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Between Two Worlds: Daughters of Immigrants

by Zohar Bendavid-Streiner, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Psychology
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
February, 1992

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BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: DAUGHTERS OF IMMIGRANTS

submitted by Zohar Bendavid-Streiner, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David Streiner", is written over a horizontal line.

Thesis supervisor

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Burt D.", is written over a horizontal line.

Chair, Department of Psychology

Carleton University

February 28, 1992

Abstract

This paper examines the experiences of daughters of immigrants from three cultural backgrounds: the Middle East and Northern Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and East Asia. It attempts to understand the special challenges faced by women who, as they mature, are confronted with two very different sets of values about the roles and behaviours appropriate to women: the more conservative values of immigrant parents, and the more permissive values of mainstream Canadian culture. Interviews were held with 29 women. All were either born in Canada or arrived in the country with their parents before or during adolescence. Qualitative analysis of interview data indicates that conflicts between daughters of immigrants and their parents are common and tend to focus on social interactions, curfews, and dating; that these conflicts are generally not dealt with directly; and that their long-term effects include feelings of anger and frustration, increased self-reliance, and alienation from their parents' culture. Implications of these results for professionals working closely with this population and for policy-makers are discussed.

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Introduction

I felt so limited. My parents wouldn't let me go out the way everyone else did. I put up with it for years, constantly trying to explain things to them while dating boyfriends behind their backs. In the end, I just had to leave home. The day I moved out was the last time my father spoke to me.

- Celine¹

These words were spoken by a 24-year old woman who came to Canada from Lebanon with her parents over a decade ago. They are indicative of a type of experience about which little is known: the experience of growing up as a daughter of immigrants from societies with more conservative values regarding women's roles, of being caught between two different value systems and often contradictory sets of expectations.

Throughout this paper, I will use the term "traditional societies" to describe societies in which the predominant values with respect to women's roles and behaviours are more conservative than those predominant in the more economically developed societies collectively known as the "West"; that is, Western Europe, the United States, Canada,

¹ Celine is an acquaintance interviewed in an unstructured manner during the development phase of the study

Australia, and New Zealand. The word "traditional" can be loaded, but I wish to emphasize that its use in this paper is not intended to be judgemental, nor is it seen as synonymous with "backward". Rather, it is meant to identify one end of a spectrum of attitudes towards women and their roles, with "Western" norms concentrated by and large at the other end. The differences between traditional and Western values with respect to number of issues will be discussed in some detail later in the Introduction.

Much has been written about early, mainly European immigration to Canada. Fewer studies, however, have explored the experiences of immigrants from more traditional societies in the developing world (Saran, 1987), even though such immigrants now constitute about three-quarters of all new Canadians. Moreover, those studies which have examined this subject have rarely focused on the special experiences of female immigrants, as several researchers have critically noted (Boyd, 1988; Dossa, 1988; Naidoo, 1980; Ralston, 1988).

Children of immigrants have received even less attention. Few scholars seem cognizant of the unique challenges of growing up "between two worlds". Such challenges appear to be especially difficult for female children, since the gulf between traditional and Western cultures with respect to codes of behaviour is wider for young women than for young men (Adam, 1991; Rao, 1991). As Celine said, "there is a big difference in the way Lebanese parents treat their sons and daughters -- there are many more restrictions on the daughters. For example, around dating and curfews."

The experiences of the second-generation daughters are also different from those of their first-generation immigrant mothers. While both groups of women must deal with the pressures created by conflicting values and messages around women's roles and behaviour, that clash of values is likely to come much earlier and be much more intense for daughters who were born in Canada or arrived here before high school since they go through a formative period of schooling, social development, and identity formation in a mainstream, Western environment.

Some might claim that even if the challenges faced by daughters of immigrants are in fact different from those faced by sons of immigrants or first-generation immigrant women, they are essentially the same as those of daughters growing up with conservative, Canadian-born parents. While similarities certainly do exist, there are elements that set apart the experiences of daughters of immigrants. The tensions between parents' values and social permissiveness in the West are likely to be greater, since the exposure of immigrant parents to Western attitudes has generally been more limited. Data supporting such an assumption were gathered in a study completed in 1961, the only one of its kind to my knowledge, which compared second generation high school-aged daughters whose foreign-born parents came to Canada (mainly from Italy) as adults with adolescent girls of parents who were either born in Canada or came here before school age. The author found that there was evidence for a "relationship between the degree of independence granted by parents to adolescents and their culture," with "higher independence from

parental control granted to children in the Canadian group" (Staron, 1961, p.22 and p.29 respectively).

In addition, a daughter of immigrants must struggle with the dimension of the parents' foreign origins. This may lead to differences in attribution: whether justified or not, a daughter of immigrants may attribute the tensions with her mother and father to their foreign origins which, given prevalent Western attitudes towards the developing world, may be viewed by her as backward.

The present study sought to investigate the experiences of daughters of immigrants from traditional societies through interviews about five general topics: the types of conflicts that tend to develop between immigrants and their daughters; reactions of the daughters and parents to these conflicts; the sources of conflicts according to the daughters; if and how conflicts were resolved; and the effects of the conflicts on the daughters. My research questions were as follows:

1. What are the main areas of agreement and of conflict between immigrants from traditional societies and their daughters?
2. Do conflicts tend to be concentrated around male-female relationships and the roles and behaviours appropriate to women?
3. To the extent that conflicts do occur, what are the most common reactions and coping mechanisms that immigrant parents and their daughters employ?

4. Are conflicts attributed by daughters mainly to their parents' foreign origins?
5. To the extent that conflicts do occur, how do they affect the relationship between daughters and their parents?
6. With respect to siblings, do parents treat their sons and daughters, or older and younger daughters, differently?
7. What are the outcomes of any conflicts with respect to daughters' own values regarding gender roles, their emotional well-being, and their expectations of themselves as parents?

These research questions were formulated following several interviews and consultations with Celine, the 24-year old woman who came to Canada from Lebanon with her parents over a decade ago. Our meetings provided me with my first insights into the experiences of daughters of immigrants from traditional societies, especially because Celine did not talk only about herself, but also about friends living in similar situations. In our conversations, she spoke often of the difficulties that arise when one is caught between two different value systems and often contradictory sets of expectations and the ways she had coped with these difficulties. I was interested in determining the extent to which the experiences she described were typical of daughters of immigrants.

This study has some importance because so little academic research has been done in the area and because female adolescents seem to be vulnerable to cross-cultural pressures

(Adam, 1991). The results and implications discussed later in the paper could prove useful for those who most often come into contact with daughters of immigrants: teachers, guidance counsellors, and psychologists who may be in need of more information in order to be sensitized to the special challenges faced by this population.

Preparatory research for the study drew on three bodies of literature which explore three different sets of processes. The first was literature on differences between traditional and Western cultures with respect to the role of women. The second was literature on the adjustment of immigrants to North American society, and more specifically studies of female immigrants from traditional backgrounds. The third was literature on adolescent development, especially among female children of immigrants.

The Role of Women in Traditional and Western Cultures

Extensive changes have occurred in the roles and identity of women in mainstream Western culture over the past decades. Rigid and often narrowly defined social functions have been replaced by a wider spectrum of choices. Subordination to the priorities of fathers and husbands has given way to greater equality with men (Yogev, 1982). In Canada, women have won a growing number of guarantees of legal equality since the famous "persons" decision of the British Privy Council in 1929, guarantees which are currently included in the Charter of Rights, Human Rights Acts, and Bill of Rights.

Expansion of legal rights has been accompanied by shifts in the social status of women in a variety of fields. Women have moved en masse out of the house and into the

paid labour force; for example, in Canada, between 1968 and 1982, the female paid labour force grew by 119.4 per cent while the comparable figure for males was a relatively small 35.6 per cent (Lips & Colwill, 1988). New occupational fields have been opened to women and equal pay for work of equal value has been made policy in most Canadian jurisdictions (Weiner & Gunderson, 1990). Women now occupy a number of high-status positions -- such as member of Parliament, lawyer, doctor, judge, and so on -- unprecedented in Canadian history, though their proportion still remains far below 50 per cent. Domestic responsibilities, including childrearing, are increasingly being shared by men. Greater female control over reproduction has been achieved through the wide availability of oral and other contraceptives as well as liberalization of abortion laws. In short, whatever one's view about the significance and desirability of these changes, there is no denying that they have been dramatic and fundamental.

Similar changes have not taken place to the same extent in many other societies. In general, non-European, non-North American cultures are broadly similar with respect to the attitudes they hold on appropriate codes of behaviour for women, as some scholars have noted. For example, in Ethnic Women and Feminist Values, Lavender (1986) notes: "There are differences between ethnic groups, but the point remains that there is a major difference between the dominant Western European Protestant values on the one hand and ethnic values on the other hand" (p. 72). In fact, Western society shared many traditional attitudes about women -- a perception that they are somehow inferior to men,

expectations of passivity and obedience to men -- until the transformations noted above occurred. Some attribute the differing degrees of change in values to different economic processes. Juliette Minces (1982), for example, notes that Western societies' norms only began to shift with the processes of industrialization and urbanization. She feels that "[m]ost pre-industrial societies are unfortunately similar in many ways when it comes to the inferior status of women" (p. 14).

Because of the numerous similarities among various traditional cultures regarding women's roles (similarities that became evident the more I read about these cultures), I did not restrict my definition of traditional cultures or my sample to one or two countries. Rather, I sought responses from women whose parents came from three "cultural regions" which may be regarded as traditional in their attitudes towards women and their roles: the Middle East and predominantly Muslim areas of Northern Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and East Asia excluding Japan. The research did not include daughters of immigrants from Latin America. While Latin American societies may still be regarded as traditional in many respects, their proximity to the United States along with influence of television and Christianity may make them something of a special case. It is possible that the results of this research will, in fact, be partially applicable to immigrants from Latin America and other regions, but this is something that can only be determined through future study.

The main differences between traditional and Western societies with respect to

women's roles may be divided into four general categories: roles in the family and home, roles in society, sexual behaviour, and courtship and marriage. Of course, reality is complicated; obviously, traditional values still exist in Western cultures on the one hand, and Western norms are affecting traditional societies more and more on the other. But the distinctions made below are based on extensive research and, I believe, are valid. Moreover, generalizations about cultural norms, however cautiously made, are an essential component of all cross-cultural research.

Family and Home

The family is more than just collections of individuals. As researchers in the area of family theory have noted, it is a system in which the behaviours of each member affect the others (Bowen, 1974). Similarly, researchers in other social science fields often regard the family as an interdependent economic unit. Thus, when examining patterns of interaction in families, it must be remembered that these patterns develop within a special context, a complex system of relations. This is, arguably, true in all societies, despite that fact that the very definition of "family" varies from one cultural group to another (McGoldrick, 1982).

Traditional societies tend to emphasize the extended family and to place the needs and norms of the family ahead of those of the individual. The father is viewed as the provider and the authority in the home (Abadan-Unat, 1977; Gonzalez, 1982; Khanna & Varghese, 1978; Maududi, 1974; Mirdal, 1984). In some cultures, this role is given

religious sanction; regarding the father's role, the Koran states that "it is obligatory on his wife and children to obey him provided that he does not involve them in the disobedience of Allah and his prophet" (Maududi, 1974, p.148). The mother is expected to stay at home with her children and is held responsible for all domestic duties, such as cleaning and cooking (Lobo, 1978; Staron, 1961). Daughters are expected to help their mothers with such work (this is part of their education towards the what is seen as their most important roles, that is, mothers and homemakers) while sons are largely exempted from any such duties (Goldstein, 1988; Gonzalez, 1982; Minces, 1982; Ralston, 1988). For example, Khanna and Varghese (1978) write, "the Indian girl ... is tutored to play her role as a wife and mother from a very young age. Sooner or later she knows that she has to fall in line with her mother and grandmother, get married, have a home and family and play her role as a responsible housewife" (p. 12).

Western culture is more individualistic. The extended family and its priorities are much less significant; indeed, in largely urbanized societies, many people have limited contact with relatives beyond their nuclear family. The provider and authority roles are increasingly being shared by parents. While women continue to perform much of the housework in the West, the trend is towards a more equal division of labour. This also applies to the housework done by sons and daughters.

Roles in Society

Just as domestic roles are clearly distinguished in traditional cultures, so social roles for men and women are different. Communal activities and leadership in the public domain are largely the prerogative of men and off-limits to women. Moreover, those women who do assume central positions in society often gain their legitimacy because of a familial connection to a male leadership figure. Women are not expected to have a career and if they do, it is almost always secondary to that of the husband and to the women's domestic duties (Khanna & Varghese, 1978). Those women who do work are usually concentrated in a limited set of occupations which do not pay well relative to the male-dominated occupations. These differences in working roles are reflected in education: schools tend to socialize students towards traditional gender roles, while higher education remains a mostly male pursuit. Generally, only a small number of women from elite classes are to be found in institutions of higher learning (Goldstein, 1988; Minces, 1982; Naidoo, 1980; Shaaban, 1988; Stromquist, 1982). All of this, of course, is indicative of the belief that women's primary sphere of activity should be the home.

In the West, the increasing overlap of male and female roles in the family is paralleled (and probably fostered) by growing similarity of their roles in society. As noted previously, more women are entering leadership positions in politics and other forms of social activity. Most women now hold jobs. Women in Western countries are now present in almost all institutions of higher education (in Canada, they constitute a majority

of undergraduate university students) and efforts are being made in many societies to encourage the entry of women into fields of education and work traditionally dominated by men.

Sexual Behaviour

Sexual relations, in traditional societies, are restricted to marriage. However, a double standard often exists with regard to premarital and extramarital sex: while such behaviours are strictly forbidden to women, they are very often tolerated in men. Virginity of the daughter at marriage is crucial, and in some cultures the family's honour rests upon the woman's chastity (Khanna & Varghese, 1978; Rao, 1991; Staron, 1961). For example, among Arab Muslims, women run the risk of being killed by their own family if they "misbehave" sexually -- such killing may be viewed as necessary in order to restore the family honour (Consalvi, 1971; Shaaban, 1988). In some cultures, proof of virginity at marriage -- blood on the sheets -- is required, and its absence is considered a sufficient basis for divorce by the husband (Gilad, 1989; Mincses, 1980). Also, sex is usually for men's pleasure; women's sexual satisfaction is not a priority (Khanna & Varghese, 1978).

Attitudes towards women's sexuality have changed dramatically in the West since the 1960s. Virginity in women has lost much of its importance in mainstream Western culture (though not among the very religious) and premarital sex has become widely accepted. The proliferation of sex education in the schools is evidence of this shift.

While double standards regarding women's sexuality also exist in the West, recognition of women as equal sexual partners is more widespread.

Courtship and Marriage

The importance of female virginity in traditional societies leads to strict supervision and observation of daughters' behaviour. Courtship before marriage often has no place, and where it is accepted, the prospective couple is usually accompanied by others. Most marriages are arranged by families, sometimes without even consulting the future couple, and generally age at marriage is younger than in the West (Desai & Krishnaraj, 1987). It is considered unacceptable for a daughter to leave home before marriage, and out of the question that she live with her partner prior to their wedding. In addition, marriage is seen as binding: divorce is frowned upon, and is often considered a sign that the woman has failed (Khanna & Varghese, 1978). To the extent that some choice in these matters is permitted, it is generally limited to men. Again, the few exceptions to these rules are usually made among the elite, more Westernized classes (Consalvi, 1971; Shaaban, 1988).

In contrast, few marriages now occur in the West without extensive, unchaperoned dating. Premarital cohabitation is common. Marriages are based on personal attraction and individual decisions with little formal say granted to parents. Divorce has become more and more acceptable and in many jurisdictions, the legal requirement that blame for marriage breakdown be assigned as part of divorce proceedings has been dropped.

In general, then, women living in traditional societies are expected to be passive, submissive, and obedient to men. Their main roles are in relation to others, primarily males; as daughters, mothers, wives (Desai & Krishnaraj, 1987). Their social status is different from, and usually inferior to, that of men. In short, social structures of traditional societies are patriarchal. The accepted roles for Western women allow greater assertiveness and independence and are premised on the belief that men and women should be equal. It is these diverging values and expectations that daughters of immigrants may face as they mature in Canada.

The Adjustment of Immigrants

The last two decades have witnessed a change in the currents of immigration to Canada as more and more non-European immigrants have entered the country. In 1960, about 96 per cent of Canada's immigrants came from Europe or the United States (Immigration Statistics, 1960, p. 8). The comparable figure for 1990 was 27 per cent (Quarterly Statistics: Immigration, 1990, p.2). Immigrants now arriving in Canada are more likely than ever before to come from developing countries. This trend reflects changes in policies that started in the 1960s, before which immigration from non-European nations had been restricted under a section in the Immigration Act which included a "nation of origin" criterion (Boyd, 1988; Jabbra, 1983; Schroeter, 1978).

"Migration", writes Brody, "may most usefully be considered not as an act, but as a process. The immigrant is an actor involved in this process" (Brody, 1970, p.16).

Indeed, migration implies not only a shift in residence, but also a crossing of social and cultural boundaries. The immigrant often leaves behind the support of familial and friendship networks and a sense of confidence which is rooted in familiarity with cultural norms and values. Upon arrival in the host country, he or she may need to learn a new language, and may be faced with many different customs, attitudes and codes of behaviour. As a result of contact with a new culture, the immigrant may go through a process of value and behavioral change. This process has been termed acculturation. J.W. Berry, who has done much work in this area, has found that for some immigrant families, acculturation can be highly stressful (Berry & Annis, 1974; Chataway & Berry, 1989).

According to Berry (1979, 1984), there are four paths available to individuals and to groups in plural societies. These are: assimilation, separation, deculturation and integration. Assimilation occurs when an individual or a group "does not maintain . . . its cultural distinctiveness and moves increasingly toward participation with the larger society" (Berry, 1979, p.420). The opposite process, separation, occurs when cultural distinctiveness is maintained and participation within the larger society does not take place. When separation is imposed by the dominant group within the society, the result is termed segregation; when separation is opted for by a nondominant group, the result is withdrawal. The third option, deculturation, emerges when ethnic culture is not maintained and at the same time no participation in the affairs of the dominant group

occurs. Integration, on the other hand, happens when "cultural integrity" is retained but accompanied by full participation in the dominant society. When a number of ethnic groups go through a process of integration, the society that results is described as a mosaic. These four paths, according to Berry, are actually "varieties of cultural relations and acculturation ... [and] are not likely to be found in pure form in any cultural intergroup situation" (Berry, 1984, p.12). The option an individual or group adopts may be influenced by two factors. The first is the degree of tolerance of cultural diversity within the larger society; in societies that promote the concept of the "melting pot", integration with preservation of cultural identity is less likely to occur than in societies that promote cultural diversity. The second is the degree to which the nondominant group is in the larger society by choice; a voluntary immigrant is more likely to seek some form of integration than a refugee or aboriginal person. The path that immigrant parents follow after their arrival can affect the experiences of their children. It is likely, for example, that the experiences of daughters whose parents choose to assimilate will be different from the experiences of those whose parents opt for separation. Although not an aspect of the present study, this might be a topic worthy of future research.

An understanding of the experiences of daughters of immigrants may in part be gained through a review of the literature on female immigrants of non-European origin. While my research focuses on the second rather than the first generation, I believe that many of the issues around women's roles that daughters must struggle with will also have

been faced by their mothers. Although, as mentioned earlier, empirical research in this area is limited, several interesting studies provide important insights into the experiences of women who move from traditional societies to North America.

In one study, an Indian woman who immigrated to the United States with her husband summarized one important change that occurred in her relationship since she arrived: "I was a typical housewife in India and was quite content. I would never question my husband in any matter such as money, investments . . . but now I do" (Saran, 1987, p.30). She went on to describe how, upon returning to India for a visit, she was angered when a bank employee with whom she was speaking stopped dealing with her and instead turned to her husband to finalize financial matters. Such behaviour had in the past been expected, but after her life abroad it was no longer acceptable. A similar desire of women to participate in roles previously off-limits to them -- particularly decision-making roles -- was evident in other studies (Ghaffarian, 1987; Gilad, 1989; Goldstein, 1988). Such aspirations may produce tensions in marital relationships; many men continue to believe in traditional values regarding gender roles and resent changes. One Hmong immigrant from Laos now living in the United States complained:

In United States too many troubles. Woman have more power than man in U.S. In Laos man have more power than woman. . . Like if husband and wife have a fight. If the wife get angry or the man hurt her she can call the police.

But if the woman do something the man don't like he can't
call the police. Like maybe she not take care the house. Or
she talk to another man.

(Goldstein, 1988, p. 23)

It seems fair to assume that men who feel this way about wives whose adoption of Western attitudes is still fairly limited, will be doubly distressed when their daughters move much further away from traditional norms as they go through socialization in North America. And if some first generation female immigrants experience anger or frustration, daughters socialized partly or fully in the West -- for whom the distance between values transmitted at home and values absorbed outside the home during maturation is greater -- are likely to feel that much more strongly and be that much readier to rebel.

An additional finding on immigrant women has to do with the effect of work outside the home. A study conducted among Ismaili women in Calgary and Vancouver (Dossa, 1988) found that what began as a function of economic necessity evolved into a satisfying experience of independence that many of the women were not prepared to relinquish. Eighty-two per cent of Ismaili women in the cities now work outside the home, choosing to cut back on the time they devote to domestic work in order to make room for occupations which are now an important part of their lives. Again, a possible parallel to the experience of daughters seems clear. By leaving sometimes confining homes and

being exposed to the possibilities of independence encouraged by the school system and peers, daughters of immigrants may become attached to a set of ideas and way of life which conflict with tradition.

Another area of research with immigrants that may indicate a potential problem between parents and their children deals with interethnic marriage (Chimbos, 1971; Jabbra, 1983; Lobo, 1978; Saran, 1987). Resistance to intermarriage is most common among immigrant groups with strong communal bonds and values relatively removed from the dominant culture, groups for whom the desire to preserve their culture appears particularly important (Chimbos, 1971). Among immigrants from more traditional societies, the rejection of intermarriage often reflects a sense that the North American lifestyle is ethically suspect; Lebanese parents in Nova Scotia, for example, argued in this context that Canadians are "sexually immoral, and prone to drink, irresponsibility, and desertion" (Jabbra, 1983, p. 60). Celine's parents, who also came from Lebanon, forbade her from dating Canadians with the explanation that Canadian husbands are disloyal and would probably divorce her in the end. Such a possibility is particularly disturbing to parents who come from cultures that reject divorce and view it as a stain on the reputation of the woman and her family.

The objection to interethnic dating and marriage can sometimes be a source of bitter conflict and even rupture between immigrant parents and their offspring. Children educated in Canada may object to the demand that they restrict their relationships with

others to members of their own ethnic group. Such objections are likely to emerge during adolescence when teenagers begin to go out with one another, a point that will be explored in greater detail in the next section.

The Adolescent Daughter of Immigrant Parents

Developmental psychologists in the West describe the adolescent years as a stormy transition period between childhood and adulthood characterized by serious questioning of one's identity and purpose in life. It is widely accepted that as a way of acquiring a sense of personal identity, one needs to be detached from parental control and to reach a degree of independence. As part of this process of self formation, the individual will continue to develop his or her gender identity; a concept typically defined as a "fundamental, existential sense of one's maleness or femaleness" (Deaux, 1988). In order to understand gender identity, says Deaux, one needs to look at the social context within which gender identity develops. In other words, one must examine gender roles -- the cultural beliefs and expectations about what constitutes an appropriate attitudes, emotions and behaviours for each gender (Mackie, 1983).

Gender roles are transmitted to the individual through different socialization agents in society. The most important of these in the Western world today are the family, school and peers. In non-Western cultures, the importance of these socializing agents may be different. In fact, in most traditional societies, including the West until relatively recently, the family is the major if not the only socializing agent. Within the family in

such societies, the child is usually subject to patriarchal authority which stresses duties and obedience. Children are "to be seen and not heard," an approach less and less accepted in mainstream Western culture in which the concept of children's rights has begun to develop. This cultural difference may cause confusion and frustration for immigrant parents from traditional societies; as Mohammed Adam (1991) writes, "[immigrant parents] come from societies where a parent's word is absolute. But they find themselves in a society where children are encouraged to assert their rights" (p. B5).

This confusion and frustration will be reinforced when differences appear in the values advanced by the parents on the one hand, and by alternative socializing agents on the other. Not only will a conflict in some of the messages transmitted exist, but the sources of the conflicting messages will be agents with much less importance and status in the parents' own cultures. Because schools are less central in their societies and because the idea of a "youth culture" is a new, Western concept, immigrant parents with traditional backgrounds may find it difficult to accept the challenges to their way of thinking and thus may refuse to negotiate with the demands of their children. The tensions between immigrant parents and their children, then, can be compounded by an inability on the parents' part to see the disputes underlying those tensions as legitimate.

Conflicts in socializing messages are typically a function of different cultural values. In this connection, Rao (1991) has noted the following with respect to his own East Indian community: "At school and outside the confines of the home, the child naturally

imbibes Western values. He is therefore caught in a conflict whether to follow his parents or his friends." The writer goes on to describe what is sometimes the result: "Since the desire to gain the approval of one's peer group and to conform to universal social norms is strong, he rebels against his parents when forced to acquire [traditional] values which are scorned by his peers" (Rao, 1991, A11).

Such clashes are most common during adolescence (Aronowitz, 1984; Jabbra, 1983; Staron, 1961; Triseliotis, 1968). Adolescence is the stage during which, in the West, it is expected that the individual will assert his or her independence. Of course, this involves engaging in behaviours which contradict parental guidance for many teenagers, not just children of immigrants. But for many immigrant parents from traditional cultures, such behaviours are particularly hard to tolerate, both because of the absolute parental authority which existed in their home countries and because the activities typical of Western adolescence -- such as dating, drinking, and sexual experimentation -- stand in complete opposition to traditional norms.

As noted earlier, these traditional norms are particularly strict when it comes to daughters. Hence, more heavy-handed supervision of daughters is likely. Daughters of immigrants will thus generally face stricter rules than their male siblings. For example, in interviews conducted with Israeli-born daughters of parents who immigrated from Yemen, Gilad (1989) found that a recurring complaint focused on the "double standard" applied to teenage sons and daughters with respect to dating and other social activities

outside the home. Canadian daughters of immigrants have similar experiences. One, a fourteen year-old living in Ottawa, expressed anger that while she is not permitted to date boys or go out with friends to movies, her teenage brother is given more freedom (Adam, 1991).

The rules applied to daughters of immigrants are also likely to be stricter than those faced by most of the daughter's friends. In her comparison of teenage daughters of Italian immigrants with teenage daughters of Canadian-born or Canadian-raised parents, Staron (1961) concludes that "the traditional continued supervision of a girl, particularly a girl in her teens, contrasts sharply with the degree of independence from parental control given to the teenaged girl in the American culture" (p. 20). Sometimes teenage girls of immigrant parents are put under near total parental control. In her autobiographical account of her life as a Canadian-born teenage daughter of parents who immigrated from China, Evelyn Lau described the limitations on her activities: "I was not allowed out of my house except to attend school and take piano lessons - not on weekends, not after school" (Lau, 1989, p.4). This was so hard to bear that she eventually ran away from home at the age of 14.

At times, the impact of tensions between immigrant parents and their children may be even more tragic. On the basis of his own experience working as a paediatrician, Lobo (1978) summed up the possible results of such conflicts as "stress, unhappiness, breakdown of family life and even, occasionally, suicide" (p. 10).

While some data on the nature and effects of conflicts between daughters of immigrants and their parents do exist, almost nothing has been published on the coping strategies the daughters employ to cope with those conflicts. Most of the research which has been done on the ways adolescents cope with different stressors has drawn on a very broad sample of subjects. Few studies have examined factors such as familial background, sex, age, or the type of stressor involved. As Stern & Zevon (1990) note, research that ignores such factors may miss the mark by making unfounded generalizations. Because daughters of immigrants from traditional cultures grow up in a context that is atypical, the strategies which they employ may deserve special attention. In effect, by looking only at daughters of immigrants from traditional societies, my research has addressed the problems of a broad sample, while examining different types of stressors. Studies suggest that in circumstances which may be common for this population -- including less communicative family relationships and more interpersonal conflicts -- the coping strategies employed by females tend to be less assertive (Brown & Mann, 1990; Stern & Zevon, 1990). The interview questions I have included on daughters' reactions to conflicts with their parents and resolution of any conflicts were intended to provide more and better information on the topic of coping strategies.

The multiple stresses faced by daughters of immigrants -- those due to the tension between their parents' traditional values and Western mainstream culture and those caused by the stringent norms applied to members of their sex -- is what makes their situation

special and worthy of study. The lack of systematic research on the unique challenges faced by this population, its experiences, ways of coping, and the range of outcomes is an obvious gap which is in particular need of attention in a country like Canada. This, in essence, is the reason for my choice of research topic.

As noted earlier, I decided to interview daughters of immigrants from three "cultural regions": the Middle East and Northern Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and East Asia. People arriving from these three regions accounted for 43.7 per cent of all immigrants to Canada in 1980 -- 3.3 per cent, 6.7 per cent, and 33.7 per cent respectively -- and 45.8 per cent of the total in 1990 -- 13.2 per cent, 7.7 per cent, and 24.9 per cent respectively (Immigration Statistics, 1980, 1990). No comparison group was used, mainly because the study sought to gain preliminary information on a subject about which little systematic research has been conducted. Preliminary research, by its nature, tends to be largely qualitative and confined to the group under study. Only after good qualitative research provides insight into key elements that characterize a group does it become possible to design meaningful quantitative studies which compare the experiences of the target group with the experiences of others. Otherwise, design of appropriate comparisons is difficult and may be incomplete. The objectives of the study were to gain an understanding of the experiences of daughters of immigrants as seen from their point of view and identify patterns common to the population rather than compare it with others.

I have made some comparisons, however, between daughters of immigrants from

the three different regions. Significant similarities between the traditional cultures prevalent in each region clearly do exist, and are the basis for using a mixed sample. But at the same time, several interesting differences emerged, differences which may point the way for future research. These are discussed in the fourth section of the paper.

Methodology

Sample

The participants in the study were 29 women: 11 who were born in Canada to immigrant parents from traditional societies and 18 who came here with their parents before or during high school (see Appendix 1 for complete background information). Limiting the sample to those who were born in Canada or who arrived before or during high school made sense given the significance of the high school years in terms of identity formation, especially with respect to gender roles.

The age of the participants ranged between 18 and 35 years; the mean age was 21. An age limit was set to minimize difficulties associated with studies based on retrospective accounts. Twenty-five participants were undergraduate students at Carleton University and one was a white-collar worker taking the Introduction to Psychology course. Three participants were white-collar employees of public or private sector organizations.

Nine of the 29 participants were daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa. Three of these women were born and raised in Canada -- one by parents who were both Lebanese, one by Turkish parents, and one by a Canadian mother and Lebanese step-father. Two immigrated with their parents from Lebanon, and one each from Egypt, Iraq, Iran, and Ethiopia. The age upon arrival in Canada of those who immigrated ranged from one to 16 years. Three of the nine participants with a Middle

Eastern or African background spoke English at home, three spoke Arabic, one spoke both English and Arabic, one spoke Persian, and one spoke Turkish. Six of these women were Christian, two Muslim, and one Mormon.

Ten of the 29 participants were daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent. Five of these women were born in Canada -- four to parents from India, and one to an Indian mother and Canadian father. One was born in the United States to Indian parents, one in Uganda to Indian parents, two in Sri Lanka, and one in Pakistan. The age upon immigration to Canada for those six participants not born in this country ranged from six months to 13 years. Three of the ten participants with parents from the Indian subcontinent spoke only English at home, one spoke Catchi, one Bengali, and one Urdu. Four spoke English in combination with one other language: Tamil, Punjabi, Hindi, or Urdu. Three of these women were Hindu, three Muslim, two Christian, and one Sikh. One of the participants had a Christian mother and Hindu father.

Ten of the 29 participants were daughters of immigrants from East Asia. Three of these ten were born in Canada -- two of them to a Chinese mother and father, and one to a Chinese mother and Hungarian father. Five were born in Vietnam, one in China, and one in Malaysia to Chinese parents. Age at immigration ranged from three to 14 years. One of these ten participants spoke only English at home, two spoke Vietnamese, and two Chinese (Cantonese or Mandarin). Three spoke a mixture of English and Chinese at home, and two a mixture of English and Vietnamese. Four identified Christianity as their

family's religion, two identified Buddhism, one wrote "none", one wrote "not applicable", one did not know, and one did not answer.

Background Information and Interview Questions

Information from the participants was gathered using two sources: a Background Information sheet (see Appendix 2) and standard Interview Questions (see Appendix 3). The Background Information sheet included 14 questions relating to biographical characteristics of the participants and their parents. Many of those characteristics were summarized in the preceding section; as noted, complete data are contained in Appendix 1. Some of the biographical information has been used for analysis of demographic factors in the Discussion section of the paper.

The interview was structured around thirteen questions (see Appendix 3). Eleven were decided upon in advance and included in an Interview Questions sheet. They covered: (1) the areas of agreement and topics of conflict with parents as the participants were growing up; (2) how participants and their parents reacted to these conflicts; (3) what participants saw as the main sources of conflicts; (4) how conflicts were resolved; (5) how conflicts affected the participants; (6) how conflicts affected the relationship between the participants and their parents; and (7) whether participants would raise their children the same way as they were raised. An additional two questions were added after their potential significance became evident in the first interview: one comparing the treatment of sons and daughters, and another comparing the treatment of older and

younger daughters. The information gathered during the interviews was analyzed using a content analysis scheme outlined below.

Procedure

Twenty-four of the participants were recruited from Carleton University's Introduction to Psychology course through a posted announcement. They received credits for their participation in the study. The other five were recruited through acquaintances and word-of-mouth. Attempts to recruit participants through community centres or advocacy groups were not successful.

The first contact with each participant was by telephone. In the conversation, she received a brief explanation of the goals and structure of the study, was assured of absolute confidentiality, and was told where to pick up copies of an introductory letter, the Background Information sheet, and the Interview Questions. She was also told that if she was interested, the results of the research would be forwarded to her. A tentative time and place for the interview were then decided upon, pending the participant's review of the material, and in particular, the Interview Questions. If she still wished to take part after looking over the material, the participant was asked to bring the completed Background Information sheet to the interview. Each woman was told that if she did not feel comfortable participating in the study for any reason, she need only telephone to cancel the interview. Only one cancellation occurred -- apparently because of time constraints rather than discomfort with the study -- and all participants requested copies of

the results.

The location and time of the interviews were fixed according to the participant's preferences. Twenty-three of the interviews were conducted in my office at Carleton University. Three were conducted in the homes of the participants, and three in my home.

At the beginning of the interview, each participant gave me her completed Background Information sheet, which I reviewed while she read and signed the Informed Consent Form (see Appendix 4). Permission to tape the interview was then requested, with the alternative of note-taking presented. No one objected to taping the discussion. The interview which followed lasted between one and three hours; the average length was about an hour and a half. All the questions listed in the Interview Questions sheet were asked, though not in any rigid sequence.² Relevant subjects that arose in the course of the interview were pursued through additional questions. Every effort was made to keep the atmosphere of the interview friendly and informal, and to allow each participant to describe her experiences in her own words and at her own pace. I tried to create a feeling of dialogue; participants were free to ask me questions if they wished, which I answered briefly and openly.

At the end of the interview, participants were thanked for their participation, given a

² This follows Russel's (1985) suggestion that when topics are sensitive and participants drawn from different groups, it is best to use an interview where the questions are standardized but not necessarily presented in a fixed order.

written debriefing (see Appendix 5), and told that the results of the research would be forwarded as soon as they were available.

To ensure confidentiality, pseudonyms have been given to each respondent in this paper and only one copy of her Background Information sheet and taped interview have been kept. Pseudonyms have been chosen in accordance with the "cultural background" of the participants' real names: if a participant had an Indian or Vietnamese name, for example, she was given an Indian or Vietnamese pseudonym.

Content Analysis of the Interviews

A Content Analysis has been employed to analyze responses to the interview questions. Categories and sub-categories for analysis of the first two questions were established based on my review of related literature and on the unstructured interviews held with Celine, the daughter of immigrants from Lebanon, during the development phase of the study. Categories for analysis of the reactions of participants to conflicts were drawn mainly from the literature on coping mechanisms employed by adolescents to deal with family conflicts (Brown & Mann, 1990; Stern & Zevon, 1990). Categories for analysis of the reactions of parents were based on literature dealing with styles of parenting (Mussen et al., 1979).

Categories for questions 6 to 10 were designed by myself. What interested me with respect to attribution was whether participants would view different cultural values as the primary source of conflicts. Categories for resolution of conflicts were chosen with an

eye towards determining whether parents ultimately accommodated their daughters or vice versa. Categories for analysis of the effects of conflicts were based partly on my discussion with Celine.

Below, then, are the detailed categories and sub-categories established in advance of the interviews. The question(s) to which each category applies are noted.

Areas of Agreement with Parents (question 1)

- relationships with the same and opposite sex; e.g., dating, premarital sex, living with someone before marriage
- religion
- education
- other

Topics of Conflict with Parents (question 2)

- household duties
- relationships with the same and opposite sex
- curfews
- clothes
- education
- work
- other

Reactions of Participants to Conflicts (questions 3, 4, 8)

- emotional reactions; e.g., anger, guilt, frustration
- behavioral reactions
 - a) avoidance of direct conflicts; i.e., minimizing contact with parents, avoiding raising issues that produce conflicts, carrying on actions that parents disapprove of without their knowledge;
 - b) assertive behaviours; i.e., confronting parents and carrying on actions that parents object to despite their disapproval
- other

Reaction of Parents to Conflicts (question 5, 8)

- authoritative; i.e., parent(s) seek to enforce own values and refuse any compromises
- accommodating; i.e., parents prepared to make some compromises
- other

Attribution of Sources of Conflicts (question 6)

- different cultural values
- generation gap
- style of parenting
- personality differences
- other

Resolution of Conflicts (questions 7, 8)

- resolved through concessions by daughter only
- concessions by parents only
- mutual concessions (compromises)
- separation; i.e., daughter moving out of home or death of parent(s)
- never resolved
- other

Effects of Conflicts on Participant (questions 9, 10)

- changes in values; e.g., increasing rejection of all traditional norms
- changes in lifestyle; e.g., moving out of the parents' home
- impact on mental well-being; e.g., bouts of depression or and improved sense of self-confidence
- impact on relationships with peers and partners; e.g., an unusually strong desire for nurturing
- impact on relationship with mother; e.g., increasing strains and distance
- impact on relationship with father
- other

Because question 11 is a "why" question, a wide and unpredictable range of responses was thought likely and no a priori content analysis categories were established for the question. Rather, categorization of the answers to it have been based on the participants'

responses. Similarly, no categories were established in advance for questions 12 and 13 because they were only added after the first interview.

Results

The first step in the examination of results was to transcribe the interviews held with the 29 participants, all of which were taped. The transcription of each woman's responses and comments was organized according to the 13 standard questions, which are included in Appendix 3.

While each individual's answers were, of course, unique, there proved to be sufficient consistency to permit categorization. This is not to suggest that answers were identical, but that many had the same general thrust, indicating some similarity of experience. The basis for categorization (coding) was the content analysis scheme outlined in the preceding section. However, because this scheme was developed before the data were collected, it was necessary to add some categories during the analysis. Some questions were relatively straightforward and the responses to them easy to code; this was the case, for example, with the questions about areas of agreement and conflict with parents. The responses to other questions presented more of a challenge; this was true, for instance, with questions that focused on participants' or parents' reactions. A coding of avoidance behaviour was given to a response such as the following: "I would have a tendency to shut them out. My first reaction would be to just turn them off, just stop listening, stop feeling, wait till it's over, go to my room ... There's not much you can do when you're growing up." In contrast, a coding of assertive behaviour was given to a response such as this: "I felt it wasn't fair. Then, I got very mad, so I would go out. I would tell my mother just a few

minutes before I left, so she couldn't stop me." In order to check the reliability of my coding, I had someone else categorize the responses to two sample questions, 3 and 5, using the transcriptions. The figures he obtained were very close to mine (interjudge reliability was 0.90 and 0.85 respectively), indicating a high level of consistency in interpretations of the data.

The results of the content analysis of each question are presented below, together with illustrative quotations typical of different sorts of responses. Included are responses to the two additional questions asked in the interviews, those comparing treatment of participants to treatment of their brothers and of their sisters. These questions are listed as numbers 12 and 13 respectively. Results are presented for the 29 participants as a whole and, where notable variations were present, separately for each of the three groups of participants: daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA), from the Indian subcontinent (IS), and from East Asia (EA).³ These results are summarized in tabular form in Appendix 6. A synopsis of each participant's responses -- paraphrasing or quoting answers -- is included in Appendix 7.

The term "parents" is used repeatedly through the following pages, but it should be remembered that in a number of cases, the father is no longer alive or did not immigrate

³ For the sake of brevity, these abbreviations -- MENA, IS, and EA -- will be used throughout the Results section and in the tables contained in Appendix 6 to refer to, respectively, daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa, daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent, and daughters of immigrants from East Asia. Use of these abbreviations should not obscure the fact that many participants were themselves born in Canada.

with the mother, while in several others, only one parent is an immigrant from a traditional society. "Parents," therefore, should not be interpreted as meaning that every participant was referring to both a mother and father in her answers.

Question 1: What were the main areas of agreement between you and your parents as you were growing up?

The most common response to this question was "the importance of education". A total of 13 women identified this as an area of agreement; two (of nine) MENA, six (of 10) IS, and five (of 10) EA. It should be noted, however, that almost a third of the women who gave this answer did so only after initially saying that there were no areas of agreement between them and their parents. For example, it was only later in the interview that several identified education as an area of agreement. This illustrates the extent to which relationships with parents were perceived as conflictual.

Seven women said that they could think of no areas of agreement even after being asked several times; four MENA, one IS, and two EA. Another six chose not to respond at all; two MENA, one IS, and three EA. Some of the participants from all three groups laughed at the very question or expressed difficulty with it. Loan's response was typical: "When I was growing up, there were no areas of agreement. We fought, we hated each other. Everything [my mother] said, I rebelled against. She was very cultural and would stick to the tradition and I wanted to grow up like every Canadian kid."

Four IS eventually hit upon basic morals as an area of agreement, but their responses

tended to be accompanied by caveats. For example, after reading and reflecting on the question several times, Indira answered as follows :

I guess we agree on some of the moral issues, like drugs being bad for you or smoking -- very simplistic morals that in a way are neutral, that there are no cultural values attached to . . . not sex for example . . . These things are very superficial . . . I can't think of much else we agreed on.

Other responses received to this question were "the importance of the family", cited by four women -- two EA, one MENA, and one IS -- and "respect for parents", cited by one participant whose parents came to Canada from the ME.

Question 2: What were the main topics of conflict between you and your parents as you were growing up? Please indicate whether each topic of conflict was mainly between you and one parent or whether it was with both parents.

Although this question was left open to any answer, responses tended to focus on three issues: curfews, social interaction with "Canadians", and relationships with males (judging from their responses, all the participants appear to be heterosexual).

The most common topic of conflict identified related to curfews: 25 women in all mentioned this topic; seven (of nine) MENA, nine (of 10) IS, and nine (of 10) EA. Also common were conflicts concerning social activities with friends: 22 of the participants

reported such conflicts; six MENA, 10 IS, and six EA. Parents' primary concern seemed to be what they perceived as Canadian youth's bad behaviours: drinking, smoking, poor study habits, and so on. Parents sought to limit their childrens' activities by pressuring them to stay at home and keep away from Canadian peers. Almost all the daughters expressed resentment at restrictions which made them feel so different from classmates at a time when the importance of peers was increasing. As Lien said, "my friends were allowed to go out at night but I couldn't. My friends would invite me for a party and the dancing wouldn't start until late but by that time I had to be home." Susan told of her embarrassment when her parents would lock the doors at home at curfew and only open them for her after she cried and pleaded with them.

Parents' desire to define the boundaries of their daughters' relationships was, in most cases, particularly strong when it came to relationships with men. Twenty-three of the participants said that dating was a topic of conflict with their parents, eight MENA, seven IS, and eight EA. Of these, 17 identified dating someone from another culture as a source of severe conflicts. Most of these parents objected to anyone who was not from their own cultural background, though a few were opposed mainly to blacks or people of different religions. Disapproval of male companions from other cultures was seen as related both to a desire to preserve one's own culture and to distrust of Canadian mores around sex and marriage. Many parents proscribed any dating before their daughters finished school; parents who accepted some dating often expected to meet and approve of

any suitor before a first outing. Michelle described her dating conflict with her Lebanese-born parents this way:

We [my sister and I] started to change . . . They [her parents] couldn't accept the fact that we were changing so much. I can't stand Lebanese guys, I don't like their mentality . . . My way of thinking is different from the way they think . . . To [my parents], Canadian men are no good, they are going to take advantage of you, they are going to divorce you the next day . . . according to my parents, you should never divorce, even if you are very unhappy.

Similarly, conflicts around living with a partner before marriage or premarital sex were mentioned by 12 of the participants; six MENA, five IS, and one EA. It seems safe to assume that these numbers would have been even larger had the issue of living with a male partner been raised by daughters in other families. In those 12 families where it did arise, parents' response to the idea was almost always perceived as one of absolute rejection. Three women told of mothers' anger and horror at discovering empty packaging for birth control pills in their daughters' room. Jihan explained the likely result of a decision to move in with someone before getting married as follows: "I'll be disowned. They will never, never, never approve of it. No matter what. Even if I'm 30, forget it. My mother says, 'if you are good enough to live with, you are good

enough to marry.'" Other participants also mentioned parental threats to disown them.

Other categories of conflict identified in interviews were moving from home and education. Eleven of the participants said that their parents objected not only to co-habitation with a man, but also to their daughters' moving out of the home to attend school elsewhere; two MENA, four IS, and five EA. Several told of their parents' threats to cut off financing for studies if their daughters moved away. Eight participants - one MENA, three IS, and four EA -- mentioned conflicts with their parents around education in general and, in particular, choice of career. In most cases of conflict, parents wanted to see their daughters studying in prestigious, well-paying fields such as medicine or engineering while daughters preferred areas such as journalism or the arts. Also, two IS noted conflicts around working during school, saying that their parents could not understand their desire for some financial independence.

Four women -- one MENA and three IS -- said they had conflicts with their parents around dress and makeup, and two -- one IS and one EA -- said they had conflicts around religion. Both of these issues may be seen as relating, in part, to the desire to preserve traditional mores. Finally, one MENA said her mother complained about disrespect and a lack of attention.

Interestingly, the majority of participants seem to have experienced comparable levels of conflict with both parents. In a number of instances, tensions were especially sharp with mothers, particularly around issues relating to physical appearance. But in other

instances, the father was more authoritarian, with mothers sometimes quietly seeking to soften their husband's disciplinary measures.

Participants' answers to question 2 revealed a high degree of consistency across the three groups. Only one pattern related to background seems significant: more IS had conflicts around going out with friends.

Question 3: How did you react to the conflicts? For example: feelings of anger; guilt; discussions with others (friends, other members of your family, teachers; minimizing contact with your parents; rebelling; and so on.

All the women interviewed told of strong emotional reactions of anger, frustration, and guilt. Some described screaming at their parents or crying by themselves in their rooms. Indira explained her frustration before moving out of her parents' home:

"There's not much you can do when you're growing up. As a teenager, how much can you do? There are really limited ways, when you are between 12 and 17, you can react."

Archana still felt the frustration on a recent trip home: "They don't realize I'm 20 and it's very frustrating, it's incredibly frustrating. I'm very angry. I also feel guilty when I ask for things."

Most participants dealt with their frustration through a combination of assertive and avoidance behaviours. However, avoidance strategies such as lying and secret dating were somewhat more common: 23 of the participants mentioned some sort of avoidance behaviour; seven MENA, nine IS, and seven EA. Fifteen participants specifically

mentioned covering up or lying about certain behaviours. For example, secret outings were concealed by telling parents they were going to the library to study or to a related and approved activity. Two women reported attending forbidden social activities by climbing out the bedroom window at night. Steady relationships with men were commonly hidden from parents. If a boyfriend wished to speak on the telephone, arrangements were often made with a female friend or boyfriend's sister to call telling the participant she should call her boyfriend back. Sometimes, participants would turn up radios or televisions in the hope that their parents would not overhear conversations with men. A number currently co-habiting participants continue to hide their male partners from their parents through a variety of ruses.

Twenty-one women in all (seven from each cultural background) used assertive coping strategies such as pursuing studies in an area not approved by parents or openly dating someone with a different cultural background. Danielle, for instance, was involved in a dispute with her parents because they wanted to converse with her in Chinese as a way of ensuring that she would be able to speak the language. But as she grew up, she refused to speak Chinese, reminding her parents that English and French are Canada's two official languages. As a result, it was agreed that her mother would address her in Chinese and English but she would answer in English only. Assertive behaviours of this sort, however, sometimes gave way to avoidance or obedience when parents would not change their attitudes. Several of the women said that, given the

values they were raised with, they simply could not rebel too much or too openly. In other cases, the order was reversed: assertiveness occurred only after avoidance strategies were discovered.

One strategy employed by just over a third of the women can be defined as either assertiveness or avoidance, depending on circumstances: moving out. Eight of the participants had left their parents' home and three others were considering it at the time of the interviews. In several cases, moving out stimulated confrontation and in one case, even a break with parents. But in others, participants quietly applied to out-of-town universities and then presented annoyed parents with a fait accompli; usually, this tactic prevented a rift.

A surprisingly small number of women reported turning to others for support. Only six participants identified this as one of their ways of dealing with familial conflict; three MENA, two IS, and one EA. This may, in part, be a reflection of traditional cultural norms which do not encourage discussion of one's problems.

A few of the participants said that, in reaction to conflicts, they tried to better understand their parents' positions. Discussing the strict curfew placed upon her, Rymonda stated, "they don't want anything bad to happen to me. I respect them very much. They are old-fashioned and they are trying to adjust to here . . . but there are so many bad things going on that they say never happened in Lebanon . . . rape, divorce." Many of the participants, however, seemed to feel so misunderstood that they were not

interested in comprehending the reasons for their parents' attitudes.

Question 4: Were you able to talk about these conflicts with your father or mother?

None of the women interviewed said she had a truly open dialogue with her parents about familial tensions. In fact, more than a third of the participants -- two MENA, three IS, and six EA -- stated that they had no dialogue at all. Thuy explained the absence of discussion as a function of her background: "It's very hard to talk to my parents. In my culture, you're not supposed to talk against your parents, but to obey them." Participants emphasized that their parents were "set in their ways" and that for this reason, "there is no room for negotiation." Said Nahia: "You can't negotiate with my dad. If he says something, you just do it . . . he's a pretty scary man." Rymonda also called her father "scary."

Of the 18 participants who, to a limited extent, could negotiate conflicts with their parents, 17 made a distinction between fathers and mothers. Fourteen of them -- six MENA, six IS, and two EA -- indicated discussion was possible only with their mothers. Only three had dialogue primarily with their fathers, and one of these grew up with her father only. Mothers sometimes played a mediating role, listened a little more than fathers, or tried to cover up daughters' disobedience to avoid father-daughter explosions. According to participants, however, most mothers were still too committed to traditional mores and too subordinate to their husbands for constructive dialogue to occur. Rani, a participant whose father died several years ago, stated that his passing had actually

improved communication with her mother. "It's kind of different without my dad," she explained, "we [my brother and I] can be more open with my mom because she is not the father figure. So now we talk about premarital sex and abortion." She was the only woman interviewed who mentioned discussion around such sensitive issues. Just one participant, an IS, said she could talk about issues with both her parents.

Some of the participants expressed sadness that communication with their parents was not more open and felt different in this area from friends with Western-born parents. In this connection, Michelle commented, "I really envy people who can sit and talk to their parents." Fifteen participants, however, felt that communication with their parents was improving somewhat with time.

Question 5: How did your mother react to the conflicts? How did your father react to the conflicts?

Limited communication patterns were paralleled by a perceived tendency among parents toward authoritarian responses to conflicts; that is, responses that sought to enforce parents' will rather than encourage compromises. Sixteen participants identified one or more perceived authoritarian reactions from their fathers, and 14 also experienced such reactions from their mothers. Yelling was the most common reaction: six women said their fathers sometimes reacted this way, and five said their mothers did so. Simply "laying down the law" was also common: four participants said their fathers did this, three of them MENA, and four said their mothers did, three of them IS. Three

participants, two MENA and one EA, said parents used other family members to manipulate them or gave them the "silent treatment" and the same number of EA said constant nagging was a common parental reaction. Two said their mothers would "put them down" or criticize them in response to conflicts, and one said her father did so.

There were two responses perceived only among fathers: use of physical force, and placing responsibility (and blame) on his spouse for raising the daughter. Six participants mentioned the use of violence, five MENA, while three said their fathers had withdrawn from child-rearing. In sum, participants mentioned authoritarian reactions from fathers 26 times and from mothers, 19 times.

Some participants used harsh language to describe their parents' ways of dealing with conflicts. Lisa called her parents' nagging "torture with words." Jihan described the way she and her parents worked towards settlements of conflicts as mutual "blackmail." Ratna related how her father "would talk to my mother about me in front of me and say bad things, horrible things like 'that girl isn't mine, my daughter wouldn't act like this.' He wouldn't let me talk. He would scream and yell." Two MENA actually left home because of their fathers' use of force.

Together with authoritarian reactions, however, many mothers responded with different attempts at accommodation; that is, efforts to reach mutually acceptable solutions. Six participants said their mothers would try to find compromises, four IS, one MENA, and one EA. One IS also said her father would sometimes respond this way to

conflicts. Four EA stated that in the face of real determination from their daughter, their mother or both parents would resign themselves to a behaviour they opposed. One participant from each of the three groups mentioned her mother's efforts to explain parents' positions; none said their fathers did this. In total, then, participants identified accommodating reactions from mothers 12 times and from fathers, four times.

Important differences between participants from the three groups emerged in their responses to question 5. MENA mentioned the largest number of authoritarian reactions (20) and the smallest number of accommodating reactions (2). In addition, most of the violent reactions were reported by respondents from this group. IS identified the least number of reactions overall: nine authoritarian and six accommodating. EA fell in between, mentioning 16 authoritarian reactions and eight accommodating reactions.

Question 6: In your opinion, what was the source (or sources) of the conflicts between you and your parents?

Despite variations in the sorts of parental reactions produced by conflicts with daughters, every woman interviewed identified the same factor as the primary source of those conflicts: differences in cultures. Although this is obviously a concept which can encompass many kinds of beliefs and values, two issues which came up in most interviews seem to be the main points of friction resulting from "cultural differences": (1) conduct appropriate to females, and (2) parent-child relationships.

That conduct appropriate to females was a central topic of conflict was already clear

in the answers given to question 2. Participants told of arguments about dating, premarital sex, dress, etc. which reflect different perceptions about what women should and should not do. Parents bring with them norms and memories from their country of birth which stand in sharp contrast to mainstream Canadian norms. Kemla, for instance, does not mention her boyfriend to her father because, according to her, he "fabricates this image about Indian girls over there"; that is, that they do not date. If she tells him about her boyfriend, Kemla believes, "he's going to say 'my God, she's becoming Westernized!' It won't be: 'oh, she's normal.'" Arguments about appropriate behaviours sometimes spill over to seemingly petty matters. Chang, for example, recalled how her father once snapped at her for whistling in the house, saying that women should not whistle. She has not whistled at home since.

Along with a different set of beliefs about how women should behave, a number of participants reported clashes over the way the parent-child relationship should be structured. The traditional cultural values parents bring with them to Canada include a belief that children must respect and obey their parents. The idea that children, and especially daughters, should be able to assert themselves and challenge parental rules is foreign and for many, offensive. At the same time, daughters of immigrants live in a culture that encourages a degree of independence for children and expects some rebellion during adolescence. Margaret said that she and her friends in the Chinese community had such similar experiences in this area that they coined a nickname for themselves: the

CBCs, for "Canadian-born Chinese."

Aside from cultural differences, another source of conflicts identified by participants was religion. This source was cited by five participants, four IS and one MENA. Three of these individuals were from Muslim families, which may reflect the added difficulties some parents have when they are not only new to the country, but also members of a religious minority.

Five women, four IS and one EA, mentioned parents' concern for their safety as a source of conflict, though it was implicit in the answers of many others. Concern for safety, or as some participants termed it, overprotectiveness, reflects cultural beliefs about women's vulnerability and the need for someone else to watch out for them. As I will discuss later, every participant with brothers said that her parents were more restrictive with her than with them. While this is hardly unheard of among Western-born parents, there does seem to be an obvious difference in the degree of protectiveness, as evidenced by stricter curfews and disapproval of activities such as sleepovers.

One participant each identified excessive pressures around studies, personality differences, a generation gap, parental illness, and isolation and unemployment as sources of conflict.

Question 7: Do these conflicts still exist? Have any been resolved or forgotten? If so, how?

For 17 of the women interviewed -- seven MENA, six IS, and four EA -- the

conflicts with their parents have not been resolved. It should be noted, however, that some participants who said no conflicts were resolved have, in fact, resolved them with their mothers, but not with their fathers. And while many conflicts do persist, time, in some cases, has made them less intense.

Where conflicts were resolved, the route to "resolution" mentioned most often by participants was physical separation. Eight women gave this response. Four of them moved away from home without pretext, a step which resulted in serious strains on relationships with parents and, in Michelle's case, a complete break in communication during the three years since her move. Three others moved out-of-town to attend university, a tactic mentioned earlier which was presented by participants as a diplomatic way of putting some distance between themselves and their parents. For one participant, separation was produced by a father's death -- an event which, however sad, led to markedly improved relations with the mother. For another, the death of her father resolved conflicts around co-habitation that had not already been resolved by moving out of the parents' home.

The difficulties in relationships created by a decision to move out were described by

Indira:

They [my parents] were devastated when I moved out because it was so unusual, especially in our culture, for someone who lives in the same city to move out in the

middle of university without a job. They saw it as a reflection on them, as if they had done something wrong for me to want to move out. It was devastating for me to move out. My mom disowned me every week, and then, every couple of days, she would call and say 'how come you didn't visit me?' But I couldn't say 'well, you disowned me a couple of days ago and hung up the phone on me.' It was a lot of stress, it was really emotionally draining for me.

In light of such accounts, it is possible to ask whether separation itself really resolved conflicts, or simply reduced the opportunities for friction. But even if the latter is the case, separation often appears to have facilitated some redefinition of relationships that would have been less likely had everyone continued to live under one roof. Danielle's previously tense relations with her mother, for instance, improved significantly after she went to study in another city for a year. She attributed this change to a mutual realization that despite their conflicts, they missed one another.

None of the women interviewed said that conflicts had been resolved through concessions made solely by themselves. Interestingly, five stated that concessions made solely by their parents had led to some resolutions. These concessions were general in nature; that is, more tolerance of daughter's behaviour and more lenience on matters such as dating and curfews. Only one participant indicated that concessions by both sides had

resulted in a resolution of conflicts: she complied with curfews while dating, and her parents began to treat her boyfriend as serious.

Question 8: Which conflicts remain unresolved? How do you react to these conflicts now? How do your mother and father react to them?

As noted above, most women interviewed said conflicts with their parents continue to this day, particularly around the issues of curfews and dating. All nine MENA still had unresolved conflicts, while eight out of ten IS and six out of ten EA answered in the same vein.

Ten participants in all identified curfews as an ongoing point of dispute; four MENA, three IS and three EA. Many said that, in their opinion, curfews for women in their 20s are unfair. Some parents continue to be very strict when it comes to curfews. Susan's parents, for example, still will not allow her to have a key to the house, despite the fact that she is already a university student. This compels her to arrive home before curfew, when her parents lock the door. Though curfews remain in place for others, several said that their parents became somewhat more lenient and set later limits once their daughters began university. Perhaps as a result, most of these participants comply with curfews, though they continue to see them as a point of dispute.

Around dating, on the other hand, participants do not tend to obey what they see as unjustified impositions. Eleven women mentioned dating as an unresolved conflict: six MENA, three IS, and two EA. All continue to see boyfriends in spite of parental

disapproval. Six women do so secretly, utilizing tactics to hide their relationships similar to those used in the past (see question 3). Two women openly defy their parents wishes, risking a possible break. And three women see men with their mothers' but not their fathers' knowledge.

In the last set of cases, conflicts related to dating have effectively been resolved with mothers, but persist with fathers. Mothers of three women, two MENA one IS, have accepted the fact that their daughters have boyfriends but conspire to hide this from fathers who remain adamant in their rejection of such behaviour.

Closely related to unresolved conflicts over dating are those around co-habitation. Two participants were secretly living with male partners at the time of the interviews. While secrecy prevents confrontations with parents at the moment, these women are still effectively involved in a situation of conflict, since the subject of co-habitation has created tensions in the past and discovery of their living arrangement could produce an explosion in the future. To try and avoid this, one of the women has had two phone lines installed and informed her parents about only one of them; her partner does not pick up this line when the phone rings.

Four additional topics were cited by a handful of participants as areas of continuing conflict. The first was going out with friends, which six women mentioned, two from each group. Tensions around this topic appear to overlap to some extent with the conflicts around curfews identified by other participants. The other three topics, each

mentioned by one participant, were moving to go to school, parents' favouritism towards sons, and parents' possible separation or divorce.

Daughters' reactions to ongoing conflicts bore some resemblance to their reactions during adolescence. Once again, avoiding the conflict -- mostly by disobeying in secret -- was the preferred reaction. But now it was more a function of resignation than fear or helplessness. Kemla explained this as follows: "With my dad it's a no-win situation, so why bother fighting? He's not going to change his opinions now when he's 66 to suit me. I don't need these conflicts, so I just don't tell them." In the same vein, Archana said: "You can't change them now, they've been like that for 50 years almost. That's my consolation." Moreover, assertive reactions, such as openly seeing someone against parents' wishes, were much more common. And it must be remembered that many conflicts were already "resolved" through a degree of assertiveness when daughters moved out of their parents' home. In sum, the similarities of current reactions to conflicts with reactions during adolescence were more apparent than real. Daughters clearly had developed a higher level of assertiveness.

Perceived parental reactions to conflicts changed less over the years. Some were reported to show more flexibility as daughters matured and began university and several mothers became much more accepting of daughters' relationships with men. Certainly, authoritarian responses were less possible when daughters moved out. As a whole, however, parents continued to respond to disputes with various forms of pressure and

uncompromising positions.

Question 9: How have these conflicts affected you personally?

Participants gave many different answers to this question. An attempt has been made in the analysis below to avoid simplification and reflect the uniqueness of individuals' experiences despite the multiplicity of categories that this requires.

Most of the women interviewed mentioned some sort of emotional impact as a result of conflicts with their parents. It should be emphasized that participants were discussing long-term impact; when "pain" or "anger" were mentioned, it was not as an immediate reaction to conflicts, but rather as a more prolonged and deeper effect. Seven said they continue to feel frustration because of their histories of familial conflicts. However, for one of them, Kemla, that frustration was tempered to some degree by the fact that she had friends from her community who had gone through similar experiences:

It bothers me, it gets me frustrated, but everybody [among her Indian friends] is in the same boat as I am so I feel better. If everybody's parents were super-understanding, they had boyfriends, etcetera . . . I would think of my parents as abnormal, but they are the same. In fact, I'm better off than some of my friends.

Five participants stated that to this day, they do not feel comfortable in their parents' house; three IS, one MENA, and one EA. Michelle said that as she walked through the

door, she always had the feeling she was "going into a prison." Archana said of her parents' house, "I don't consider it a home."

Three women said that they still carry pain from the conflicts and two identified feelings of confusion. Enduring anger was mentioned by two participants. It was not clearly defined anger they felt, but rather diffused anger; one woman was angry at "parents in general, Indian parents," and the other simply stated, "I'm a very angry person." Depression, guilt, and a sense of inferiority and being different from others were each identified by one participant as long-term emotional effects of conflicts with their parents.

Many women mentioned other types of effects in addition to emotional repercussions. Nine said that they had become more assertive or self-assured as a result of conflicts; four MENA, three EA, and two IS. Gumla, for example, stated: "They [the conflicts] made me stronger. I am a more rounded person . . . I don't need anybody to solve problems, I can solve my own problems." A few participants gave their parents some credit for this outcome. Said Nahia:

At the time I really hated it [being more restricted than classmates], but I can see now that they were right about a lot of things. I'm not a worse person; if anything, I'm a better one than most of the people I grew up with, all the people who used to make fun of me, and still do now

because my parents were strict . . . but inside, I think I'm much more developed than they can ever be.

Unwillingness to yield, an outcome that can be seen as related to greater assertiveness, was noted by Jihan. She said the conflicts "made me stubborn because I had to argue a lot and prove my point. When I fight with my boyfriend, I'm the worst person because it's my way or no way at all . . . This is how it is with my parents, so this is how it is with my friends or boyfriend."

Five participants, four MENA and one EA, identified negative effects on the way they interact socially. Nada, for example, said that she was unable to sustain two different relationships with men she cared for because of a feeling that those relationships had no future, given her father's likely rejection of the men. Another participant said she had become "very dependent" in her relationships.

Three women said they were shy and self-conscious as a result of conflicts with their parents, an outcome that contrasts with the increase in assertiveness experienced by at least nine others. Margaret said she was shy and unsure of herself "because I never got out of the house . . . never did anything . . . it was horrible." Bahia recalled how "whenever we went out to visit someone or someone came to visit us, we [the children] would have to stay quiet, everybody had to behave themselves. Sit there and don't say anything, just behave." Laughing, she added, "even now, I still behave myself!"

Two women discussed values. Nancy said conflicts with her parents had led her to

adopt beliefs contrary to theirs. Heather, on the other hand, said that in the end, her values were "basically the same" as her parents'.

One participant stated that as a result of conflicts with her parents, she did not complete her university education, another said she was more forward-looking and planned for the future, and a third felt that she was more open-minded. One participant simply responded, "I don't know" to the question.

Question 10: What have been the effects of the conflicts on your relations with each of your parents and how would you describe your relations with them now?

In light of the above, it is not surprising that every woman interviewed said that the conflicts with her parents had seriously strained relations with them. The majority, however, felt that things had recently improved; this is especially interesting in light of the fact that the majority of women responded to question 7 by saying that most conflicts with their parent had not been resolved. Fifteen women indicated that tense relations had eased or were in transition at the time of the interview; three MENA, five IS, and seven EA.

Some attributed this change to the development, over time, of better understanding on both sides. Judy, for instance, felt that

in the past year, our relationship has become much closer. I
listen to [my mother] more and she realizes that I'm not a
bad girl and that I'm responsible. She gives me more room.

Also, I try to avoid doing things that upset her. When I was younger, I thought she was narrow-minded, but now I understand her more and realize she is not that bad.

Others saw separation as the key to improvement. Margaret recalled how "when I was at home, I couldn't wait to get out, and when I got here [to another city], I missed them so much. I didn't think I'd miss them at all. I think it is better as long as there's a distance because if I moved home again, I'd go crazy." The situation for many, then, appears to be one of improvement without resolution.

Eight participants -- three MENA, three IS, and two EA -- did not identify any such improvement. These women said that because of conflicts, relations with their parents had been bad for a long time and were still poor or non-existent. Many of them had a sense that constant tensions would unfortunately continue to mark relations with their parents. "I talked about it with friends," Archana said, "and everyone who has a bad relationship with their parents are dying, just dying to talk to them and to make things OK, but there's no compromising [from the parents' side]. So you can't do anything. I'll never do it to my kids. It's hard. It doesn't go away."

Five women fell between these groups in their responses, reporting improved relations with just one parent. In line with responses to earlier questions, three of these five said that the improvement was with their mothers. One woman reported no contact with her parents since she had moved out three years earlier.

Question 11: Would you raise your children the same way your parents raised you?

If so, why? If not, why not?

By and large, the women interviewed did not intend to raise their children in the way that they were raised. Nineteen participants -- seven MENA, seven IS, and five EA -- said that they would give their children more freedom and independence. For example, Mirielle, who has had difficult experiences with an ill mother, stated, "I will give them space. I will respect them more. If I get sick, I will not expect them to be around me all the time and take care of me. They have their own needs." Margaret, like others, was emphatic on this issue: "I will give them a lot more freedom, a lot more freedom . . . a lot more!"

Many women also said that they would try to be more communicative and open-minded with their children. Fifteen participants provided answers of this sort, five from each group. In giving this response, several women stressed how difficult it was for them not to have good communication with their own parents. Thuy summed up her feelings as follows:

I will raise them differently. I will spend more time with them. I will support them emotionally more. I will express my feelings towards them . . . We don't express our feelings as strongly as Westerners. We are more quiet. Everybody keeps his feelings to himself, but I don't like it - it affects relationships in the family. I will be more communicative.

Three participants from each group gave a seemingly related response, namely, that they would be more supportive and warm with their children.

Six participants -- three EA, two MENA, and one IS -- said that they would treat their children more equally in an effort to avoid the sort of discrimination between sons and daughters that they believed had been the rule as they were growing up.

One MENA stated that in contrast to her parents, she would not pay attention to community pressures in the raising of her children. One IS planned to have her partner much more actively involved in caring for children than her father had been.

The thrust of most women's responses, then, was that they would bring up their children differently from the way their parents raised them. Although the original question asked why this was so, few participants felt the need to explain their answers given their responses to previous questions. Those who did elaborate indicated that the elements they had mentioned (freedom, communication, etc.) had been missing in their lives and that this had caused them pain or difficulty.

Together with the general tendency to raise children differently, however, came a variety of caveats about specific issues. In other words, many IS and EA (no MENA) often noted one or two areas where they would bring their children up in much the same way as their parents had raised them. The most common area mentioned was education, a result which is not surprising recalling the responses to question 1 on areas of agreement. Five women gave this answer, four of them EA and one IS. Even here,

however, there was some hedging. Said Judy: "I would also emphasize the importance of education, but I wouldn't push it on them. I will encourage them to study hard, but if they can't get the highest marks that's OK with me as long as they're happy."

Two participants -- one IS and one EA -- stated that, like their parents, they would try to pass on traditional culture to offspring. Two EA planned to emphasize the importance of family just as their parents had. One woman each anticipated similarities with her parents' practices in the following areas: maintaining the family's religion, stressing respect for parents, showing respect for children, not pressing children to move out of the house at age 18, being communicative, and being affectionate. Clearly, the experiences of the individuals who gave the last two responses were significantly different from those of most participants.

A certain ambivalence characterized some participants' answers to this question as if, despite conflicts with their own parents, they could not be sure they would not adopt similar attitudes in the future. Lakshme, for example, said that she would give her children more freedom than she had received, but quickly added, "I'm saying this now but I might change." Jihan, who had herself disobeyed her parents' ban on premarital sex, hesitated when it came to her own, future daughters: "Now I think I'd like my daughter to wait until she's married. I don't think there's anything wrong in it for me, but for my daughter, I wouldn't want it. That's weird. I wouldn't feel comfortable knowing my daughter practised sex before marriage." This ambivalence, together with

the areas of expected similarity noted above, indicate that for some women, conflicts with parents have not led to a wholesale rejection of the parental value systems.

Question 12: If you have brothers, did your parents treat you any differently from them?

Five MENA had brothers, and all said that they, as daughters, faced more parental constraints. Four IS had brothers; three felt that parents were stricter with their daughters, while one said her parents did not discriminate. The five EA with brothers all believed that parents limited them, as females, more. In total, then, 13 of the 14 participants with brothers said that parents treated them in a more restrictive manner simply because they were female.

This issue quite troubled some of the women interviewed. Jihan, who does not have brothers herself, said that "the thing I hate most about Lebanese culture is that sons are like God and the daughter is nothing. When my grandfather died, he gave the most to his son and his daughters had to split the rest." She went on to tell of a cousin who gave birth first to a girl, and later to a boy: "all the relatives are saying, 'oh, she finally gave him a son!' It's this big thing . . . [the father] was in the living room -- he's really Lebanese -- and he was screaming 'I have a son, I have a son.' It just kills me."

Danielle described her family's double standard in this way:

A boy in a Chinese household is the most important -- he carries on the family name. He [her brother] always got all the attention, mainly from my mom. My mother totally adores my brother. She will do anything for him . . . He didn't have to do any chores around the house. Just the fact that he was around made my mother happy . . . My brother had to do nothing, and I had to do everything. That really pissed me off.

Question 13: If you have sisters, did your parents treat you any differently from them?

Eleven of the women interviewed had sisters; five of them were the oldest, four were the youngest, and two had both older and younger sisters. All of the five oldest daughters felt that as the oldest, they had confronted the most difficulties with their parents, making things easier for sisters who came after them. Four of the women with older sisters also believed that the latter had paved the way for them. Two participants said that because their older sisters were already in their late teens upon arrival in Canada, they never really challenged their parents' rules and that for this reason, more tensions developed as the participants themselves grew up. One of these two said that she herself had paved the way for the sisters who came after her. Only one woman said her parents were actually more lenient with her older sister than with herself, a pattern which

is opposite to that identified by the majority. According to this participant, the reason for the increased strictness was her father's "realization" that he had been "too lenient" with his oldest daughter and his determination "not to repeat the same mistake again."

A difference in attitudes towards older and younger daughters around leaving the home was described by Loan, who is the oldest:

I was the ice-breaker. When I was growing up, I couldn't do anything and when I would try to do something, she [her mother] would yell at me and threaten to kick me out. For example, when I moved out, my mother was very depressed. She wouldn't talk to me for a couple of months. She told me she would disown me. But my sister just moved to Montreal for school and she [her mother] said OK and drove all the way to Montreal on the weekend to give her food. I didn't get that and I lived two miles away.

The responses to this question suggest that, despite the feeling of many participants that their parents' attitudes never evolved, there was in fact some softening of positions over time. This development might be due to parents' desire to avoid having conflicts which occurred with the oldest daughter erupt with her younger sisters as well.

Discussion

The results outlined in the previous section provide important insights into the experiences of daughters of immigrants from traditional societies. These insights may be significant not only for researchers, but also for those whose work brings them into regular contact with this population. At the same time, they help pave the way for future studies which will likely include more quantitative analysis.

General Patterns

Probably the most fascinating result from the study is the similarities between the experiences of different participants. Though important variations often occurred, the themes of most participants' responses were surprisingly alike. One caveat, however, is called for: because the study required a willingness to speak openly about relationships with parents, and because most participants were drawn from the university population, it is possible that daughters who remained within the boundaries of traditional culture are under-represented. This by no means invalidates the results, but it does point to the need for further study.

The similarity between experiences in certain areas is still striking. As hypothesized, conflicts with parents were common during adolescence and were attributed by every woman interviewed first and foremost to cultural differences. "I was caught between two sets of expectations," Thuy said, "home and friends." The fact that all participants spoke

of conflicts rooted in a clash between Canadian and traditional values is in line with Lavender's (1988) finding that there are general similarities between ethnic groups with respect to the attitudes they hold on appropriate behaviours for women. More specifically, conflicts centred around several general subjects for the vast majority of participants: limits on social interactions, particularly with "Canadians" (this includes curfews); relationships with men; and education and work.

These topics of conflict are by no means confined to immigrants and their daughters. Montemayor's (1983) review of studies conducted between 1929 and 1982 found that one generation after another, the same topics of parent-child conflict in America were reported: chores, curfews, school grades, driving cars, quarrels with siblings, talking back, choice of friends, dating, spending money, and physical appearance. However, even if the specific topics of dispute between immigrants and their daughters are not unique, the present study does suggest that their conflicts may differ from those between Western-born parents and children in several respects: greater parental restrictiveness with respect to social activities and, as a result, increased intensity of conflicts; daughters' attribution of conflicts to cultural differences and, as a result, alienation from parents' traditional background; and coping strategies employed by both parents and daughters. Certainly, the participants themselves believed that their experiences were not the same as those of "Canadian" friends. Most (16 of 18) of the women who were asked to compare

their situation with that of classmates said that the conflicts they faced were different and more difficult than those faced by friends with Western-born parents. Susan, for example, said she "felt more restricted than my classmates. I was always the one who never got to go on overnight trips, and I still feel kind of resentful about it." In the same vein, Nancy stated that for her "Canadian" friends' parents, "it's natural to date or go out or have fun at night, but my parents hold me back ... I wasn't allowed to go out a lot during the last two years. I don't go out as much as my friends." Another piece of evidence suggesting that the tensions between immigrants and their children are, in some respects, different is provided by three women (one from each group) each of whom had one parent with a non-traditional background; all identified the same sorts of conflicts as the other participants but said that these conflicts were mainly with the parent from the traditional society. These indications that daughters of immigrants face unusual challenges in their familial relationships are in line with the findings of Staron's (1961) conclusion that there is a correlation "between the degree of independence granted by parents to adolescents and their culture," with "higher independence from parental control granted to children in the Canadian group" (p.22 and p.29 respectively). Still, it is clear that the similarities and differences in the experiences of daughters of immigrants and daughters of Western-born parents is a subject requiring further investigation.

Part of the reason for the intensity of immigrant-daughter conflicts may be a clash of

values relating to gender roles: the traditional values of parents which emphasize proper behaviour for women and the importance of their reputation; and mainstream Canadian values to which daughters are exposed among friends, at school, and in the media and which are much more permissive. For instance, parents from traditional cultures forbid sex before marriage for daughters (Khanna & Varghese, 1978; Rao, 1991; Staron, 1961) while many schools put condoms dispensers in washrooms. The double-standard on this issue and dating in general -- reported by participants with brothers -- is another example of a possible clash of values; while immigrant parents place heavier restrictions on daughters than on sons (Gilad, 1989), the media emphasize the equality of the sexes and extol women's sexual liberation. Incidentally, this difference in treatment may lead to different behaviour among offspring as they mature: sons, who appear to enjoy a larger number of privileges, have less reason to clash with parents than daughters, who may feel that they have "nothing to lose." Parental control itself may become a point of contention, as immigrant parents insist that daughters live at home and respect early curfews while their daughters' friends move to other cities and have parties at all hours. These are just a few examples of the kind of cross-pressures daughters of immigrants from traditional societies face. Several of the participants stated that these cross-pressures were something friends with Western-born parents could not comprehend. Kemla, for instance, said she could talk about difficulties with her parents only with friends from

other "minority groups," not with "white friends." The latter would tell her, "so who cares? Leave! What the hell! You are 21." And she would respond by trying to explain that her parents did not see things this way: "no, I'm not. You don't understand. I'm still a kid even if I'm married."

All daughters responded to these cross-pressures by shifting away to some degree from their parents' traditional values and towards greater integration into the society around them. Indeed, tensions between daughters of immigrants and their parents can be conceptualized in part as a struggle about integration. As Berry (1979) noted, there are different paths an immigrant may take: assimilation, separation, marginality and integration. On the basis of most participants' responses, it would appear that their parents preferred separation, rejecting many aspects of mainstream Canadian culture as corrupt and somehow threatening. They tended to associate primarily with members of their own immigrant community; most participants said that the majority of their parents' friends came from the parents' native countries. This involvement in homeland communities reinforces isolation from the Canadian mainstream while making maintenance of the family's reputation through conformity to traditional values doubly important. More than two-thirds of the women interviewed discussed the effect of gossip within the community. Lisa's father, an important figure in the Vietnamese community in her home town, is afraid that his children's behaviour will make him "lose face" and told

her, "whatever you do, don't make me look bad." Lisa said that this is a challenge because the community "is not very big so if you do something, everybody knows."

Rymonda made similar comments about her local Lebanese community where "everybody talks about everybody" and gossip travels all the way back to Lebanon. One result mentioned frequently by participants was pressure from their parents to marry within the community accompanied by warnings about the irresponsibility of "Canadian" men, their drinking habits and high rates of divorce. This finding corroborates Chimbos' (1971) conclusion that resistance to interethnic marriage is highest among immigrant groups with strong communal bonds and values relatively removed from those of the dominant culture. Parental pressure to marry within the community, however, was inevitably rebuffed by participants.

The daughters' desire for greater integration sometimes led them to view their parents as narrow or to belittle their perspectives and lifestyles. One swore that she would never "end up like my mother . . . a homemaker." Tensions around culture and integration were greatest, as expected, during adolescence. This presumably reflects increased pressures from peers for social involvement along with mainstream cultural messages about gaining independence that clashed head-on with parental expectations of obedience. Many Canadian-born participants said that it was only as they hit their teens that conflicts with parents really began. Of course, this resembles the pattern for most North American

families but, as noted earlier, conflicts between immigrants and their daughters appear, generally, to be more intense and less open to resolution through dialogue. While tensions by no means disappeared with the end of adolescence, they often decreased. Most women attributed whatever improvement did occur to physical separation or moderation in positions with the passage of time. The fact that older daughters appear to face stricter rules than their younger sisters does indicate some shift in parents' positions over the longer term.

Most women dealt with conflicts more through avoidance strategies than self-assertion. This finding corresponds with results of research which showed that adolescents from less communicative families tend to adopt less active coping strategies (Brown & Mann, 1990; Stern & Zevon, 1990). It is important to note, however, that the strategies employed by participants were, in many ways, adaptive: unwilling to comply with all their parents' rules, unable to talk about difficulties with parents and reach compromises, and fearful of extreme reactions from parents in the face of open disobedience, the best solution for most women was to disobey in secret. This continued to be the case even after adolescence, though it was increasingly motivated by resignation rather than fear.

Although avoidance was, in the circumstances, adaptive, it was also symptomatic of a basic inability to deal with conflicts. Traditional parental beliefs that children have a duty

to obey parents led to authoritarian responses to conflicts on the part of mothers and, especially, fathers. Together with daughters' tendency towards avoidance, these limited the extent to which problems between parents and daughters were truly confronted. The low levels of communication reported by participants are indicative of this. It appears that in most cases, parents were applying pressure, daughters were keeping argument to a minimum but quietly getting around strict rules, and all the while the actual conflicts continued to fester. It is not surprising, then, that the ultimate "solution" to conflicts for many did not involve working them through or getting past them, but rather lip service and physical separation. As participants' responses made clear, most conflicts were never fully resolved, even after daughters started university

In fact, many women interviewed said that to this day, they have difficulties dealing with familial conflicts. As mentioned above, many do not turn to others for support or to discuss the emotions they still feel around frictions with parents. Friends and third parties are not always trusted; for a number of participants, the interview was the first time they had talked openly with as an adult about these frictions. Chang said that the one previous time that she spoke with someone about problems with her parents, she felt "naked" and decided not to do so again. In part, this difficulty may be due to cultural norms against talking about one's problems, norms that often apply especially strongly to females. Discussing problems proved especially hard for those who immigrated to

Canada after age 10.

This cultural norm was mentioned by participants, often with some bitterness. "In my culture," Thuy complained, "you are not supposed to talk with your parents, but to obey them." This is why, as stated in the Introduction, many immigrant parents have trouble tolerating assertive behaviour from daughters. Ironically, it would appear that in seeking to prevent their daughters' abandonment of traditional culture, many parents actually pushed them towards greater assimilation. The association of their parents' values with restrictions, isolation, and conflict led many women to distance themselves from tradition and from the community. This was particularly true with respect to values concerning women's roles and parent-child relationships. There was a clear consensus among those interviewed that in these areas, they see things much differently from their parents. In part, this may be an almost inevitable function of immigration to a Western country, but it seems clear that continuous conflict around these issues served mainly to alienate daughters from their parents' culture.

To summarize, ten general patterns have been identified for daughters of immigrants:

- (1) they have few areas of agreement and many conflicts with parents, particularly around curfews, social interactions, men, education and work;
- (2) they are more limited than their brothers;
- (3) they feel different from friends with Western-born parents in this respect;

- (4) perceived cultural differences around womens' roles and parent-child relationships and a struggle over integration lie at the heart of many of the conflicts;
- (5) conflicts are worst during adolescence and ease somewhat with time;
- (6) parents tend to be less strict with younger daughters;
- (7) daughters' coping strategies tend towards avoidance, especially when they are younger;
- (8) conflicts are generally not dealt with openly or resolved through mutual compromise, largely because of parents' difficulty accepting challenges to their authority;
- (9) daughters carry anger and frustration with them for a long time, tend to be somewhat introverted, but may also be more self-reliant as a result of the conflicts;
- (10) alienation from parents' values is common and is reflected in plans daughters have to raise their own children differently.

It should be emphasized that while most of these patterns were prominent among most of the women interviewed, one cannot assume that any particular pattern will be present just because someone is a daughter of immigrants from a traditional society. My objective in identifying patterns is to encourage sensitivity to the special sorts of challenges these

women face as a result of similar family dynamics. I would never want this to translate into insensitivity to individual differences. In other words, I wish to avoid the slippery slope that so often takes people from identifying patterns, through generalizations, and into stereotypes.

Demographic Factors

Much of the demographic information provided by participants did not have a significant correlation with specific results. This reinforces the point made above about resemblance of experiences: while individual variations occurred, the thrust of responses was similar, regardless of most biographical factors. Parents' length of time in Canada, for example, was one factor that was expected to have some impact, but did not.

The clearest difference which did exist had to do with region of origin. Daughters of immigrants from the Middle East reported the fewest areas of agreement with their parents, the least communication, the most authoritarian reactions from parents, and the largest number of unresolved conflicts. This is not to minimize problems with parents encountered by women in the other two groups, but the evidence does indicate that, in general, daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa have a particularly difficult time with their parents while growing up. I would speculate that one reason for this outcome might be the special significance of daughters' behaviour for family honour in Arab culture.

Interestingly, one participant of Lebanese heritage actually anticipated this result, saying, "I bet Middle Eastern parents will be the most restrictive and oriental parents the least." She was right on the first count, though less so on the second. While some differences do exist between the experiences of women whose parents came from the Indian subcontinent and from East Asia, these did not follow a consistent pattern.

Another demographic factor that was significant is the sex of the parent. As I have already noted, mothers tended to be more accommodating in their reactions to conflicts and to soften their positions much more than fathers over time. In addition, participants living with a single mother reported fewer restrictions and less severe conflicts. Thus, though they share their communities' traditional values, it would appear that many mothers ultimately come to sympathize with at least some of their daughters' demands and aspirations. Perhaps they themselves have had, and restrained, similar longings. Perhaps they simply make nurturing and good family relations a higher priority than complete conformity with traditional norms. Whatever the reason, one trend is clear: it is the men, the fathers and sometimes older brothers, who are the most unyielding when it comes to demanding "proper" behaviour from young women.

A third factor found to have some importance was the daughter's age upon arrival in Canada. Participants who were born in this country or came here while they were young tended to have more strained relations with their parents. This may be attributed to the

longer periods of socialization in Canada which they underwent, socialization which increases the tendency to reject many traditional limitations on behaviour. Women who arrived just before or during adolescence, on the other hand, had a more difficult time adapting to their surroundings; many reported feeling totally lost at school and rejected by peers for the first year or two in this country.

The impact of religion, if any, was not clear from the results, although there was some indication that conflicts may be more intense in Muslim families that practice their religion.

Implications for Professionals and Policy-Makers

Daughters of immigrants from traditional societies are a population whose needs have gone unnoticed for too long. While programmes are set up to help adult immigrants on the one hand and young women in general on the other hand, none has recognized the special challenges created when the elements of immigration, gender, and youth are combined. In the following pages, I will discuss some of the implications of the study's findings for professionals and policy-makers.

Although this paper has focused on conflicts with parents, being caught between two worlds means that there is another side to the coin: difficulties and frustrations with the larger society. For young women who were born in Canada or immigrated before the end of adolescence, the larger society is represented, first and foremost, by the school.

Many of the participants who were not born in Canada and arrived at a later age remembered painful experiences during their first days, and even years, in Canadian schools. Lisa, who immigrated when she was 11 years old, recalled, "the first year I hardly opened my mouth. I used to be an outspoken child, but I wouldn't dare to talk because I was afraid that everybody would laugh at me. That first year was terrible. I always cried. I said I wanted to go back and didn't like it here." Thuy had similar memories of her first year:

Coming to Canada was a big change in my life. I was totally culture-shocked . . . I didn't know anybody and the teacher couldn't speak to me because I didn't understand English. There were a couple of girls and boys who knew Vietnamese, but they didn't like to speak it. I felt so strange in the environment. The teacher asked me questions, but I couldn't understand. I just sat there quiet and my tears kept running down. I felt completely helpless. I felt so isolated. I had difficulties at school for a long time -- reading, talking. I felt stupid and lost interest in studying for a long time.

Such experiences, of course, are not unique to young women. They reflect the confusion and alienation felt by any child who is plunged into a different culture and language and

expected to function. For daughters of immigrants from traditional societies, however, the confusion and alienation may be compounded by very different rules about how a girl should behave. Parents may forbid touching boys while physical classes may require it. Families may tell daughters to keep quiet and help around the house while teachers may reward outspokenness.

Those in the schools who have contact with daughters of immigrants -- teachers, counsellors, principals -- have to be sensitive both to the difficulties faced by immigrant children in general, and to those faced by daughters of immigrants (whether they themselves immigrated or were born in Canada) in particular. Sensitivity can take many forms. For example, it includes finding ways to cross language barriers. While intense exposure is the best way to learn a new tongue, having a translator from the community drop in once in a while would ensure at least some clear communication. Teachers also need to receive training in communication methods that go beyond words; perhaps French immersion teachers and those working with hearing-impaired children could pass on some of their skills to colleagues.

Awareness of different cultural norms is equally important. Those in the schools must understand that values which seem normal or universal can be anything but. Even if a certain value, such as equality between males and females, is deliberately transmitted through educational curricula, teachers should remember that some students are brought

up with very different morals and present their message with the appropriate explanations. Behaviours that provoke concern must be understood within cultural contexts; if a daughter of Western parents and a daughter of immigrants both refuse to help plan a class party, the reasons for their refusal may differ radically. And sensitivity to processes that may be happening under the surface is necessary. One of Thuy's teachers, for example, interpreted her silence as a sign of a learning disability and referred her to a special class. But Thuy had the good fortune to be placed with a sympathetic teacher in that class, "a beautiful woman . . . like a second mother" who reached out to her, helping her to finally break out of her isolation and regain some self-confidence. Such sensitivity can be increased partly through cross-cultural training.

Clinicians who may see daughters of immigrants while they are in the school system and living at home or later, when they are adults, must develop a similar sensitivity. Too often, there is a tendency to interpret outcomes, including disorders, according to a standard set of assumptions which ignore social contexts. Although many daughters of immigrants develop unusually strong inner resources as a result of familial conflicts, they may also have a higher-than-average risk of experiencing certain kinds of negative outcomes, given their high levels of anger and frustration and the difficulty many have in discussing these with others. Indeed, participants in the study reported several long-term effects, including depression, which can only be comprehended if one is aware of the

underlying history, a sort of history which has not been a part of the conceptual framework of most clinicians to date because it has been relatively rare. Improved awareness of histories and social contexts will almost certainly lead to better therapy and treatment.

Policy-makers and administrators at all levels of government can also benefit from findings such as those presented in the previous section. They help illustrate the tensions and difficulties inherent in immigration from traditional societies, immigration which today is the rule, not the exception. A debate has begun in Canada over multiculturalism. There is no doubt that Canada's openness to other cultures has helped make this country a desirable destination for many immigrants. Some of the implications for teachers and clinicians outlined above will require a more truly multicultural approach to pedagogy and therapy. On the other hand, the study makes it clear that there are limits to multiculturalism. Theoretically, the policy should allow every immigrant to maintain his or her culture upon after arrival. In practice, this is not possible in some areas. Although Canadian identity is an amorphous concept at best, there are still certain values that are considered fundamental and deeply embedded in the mainstream culture of Canadian society. Among these are values relating to women's basic equality with men and their right to freedom and opportunities equivalent to those enjoyed by men.

Government policies must reflect this reality. Integration programs which have been

established as part of multiculturalism must be enhanced, a step actually demanded by community groups themselves in appearances before the Spicer Commission on Canadian unity during 1991. It is not enough to assure immigrants that their cultures will be respected. An effort must also be made to explain to them some of the core beliefs of Canadian society, beliefs that will inevitably penetrate their families if they have children in the school system. Failure to provide such information sets parents and their children up for the sorts of conflicts described by the interview participants. Obviously, informing immigrants about core values of mainstream Canada around women and their rights is not going to suddenly transform belief systems. But it may help immigrants to better understand why their daughters make certain demands and to better adjust when tensions do arise. The best way to disseminate such information would be in the immigrants' native language and through their own communities.

Compassion for both daughters and their parents is required. There is no point in placing blame for the conflicts which occur. They are a part of crossing cultural chasms. Certainly, in most cases, parents' rules and restrictions simply recreate the environment in which they grew up and are an expression of concern for daughters' well-being and safety, whatever the results. Parents' concerns have to be understood from their frame of reference. According to many participants, parents believed that women in Canada face a host of real dangers not faced by women in their native lands, a perception that may in

part reflect the fact that much of parents' knowledge of mainstream Canadian society was gained through the media rather than regular, first-hand contact. Whatever the degree of truth in this perception, it does provide an understandable basis for protectiveness.

Judgements of parents' attitudes are not helpful and not needed. What is needed is greater sensitivity to the processes at work and the development of responses that will help ease each side's frustrations.

Future Research

As stated in the first sections of the paper, this study was preliminary. Qualitative in design, it has provided insights into the experiences of daughters of immigrants from traditional cultures that suggest directions for future research.

The first direction involves a broadening of focus. Having established some of the patterns common to this population, it would be interesting to compare it with daughters of Western-born parents through both qualitative and quantitative research. One approach would be to design a closed-ended questionnaire to measure whether, as suggested by other studies, the same topics of conflict exist, whether immigrant parents are perceived as more restrictive in their attitudes and authoritarian in their reactions, and what the relationship is between women's values and those of their parents. The last element would permit us to see whether daughters of immigrants do, in fact, move further from their parents' belief systems than daughters of Western-born parents, as the results of this

study indicate. Use of such a questionnaire with women of different generations would also show whether and at what pace descendants of immigrants from traditional societies are being pulled into the value mainstream, the Canadian ideal of cultural pluralism notwithstanding.

The second direction involves a narrowing of focus to some of the demographic factors which appeared significant in the results of this study. Specifically, more research with the group that appeared to have the most difficulties, the immigrant families from the Middle East and Northern Africa, could be useful. If the parent-daughter frictions in this community are particularly severe, it might be the place to start with education programs of the sort suggested above. Another interesting area of research is the development of the relationship between traditional mothers and their daughters. Clearly, these relationships tend to evolve more than relationships with fathers. Examining how and why through further in-depth studies could be fascinating.

A third line of research might examine the relationship daughters of immigrants have with the mainstream value system which plays such a central role in creating tensions with their parents. As noted repeatedly throughout this paper, these women are caught "between two worlds." Presumably, this leads to conflict not only with parents, but also with the schools, peers, and broader society which transmit Western cultural messages. Investigation of this subject will help complete the picture which the present study has

begun to reveal.

Continuing research in this area is important. This study has indicated that daughters of immigrants face challenges that are, in some ways, unique. As the number of families coming to Canada from traditional societies continues to grow, developing better understanding of their experiences will be crucial if Canada wishes to facilitate their adjustment to life in this country and if professionals coming into contact with them wish to respond sensitively and effectively to their needs.

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Appendix 1:
Background Information on Participants

Background Information Tables

The information contained in the three tables on the following pages is an exact reproduction of the information provided by the participants on their Background Information forms. Where a participant did not supply an answer, the space in the table has been left blank.

Name	Age	Occupation	Country of Birth	Age at Immig'n	Mother's Country of Origin	Father's Country of Origin
Michelle	26	Accounting clerk	Lebanon	16	Lebanon	Lebanon
Jihan	19	Student	Canada		Lebanon	Lebanon
Sharon	20	Student	Canada		Canada	Lebanon
Rymonda	18	Student	Lebanon	1	Lebanon	Lebanon
Nada	20	Student	Egypt	7	Egypt	Egypt
Bahia	35	Research assistant	Iraq	12	Iraq	Iraq
Mirielle	26	Student	Iran	13	Iran	Iran
Nahia	20	Student	Canada		Turkey	Turkey
Bella	19	Student	Ethiopia	1	Nigeria	Nigeria
Ratna	21	Student	USA	1	India	India
Indira	24	Researcher	Canada		India	India
Archna	20	Student	Sri Lanka	12	Sri Lanka	Sri Lanka
Lakshme	19	Student	Sri Lanka	13	Sri Lanka	
Kemla	21	Student	Pakistan	Few months	Pakistan	India
Suniti	20	Student	Canada		India	India
Susan	18	Student	Canada		Tanzania (Indian)	Canada
Rani	18	Student	Canada		India	India
Gumla	19	Student	Uganda	6 months	Uganda (Indian)	Uganda (Indian)
Fatima	18	Student	Canada		India	India
Judy	21	Student	Vietnam	8	Vietnam	Vietnam
Loan	21	Sales clerk	Vietnam	6	Vietnam	
Thuy	21	Student	Vietnam	14	Vietnam	Vietnam
Lisa	19	Student	Vietnam	11	Vietnam	Vietnam
Lien	20	Student	Vietnam	13	Vietnam	
Margaret	19	Student	Canada		Hong Kong	Hong Kong
Chang	21	Student	China	10	China	China
Nancy	19	Student	Canada		China	China
Danielle	20	Student	Malaysia	3	Malaysia	Malaysia
Heather	19	Student	Canada		Taiwan	Hungary

Name	Mother's Age at Imm'n	Father's Age at Imm'n	Mother's Years in Canada	Father's Years in Canada	Language Spoken at Home	Mother's Language at Work	Father's Language at Work
Michelle	47	56	10	10	Arabic	English	English
Jihan	14	2	35	42	English	English	English
Sharon		41		10	Arabic, English	English	Arabic, Turkish, Armenian
Rymonda	22	29	18	18	Arabic	English	English
Nada	31	36	13	13	Arabic	English	English
Bahia	44	40	23	18	English	English	English
Minelle	18	20	4	25	Persian	English	English
Nahia	19	24	22	26	Turkish	English	English
Bella	33	39	17	17	English	English	English
Ratna			25	25	Bengali	English	English
Indira	26	26	25	25	English, Hindi	English, Hindi	English
Archna	43	42	7	7	English	English	English
Lakshme	46		6		Tamil, English		
Kemla	30	23	20	40	Urdu	English	English
Suniti	20	30	20	20	English, Urdu	English	English
Susan	Late 20s		20		English		English
Rani					English, Punjabi	English	
Gumla	36	38	19	19	Catchi	English	English
Fatima	25	27	19	22	English		English
Judy	43		12		Vietnamese, English		
Loan	27		10		Vietnamese, English	English	
Thuy	39	38	7	10	Vietnamese	Vietnamese	Chinese, Vietnamese
Lisa	51	54	9	9	Vietnamese		
Lien	50		7		Chinese	Chinese	
Margaret	34	35	21	21	Chinese		Chinese
Chang	48	44	11	11	Chinese, English		
Nancy	21	22	35	35	English, Chinese		English
Danielle	27	32	17	17	English, Chinese	English, Chinese	English
Heather	24	21	28	35	English	English	English

Name	Per cent of Parents' Friends from Native Co.	Per cent of Friends from Other Co's	Per cent of Friends from Canada	Religion	Own Practice	Mother's Practice	Father's Practice
Michelle	100	0	0	Christian	Never	Holidays	Holidays
Jihan	20	20	60	Christian	Never	Never	Never
Sharon	90	1	0	Christian	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly
Rymonda	75	10	15	Christian	Holidays	Holidays	Holidays
Nada	50	50	0	Mormon	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly
Bahia	1	4	95	Christian	Never	Never	Holidays
Mirielle	5	65	10	Muslim	Holidays	Holidays	Holidays
Nahia	Least	Most		Muslim		Daily	Daily
Bella	80	10	10	Christian	Weekly	Daily	Daily
Ratna	50	0	50	Hindu	Never	Never	Never
Indira	100	0	0	None-self, Hindu-parents	Never	Holidays	Holidays
Archna	98	1	1	Christian-mother, Hindu-father		Daily	Daily
Lakshme	10	50	40	Christian	Daily	Daily	
Kemla	60	20	20	Muslim	Monthly	Never	Never
Suniti	90	0	0	Muslim	Daily	Daily	Daily
Susan	50	10	40	Christian	Weekly	Daily	Daily
Rani	100	0	0	Sikh	Monthly	Daily	
Gumla	90	0	0	Muslim	Daily	Daily	Daily
Fatima	75	2	23	Hindu	Never	Holidays	Holidays
Judy	50	20	30	Christian	Holidays	Holidays	
Loan	70	5	25	Buddhist	Holidays	Holidays	
Thuy	25	30	5	Christian	Daily	Daily	Holidays
Lisa	90	6	4	None			
Lien	40	20	0	Buddhist	Never	Holidays	
Margaret	99	0	0	Don't know			
Chang	100	0	0	Not applic.			
Nancy	90	5	5	None			
Danielle	85	0	15	Christian-self, Buddhist-mother, agnostic-father	Holidays	Monthly	Never
Heather	80	3	17	Christian	Holidays	Weekly	Holidays

Appendix 2:
Background Information Sheet

Background Information

Please fill in your personal details in the space provided.

Your age: _____ Occupation: _____

In what country were you born? _____

If you were not born in Canada, how old were you when you arrived? _____

From what country did your parents immigrate? Mother: _____
Father: _____

How old were your parents when they arrived in Canada? Mother: _____
Father: _____

How many years have your parents been living in Canada? Mother: _____
Father: _____

What language do you speak at home? _____

What language does your mother speak at work? If she doesn't work outside the home, skip the question. Please put X where appropriate.

() English, () French, () Other _____

What language does your father speak at work? If he doesn't work outside the home, skip the question.

() English, () French, () Other _____

Approximately what percentage (%) of your parents' friends immigrated from your parents' native country/ies? _____%

What proportion immigrated from other countries? _____%

What proportion were born in Canada? _____%

What is your religion? _____

How often do you practice your religion?

() daily, () weekly, () monthly, () on important holidays, () never.

How often do your parents practice their religion?

Mother: () daily, () weekly, () monthly, () on important holidays, () never.

Father: () daily, () weekly, () monthly, () on important holidays, () never.

* * * * *

If you are interested in receiving the results of this study when it is completed, please write your name and address here:

Name: _____

Address: _____

Appendix 3:

Interview Questions

Interview Questions

Many times as we're growing up, we have disagreements or conflicts with our parents about different things. Some of these conflict are resolved and some are not.

- (1) What were the main areas of agreement between you and your parents as you were growing up?
- (2) What were the main topics of conflict between you and your parents as you were growing up? Please indicate whether each topic of conflict was mainly between you and one parent or whether it was with both parents.
- (3) How did you react to the conflicts? For example: feelings of anger; guilt; discussions with others (friends, other members of your family, teachers); minimizing contact with your parents; rebelling; and so on.
- (4) Were you able to talk about these conflicts with your father or mother?
- (5) How did your mother react to the conflicts? How did your father react to the conflicts?
- (6) In your opinion, what was the source (or sources) of the conflicts between you and your parents?
- (7) Do these conflicts still exist? Have any been resolved or forgotten? If so, how?
- (8) Which conflicts remain unresolved? How do you react to these conflicts now? How do your mother and father react to them?
- (9) How have these conflicts affected you personally?
- (10) What has been the affect of these conflicts on your relations with each of your parents and how would you describe your relations with them now?
- (11) Would you raise your children the same way your parents raised you? If so, why? If not, why not?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.

Additional Questions

12. If you have brothers, did your parnts treat you any differently from them?
13. If you have sisters, did your parents treat you any differently from them?

Appendix 4:
Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

I, _____ agree to participate in the study conducted by Zohar Streiner about daughters of immigrants. I understand that the study involves an interview one to one and a half hours in length and that the Interview Questions will be given to me ahead of time.

I also understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that the results and my identity will be kept in strict confidence.

Name (Print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: ____________

Appendix 5:
Written Debriefing

Written Debriefing

Thank you very much for your participation. There was no deception in this study. The purpose of the research is to examine the experiences of daughters of immigrant parents who came to Canada from societies that are different from mainstream Canadian culture. I am trying to explore whether differences that exist between different cultures may affect the second generation. The research focuses on daughters because there is some evidence that parents tend to be more restrictive with daughters than with sons.

All the data will be kept in strict confidence. If you are interested in receiving the results, I would be happy to forward them to you; just leave your address with me. Also, if you have any ethical concerns about this study, please contact Dr. C. Herdman, the chair of the Ethics Committee (788-2689), or Dr. W. Jones, the chair of the Psychology Department (788-2648).

Thank you very much again.

Appendix 6:
Overview of Responses

Overview of Responses

Table 1: Areas of Agreement

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
The importance of education	2	6	5	13
None	4	1	2	7
No answer	2	1	3	6
Basic morals	0	4	0	4
The importance of family	1	1	2	4
Respect for parents	1	0	0	1

Table 2: Topics of Conflict

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Curfews	7	9	9	25
Dating	8	7	8	23
Going out with friends	6	10	6	22
Co-habitation before marriage, pre-marital sex	6	5	1	12
Moving out	2	4	5	11
Education, choice of career	1	3	4	8
Clothes and make-up	1	3	0	4
Religion	0	1	1	2
Working while at school	0	2	0	2
Lack of attention to parents	1	0	0	1

Table 3: Reactions of Participants

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Emotional - anger, frustration, etc.	9	10	10	29
Avoidance - hiding behaviours, lying, etc.	7	9	7	23
Assertive - open disobedience, etc.	7	7	7	21
Moving out	3 + 2 (planning)	3	2 + 1 (planning)	8 + 3 (planning)
Turning to others	3	2	1	6

Table 4: Ability to Discuss with Parents

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
None	2	3	6	11
Some discussion with mother	6	6	2	14
Some discussion with father	1	0	2	3
Some discussion with both parents	0	1	0	1

Table 5 (part 1): Fathers' Reactions

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Violence	5	0	1	6
Yelling	3	1	2	6
Putting foot down	3	0	1	4
Blaming mother	1	2	0	3
Yielding	0	0	3	3
Silent treatment	2	0	0	2
Nagging	0	0	2	2
Family pressure	1	0	1	2
Putting down	0	1	0	1
Looking for compromise	0	1	0	1

Table 5 (part 2): Mothers' Reactions

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Looking for compromise	1	4	1	6
Yelling	1	1	3	5
Putting foot down	0	3	1	4
Trying to explain	1	1	1	3
Yielding	0	0	3	3
Nagging	0	0	3	3
Family pressure	2	0	1	3
Silent treatment	1	0	1	2
Putting down	1	1	0	2

Table 6: Sources of Conflicts

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Culture	9	10	10	29
Concerns for safety	0	4	1	5
Religion	1	4	0	5
Personality differences	0	1	0	1
Generation gap	0	1	0	1
Unemployment and isolation	0	1	0	1
Education	0	0	1	1
Parental illness	1	0	0	1

Table 7: Conflicts Resolved

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Not resolved	7	6	4	17
Separation	2	3	3	8
Concessions by parents	1	1	3	5
Mutual concessions	0	0	1	1

Table 8: Conflicts Not Resolved

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Dating	6	3	2	11
Curfews	4	3	3	10
Going out with friends	2	2	2	6
Living with partner	0	2	0	2
Will favouring sons	1	0	0	1
Parental separation	0	0	1	1
Moving out	0	0	1	1

Table 9: Effects on Participants Personally

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Becoming more assertive	4	2	3	9
Frustration	1	3	3	7
Difficult relationships	4	0	1	5
Discomfort in parents' home	1	3	1	5
Shyness	1	0	2	3
Pain	2	1	0	3
Confusion	0	1	1	2
Anger	1	1	0	2
Guilt	0	1	0	1
Depression	0	0	1	1
Stubbornness	1	0	0	1
Value changes	0	0	1	1
Value maintenance	0	0	1	1
Planning for future	0	0	1	1
Feelings of inferiority	0	0	1	1
Leaving school	1	0	0	1
Becoming more open-minded	0	0	1	1
Don't know	1	0	0	1

Table 10: Effects on Relationship with Parents

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Strained in past	9	10	10	29
Recent improvement	3	5	7	15
No improvement	3	3	2	8
Improvement with one parent	2	2	1	5
No contact	1	0	0	1

Table 11 (part 1): Raising Own Children, Changes in Approach

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Granting more independence	7	7	5	19
Better communication	5	5	5	15
Be more supportive	3	3	3	9
No discrimination between sons and daughters	2	1	3	6
Ignoring community pressures	1	0	0	1
More involvement of father in parenting	0	1	0	1

Table 11 (part 2): Raising Own Children, Same Approach

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Importance of education	0	1	4	5
Maintaining culture	0	1	1	2
Importance of family	0	0	2	2
Being affectionate	0	1	0	1
Respect for children	0	1	0	1
Not pushing children to move out at 18	0	0	1	1
Maintaining religion	0	1	0	1
Respect for parents	0	1	0	1
Being communicative	0	0	1	1

Table 12: Relative Treatment of Brothers (14 respondents)

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Parents stricter with daughters	5	3	5	13
No difference	0	1	0	1

Table 13: Relative Treatment of Older Sisters (12 respondents)

Response	MENA	IS	EA	Total
Parents stricter with older sister who "paved the way"	5	3	1	9
More lenient with older sister	0	0	1	1
N/A because older sister never challenged parents	1 (also gave first response)	0	1	2

Appendix 7:
Summary of Interviews

Summary of the Interviews

This summary is organized around the thirteen interview questions and the three groups of participants. In other words, the description of responses proceeds as follows:

- question one, daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa
- question one, daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent
- question one, daughters of immigrants from East Asia
- question two, daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa ... etc.

Each participant's responses are paraphrased or short, representative quotations are provided. These were preferred to full transcripts of the interviews, which would have been unwieldy and of debatable value. Where a participant's response is not mentioned, it is because that she did not answer the question.

Question 1: **What were the main areas of agreement between you and your parents as you were growing up?**

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: No areas of agreement.

Jihan: "(Laughing) We can't agree on anything ... " When asked the question again, Jihan responded: "nothing that I can think of ... seriously, there's probably something way back somewhere."

Rymonda: Had difficulties with the question, noting that when she was younger, she had no choice but to listen to her parents.

Nada: Laughed and said: "let's go to the second question."

Bahia: Children have to behave themselves.

Mirielle: The importance of education.

Bella: The importance of education and the importance of the family.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: At the beginning of the interview: "This is a hard question. Maybe I should start with the second question." Later she said the importance of education was "about the only" area of agreement.

Indira: "I had trouble with this question. I guess we agree on some of the moral issues, like drugs being bad for you or smoking -- very simplistic morals that in a way are neutral, that there are no cultural values attached to ... not sex for example ... These things are very superficial ... I can't think of much else we agreed on.

Archana: The importance of education. "As far as anything else goes, I don't think we agree on much. Definitely not, which is pretty sad."

Lakshme: The importance of education, basic values except those relating to freedom, curfews and the like.

Kemla: The importance of education.

Suniri: "Doing well in school so you can support yourself is about the only thing. Let's go to the second question. There I'll have much more to say."

Rani: Basic values.

Gumla: The importance of family and school. Moral conduct according to Islam.

Fatima: "Agreement? Boy, agreement? I don't know. Philosophically, we are different. There probably are some, but I just can't think of them."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

- Loan:** "When I was growing up, there were no agreements. We fought, we hated each other. Everything she [her mother] said, I rebelled against."
- Thuy:** The importance of education.
- Lisa:** The importance of education.
- Lien:** The importance of education before marriage.
- Margaret:** The importance of education and the family.
- Danielle:** The importance of education, being successful, the family.
- Heather:** None.

- Question 2:** What were the main topics of conflict between you and you parents as you were growing up? Please indicate whether each topic of conflict was mainly between you and one parent or whether it was with both parents.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

- Michelle:** Problems began two years after immigration (age 16): "We [she and her sister] started to change ... They [her parents] couldn't accept the fact that we were changing so much."
- Dating non-Lebanese men: "I can't stand Lebanese guys, I don't like their mentality ... My way of thinking is different from the way they think ... To them [her parents], Canadian men are no good, they are going to take advantage of you, they are going to divorce you the next day ... according to my parents, you should never divorce, even if you are very unhappy."

Curfews, going out with friends, moving out before marriage, living with a man before marriage, premarital sex.

- Jihan:** Moving out before marriage: Her mother refused to help her with tuition if she moved to Montreal to study.
Living with someone before marriage: "I'll be disowned. They will never, never, never approve of it. No matter what. Even if I'm 30, forget it. My mother says, if you are good enough to live with, you are good enough to marry."
Dress and makeup, dating, school, curfews, going out with friends.
- Sharon:** Dating: Her father "investigates" everyone she goes out with and forbids her to date someone he does not approve of but she insists, "I'll marry whoever I want." Her father "would like us kids to marry Lebanese ... but he says that if I meet a man who treats me well, that's fine." She believes the bias against partners from other origins is not limited to immigrants: "You get that anywhere, it's with any culture."
Moving out to go to school.
- Rymonda:** Conflicts started at age 13.
Freedom granted to her, curfews, going out with friends, dating, living with someone before marriage.
- Nada:** Curfews, going out with friends in the evenings, dating non-Egyptians, having platonic relationships with men, living with someone before marriage.
- Bahia:** Curfews: "I was 26 or 27 when I left home and even then, they expected me to be home by 11:00 and gave me a hard time if I was late."
Dating: She had to introduce men to her parents before she could go out with them. "It's kind of hard for Canadian boys to understand why a girl would want to introduce them to her parents when they go out for the first time."
Seeing divorced, separated, or dark-skinned men.
Parents' desire for her to marry a cousin so that he would not have to return to Iraq during its war with Iran.
- Mirielle:** The participant currently lives with her mother, who is not well: Critical, disrespectful attitude of mother, limitations on activities, complaints from mother about lack of attention.

Nahia: Dating: She had a secret boyfriend in grade 9. "If my father knew, he probably would have broken my legs."
Parents' strictness, curfews, going out with friends, living with someone before marriage.

Bella: Curfews: "If I was allowed to go out at all, I had to come back really early. People would just start coming by the time we had to be home."
Dating: "They don't want us to date before we have a career. They want us to marry from our own country."
Going out with friends: "They want me to stay home to study, study ... they don't want me to be influenced by Canadians."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: Friends: "It was about ... who I can see. I found that they were more over-protective than parents of my other friends who are Canadian, American, or European."
Curfews: "I can go over to someone's house at night once a month, that's it."
Dating in general, dating "Canadians" in particular.

Indira: "We used to argue a lot. I think it's crossed just about everything on the face of the earth. We deal with everything from totally opposite sides ... Anything that involved my getting involved with this other [mainstream Canadian] culture that they didn't understand."
Dating: "Of course, this was very contentious. Even now, it's fairly contentious."
Going out with non-Indians: "Anything that involved outside culture is where the conflict came in."
Studies: Her parents refused to pay for the music degree she hoped to obtain. "They can understand things like science, psychology, education, things that are solid. What the hell do you do with a music degree?"
Working during studies: "They didn't understand my need for economic independence."
Curfews, living with someone before marriage.

Archana: "My entire lifestyle is different from theirs, very, very different. I don't agree with a lot of things in my culture ... Things are still coming out. I don't think

they realize that I adapted into the Canadian mainstream. They are extremely close-minded."

Dating: She does not want to date Indian or Sri Lankan men. "I don't have anything in common with them. They are too conservative and traditional."

Living with someone before marriage: She is doing this secretly because her parents would fear for her reputation and insist on marriage if she told them."

Having male friends, curfews, clothes.

Lakshme: Dating: She is not allowed to bring men home unless her mother knows him. Her partner must be well-educated, Christian, and must treat her well. Origin is not important.

Freedom, curfews, pre-marital sex.

Kemla: Friends: Her parents were relaxed when she was with Indian friends, but not when she was with "whites", "because they think my Indian friends don't drink." Curfews.

Suniti: Going out with friends, dating, leaving home before marriage.

Susan: Dating: Her mother used to pick up the phone when she was talking with men and tell her to get off. "I wasn't allowed to date for the longest time."

Dating outside culture: Now, there is friction because she is seeing a Muslim. "This is a big no-no ... for them, it's the biggest disgrace for the family."

Social activities: She was not permitted to go to dances or parties because "my mother didn't want me talking to boys, doing bad things ... I was very sheltered."

Women's roles, premarital sex, curfews, clothing and makeup, moving out for school, working during studies.

Rani: "There weren't many areas we disagreed about ... The areas of disagreement started when I was a teenager ... We had an arrangement and this is what kept us from having a lot of problems - I had to obey every rule they made until I was 18, and then hopefully they would be able to trust me and I would be able to appreciate my freedom more ... Don't get me wrong. I think that if my father was alive, my story would have been very different. If he had to die, it's better that he died when I was at this stage [16 years old] so I could have the freedom to do things the way I wanted."

Curfews, going out with friends.

Gumla: Dating: "I didn't start dating until I was 18. It wasn't really said that I shouldn't be doing it but the feeling was there, the environment."
 Religion: Her parents wanted her to go to the mosque every day; Fridays were especially problematic.
 Going out with friends from school, curfews, makeup, school.
 Mostly with mother.

Fatima: "We disagree basically about everything," particularly around "what women should and shouldn't do."
 Curfews, going out with friends, choice of career, moving away from home for studies.
 Mostly with father.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

Judy: Problems started around age 12. "My mother didn't give me enough room to do things my way."
 Curfews, going out with friends, taking time off before university.

Loan: Dating non-Vietnamese: "My mother was sort of a hypocrite. Her boyfriend is Canadian but she wanted me to stick to my language and culture. At the same time, we were living with him, so we were kind of confused."
 Dating in general, phone calls from male friends, curfews, education, moving out.

Thuy: Dating a "Canadian": "We had a very difficult time. My parents didn't think he would be good enough for me because he's different ... In my culture, you have to stay in the marriage no matter what, even if there is abuse. They believe that you can't divorce and they thought that if I'd marry him there would be the possibility of separation. They had a bias against him and they didn't give him a chance."
 Curfews and religion.

Lisa: "I think I'm the person who caused problems in the family most of the time. I always had different opinions from them." She attributes this to the fact that she was the youngest at the time of immigration.
 Dating a non-Vietnamese: Was "a big issue" until her mother was told by an old

Vietnamese woman how well the latter's "Canadian" grandson-in-law treated her.
Going out, curfews, moving away before marriage.

Lien: Conflicts began a year after immigration: "My friends were allowed to go out at night but I couldn't. My friends would invite me for a party and the dancing wouldn't start until late but by that time I had to be home."
Going out and curfews.

Margaret: "We used to disagree about many things because I was growing up in Canada. I watched TV, went to English school, but they weren't used to that."
Going out with friends: "They never understood why I would like to sleep over at friends' houses. They still don't approve of it. And why should I go out with friends."
Choice of career: "For my parents, you go to school, you come out, get a good job, and when they get old you support them. They say, 'how will you be able to support us if you get a job like that?' So they say, 'you should be a doctor or dentist or something like that.'"
Moving out for studies: "They're very protective. My father is very sexist. He said, you're a little girl, you can't live on your own.' If it was my brother, things would be different."
Curfews, dating in general, dating a "Canadian".

Chang: Curfews and dating.
Mostly with father.

Nancy: Curfews: "I would go to a movie with my friend and then come right home. I couldn't go out with them after the movie."
Dating non-Chinese men: Her parents would "kick me out of the house, and they won't support me."
Having "Canadian" friends, dating, moving out.

Danielle: "The amount of Westernization that I was getting."
Having "Canadian" friends: "Me growing up in Canada when I was so little, I don't really consider myself Chinese. I consider myself Canadian. And I find a lot more in common with people who are not Chinese, because I find that the Chinese are more old-fashioned."
Curfews, dating, moving away.

Mostly with mother.

Heather: "We disagreed about a lot of things but it wasn't anything serious."
School, curfews, dating, living with someone before marriage.

✧ ✧ ✧

Question 3: How did you react to the conflicts? For example:
feelings of anger; guilt; discussions with others
(friends, other members of your family, teachers;
minimizing contact with your parents; rebelling; and
so on.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: During the first year of university, she complied with her parent's rules. Then, she stopped complying: "I reached a certain stage that I could not take it anymore. I mean, I have my own life to live. I was old enough to make my own decisions. They decided to bring me to a society that is not Lebanese. It isn't my fault that they brought me to an open society ... It isn't my fault that I've changed and adapted to the Western way of thought."
Moved out: Her younger sister left during university, but at first Michelle "didn't have the guts to do it." Eventually, she began to feel that her parents did not want her at home and decided to leave. A fight ensued -- her father bit her and her mother chased after her with a knife. She lived with her sister for three months and then found an apartment of her own.
Lied, dated a "Canadian" in secret, rebelled openly, disobeyed curfews, turned to her sister for support.

Jihan: Yelled at mother: "We are always yelling. She'll call me a slut and I'll call her a bitch ... I will say things to hurt my mother so she can see how she hurts me by not letting me do things."
Rebelled: "I'll do everything they don't want me to do just to prove my point."
Anger and frustration, attempt to move out.

- Sharon:** Did things secretly: Saw men her father did not approve of.
Lied, moved away, manipulated her father so that he would feel in control while she did whatever she wanted.
- Rymonda:** Upset, but tried to understand: "They don't want anything bad to happen to me. I respect them very much. They are old-fashioned and they are trying to adjust to here . . . but there are so many bad things going on that they say never happened in Lebanon . . . rape, divorce."
Lied: "I don't like lying, but I can't always tell them the truth."
Challenged: "Now that I'm older, I can say more. I'm not as pushed down on ... I usually argue now, I will stand up for myself. But in the past, I wouldn't dare to open my mouth. Oh no! I'm getting to the age [19] where it's OK to say something."
- Nada:** Disobeyed rules secretly: From age 16, she would sneak out of the house through her room window. Saw boyfriends behind her parents' backs and lied to her parents.
Moved out: She was caught after two years. Her father bit her and the day after, she left home and moved to another city.
Laid down some ground rules: For returning home to study.
- Bahia:** Complied to avoid upsetting father: "I stayed a good little girl ... I was brought up to be quiet, and even now I find I'm probably too quiet. It's probably because when I was young, I wasn't encouraged to assert myself."
Hid the fact from her mother that her current boyfriend is divorced.
Rebelled once when her parents pressed her to marry a cousin so that he would not have to return to Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war. Upset by the demand, she went to stay with her boyfriend until her parents relented.
- Mirielle:** Tried to explain: Said to mother, "when you were my age, you went out with friends, you had fun, you did exactly what you wanted to do. You told me many, many times that your mother wouldn't agree with some of these things, but you still did them. You know, you made your choice. That's all I'm asking, I want to do the same."
Turned to friends for support.
Planning to move out: "I tried for four years [with her sick mother] but I just don't get anywhere. Sometimes, I feel guilty. Maybe I don't work at it enough

but when I talk to friends, they say, 'you're doing too much, someone else would have given up earlier.' ... I'm not a person who likes to fight every single day. I want to have a quiet life."

Nahia: Complied with most rules while at home: "I respect them [curfews] when I'm home and I come on time."
Screamed and protested: "I'll keep things to myself or I'll get violent ... my mother will have to hold me."
Lied, disobeyed rules when living away from home.

Bella: Angry, but did not disobey openly: "With my parents, you can't really talk back. You have to respect the elders. They are not open-minded."
Disobeyed behind parents' backs: "a lot, a lot. At the beginning of high school, I didn't, but later I did. I'd have to say, I'm working [after school] when I was going to a movie."
Turned to siblings for support.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: Lied: Would tell parents she was going to a female friend's house when she went out with her boyfriend. Would have him drop her off near a bus stop so her parents would think she had taken the bus home.
Had secret phone calls: Boyfriends would leave a message on her answering machine and when she called them back, she would avoid using his name and turn up the television or radio.
Disobeyed openly: "I felt it wasn't fair. Then, I got very mad, so I would go out. I would tell my mother just a few minutes before I left, so she couldn't stop me. I got in trouble because of it but eventually my mother and I worked it out."
Angry and upset, compared her situation unfavourably to friends'.

Indira: Ignored parents: "I would have a tendency to shut them out. My first reaction would be to just turn them off, just stop listening, stop feeling, wait till it's over, go to my room ... There's not much you can do when you're growing up. As a teenager, how much can you do? There are really limited ways, when you are between 12 and 17, you can react."

Yelled and fought: "I still remember the first time I wanted to go to dances. I was screaming on the floor. It was really explosive and finally, they did let me go. I was 13 at the time and had to be home by 10:00 ... it was always a fight when I wanted to do things."

Dated secretly: Never told parents she was seeing men between the ages of 16 and 18. She would tell them she was going to school yearbook meetings.

Supported herself: She told her parents she could do whatever she wanted because she had her own money and her parents threatened to call her employer and tell him she was quitting.

Moved out of her parents' home while in university.

Archana: Lied and hid activities: If she tried to tell them what she was doing "there would be all kinds of accusations flying. It was way too much so I started lying again."
Frustration: "They don't realize I'm 20 and it's very frustrating, it's incredibly frustrating. I'm very angry. I also feel guilty when I ask for things."
Moved away to university: "It was a legal way to leave my parents' house, let's put it that way."
Supported herself: In order to avoid accusations during arguments that she does not appreciate her parents' help.
Turned to friends and other family members for support, minimized contact with parents.

Lakshme: Complied with many rules: She would argue against them but ultimately, "when she [her mother] says not to do something, I won't do it."
Disobeyed secretly: She would say she studying in the library when she went out with friends. She applied to out-of-city universities behind her mother's back and then presented her acceptance there as a fait accompli.
Discussed some issues: "But we don't talk about guys or sex, we don't talk about it at all."
Guilt when disobeying.

Kemla: Tried to understand: Kemla was sent to India for four years during high school so "I tolerate it more because I know where he [her father] is coming from."
Complied on some matters: On dating, "I don't fight it because I know it's a no-win battle. I know my father will [say], 'what's the point of my sending you to India?' ... I don't really want to fight."
Showed contrived regret so father would relax, hid some behaviours, turned to

Indian friends for support.

- Suniti:** Yelled, minimized contact with parents, hid behaviours, tried to talk with parents.
- Susan:** Hid behaviours: She snuck out of the house for dates until her mother, whom she describes as "nosy", found out. Mother also found hidden birth control pills. Rebelled.
Guilt when she disobeyed.
- Rani:** Discussed and argued about issues causing friction.
Rebelled.
In the interview, told of a Sikh friend who felt so oppressed by her parents that she tried to commit suicide.
- Gumla:** Made deals: For example, she would say, "I will do well [in school] if you will buy me this or that."
Sometimes skipped school.
Ignored parents' rules on some matters, but did not rebel on major issues.
- Fatima:** Fought and rebelled: "I found that I'm very aggressive with my parents, I tend to get angry."
Tried to run away.
Lied, especially around school: When spending time with friends, she would say she was going to the library because "this is something i know my parents would always approve of."
In the interview, told of a friend, also a daughter of very restrictive immigrant parents, who ended up in a psychiatric ward.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

- Judy:** Talked issues over with her mother.
- Loan:** Disobeyed: "Everything I did went against her will. I did what I wanted."
Often hid disobedience: For example, she would tell her mother she was sleeping over at a friend's house when she went out and tell the friend to back up the story if her mother called.

Moved out: "I just couldn't stand it anymore."

Thuy: Hid behaviours, cried "a lot", tried to talk things through and had boyfriend come over to do the same.

Lisa: Confusion and frustration: "When I talked to my friends, they said, 'this is your own life. Do whatever you want.' But this is not the way my family thinks. We're family, so we do everything together and cover for each other. You don't leave your own life."

Disobeyed on some issues, including curfews.

Turned to an older brother for support: He has been in Canada a long time and her parents respect his opinion. He helped ease their opposition to her bringing male friends home to visit.

Planning to move to another city: The first time she brought up this issue, her parents objected, citing cultural values, and "I regretted opening my mouth and said so." Now, she is keeping quiet until the move. "I just want to get away. I'm treated like a little kid. I want my freedom."

In the interview, told of a friend who was a daughter of Southeast Asian diplomats who would sneak out. One morning at 5:00, she found her window frozen shut and had to ring the doorbell to enter her home. The next day, she arrived at school with a face full of bruises, but no one could do anything because of the parents' diplomatic immunity.

Lien: Kept silent to avoid escalation but did as she chose quietly.
Sometimes, tried to explain; sometimes, simply established faits accomplis.
Anger.

Margaret: Obeyed rules: "When I was young, I was terrified of my father. He was such an authority figure. So if he said stop doing something, I'd stop."

Hid her relationship: After some time, her boyfriend's family resented this and, at their suggestion, she introduced him to her parents as a friend. When he started coming over frequently, they got suspicious and told her to stop seeing him. She continued the relationship in secret.

Lied: Said she was working in the library when she went out.

Challenged some restrictions after age 16: For example, around choice of careers, she said, "if you can't accept it, what do you want me to do? I'm going anyways."

Resentment: Comparing herself to friends in the Chinese neighbourhoods, she said, "at least their parents would accept it [dating non-Chinese] because they don't want to lose their child. My father wouldn't accept it at all."

Chang: Obeyed: For example. "it was quiet in the house and I started whistling a song. My dad asked, 'what are you doing? You are female, you're not supposed to do that.' So right after that I stopped whistling. I don't know, I guess just because of his tone."
 Locked herself in her room or took long walks alone.
 Guilt.

Nancy: Hid behaviours: Saw a boyfriend secretly for some time, but the relationship ended when he decided all the tricks required for them to speak on the phone or see each other were not worthwhile.
 Anger and pain: "It took me a long time to get over that."
 Moved out: Applied to university in Ottawa partly as a way to justify leaving home. "It was hard for them [her parents] to let me go. The first few weeks, my mother called every day and questioned my activities."

Danielle: Challenged: When told she should speak Chinese at home, Danielle said they are in Canada where the two main languages are English and French and in the end, they agreed that her mother would address her in Chinese and English and she would answer in English only. When she turned 17, she stopped asking for permission to sleep over at friends' houses.
 Lied, minimized contact, rebelled.

Heather: Fought and sometimes disobeyed: "She [her mother] would nag and I wouldn't listen. I would turn away ... She was too uptight and old-fashioned and I was rebellious at that age."

Question 4: Were you able to talk about these conflicts with your father or mother?

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

- Michelle:** "No way! I can't communicate with them. If I have to talk, I have to fight ... We can't discuss. We fight, but we can't communicate ... I really envy people who can sit and talk to their parents, who can communicate
- Jihan:** Virtually no negotiation or compromise, especially with mother. "They [her parents] have the same mentality so basically, what my mother says,. my father agrees to."
- Sharon:** No room for negotiation with Lebanese step-father.
- Rymonda:** Could not discuss tensions when she was younger, but now she can talk with her mother. "With age it gets better." She does not talk about conflicts with her father.
- Nada:** No negotiation with her father, some with her mother.
- Bahia:** It was not possible to discuss disagreements with her late father. Her sister was living with and engaged to her partner and everyone in the family except her father knew.
Her mother was a little more open and sometimes covered up for her children's disobedience, but still Bahia could not really talk with her because "I knew she was always under my father and whatever he says, it's always ... his decision. He was on the top. If you ever went to her she would say, 'it's your father's decision.'"
- Mirielle:** She grew up with her father and can discuss things with him. She cannot talk about conflicts with her mother.
- Nahia:** "You can't negotiate with my dad. If he says something, you just do it . . . he's a pretty scary man."
Nahia's mother is more open. She speaks with her children about difficulties and sometimes covers up for them if they behave in ways that would upset their father.

Bella: No negotiation with father: "He thinks his views are right and that's it."
 "My mother will try to understand, but still" little real discussion.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: "I can't talk to my father." Her mother, however, often plays the role of mediator: "I talk to her all the time. She will try to understand. She is my best friend."

Indira: No discussion or negotiation.

Archna: She cannot discuss things with her father at all. She can talk to her mother but not on a very personal level. "I tried really hard to talk to them, but it just seemed to go over their heads. So what's the point? That's my attitude now."

Lakshme: She can talk to some extent with her mother.

Kemla: She cannot talk with her father. She can discuss some things with her mother, but not boyfriends or dating.

Suniti: She discusses some issues with her parents but others, such as dating a non-Muslim, are off-limits.

Susan: No real discussion.

Rani: "We always made deals, but talking to them, like just about problems and things, not really. I don't know, I never really felt comfortable. It's kind of different without my dad [who passed away two years ago]. We can be more open with my mom because she is not the father figure. So now we talk about premarital sex and abortion."

Gumla: Discussed issues with her mother, but not with her father.

Fatima: No real discussion.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

- Judy:** "My mother said, 'if you have a problem, come and talk to me. I don't want to be just a mother, but a friend.' We talk and we listen to each other's point of view, but still she wants me to do what she thinks is best for me."
- Loan:** No.
- Thuy:** "Most of the time, no. It's very hard to talk to my parents. In my culture, you're not supposed to talk against your parents, but to obey them."
- Lisa:** Her parents would talk about what they thought she should do without really listening to her opinion.
- Lien:** "I couldn't really discuss things with her [her mother] because she is fixed in her mind."
- Margaret:** No discussion or negotiation.
- Chang:** No discussion with her father, who is very authoritarian.
A little more communication with her mother. "It's hard to talk to them because they are very old-fashioned."
- Nancy:** "No. There's not much room for negotiation. There's no communication."
- Danielle:** She speaks with her father often, but less with her mother who, until recently, was much less open. Danielle's absence from home -- she is studying in another city -- has somewhat improved communication with her mother.
- Heather:** Some negotiation with her father who occasionally acted as a mediator with her more closed mother. "My friends' parents were very open. They could talk about lots of things but I couldn't. I can never really talk to my parents, but I don't want to."

Question 5: **How did your mother react to the conflicts? How did your father react to the conflicts?**

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

- Michelle:** Her father would blame her mother, saying, "they are your daughters." Father would yell and sometimes get violent. "My mother was caught in the middle." On one occasion, her mother had to be hospitalized after trying to protect the daughters. Her mother also had a nervous breakdown. Her mother yelled and criticized a lot.
- Jihan:** "They react the same way as me -- they rebel against me. We always blackmail each other. We'll play games, like 'if you won't do that, I'll do that,' especially with my mother. With my father, he says something and that's it." Her mother often cries.
- Sharon:** Her father used strict discipline: sometimes he hit her or locked her in her room. When she decided to move out, her father refused to speak to her until the day she was packing to leave when he told her he would miss her.
- Rymonda:** During arguments, her father would refer to their culture saying, "that's not the way I was brought up, women shouldn't do that." "He's quite a scary man, to say the least." Her mother was more understanding.
- Nada:** Her father would yell and once became violent when he caught her sneaking out of the house. Her mother tried to make plans with family behind Nada's back for an arranged marriage during a summer trip to Egypt.
- Bahia:** Her father would yell and get violent. He would chase boys out of the house; once, he did so in his underwear. Her mother would express concern about how people in Iraq would react to the daughters' behaviour, but was not as strict.
- Mirielle:** Her mother yells, uses guilt trips and the silent treatment, puts Mirielle down, and tries to involve other people.

Nahia: Her father would yell and once hit her for arriving home at 5:30 instead of 4:30 pm. Her mother sometimes yelled and sometimes tried to find compromises.

Bella: Her father would get angry. Her mother was relatively lenient and is becoming more so over the years.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: Her father "would talk to my mother about me in front of me and say bad things, horrible things like 'that girl isn't mine, my daughter wouldn't act like this.' He wouldn't let me talk. He would scream and yell."
Her mother would try to find compromises but her father would reject them. "He would say, 'it's up to you. You're raising her. I'm not raising her anymore.' He would be completely detached from me. I guess that would be my punishment."

Indira: Her father remained "aloof" but had the final word. Her mother would sometimes act as a mediator: "she was our bargaining agent."

Archna: Her father would yell but never used physical force. Her mother would sometimes act as a peace-maker.

Lakshme: Her mother would listen to Lakshme's point of view but when she made up her mind, that was it.

Kemla: Her mother would try to find compromises between Kemla and her father, who was stricter.

Suniti: Her parents would look for compromises because of the negative consequences they witnessed among friends' children whose behaviour was very restricted.

Susan: Her mother yelled. Her parents could react very badly to undesired behaviours: "When they found out I was going out [with someone], they called me every name in the book," told her to break up with him or move out, and actually called him to press for an end to the relationship. When she misses her curfews, "they lock me out of the house ... I have to force the tears so they'll feel sorry

for me and let me in. I don't really feel sorry for being late. It's kind of embarrassing though."

Rani: Her mother would criticize her and put her down.

Gumla: Her mother talked with her and tried to explain rules.

Fatima: Her parents would try to convince her to see things their way.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

Judy: Her mother would listen and sometimes compromise.

Loan: Her mother would yell and give her the silent treatment.

Thuy: Her parents would try to put their foot down but sometimes compromised. For example, when they realized Thuy's relationship with her boyfriend was serious, they stopped fighting it.

Lisa: Her parents would "talk and talk" about a conflict, involving older siblings in an attempt to get her to behave as they wished. "They tortured me with words."

Lien: Her mother would try to explain the reasons for rules.

Margaret: Her parents tried to put their foot down; for example, by demanding that she end a relationship with a boyfriend immediately. When she challenged their rules, they would "nag" her and "keep asking, 'why, why do you have to do that?'" On some issues, including choice of career, they yielded in the face of her determination.

Chang: Her parents would yell, be upset, and question her constantly. Occasionally, they would yield. Her father has a "very hot temper" and once, shortly after the family's arrival in Canada, used violence.

Danielle: Her mother would yell, cry, forbid her to bring home "white" boyfriends, and constantly try to set her up with friends' sons. Her father would stay neutral.

Heather: Her mother would "nag" her.

Question 6: **In your opinion, what was the source (or sources) of the conflicts between you and your parents?**

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: Cultural differences.

Jihan: Different opinions, especially around proper behaviour.

Sharon: Cultural differences.

Rymonda: Her parents' desire to maintain their culture.

Nada: Cultural differences.

Bahia: Cultural differences.

Mirielle: Culture, her mother's distrust, her mother's sickness, frustration, and loneliness.

Nahia: Cultural differences.

Bella: Culture and religion: "The way they were brought up, the culture is totally different from Canada."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: Her father's desire to maintain his culture and traditional belief that children must obey their parents. His unemployment, isolation, and frustration. "He doesn't have a job and probably feels helpless."

Indira: Cultural differences: "They were brought up with a different set of values from me."

Her parents' protectiveness: "They didn't trust anybody out there and the minute I stepped out of the house, I was out of their control."

- Archna:** Cultural differences.
- Lakshme:** Her parents' fear for Lakshme's reputation in the community and pressures from her father's family in this area. Her parents' over-protectiveness.
- Kemla:** Her parents' over-protectiveness because she is an only child and female: "The whole focus is on me." Her father's misperceptions around behaviours in his native country: "He fabricates this image about Indian girls over there." If she tells him about her boyfriend, Kemla believes, "he's going to say 'my God, she's becoming Westernized!' It won't be: 'oh, she's normal.'" Culture and religion.
- Suniti:** Culture and religion.
Over-protectiveness because Suniti is the only daughter.
- Susan:** Cultural differences, religion, a generation gap.
- Rani:** Culture and upbringing.
- Gumla:** Culture and religion.
- Fatima:** Personality and cultural differences.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

- Judy:** Cultural differences and parental strictness.
- Loan:** Her mother's desire to maintain her cultural traditions. Her mother's strong emphasis on studies.
- Thuy:** Cultural differences.
- Lisa:** Cultural differences.
- Lien:** Culture and upbringing.

Margaret: "Cultural background and upbringing ... Every time I meet a friend who happens to be Chinese, we always have a lot in common because we grew up in the same way. Most of my friends grew up in exactly the same way. We have immigrant parents ... We call ourselves the CBCs, for 'Canadian-born Chinese.'"

Chang: Cultural differences: "They don't want me to meet people who are Canadian." Over-protectiveness, in part because she has a slight physical disability and her parents fear that she would have difficulty escaping if someone harassed her.

Nancy: Culture and upbringing.

Danielle: Cultural differences with her mother.

Heather: Cultural differences.

Question 7: Do these conflicts still exist? Have any been resolved or forgotten? If so, how?

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: Moving out "ended" the conflicts but, in fact, contact with her parents has ceased.

Jihan: Her parents no longer make an issue of how she dresses and are more flexible around men. "I have more freedom now and they are less protective, but they are still very protective." She attributes the change to the fact that she is older.

Sharon: Not resolved.

Rymonda: Not resolved.

Nada: Not resolved.

Bahia: Disputes around curfews ended when she moved out. She allowed herself to live with her partner after her father died.

Mirielle: Not resolved.

Nahia: Not resolved.

Bella: Not resolved.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: Not resolved.

Indira: Conflicts were "resolved" when Indira moved out: "They [her parents] were devastated when I moved out because it was so unusual, especially in our culture, for someone who lives in the same city to move out in the middle of university without a job. They saw it as a reflection on them, as if they had done something wrong for me to want to move out. It was devastating for me to move out. My mom disowned me every week, and then, every couple of days, she would call and say 'how come you didn't visit me?' But I couldn't say 'well, you disowned me a couple of days ago and hung up the phone on me.' It was a lot of stress, it was really emotionally draining for me."

Archana: Not resolved.

Lakshme: Not resolved.

Kemla: Not resolved.

Suniti: Not resolved.

Susan: Not resolved.

Rani: There have been few conflicts since her father died.

Gumla: Since she became an adult, her parents have been more lenient and trusting with

her.

Fatima: Tensions eased by her moving away to attend university in another city.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

Judy: Most conflicts were resolved as she got older.

Loan: Moving out initially made tensions worse, as her mother refused to talk to her. But one day, they met at a family wedding and began speaking again.

Thuy: The conflict around having a "Canadian" boyfriend was partially resolved when Thuy brought him home to demonstrate the seriousness of their relationship. Her parents "were shocked", but subsequently allowed him to visit regularly. However, Thuy believes that "the problems are still there". Her parents continue to introduce her to Vietnamese men from time to time.

Lisa: Not resolved.

Lien: Not resolved.

Margaret: Not resolved.

Chang: Not resolved.

Nancy: Tensions eased after she moved out to go to a university in another city.

Danielle: All conflicts have been resolved. These had been mainly with her mother, but things improved markedly last summer after they spent a year apart. Danielle attributes this change to their recognition that they missed one another.

Heather: Her mother has treated her with more respect and imposed fewer restrictions as time has passed.

Question 8: Which conflicts remain unresolved? How do you react to these conflicts now? How do your mother and father react to them?

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

- Michelle:** In fact, all conflicts are unresolved because a total break has occurred with her parents since she moved out three years ago. Michelle says she is now forming her "own" family with her two younger sisters, one of whom has also broken with her parents. Michelle still thinks a lot about the split with her parents and feels pain and anger. "What I feel so disappointed about is ... that they don't make any effort. We are their blood and flesh and they don't make the effort to bring us back to them. In fact, they are losing us. I know I'm losing my parents ... They don't care. We are their kids. God! That's what amazes me."
- Jihan:** Curfews and dating, the latter to the extent that her parents still want to approve each of her boyfriends.
- Sharon:** Conflicts around dating are especially serious. Her father told her that if she continues the relationship, he will kill her boyfriend. She believes conflicts with her parents are bad in a number of areas because she used to obey all their rules and is now seeking more independence.
- Rymonda:** "Dating is still a big issue": she is still seeing someone in secret and only plans to "break the news" sometime next year after her parents have a chance to get used to her sister's partner, whom they have just met.
- Nada:** Dating and curfews: Nada still uses the same techniques as in the past to deal with these conflicts.
- Bahia:** Conflict exists around the will her father wrote before his death which left most of the money to his son and told the daughters to see their brother if and when they need something.
- Mirielle:** Going out with friends while living in the same house with her sick mother.

Nahia: Curfews and dating: She is seeing someone with her mother's knowledge but behind her father's back.

Bella: Conflicts have not changed (curfews, going out with friends) and Bella continues to disobey in secret but she has begun expressing her anger more. "Before I just kept quiet but now, I'm getting older."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: Curfews and dating: Her mother knows about her partner but her father does not. Once, her father picked up the phone when her partner called and got furious. "He started to make all sorts of ridiculous accusations, like I'm going to marry him." Ratna is concerned about her father's reaction if and when she decides to marry a non-Indian: "I don't know what will happen when the day comes."

Indira: Living with her partner: Her parents know her partner but do not know that they are living together. She and her partner have two phone lines -- he does not pick up the phone on the line her parents call on. His dresser out of sight in their apartment.

Archana: Living with her partner: Her parents know she is dating but she has kept her cohabitation a secret.
For now, she is resigned: "You can't change them now, they've been like that for 50 years almost. That's my consolation." However, she plans to marry her boyfriend after she completes her BA and is prepared to cut off relations with her parents if they reject him because he is "Canadian".

Lakshme: Curfews are still imposed when she returns home for visits, but her mother is becoming more lenient with time.

Kemla: Curfews, going out, and dating: Her father does not know she is seeing someone her mother prefers to ignore Kemla's hints on the matter.
She is resigned: "With my dad it's a no-win situation, so why bother fighting? He's not going to change his opinions now when he's 66 to suit me. I don't need these conflicts, so I just don't tell them."

- Suniti:** Amount of freedom, curfews, going out with friends.
- Susan:** Dating a non-Indian Muslim is still a point of contention and Susan tries to avoid being at home.
- Rani:** Few conflicts since her father's death, though there are still disagreements over approached to certain issues.
- Gumla:** Could not think of any current conflicts.
- Fatima:** Unsure which conflicts are unresolved because she has moved far away from home to attend university. She suspects curfews will still be a problem when she returns home for a visit but does not intend to respect them.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

- Lisa:** Moving away to study still causes friction.
Other conflicts do not arise because Lisa avoids them: "At home, I'm quiet. I don't share my problems ... I stay in my room most of the time."
- Lien:** Curfews and going out.
She is somewhat resigned: "I learned to live with this. I try to satisfy her [her mother] to a point."
- Margaret:** Dating her "white" boyfriend: Her father threatened to kill the boyfriend if he caught them together, but they continue to see one another in secret.
Curfews, which are still set at 10:30.
- Chang:** Her primary conflict with her parents today is around their possible separation. Discussing this, Chang started to cry and said she had only talked about the subject once before, with a friend, and had felt "naked" afterwards. She attributed this feeling to her cultural background which, she said, discourages display of emotions.
- Nancy:** Relationships with men: Her mother calls frequently to tell her not to talk with men on her floor in the residence. Nancy continues to date behind her parents'

back.

Danielle: Curfews: Her mother will not go to sleep until both she and her brother are home.
This is one of the reasons she studies away from home.

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Question 9: How have these conflicts affected you personally?

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: "I reached a stage where my home became a prison. Every time I came home, I felt something in my chest: I'm going to a prison. I didn't even say hi. I just ran upstairs and closed the door of my bedroom. I would leave early in the morning and come back late at night."
"If I think about how I was then and what I am now, I am a different person, much stronger."
The conflicts "affected every part of my life. It was painful. I stopped school because I couldn't concentrate."

Jihan: The conflicts "made me stubborn because I had to argue a lot and prove my point. When I fight with my boyfriend, I'm the worst person because it's my way or no way at all . . . This is how it is with my parents, so this is how it is with my friends or boyfriend."
"Because they're so protective [her parents], I'm really dependent on them. In my relations, I'm very dependent."

Sharon: "I became a better person because I had to deal with more obstacles."

Rymonda: "I don't know."

Nada: She has been unable to sustain two different relationships with men she cared for because of a feeling that those relationships had no future, given her father's likely rejection of the men.

She feels more independent, especially since moving out.

Bahia: She is quiet and shy: "Whenever we went out to visit someone or someone came to visit us, we [the children] would have to stay quiet, everybody had to behave themselves. Sit there and don't say anything, just behave ... even now, I still behave myself!"

Frustration: "I was pressured from both sides ... My boyfriend couldn't understand the way I was brought up -- for him it was, 'hey, you're 24-25, why are you still listening to your parents?' ... It was really hard. Here I am, stuck in the middle."

Mirielle: Frustration and pain.

Nahia: "At the time I really hated it [being more restricted than classmates], but I can see now that they were right about a lot of things. I'm not a worse person; if anything, I'm a better one than most of the people I grew up with, all the people who used to make fun of me, and still do now because my parents were strict . . . but inside, I think I'm much more developed than they can ever be."

Feelings of alienation, distrust of others, and resentment: "I'm a very angry person."

Bella: Social difficulties: In grade 11 her parents began permitting more outings with friends, "I could have enjoyed my teenage years more, and didn't ... I had so much fun [when she finally started going out] and I realized how much fun I could have had. Even now, I can't stay out that long and usually parties start at 12:30 and end at 4:00, so forget it! You can't really meet people. Even in the summer they won't let me go out sometimes."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: Confusion: "I don't know what to do. Should I be his [her father's] ideal daughter or should I go with what I want to do."

Indira: Stress: "I always felt like I had to get away."
Frustration around the need to hide her relationship: "It's depressing to live a double life. I wish I could just tell them, but I can't."

- Archana:** Uncomfortable in her parents' house: "I don't consider it a home."
 Feelings of guilt and frustration: "I don't feel guilty [for secretly seeing her partner], I don't think I'm doing anything wrong. But I feel guilty for cutting my ties with them, but at the same time I don't really have a choice. I tried everything in my power. I'm not going to change myself. They don't understand who I am."
 Anger and pain: "I have a lot of anger towards parents in general, Indian parents."
- Lakshme:** No major problems.
- Kemla:** "It bothers me, it gets me frustrated, but everybody [among her Indian friends] is in the same boat as I am so I feel better. If everybody's parents were super-understanding, they had boyfriends, etcetera . . . I would think of my parents as abnormal, but they are the same. In fact, I'm better off than some of my friends."
- Susan:** She has become more assertive.
- Rani:** No major problems.
- Gumla:** "They [the conflicts] made me stronger. I am a more rounded person . . . like I don't need anybody to solve problems, I can solve my own problems."
- Fatima:** At home, she has the feeling she is "talking to the walls." Her decision to move away has been liberating.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

- Judy:** "I'm like a judge with myself because I would have to explain my decisions to my mother."
- Loan:** "I was depressed a lot of the time. There were so many conflicts, it was very distressing. It was a big struggle -- I wanted to please myself, I didn't want to upset her [her mother], and I wanted to do what all my friends did. I was caught between two sets of expectations: home and friends."

- Thuy:** Frustration: She felt caught between her desire to do what was right for her on the one hand, and her wish to avoid producing a break with her parents.
- Lisa:** Confusion and frustration: Caught between two sets of messages.
She became more assertive.
- Lien:** She became more assertive.
- Margaret:** "It made me feel different from the others. I felt inferior. I think I had that for a long time -- I had an inferiority complex."
"I was very shy because I never got out of the house . . . never did anything . . . it was horrible."
"I feel more comfortable with Chinese friends" because they have had similar experiences.
- Chang:** She withdrew into herself.
She feels uncomfortable in her parents' home.
- Nancy:** She rejected her parents' view of things: She pays no attention to people's race or cultural background.
- Danielle:** "Our conflicts made my personality totally different from my mother's. I want to be more understanding. I'm going to be more open-minded and listen."
- Heather:** "Even if my mother was old-fashioned, some of the values are still in me ... I think I have basically the same values as my parents, which is good."
She has found herself saying the same things to her younger sister as her mother said to her: to socialize less and study more.
She is more forward-looking, planning for the future.

Question 10: What have been the effects of the conflicts on your relations with each of your parents and how would you describe your relations with them now?

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: No contact at all for three years: "One day I will forgive them, but I'll never forget what they did to me."

Jihan: Relations continue to be tense and she wants to move away.

Sharon: Although relations today are less tense, there is still friction whenever she seeks what her parents consider "too much independence."

Rymonda: Relations with her mother are improving but, though she respects her father, her relationship with him is still not open.

Nada: Relations remain tense.

Bahia: Relations with her mother improved after her father's death.

Mirielle: Her relations with her father are not good despite her efforts. This is painful, but she has decided "to get on with life ... I did everything in my power but it didn't work."

Relations with her mother are not good either.

Nahia: Relations are improving now that she does not live at home.

Bella: Relations have improved but are still distant. She feels she cannot talk with her parents "about private things."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Ratna: "My relationship with them is not as close as it was when I was a little kid. With

my mother, it's getting better. With my father, I hope it will be resolved one day."

Indira: Relations are still tense and marked by arguments. She does not see her parents as friends.

Archna: She started the interview by saying, "I have to tell you right now my relations with my parents are not good."

Relations with both parents are strained. She dislikes many things about her father: "He's racist, very stubborn, never admits that he's wrong." "With my mother, things fluctuate." She feels her parents do not understand her: "They don't look at the good things."

She is upset by the state of relations: "It's sad, it's sad how nothing has changed. I think eventually it will blow up."

"I talked about it with friends and everyone who has a bad relationship with their parents are dying, just dying to talk to them and to make things OK, but there's no compromising [from the parents' side]. So you can't do anything. I'll never do it to my kids. It's hard. It doesn't go away."

Lakshme: Relations are "good, I think. We're getting closer even though we do have arguments."

Kemla: Relations are "frustrating but good ... I don't rebel against them so I don't have major conflicts. If I would then things would be very different."

Suniti: Relations are improving with time as her parents begin to trust her more.

Susan: Because of ongoing disputes about dating, relations have deteriorated. "My parents and I used to be so close and now we are at opposite ends of the house and rarely speak to each other. If we do, it's usually fighting, calling each other names. It really hurts ... We are at a stage where nothing can get better, it's just getting worse."

Rani: "My mother and I had a lot more trouble getting along [in the past]. Now, we are really close. There's nothing I won't tell her. Well, there are a few things I won't tell her but nothing major. We just get along now. I think, I don't want to say it's because my father died, but I think it is."

Gumla: Relations have become much better over time.

Fatima: Relations are very tense because of the conflicts: "I think my relationship with them is in transition. At least, I hope it is. Eventually, I hope that when I come back, things will change. Right now, I'm not close to my parents. I think in a few years, things will be different."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

Judy: "In the past year, our relationship has become much closer. I listen to her more and she realizes that I'm not a bad girl and that I'm responsible. She gives me more room. Also, I try to avoid doing things that upset her. When I was younger, I thought she was narrow-minded, but now I understand her more and realize she is not that bad."

Loan: Relations have improved: "Now, I'm 20 and I realize that in a way, she [her mother] was right. You should stick to your tradition because what you are is what you are. Now, we are more like friends."

Thuy: Once tense relations have eased: In the past, "I thought to myself, 'why can't they accept me the way I am, why can't they understand me?' Now, things are better. A lot of the negative feelings are gone."

Lisa: Relations have improved since high school, though the potential for conflict around some issues remains: "If I liked somebody, that would be a problem. They'd like me to finish school first."

Lien: Relations with her mother have improved.

Margaret: Relations with her mother are strained: "My mother and I got along really well but now it's different. I don't really talk to her. Even though my father restricts me, I love him a lot and we're very close ... My mother got very jealous of that so I resent a lot of the things she does ... She was at home for 20 years, so she got bored and what can she do? Gossip. I resent that."
Moving out has had an effect: "When I was at home, I couldn't wait to get out, and when I got here [to another city], I missed them so much. I didn't think I'd

miss them at all. I think it is better as long as there's a distance because if I moved home again, I'd go crazy."

Chang: Relations are currently tense because of her anger and sadness at the possibility that her parents will separate.

Nancy: "There still isn't much communication between us. I find it hard to talk to them about personal problems. I always go to my brother first."

Danielle: Relations with her father were always good. Previously tense relations with her mother improved last summer.

Heather: Relations with her mother have improved.

Question 11: Would you raise your children the same way your parents raised you? If so, why? If not, why not?

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: She will be more supportive and warm and give her children more freedom. She will place greater emphasis on communication: "I want to be a friend, not just a parent." She will not discriminate between the sexes.

Jihan: "I'll be protective, but not as protective."
 "Now I think I'd like my daughter to wait until she's married. I don't think there's anything wrong in it for me, but for my daughter, I wouldn't want it. That's weird. I wouldn't feel comfortable knowing my daughter practised sex before marriage."
 Unlike her parents, she will not pay attention to what other people say about her children.

- Sharon:** She will be more communicative.
- Rymonda:** She will give her children greater freedom, but within certain limits.
- Nada:** She will be more communicative and give them more freedom. She will not discriminate between the sexes in the amount of freedom she allows.
- Bahia:** She will encourage them more to be open and talk about their feelings.
- Mirielle:** "I will give them space. I will respect them more. If I get sick, I will not expect them to be around me all the time and take care of me. They have their own needs."
- Nahia:** She will also place restrictions on her children, but fewer.
- Bella:** "I will support my kids more, more than just education-wise, because my parents don't always think you tried your best, even if you did ... I will support them in everything ... I will be more open-minded and listen to their side."
"I will let them go out a little more ... I will let them make mistakes and learn from them."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

- Ratna:** "Ideally, I would like to give them much more freedom ... I'll try to be more understanding and supportive. I will try to give them as much freedom as any other girls ... With school, I'll be just as strict as my parents."
- Indira:** She will give her children more independence and try to find "realistic solutions" around matters she disapproves of such as drug use and drinking. If her children want to experiment, she would rather let them do so than have them doing things behind her back.
- Archana:** She will be more communicative, open-minded, and supportive.
- Lakshme:** She plans to give her children more freedom -- "I'm saying this now but I might change."

She will take the same approach on religion and the respect of one's parents.

Kemla: "I will transmit the culture, but I will give them more freedom."

Suniti: She will give them more freedom, be more understanding of their views, and be more communicative. She will not discriminate between daughters and sons.

Susan: "There's a lot of things I'd like to change ... I don't want to end up like my mother, a homemaker ... I want to give them more freedom, but I'm afraid they will end up drug addicts, so I don't know ... I want to give them a better sense of themselves."

"My parents are very affectionate. They hug and kiss and I'm going to do that too."

Rani: Like her parents, to some extent: "I want to be able to trust my children and trust their judgement ... I won't force my opinions on my children. I want them to be able to come to me with their problems, whatever they are."

Gumla: She hopes her partner will play an equal role in childrearing, unlike her father. Except for this, "I think my parents raised me fine. I think it's because they were different from the rest of the community."

Fatima: She will give the children more freedom to be themselves. She will yell less and try to discuss things more.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

Judy: "I would also emphasize the importance of education, but I wouldn't push it on them. I will encourage them to study hard, but if they can't get the highest marks that's OK with me as long as they're happy."

Loan: "I'll let them do whatever they want as they reach their teenage years, but I'll put more limits on them when they're young. I will give them more freedom [than her parents gave her]."

Thuy: "I will raise them differently. I will spend more time with them. I will support

them emotionally more. I will express my feelings towards them . . . We don't express our feelings as strongly as Westerners. We are more quiet. Everybody keeps his feelings to himself, but I don't like it - it affects relationships in the family. I will be more communicative.

Lisa: "I'll put certain limits on my children like my parents put on me, though I complained." For example, she will discourage daughters from being too physical with boyfriends in public places.

Also, like her parents, she will emphasize the importance of education and try to discuss things with her children. "A lot of Vietnamese parents just hit and scream at their children but that didn't happen in my family."

Lien: She will be more lenient with her children, show more affection, and communicate more. She values the individualism of this society and will give her children the freedom to be what they want to be. However, she likes the fact that in Vietnamese and Chinese families, children are not expected to move out at age 18.

Margaret: "I'll teach my kids the same values that they [her parents] taught me -- the importance of family, doing well, and being successful. But I will give them a lot more freedom, a lot more freedom . . . a lot more! If you can do things on your own, it makes you more independent."

Chang: Chang had difficulties with the question, saying she loves children but is not sure if she will get married. If she does have children, she will be less restrictive and will not treat daughters and sons differently.

Nancy: She will be more communicative, less restrictive, and will not discriminate between daughters and sons.

Danielle: Like her parents, she will emphasize the importance of close family relationships and doing well in school. However, she will be more open and communicative and will not discriminate between daughters and sons.

Heather: "I'll be more communicative with my children. I'll try to understand them more."

Question 12: If you have brothers, did your parents treat you any differently from them?

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: "They give everything to my brothers, nothing for us. Nothing."

Jihan: Although she does not have brothers, Jihan still responded to the question: "The thing I hate most about Lebanese culture is that sons are like God and daughters are nothing. When my grandfather died, he gave the most to his son and his daughters had to split the rest." When her cousin, who already had a daughter, gave birth to a son, "all the relatives are saying, 'oh, she finally gave him a son!' It's this big thing ... [the father] was in the living room -- he's really Lebanese - - and he was screaming, 'I have a son, I have a son!' It just kills me. This is something I disagree with a lot."

Rymonda: Her brother "can do whatever he wants. In Lebanon, the guys can do whatever they want. He had the car at 16. He has the freedom, he doesn't come home. He got everything. I kind of envy that ... They [her parents] think a man can take care of himself."

Nada: Her parents are much more lenient with her brothers. For example, her brothers can date anyone they want and one even brought his girlfriend home to sleep over. She, on the other hand, has to hide her relationships.

Bahia: Her family is now fighting over her late father's will. He left everything to his son and wrote that is the daughters needed anything, they should go see their brother. The sisters are trying to convince their mother that this is unfair and the division of assets should be altered.

When her father was alive, he was more lenient with his son. Bahia's brother "was treated differently. Even at supper time, my father would say, 'Sari, come, supper's ready.' He wouldn't say 'come, everybody.' He would never use the girls' names." Also, her brother never had curfews and was not expected to do

domestic chores.

Bella: Her parents were more lenient with her brothers when it came to going out. They had later curfews.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Archna: Her parents, and especially her father, were "definitely" more lenient with her younger brother. For example, he was allowed to drive at 16 while she was not even allowed to get a licence.

Suniti: Her parents, and parents of Indian friends, treat sons and daughters differently. She believes her life would have been easier if she had been a boy.

Rani: Her parents did not discriminate between herself and her brother.

Gumla: Her parents were more lenient with their sons and listened to their opinions more.

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

Judy: "My mother was more lenient with my older brother. She wouldn't ask him all the questions she asked me and he would do what he wanted."

Lisa: Her parents allow their sons to move out of the home for studies or work but object when their daughters want to do the same.

Margaret: Her brother was treated more leniently with respect to social activities and curfews. "He wouldn't come home for two days and they wouldn't even ask him " where he was. His girlfriend attends family events and sometimes sleeps over, "but I can't even be seen with a guy walking down the street ... I always resented that." When she asked her parents for an explanation of this double standard, they said it was because "you are a girl."

Margaret attributes these attitudes to Chinese culture, which, she believes, values sons more than daughters. She told of tensions between her mother and paternal grandmother "because it took her [her mother] three tries to have a boy. They [her father's side of the family] blamed her for not having a boy because boys are

sacred. You should always have boys because girls are useless."

Chang: Her parents "were more restrictive with the girls than the boys, I guess because of culture ... there are a lot of double standards." Her brothers did not have curfews and were allowed to go out to parties, while she was almost never allowed to do so. She attributes this partly to her parents' belief that females are more helpless than males.

Danielle: "A boy in a Chinese household is the most important -- he carries on the family name. He [her brother] always got all the attention, mainly from my mom. My mother totally adores my brother. She will do anything for him . . . He didn't have to do any chores around the house. Just the fact that he was around made my mother happy . . . My brother had to do nothing, and I had to do everything. That really pissed me off."

Danielle and her female friends from East Asia often talk about how different their parents' treatment of sons and daughters is.

Question 13: If you have sisters, did your parents treat you any differently from them?

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa:

Michelle: Her parents are more tolerant with her younger sister, though they are still restrictive. Her older sister never challenged her parents.

Jihan: Her parents are more lenient with her younger sister. "It is easier for my sister. She can do whatever she wants. Well, to an extent, but they are not as protective of her as they were of me ... My sister doesn't have to argue for anything because I did it first." For example, Jihan was not allowed to date until age 16, but her sister already has a boyfriend at 14.

Rymonda: Her older sister has made things easier for her: "When I was growing up, they [her parents] said, 'of course you are going to live like this and like this' and I

[said], 'well, what if I don't want to?' They go, 'that's just the way it is.' But now that's really breaking, especially because of my sister. She's a year older than me and her boyfriend is Canadian. She's paving the way."

Bahia: Bahia and her older sister paved the way for their younger sister. Her father "eased up with time ... she [her younger sister] had it easy compared with my older sister."

Nahia: Her parents were more lenient with her younger sister. "She got away with things I never did ... I think I paved the way for her."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent:

Indira: "I had to fight tooth and nail for every single thing I wanted to do ... Every time I wanted to step out of the house, it was a confrontation. The basic thing is that they didn't trust anyone out there and the minute that I stepped out of the house, I was out of their control. They didn't know what to expect. I think I paved the way for her [her younger sister]. She thinks so too. I mean, she's at UBC now, and she went to UBC a year after she graduated from high school which would have been impossible in my time. There was no way my parents would have let me out of town."

Susan: Her younger sister "has so much more freedom now ... I was in a cage. That's probably why I rebelled more."

Gumla: Her older sister "went through a lot of different things. I guess I was lucky. My sister was the rebellious one. She is the one who went out all the time."

Responses of daughters of immigrants from East Asia:

Loan: As the oldest daughter, "I was the ice-breaker. When I was growing up, I couldn't do anything and when I would try to do something, she [her mother] would yell at me and threaten to kick me out. For example, when I moved out, my mother was very depressed. She wouldn't talk to me for a couple of months. She told me she would disown me. But my sister just moved to Montreal for

school and she [her mother] said OK and drove all the way to Montreal on the weekend to give her food. I didn't get that and I lived two miles away."

Lisa: Her older sister was 16 at the time of immigration. She has always respected Vietnamese norms and thus had few conflicts with her parents. As a result, Lisa's parents "constantly compare" the two daughters, something which is hard on her.

Margaret: Although she thought her older sister would pave the way for her, this did not prove to be the case because her father decided he had been too lenient with his first daughter and so placed greater restrictions on Margaret.

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