

THE RESETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES IN CANADA OF CHINESE-VIETNAMESE
REFUGEES AFTER THE VIETNAM WAR

by

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ABSTRACT

Through six intensive and semi-structured interviews, this research paper examines the role social support networks may or may not have played in facilitating the resettlement experiences of Chinese-Vietnamese refugees living in Canada after the Vietnam War. It was observed that those who were privately-sponsored emphasized the instrumental role their benefactors played in assisting their successful resettlement, whereas those who were government-sponsored were forced to adopt a more independent mindset of forming their own social support systems. Regardless of sponsorship type, the notion of hard work was a commonality found amongst the participants. They arrived at the receiving country expecting and willing to accept conditions of underemployment and downward mobility. The effects of pre-migration enabling factors such as marital status and educational attainment are also acknowledged. Within a social support framework, theories of social capital and resiliency are used to analyze the lives of the participants after the traumatic experience of forced migration.

Keywords: Chinese-Vietnamese refugees, resettlement, Canada, social support network, resiliency theory

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-Belinda

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1. INTRODUCTION

Given that a lot of research already done on the topic addresses the plight of the refugees with regards to their journey on sea, this major research paper (MRP) would like to study another dimension that is equally as important – life after the traumatic experience of forced migration. In particular, there is a keen interest in the facets of resettlement and adaptation as experienced by refugees who migrated to Canada in the years following the war, most of whom settled in large urban communities like Vancouver, Montreal, and Toronto.

In his longitudinal study of Vietnamese-Chinese boat people resettling in Montreal during the 1980s, Lam (1996) reflects on how media depictions of “fee-paying emigrants” and stories of wealthy and corrupt generals do not fairly reflect the hardship and psychological trauma associated with the Southeast Asian refugees’ resettlement. Portrayals of their seemingly successful adaptation in Canada are “erroneous and misleading,” neglectful in addressing the institutional barriers of unrecognized credentials and discrimination (Lam, 1996, p.18). For example, the newcomers of the second wave were generally less educated than those of the first wave. Few spoke English or French, and they usually didn’t have any relatives in Canada. Many were young, single men who arrived without their families. Dorais writes that in addition to the economic crisis of the 1980s, these factors explain why this group of new immigrants struggled with serious problems of integration in the workforce (Dorais, 2000, p.8).

Furthermore, the term “refugees” itself suggests individuals in an emergency with their predicament essentially conceived as a short-term problem. Byproducts of ideological and political warfare, they depart their homelands to become homeless and stateless. Indeed, the mental well-being of the refugees was not a top priority for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees at the time, as they were more concerned with immediate issues of

physical safety and basic needs (Cao, 2007, p.10). Berry and Sam (1997) have commented on the limited research and knowledge about the boat people's resettlement in their adopted countries. Knowledge creation in this area is thus of crucial importance, as it can inform governmental and non-governmental agencies about services that need to be implemented or improved in order to cater to this specific population's resettlement needs. It also helps provide a more informed account of the lived experiences of the Southeast Asian boat people post-migration.

This study will begin with a section detailing the historical background of the Vietnam War, which led to the creation of refugees from Southeast Asia. Particular attention is given to explaining the political situation affecting the Vietnamese-Chinese at the time. The focus then shifts to examining the phase between flight from persecution and resettlement, otherwise known as the "in transit" stage. With the country's proximity and access to nearby countries, many countries ended by serving as places of asylum where refugee camps were set up. The final part of the historical background section provides an overview of Canada's response, whereby the increasing severity of the refugee crisis compelled the country to open up its doors.

1.1 Historical Background

Following the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975, there was a mass exodus of Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Chinese refugees fleeing the country's reunification under new communist rule. This coincided with the worst natural disasters Vietnam had experienced in a hundred years, in the form of droughts and floods (Willmott, 1980. P.77). Around the same time, Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia destroyed Pol Pot's hold on the country and allowed many of his victims to escape, while a civil war in Laos created still more refugees. Amidst the ensuing confusion,

the plight of the “boat people” from the Southeast Asian peninsula in the late 1970s and early 1980s was what historians often refer to as an “international humanitarian crisis.”

Global attention to the fleeing refugees was partly a result of extensive coverage by mass media, which in Canada included as many as 190 items in *The Toronto Star* and 133 items in *The Globe and Mail* for the ten-week period of June 17 to August 25, 1979 (Lam, 1996, p.4). As reflected by Utting, “the role of the media coverage in bringing the plight of the boat people to the attention of the Canadian public illustrated dramatically the influence the media can have on public response... (Lam, 1996, p.5).” Public awareness of the plight of the Indochinese refugees was heightened in November 1978, when Canada airlifted 604 escapees on the overcrowded freighter *Hai Hong* (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1982, p.8). Providing insight into the scope of migration which captured global attention, it is estimated that of the estimated two million people who fled Vietnam, more than half a million died trying to escape (Snodgrass et al., 1993, p.570). In May 1979 alone, the outflow totaled 51,139 and in June, it reached a record high of 56,941 (Lam, 1996, p.2). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was forced to quickly set up refugee camps in neighbouring countries to cope with the massive influx of new arrivals.

Asylum-seekers from Vietnam were fleeing the stifling constraints of the new regime which sent those supporting the old government to re-education camps, where many were abused, tortured, and even killed. Factors like poverty and the impending Sino-Vietnamese War of 1979 were also reasons to escape. Those lucky enough to make the journey in harsh open waters were frequently raped and robbed by Thai pirates before staying at refugee camps for an average of 12 months (Snodgrass et al., 1993, p.570). Their hope was to eventually resettle permanently in countries like France, the United States, and Australia.

1.1.1 Chinese-Vietnamese Refugees

Those of Chinese origin represented the bulk of the second wave of refugees in late 1978, having faced comparatively more adverse conditions coming out of the war with their status as undesirable minorities. In 1979, the outflow from Vietnam of ethnic Chinese was estimated at between 60 to 85 per cent of the total (Lam, 1996, p.6), and ethnic Chinese accounted for over 80 per cent of Hong Kong's refugee population (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1982, p.8). CBC News reported that under the new Vietnamese administration, 1.5 million ethnic-Chinese were relocated to new economic zones in the countryside to perform agricultural labour with scarce food provided (Willmott, 1980, p.78). According to Stein (1978) and Zolberg et al. (1989), there were several factors solidifying the Chinese's status as *personae non grata* in the eyes of Vietnam's new leaders. Firstly, the fact that the Chinese traditionally occupied business positions in Vietnamese society naturally did not bode well with a newly-reformed communist country pushing forth nationalization of commerce. The Chinese mainly resided in urban areas like *Chợ Lớn*, which were distinctly separate from the Vietnamese community and known for dominating retail trade in rice export, small-goods import, and small-scale manufacturing (Willmott, 1980, p.72). Considerable economic power as a community did not translate into power in the political arena, however, as was the common case for ethnic Chinese minorities in Southeast Asian countries.

Secondly, the Chinese government's support of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia increased suspicions of the ethnic Chinese serving as spies for their motherland, thus further straining traditional Vietnamese-Chinese animosity (Lam, 1996, p.6). The animosity itself was bolstered by increased Vietnamese nationalism following the reunification of South and North Vietnam. Resident Chinese were removed from jobs they had had for some time, and their

children were denied schooling with the added measure of removing their ration cards (Willmott, 1980, p.78).

To retaliate against Chinese hostilities along its northern border which it interpreted as border incursions, the Hanoi government extracted an exit fee in gold from the ethnic Chinese living in the country before expelling them (Beiser, 2006, p.57). Strongly condemned by western countries and vehemently denied by the Vietnamese government, these implied official sanctions involved the police collecting ten taels of gold (or over USD \$3,000) from each adult leaving Vietnam. *The New York Times* reported in June of 1979 that these funds made up the largest single export commodity in the country's "threadbare" economy, even replacing the traditional leading export of coal (Lam, 1996, p.7). In a speech to the UNHCR's Geneva conference in July of 1979, Britain's Secretary of State for foreign and commonwealth affairs summarized the circumstances where "one can only conclude that they have left because the policies of the Vietnamese government made it simply impossible for them to remain (Lam, 1996, p.10)." Ron Atkey, Canada's Minister of Immigration at the time, even went so far as to proclaim the existence of genocide against the ethnic Chinese and the entrepreneurial class of Vietnam.

1.1.2 Asylum Countries

The exodus that started with 21,000 refugees leaving in 1977 amounted to a staggering 160,000 in the first six months of 1979, and quickly lead to an international response. Many neighbouring countries such as Singapore, Taiwan, and Japan refused to accept boat people stranded at sea without the guarantee they'd soon be accepted by another country for permanent resettlement. By September 1979, only the United States, West Germany, France, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Italy, and Australia were willing to offer permanent resettlement for them

(Lam, 1996, p.3). On June 15, 1979, Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir stated that "Vietnamese refugees landing on Malaysia's beaches would be shot (Lam, 1996, p.3)." He pointed out that as early as November 1978, the island of Pulau Bidong already housed 25,000 refugees, which considerably exceeded its original target of 12,000. The large influx of arrivals was cause for concern for the governments of countries like Malaysia, Thailand, and Hong Kong, which were forced to set up holding camps for immediate accommodation. They feared that once the industrialized world selected all the skilled, healthy, and educated refugees, asylum countries would be left with the remaining stragglers. These individuals might in turn cause social unrest and increase the rate of crime (Lam, 1996, p.8).

Consequently, host countries adopted the policy of "human deterrence" to prevent new refugees from coming ashore, after major backlogs of refugees in the camps and European countries started refusing refugees. Conditions in the camps were kept as grim as possible: food and water were very minimal, with housing virtually non-existent and sanitation conditions worsening (Vo, 2006, p.165). This, however, did not deter the boatloads of refugees that kept on arriving along the shores of nearby countries, especially in light of the increasingly harsh social and political changes in Vietnam. Accusing the source country for its wholesale expulsion of a whole ethnic population and class, overcrowded asylum countries appealed to the international community for urgent assistance in the chaotic scramble to resettle the ongoing flow of refugees. It was in this context that the Geneva Conference of July 1979 was held to determine intake policies for the Southeast Asian refugees stranded in dismal refugee camps (Lam, 1996, p.12). The UNHCR successfully appealed to countries such as the United States, France, and Canada to significantly increase their quota for the intake of boat people. Prior to this cry for international aid premised on humanitarianism, Canada did not want to become too closely involved with a

situation interpreted as being the result of American involvement in the war (Lam, 1996, p.15). As of autumn of 1977, the country only agreed to take in fifty families per month, which was part of their “metered” approach ensuring Canadian involvement at a set rate (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1982, p.8). This was later increased to seventy families per month the following year.

1.1.3 Canada’s Response – “Haven for the Homeless”

A sizeable expatriate community was formed in Canada subsequent to the Geneva Conference. This was part of the nation’s effort to fulfill its “international legal obligations with respect to the displaced and persecuted,” as defined by section three of the Immigration Act of 1978 (Lam, 1996, p.2). As one of the provisions of this new immigration legislation, those who qualified under the United Nations Refugee Convention and Protocol would now be a separate class of immigrants given top processing priority (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1982, p. 7). They were exempt from the “points system” of immigrant selection. The first influx of 5,608 political refugees arrived in the country between 1975-6, after the fall of the Thieu regime in South Vietnam. They were mostly from the upper echelons of society – army officers and professionals who were middle to upper class. They left because their assumed associations with the United States sparked a fear of persecution for wartime activities. Contrary to the boat people of the second wave, these refugees left the country by sea and air for reception camps set up by the Americans (Dorais, 2000, p.4). By the end of the decade, another 50,000 boat people had settled in Canada as the second wave of immigrants. This was after the yearly quota was again increased from 8,000 to 50,000 in July of 1979 (Vo, 2006, p.179).

In total, Canada agreed to admit 60,000 refugees from Southeast Asia between 1979 and 1981 with a combination of government and private sponsorships (Beiser, 2003, p.204). Together, this constituted about 15 per cent of the country's total refugee intake since the end of the Second World War in 1945 (Lam, 1996, p.12). It also served as the largest per capita reception of boat people by any country, with a ratio of 1:324 (Beiser, 2006, p.57). Australia and the United States followed, with respective ratios of 1:332 and 1:374 (Lam, 1996, p.17). A federal act of 1976 permitted any non-profit organization or group of five or more Canadian citizens to sponsor a refugee family, provided they had the resources to provide clothing, food, and housing for the first year (Vo, 2006, p.179). They were to also help the newly-arrived find work or enroll in school, in addition to paying health insurance premiums. From 1979-80 alone, more than 7,000 sponsoring organizations volunteered their help. The UNHCR ended up awarding the whole nation its Nansen Medal for having openly welcomed such a large influx of refugees from Indochina, as numbers had reached 200,000 by that point (Vo, 2006, p.179).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

As a proposed framework for guiding future theory and research on Indochinese refugees, Chan (1987) puts forth at least three levels of analysis that can be distinguished: (1) personal and intrapsychic; (2) family, community and kin structure; (3) and aspects of refugee adaptation (e.g. economic, linguistic). Given the complex and multifaceted nature of the topic, this framework proves to be most useful in the organization of ideas and coherence of my research. Applying Chan's framework to the critical assessment of select articles related to the subject matter at hand allows me properly discern developments and gaps in the current research. This in turn helps provide the case for conducting my own study adding to the existing literature.

2.1 Personal and Intrapsychic Level

On the personal and intrapsychic level, existing research strongly focuses on psychological problems encountered by the refugees in the first ten years of their resettlement. Most notably, the Refugee Resettlement Project (RRP) was a groundbreaking longitudinal survey of mental health based on a sample of more than 1,300 Boat People in Vancouver, British Columbia. The RRP research team led by Beiser interviewed a large sample of Chinese, Vietnamese, and Laotian refugees in 1981, with two follow-up interviews in the ensuing ten years. Indicative of its large scope, the study reflected a one in three probability sample of all refugees 18 years and older who had settled in and around Vancouver. The retention rate of 62.5 per cent over the ten-year period was reasonably high, especially considering the high degree of mobility among the sample participants (Beiser, 1999, p.197).

The survey questionnaires of a quantitative nature were administered by bilingual interviewers, with questions translated into the three languages spoken by participants. The three languages were Vietnamese, Cantonese, and Laotian. Despite their careful consideration of language barriers that may hinder effective communication, Chan notes the additional need in future research to develop more appropriate, culturally-sensitive instruments to measure the prevalence of mental illness within specific refugee communities (Chan, 1987, p.171). The way one interprets distress varies amongst different communities, for example, especially when considering Asians having the tendency to be brought up suppressing expression of feelings. It would be more useful to go beyond a strictly quantitative study, allowing participants to elaborate in order to gain a better understanding of their personal experiences. As emphasized by Leighton, quantitative and qualitative investigative methods are complementary, not competitive ways of searching for answers (Beiser, 2006, p.64).

Regardless of this methodological shortcoming, results of the RRP have had serious implications guiding the field of research in the matter, succeeding in pinpointing various factors related to the mental health of the boat people following resettlement. These include employment, discrimination, and refugee mentality, among many others. “Refugee mentality” refers to the possible formation of behaviour related to experiences encountered during the boat journeys and refugee camps (Chan, 1987, p.171). In Chan and Lam’s qualitative study of socio-psychological problems experienced by Vietnamese Chinese refugees in Montreal, the authors conclude that the mourning over what was lost or left behind interfered with the participants’ adaptation to life in Canada (Chan and Lam, 1983, p.1). Their results were based on data collected from phase three of a four-phase longitudinal study conducted between 1975 and 1981. Congruent with characteristics of a possible “refugee mentality,” the 25 Vietnamese Chinese refugees interviewed expressed obsessive mental concern with separation from family members, some of whom were lost on the boat journey. Chan and Lam write that central to the refugee experience is the “sense of loss and grief similar to that suffered by persons bereaved of a spouse and an immediate family member, an emotional state well delineated in literature about widowhood and natural disasters (Chan and Lam, 1983, p.2).”

In addition to this there is the sense of uprootedness or forced dislocation from a socio-cultural milieu within which one was born and reared, one which had an established social network of kin, neighbours, and friends. As a result, a recurring behavioural syndrome was identified in victims and characterized by an obsessive fixation with past experiences or events. The concept of ‘nostalgic illusion’ as a protective mechanism points to preoccupation and idealization of the “good old days” (Chan and Lam, 1983, p.2). The present is overlooked or ignored, while the future is devalued. Williams classifies nostalgia as an escapist opiate that

allows individuals to avoid a rational examination and engagement with the present (cited in Sugiman, 2004, p.376). Dysfunctional in the sense that it impedes social change and progress, nostalgia can be considered a “betrayal of history,” as one cannot face the truth about the past (cited in Sugiman, 2004, p.376). Chan and Lam’s discussion of their results reflects the desperate concern for participants to bring over to Canada the family they left behind. Any planning or preparation for the future of adaptation in Canada was strongly dependent on family reunification, which was a factor critical to mental health.

Chan and Lam’s research contributes to the field of study in providing a qualitative approach of intensive interviews with participants about their dreams and daily routine thought processes. Although this instrument of investigation runs the inevitable risk of depending on the participants’ recollection of experiences and the interviewer’s interpretation of recounted tales, the study method does facilitate depth and elaboration otherwise inaccessible by quantitative studies like the RRP. By linking family reunification to mental health, the authors reinforce the importance of family and community in the resettlement experiences of Southeast Asian refugees. This was a conclusion drawn from the literature review.

2.2 Family and Community Structure

Although this critical review of select literature is loosely based on the framework of categorization put forth by Chan, there is much interaction between the three “distinguished” levels of analysis, hence the complex nature of the subject matter. The intimate relationship between social support systems and mental health is further explored in the article on perceived racial discrimination and depression by Noh et al. (1999). The results of structured interviews conducted with 647 Southeast Asian refugees in Canada first show that those who experienced

racial discrimination had higher depression levels than those who reported no such experiences (Noh et al., 1999, p.193). In terms of coping, however, the association between discrimination and depression was affected by the individual's coping response tied to his/her level of ethnic identification. Methods of coping in this study are categorized as being one of "confrontation" or "forbearance." The method of coping chosen by the individual is tied to one's level of ethnic identification, with studies of Asian-born residents of North America finding that forbearance is their preferred response to stress (Noh et al., 1999, p.194). Asian cultural norms and collectivist values dictate avoidance and self-regulation to preserve interpersonal relations, thus Asian respondents with stronger identification find the method of forbearance to have a stronger stress-buffering effect. In this regard, when Asian refugees held a strong ethnic identity, they were more vulnerable to the psychological effects of racial discrimination *if* they failed to use forbearance as a coping mechanism.

Although not addressed in their study, it would be interesting to see whether there is a link between level of ethnic identification and presence of family and like-ethnic community which may bolster the level of identification. The interactionism framework suggests that personality constructs be viewed as products of an interactional transaction between the individual and his or her immediate environment (Chan, 1977, p.97). Variables external to the person, in this case the presence of family and like-ethnic community, determine or affect individual beliefs and behaviour. If social networks do in fact increase the level of ethnic identification which in turn impact individuals' chosen coping method, the causal train of thought would suggest that social networks help lower risks of depression as a result of discrimination. The issue of causal order remains very important, however, and it would take much more analysis in order to not make mistakes in causal reasoning. As pointed out by Noh et

al., the possibility remains that depressed individuals are more likely to recall experiences of discrimination and attribute them to their current unhappiness (Noh et al., 1999, p.203).

Likewise, strong ethnic identification may increase the likelihood of recalling or perceiving racial discrimination.

In relation to the family and community, research on Southeast Asian refugees in Canada has almost always proceeded upon the notion that these individuals are always refugees first and women or men second (Indra, 1983, p.13). Migration has often been passed off as a genderless issue whereby the migrant is an androgynous character. In Boucher's gender-based analysis of the shift toward skilled immigration schemes, she criticizes the overarching "supposition that (elite) men's experience represents all human experience (Boucher, 2007, p.387)." Studies continue to speak of genderless refugees and family needs without reference to the different needs of men and women. As a tentative step into this area of research, Beiser and Hou reflect on gender differences in language acquisition and employment consequences among Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. Based on refugee arrivals between 1978 and 1987, more than 80 per cent of males and more than 90 per cent of women spoke neither of the country's official languages (Beiser and Hou, 2000, p.312). Already at a disadvantage, women had fewer opportunities than men to learn English during the post-migration period. Government policy during the 1980s was partly to blame for this gender gap, since English as a Second Language (ESL) training was primarily geared toward people who seemed the most likely to enter the labour force (Beiser and Hou, 2000, p.326). Consequently, women had less chance of benefiting from language training programs, especially those with young children in the private sphere of work. With research noting signs of English-language competency improving the likelihood of employment, gender differences in English proficiency can thus explain a substantial part of the

gender differences in labour force activities and income. Nonetheless, there is still much more research to be done on the topic of gender in relation to the resettlement experiences of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada.

2.3 Aspects of Refugee Adaptation

Much of the assessed literature deals with language and employment, two facets of adaptation briefly mentioned in the previous section but in specific relation to gender. In his article about language use and adaptation pertaining to Southeast Asian refugees in general, Dorais provides the example of a national conference on refugee resettlement in April 1982, where every speaker ranked language as the first difficulty to overcome for successful adaptation (Dorais, 1983, p.52). Citing Starr and Roberts' research results of a positive correlation between monthly income and language skills, the issue of language proficiency and training proves to be of great relevancy for refugee socio-economic adjustment and integration (Dorais, 1983, p.58). Even beyond that, the importance of English language fluency is emphasized in its impact on the psychological health of an individual, as demonstrated by Beiser's research. Based on his collection of data from the RRP, when refugees had been in Canada for two years or less, linguistic ability had no effect on employment or depression. However, by the end of the first decade in Canada, English language fluency was a significant predictor for employment and depression, especially with regards to refugee women (Beiser, 2006, p.62).

In reflecting upon the family unit's supportive role in times of unemployment and subsequent distress, Johnson (1989) refers to circumstances surrounding resources that are particular to the Southeast Asian refugee population. For example, unemployment insurance and social assistance were not available in Vietnam or Laos. For those unemployed back home,

family and employers were the sources turned to for assistance (Johnson, 1989, p.21). Likewise, in the receiving country, refugee households were found to be economically self-sufficient, with the number of earners per household increasing during difficult economic times. Related and unrelated individuals in these “survival households” would combine resources to support one another. Tung (1979) writes that the great majority of Vietnamese are too filled with pride to receive charity from persons or organizations. Public assistance is used as briefly as possible whilst embarking on the eventual goal of self-sufficiency. In regards to voluntary agencies involved in the stages of resettlement, suspicion and distrust that they are being cheated or taken advantage of is common, as the refugees find themselves to be recipients of charitable acts they can’t quite figure out. Family and community members are the preferred and often times only network turned to for help.

2.4 Research Question

My original research question pertained to exploring what factors affected the resettlement experiences of Southeast Asian refugees after the Vietnam War. For example, how was this refugee influx distinct from others in the way it was received by the Canadian government and public? What relevant policies put in place affected their resettlement and subsequent integration into Canadian society? Did refugees experience social and economic alienation in their struggle to adapt to their new society? After reviewing the existing literature on the topic, as discussed above, I have found that answers to the initial research question are so multilayered and complex that there is an immediate need to tighten the scope of research. To try and address all the various aspects of resettlement as experienced by the refugees would prove to

be too superficial of a study, failing to capture the depth of analysis needed for each aspect of the topic.

Despite the many facets associated with resettlement, a commonality found in the literature review was the heavy focus on challenges and struggles associated with adaptation as experienced by Southeast Asian refugees in Canada after the Vietnam War. It was quickly observed that the existence of social support systems was the variable greatly determining the degree of difficulty with which one experienced processes of social and economic adaptation in the receiving country. Social support here is defined as “emotional, informational, and tangible supports from family members or friends in times of psychological need (Tran & Wright, 1986, p.450).”

Based on a critical review of select literature, the research question was adjusted accordingly: how do social support networks in the form of family and community help Southeast Asian refugee families deal with many of the challenges experienced during resettlement and adaptation? Some of these challenges involve unemployment, racial discrimination, mental health, and intergenerational conflict. As noted by Tran and Wright (1986), individuals with a strong social support system tend to function better in crisis situations than those with a weak support system. Likewise, Beiser (2006) uses the framework provided by the stress process theory to suggest that resettlement stresses of unemployment/underemployment, discrimination, and family separation effectively jeopardize an immigrant’s mental well-being, while personal resources such as intimate relationships and the availability of a like-ethnic community help safeguard mental health.

International migration is indeed a major life episode that essentially forces a redefinition of identity and self. Shirpak et al. (2011) note that one’s sense of what was once *the* reality of life

and family dynamics becomes but *one* reality among others upon resettlement in a new country with different cultural and societal norms. While much of the reviewed literature focuses on the refugees themselves and their personal well-being, it is important to provide a wider lens looking into how the family as a unit deals with obstacles related to migration. In terms of family dynamics, previously established roles may be challenged and adjusted accordingly amidst the process of acculturation in the new environment. Qin (2008) writes that immigration tends to destabilize family relations over time, requiring the family to “walk a delicate tightrope.” This is in accordance with Sluzki’s classic model of immigrant family adaptation, where families experience a period of “decompensation” motivated by the need to survive in a new land (Qin, 2008, p.468). This decompensation is a period described as being delicate and difficult for every family member, as they eventually come to realize that family values effective in their countries of origin are now maladaptive.

Further, Bernhard et al. (2008) assert that gender and generational differences are especially salient dividing lines, especially for those accustomed to a patriarchal family system entering into a society that is more egalitarian and post-modern. For male immigrants, factors like un- or underemployment and lack of useful language skills in the receiving country can lead to perceived threats to their traditional role as “breadwinner” in the family. As a result, they may experience damage to their self-esteem and psychological well-being, which may in turn trigger family conflict and depression. In terms of parent-child relations, Costigan and Dokis note that children generally acculturate more quickly than their parents, who maintain ethnic traditions that are at odds with the dominant culture as experienced by the children in the receiving country (Costigan and Dokis, p.1252). Acculturation differences may be associated with increased conflict linked to communication obstacles, since it may signify less proficiency in English on

the part of the parents and less proficiency in Chinese on the part of the children (Costigan and Dokis, p.1253). Language barriers in turn may make it difficult for parents and children to communicate effectively on difficult emotional issues and areas of disagreement. Certainly, the process of re-negotiation and re-definition of the family structure can lead to much tension for the actors involved in terms of their perceived power and autonomy.

Bernhard et al. (2008) are careful to point out, however, that migration does *not* reflect a dissolving of family structures, but rather a redefinition and challenge to established codes as members find themselves embedded in new economic, social, political, and cultural contexts. Similarly, Rousseau et al. (2004) write that the redefinition or reconfiguration of roles takes into account the past (family history and ideas of the home culture) as well as the present (reality in the receiving country, culture gap between family members). In Chuang and Su's article on decision-making among Chinese-Canadian and Mainland Chinese parents of young children, the authors point to the growing recognition that constructs of collectivism and individualism are theoretically and empirically limiting, in the sense that parents' values and practices adapt in accordance to the new social surroundings of the receiving country (Chuang and Su, 2009, p.528). In this sense, boundaries of values and beliefs are by no means rigid – they are fluid and dynamic.

Chuang and Su further refer to the family systems perspective that adheres to the idea of parents and other caregivers being part of a system of interacting partners, all of whom affect and are affected by each other (Chuang and Su, 2009, p.527). Here, the mothers' and fathers' agreement or disagreement across dimensions of their marriage and parenting have severe implications in the context of adjusting to the new country. Thus despite Confucianism prescribing the gendered division of roles where the father is supposed to be the master of the

family making the important decisions, Chuang and Su's comparative study reveals that both immigrant Chinese-Canadian and mainland Chinese fathers became involved in various aspects of child care upon migration to Canada. Fathers were found to be adopting a more "westernized" approach with parenting practices that was more child-centered and engaging. Chuang and Su write that the inclusion of children's needs is supportive of a coexistence of collectivistic and individualistic orientations for a child-centered approach to parenting (Chuang and Su, 2009, p.534). This may in part be due to the one-child policy which created a "westernized" parenting approach among the well-educated population of China.

The adjustments made as a family unit as analyzed by Chuang and Su reflect the concept of resiliency and flexibility highlighted by Chan in the Southeast Asian context. Overall, my research will explore how the family unit and its members adjust to deal with challenges experienced during resettlement and consequent adaptation. Special focus will be on the ways in which family and community members facilitate this difficult process of adjustment. My hypothesis is that although changing family dynamics as a result of migration and resettlement challenges contribute to conflicts for the family unit, family and community are still important networks for support.

As gathered from Zhou and Bankston's (1994) study of Vietnamese adolescents in a suburb of New Orleans, strong ethnic community ties served to ease resettlement hardships and risks of psychological problems. In addition, ethnic communities offered emotional support for these adolescents, who were able to socialize with other members of the same ethnic group with similar experiences. Zhou and Bankston's study is one of several specific to the American context, and it is based on these findings that I base my hypothesis of similar findings within the Canadian context.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Because theory can explain so many different types of relationships, theoretical frameworks are often complex and multi-layered. In this study, a social support framework will be supported throughout the research. The theory of social capital will be used to explore whether or not the existence of social support networks facilitated one's resettlement in the receiving country. The theory of resiliency will be used to explore how the refugees adjusted themselves according to successfully take on obstacles of adaptation.

3.1 Social Support Framework

What is of most interest and relevancy for my research question and major research paper (MRP) relates to coping strategies employed by the refugees, under the social support framework. As noted in the literature review, social support systems played a major part in studies on participants' mental health post-migration. Accordingly, Antonovsky suggests that one's extent of profound ties to others and to the total community represent two key "resistance resources" in one's attempt to deal with life crisis situations:

On the simplest level, a person who has someone who cares for him is likely to more adequately resolve tension than one who does not. Even without employing the resources of others, simply knowing that these are available to one increases one's strength (cited in Chan, 1977, p.96).

This is consistent within the interactionism framework whereby one's response to stress and social losses is dependent on the perceived availability of support in his/her social environment, which includes the kinship system and peer groups. Chan writes extensively on the psychosocial response of Indochinese refugees to economic marginality. Those without social support in the face of unemployment are more vulnerable to life stresses (Chan, 1983, p.117). Based on his qualitative interviews with 119 unemployed Indochinese refugees in 1984, Chan found that when

one member of the family became unemployed, the rest of the family adjusted accordingly as a unit. Only in the case of one Cambodian family in the study were there signs of resentment and/or reluctance toward the changing family dynamics. Overall, respondents agreeably reduced the budget for food, housing, entertainment, and school needs.

Similarly, Lam writes that the initial stage of resettlement was characterized by pooling available family resources with multiple wage earners (Lam, 1996, vii). Unemployment thus intensified family relations and the re-organization of roles to maintain cohesiveness. It was viewed more as a family issue than a personal issue. Instead of going out for dinner and entertainment, an effective strategy employed was rotating family parties with the extended social network. One excerpt in Chan's reading highlighted the gathering of Laotian friends where they each prepared dishes and reminisced about the old times over a few packs of beer (Chan, 1983, p.123). This is just one example of the many ways in which family and community serve as instrumental support alleviating the effects of social losses often associated with resettlement.

Just as the lack of family reunification can greatly contribute to the socio-psychological problems of refugees (Chan and Lam, 1983), the presence of social resources such as like-ethnic communities and family can serve to mitigate the effects of resettlement stress on mental health. Ethnic community supports are defined as social supports available for an individual through the ethnic confidants and ethnic social organizations in time of psychological need, such as homesickness and/or loneliness (Tran, 1987, p.834). In Tran and Wright's study of causal predictors of subjective well-being among Vietnamese refugees in the United States, the authors emphasize that social support systems from and within the ethnic community are crucial for producing high levels of well-being among new immigrants in a receiving nation (Tran & Wright, 1986, p.457). They provide a sense of belonging amidst an unfamiliar social and cultural

environment. In the American context where refugees were spread out in many geographic areas to avoid economic burdens on local communities, higher levels of stress and anxiety were found in Vietnamese people who did not have adequate English language skills and knowledge of their new surroundings (Tran, p.1987, p.834). This was linked to the absence of ethnic communities who could have eased the process of adjustment. In defining unique aspects of the Vietnamese refugee situation distinguishing it from other refugee movements, Haines et al. write that strong efforts at dispersion in the early resettlement placed obstacles in the way of Vietnamese refugees establishing and maintaining social relationships (Haines et al., 1981, p.310).

From Beiser's report on influences of ethnicity and attachment on depression in Southeast Asian refugees, the correlation was made in comparing the experiences of Chinese, Vietnamese, and Laotian migrants in Vancouver. As predicted in his hypothesis, the Chinese refugees experienced better mental health during the early years of resettlement in comparison to the other two groups. They also enjoyed a slight occupational advantage. This was partly in relation to the fact that Vancouver already had one of the largest Chinese communities in North America during that time period with more than 150,000 people, while Vietnamese and Laotian communities were virtually non-existent prior to the mass exodus (Beiser, 1988, p.47). Also, the Chinese pattern of exodus from Vietnam differed in that they were more likely to have left as an intact family unit. Results derived from the RRP data indicate that only the unattached non-Chinese who had been in Canada for 10-12 months demonstrated an increased risk of depression (Beiser, 1988, p.48). The timing of this reaction reflects the "anniversary reaction" as described by Pollock in 1970, whereby unattached non-Chinese individuals may have been experiencing the anniversary of a profound loss. Two years later, that same group scored significantly higher than any other group for depression. The conclusion drawn from these results suggest a

significant impact of social support which, if existent, can provide guidance or consolation. Furthermore, this adheres to the critical mass theory, which suggests that immigrants who settle in areas where there is an established ethnic community have an advantage over immigrants who are deprived of such community (Beiser, 2003, p.205).

3.2 Resiliency Theory

Interestingly, Chan attributes the ability to endure as a family in the face of socioeconomic deprivation to the many years of wars, political prosecution, and poverty in Southeast Asia. Even before the post-1975 diaspora, Vietnamese communists had taken power of the north in 1954, with the major upheaval in the first Vietnam War leading to a mass exodus of one million people fleeing from the north to the south (Vo, 2006, p.1). This was after the conflict between local revolutionaries and French troops resulted in French defeat at *Diên Biên Phu* (Dorais, 2000, p.4). During the second Indochina war, the Americans dropped 25 million bombs on Vietnam, which is more than it dropped during the Second World War and the Korean War combined (Wurfel, 1980, p.106). In addition to the nearly two million Vietnamese civilian war casualties by 1975, the country's attempts to raise agricultural production were unproductive with having to deal with bomb fragments, unexploded mines, and artillery shells embedded in the soil (Wurfel, 1980, p. 106). The collapse of farm production and lack of U.S. aid led to at least three million unemployed and resulted in severe food shortages. These contextual circumstances which include time spent in refugee transition camps have "seasoned and weathered" the refugees, forming in them a firm sense of resilience (Chan, 1983, p.125).

This concept of immigrant resilience has previously been explored by academics such as Boyd, who notes that newcomer families are often faced with the need to develop "deep

resilience,” meaning the ability for the family to grow and learn whilst making some deep changes to cope with resettlement challenges” (Boyd, 2006, p.86). It involves the ability to take things in stride and “bounce back.” In the case of Indochinese refugees, pragmatic realism has led to the perspective of economic marginality and social alienation reflecting only one of the few life changes associated with a life victimized by uprootedness. In an excerpt from a family profile, the respondent Mrs. Ung expressed that her near death in Kampuchea and one year stay in a refugee camp honed her personality as a realist, where she now accepts her unemployment situation and makes the best of it (Chan, 1983, p.126).

4. METHODOLOGY

Initially, when considering which research approach to adopt, I favoured a qualitative approach. Jackson explains the relevancy of predisposition, in that if the researcher has a preference for qualitative research strategies, he/she will tend to ask questions best answered by using such techniques (Jackson, 2003, p.17). Four years of practical training in journalism at Carleton University has given me the necessary skills of being relentlessly inquisitive and able to form analysis based on information provided by sources. I also enjoy actually talking to people and hearing their stories as opposed to conducting a statistical analysis of numerical data. With qualitative research, intriguing subject matter brought to light by a respondent can in turn spark less-structured questions paving the way for more depth. Finally, my own penchant is to view social reality through the lens of interpretivism or anti-positivism, which disregards the notion of objective reality in favour of the idea that knowledge is socially constructed (Archer and Berdahl, 2011, p.125). Positivist assumptions postulate that nature is orderly and that human beings are a part of the natural world, thus implicating they can be studied with methods

employed to study the behaviour of other species. The approach ignores the crucial aspect of social reality where different people may experience and perceive the same events differently (Jackson, 2003, p.9).

Beyond personal preference and prior experience, most of the reviewed literature was quantitative. It would therefore be useful to adopt a qualitative approach to hear more about the personal stories of refugees that can provide a deeper understanding of issues. The German scholar Max Weber was particularly influential in the development of interpretivism, by emphasizing *Verstehen* – the empathetic understanding of behaviour (Jackson, 2003, p.9). The researcher should try to imagine how a particular individual perceives social actions and how he/she attributes meaning to a particular event. Quantitative investigation aids in pointing out trends and other measurements of degree, but it does not provide sufficient explanation as to how these trends came to be. It seeks to form conclusions about human behaviour through the precise measurement and statistical analysis of data. Like physical scientists, quantitative researchers treat their subject matter like an object (Jackson, 2003, p.12). Conversely, qualitative research is more appropriate for questions involving conditions, norms, and values (Archer and Berdahl, 2011, p.126). It emphasizes verbal descriptions in an attempt to understand how participants experience and explain their own world. With regards to my research question, qualitative is the more appropriate approach because it does not seek to verify or disprove anything – instead, it seeks to address and understand, with themes emerging from the data collection and subsequent process of coding. It is the goal to have ‘grounded’ theory develop out of the analysis of data arranged into concepts and categories. As stated by Bryman, the main characteristic of grounded theory is that it is concerned with the recursive approach used to develop theory out of data

(Bryman, 2001, p.390). Data collection and analysis constantly refer back to each other, operating in tandem.

In the following chapter on methodology, comments about self-disclosure will be provided as part of self-reflexivity, whereby the researcher acknowledges he/she is an active part of the research. It is important to implicate oneself in the research they are conducting, to gain a fuller understanding of how protocol and results came to be. The second section highlights the participant selection criteria of the protocol, and justifies the reasoning behind it. Methods of recruitment are then examined, to provide the reader with context into how the study was shaped and which strategies worked/didn't work. The subsequent section maps out the process of data collection and organization, with a step-by-step outline of how the interviews were conducted. The memory and historical representations section was thought to be an insightful contribution to the overall chapter, to emphasize that an oral narrative is the product of shared authority held by the participant as well as the interviewer. Lastly, a section on coding details the process whereby meaning was created out of the many ideas brought forth in the semi-structured interviews.

4.1 Researcher Self-Disclosure

It is important to disclose this is a topic I am truly passionate about, one that I wanted to pursue upon entry into the Immigration and Settlement Studies (ISS) graduate program. I come from a family of ethnic-Chinese refugees who arrived in Toronto more than thirty two years ago as part of the second major wave of refugees leaving Vietnam. While my parents did not know each other at the time, they both stayed at the Pulau Bidong refugee camp in Malaysia, eventually arriving in Canada in 1979. Their migrating circumstances were slightly different, in that my dad was the oldest child in his family, and the the first in his family to escape by boat

with his younger brother. This was a common tactic employed by refugees, seeing as the trip across waters cost many taels of gold – a price that made it unfeasible for most families to leave as an intact unit. Once in Canada, he worked for several years before sponsoring the rest of his family. In my mom's case, her family consisting of more than ten members was able to provide enough gold to make the trip together. Nevertheless, as was the case for the majority of boat people, the high cost of the trip associated with supplies and bribes to officials left both sides of the family penniless. My parents did not pursue much schooling post-migration working to make money for basic survival.

Consequently, I grew up hearing stories about family members sneaking out in the middle of the night and giving up most of their life savings to get on overcrowded ships. My uncle's brother-in-law was on a rickety boat escaping with his lover when she fell into the ocean following a strong wave in the ocean. Seeing this tragic death, he jumped in the ocean right after to join her instead of continuing the journey. One of my mom's classmates in Vietnam was said to have been raped when her ship was intercepted by Thai pirates. Now living in the United States, she is said to no longer socialize with anyone associated with her life back in Vietnam, perhaps due to painful memories.

When I was younger, these were simply stories to me, fragmented or protected versions filtered down to me. As noted by Neumann (1997), painful memories are often not fully verbally articulated, instead told in bits and pieces as unintended disclosures (in Sugiman, 2004, p. 362). Second-generation immigrants often can't help but feel as if they inhabit two countries – their parents' and their own, whenever they're regaled with nostalgic stories of life 'back home' or faced with constant reminders of the lingering trauma that occurred years ago.

Hirsh terms “postmemory” as “characteriz[ing] the experiences of those who grew up by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are...shaped by traumatic events that can be neither understood nor recreated (Fellner, 233).” An estrangement from family experiences that began in the past but did not constitute one’s own past leads to a conscious shedding of lost origins that has been bestowed upon oneself, coinciding with the notions of drifting where one is relieved of their imposed confines. In articulating the long-lasting impacts of political violence, Sturken (1997) describes how the *Sansei* (third-generation) are haunted by the silence of their parents and a sense of memory that they can never quite make sense of (Sugiman, 2004, p.362).

It did not occur to me how much of an actual risk it was to trek through the ocean waters, the reality being that most boats were overturned before reaching shore. It was either that or they died from lack of water and food. As I got older, I began to actually comprehend the implications of what these stories represented and the scope of perils faced by the refugees. Those lucky enough to make the journey alive still had to deal with hunger, disease, and Thai pirates in the South China Sea. Vo describes a horror story about an individual named Thieu who escaped from Ca Mau on the southern tip of Vietnam in April of 1979 with 33 relatives and friends (Vo, 2006, p.165). After pirates attacked their boat and robbed them of their valuables, the boat engine broke down in the Gulf of Siam. Thai fishermen then towed them 15 miles from the Malaysian coast, only to rob them before turning back (Vo, 2006, p.165).

As a second-generation immigrant bestowed with a lifetime of grappling with family experiences that began in the past but do not constitute my own lived past, I have to be conscious of how my experiences growing up, relationships, and beliefs affect my role as a researcher. Tonkin (1992) perceptively states how both narrators and listeners are “inescapable formed by

their own personal pasts to date” (in Sugiman, 2004, p.365). There is clearly an issue of researcher subjectivity here, as I already have the notion of extreme hardship and sacrifice associated with the plight of Southeast Asian refugees during migration. As a child of refugees, I’m also very aware of post-migration issues such as social and economic alienation and/or marginality. However, besides the literature review I have done to further my knowledge on the topic, my awareness is inevitably based on social and economic alienation and/or marginality as I know it – circumstances that are specific to my family experiences. As a researcher, I have to be careful to not allow my own experiences fuel assumptions about other people’s experiences. For example, my experiences with language brokering are congruent with research supporting an unequal power relationship that develops when parents are dependent on their children for translations (Hua and Costigan, 2012, p.895). My experiences can easily lead to the assumption that all language brokering produces higher risk of family conflict, which can in turn misconstrue my actual data findings.

This is especially relevant because I take a qualitative approach for my study, and as Schmid (1981) describes, qualitative research is the study of the empirical world from the viewpoint of the person under study. It involves subjective interpretations of the interviewer, who creates meaning and performs analysis based on the interview data. As a researcher, my role is to fairly capture the information gleaned from my qualitative research, whilst being aware of how personal biases can impede on the validity of my interpretation of data. It is a rigorous process of self-awareness and self-assessment to fulfill the elements of authenticity, portability, precision, and impartiality associated with Guba and Lincoln’s (1985) criteria for trustworthiness (Archer and Berdahl, 2011, p.134).

4.2 Participant Selection Criteria

The only qualitative study found in the literature review was conducted by Chan and Lam, involving a sample of 64 Vietnamese-Chinese refugees accepted for resettlement in Montreal in 1979-80. As part of a longitudinal study with interviews conducted three times over a period of 10 years, the authors detail four phases of research that explore various aspects of adaptation pertaining to Indochinese refugees in Montreal. With regards to feasibility, a research project of such large scale is not possible, considering the time constraints and limited resources. Phase three alone of Chan and Lam's study involved data collection over a four-month period.

Upon creating the design of this study, it was my initial goal to conduct intensive and semi-structured interviews with 3-5 males and 3-5 females of Vietnamese or Vietnamese-Chinese origin who settled in the Toronto area around 1978-9. This time period loosely represents the second wave of migrants who arrived following the end of the Vietnam War. It was hoped that the sample would consist of an equal number of male and female participants, in order to explore any issues of their migration related to gender. The sample demographic would reflect participants who were born and grew up in Vietnam, as well as those who arrived in Canada at a young age. In focusing on individuals between the ages of 15-30 at the time of departure from Vietnam, these individuals were expected to now be between the ages of 50-65. The original rationale for participants having to be at least 15 years old at the time of departure was tied to the idea they would have been old enough to clearly remember events and process experiences. The rationale for the cut-off age being 30 years old at the time of departure was linked to the aim of studying the experiences of individuals who were in the early years of starting their career and/or family in Canada. They would have also been young enough to still have living parents at the time of their departure, who may or may not have been a source of

social support. Language-wise, participants older than 30 years old at the time of departure would have been less likely to enroll in English classes at school, meaning it would have been less likely for me to find participants who could communicate in English for the interviews. With the absence of funding for this project, it would not have been possible to hire a translator.

Later on, based on preliminary efforts at recruiting participants, some changes were made to the criteria for research participants. Firstly, they were to be Chinese-Vietnamese and not Vietnamese *or* Chinese-Vietnamese as stated before. This was in order to focus in on a population that had different circumstances for leaving the country at the time, as the communist government was targeting them. To address the migration circumstances of both Vietnamese and Chinese-Vietnamese would require a lot more time for research than what was allotted for this particular project. Secondly, the original age bracket was 50-65 years old. It was later changed to 40-65, as it proved to be extremely difficult to access the 50+ population and have them willing to be interviewed. This is especially true for the elderly Asian community, who prefer to be private, often having the mentality that whatever information they share will eventually come back to haunt them. Lastly, participants no longer had to have settled immediately in Toronto/GTA. Although they should all be living in the GTA/Toronto for me to be talking to them face-to-face, further research indicated that the refugees often resettled in various provinces and relocated afterwards. The federal government resettled refugees in one of Canada's 10 provinces or two territories at the time, with relocation quotas varying according to the proportion of the total population living in a region (Beiser, 2003, p. 206). For example, because British Columbia accounted for roughly 12 per cent of the country's population, the province received 12 per cent of all Southeast Asian refugees. Ontario received 38 per cent while Quebec's share was 22 per cent (Dorais, 2000, p.8).

4.3 Method of Recruitment

At the onset of my recruitment efforts, I had the belief that contacting relevant community organizations would prove to be most effective. I was thus in contact with the Vietnamese Association Toronto (VAT), which has a wide range of services and programs available at its two locations in the city. The Commissioner for External Affairs at the Vietnamese Canadian Federation had also suggested I contact the settlement agency as a starting point, which further bolstered my confidence that the recruitment strategy of focusing on those associated with the community-involved agency would garner the interest of potential participants. The Program Coordinator at VAT posted the “call for participants” flyer in their two offices. In addition to the VAT, I reached out to the Program Manager at the Vietnamese Community Centre of Mississauga, who agreed to post the recruitment flyer in the centre’s office.

This method of recruitment proved to be most unsuccessful as I did not receive any interested participants. A research study from 2011 conducted on first-generation Vietnamese immigrant youths in Canada also noted the inability to recruit participants with the posting of recruitment flyers at community organizations (Dang, 2011). As noted by the Executive Director at VAT, contacts affiliated with the VAT are unwilling to participate in interviews with respects to their wishes for privacy, even with the assurance of confidentiality provided by the consent form. Equally unsuccessful were my attempts to contact Vietnamese and/or Vietnamese-Chinese student organizations at universities across the GTA, including the Vietnamese Student Association at Ryerson University, the University of Toronto Vietnamese Student Association, and the Vietnamese Student Association at York University. Requests for participation were sent out through their networks including Facebook but resulted in no interviews.

What was quickly gleaned from these futile attempts at recruiting participants was the idea that networks are the key. In order to have any success, I would have to utilize the contacts I had who had access to networks of Vietnamese-Chinese individuals I could potentially talk to. Through circulating recruitment flyers to them and informing them about the research project, they would in turn contact an eligible participant they knew who would be more inclined to participate given the “middle man” connection. Word-of-mouth would thus be a key part of the snow-ball sampling method. This involves the researcher “making contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then us[ing] them to establish contacts with others” (Bryman & Teevan, 2005, p.386).

Through my contacts, I met the Co-Chair of Marketing and Public Relations at the Chinatown Business Improvement Area (CBIA), who introduced me to the many Vietnamese-Chinese contacts affiliated with the BIA. Toronto’s downtown Chinatown has a very large population of Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Chinese adults who came to Canada following the Vietnam War. Many of them own businesses in Chinatown, and have the proficiency in English to be a part of the interview conducted in English. The Chinatown BIA represents the ethnic enclave extending along Dundas Street West and Spadina Avenue, existent since the late 19th century. One participant came forward through this recruitment method.

That being the case, contacts through snow-balling sampling among family and friends were most helpful. While this worked out in the end for me, it does pose some future research concerns, considering the fact that not everyone has some affiliation with the Vietnamese-Chinese community. If they were to conduct research on this population, they would be very unlikely to receive any response from open postings at community centres or newspaper outlets.

Further research should focus on ways in which any researcher can effectively have access to interviewing members of this community without their distrust and/or hesitation.

Even with my relative accessibility in reaching out to the Vietnamese-Chinese community, efforts at recruitment were by no means straightforward and without their share of difficulties, including general “shyness” or reluctance of potential participants, fearfulness of authority, and older age and associated difficulties with English. These issues subsequently lead to my shifting the age bracket of research participants from 50-65 to 40-65.

4.4 Data Collection and Data Organization

Chan and Lam (1983) incorporated the two-person research team format during their interviews and found it to be effective for maintaining continuity. One researcher provided instant translation while the other posed questions to respondents. However, for purposes of this research which did not include the use of a translator, interviews were to be conducted in English, the language I am most comfortable with. Potential participants were informed ahead of time that while English did not necessarily have to be their mother tongue, they had to be proficient enough to converse throughout the interview. It would be fine if they occasionally used Chinese phrases to better convey the meanings they had in mind, but for my understanding they had to either be in Cantonese, Mandarin, Fukien, or Teochow.

The interviews were to be held at a community space commonly frequented by participants. This was for purposes of ensuring participants were within a familiar safe space they felt comfortable enough in to share personal experiences. Alternatively, public libraries were also an option as they are safe and convenient spaces, with the environment itself being quiet enough. If the participant preferred to share their thoughts in a more secluded private area

of the library, a booking of a study room would have been possible. A list of resources/contacts for counseling or referral was provided to all participants, so that anyone experiencing a strong negative emotional reaction could seek further assistance.

The duration of each interview was tentatively set for 30-60 minutes, although end results averaged out to be one and a half to two hours per interview. Upon meeting, I began by introducing myself to the participant and describing my research topic. As part of protocol, the informed consent form was then presented with my verbal explanation of why we needed the consent form. Afterwards, the participant was asked to complete a demographic questionnaire asking about their age, gender, occupation etc. (see Appendix I).

Participants became more and more comfortable during the interview after the first few questions (see Appendix II). Every interview conducted became more of a conversation rather than a formal interview. This serves as an interpretive and flexible research approach that facilitates the understanding of individual meanings and experiences (Bryman & Teevan, 2005). These face-to-face interviews are more time-consuming than questionnaires, but they allow the researcher to detect sensitive issues and experiences that would otherwise be left undetected by questionnaires. Semi-structured interviews were conducted as opposed to unstructured interviews because they allow for guidance in maintaining the topic focus, whilst allowing the respondent to reply in detail in accordance with their interpretation of the question. If there is a specific subject matter brought up in the respondent's answer that I'd like to obtain more detail about, semi-structured interviews allow me to follow-up on the response with another related question.

4.5 Memory and Historical Representations

Historical representations are extremely valuable to our understanding of history, providing snapshots back in time. By making the past, and memories of that past, possible, we

are able to commemorate key moments as well as learn from past mistakes. We are able to organize the present and gain a better understanding of the world. Historical representations can take many forms, from artifacts to plays to audio tours. An oral narrative, for example, is important because people have a need to tell their stories. It is through the experience of sharing that they construct new ways and new perceptions of their relationships to the world, hence the human dimension to historical truths. The play *And So There Are Pieces...* by Rivka Eisner (2002) is an example of a historical narrative expressed through performance. Eisner went on to use movement – the language of one’s own body, to translate a Vietnamese woman’s memory, history, and life. According to her, memory seeks mobility within, across, and through time and living bodies. Without movement, it may become static or forgotten. By using movement, she thus became a “fleeting guardian of the vitality of Chi Tôi’s memories” (Eisner, 2002, 104).

Historical representations are always subjective. In Eisner’s case, her play is an interpretation and adaptation of stories told by Chi Tôi. In much the same way, because Chi Tôi’s oral account comes from her own direct experiences, she is speaking from memory rather than from facts or statistics. While this provides for an authentic recollection, what she is remembering is her truth and not necessarily that of others. After all, memory is individually experienced.

In qualitative research, when the narrator is sharing stories from the distant past, he/she is always at a certain stage of his/her life. This in turn shapes the narration at hand, whereby the listener will receive a different and/or misguided understanding of this past in comparison to if the narration was shared at another point in time. In *Realizing Memory, Transforming History*, Diana Drake Wilson (2000) shows how people can look at an artifact or document and interpret it differently. That’s because there are different ways to remember based on fundamentally

different ways in attributing meaning to material signs. For most Euro-Americans, museum exhibits are metaphorical representations of events that took place in the past. For American Indians however, these artifacts carry traces of events that took place in the past and are still taking place. They understand the concept of remembering not only as a representation of events gone by, but also a way of substantiating the future and prefiguring the future. Displaying baby carriers next to a gun thus has the same meaning as placing an actual gun in an Indian baby carriage, “continuing the genocide the museum wished merely to record (Wilson, 120).”

It is important to note that historical representations are subjective. For example, Melanie McGrath (2008) is unabashedly partisan in her account of how in 1953 seven Inuit families were forcefully relocated from their homes in the Hudson Bay to the barren, arctic landscape of Ellesmere Island. She notes how white men are all to blame for the misfortunes of the Inuit. While this is true for the most part, especially in regards to the Canadian government’s involvement in the relocation, this takes away from the objectivity of the historical account. At one point she writes how “no Inuit says no to a white man without repercussions.” In another example, Donald Horne notes in *The Great Museum* how tourism is a creation of what one country wants others to see. Tourism is thus a voyage through many different “dreamlands.” In Athens, imitation classical buildings were built to give dignity to a small town that originally only had one well-preserved classical building of its own.

It’s through the creation of an “imagined reality” that people in modern societies are able to define who they are. After all, we define eras of the “ancient regime,” “enlightenment”, and “Industrial Revolution,” but these classifications are imagined. According to eighteenth-century philosopher Giambattista Vico, examining monuments of a past age enables us to reconstruct what that age meant. However, how are we to know what representations mean if we were never

there? As Horne writes, “how can we contemplate so many different ‘ages’ and imagine that, in one lifetime, we can understand even one of them in the same terms as those who lived in the time itself? Their views of reality and values may be represented in these surviving fragments – or may not be represented in anything that survived” (in Horne, 26). Objects may be given meaning that would have astounded their originators. History is thus our interpretation of events based on available evidence. Through our imagined realities of history, we create meaning in the world. Especially with such a widely publicized narrative about the plight of the Indochinese refugees, participants who are well aware of the historical representation can easily draw on this discourse. They apply their own accounts contributing to existing themes and collective memories. Their memory is constructed relationally to the dominant narrative. For example, Patrick evaluated his experiences in Thailand’s refugee camp in relation to the popular accounts about horrid conditions in Malaysia. Likewise, Thalia considers her family “one of the lucky ones” after hearing about negative private sponsorship experiences other families had. Finally, although Steven was very grateful for the help he received from his sponsors at the hospital, he noted that his church-sponsored friend was even luckier. In their case, he says the husband and wife had five children, with such a large number making it impossible to rent a small apartment. The sponsors ended up buying the family a house in Fredericton for \$25,000.

While memory is based on interpretation, it is also very selective. Especially in the case of perceived negative experiences, one remembers what he/she considers safe to remember and share. In Sugiman’s interview with a *Nisei* respondent regarding narratives of wartime events, she reflects upon her sobering experience upon realization that her participant Connie had made a deliberate decision to withhold some memories from being shared (Sugiman, 2009, p.199). Likewise, there were some instances during my interviews where participants would briefly

touch upon sensitive topics like racism and familial conflicts, only to quickly backtrack out of having to share a memory that was undoubtedly on their mind in that instance. In having the power of selectivity, the narrator exercises authorial control. Memory is also selective when there is an interaction between narrator and listener which ensures the stories are shaped by the audience (Sugiman, 2004, p.364). There is a reading of the audience determining what one may hear or dismiss, therefore making it a political project.

Memory is never originating exclusively within the narrator, as both narrator and researcher have shared authority over its interpretation and presentation. Both the motivations of the narrator and the researcher are considered. In this research project, participants were informed prior to the interview of my focus being on social support networks that may or may not have facilitated their resettlement in Canada. In retrospect, this understanding may have led some participants to embellish or focus on aspects of their stories that they may not have otherwise. Similarly, Sugiman acknowledges that her own linear ordering of events with regards to women's memories of internment may have prompted causation that may not have been attributed otherwise (Sugiman, 2004, p.367). She also admits that her introduction of the theme of racism into some life stories may have affected the responses of her participants, who may not have made reference to the subject had it not been for her direct question. Had it not been for the probing during my interviews about instances of social support received by participants, some of them might not have placed as much emphasis on the roles played by certain individuals who happened to be present within their narratives.

As part of the process of self-reflexivity, it was important for me to understand that my presence as a researcher inevitably helped determine the memory fragments selectively shared with me. Sugiman writes that self-selected stories often contain a moral message the narrator

wishes to communicate to a wider audience for public consumption. These constructed memories have the effect of providing the narrator with a sense of composure, helping them come to terms with their lives. Narratives are very consciously chosen to accommodate the time span of the interview which can hardly reflect all details of a lifetime. While bound by historical events that occurred to them, narrators have the agency to interpret and redefine their experiences. They often highlight the positive after describing particularly negative experience, in order to conclude on a positive note of survival after a tale of hardship. For example, Ty mentioned being taken advantage of by co-workers, only to juxtapose that experience with praise of how helpful and welcoming the housekeepers or bus drivers were.

On a final note, memories and historical representations are susceptible to change over time, as they are never in an unmediated form. As oral accounts are passed on from generation to generation, details are inevitably altered in the process. Kuhn (2000) notes that memory is already a second revision (in Sugiman, 2004, p.364). According to Horne, each generation also turns the monuments of earlier generations to new purposes, “creating a new ‘dream’ to match the world view of a new social order.” Memories change in accordance with historical transformations and ideological changes. There’s thus a fluidity or elasticity in the way in which we view the past. While some people may think of history as being concrete, based on facts and authorized accounts, it is in fact a field of study that has limitless avenues up for interpretation.

4.6 Coding

With regards to data collection and the systematic coding of interview transcripts, I used the three-step procedure for coding qualitative data that has been widely accepted in the social science community (Archer and Berdahl, 2011, p.350). The first stage of ‘open coding’ or

‘themeing’ involves review of the raw material to gain a sense of major themes. The researcher jots down what struck him/her as being most interesting, important, or significant. The role of a qualitative researcher is to organize data into categories on the basis of themes or concepts. Ideas and evidence are mutually interdependent. Highlighters of different colours are helpful in helping differentiate the various labels. The second stage of ‘axial coding’ entails sifting through the texts again, this time for specific instances of each theme. Whereas ‘open coding’ focuses more on the actual data and assigning code labels for themes, ‘axial coding’ focuses more on the initial coded themes than the data. Words, passages or phrases are then ‘tagged’ as belonging under one of the broad themes identified in stage one. As marginal notes are taken with remarks or observations, one is essentially coding via pattern recognition – generating an index of terms that will be helpful later to interpret and theorize in relation to the data (Bryman, 2001, p.398). It is useful to try to look for categories or concepts that cluster together. ‘Axial coding’ also aids in raising new questions, as the researcher decides to drop some themes or examine other more in depth. Finally, the third stage of data organization is that of ‘selective coding,’ where the researcher re-accesses the texts for additional or discrepant evidence (Archer and Berdahl, 2011, p.352). By this stage of coding, the researcher has already identified the major themes of the research project which ultimately guide the search for corresponding data.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The following chapter analyzing study results begins with a brief profile of each of the six participants (see Appendix III). This is in order to ensure context and a human quality to the study, instead of treating the participants like faceless sources of data. Every one of these participants had fascinating and unique tales about their journey. A section about the memory of

childhood events proceeds, coinciding with the section on memory in the methodology chapter. It was important to note the results of interviewing two participants who arrived as children, since their experiences were different than those of the other participants. In the following section, a detailed examination of the literature regarding private versus government sponsorship is provided, where a lack of consensus is observed amongst researchers of the topic.

With regards to study results, the intimate link between private sponsorship and happy childhoods merited a section of its own. The existence of a bi-cultural identity among the youngest participants was also noted, and its implications are discussed in the next portion. The last two key ideas gleaned from study results impact the older participants more, as they deal with the enabling factors of English proficiency and education that affected resettlement. The notion of hard work was embedded in the mindset of all participants, hence linking back to the theory of resiliency.

5.1 Participant Background

Thalia

Thalia was one of the youngest participants interviewed in this study, having only been seven years old at the time of her arrival in Canada in 1980. Her father had passed away the year before the war broke out, and there wasn't enough money to bring her mother over, which is why Thalia left Vietnam with her older brothers. She remembers the boat journey from Vietnam to Hong Kong, where they hit a rock and almost sank. The men on the boat were able to jump down to push the boat out, and had extra wood to patch up the hole. A few hours later, they were towed in by the coast guards of Hong Kong. Once in Hong Kong, she recalls three refugee camps her and her brothers stayed in. Thalia and her brothers ended up being sponsored by a church group

in Nova Scotia. Her family arrived in Montreal and over time moved to different cities across the country, ending up the GTA.

Mike

Other than Thalia, Mike is the only other participant who arrived in Canada as a child before the age of nine. Born in Hanoi, he left with his immediate family which includes two older sisters. He vaguely remembers going through the Philippines and eating instant noodles on the boat. Other than that, he does not have much recollection about conditions on the journey at sea. His family was sponsored by a married couple in Toronto , and Mike continues to live there today.

Ty

Ty and his five siblings successfully left *Chợ Lớn* after one failed escape attempt six months prior, which had turned out to be a scam. His father and younger brother stayed behind. Their boat sailed in international waters for 30 days waiting for help before being rescued by the International Red Cross off the coast of Malaysia, after being rejected by Indonesia. Ty remembers the mass media attention at the time, which involved reporters paddling long distances in small boats to the freighter for interviews with the stranded refugees. With regards to conditions on the boat, he remembers the scarce dry food being finished in mere days. Other than some water provided when they had passed by Indonesia, he says there was no such thing as actual food or water. There were only enough cookies and dry rice for bare survival. Ty recalls the strategy where everyone tried not making a lot of movements that would in turn exert energy, meaning they'd all just lie immobile on the boat. Weight loss was experienced by everyone.

After landing papers were processed in Montreal in 1978, Ty found himself in Toronto three days later. He was 19 years old at the time. Now 54 years old, Ty considers himself a successful businessman who owns and runs the store.

Steven

Steven left Saigon as a single adult male after paying the Vietnamese government an exit fee of 12 taels of gold. His parents and siblings stayed in Vietnam. After five days at sea, his boat with 250 people arrived in Pulau Galang in Malaysia, where he stayed for a year before relocating to Indonesia. He describes difficult conditions at the refugee camp included a daily ration of sugar, rice, and two pieces of canned salmon. The refugee camp itself was overcrowded with 65,000 refugees, and some had to be later moved to the new refugee camp in Indonesia which had 50,000 people. Once in Indonesia, 22-year-old Steven was accepted to come to Canada in 1979, with a hospital in New Brunswick being his sponsor. He moved to Toronto later. The 57-year-old describes himself as “doing well,” in terms of perceived success since coming to Canada.

Janet

Janet left Saigon after paying an exit fee to the government and being given a little boat for her 200 immediate and extended family members. Her immediate family that left with her included two brothers and one sister, since her parents and younger sister remained in Vietnam. In her mid-20s at the time, she and her family members on the boat floated aimlessly in the ocean for nine days and eight nights. The old boat was so small that everyone was cramped with no space to move their arms or legs. Japanese and American freighters were eventually sighted in

the far distance, and the refugees tried asking them for food and water, only to be denied since regulations stipulated that the ships weren't allowed to help. Luckily, they finally arrived in Indonesia, where the stranded refugees ended up staying for ten months. Janet's file was passed to the Canadians, who at this time didn't even have a set guideline for accepting the Indochinese refugees since it was only 1976. A month after acceptance, Janet and her siblings arrived in Vancouver and were transferred to Saskatchewan. In 1988, she moved to Toronto with her husband and kids. The 63-year-old currently still resides in Toronto.

Patrick

Patrick escaped with his wife and three younger sisters following the Vietnam War, and spent about three days at sea. They finally arrived in Thailand, and stayed in one of the refugee camps before getting the papers to come to Canada. The family stayed in Thailand for a total of six months. Describing the conditions on the overcrowded boat, Patrick describes it being 18 metres long and 4.2 metres wide, with perhaps four people occupying every square metre of space. With 262 people in this boat, it was at the brink of sinking. Some biscuits and water were consumed by the passengers, although the focus on carrying as many people as possible trumped any concerns for food supply. Luckily, they were not stopped by pirates and robbed on the journey. He says the conditions in the refugee camp in Thailand were not as bad as the stories read about Bidong in Malaysia. The refugee camp Patrick's family stayed at had less than 2000 people, meaning it was somewhat more comfortable. They had to pay in gold for the wood to build a small shelter. The family arrived in Montreal in 1979, and stayed for one night before being relocated to Toronto where the 61-year-old has since built his family life and a professional career.

5.2 Memory of Childhood Events

As was predicted, there was a marked difference with the interviews of Thalia and Mike in comparison to those of the other four participants. Mike's responses to questions about his boat journey were rather curt, as he admitted to not really remembering much. When asked about the route his boat took, he notes that they passed through the Philippines. They got off the boat and his father took him swimming, holding him in the water. He says he remembers the big waves, only to later counter his statement by pointing out he cannot be certain it was in the Philippines. In the next question where I asked how long he stayed in the different places of asylum prior to arriving in Canada, Mike revealed that his parents never told him and his siblings the chronological timeline. They did however, share stories with them, which is how he somehow came up with the belief they were in the Philippines at one point. He doesn't remember sanitation conditions on the boat, but states that from what he read in the literature, conditions were not ideal. Having noted that he had read a lot about the boat people exodus over the years, this relates back to the idea of individuals drawing upon the publicized discourse and inserting themselves into the narrative. When asked what his first experiences in Canada were like, Mike says he only remembers something akin to snowflakes falling to the ground. He didn't know what they were, but just found the white specks very interesting, as is typical of a child.

In the case of Thalia, a lot of her responses to the questions began with "as I remember" or "from what by brothers told me." Going over the transcript of her interview, the very first words in response to the first question were "I was very young, and as I remember..." In that same response, she would start off another sentence with "as I remember, and from what my brothers told me..." It is as if she is acknowledging that although her recollections are very detailed and animated, her version of accounts is reliant on what was told to her by her older

brothers. While there is no way for me to prove or disprove the truth of her testimony, it is also not my interest to do so. As noted by Sugiman in her interviews with Nisei Japanese-Canadian women, the value of the interviewee's words is in viewing them as the memory of lived experience (Sugiman, 2004, p.383). There is already the understanding that memory isn't a passive depository of facts, but rather an active process by which meanings are created.

5.3 Private vs. Public Sponsorship: Literature

To encourage private sponsorship as allowed by provisions in the Immigration Act of 1976, the Canadian government promised to match every Southeast Asian refugee privately sponsored with another one sponsored by the country. Initial projections indicated that 25,000 refugees would enter under private sponsorship, while the remaining 25,000 would be sponsored by the government to match numbers (Beiser, 2003, p.206). As it turned out, public response by Canadians far exceeded expectations. Between the years 1979 and 1981, forty thousand refugees from Southeast Asia were admitted under private sponsorship while another 20,000 were admitted under government sponsorship (Beiser, 2003, p.204). Under the channel of government sponsorship, Indochinese refugees were met at the airport by a government worker and provided with rent and assistance with living expenses at the current welfare rate for a period of one year, or until they found employment ensuring financial self-sufficiency (Woon, 1987, p.132). In terms of transportation costs to their final destinations in Canada, refugees were given interest-free loans with fares set at \$750.00 per adult, \$375.00 per child, and \$75.00 per infant (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1982, p.11). The loans were to be repaid over time once self-sufficiency on the part of the refugees had been established. Government-sponsored refugees were assisted primarily by the Canada Employment Centre and voluntary immigration

resettlement agencies in their search for language training, accommodation and employment. At the time, private sponsorship was an innovative approach where refugees under this channel were met at their destination by sponsors legally responsible for providing food, clothing, and living expenses for a period of one year or until the newly arrived were self-supporting.

It is of great importance to examine possible causal links between types of sponsorship in relation to the level of integration as experienced by refugees. While there has been much research conducted by Canadian government researchers and academics regarding the cost-benefits of private sponsorship, there remains to be more in-depth comparative analysis of the socio-economic adaptation of refugees as a result of the sponsorship type. Beiser (2003) states how future studies should investigate how factors such as length of contact between refugees and sponsors, kinds of help provided by sponsorship groups, and non-instrumental aspects of the sponsorship role may affect long-term success

In his study on sponsorship and resettlement success, successful resettlement was measured by examining the variables of employment, English language fluency, and general health. Reinforcing the validity of these indices, he explains that success implies self-sufficiency and steps being taken to achieve gainful work, which is why employment is a reasonable criterion for success. According to the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees in 1988, the ability to speak one of the country's official languages is fundamental to successful integration (Beiser, 2003, p.209). The criterion for general health can be validated by the rationale of perceived internal comfort being important for successful resettlement. Using longitudinal data from the University of Toronto Refugee Resettlement Project that was based on 608 cases interviewed at three points in time between 1981 and 1991, Beiser concludes that the type of sponsorship affected long-term success, even after controlling

for the effects of ethnicity, as well as predisposing and enabling factors. Private sponsorship predicted successful integration, whereas government sponsorship was more likely to predict the opposite. Results therefore matched Beiser's original hypothesis assuming that the level of welcome privately sponsored arrivals received would give them a significant mental health advantage over the government sponsored, whose point of contact was often an overworked civil servant.

Interestingly enough, the study indicated no mental health differences between the two groups during the refugees' first few years in Canada (Beiser, 2003, p.206). This coincides with other studies on Southeast Asian resettlement in Canada, which conclude that sponsorship type either had no effect on integration or that refugees themselves sometimes favoured government sponsorship over private. Montgomery's quantitative survey data results collected in Alberta support the argument that sponsorship type does not affect subjective adaptation nor sociocultural adaptation. Similarly, Indra's review of several previous studies indicate that sponsorship effects may be minimal compared to what had originally been thought (Montgomery, 1996, p. 693). Montgomery suggests that the effect of sponsorship in other studies may perhaps be to some extent spurious. An alternate explanation would be that compared to other places, the various sponsors in Alberta were equally helpful or equally insignificant to the refugees' adaptation. Another study by Johnson and Beiser in 1986 found that privately and government-sponsored refugees were similar in rates of employment, English fluency, knowledge of sources of help for problems, and knowledge of consumer rights (Johnson, 1989, p.22). Over time, the role of sponsors in refugees' lives decreased as family and friends became the primary sources for information.

On the contrary, Woon's 1987 survey results show half of all privately sponsored refugees and almost all the government-sponsored believe government sponsorship is preferable. Her research was based on a systematic comparison of 11 government-sponsored and nine privately-sponsored Vietnamese refugees in Victoria, British Columbia before and after their first year in Canada. Woon writes that there was a great deal of ambiguity about rules governing the relationship between private sponsors and refugees, since many refugees admitted that the program had never been fully explained to them even after their arrival in the country (Woon, 1987, p.133). For that reason, the majority of them did not know how long the sponsors were legally-bound to them, nor did they know the financial obligations attached to sponsorship. More importantly, although many were touched by the generosity and warm hearts of their sponsors, there is no actual parallel in Vietnamese culture that explains the idea of private sponsorship. This type of charitable act where one would help a complete stranger was unheard of, as the norm back home was to only receive the help of family or close community members. As noted in Chan and Lam's research as well, some developed feelings of suspicion and distrust at the sponsors' motives, believing that their benefactors were out to get income tax deductions and/or religion salvation. Woon writes that a predominant number believed that sponsors were kind-hearted individuals who only wanted to help the less fortunate without ulterior motives, but for others, the foreign concept of sponsorship raised questions as to the extent they should feel genuinely indebted for the help received.

Furthermore, as grasped by the results of Woon's study, more than half of the privately-sponsored refugees told the interviewer that the financial help provided by their sponsors was inadequate (Woon, 1987, p.134). The majority found it humiliating to be financially dependent on others, meaning they did not ask for more support money even if they needed it. On the other

hand, a small number tried to “milk the system.” Likewise, Chan and Lam conclude that in the case of their 25 Vietnamese-Chinese respondents who resettled in Montreal between 1978 and 1979, the respondents found it difficult to bring their daily physical and economic needs to the attention of their sponsors. They would only seek their help if the needs became urgent. Chan and Lam write that perhaps the refugees felt generally satisfied with the help provided, therefore making it hard to justify any additional claims for assistance. To them, gratefulness meant making the most out of what was there and being of minimal interference with the privacy of their sponsors (Chan and Lam, 1983, p.6). It is important to note that prior to arrival in Canada, the Vietnamese-Chinese had a long history of being benefactors and givers rather than dependents and receivers of social welfare (Chan and Lam, 1983, p.6). As was the case for the Vietnamese participants in Woon’s study, for the Vietnamese-Chinese to be cast in a situation of utter dependence was a humiliating and degrading experience. This sense of personal and ethnic pride perhaps propelled them to struggle for autonomy as quickly as possible, thereby rejecting the help of sponsors who in turn may have perceived this as non-appreciation of their earnest good will. This eagerness for financial self-sufficiency among independent-minded refugees negatively affected ESL performance, since many male privately-sponsored refugees would drop out of language classes after finding it too exhausting to work and study at the same time (Woon, 1987, p.136). For Woon’s sample of refugees residing in Victoria, the drop-out rate for privately-sponsored male refugees was four times as large as that of government-sponsored male refugees, despite the high enrollment rate for both male and female Vietnamese of both sponsorship types.

With regards to the inadequacy of financial support as felt by the majority of refugees in Woon’s study, it is out of fairness to the sponsors to state the non-existence of legal guidelines as to how much financial help one should provide a refugee household each month. For example,

some refugees in the Victoria sample reported not receiving any pocket money. Their sponsors would take care of grocery shopping and monitor how the refugees made use of the money provided. In other cases, a monthly allowance was given but stopped once a member of the refugee household found a job. Still other sponsors were so generous as to totally support the sponsored, even after members in the household became employed (Woon, 1987, p.134).

Regardless of financial self-sufficiency being obtained, household members were given generous gifts. Even with this small sample of refugees in Victoria, it is impossible to form generalizations about the adequacy of financial support received from private sponsors.

In comparison, despite the same number of government-sponsored refugees reported difficulties with making ends meet during the period of tutelage by the Canada Employment Centre, none complained about the inadequacy of financial support (Woon, 1987, p.135). This is because they bore witness to the uniform treatment received by everyone, meaning they were not dependent on the subjective good will and generosity of a small group of private citizens they were entrusted to. One respondent is quoted as saying it is better to be government-sponsored rather than relying on the luck of private sponsorship, because of impartial government regulations for English training, allowances, and accommodation (Woon, 1987, p.141). While privately sponsors were known for being instrumental in providing one-on-one informal English training along with help in finding jobs for the men, government-sponsored refugees did not receive such generous and personalized help from the Canada Employment Centre or Refugee Aid Centre. However, it was the mere fact they were treated the same in terms of living allowances, rent payments, and job referrals that translated into them being less unhappy and resentful (Woon, 1987, p.138).

Additionally, relationships between private sponsors and the sponsored were frequently uneasy. Sponsors legally committed to providing help for one year acted as advisors, advocates, and escorts. They often took it upon themselves to make use of their informal social networks of neighbours, friends, and co-religionists with providing help for the refugees. Already feeling distrustful at the sudden help they were receiving from strangers, incidents where sponsors were over-patronizing and allowed for little privacy further deteriorated the self-respect and confidence of refugees. Perceived intrusiveness was indeed a downside of private sponsorship, as private sponsors sometimes felt they were acted as concerned hosts when calling the refugees at all hours and insisting on their participation in various activities (Beiser, 2003, p. 207). Perceived insensitivity or aloofness was also a downside, as private sponsors sometimes looked for housing close to them rather than in ethnic communities where the refugees would have preferred to live. Among those sponsored by a church in Woon's sample, a third of the refugees felt that their sponsors were pushing religion on them, hence one quote from a participant exclaiming he "lived with them for a month when I first came and had a hard time dealing with them...I refused to go to church with them....(Woon, 1987, p.136). Woon states it being generally difficult for sponsors and refugees to develop genuine friendship during the first year together. Their culture taught them to reciprocate whatever kindness was extended by an individual, but the impossibility of doing so made it extremely frustrating for the refugees (Woon, 1987, p.139).

As perceptively noted by Chan and Lam, analysis of the intricate interpersonal dynamics of sponsor-refugee relationships undoubtedly reflects the master-dependent component in which a party provides and another party is provided for (Chan and Lam, 1983, p.5). Thus despite the possibility of an affective bond formed between the two parties, there is always an underlying economic and status difference which can be a major source of discomfort. Paradoxically then,

the very effectiveness of the instrumental role provided by private sponsors *reduced* the effectiveness of their socially supportive role. The instrumental help provided by private sponsors can be exemplified by the fact that nearly all rental units occupied by privately-sponsored refugees were found by their respective sponsors. By contrast, only half of the residences were found by the Refugee Aid Centre for the government-sponsored sample, as the refugees themselves or members of their social network found the others. In the category of employment, while most male government-sponsored refugees held jobs paying from \$3.20 to \$6.00 an hour, those held by privately-sponsored refugees paid between \$3.65 to \$8.00 an hour (Woon, 1987, p.138). Moreover, only 10 per cent of the jobs held by privately-sponsored men were felt to be exploitative in nature, while this case the case for half of the jobs held by government-sponsored men. One can form the conclusion then that private sponsors were of great assistance in ensuring refugees secured rewarding, non-exploitative jobs.

While government spokespersons point to the beneficial results of private sponsorship, Woon's study supports this in regard to the short-term socio-economic adaptation of Southeast Asian refugees. After all, by the end of their first year in Victoria, all privately-sponsored households in the study were financially self-sufficient, with ownership over material goods such as a car and colour television. In comparison, less than three quarters of government-sponsored households were self-sufficient, and only one half of them owned a car or a colour television. Beyond a material basis, however, only a third of the privately-sponsored sample felt they were adjusted to Canadian life, while a considerable larger number in the government-sponsored sample felt they were adjusted to Canadian life after the first year (Woon, 1987, p.141). They expressed fewer feelings of unease at the end of the sponsorship period. This can perhaps be attributed to over-protection of private sponsors resulting in a form of dependency on the part of

the sponsored. In the views of the privately-sponsored, the majority of them were content and relieved when the period of sponsorship ended, as this reflected legal independence from their sponsors.

From a long-term perspective, results from Woon's study do not point toward benefits for the privately-sponsored, as reflected by what happened once the economic downturn hit in 1980. While privately-sponsored refugees initially held an occupational advantage with more language training and personal contacts of the sponsors, government-sponsored refugees ended up reversing this advantage following the recession. The latter group already had direct experience looking for work by themselves, and had made extensive use of personal social networks to secure employment. With a lack of job-hunting skills in the Canadian market, jobs subsequently filled by privately-sponsored refugees after the downturn ranged from \$3.80 to \$5.00 an hour, of which one half were considered exploitative (Woon, 1987, p.142). On the other hand, jobs found by the government-sponsored ranged from \$3.75 to \$7.50 an hour, with a third of these jobs considered by the refugees as being exploitative. In the American context, Tran (1991) found that refugees living in the United States for two to three years who had been sponsored by voluntary agencies were more likely to be employed than those sponsored by relatives. Private sponsorship through individual citizens or groups did not translate into an occupational advantage. Furthermore, private sponsors tended to focus on short-term instrumental support rather than building relationships of trust that could help refugees integrate successfully in the long run (Beiser, 2003, p.207).

Beiser's results from his analysis of long-term resettlement success contradict with conclusions drawn by these previously mentioned American studies, as well as Woon's study. According to the RRP's standard, only 15 per cent of refugees were considered successes in

1981. Out the sample, 68 per cent were working, with the unemployment rate climbing to 18 per cent within the two ensuing years. By 1991, 86 per cent of refugees were working, feeling healthy, and speaking English with moderate proficiency (Beiser, 2003, p.211). Ninety-two per cent of the refugees were working and the employment rate was only 8 per cent. Within these results, private sponsorship reflected increased chances of successful integration. Admittedly, Beiser writes that his quantitative results do not provide for explanation, as they only point to trends. One does not know how this type of sponsorship helps in the long-term. Neuwirth and Clark (1981) suggest that private sponsors tend to expose refugees to a broader range of services that government settlement workers and volunteers are able to. In addition, “sponsors act, as it were, as the direct representatives of the new society: apart from providing material help, they, ideally should guide the refugees in their initial social and cultural adjustment (cited in Beiser, 2003, p.213).” The authors write that in some cases, private sponsors not only act as partial or complete ambassadors of Canadian society, but as outlets preventing the sponsored from feelings of isolation.

5.4 Study Results

Out of the sample, four of the six participants were privately-sponsored while the other two were government-sponsored. Based on results of my interviews, it was observed that all who were privately-sponsored stressed the instrumental role played by their sponsors in aiding with successful resettlement in Canada. The only exception was the case of Patrick, who was the only refugee not privately-sponsored by a volunteer group, since he was sponsored by his wife’s uncle.

As indicative of the prolonged support provided by volunteer private sponsors, Thalia, Mike, and Steven report keeping in contact with their respective sponsors long after the legal requirements of one year. Since moving away from Nova Scotia, Thalia says there have been various times when her and her siblings have gone back to visit them. The sponsorship was over 30 years ago, and quite a few of the church sponsors have since passed away since they were already in their 50s back then. The couple Thalia spent the most time with as a child are now in their late 80s or early 90s. She states that the last time her and her brothers were in contact with this particular couple was when her brother visited Nova Scotia two years ago. When asked when was the last time he had contact with his church sponsors, Mike revealed that he had dinner with the wife just the night before the interview. Now 87 years old, her husband passed away not too long ago. As for the sponsor's son, who Mike would often play with as a child, he says he sees him once in awhile. He admits to seeing his sponsor more the past two years, about once every two months, because he can see she is getting weaker and that her husband has passed away. Although Steven moved away from Fredericton before the one year of sponsorship was up, he says he still has the hospital phone number and calls them sometimes. Now around the age of 80 to 85, he would call the ones still at the hospital just to say hello and update them about his life. There was once instance where he went back to visit them 20 years ago. In comparison, Ty and Janet who were government-sponsored did not have any prolonged contact with any government workers after the one-year sponsorship ended.

Steven happened to be one of the three single young men sponsored by a hospital in Fredericton, New Brunswick. At the time, he had wanted to go to Australia but the country was only accepting single girls. According to him, Canadians received all the refugees other countries

rejected. Describing his arrival in January 1979, Steven shared his feelings regarding his benefactors:

They are very nice – you know the doctor, driver, nurse, and secretary, they all donate the money from hospital. And they give us the house for living – share together. No pay rent. And one week ten dollar for us. At that time ten dollar's very big. Cigarette pack I think only one dollar. But they come pick us, come once a week to go to the grocery store. And they pay for food. And they send us to English school for three months.

They give us clothing, food, everything for one year. Once a week they bring us to church. I'm not Catholic. I just go one or two time, then I tell my sponsor "no thank you." (laughs). Once a week they have a party – this week this doctor take care us. Next week different doctor. Everybody share.

Employment-wise, Steven said the sponsors helped all three men find jobs, but that he was the luckiest one with his cleaning job. He would work there for the next nine months, with the pay of \$6.49 an hour being significantly higher than the average pay received by government-sponsored refugees (\$3.20 to \$6.00 an hour). It was only around summertime when lack of employment at the university led him to ask his sponsors if he could relocate to Toronto. According to him, his sponsors supported his decision:

My sponsor it's say up to me. If I cannot find a job and go back, they welcome. Because they sponsor me one year, that time wasn't even one year, only nine months. They still have responsibility for me. I say to my sponsor, the doctor – "thank you but I cannot stay here." Too quiet. They say "why, beautiful here!" I say "not for me (laughs)."

I take the train. They pay for that. They give me some money, give me a watch, give me a pen. They so nice! And they write letter for me from [place of employment], say if you cannot find a job, go back there we hire you.

There is thus evidence of his sponsors wanting to ensure he had steady employment wherever he decided to go. Also, while some of the literature about private sponsors notes their increased tendency for invasiveness, Steven's sponsors allowed him the freedom to choose where he wanted to live. They also ended up helping form the foundation for his successful economic integration in Toronto. Because he had already worked as a cleaner, he was easily given a

cleaning job on his second day living in the city. They even paid him 50 cents more than his previous job.

Steven's accounts are also significant, in that they contradict Woon's study as well as Chan and Lam's, who note refugees' distrust of sponsors due to the unfamiliar concept of sponsorship in Vietnam. When asked whether the reason he still calls the hospital is related to his gratitude, Steven responded:

Because people helping you, you understand you cannot just forget about. You keep touch because they very nice to helping you to begin your new life! New life in Canada. You have to appreciate. They happy you doing well. They know I'm doing well, they don't worry about me.

While Thalia, Mike, and Steven were the three study participants privately-sponsored either by a church or a hospital, Ty and Janet were government-sponsored. Any emphasis or mention of support from individuals in the government sector is noticeably absent. In their transcripts, mention of the government is always as an institution, as if there doesn't exist individuals who constitute this government. After mentioning that the government put his family in a hotel in Toronto to stay for a month, Ty said they then looked for housing themselves. While the privately-sponsored sample would emphasize the support provided by their benefactors, Ty's account focuses more on the individuals of Toronto who he found helpful:

Sometime the church people come to visit. Bring us some used clothes, food. I have to say it's amazing – even the housekeeper, they are really helping us. Those housekeeper know we aren't ordinary guests – they feel sorry. The hotel we stay there's a kitchen, we need some salt and pepper – they would try to help as much as they can. People around Toronto is pretty helpful.

Ty then found a manufacturing job through Manpower. With a wage of \$3.00 an hour at the time, this is significantly lower than the \$6.39 wage received by Steven at his cleaning job arranged by private sponsors. In fact, Ty's wage at the manufactory was less than half of that of

Steven's. When it came to his second job in Canada after he quit the previous one, he said he got the job through one of the Vietnamese refugees he had met on the street that had arrived to the country before him. The impact of this individual on the life of Ty is evidenced by his response to the question of whether there was anyone in particular who he found helpful in his resettlement:

I would say that guy – Vietnamese refugee came a year before us. He look at me and know I'm from Vietnam. He introduce me to the steel company to work there. I would still talk to him. And he was so nice, even after twenty years we see him I still respect him. He still gentleman, that's the nature of him.

As was noted in the literature about the government-sponsored refugees, the lack of prolonged contact with government representatives led to Ty forming personal social networks of his own which would in turn facilitate his resettlement in Canada. He was in contact with the man who introduced him to the manufacturing company for twenty years, up until his death. Whereas the privately-sponsored sample often reflected on their spare time being spent with the networks of their sponsors, the lack of a personable experience with his sponsors meant that Ty was left to fend for himself and his family. He was given no choice but to be independent and in doing so, he was exposed to the support provided by strangers:

But I find out, in Canada it's very multicultural. I get help from people from Thailand, local, Hong Kong. I believe everybody is good. For me don't isolate yourself, don't just exclude yourself.

When you walk along the street and get lost, get on TTC and don't have money, the driver just let us go. They know us because we were on the newspaper. Because we all lost, we all new. They know we don't have money, they give us ride. Sometimes we don't know how to get back to the hotel, and the police would be very nice to drive us home. That's why sometime we get misunderstanding, we told people if you can't go home – don't worry just call the police (laughs). At that time that's how welcoming people were in this country. Even after 35 years I still remember the warm, cozy welcome.

This exposure to multiple parties that make up Canadian society reinforces Woon's conclusions about a considerably larger number in the government-sponsored sample feeling they were adjusted to Canadian life after the first year. In another example about help received from those around him who he did not necessarily know well, Ty said that when he worked at the factory, the shifts were from 3 p.m one afternoon to 4 a.m the next morning. Having a fairly long commute to work, there would be no transit service by the time he got off work. He would have to wait at the bus station for two hours before service resumed. Ty said that one day, one of the foremen there started noticing why it seemed he never wanted to get off work. Upon realizing Ty was always outside waiting for the bus, he left him stay for two more hours of work every night. Ty said that even to this day, he is touched by this gesture, especially since he didn't speak English back then.

Today, Ty attributes his success to the support he receives from contacts he formed while working at his father's grocery store in the 1980s. A lot of the regulars in Chinatown got to know him over the years, and have been steady clients since the opening of his store. From his experience in Canada where it was upon him to form his own networks of support, he has learnt lessons he perhaps may not have had he been privately-sponsored:

Helping people and people helping you is very very very individual and personal. To have people to help you, you have to be something people think is worth to help you. It's not like standing there, people coming to help you. You have to show yourself, you really want to try. If someone give me a job, I didn't perform the job right, I will not get a second chance.

5.4.1 Private Sponsors and Wonderful Childhoods

What was interesting in the testimonies of both Thalia and Mike was the emphasis they kept placing on the instrumental role their private sponsors had in ensuring they had a self-

described “wonderful” childhood. The couple who sponsored Mike helped provide clothing for his entire family, as well as brought them out for fun activities on the weekend. He remembers going with her to church a lot, being taken to the movies, and even being invited to her cottage:

She used to do a lot for us. She has a cottage so she’d invite us up to her cottage often in Barrie. She had a son very late in her marriage, she has five kids – the last one came very late. He was a couple years older than me and we got along pretty well. We used to do a lot of things together as well.

She also had a farm. We used to horse around at the farm, dig holes and traps. While they were doing farming stuff, we’d dig holes so people would fall into the traps. The whole family would go, our parents would help out at the farm and us kids would just mess around (laughs).

School-wise, with him and his siblings enrolled in school, the wife would help with their homework. Mike’s parents were always working at this time, as they entered the workforce less than a year after English language classes. As a result, he said he didn’t spend much time with his parents, since they didn’t have time to take them to Wonderland or parks. Even with regards to post-secondary education, Mike attributes his decision to pursue engineering in university because he looked up to them as good role models, based on some of their engineering background. Growing up, they would tell him all about engineering, which sparked his interest in pursuing that career path as well. Even today, he considers himself following in the couple’s footsteps, by financially sponsoring children overseas. He even considered adopting at one point. When asked what role the couple played in his life, Mike stated simply: “I consider her like a second mother to me.” While both the husband and wife were influential in his life, he said she was closer to the wife:

She was more mothering. She considered me like her son. She used to kiss me goodnight. The difference was me and her son got along so well and that’s made our family special. That’s how we ended up going on those cottage trips and farm trips.

It is because of this strong bond that Mike said he now tries to visit more often in light of her deteriorating health condition, to make sure she is taken care of. He said it is difficult to see her in that position.

In the case of Thalia who lived in Pictou, she also described her church sponsors in a positive light that indicates her gratitude:

They were *really* incredible people. They all took turns coming to our house every night to teach us English. They took us out all the time, especially on weekends, to get us whatever we needed like clothes and food, or to go to individual houses for parties. We were basically never alone.

They were without a doubt wonderful – beyond awesome. I had a great childhood because of them. And our sponsorship didn't just end after one year which was their responsibility. It continued – anytime we needed help, someone was there. And because I was so young and I didn't have any parents, they took the families with young children around my age, they took turns taking me home and bringing me with them on vacation.

They were really really involved in our lives. I would say there were over a few dozen households. The whole community attended that church and congregation every Sunday was packed. We were always doing something during the week with them – picnics, someone's home for BBQ, or that couple who had daughter my age would bring me to swim with her daughter.

Thalia said that since she was the youngest out of the family's nine siblings, and significantly younger than the others, she ended up spending a lot of time under the sponsors' care. Because her five older brothers who arrived with her were old enough to be her father, their primary concern was finding employment, which the sponsors helped them with. They were also interested in finding life partners for marriage. Being at a different stage of life that didn't permit them to take much care of her, Thalia said she considers the couple who she spent the most time with as her second parents. This is reminiscent of Mike's comments earlier. When asked how she would evaluate her experience in Canada, Thalia's response was concise yet direct:

t me make an analogy. They always said a parent is not a parent just because they gave you birth, but because they raised you as well.

Although she was a rather independent learner in school, not needing the help of others to excel in her classes, the sponsors did help on a social front. Until they left the community, she and her brothers attended every social gathering put out by the church such as annual picnics and Christmas parties. Putting into perspective the positive role played by her sponsors which contributed to her labelling them as second parents, this is in direct contrast with how Thalia recounted her mother's arrival to Canada some years later:

I had a lot of trouble accepting my mother when she came to Canada, because I was probably taken away from her when I was 5 yrs old and I grew up in Western society. I have a very unique upbringing in that I was raised by brothers and they were looking for careers/jobs – they didn't have much time for me. I spent a lot of my time with various Caucasian families. So my view and my thinking and my understanding of the world is different from traditional Vietnamese or Chinese family, and my mother is very very traditional. She came over when I was in my teenage years, around 15.

I found it really hard to accept her. She was like a stranger to me, and not only that, she'd say things to me that were meaningless. Like I didn't understand her and she didn't understand me. We had a lot of friction for the first four years. She died when I was 23 from a car accident. We were cordial, respectful to each other in the last four years before she died. She knows that I'm different, and I know that she's old fashioned.

When asked whether her older brothers also had conflicts with their mother upon her arrival,

Thalia says the problems were only with her:

She was a stranger to me. It's beyond a language issue, I can speak Chinese and Vietnamese up until the age of 15. It's the difference of views and opinions.

Her brothers were already in their late 20s and early 30s when they arrived to Canada, meaning they grew up in Vietnam under a completely different society. Thalia's experiences reflect intergenerational conflicts that arise after settling in a new country with different cultural values and dominant languages. Parents often encounter shifts in their roles and relationships with their

children, with potential conflicts arising as a result of acculturation differences. As noted by Costigan and Dokis, children generally acculturate more quickly than their parents, who maintain ethnic traditions that are at odds with the dominant culture as experienced by the children in the receiving country (Costigan and Dokis, p.1252). Furthermore, acculturation differences may be associated with increased conflict linked to communication obstacles, since it may signify less proficiency in English on the part of the parents and less proficiency in Chinese on the part of the children (Costigan and Dokis, p.1253). Language barriers in turn may make it difficult for parents and children to communicate effectively on difficult emotional issues and areas of disagreement.

5.4.2 Youth's adoption of a bicultural identity

Youth's adoption of bi-cultural identities during the acculturation process can result in discrepancies between the children's wishes and the parents' expectations, since individuals acculturate at different stages. This discrepancy was especially true in Thalia's case, since her mom stayed back in Vietnam and only arrived to Canada years later when Thalia was already in her teens. Throughout most of her childhood and even adulthood, she said she was never exposed to the Chinese community:

From the time we immigrated to Canada, the majority of my friends were Caucasian. Simply because we lived in small town our whole lives. The most time we were in contact with a lot of Asian people was the influx of refugees in Nova Scotia. They didn't have any girls my age though, so I didn't hang around them. But my brothers did, and they got that support and still are in contact with them to this day. But not myself.

The differential process of acculturation accounted for significant intergenerational conflicts as experienced by Thalia, who admits to not spending much time with her mother. In terms of language acquisition and/or maintenance, Costigan and Dokis' study on parent-child

acculturation within immigrant Chinese families reflects the tendency for children to rebel against the pressures set forth by their parents who are more oriented toward the ethnic culture and who emphasize Chinese school attendance (Costigan and Dokis, p.1254). On the part of the parents, their cultural values influence beliefs regarding appropriate parenting practices and the expectations they have of their children. Curdt-Christiansen refers to these values as encompassing the parental language ideology which underpins family language policies (FLP). A family language policy is defined as a deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern within home domains (Curd-Christiansen, p.352). It is shaped by what the family believes will best serve and support the family members' goals in life. In this case, the Chinese respondents who resided in Quebec expressed a cultural disposition pervaded by traditional Confucian thinking, which considers education to be the path to wealth and social esteem. The respondents were mostly schooled after the Cultural Revolution, thus explaining their adherence to Confucian ideology and devotion to wisdom through the study of books. Literacy in the mother tongue is also seen as going beyond just reading and writing – it is a reflection of values, beliefs, attitudes, and culture.

From an ecological perspective, FLP is determined by a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic variables. Thus in addition to cultural disposition toward education and the idea that one's heritage language is an expression of ethnic identity, parental expectations regarding language pertain to the perceived economic value and social mobility provided by certain languages. With regards to the immigrant experience of "blocked opportunities," parents in Curdt-Christiansen's study believed that the key to equal opportunity for minority language speakers was to adopt the majority language. In my own research, this was the case with Mike, who spoke mostly English growing up and has a bare grasp of Cantonese. Parents' expectations

for their children were premised upon personal experiences of inequality and even racism in multilingual and multicultural societies (Curdt-Christiansen, p.362). Living in Quebec, the respondents' language expectations were situated within the socio-cultural environment of French and English being useful tools for economic development. They also acknowledged the increasingly important role the Chinese language plays in the international political arena. In Sugiman's exploration of "silences" of the past with regards to *Nisei* Japanese Canadians, she found that efforts to shield their children from the racial hostilities they themselves endured meant promoting the cultural assimilation of their *Sansei* children (Sugiman, 2004, p.361). This assimilation involved shedding cultural markers of their *Japaneseness* which included the Japanese language.

However, despite parental expectations, language rules and adherence to traditional culture can be difficult to establish in the homes of immigrant families. This would explain the strong tendency for an intergenerational language shift to occur within three generations (Curdt-Christiansen, p.353). In Van's examination of Vietnamese refugee youth in California, she pinpoints the tug-of-war where adolescents found themselves hurriedly trying to fit in with American lifestyle, while at the same time being forced to observe the cultural values and traditions of their parents. This was regardless of the fact that the Vietnamese refugee youth in her study had "no fundamental knowledge, formal instruction, or adequate informal orientation about their native culture (Van, 1988, p.38). The findings indicated that the level of acculturation had a direct association with the level of stress, in that the more acculturated the Vietnamese refugee youth were to American culture, the less stress they reported. After all, the most obvious problem which were stressful for the Vietnamese youth was the difficulty and near impossible task they had communicating with their parents about their concerns and feelings. They also did

not share the same views or feelings with their parents regarding certain matters in a new life in America. Similarly, Le's (1988) study of Vietnamese adolescents from Orange County found that parents who resisted changing their traditional values and were not willing to accommodate their host country's values hindered their children's abilities to be fully acculturated. This subsequently increased their children's level of stress, which led to more symptoms of depression and anxiety (Cao, 2007, p.53). With regards to language brokering within immigrant Chinese families in Canada where children perceived their parents as being highly psychologically controlling, the parents' expectations for their children to serve as translators did *not* reflect the children's willingness to act as a beacon of communication. In fact, more expectations and family obligation values assisted in the poorer psychological health for adolescents (Hua and Costigan, p.894). In this sense, family obligation may have led the adolescents to fulfill language brokering duties, but the act of doing so conflicted with their personal wishes and negatively affected parent-child relations.

In what can explain the intergenerational differences in the parent-child subsystem, Kwak and Berry (2001) examined the differential acculturation rates between parents and their children with respect to three Canadian Asian groups in contrast to an Anglo-Celtic group. The three Canadian Asian groups included the Vietnamese, Korean, and East Indian. Based on their results from 464 adolescents and 353 parents, conclusions drawn emphasized that generational differences in parental authority and children's rights were greater within the Asian groups (cited in Cao, 2007, p.46). This meant that Asian parents in the sample expected their children to obey parental authority and maintain their roles within the household. On the other hand, Asian adolescents experienced more disagreement with their parents about their independence and decision-making abilities within in the family. Regardless of generational differences, what was

most interesting about Kwak and Berry's study is the acknowledgment that familial relationships among the three Asian groups were still strong, despite conflicts about obedience and respect of parental authority. There was still a high degree of cooperation and responsibility within the family, reinforcing the value placed on maintaining harmonious familial relationships. In my study, this was the case with Thalia as well, who quickly corrected me when I inferred that her conflicts with her mom meant she preferred to keep to herself:

No no, we're a very strong family, like we eat together every night. She babysat my brothers' kids – my niece and her siblings. I was at the time more involved with school and working at the restaurant.

Both Thalia's comments as well as findings from Kwak and Berry's study confirm that disagreement about choices with their parents did not mean there was an absence of adherence to family obligation and cooperation. This bicultural identity in turn reflects on successful integration, as it was found in a study of 138 Vietnamese adolescents that those who acculturated but also retained their ethnic identity and practices had higher self-esteem than those who simply adopted assimilative or separation strategies (Cao, 2007, p.59). While Thalia did experience cultural clashes with her mother and mostly grew up around Caucasians in Nova Scotia, that does not mean she neglected her Chinese side. Whenever she was with her family, she spoke Cantonese and had dinner with them every day. Mike grew up with western values with no exposure to the Chinese community beyond his cousins in Chinatown, yet when asked how he identified himself to those who ask, he said:

I say I'm Chinese. I identify myself as Chinese first, then I say I consider myself Canadian. I still want to keep my bloodline, I'm Chinese. I speak Cantonese. I identify as a Canadian immigrant. When I think Canadian, I think of someone of European descent.

Both Thalia and Mike's statements support the bi-dimensional model, whereby acculturating individuals accommodate mainstream cultural values yet also cling to heritage values worth preserving. The fluidity of identity is mentioned in Sugiman's (2004) study of the *Nisei*, who

moved back and forth between their *Japaneseness* and *Canadianness*. They negotiated identities as they travelled from public school to home, and from public school to Japanese school.

5.4.3 Attainment of Education and English Proficiency

Aside from initial government or private sponsorship, RRP analyses examine a number of other factors that affect components of the measures for resettlement success. As justified by Beiser, three solid indices for determining success relate to employment, English language fluency, and general health. As part of the model for predicting resettlement success, pre-migration educational level, occupational attainment, and language acquisition are enabling factors increasing the likelihood of employment in resettlement countries (Beiser, 2003, p.211). In this study, Janet and Patrick were the only two participants who had received some university education prior to their arrival in Canada. They were also the only participants out of the six who already had working English language skills. Even with regards to the processing of their documents at the refugee camps, it only took Patrick's family six months before they were given acceptance to come to Canada. When asked why it was so fast in comparison to the average stay of one year in refugee camps, he said:

We can speak English at the time, me and my wife. Because in high school we study English. It's good for Canada. If we can speak English, then we get more chance to get accepted.

In explaining her significantly earlier arrival in 1976, Janet notes that the United Nations assured her not to worry when her family wasn't allowed to settle in Australia because of her two single brothers. At the time, she had been helping out with translation in the Indonesian refugee camp, as well as teaching English to the kids at the camp. As a result, a member of the United Nations passed her family's file over to Canada, who at this stage did not yet have much of a protocol for accepting the influx of refugees. Although the country was not interested in accepting single

individuals, they ended up accepting Janet and her siblings as a special case. Her knowledge of English was thus an enabling factor facilitating her family's resettlement. Like Patrick, she had learnt English back in high school. In the literature review (Beiser, 1999; Samuel, 1987; Chan, 1987), it was noted that female Southeast Asian refugees were occupationally disadvantaged relative to their male counterparts. They were also less likely to become proficient in the language of their adopted society. This was not evident in the case of Janet, who in addition to having some pre-migration English language skills, went on to upgrade her education level with night school at university. She studied French and English. There was the acknowledgment she had to upgrade her skill set to survive in the Canadian working world, and she did not mention any gender-related obstacles that may have obstructed her efforts in doing so. Admittedly, the one case of Janet cannot be used to form generalizations countering the literature review, but it can be used to indicate that not every female experienced gender-related disadvantages.

In her efforts to bring her parents from Vietnam over to Canada, it took only six months to gain approval, which was a remarkably short period of time. When asked why this was able to be done so quickly, Janet responded:

Well because of humanitarianism. You sponsor me as a refugee to come to settle in the new country and give me a new life, give me a safe country. But how about my parents? And you told me humanitarianism, and then after I arrive I'm not a citizen yet. They said you are not allowed, you are not eligible to sponsor your parents. But you have to give me a chance, opportunity to bring my parents over. That's the only reason I fight.

Although not explicitly mentioned, one can perhaps attribute her proficiency in English to her understanding of humanitarianism in the Canadian immigration context. It would have been more difficult to communicate the conditions of humanitarianism to someone who arrived without working knowledge of the dominant language. Stated previously by Chan and Lam in the literature review, there exists a desperate concern for refugees to bring over to Canada the

remaining family members they had left behind, and this idea is further reinforced by Janet's statement about everything being under stress until her whole family was reunified. Family reunification was instrumental for the upholding of mental health, as she admits to sometimes crying from the stress and homesickness. The stress was especially pronounced, considering she was the eldest sibling in Canada who had to take care of two younger brothers and one younger sister. She was always concerned with saving money to sponsor her parents over. Likewise, in the case of Patrick, it can be gleaned that his proficiency in English enabled him to be knowledgeable about and make use of government services to attend post-secondary school. When he attended college, the costs were government-subsidized. He said he was conscious of the fact that the government was much different than that existing in Vietnam, which did not allow for upward mobility:

The government is equal to everybody. Depend on your nature. We are in free country. If you want to go upwards, you have a lot of opportunity. If someone want to go to school, they can ask for government subsidize if they don't have enough money. We have all kind of program, right – job training, those thing. But if the person, they don't want to go upwards themselves, that is their own decision.

However, it can be argued that besides proficiency in English that facilitated communication of services available in Canada, marital status was another enabling factor allowing the opportunity for Patrick to receive a thorough education post-migration. He was the only one married male participant upon arrival, having come with his wife from Vietnam. There seemed to have been a strategic alliance, whereby his wife took night school while he worked as an office cleaner. When she finished her studies and obtained a full-time position, he then enrolled in school. When asked what made him decide to go back to school, after having already received some post-secondary education in Vietnam, Patrick said:

Because that is my will. I don't want to just working in the factory. I want something better. Yeah. I want to work based on my technology and more higher level of working. I just always looking upwards. Because at that time, I choose the electronics because electronics at that time is the new technology.

His comments are similar to Janet's acknowledgment that there was a need to improve one's own skill set in Canada for successful resettlement. Marital status and education level at the time of arrival were definite indicators of whether or not one pursued more education after arriving to Canada. In Ty's case, when asked if he ever tried to go back to school, he seemed surprised with the seemingly absurd question:

No. I have no choice. I cannot go to school. I need to survive. Because my father still stuck in Vietnam at the time. They come over 1979 – they escape after us to Singapore. He left with my younger brother.

You want to know why? Any of us die, we still have one keep the family last name. Either you sink in the ocean or you facing the pilot or whatever or you get caught from the communist, we still have the other to helping. If we go together if anything go wrong, our family will wipe out. Most family do that, they don't go together. If my boat sink or if we get kill, my father still have one son. If my brother and my father get kill, we still have five of us.

Similar to other participants who still had relatives in Vietnam waiting to come over, Ty stressed that his primary concern was that of survival and family reunification. His quote also highlights the interdependent nature of his family, where their strategy for survival involved temporarily breaking apart the family.

Janet also mentioned that her parents and younger sister remained in Vietnam as a survival tactic at the time, so that in the event their escape from the country failed, there would still be a home for them to come back to. Like Janet, Ty noted the painful consequences of being separated from his other family members, but he also expressed acceptance of the predicament:

It's painful, but at that moment in 1970s people had no choice. People do anything to look for freedom and try to survive. It's nothing relate to money. Nobody know what

destination they want to be. All in their mind is go to the place is freedom. Even if they have no food, that's fine, as long as freedom.

With high school being his highest level of educational attainment in Vietnam, he himself describes his English skills at the time as being parallel that of a kindergartener in Canada. That being said, he only took English language classes for one month before quickly entering the workforce. He was a single male whose younger siblings attended high school in Canada, while he and his older brother found employment. Unlike Patrick, he Ty did not have a wife to be mutually dependent upon whilst they each took turns formally upgrading skill sets. His lack of post-secondary training in Vietnam was also a predictor for his lack of interest in pursuing post-secondary education in Canada.

In examining how one's level of proficiency with the English language at the time of arrival affected one's resettlement in the receiving country, both Janet and Patrick experienced a rather straight-forward career path. In her second week living in Canada, Janet landed herself a bank teller job. She did not require any assistance in finding employment, as she already had a background in banking in addition to her ability to speak English. From there, she worked at the bank for nine months before getting a civil servant job. While many other new arrivals were forced to, never once did she work a menial job since she already possessed enabling skills. For Patrick, he did initially work as a cleaner for two years upon first arrival, but after he graduated from college he was able to find two subsequent jobs in keeping with his training. He thus made good use of his improved skill set gained from college.

In comparison, Ty jumped from one general labourer job to another, often working the night shift. Because of his lack of English proficiency, he described an incident of being taken advantage of at the factory:

Because we are new, and no understand English. And inside have two Chinese. Supposed to be helping us. Back then when you come from Vietnam. It's funny thing is – the local people here are treat you really friendly. And besides my own Asian people, the two Chinese guy. Because you know we don't understand English, so many things the translate from us to the foreman is totally different. And we also get blame for nothing. The other two guy is Chinese-speaking and work there for long time. Anything we need, we go to those two guys to translate. A lot of things bad translate. That's why I want people to know, like don't do that to the person can't speak English. Supposed to help them, not supposed to blaming on them.

Like for example, I [complete] like 60 a day. He took some of mine for inspection. And he told the foreman I only make 30. Actually I make 60-70. But you can't explain, you don't understand the English. And how come you get the look from the foreman, seems you are lazy, the other try to be sly and stab you from behind. So one day I decide to quit. After I quit the job they call me back. The quantity is going down so they know. They give me 25 cents more to go back and I hate it, I don't want it.

Ty's account of being taken advantage of due to his lack of English is especially significant when considering that Janet and Patrick report not experiencing any such discrimination. While Ty expressed a desire to have received help from the two Chinese co-workers who he considered one of his own due to ethnic identification, Janet said she did not need much help beyond the first week because she already knew English:

Lay sing yuut yee lie government, government been dow yao gum daw cheen lay heoui sponsor gum daw refugee ah? Lay jee gay feel ashamed ah mah. Lay jee gay yao gah lung lick haw yee wun duck dow fun gong, haw yee support gee gay – lay deem jong yiu government sponsor jzeh? Dung government yao enough money lay sponsor another refugee outside of the country.

(Translation: If you're always relying on government, how does the government have enough money to sponsor so many refugees? You yourself feel ashamed. You yourself possess the ability to obtain this job and to support yourself. Why would you still need sponsorship from the government? If the government has enough money, allow them to sponsor another refugee outside the country still).

Such an independent mindset was facilitated by her English skills at the time, which she made sure to take advantage of for the benefit of others. Janet said she took the initiative to do presentations at various churches in Saskatoon, calling for church members to sponsor stranded Southeast Asian refugees who remained in the camps. She recalled doing a lot of advocacy for

the cause, being quoted in newspapers as well as making appearances on television. In Janet's case then, not only did she not require the help of the government who sponsored her, she also made it a point to utilize her relative skill set advantage to help fellow country mates:

Because I know the situation, I understand that everybody worry when they are in refugee camp! And no one receive them as an immigrant yet. They still not stable yet. *Yiu gaw aww day mmh bong heoui, been gaw bong heoui ah* (if we didn't help them, who would)? *Aww day yao gay woui* (opportunity), good luck *aww day lay seen* (we came first). *Gum aww day yiu bong hah kay tah dee nghan man. Aww day mmm promote, been dow yow yun aware ah* (We have to help the rest of them, if we didn't promote, how come people be made aware of the situation?)

For Patrick, he received initial help from his wife's uncle in his first month of arrival, but he made sure to quickly obtain financial self-sufficiency:

They help us to go to the high school, but they did not support much. I stay in my wife's uncle's house only maybe less than one month. After I get the job, I rent the apartment. I'm very independent. I just don't want to live and count on some other people. I want to work by myself and live on my working money.

Because at that time I'm not talking about I want the government to support me. I want to work by myself. When I work there about less than 6 months, I sponsor my parents to come here - both of them.

During the interview, he made it a point to emphasize he never received direct help from the government to subsidize his living expenses. Along with Janet's reference to the notion of shame, Patrick's quote ties back to the idea of Vietnamese-Chinese individuals being used to giving help instead of receiving. In cases where they have no choice but to receive help, they make sure to become self-sufficient as quickly as possible. Whenever he needed support, Patrick said he relied on his own family network, thus also reinforcing the literature review indicating the tendency for Asian individuals to rely on their immediate family for support instead of resorting to the help of government or strangers.

5.4.4 Notion of Hard Work

From the participant sample, a common theme among the refugees was their unquestioning acceptance of having to work extremely hard in Canada. Ty admits to being rich and lazy back home in Vietnam, to the point where he didn't go to school since he didn't have to. His arrival in Toronto was a stark awakening of his need to work hard in efforts to feed five people. As was evidenced in the testimonies of other participants, there was a drastic shift from the past comfort experienced in Vietnam to the struggles experienced in Canada.

In past research, Indra notes that in regards to the Vietnamese community in Edmonton, there was a similar pattern of unemployment. The same can be said in the United States for the refugees arriving between 1975 and 1976, who, according to North, were usually temporarily unemployed or experienced downward mobility upon arrival (Siu, 1980, p.147). Hoanh Ngo, the past president of Toronto's Vietnamese Association, observed that professionals and skilled workers observed a "licensing barrier" when they came to Canada. North goes so far as to maintain that downward mobility amongst refugees can be traumatizing when they don't realize that upward mobility will eventually occur (Siu, 1980, p.147).

Between the four participants who arrived to Canada as early adults, they had occupied an average of two to three menial jobs each. For all of them, they had at point juggled two to three jobs at the same time to make ends meet. Steven worked as a cleaner, yet he still opened up a cleaning business of his own a few years later. In recent years, while still working as a cleaner, he opened up a business in Chinatown. Ty hopped from one manufactory job to another, with at least four different menial jobs described in his interview. He mentioned that the economic recession of the 1980s led to him being laid off at one of the manufactories, and he was forced to work for another manufactory with almost the same job description. Similar to Ty's previous

anecdote about being taken advantage of at the steel plating manufactory, he described the treatment received at this other company:

But that place I don't get treated as fairly – if the new ones come, I get pushed away. I don't like it. Stayed there maybe six months. They know I can do everything, but so much politics – I get pushed out. Whatever dirty job I have to do it. I found it wasn't fair. It was racism at the time.

When explaining the underlying factor of racism as being the cause for his unfair treatment, Ty spoke in hushed tones, as if afraid to openly broadcast such a taboo topic. It is as if he did not want to make a big deal out of it. Sugiman writes that because racist assault essentially strips the individual of his or her dignity, the subjective experience is one of the most difficult themes to interrogate and analyze in oral history accounts (Sugiman, 2009, p.204). In her study of the *Nisei*, she concluded that the issue was not so much a denial of racism but rather a normalization of it. Sugiman describes being particularly struck by the seeming emotional distance with which some described racist encounters. Interestingly enough, reference is made to the observations of Klempner reminding the researcher to be aware that these stories are ones the interviewee has lived with for a long time (cited in Sugiman, 2009, p.204). What may be perceived as indifference by the researcher can in fact be the result of self-defence mechanisms developed by the narrator. In another example, Mike recalled being bullied in elementary school, from grade one to two. He then went on almost justify the treatment, saying it was because he was not one to speak a lot and when he did, his English wasn't proper. He then laughed it off, concluding that kids at that age are really cruel. As a process of self-reflexivity, there is the concern of whether I'm looking too much into the issue, and deliberately introducing the theme of racism into the life stories of participants. It is not known whether Mike would have attributed the bullying to racism had it not been for my suggestion of such a concern. Furthermore, some people minimize their experiences of racism in an effort to resist the label of victim, instead preferring to

acknowledge the positive experiences encountered. Stories are presented in such a way as to highlight the narrator's endurance and agency. This relates to Giles' concept of "composing subjectivities of dignity and self-respect (cited in Sugiman, 2004, p.382). Especially in the case of working-class women, Giles writes that this is especially true given their existence in a world characterized by powerlessness.

The notion of resilience and persistent hard work is evident even in the cases of Patrick and Janet, who were noted earlier as having rather straight-forward career paths in Canada. While studying in the late 1980s, Patrick still worked part-time on evenings and weekends at a restaurant. In the daytime, he worked as an electrician. Within the context of the Bank of Canada increasing rates of interest, he cited this as one of the factors explaining his maintenance of the kitchen job. Patrick thus juggled 2-3 jobs at the same time whilst slowly achieving upward mobility with his soon-to-be status as a full-time worker in his field of education. He experienced underemployment, given his post-secondary background in electronics, yet he accepted his status as a new arrival:

I came here as a refugee. At the beginning I don't expect too much. I just want to combine myself to Canadian society. To adapt. If you join this kind of life, then you have to find your way to move up.

He accepted it was all part of the struggle during the early years, yet he displayed resiliency by not allowing this negatively affect his ambitions for upward mobility. Voicing the same tone, Janet noted that when one is a former refugee and new immigrant, with no money in their pocket, they have to work so hard. She herself was studying at a university, while working at two jobs. There was a conscious acknowledgment of the need to adjust her life according to the changes in Canada.

6. CONCLUSION

Most insightfully, Janet said she never even had an opportunity to evaluate her life in Canada. She could not even speak to whether or not her experiences were positive or negative – it was simply never a concern. Her primary focus every day was to learn and adjust to her new lifestyle, while maintaining a positive attitude to fight desperation. She accepted she had no choice but to settle down in a new country, since there was no life of safety or peace in her home country. Taking things in stride, she said she struggled much throughout her life here, yet understood the importance of achieving goals of financial stability and perceived success in Canada. Besides sponsoring her parents, she had to support her three siblings until they finished university. Likewise, Ty made note of the lack of choice the Vietnamese-Chinese had at that time, since they were not welcome in their home country. While he expressed but gratitude for Canada accepting his family and giving him a second chance, he did admit there was no choice in the matter. He went to whichever country accepted him, then was assigned to live in Toronto which was until then a completely foreign place to him. The four participants who arrived as young adults fully accepted their predicament, and there was even a sense of resignation at the level of agency they had with matters out of their hand. For the two participants that arrived to Canada at a young age, their experiences as boat people had more of an impact on their current worldviews. Although they did not remember much about the conditions on the boat, they report that the struggles of their families helped hone in them a sense of gratitude for being given a second chance at life. Mike is certain that if he was still in Vietnam, he would not have been able to receive the education he had in Canada. He is also more likely to dismiss petty concerns that are so trivial in comparison to starvation and warfare occurring in other regions of the world. This same attitude is adopted by Thalia, who attributed her family's current success in life to

their positive experiences in Canada, especially because of her church sponsors. She said she is very proud to be Canadian. On an interesting side note, it is common for one to attribute perceived success as a result of one's own agency. As noticed in the process of self-reflexivity in relation to my memories of my parents sharing stories about their early years in Canada, it is also common for one to not be as forthcoming about experiences they perceive as shameful or embarrassing. Not only did my dad never divulge much about his "in transit" phase in the Malaysian refugee camp, he also never went into details about the various menial jobs he held in the 1980s. This leads the researcher to observe how difficult it is to take one's testimony of "success" at face value. It may be that they actually perceive their current status in life as being successful, or it may be that they have led themselves to adopt the reasoning of having exercised agency to overcome past obstacles. This is to block out any negative experiences dampening the tale with a happy ending.

Results from the study indicate that the type of sponsorship greatly determined the level and source of social support as received by the refugees. While those sponsored by private groups credited their benefactors for providing instrumental support, those sponsored by the government were quickly forced to develop an independent demeanor where they either formed their own social networks of support or relied on family members. A theme of resiliency was present in the accounts of how they slowly worked their way up in Canadian society. Future research should address the gender dimension of migration that may affect resettlement experiences. Although conscious of the gender implications, there was not a large enough sample to form conclusions.

APPENDIX I

Demographic Questionnaire

1. Date:
2. Age:
3. Gender:
4. Birthplace (city/country):
5. Marital Status:
6. Year of arrival in Canada:
7. Age at time of arrival in Canada:
8. Highest level of education attained:
9. Occupation in Canada:
10. Occupation in home country (if applicable):

APPENDIX II

Interview Guide

1. How would you describe your initial experience resettling in Canada after the Vietnam War ended?
2. If applicable, can you describe some of the hardships or obstacles encountered in your resettlement?
3. What were some of the resources or tactics turned to in times of hardship to help you overcome these stresses?
4. Did social support networks (ex. family, community members) in any way influence your resettlement experience in Canada? If so, in what way?
5. Over the years, would you say your experience in Canada is much better than what it used to be in the initial years upon arrival? Why or why not?
6. Do you have anything else you'd like to add?

APPENDIX III

Selected Demographic Information of Participants'

NAME	GENDER	MARITAL STATUS	YEAR OF ARRIVAL	AGE AT ARRIVAL	INITIALLY ARRIVED IN	SPONSORED BY	HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION
THALIA	Female	Married	1980	7	Nova Scotia	Church	Master's Degree
MIKE	Male	Single	1980	5-8	Toronto	Church	Bachelor's Degree
TY	Male	Married	1978	19	Toronto	Government	High School in Vietnam
STEVEN	Male	Married	1979	22	New Brunswick	Hospital	Grade 8 in Vietnam
JANET	Female	Married	1976	27	Saskatchewan	Government	Bachelor's Degree
PATRICK	Male	Married	1979	27	Toronto	Relative	College Degree

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