grades."

THANH's statement suggests that boys are aggressive about achievement, and some boys make it difficult for girls to achieve academically. According to LIEN, nineteen, girls don't try hard enough to achieve high grades. "Girls are too complacent, and do not fight for their points after a test, while the boys are always challenging the teacher and protesting their grades."

There are two very different observations here, and both are supported by the literature on gender socialization. The tendency for the mid and late adolescent girl to "play dumb" in class, could be related to the low emphasis on female competition on the one hand, and the striving for affiliative connections (Gilligan, 1982). On the other hand, the social climate of the classroom including the teaching strategies, encourage silence and submissiveness on the part of the girls (Frazier & Sadker, 1983; Salamon & Robinson, 1987).

Although this present research does not address cognitive factors which might contribute to poor school performance, the pattern of academic failure of this group of underachievers finds support in their experience of negative reinforcement in the home and at school, as evidenced by their reports of low grades, and being subject to the continuing displeasure of their parents.

Aspirations and Plans

According to Baker (1985), Howard-Lindell (1983), and Kostash (1987), Canadian adolescent girls tend to give priority to the family rather than their jobs in their future plans, and girls are encouraged in this stance by parents, teachers and the peer group. Although neither Baker nor Kostash elaborated on the views of the few immigrant girls in their respective studies, the discussion of their findings implied that the perspectives of those immigrant girls were consistent with that of the majority of their subjects. This study attempts to understand the career aspirations as well as the marriage plans of the adolescent Vietnamese girls interviewed.

The data suggest that the emphasis on family life is of pivotal significance in the aspirations and plans of these Vietnamese girls. While the majority of girls plan on combining their occupational and domestic roles, they hope to circumvent the difficulty of raising children by incorporating their own mothers into the role of caregiver. The realism of this plan has roots in Vietnamese cultural traditions (Van Esterik, 1980, pp. 161-162).

The following questions were formulated to address the interaction between the girls' academic interests and career plans on the one hand, and the influence their parents, teachers, and peer group exert on these plans. The

questions are: (a) What activities/projects do you like/dislike at school? (b) Do you take part in extra curricular activities?...Sports?...School dances?...Volunteer work? (c) What are some of the things that are really important to you? (d) What would you like to be doing in five years? (e) What are your career and job plans?...Do you plan on going to university? (f) Do your parents give advice about your future career?...Mother?...Father? (g) Should parents choose the occupation of their children?

Sixteen of the twenty-two girls gave responses which indicated math and science to be their preferred school subjects. They not only excelled in these subjects, but they identified these areas of study to be crucial for the occupations they are hoping to pursue. Fifteen year old THANH made the following comments which typified the others in this group: "I do very well in math and science, but outside of classes I demonstrate a negative attitude to these subjects because most of my girlfriends feel negative towards them, and I don't want them to think that I am weird."

According to Baker (1985), fewer girls than boys have been studying Mathematics and Science courses in Canadian high schools, in part because these courses are sex-typed as "masculine" which discourages girls from pursuing them

(p. 17). These responses suggest that those girls who excel in subjects deemed unpopular by their girlfriends generally, could experience some conflict in peer relations. Yet, there is the suggestion also that these girls have met this interpersonal challenge by developing strategies for minimizing tension and preserve their friendships, while maintaining their academic interests.

Canadian data reveal that Oriental children generally, are superior in visual discrimination in comparison with the general population; and Vernon (1984) argues that superior visual discrimination is related to increased ability for math and science. Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) provide data which support a consistent record of high achievement in these subject areas as evidenced by the courses these students are pursuing at university (p. 169). These findings also support those of researchers in the United States (Bell, 1985; Caplan, Whitmore, & Choy, 1989; Hsia, 1987).

This study shows that many girls perceive that there are several instances of Oriental intellectual supremacy in their Vancouver area schools. Seventeen year old MINH made the following observations:

> The top students in my class are Oriental and
> they study much harder than the white kids. The
> white kids were born here, and they believe they
> know everything because they already know English,
> so they don't try to do as well as the Oriental
> kids. Among the Canadian kids, the boys get
> better grades than the girls.

MINH's social explanation of the increased concentration and effort which Oriental students apply to their studies has been supported by the responses of several other girls. However, these girls did not indicate whether they were ahead of the Oriental boys in their classes i.e., whether there is a sex difference in achievement among Orientals. The question of sex difference among Orientals, and the implication that complacency is one factor which allows Caucasian students to be outdone in these situations are areas for further research.

Of the twenty-two girls interviewed for this study, eighteen year old LINH is atypical in the subjects in which she reportedly excels at school. Her comments also highlight diversity among the respondents with respect to career goals:

> I must admit that I find math difficult, but yet, I always manage to get a passing grade. My area of interest is Modern Languages, and I do very well at German, English and French. I deliberately concentrate on these subjects, as I am planning a career in the Diplomatic service or the airline industry.

The question regarding plans for further education revealed that fifteen of the twenty-two girls interviewed, are aspiring to obtain a university education and later enter a high profile profession. Canadian data indicate that 56% of adolescent girls representing a range of social backgrounds expressed interest in attending university, while 53% had plans for professional careers (Baker, 1985,

p. 42). For a list of the career aspirations of the Vietnamese girls in the present study, refer to Appendix C. This study shows there are two examples of girls who claimed to be high achievers, yet, have no plans for a university education. LIEN, nineteen, shares these views: "I am a very practical person, and I want to excel in the business world. I feel there are avenues for advancement at the bank where I work, through their training programmes. I don't want to take on the extra expenses of studying myself."

Similarly, seventeen year old KAMU, who excels in math and computer courses, wants to become an executive secretary in a large business corporation. She is meeting some opposition from her father who is pressuring her to enter the programme for Registered nurses in one of the colleges, but KAMU has no interest in the Health Sciences.

According to Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987), it was traditional in Vietnam for most females to be denied educational advancement, but the majority of women were occupationally active, and their choice of occupations was based on parental guidelines. They note, however, that the Vietnamese families in their Quebec City study consistently urged their children of both sexes to strive for professional careers, and Caplan, Whitmore and Choy (1989) report similar findings for the United States.

The responses to the interviews indicate that the girls interviewed receive advice from their parents to seek

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careers with high economic returns, and which will increase their status in Canadian society. While the majority appreciate this advice, they feel the actual choice of a career will be their decision. Eighteen of the twenty-two girls responded along these lines: HOA, fourteen years, states: "Parents can give advice and children can listen, but we all have different abilities and skills, so choosing a career should be the child's decision."

The data suggest variability in the girls' accommodation to parental input with respect to decisions affecting aspects of their lives. Two responses reflect extreme positions regarding the question of parental direction in career choice. On the other hand, seventeen year old MINH provided a supportive response: "I think it is a good idea for parents to give such advice, since because of their wider experience they can guide their children to choose jobs that are suitable to their personality."

Conversely, nineteen year old YEN was emphatic in stating: "I don't think parents should try to influence their children when they are almost grown up. The individual should learn to handle her/his own life." YEN's response is evidence of separation from traditional Vietnamese norms relating to the saliency of parental authority. Besides, while the majority of girls are open to parental suggestions in decision making, they are striving

to extricate themselves from their parents' direction as they entertain ideas of independence and value autonomy. This is evidence of acculturative influences.

Fifteen year old TUYET stands out as the only person in this study who denied having any occupational goals or plans. In her response she did not display any ambivalence about the frustration she experiences in her disruptive family situation described in the previous chapter. "Having fun" is her most cherished activity, and she shared the following views:

> I see myself as really laid back, and I don't worry about the future. When it comes, it comes. My only concern is getting my freedom to do my own thing with my friends. I see myself going to parties a lot in five years time, and I don't know what kind of work I'll do. All I know, is that I have no plans to study anything after high school.

The responses to the questionnaire indicate that the questions relating to extra curricular activities yielded an almost unanimous response of low level interest and minimal participation by the majority of girls. While there are a few girls who expressed some interest, their participation has been hindered by (a) parental disapproval (b) domestic responsibilities (c) conflicting requirements of their part-time jobs.

Canadian data suggest that adolescents of both sexes assign as much significance to extra curricular activities as their academic subjects (Baker, 1985; Bibby & Postereski, 1985; Kostash, 1987). The limited participation of the

girls in the present study, suggests their relative isolation from a large component of peer group activities.

This project shows that the four girls who are active in sports and other extra curricular activities at school, are from the three families where both parents speak English. This suggests that parental encouragement to participate in the extra curricular life of the school is an indication of the high level of acculturation of these families, compared to the other nine which make up the sample. This is evidenced by their awareness of the range of activities in Canadian schools, and the provisions they make for their daughters to be involved. It could also be a direct effort on the part of these parents to gain social acceptability for their daughters, through more exposure to selected activities of the majority culture.

Having examined the value placed on education by the girls in the present study, I posed the following question to elicit their views about equality of education for girls and boys: Do you think girls should have a different education from boys? The responses gave a clear indication of more conditional than purely egalitarian views. To be sure, younger girls favoured equal education. All ten of the 12-13 year old girls supported equal education; most believed that girls and boys are equal as people, and this seemed egalitarian. As fourteen year old, HOA, explained: "Girls and boys should have equal education, as they will

have to compete equally for jobs when they grow up."
However, according to thirteen year old MAH: "people are
only equal in Canada."

Three of the four mid-adolescent girls are in favour of
equal education without conditions, while five of the eight
girls in the 17-19 age range seemed to be more relativistic
in their views. Those who were supportive of equality cited
such factors as geography and cultural patterns and
expectations as qualifiers in their responses. Seventeen
year old KAMU for example explained: "People are equal in
Canada, but in Vietnam it is very different. There, girls
are expected to marry very young, certainly by fifteen or
sixteen, and then stay home raising a family."

One thread which appears to link the socialization
experiences of the four girls who held purely traditional
views regarding equality of education is the later age at
which they emigrated from Vietnam, which means that they had
a longer period of exposure to Vietnamese culture during
which time traditional values were observed and reinforced.
This speculation does not, however, explain why fifteen year
old TUYET is the only mid adolescent girl who espouses these
traditional views, and given her earlier responses which
conveyed attitudes indicative of separation from her
cultural traditions. TUYET feels that in their role as head
of the household, men represent the interests of the family
in the community, and therefore boys should be accorded an

educational advantage over girls in preparation for this role.

In discussing access to equal education for the sexes in Canada, Baker (1985), and Kostash (1987), argue that although theoretically, equality of educational opportunity exists in Canadian society, the female is likely to be diverted or handicapped in her quest for careers which will offer the economic returns and status which most males can more easily access and exploit. The data indicate that there is little evidence that the majority of Vietnamese girls in the present study are influenced by societal expectations to curtail their right to equal educational opportunity and career development. This study shows that the Vietnamese girls who hold traditional views regarding women's roles are to some extent influenced by their cultural traditions and family structure; but data on Canadian adolescent girls suggest that a number of them are equally traditional.

In their national survey of Canadian adolescents, Bibby and Postereski (1985) found that only 5% of girls felt that married women should have paid occupation if their husbands were capable of supporting them. Baker (1985) and Kostash (1987) argue that although adolescents are aware of the possibility of events such as separation, divorce and death disrupting a marriage, they generally have a romantic view

of life, and tend to feel they are immune to these external forces.

In sum, despite their many reports of high academic performance at school, the Vietnamese girls in this study, displayed considerable naivete regarding the existence of structural barriers, and institutional attitudes of inequality that might deter their career mobility and social acceptance into specific professional and corporate cultures. Canadian research indicates that many girls who have achieved acceptable qualifications in school, experience difficulty obtaining appropriate jobs in the labour market (Baker, 1985; Russell, 1979/80). Furthermore, visible minority immigrant and refugee women are faced with a number of hurdles which include racism and sexism, in occupational attainment (Boyd, 1987; The Canadian Task Force on the Mental Health of Immigrants and Refugees, 1988; Ng, 1988). It follows, therefore, that while the Vietnamese girls are naive about real barriers to occupational advancement for women, the research cited above suggests, so are most Canadian adolescent girls.

Expectations Regarding Occupational Role and Family Life

Let us now examine the girls' views on marriage and family life in relation to their expectations regarding their occupational role. According to Baker (1985), the majority of Canadian adolescent girls express their intention to combine their careers with marriage. The

following questions were addressed to the girls interviewed, in order to elicit their views: (a) What are your views on marriage? (b) Do your plans include marriage and children? (c) What do you think is the ideal family size? (d) Do you think women with children should work outside the home? (e) What are your feelings about day care for young children?

The responses to these questions indicate that the twenty-two girls visualize marriage in romantic terms; they all referred to the possibility of falling in love with their future spouses. According to Baker (1985), and Kostash (1987), Canadian adolescent girls anticipate marrying a romantic ideal, but portrayed their future husbands in economic and professional terms. While these Vietnamese girls did not elaborate on the qualities they envisaged in a husband, a number of them did say that they are hoping to marry a "suitable" person. They believe, like their Canadian counterparts, that their husbands should be professional or businessmen, and they hope their mates can relate to, and "fit in" with the social circle of their parents.

Collectively, these girls anticipate conflict with their parents, who might refuse to approve their choice of mates, especially if they chose their future husbands from outside the Vietnamese or Chinese communities. Some girls are bracing themselves for this conflict, should they initiate this option which is generally contrary to

Vietnamese norms and practices. Fifteen year old THANH and her sister HOA, who is fourteen, as well as thirteen year old THAU, and her twelve year old sister HWONG, disclosed hopes to marry Caucasian men. As twelve year old, HANH explains: "Those are the people I associate with at school and on my sport teams, and it is the same people who are my friends."

These five girls are from the three families where the parents speak English, and who have encouraged the girls to participate more fully in Canadian society. However, the girls believe an inter-racial marriage would devastate their parents, and they implied that they will postpone revealing these intentions for as long as possible.

Fifteen of the remaining seventeen girls expressed interest in marrying a Vietnamese or Chinese male. All eight girls comprising the late adolescent group, state that they are aware of their ethnicity, and feel that the choice of a husband from their own cultural background would make their lives easier. As nineteen year old, LIEN, explains:

> I think of myself foremost as being Chinese, and
> I am also Buddhist. It would be very difficult
> for an outsider to understand all the rules of
> family life, especially the raising of children.
> Besides, my parents don't speak English, so I'll
> have to marry someone who can communicate with
> them, and who is able to relate to the other
> family members as well.

Three girls belonging to the 14-16 age group and five girls in the 12-13 year old category envisaged themselves marrying within their ethnic group. While the others did

not divulge the reasons for this preference, thirteen year old ANH cited the economic advantages of attracting a successful husband within the Chinese community as the basis for her preference. Given the economic decline of her family which resulted from political changes in Vietnam, and her limited plans for occupational security, her visualization might be considered a healthy coping strategy. Finally, twelve year old NLING and thirteen year old MAH are the only two girls from among the subjects, who denied having any preference regarding the race or ethnicity of their future marriage partners.

The data in this study show that twenty-one out of the twenty-two girls are hoping to become the mothers of an average of three children each. While fifteen year old THANH also expects to be married, she is hesitant about having children due to her fears surrounding childbirth. However, she expects she will meet the Vietnamese cultural expectation of becoming a mother: "At this point, I don't think I would like to be a mother, but I could feel differently in the future. I also know that if I marry someone Vietnamese, I'll be expected to have children since that is a very big part of our culture."

According to Baker (1985), the majority of adolescent girls and half the boys in her study, hope to become parents, but 15% of her subjects did not want children, or did not mention children in their responses. The underlying

reasons for this exclusion of children from their future plans included a lack of emotional warmth towards children, while some girls had concerns about the altered body image which accompanies pregnancy.

Kostash (1987) argues that those girls who remained ambivalent about having children are responding to "signals of social transformation" that suggest that women are free to decide whether to have children, since they are aware that the tasks of child rearing remain the responsibility of the mother (p. 306). The foregoing views are of course diametrically opposed to those of the majority of adolescent girls, whom, Kostash notes, were positive in their attitudes to mothering. While many such girls outlined strategies for coping with the tasks involved in child care, none of them saw the mothering role as work. In fact, some girls described child rearing as a beautiful, rewarding, though challenging experience for women.

Researchers have commented on the large number of children in Vietnamese nuclear families in North America (Haines, 1986). Caplan, Whitmore and Choy (1989) found that five, six, and seven children were not an uncommon feature of Indochinese refugee families. It could be inferred that the positive attitude to motherhood on the part of the girls in the present study, has a basis in Vietnamese cultural traditions and expectations.

Nineteen year old YEN is singular in her desire to have
seven or eight children. Her views follow: "I like a large
family, and seven or eight kids would be ideal. My
boyfriend feels the same way also, since big families are
happier, because you have people you can rely on right
there."

Let us then consider how YEN, and the other girls
interviewed, plan to balance their occupational and domestic
roles. Specifically, how will they arrange for child care?
This study shows that the use of day care services for young
children is viewed negatively by seventeen of the twenty-two
girls. HONG, sixteen, elaborates on this generally held
perception:

> I believe that once women have a family, they
> should stay home and raise their children. My
> Canadian friends disagree with me, and so does my
> sister (YEN), who hopes to continue working after
> she has children. I don't believe day care can
> replace a mother's love and attention.

HONG is one of a pair of girls in this study, who see
themselves as full time housewives once they marry. This
study shows that a number of girls have plans to rely on
their mothers to assume the child care tasks, while they
continue with their occupations. YEN is among one of four
girls who has such plans. She shared the following
perspective:

> I think women should have a choice whether they
> want to have a regular job after they start having
> children or not. I plan to continue with my
> career as an accountant, but I am suspicious of
> day care, as children don't get any love there. I

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plan to rely on my mom to care for the kids, since
that is customary in our culture. Failing that, I
suppose I'll have to hire a nanny.

Among those adolescent girls in Baker's study (1985)
who were ambivalent about hired child care, a few mentioned
that they would prefer their mothers to provide this help,
but this was not often realistic (p. 132). The Canadian
institutional structures do not appear to accommodate this
expectation.

While the majority of girls in this present study
evaluate day care in a negative light (and these derogatory
views about day care are traditional), five girls of the
twenty-two interviewed, were supportive of day care. Four
of the five girls who support day care, expressed negative
feelings about babysitting younger siblings. The remaining
girl, twelve year old, HAHN, has a five year old sister in
day care, and she bases her support on the convenience this
allows: she is free to take part in sports and other
activities, and her mother can work at her clerical job
without worrying about the care of her youngest child.

On a parallel tract, nineteen year old LIEN who is one
of eight children, described the hard work involved in
caring for three younger siblings. In addition, she
applauds the flexibility day care provides women who want to
continue with their jobs. She states: "The youngest in the
family, my sister, TAM, is now twelve. Besides my two
younger brothers, the four ahead of me are boys, so you can

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imagine how much time I spent waiting on, and picking up after those kids. There's nothing in the world that's wrong with day care!"

In summary, the majority of girls in this study support the idea of young children being cared for at home, preferably by the child's mother. The five girls who are in support of day care services, made references to the demanding and repetitive aspects of providing care for young children. Based on their experiences, they have rejected this cultural expectation. In addition, they applaud the flexibility day care allows women to engage in their occupations, while reducing concern about the well-being of their offspring. Day care also reduces the domestic responsibilities of the girls in the family, resulting in increased free time to pursue extra curricular activities.

Conclusion

The career aspirations of the majority of Vietnamese girls interviewed for this study are high, and they generally maintain above average levels of academic performance, showing a strong preference for math and science as subjects. These are areas of study which show reduced interest, compared with the preference for courses in the Humanities, among Canadian adolescent girls. Like the majority of Canadian girls, these Vietnamese girls expect to attain their occupational goals unhindered by societal constraints, so this blinkered attitude appears to

typify adolescent girls generally. However, there is also little indication that the Vietnamese girls have confined themselves to choosing sex-typed occupations in the future. The Vietnamese girls appear to be devoid of the fears which many North American researchers attribute to psychological barriers which serve to constrain women's level of aspiration and achievement.

Parents play a significant role in encouraging educational achievement, and much of this parental motivation appears to be related to the improved economic returns, and opportunities for upward social mobility which educational achievement makes possible. While most girls are motivated by parental input to strive for scholastic excellence, the evidence is clear that the majority resist parental direction in planning for career choices. Those girls who experience difficulty earning high academic grades, fail to meet parental expectations, and at the same time experience failure and frustration competing with peers, and meeting the standards of teachers.

This thesis suggests that although the Vietnamese girls express some interest in the extra curricular life of the school, most girls have limited involvement due mainly to time constraints, and many responses conveyed the implication that parents viewed participation in such activities as sports, as a non-productive use of time. This relative non-involvement of the majority of girls in extra-

curricular activities could serve to isolate them from the activities of their peers, and could be a source of bicultural conflict for them.

The plans of the Vietnamese girls for balancing their occupational and domestic demands, have some basis in the Southeast Asian and Vietnamese practice of incorporating grandmothers as care givers. This also suggests that ideas regarding the nurturing role of women have links between generations. As an aspect of female socialization, the links between women's roles and the provision of housework and child care, are a worldwide phenomenon.

CHAPTER 4

ACCULTURATION ATTITUDES AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Definitions of acculturation differ in their scope and specificity, but a commonly held view is that it is a multi-dimensional process which embodies psychological and behavioural components (Beiser and Collomb, 1981; Chance, 1965; Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1980). Acculturation occurs when two cultural groups come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups (Andersen & Frideres, 1983; Teske & Nelson, 1974).

This study examines changes in the perceptions and attitudes of the twenty-two adolescent Vietnamese girls interviewed. The focus has been on their personal adjustment to acculturative change. The main thrust of the research is to gain some understanding of the girls' perception of their identity as females, given that gender identity is an aspect of one's social identity, and this could have some bearing in adjusting to sociocultural patterns in a new setting. This study also aims to discover the influence of ethnicity on the girls' self-definition and identification, as well as their attitudes towards Canadian

society. The findings of this thesis suggest that migration from one cultural context to another could lead to problems in adaptation for some individuals. While the majority of girls interviewed could be described as having attained a bicultural identity, i.e., Vietnamese and Canadian, the possibilities for cultural oscillation or stable adjustment which are suggested by the literature embody varying degrees of emotional strain for some girls.

Adjustment to Personal Issues and Concerns

Most studies on the acculturation of adolescents focus on the significance of identity formation during adolescence as well as aspects relating to the acquisition and maintenance of ethnic identity. The work of Danziger (1971), and Erickson (1968) provide a context for examining adolescent identity issues generally. While Colalillo's (1974) study addresses issues specific to Italian girls in Canada, Kim (1980), Rosenthal et al., (1983), and Rosenthal (1985; 1987) include adolescent subjects of both sexes in their samples, and these studies highlight the overlapping impact of gender identity on adolescent ethnic socialization within plural societies.

Rosenthal (1987) argues that while the sense of identity during adolescence is subject to considerable physical and cognitive change, the social expectations also change dramatically, and the experiences of adolescents "might be fraught with chaos and confusion" (Rosenthal,

1987, p. 158). Guided by these assertions the following
questions were addressed to the twenty-two subjects in this
study to elicit how they perceive their experiences as
adolescents growing up in Canada. Were there any issues
that were of particular concerns to them, and what
strategies do they employ to address these issues and cope
with any difficulties they might face? The following
questions were posed: (a) What are some of the things that
are really important to you? (b) What are some of the
things you worry about? (c) Do you discuss these concerns
with anyone?

The responses to the interviews indicate that twenty of
the twenty-two girls rated the family and education as their
most important values, although the majority made explicit
comments which indicated that they also valued freedom and
independence. Moreover, the collective stance of the group
during the interviews indicated that their main worry is
achieving or maintaining above average grades at school, in
keeping with the expectations of their parents. In
contrast, two girls gave responses which typified some
degree of ambivalence, or even nihilism towards the values
of their cultural group.

Fifteen year old KAM (the sister of VI and KIEN) valued
the family, but not education, which she finds a "strain".
Similar views were expressed by TUYET, fifteen (the sister
of MINH, ANH, and TRANG), who expressed a despairing and

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negative view of life: "I don't think anything in life is important, and I don't care. Why should I care?" Both KAM and TUYET gave no indication of seeking support from either family or friends, although both girls are among the five lower achievers in this study who are prone to situational anxiety. Not seeking the solace of friends whenever they are upset or sad, also suggest rejection of the peer group.

While Caplan (1981) identifies social support to be significant in mastering stress, recent findings by Chataway and Berry (1989) revealed that immigrant Chinese students in Canadian universities, compared with English and French Canadian students, sought less support from friends in stressful situations, and made substantial use of student counselling services. They argue that the "insular tendencies" of those Chinese students might account for the increase in their experience of anxiety. They contend that Chinese cultural norms and values may result in the use of different coping mechanisms by the students in their sample, (Chataway & Berry, 1989, p. 308).

This finding implies that the Vietnamese Chinese girls in the present study might experience diminished social and emotional support for some of their concerns since they claim not to confide in their friends. This thesis did not address the girls' use of school counsellors, and this is an issue for further research.

What do the Vietnamese Chinese girls in the present
study worry about besides family and school related issues?
The data show a similar pattern to that of most Canadian
adolescents, including issues of self-image and appearance,
finances, the purpose and future of their lives. Unlike a
number of Canadian adolescents who worry about sexuality
issues, the Vietnamese girls centre their concerns around
forming friendships with boys independently of their
parents' direction.

Seventeen year old KAMU is one of the girls
interviewed, who claimed to have a boyfriend without her
parents' approval, and whom she meets surreptitiously. Her
response is typical of the late adolescent girls (ages 17-19
years) in this group. She states: "I find myself worrying
whether I'm friendly with the right guy, and whether he'll
make a suitable husband. But I have no one to discuss this
with, since while my mom suspects, my dad doesn't know."

Like the majority of early and mid adolescent girls in
this study, twelve year old HWONG worries about the effect
of pollution on the environment, and the impact government
"cut backs" will have on the economy and ultimately on her
future lifestyle. She also worries about the possibility of
a war occurring here. This is more so, after viewing images
of armed conflict and violence on television. HWONG is one
of three girls who has friends with whom she can share her
concerns, and she talks over these topics with them:

"Having lots of friends is very important because you don't want to be sad and lonely all your life, and there are some things that you are not comfortable telling your parents either."

The data in the present study might be interpreted, that both Canadian adolescents and Vietnamese girls face issues which concern them, but what the former value and have access to, the latter are generally lacking; i.e., the freedom to develop and nurture friendships within the peer group and participate in related activities. This diminished ability to form and nurture friendships, while maintaining harmony at home, is perceived by the majority of mid and late adolescent girls as a deficit in affiliative support, and the data suggest this could be an area of bicultural conflict for some of these girls. Furthermore, because of the geographic dispersal of their ethnic group, outside of family friends, and occasional participation in religious activities, many girls claimed non-involvement with the Vietnamese community.

Regarding the question of adolescent concerns generally, Bibby and Postereski (1985) note that a high proportion of Canadian adolescents express concerns about their appearance and body image. Kostash (1987) contends that adolescent girls are concerned with, "being in vogue with current trends in female attractiveness and style" (Kostash, 1987, p.55).

The above findings provided a context to formulate the following questions relating to fashion trends. The questions were aimed at eliciting how much freedom the girls enjoyed in deciding on their choice and manner of dress. What is the extent of their interest in fashion, and how much have they been influenced by the peer group in adhering to the current fashion codes for adolescent girls? The questions are: (a) Do you like the fashions girls are wearing these days? (b) Are you allowed to buy your own clothes?...Choose the styles? (c) Do your friends wear makeup? (d) How do you feel about these activities?

All the mid and late adolescent girls have had part-time jobs, and they report that they select and purchase their own clothes. Yet, while they do not generally experience parental restrictions related to their clothing choice, they hesitate to select styles that they know would meet their parents' disapproval. This behaviour suggests that parental disapproval is implicit. Fifteen year old THANH gives this explanation: "There are unspoken guidelines as to what type of clothes I wear."

The response given by twelve year old NLING was typical of the younger girls in this study. She states: "I like the fashions for women in Canada. I am allowed to select my own styles with reason. The necklines can't be too low, and the pants too tight. I don't wear any makeup, and I think

sixteen would be a good age, but I'll discuss that with mom, closer to that time."

The girls interviewed for this study laid emphasis on physical appearance as a very important value. While most girls in the late adolescent age group mentioned that they no longer had restrictions placed on the discreet use of makeup, many girls in the early and mid adolescent categories divulged that they applied makeup, "once they are out of the house."

Thirteen year old THAU reports that the family and school are important to her, but outside those values, "I believe that looking good is the most important issue in life." Furthermore, KAM and TUYET, both fifteen, are enamoured with current fashions for teens, and they regret that they do not have access to more money so they could indulge this passion. TUYET disclosed: "If I had all the freedom and money in the world, I'd spend my time shopping for clothes, and shoes, and makeup and jewelry."

The responses of the younger girls generally, also indicate the extent to which they identify with Canadian culture, while rejecting or denigrating aspects of their Vietnamese culture. As twelve year old HOA divulged: "I don't really like Vietnamese fashions. There, they are different, and the women wear mainly shirts and pants. The traditional costume is worn only on special occasions, such as festivals and weddings."

In summary, all the girls in this study seemed enthraled by the variety, design, and availability of fashions in Canada. For the majority of girls, both their attitudes to fashion, and their reported behaviours seem to indicate a strong link between fashion and acculturation.

Kostash (1987) notes that smoking cigarettes is a commonplace habit among Canadian adolescents. What do the Vietnamese girls in this study think of this habit? The following question was posed: Do any of your friends smoke? In their responses, a number of mid and late adolescent girls reported that some girls in their classes smoked. However, all twenty-two subjects rejected smoking as a health hazard. In addition, there was a strong moral overtone to this condemnation which seems to reflect traditional views about the behaviours of women in public.

Seventeen year old KAMU remarks: "The only Vietnamese girls who smoke that I know of, are those who have run away from home, and are living in group homes, or on their own." Eighteen year old YEN was particularly strong in her condemnation: "In Vietnam, it is only bar girls and street women who smoke cigarettes, because no decent woman, no matter how poor, would be forgiven for smoking."

Bibby and Postereski (1985) argue that ideas about the world are largely socially instilled, and our values and attitudes are implanted through the socialization efforts of our major institutions. Chan and Lam (1983) note the

salience of parental authority within the Vietnamese Chinese
family, where ideas regarding morality remain traditional.

Some girls who make up this sample have rejected
aspects of parental authority and expectation. The
unanimous rejection of smoking, based on a Vietnamese
cultural taboo, is therefore an interesting finding.
Linking this taboo to the ideology of preventive health,
shows that these girls are flexible enough to reject aspects
of adolescent culture, yet endorse the emerging social value
which places a North American adolescent habit in a negative
light.

Ethnic Identity and the Vietnamese Adolescent Girl

For the purposes of the present study, the concept of
ethnic identity as defined by Padilla (1980) provided the
basis for examining the self-identification and ethnic
orientation of the twenty-two girls interviewed. Padilla
argues that there are two essential elements to ethnic
identity: (a) Ethnic (cultural) awareness and (b) Ethnic
loyalty. Ethnic awareness refers to the individual's
knowledge of her/his specific culture, with respect to
language, values, religion, foods, etc., while ethnic
loyalty relates to the person's preference for one cultural
orientation over the other. He further explains, that such
preference is manifested in the person's ethnic self-
identification and social behaviour orientation.

This model of ethnic identity lends itself to the formulation of concrete questions which it seems, would elicit responses indicative of the extent of acculturative change experienced by the girls in this study. The following questions were posed: (a) What language do you speak most often? (b) How often do you eat Vietnamese food? (c) Do you like Canadian food? (d) Do you know any other teenagers from Vietnam? (e) Are there activities for teenagers in the Vietnamese community? (e) Is your family religious? (f) Does your family celebrate Vietnamese holidays? (g) Do your parents belong to any Vietnamese associations or clubs?

HOA (fourteen) belongs to one of the three families where both parents speak English. Her response was typical of many early and mid adolescent girls in the study:

> I speak mainly English. Even at home, we
> children speak English among ourselves since we
> find it easier. We don't understand written
> Vietnamese. We eat Vietnamese food at home
> everyday, since mom thinks it is more nourishing
> than Canadian food; but we eat hamburgers, hot
> dogs and pizza at school everyday.

In contrast, HOA's sister THANH (fifteen) indicated deliberate efforts to avoid the Vietnamese cultural identification. She was quite vehement in stating:

> I am not involved in any activities for kids in
> the Vietnamese community. I don't like the
> majority of Vietnamese teenagers in Vancouver.
> They're real fobs the way they dress...and some of
> them are stupid, getting involved in street gangs,
> and not staying in school. I don't want to
> associate with them. The few Vietnamese teens I

know, come from families with similar interests as ours.

Both these girls state that their parents weren't religious, and that is unusual since all their relatives are. However, they celebrate "Tet", which is the Vietnamese New Year, as well as Christmas. HOA claims to be fascinated by religion, and hopes to explore this interest in the future.

These responses indicate that there are individual differences in attitudes and reported behaviour. Both these girls are aware of aspects of their Vietnamese culture, but it may be assumed from their responses, that they prefer the language and cultural activities of Canadian society generally. According to Kim (1984), unlike adults who adopt alternative behaviours to obtain goals which they valued in the society of origin, immigrant children find it easier to change their preference for reinforcements that lead to goals in the new society.

Both Colalillo (1974), and Rosenthal (1987) point to the relative importance of language in establishing a sense of ethnic identity in the adolescent girls they studied. Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) found that while adult Vietnamese assert their ethnic identity through language, the children run the risk of rapidly losing the language of their parents (p. 181). They argue that while linguistic factors are important, the central core of Vietnamese culture in Quebec City is the family and the values it

instills. Many girls in the present study reported that they cannot think quickly in Vietnamese, and by not developing competence in written Vietnamese, they are cut off from relatives and the literature of Vietnam.

The data suggest that where a strong sense of ethnic awareness exists, families appear to establish an external boundary around themselves and their Vietnamese friends, and the girls from such families are loyal to their roots. Nineteen year old LIEN provides a typical example of girls in this category:

> I speak Vietnamese and Cantonese at home, as my parents do not understand English. Most of my friends are Chinese, although I socialize with whites at work. There is a difference in thinking between whites and us. Besides our attitude to the importance of the family, we are more thrifty about the use of money than whites, who tend to spend their money on fun things such as parties and trips, while we live simply and save ours.

Beiser (1984), Chance (1965), and Clarke, Kaufman, and Pierce (1976) examine the influence of individual choice in the expression of ethnic identity, and conclude that there can be selective acculturation of minorities which reflect varying degrees of public versus private behaviours. For instance, in his study of Alaskan Eskimos who were in contact with whites, Chance found that many adolescents spent much of their time "acting like whites" (many adults displayed similar behaviours). He questioned whether Eskimos were motivated by the pursuit of particular material goals, or whether in fact, they were displaying the

acculturative change which resulted from their contact with Western culture.

What are the motives which underlie the preferred identity of the girls in the present study? The data suggest that many girls regulate their public presentation of self-according to the auspiciousness of the moment, while for others, the adjustment to the demands of both cultures appears to be more integrated into their own overall adaptation pattern.

In response to the question regarding her ethnic identity, thirteen year old ANH explains: "I prefer to be identified both at school and in the community as Chinese and not Vietnamese. As I told you before, I might even be able to attract a successful Chinese husband." ANH reasons that her identity (even though her claim to Chinese ancestry goes back to her paternal grandfather) will break the cycle of poverty she now experiences by improving her employment and socioeconomic opportunities.

In their national study of adolescents in Canada, Bibby and Postereski (1985) found that religious beliefs persist among adolescents, even where the attendance at church or synagogue was occasional. They argue that the religious beliefs and practices of adolescents reflected those of Canadian adults.

The responses to the interviews indicate nineteen of the twenty-two girls claimed religious affiliation, while

one girl had no affiliation, but expressed interest and belief. Fourteen year old HOA worries about the irreligious stance of her parents and wishes she had someone with whom to discuss issues relating to ultimate reality. "I often worry about death, and the meaning of life, but I don't even talk to friends about this."

A surprising finding is that only seven of these nineteen girls claimed to be intensely involved in religious practice, and this included four sisters who are Roman Catholics, one reformed Christian, and two Buddhists. The remaining twelve girls identified themselves as Buddhists, but they attended the temple only for special observances, and a number claimed not to understand the rituals of their religion. Seven of these twelve girls expressed ambivalence towards certain Vietnamese religious rituals, especially those which commemorate the memory of their ancestors.

Previous research indicates that the ritual surrounding practices such as ancestor worship had undergone erosion among many Vietnamese families now living in Canada (Nguyen, 1980, pp. 253-254). It is difficult to assess the degree of religiosity of many of the girls in the present study who claimed to be Buddhists. The majority gave the impression that their religious practices consisted mainly of "private meditations." Dorais, Pilon-Le, and Huy (1987) note that Buddhist Vietnamese parents in Quebec report a lack of interest in traditional beliefs, as well as a decrease in

religious practice by their children. One mother stated that her children "are more attracted to Christianity than Buddhism" (Dorais, Pilon-Le & Huy, 1987, p. 152).

Similarly, the present study shows that all twenty-two girls claimed to understand the significance of Christmas and Easter, and they also attest to observing the cultural rituals surrounding Christmas. This finding suggests that the degree of acculturative change on the part of these Vietnamese girls is significant.

Overall, the data suggest that linguistic competence, dietary habits, religious practices, and involvement in the activities of the ethnic community are significant variables in the promotion and maintenance of both ethnic awareness and loyalty. However, for the majority of girls in this study, the family appears to be the main vehicle for transmitting and nurturing cultural mores. Although five girls expressed interest in Vietnamese activities for teenagers, there was minimal involvement in such planned activities in the ethnic community. One reason seems to be the geographic dispersal of the group. Many girls pointed out that they were the only Vietnamese kids in their school.

Likewise, while there was an overwhelming tendency for parents to socialize with other Vietnamese, only three fathers were involved in Vietnamese cultural organizations while the mothers of those girls belonged to a Vietnamese support group for women. The data show that of the twelve

families, only the three sets of parents that are fluent in English have social contact with Canadian friends and acquaintances, and much of this contact is in the workplace. The majority of parents are denied social interaction with the larger community due to their deficit in the English language.

Adjustment to Canadian Society

In assessing the girls' attitudes towards Canadian versus Vietnamese culture, specific questions were designed to address three main issues: (1) Feelings about being in Canada, and the girls' relationship with Canadians. (2) The awareness of Vietnamese cultural values, and the girls' loyalty to their culture of origin. (3) The degree to which the girls identify themselves as Canadian or Vietnamese. The questions are: (a) What are some of the things you like/dislike about Canada? (b) Do your Vietnamese friends like Canada also? (c) Do other teenagers treat you well?...Vietnamese?...Canadians?...Others? (d) Is Canada very different from Vietnam?...In what ways? (e) Do you feel like any other Canadian girl?

The response to these questions suggest a difference in loyalty to Vietnamese versus Canadian culture between the younger and older girls in this study. It can be assumed that this stance is a reflection of the extent of their acculturation to Canada. Of the twenty-two girls interviewed, eight identify themselves as Canadians. These

girls are twelve and thirteen years old, with five of them
having arrived in Canada between ten months and three years
old. Among the early adolescents (12-13 years), twelve year
old HAHN gives a typical response: "All around me is
Canadian, and there isn't much to remind me of Vietnam. I
just love Canada. It is a great country!"

In contrast to these eight younger girls, nine mid and
late adolescent girls think of themselves as Vietnamese.
Yet, all added that they are attracted to the Canadian
lifestyle of their school friends. Specifically, they yearn
for the freedom and independence which they feel their
friends enjoy, and which they are denied by their parents.
Seven of these girls wished to be more Canadian.

Several girls pointed to the fact that compared to
Vietnam, life in Canada is less strenuous for women and this
served to increase their loyalty to Canada. Twelve year old
NLING states:

> Canada is very different from Vietnam, especially
> with the high level of technology we have here. In
> Canada, the household appliances that we have make work
> easier for women. There is also more freedom and
> opportunities for girls here, since it is not so
> traditional here as it is in Vietnam.

A theme that runs through the responses of these more highly
acculturated girls, is their preference for the modernity
that Canada offers, and the availability and variety of
consumer goods such as running shoes, as against the less
technologically developed and traditional Vietnamese
society. YEN, who is eighteen, explains poignantly: "As I

get the opportunity to move away from the influence of my parents, I'll become more Canadian." Besides, fourteen year old HOA, who arrived in Canada at ten months old and who identifies herself to be Canadian, nine of the eleven girls in the mid and late adolescent category (14-19 years.) implied that the degree or extent of their contact with Canadian society generally, serve to encourage positive identification with Canada, even if presently, they consider themselves to be Vietnamese. Beiser (1982), Chance (1964), and Rosenthal (1987) argue that there is a link between the type and extent of inter-cultural contact and the degree of identification with the dominant culture.

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) argue that there is a clear relationship between acculturation, bi-culturalism, and the adjustment of individuals exposed to these processes. Stable bicultural adjustment "involves learning communication and negotiation skills in two different cultural contexts, each with a separate set of rules." Individuals who are at the acculturation extremes, are therefore in a state of disequilibrium (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980, pp. 146-154).

In their responses, five girls described themselves as "half and half". They are Canadian at school or at work, and Vietnamese at home. Nineteen year old LIEN who considers herself to be bicultural described her experience as follows:

> I feel Canadian at work where I speak English
> and the workers all around me are white.
> Sometimes I have a sense of racial discrimination
> with the clients, and this serves to remind me
> that I'm Vietnamese Chinese. At home we speak our
> language, and we have all the reminders such as
> our food, and ancestral altar. There is no
> mistaking who I am then.

The present study shows that there are four clear

examples of girls who appear to have rejected completely

their traditional culture. Their responses suggest a

definite preference for Canadian culture as well as some

difficulty coping with their Vietnamese Chinese ethnic

identity. These four girls are from two of the three

families where both parents speak English. They state that

they want to be "fully Canadian", and they reason that

marrying someone who is white would serve to endorse the

authenticity of their Canadian identity.

In their evaluation of Canadian versus Vietnamese

culture, for example, fifteen year old THANH and her sister

HOA (fourteen) made it quite clear that they cannot relate

to Vietnamese culture. Both girls arrived in Canada when

they were one year and four months old respectively. THANH

states:

> There is nothing about Canada that I don't like,
> except that at school, I believe other kids think
> of me as being different, and sometimes they
> remind me in little ways that I am not white. I'm
> sure happy to be here, and my dad reminds me that
> if we were still there, I'd be planting rice, or
> working as a maid, and he would be dead, or in
> prison. Sometimes I wake up in the mornings and
> look in the mirror, and that's when I experience a
> shock; and I say to myself, my God, is that me? I
> am Vietnamese!

In a similar negative and distressed tone, both THAU and HWONG related that they disliked being Vietnamese, and wished they could be Canadian in every way. These sisters emigrated nine years ago, and were four and three years old respectively. They expressed concerns about their body image, and made derogatory references to their skin colour, and the darkness and straightness of their hair. They also disliked their Oriental features. THAU defends her reasoning as follows: "You don't want to be the only Vietnamese girl in Vancouver. I think if you are in Canada, you should act like a Canadian, and that's what my sister and I plan to do."

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) argue that there is an extremely high correlation between acculturation and the length of exposure to the host society. Their findings suggest that the apparent over-acculturation of the four girls in the present study, reflects in part, the impact of their age at arrival in this country. The findings in this thesis further suggest that more time spent in the host country does not necessarily lead to better adjustment, but could result in increased self denigration.

Rosenthal (1987) asserts that the degree to which minority adolescents identify with the host society is influenced by the extent to which they cross the ethnic boundary in their relationships with their peers. This project shows that peer group relationships for the majority

of girls is restricted to school hours, although most girls keep in touch with friends by telephone. The five girls from the three English speaking families visit Canadian friends in their homes, from time to time. All girls in the early adolescent group attend the odd birthday party of Canadian friends.

The majority of mid and late adolescent girls all claimed to have Canadian friends, although most resent the fact that there are limitations as to how much time they spend together. Seventeen year old, MINH explained that other teenagers treat her well. "But I feel jealous of Canadian girls and the freedom they get from their parents. Every girl likes to go about with friends, going to movies, parties, and shopping. If I had the freedom, that's what I'd like to do."

Surprisingly, although eighteen year old LINH claimed to have Canadian friends at school and church (Protestant), she revealed that with the exception of her family's sponsors, she had never been invited to a Canadian home. These sponsors have children whom she considers friends, but they live in the Abbotsford area, and LINH's family no longer own a car (since the family's business went bankrupt), so they visit about once per year.

The data in this study do not indicate that any of the subjects are under-acculturated. Even though a few girls might have experienced racially biased treatment in their

encounters with some Canadians, they remain positive about their Vietnamese heritage while identifying with aspects of Canadian culture. Fifteen year old, TUYET makes these comments:

> The kids in my class are not always kind to me, particularly in some of the remarks they make. A couple of boys especially, keep referring to me as "Chinese chink", and asking when I'm going back to "Taiwan". But I just love Canada, although I would like to travel to Vietnam some day to enjoy the lovely climate, and really see what it is like there.

On a parallel tract, KIEN (eighteen), divulged: "I am Vietnamese, and although I have a few white friends, we are not very close. I suppose I am more comfortable with my type of people, Oriental, that's what I mean." Similarly, seventeen year old KAMU thinks of herself as a Chinese girl from Vietnam because, "people look at me and know I'm Vietnamese, and in the minds of Canadians, I'll always be Vietnamese."

According to Andersen and Frideres (1981), most immigrant attempts at assimilation in Canada have been unsuccessful. They contend that racial visibility is a significant factor which increases the social distance of the minority from the majority in Canadian society. Based on their insight, it is possible that the girls in this study who over-acculturate and demonstrate what could be called a culturally induced identity conflict, are in fact demonstrating the effects of their minority group status.

Rosenthal (1987) suggests that research in the area of minority group status coupled with the experience of a devalued self concept, "provides a tenuous linkage" (Rosenthal, 1987, p. 172). Conversely, Akoodie (1984) argues that whenever groups that are distinct within a cultural setting have to contend with prejudice and stereotyping, some individuals tend to reject their cultural heritage by denying identification with the cultural group. "Ethnic denial and self hatred leads to feelings of insecurity, inferiority, and discontent, which inadvertently affects the self concept" (Akoodie, 1984, p. 254).

In summary, the data on acculturation attitudes and ethnic identity suggest that while the girls in the late adolescent group strongly identify themselves as Vietnamese, their attitudes toward Canada and Canadians are generally favourable. The majority of mid and early adolescent girls could be described as typically bicultural, although maintaining this stance is not devoid of conflict for many of them. However, the four girls who have so strongly rejected their Vietnamese heritage appear to fall within the category of those immigrants who react adversely to the negative perception of their minority group status as portrayed in the larger society.

CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

The data gathered in this study give a strong indication that there is no single cause of conflict for the

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Vietnamese adolescent girls in their relationship in the family. The type of conflicts experienced can be classified as: (a) Intergenerational, i.e., differential interaction patterns and behavioural dissimilarity in terms of value/norm acceptance between children and their parents or generations generally (Traub and Dodder, 1988). (b) Authority, i.e., conflict resulting from the adolescent's new claims to self determination, and the parents' refusal to renounce authority over areas of the child's activity which had hitherto been under their control (Danziger, 1971). (c) Bicultural, which refers to the strains and tensions that immigrants and the children of minority groups experience, in their attempt to accommodate the values and expectations of two different cultures. This might manifest in misunderstandings and frustration, where linguistic barriers exist between family members, and where different family members seek to be acculturated to the majority culture at different paces (Sung, 1985; Rosenthal, 1987). In addition, many of the features of bicultural conflict are related to issues of gender where the girls experience tension which arises from ambiguity in their role evaluations (Naditch and Morrissey, 1976). The sources of conflict are related to: (a) unclear communication patterns, (b) the girls' relationships and mobility outside the home, (c) disparity in values between the girls and

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their parents, and (d) differential rates of acculturation between the parents and their daughters.

However, while many girls expressed a desire for flexibility in the structure of their families, especially with respect to parental tolerance of their subjective views and open expression of feelings, the majority described the family environment as cohesive and supportive. In those families where the parents do not speak English, the level of misunderstanding appears to be more intense, and a few girls appear to be bent on separating from family norms and values as they challenge parental authority and expectations.

There are, however, certain limitations to aspects of the data which describe the girls' relationship with their parents. Their ahistorical stance generally, with respect to their parents' (especially their fathers') occupational classification and current line of work, has been documented in the introduction to this thesis. Many girls also had no idea of their father's level of education. Yet, they emphasized that both parents value education highly. In several instances, it was therefore difficult to examine how these socioeconomic variables might impact on effective family functioning, given the changed life circumstances of the parents.

For the most part, the girls are keen about their schooling, and they are encouraged by parents to place a

high value on education. Academic achievement is linked to their anticipation of high status occupations, and their leaning toward achievement in math and science is an atypical finding, based on data on Canadian adolescent girls. Furthermore, these girls, with few exceptions, have given priority to their schooling over all other concerns, but this is not without costs, since these girls report that maintaining this unrelenting focus is a cause of strain.

Those girls who fail to meet parental expectations for scholastic achievement express much concern over their pattern of failure, as well as their feelings of helplessness in the competitive milieu of the classroom. The discrepancy between aspirations and achievements often results in relative discontent for individual adolescents which makes them vulnerable to the development of psychopathological symptoms. Naditch and Morrissey (1976) found that there is a "highly predictive association between discontent and depression and anxiety" in the adolescent girls they studied (Naditch & Morrissey, 1976, p. 118).

The data show that the adolescent girls in this study had a sense of the changing female role with respect to the value of women's work outside the home, and like many of their Canadian counterparts, they have equated high educational achievement with their future career prospects. Equally, the majority are not restrained by gender in planning their future occupational role, and do not

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anticipate any hurdles to career accomplishment. Yet, these Vietnamese girls are also very traditional regarding their mothering role, and cannot foresee any disharmony impinging on their marital lives.

Egalitarian attitudes toward domestic responsibilities are more evident in those girls who have had a longer exposure to Canadian lifestyles, and who fall in the early and mid adolescent categories. Yet, regardless of their attitudes towards equity in the household division of labour, the hierarchy based on age and gender which characterizes the structure of the Vietnamese family, presents an ongoing challenge for many of the girls, as they shoulder the bulk of household responsibilities with little or no help from the males in the family. Even in those cases where mothers do not work outside the home, the adolescent girl has a heavy quota of housework and this increases even more when the mother has a job.

The demands of housework impact on friendships and the girls' participation in the extra curricular life of the school, but its most negative impact is on the smouldering anger it fosters which threatens harmonious relationships with male siblings. In a number of instances, these relationships are further undermined by glaring instances of unequal treatment, with boys being favoured over their sisters with respect to family rules, privileges, and rewards.

The peer group relations are generally positive experiences, although the high achievers have adopted strategies of bargaining, and a certain amount of duplicity in minimizing the impact of their academic advantage in specific areas of study. This is a situation that is creating conflict and a continuing source of strain, as these girls compromise themselves in order to accommodate friendships. In addition, despite isolated incidents of ethnocentrism on the part of whites, the majority of girls maintain a balanced perspective in their interpersonal orientation and relations. As a group, they withheld overt criticisms of Canada and Canadians. Their expressions of indebtedness to Canada for providing asylum to their families, could be one factor which masked their true feelings regarding the immigrant experience, and their minority group status.

Despite the number of girls who identified many issues that they worry about, only three girls mentioned that friends were a useful resource for discussing problems. This finding counters those of previous researchers who contend that Canadian adolescents can rely on friends to provide understanding and support. The apparent isolation of these Vietnamese girls could pose a possible mental health risk for many of them.

In terms of their acculturation attitudes and ethnic identity, the data indicate that while some girls have

identified themselves as bi-cultural, a number of the younger girls had limited awareness of their traditions and rituals, and no knowledge of their written language. Many gave a clear indication of future non-involvement in preserving loyalty to their roots.

Ethnic awareness and ethnic loyalty, seemed strongest among those girls whose parents made deliberate efforts to connect with the activities of the ethnic community. Central to these, are the events associated with the Buddhist temple, and the maintenance of social ties with other Vietnamese families. In these families, Vietnamese is also the language of the home. This finding supports the view of Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) that the availability and degree of community support for the culture of origin is a significant variable in influencing the individual's awareness of, and identification with the ethnic culture.

The differential rates of acculturation between the girls and their parents appear to be directly related to the parents' limited acquisition of English. Danziger (1971) found that many parents of the Italian subjects in his Toronto study were still at the most elementary level of English acquisition after a decade in Canada, "and many of them of course, never moved beyond it" (Danziger, 1971, p. 27). He argues that where the language barrier remains quite strong, this gives many of the other barriers to

acculturation of the parents, "a purely speculative significance" (1971, p. 23).

The data indicate that the three families where the parents speak English, direct more efforts at exposing their daughters to a broader spectrum of Canadian society, by encouraging friendships with Canadians and participation in the extra-curricular life of the school. There is however, a singular example where the adolescent girl is encouraged by parents to take an active interest in sports. Even those parents who appear to be more highly acculturated through their ability to speak English, continue to enforce Vietnamese cultural norms which limit the mobility of their daughters outside the home, by monitoring their daughters' activities with friends.

The data suggest that despite the influence of the school and peers on the acculturation attitudes of the girls in this study, the restrictions which limit their involvement in the social life of the peer group is a major concern for the majority of girls. As Naditch and Morrissey (1976) argue, much of the stress experienced by immigrant adolescents are related to role conflict, and the ambiguity over role expectations, and role evaluations may be an important component of acculturative stress.

My thesis therefore, is that the majority of Vietnamese girls interviewed for this study, had a sense of the changing female role with respect to the value of women's

work outside the home, and like many of their Canadian adolescent counterparts, they have equated high educational achievement with their future career prospects. Furthermore, these girls, with few exceptions, have given priority to their schooling over all other concerns, but this is not without costs to their leisure activities, and it might be argued, their sense of psychological well-being as well.

Despite having to deal with ambiguities, tension, and conflict in their inter-personal relationships, those girls who have succeeded in balancing the values of their ethnic community with those of Canadian society generally, can be described as having mastered the cultural learning which is necessary for a bi-cultural outcome to their adaption. The findings suggest that the majority of these Chinese-Vietnamese girls, fall within this category.

In conclusion, this thesis aims at synthesizing theoretical approaches by providing a description of the subjects' perceptions of their experiences in adjusting to life in Canada. Its value lies in the impetus it provides for further research endeavors. Based on the findings the following suggestions are made for further research: (1) An examination of the adjustment of the Vietnamese family generally, which includes the perceptions and interaction patterns of all family members. (2) An examination of the extent Vietnamese adolescent girls in Greater Vancouver

utilize school counsellors for guidance and support. (3) To what extent are feelings of affiliation versus isolation experienced by Vietnamese adolescent girls within the peer group? (4) Based on the perceptions of the girls in this study, the brightest students in their classes are generally Orientals, and this is due to an attitude of complacency on the part of their Caucasian peers. To what extent is this observation true, and if so, what are the reasons for, and implications of this complacency? Besides, is there a difference in achievement between Oriental adolescent girls and boys?

APPENDIX A

The following questions which make up the interview guide, are a partial adaptation based on Danziger's (1971) more extensive questionnaires which were administered to a sample of several hundred Italian and German boys in Toronto. The questions marked with an asterisk were formulated and incorporated to reflect the focus on gender related issues, which is integral to the present study.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND GUIDE

PART A

DEMOGRAPHIC

1. In what country were you born?...Were you born in a large city?...Small city?...Village or Farm?

2. How long have you lived in Canada?

3. Have you lived in any other countries besides Canada?

4. Have you lived in any other Provinces in Canada?

5. How long have you lived in the Vancouver area?

6. How old are you?

7. Have you got sisters and brothers? What are their ages?

8. What other languages besides Vietnamese does your family speak? Which language is spoken most often at home?

9* What is your father's occupation?...Can you describe his job?

10* What is your mother's occupation?...Can you describe her job?

PART B

PARENTAL INTERACTION AND FAMILY CLIMATE

1. Do other family members live at home besides your parents and your sisters and brothers?

2. Can you tell me something about your relationship with them?

3. Can you tell me something about your relationship with your parents? i.e., What is your life at home like?

4. How often do you go out with your parents?...Mother?...Father?

5. Do you talk with your parents freely? i.e., Do you approach them about things you want to know?...Mother?...Father?

6. How often does this occur?

7. Do your parents listen to your opinions?

8* Do your parents expect you to help around the house? What kinds of chores do you help with?

9* Do your brothers and sisters also help around the house?

10* Does your mother also work outside the home?

PART C

RELATIONSHIP WITH SIBLINGS AND FAMILY RULES

1. What is the relationship with your sisters and brothers like?...Do you have fun together?

2. Do you get an allowance?...Do you earn money by having a part-time job?

3* How does your allowance compare with what your brothers get?

4. How does your allowance compare with what your Canadian friends get?

5. Are there many rules in your family?...Are they difficult to keep?

6* Are there more rules for your brothers?

7* How do your brothers feel about keeping these rules?

8* Do you like the fashions girls are wearing these days?

9. Are you allowed to buy your own clothes?...Choose the styles?

10* Do many of your friends wear makeup?...Smoke?...Go to parties? How do you feel about these activities?

PART D

PARENTAL CONTROL AND PEER RELATIONSHIPS

1* Do you have many friends?...Girls?...Boys?

2. Do you visit your friends in their homes, as well as invite them to your home?

3. Do your parents give advice about which friends you can choose?

4. When you bring friends home, who decides how long they can stay?

5. How do you spend your free time?...Holidays?...What do you most like to do?

6. How do your Canadian friends spend their free time?

7* When you go out with friends, how late are you allowed to stay out?

8* Do you go out on dates?...What about your Canadian friends?

9. Do other teenagers treat you well? ... Vietnamese? ... Canadians?...Others?

PART E

PARENTAL INPUT AND ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION

1. What do you think of school?

2.   Do you discuss school with your
     parents?...Mother?...Father?

3.   Are you able to do what the teachers expect at school?

4.   Do you find the classes competitive?

5*   Do your parents insist that you get good grades?...Do
     they expect this of your brothers also?

6.   Do you think that you <u>should</u> discuss school with your
     parents?

7*   Do you think girls should have a different education
     than boys?

8*   Do your parents give advice about your future career?
     ...Mother?...Father?

9.   Should parents choose the occupation of their children?

10. What activities/projects/subjects do you like/dislike
     at school?

11. Do you take part in extra-curricular
     activities?...Sports? ...School dances?...Volunteer
     work?

PART F

PERSONAL CONCERNS, DECISION MAKING, AND PLANS

1.   What are some of the things that are really important
     to you?

2.   What are some of the things you worry about?

3.   Do you discuss these concerns with any one?

4.   Are you religious?...What is your family's religion?

5.   What would you like to be doing five years from now?

6*   Do you plan on going to university?

7*   Do you think women with children should work outside
     the home?

8*   What are your feelings about day care for young
     children?

9*   What do you think is the ideal family size?

10*   Do you think men should share housework?

PART G

ATTITUDES TOWARDS, AND INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAMESE VERSUS

CANADIAN ACTIVITIES AND IDENTITY

1.   What are some of the things you like/dislike about
     Canada?

2.   Do you like Canadian food?...How often do you eat
     Vietnamese food?

3.   Do you know any other teenagers from Vietnam?...Do they
     like Canada also?

4.   Are there any activities for teens in your ethnic
     community?

5.   Do your parents know many Canadian families?...Do they
     visit them sometimes?

6.   Do your parents belong to any Vietnamese associations
     or clubs?

7.   Does your family celebrate any Vietnamese holidays?

8.   Does your family observe any Canadian holidays?

9.   Is Canada very different from Vietnam?...In what ways?

10*   Do you feel like any other Canadian girl?

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TWELVE VIETNAMESE FAMILIES

Years of Arrival in
Canada...Years...Total..........................
                              14=1......1
                              8-9 =11.....12

Origin in Vietnam...North......=3
                      ...South......=9.......12

Ethnic Background...Ethnic Chinese=12...12

Household Organization
Nuclear=7...Joint=2...Extended=2
Separated Mother with Children=1........12

Employment	Fathers	Mothers	Total
Professional/Managerial	=1	=0	=1
Artisanal	=2	=3	=5
Labouring	=5	=7	=12
Unemployed	=1	=2	=3
Classification unknown	=3	=0	=3

Education	Fathers	Mothers	Total
University	=1	=1	=2
Secondary	=4	=2	=6
Elementary	=2	=5	=7
Unknown	=5	=4	=9

Languages Spoken (in the home)	Parents	Girls
Vietnamese/Cantonese	=12	=22
English	=.3	=22
English comprehended	=2 (fathers)	=22

Religion	Families	Girls
Buddhists	=8	=14
Roman Catholics	=1	= 4
Protestant	=1	= 1
Ancestor Worship	=8	= 5
No Affiliation	=2	= 2
General Religious belief and interest	=0	= 1

APPENDIX C

ANTICIPATED OCCUPATIONS OF THE VIETNAMESE GIRLS INTERVIEWED

Full Time Homemaker =	2
Banking Executive =	1
Corporate Secretary/Executive =	1
Chartered Accountant =	3
Diplomatic Service/Airline Executive =	1
Economist/Engineer =	1
Doctor of Medicine =	3
Orthodontist =	1
Architect =	1
Computer Scientist =	3
Veterinarian =	1
Photographer =	1
Hairdresser =	1
Secretary/Clerical	1
No Occupational Goal =	1

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Secretary/Clerical	1
No Occupational Goal =	1

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