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Adventure Education and the Acculturation of Chinese Canadians in Vancouver, Canada

**A thesis
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of the requirement for the Degree of Philosophy**

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Abstract & Keywords:

Modern Adventure Education programmes which aim to develop participants' self-esteem and self-effectiveness have increased in popularity among Chinese communities worldwide. Chinese Canadian parents send their children to these programmes aiming to develop their self-confidence because they think that this is an essential element for residing in Western countries. However, since Western culture upholds individualism and traditional Chinese culture embraces collectivism, the two philosophies have distinctive differences in their definitions of self and therefore the outcomes of the programmes may not be as desirable to Chinese Canadian parents as expected. The expectations of an ideal child in a Chinese family are obedience, listening and following the instructions of their parents and seniors; however adventure education programmes are conducted in an egalitarian setting and encourage critical thinking and developing resilience and confidence to stand against challenge and inequality. The expectations of parents face the challenge of a cultural clash after their children participate in adventure education programmes. The acculturation gap between the two generations is likely to be enlarged and the outcome of adventure education programmes may not be as positive as expected.

This research consisted of thirty interviews with Chinese Canadian parents, their children and the adventure education programme instructors and found that the families balanced the two philosophies in a pragmatic and effective way. Findings of this research show that Chinese families who migrated to Canada are not fully assimilated to Canadian society even after long periods of residing in Canada. These families integrate into the Canadian society in selective ways. They send their children to participate in adventure education programme such as the Scouts, Air Cadets and Enoch Leadership Camp with the aim of developing children's self-esteem and self-confidence so that they can perform well in Canadian society. However, families still retain traditional Chinese collective culture and encourage the development of their "social-selves" through their family education. This acculturation format concurs with the findings of Carr & Williams (1993) and Keefe and Padilla (1987), which suggest that acculturation may be different in the public and private domains. The value which Chinese Canadian parents place on formal education and learning leads them to participate in outdoor adventure education programmes

through recognised institutions such as the Scouts, Air Cadets or church groups. This is considered as a public domain and it is acceptable to the parents that their children behave in “Western ways” in this domain. However, the parents also expect that in the private domain, such as in the family or their own social circles, their children will behave in a “traditional Chinese way” such as speaking Chinese and being respectful and obedient to their seniors. Parents have confidence that through family education, their children can maintain a balance between the two cultures. The empirical evidence in this thesis shows that adventure education programmes provide an opportunity for young participants to develop a selective acculturation and integrate into the Canadian society, but whether this will continue as the participants move into late teenage and early adulthood remains unclear.

Keywords:

Adventure Education, Chinese acculturation, Chinese migration, Chinese Canadian, Chinese culture

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Table of Content:

Abstract & Keywords:	i
Acknowledgements:	iii
List of Tables:	vii
List of figures:	vii
Section I: Chapter 1- 4, Background of this study: Review of Literature	1
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 Overview	1
1.2 Outdoor Adventure Education	3
1.3 Chinese people and their value system	5
1.4 Making sense of migrating culture: Acculturation theory	6
1.5 The overseas Chinese.....	8
1.6 The Overseas Chinese in Canada and outdoor recreation	10
1.7 Conclusion	11
Chapter Two: Outdoor Adventure Education	13
2.1 Introduction.....	13
2.2 The root of modern adventure education programmes	13
2.3 The Scout Movement and the Chinese people.....	14
2.4 The Scout Movement in Canada.....	15
2.5 The Outward Bound Movement	18
2.6 Project Adventure Inc.	21
2.7 Contemporary developments in Adventure Education	23
2.8 Adventure Education in Canada	24
2.9 The cultural characteristics of Adventure Education programmes	26
2.10 Conclusion	31
Chapter Three: Chinese Diaspora and Chinese culture	33
3.1 Introduction.....	33
3.2 Chinese Diaspora and recent changes.....	33
3.3 Traditional culture and values of the Chinese people	39
3.4 Expectation of the ideal child among overseas Chinese parents	50
3.5 Outdoor recreation activities among the Canadian Chinese	54
3.6 Conclusion	55
Chapter Four: Approaches to the study of acculturation and assimilation among immigrant communities	57
4.1 Introduction:.....	57
4.2 Acculturation.....	58
4.3 Uni-dimensional model.....	60
4.4 Selective Acculturation	62

4.5	A theoretical framework for this study	67
4.6	Research objectives.....	69
4.7	Research questions.....	69
4.8	Conclusion:	72
Section II: Research methodology.....		73
Chapter Five: Methodology		73
5.1	Introduction:.....	73
5.2	The qualitative research approach	73
5.3	The research process	78
5.4	Data management.....	87
5.5	Data analysis	87
5.6	Validity of data	88
5.7	Conclusion	90
Section III: Results and analysis (Chapter 6-9)		91
Chapter Six: Continuity or change: The salience of traditional Chinese values in an overseas setting		92
6.1	Demographic data of the research participants	92
6.2	Traditional Chinese values in the Chinese-Canadian families	95
6.3	Conclusion	11920
Chapter Seven: Adventure Education and the Overseas Chinese.....		121
7.1	The expectations of Adventure Education programmes	121
7.2	The interpretation of self-concept and self-esteem	130
7.3	Adventure education programmes and acculturation	133
7.4	Conclusion:	139
Chapter Eight: Discussion of Results.....		141
8.1	Introduction:.....	141
8.2	The cultural identity of Chinese Canadian parents and their children.....	142
8.3	The cultural implications of adventure education programmes.....	1522
8.4	Expectations of learning outcomes	153
8.5	Adventure education fulfils parents' expectations.....	156
8.6	Adventure education and the acculturation gap.....	160
8.7	Adventure education enhances acculturation.....	165
8.8	The model for Chinese people participating in outdoor recreation	168
8.9	Conclusion	174
Chapter Nine: Conclusion.....		176
9.1	Introduction.....	176
9.2	Implications for theories.	177
9.3	Implication for Adventure Education Programme providers.....	180
9.4	Implications for future research	183
Bibliography:.....		185

Appendix 1: Letter to the AE providers	198
Appendix 2: Letter to the AE Participants and their parents.	206

List of Tables:

Table 1: Ethno-cultural scout groups statistic 2009	166
Table 2: Summary of the background of research participants.....	85
Table 3: Gender distribution of each category	92
Table 4: Place of birth of the different categories	93
Table 5: Educational attainment	93
Table 6: Outdoor experience of participants.....	94
Table 7: Language used during interview	955
Table 8: Self-postulated ethnic identity of participants	113

List of Figures:

Figure 1: Four acculturation modes and their behaviour (Berry et al, 1997).....	66
Figure 2: Model for Chinese people participating in outdoor recreation activities.....	170

Section I: Chapter 1- 4, Background of this study: Review of Literature

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Overview

Studies suggest that cultural differences are one of the major factors in the interpretation of leisure behaviour among different ethnic groups (Carr Williams, 1993; Floyd & Gramann, 1993, Shaull & Gramann, 1998). These studies usually describe the differences based on ethnic/racial influences, recreational preferences and participation rates (Carr & Williams, 1993; Juniu, 2000). It has been concluded that the differences in their participation rates and choice of activities between Chinese people and the Western people are mainly determined by cultural interpretations of the meaning of leisure (Walker and Wang, 2009).

A number of studies also found that Chinese people's leisure style was passive, spectative, avoids strenuous physical exertion, and home-based; while in the Western world, leisure usually involved hard physical exercise, challenges and more action and was more activities-orientated (Yu & Berryman, 1996, Li, 2006). Chinese people were also found to be underrepresented in outdoor recreational activities (Walker & Wang, 2009; Li, 2006; Freysinger and Chen, 1993). This research studied the participation of outdoor adventure education programmes of Chinese people who migrated to Canada. It focused on the cultural fit of adventure education (AE) and the traditional Chinese culture in the case of adventure education programmes provided by 16th Burnaby Scouts Group of the Scouts Canada and Enoch Youth Outreach Society in Vancouver, Canada among the second generation immigrants aged between 13 to 18 years. In the course of the research, I interviewed parents, the instructors and the AE participants to understand their perspectives of outdoor adventure activities and how it makes sense to the Chinese migrants in Canada. Previous research supports the hypothesis that the more assimilated an ethnic group, the more time it will spend in recreation, with the choice of activities influenced by the majority group (Yu & Berryman, 1996; Stodolska & Yi, 2003).

This study encompasses three different major areas: the philosophy of outdoor adventure education and traditional Chinese culture; the acculturation of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver,

Canada; and the leisure patterns of Chinese Canadians and their perception of outdoor adventure education programmes. These three areas interweave each other and form a unique research opportunity to understand adventure education in a cultural context. The basic question is how well does an adventure education programme fit Chinese traditional culture? This thesis consists of three major sections. Section 1 (Chapter 1-4) will focus on the review of literature, a detailed analysis of the topics such as adventure philosophy and its development from the Scout Movement to Outward Bound School and then to Project Adventure Incorporation. I will also review the history of Chinese Diaspora particularly those who migrated to Canada in the nineteenth century and the traditional cultural value of Chinese people. I will also review acculturation theories and their significance for Chinese Canadians.

Section 2 (Chapter 5) focuses on the research methodology. This research was conducted using a qualitative methodology. A detailed explanation of the chosen methodology to justify its feasibility, validity and reliability, is provided.

Section 3 (Chapter 6-9) focused on the results and the discussion. Chapter 6 and 7 mainly present the data collected by the in-depth interviews, documentation analysis and participant observation. Detailed analysis and discussion is presented in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 offers the conclusions of the main findings of this research and is followed by a thorough evaluation of the limitations that I faced during the research process. Future research initiatives and recommendations for future research studies on this topic are proposed.

In this chapter, I will briefly outline the three interconnected areas and see how they interact with each other in this study. I shall start with an overview of outdoor adventure education programmes and their development; I will use the Scout Movement, the Outward Bound Movement and the development of Project Adventure to trace the history of the three developmental stages of adventure education and the change of its focus over the years. I shall then briefly discuss the Chinese culture and the lifestyle of the overseas Chinese, particularly those currently residing in Canada. I will also scrutinise acculturation theories and the current acculturation situation of Chinese Canadians. This chapter is an introductory chapter and detailed discussion will follow in subsequent chapters.

1.2 Outdoor Adventure Education

Educating people through outdoor adventure experiences increased in popularity from the beginning of the 20th century. Started by the Scout Movement in 1907, adventure programmes branched into different formats, such as the Outward Bound Schools, Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme and Project Adventure Inc. (Prouty, Panicucci & Collinson, 2007). These programmes have had an enormous impact on the education sector worldwide (Sibthorp, 2003; Hattie et al, 1997). As they have been found to be effective in developing participants' self-esteem, resilience, risk-taking propensity and teamwork capabilities (Ewert, 1989; Priest 2000), adventure programmes have been well supported by schools, community groups, youth camps and corporate entities (Sibthorp, 2003).

Adventure programmes are well designed and systematically structured to bring about learning, not merely to satisfy thrill-seekers. Activities such as rock climbing, kayaking and mountaineering are used as vehicles to achieve prescribed and distinctive learning objectives (Walsh & Golin, 1976). Outdoor adventure education involves three overlapping areas: outdoor pursuits; personal and social development; and environmental studies (McKenzie, 2000). These three areas coalesce to form the complex of the entire outdoor adventure educational experience.

Outdoor adventure education is not a “subject” and does not contain an exclusive body of knowledge (Neill, 2008). It is, however, a means of achieving educational objectives through learning experiences in the outdoor setting and via engagement in adventurous activities. The National Association for Outdoor Education, UK (cited in Clark et al., 1976, p.3) describes outdoor education as a “means of approaching educational objectives through guided direct experience in the environment”. Lord Baden Powell founded the Boy Scouts in 1908. In his book, *Scouting for Boys*, he describes the Scout method of outdoor activities aiming at developing character, citizenship, and personal fitness qualities among youth. Scouting activities are designed to develop youths who have a high degree of self-reliance, initiative, courage, helpfulness, integrity and resourcefulness. (<http://www.scouts.ca>)

The Hong Kong Scouts Association was established by a group of expatriates in 1911, with support from the British Army. The Governor of Hong Kong was appointed Chief Commander of the Scouts. The military training model was also welcomed by the Kuomintang (National party) government which was founded after the turn-over of the Qing Dynasty in 1911. The government considered Scout training as a new way to develop young people's patriotism and military skills. With the support from the government, Scouting developed very quickly and was continued by the Kuomintang government after they moved to Taiwan in 1949. The Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) stopped Scout activities after the political change-over. A similar organisation copying the Russian model of Young Pioneers of China (*Shao Xian Dui*) was established. In general, Chinese people have a good impression of scouting activities and consider them as good training for young people.

Kurt Hahn, founder of the Outward Bound School in North Wales, put the "educational objectives" in more philosophical terms. He emphasised that training at Outward Bound School was not "*for the sea but through the sea*"; participants are expected to transfer the learning outcomes to benefit all walks of life (cited in Miner & Boldt, 1981, P.57). For Hahn, the wilderness experience does not stand alone in a philosophy of adventure education. Adventure is a means to bring about a much loftier end - human virtue (Hunt, 1990). The most important message for adventure education is that adventure is a means and not an end in itself. Hahn was not primarily an outdoorsman but his main focus was on the use of adventure as a broad educational tool.

Hahn's ideas were elaborated and further expanded over years of practice through different platforms, and outdoor adventure education has become one of the most popular approaches to youth development and education (Brown, 2003). Hattie, Marsh, Neill and Richard (1997) conducted a meta-analysis of adventure programmes and concluded that the objectives of contemporary adventure programmes are both intrapersonal and interpersonal. *Intrapersonal* programmes aim to enhance personal growth, self discovery, self-esteem, self-confidence, self-efficacy and locus of control of the participants. *Interpersonal* programmes aim to develop participants' communication and leadership skills. These objectives of building self-effectiveness are rooted in Western philosophical concepts and have the development of the

individual as a central preoccupation. Research indicates that there are differences in the definition of “self” between Western and Chinese philosophy (Bond, 1986). How this educational tool would affect young Chinese participants and how their conceptual and behavioural changes would affect their relationship with the senior people in their families is unclear: hence the rationale for the current research.

1.3 Chinese people and their value system

Chinese people have lived under the influence of a traditional collective culture for more than two thousand years. Their concept of “self” is very different from that of Western philosophical and educational discourses. In the Western individualistic cultural context, “self” refers to a person, an individual who does not necessarily have much direct connection with other people. In a piece widely accepted by Western scholars, McClelland and his associates (1953, 1958, cited in Bond, 1996), suggested that achievement motivation on the part of Western people involves the following three suppositions: personal success equates to individual achievement, so individuals determine their own achievement goals; subjective judgement determines the degree of incentive value for any particular achievement; subjective judgement also defines standards of excellence. We refer to this type of achievement motivation as self-oriented, person-oriented or individual-oriented achievement motivation, where the individual has the autonomy to choose and to make decisions as to his or her level of commitment. Being driven by the Western individualistic philosophy, adventure education (AE) programmes organisers usually put strong emphasis on the development of self-esteem and self-confidence as their main programme objective.

Such understandings may not apply readily to Chinese people. Chinese culture encourages the development of a “social-self”; it signifies the existence and development of an individual in relation to his or her social network (Bond, 1996). Confucianism was assured of its legal status from the Han dynasty (206 BC to 220 AD) until the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911 and is considered to have been the central guiding principle for most Chinese people for more than two thousand years. It is still very influential today. Confucianism is a humanistic philosophy centred on a concept known as “*ren*” which semantically means the relationship between two persons. In other words, the value of the existence of a Chinese individual is not

for himself or herself. Instead it closely relates to their social networks. Yu and Yang (1987) studied the characteristics of Chinese achievement motivation, including the dynamic tendency to reach an externally determined goal or standard of excellence in a socially approved way. If Chinese children are given a chance to choose their own, individual, challenge level, they do not feel comfortable to make such decisions or they would choose not to participate (Hu and Grove, 1991). In contrast, children from an individualistic background show more motivation when they are allowed to have more ownership on deciding the level of challenge (Bond, 1996). This is one of the most distinctive differences between people from 'individualist' and 'collectivist' backgrounds.

The objectives of adventure education programmes are to enhance self-esteem and development of self concept. Since the concept of self is very different between a Western individualistic perspective and a collective Chinese perspective, Chinese parents sending their children to these programmes may not fully aware of these cultural differences and therefore there may be a potential cultural clash between the parent and the children. How would they cope with these changes?

1.4 Making sense of migrating culture: Acculturation theory

A classical definition of acculturation was presented by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936, p.149): "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (cited in Berry, 1997, p.7). Even though acculturation is a neutral term that may happen to any group once they encounter each other, one group tends to experience a greater extent of change as compared to the other (Andriessen & Phalet, 2010). Gordon (1964) put forward a model of assimilation that acculturation involves the acquisition by a minority group of the cultural characteristics of the dominant group and the loss of the ancestral cultural traits. This perspective has, however, received a lot of criticism as being arrogant and patronising and has undergone significant revision (Stodolska & Livengood, 2006). According to Yinger (1981), ethnic assimilation is a process of boundary reduction that can occur when members of two or more societies or of smaller cultural groups meet, allowing

the access of the minority into the social institutions of the majority, including economy, education, civic affairs and government (p. 250).

There is also a significant difference in the rate of acculturation between parents and children due to the opportunities for exposure to the majority culture (Kwak, 2003). Children are believed to have more opportunities to acculturate through the school system and their peer group activities. Parents' social groups are normally constrained to work-related, ethnic-related or religion-related situations (Kwak, 2003) so their acculturation is believed to be slower than that of their children. Costigan and Dokis (2006) called this difference in the rate of acculturation the "acculturation gap" and this phenomenon is commonly found between the first generation immigrants and their children as the first generation acculturated in their home country and their children acculturate in the host country (Kwak, 2003; Chao & Tseng, 2002).

A bi-dimensional approach to acculturation was suggested by Keefe and Padilla (1987) with empirical data support from cultural change among Mexican Americans. They concluded that "no single continuum of acculturation and assimilation emerges from the study" (p.15). They noticed that the acculturation process of the minority people was selective and did not follow a linear continuum. Immigrants adopted parts of the majority culture that facilitated their adjustment to the American society but at the same time retained their ethnic culture to ensure their long term survival. This process is termed 'selective acculturation' (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Selective acculturation can be observed among immigrants and the researchers categorised it into two different domains: public (external) and private (internal) (Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Shaull & Gramann, 1998). The public domain refers to the socio-psychological elements such as language, the general practice of daily living at work place or in school, whilst the private domain refers to the psychological elements such as personal preference of food, music or recreation.

Based on an assumption of the pluralistic nature of modern society, Berry (1976) further elaborated the theory and proposed four different acculturation modes: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation. These four stages of acculturation work independently; the immigrant has freedom to choose from fully assimilated (assimilation) to the majority to fully

detached (marginalization) from the entire society. Berry also suggests that it is an on-going, never stopping process, changing over the time of interaction between the minority and the majority. The current research will be based on this conceptual framework and apply it to the study of the acculturation of the Chinese Canadians in relation to their participation in outdoor adventure education programme.

1.5 The overseas Chinese

The Chinese Diaspora began in the late nineteenth century when China was under the last empire (Qing Dynasty). The national power was weak and the economy was very bad, it was no better than a piece of cake on the table waiting for the countries with strong military power such as Japan, Germany, France and UK, to dissect and swallow (Worthing, 2007). China met the rest of the world in its worst situation. After several decades of civil war and battles with strong nations, such as the Opium War (1842), unfair treaties trapped China into serious economic and political instability. People were living in very difficult conditions (Ma & Cartier, 2003).

For survival reasons, Chinese people started to migrate to foreign countries to seek opportunities. These people were mainly rural based uneducated peasants from Southern China and their ambition was to earn enough money to return to their homeland with their families. The early Chinese immigrants in Canada worked in harsh conditions as labourers on the Canadian Pacific Railway and later on as gold miners in the Vancouver region (Li, 1988). Similar patterns were repeated elsewhere such as the USA, Australia and New Zealand. They were sojourners; it wasn't their intention to settle in the foreign land (Ma & Cartier, 2003).

New batches of immigrants arrived in Canada from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the early 1990s. These people were selected under the points system of the Canadian government and were demographically very different from the earlier immigrants. They were educated, urban based, some were professional and quite affluent, and they migrated to Canada to escape from the political change-over of Hong Kong at 1997 and the unstable political situation in Taiwan and the PRC. They settled in Vancouver, mainly in the Burnaby and Richmond region (Li, 1988). Some of these immigrants returned to HK in the beginning of this century because of the economic downturn in North America and the growing economy of the PRC. Unlike the

sojourners, those Chinese still living in Canada now are those who have already settled down and consider Canada as their home. These people are more willing to acculturate into the majority culture. They usually have jobs and have had their family and their social groups developed in Canada. However, despite the fact that they speak reasonably good English, have sustainable economic backgrounds, their social groups remain quite unassimilated to the majority of Canadian society (Lam, 1998). Sociologists described this situation as “Ethnic enclosure” which derives from Gordon’s (1964) assimilation theory and was subsequently expanded by Massey and Denton (1985). “This approach sees ethnic identity as immigrants’ sense of common nationality, a residue of shared cultural heritage brought to the host society and maintained as long as they are physically and socially isolated from members of groups outside their ethnic enclave” (Hwang & Murdock, 1991, p. 469). One interpretation of ethnic enclosure is the “ethnic trap” approach (Wiley, 1967) which may result in building cultural and structural barriers that hinder full integration in the host society. Another interpretation of ethnic enclosure provides a temporary “cultural nest” for the new immigrants. When their ethnic identity erodes over time and they have built confidence in the host’s language and adopted the cultural pattern, the minority people will relinquish their ethnic identity and seek full assimilation (Portes & Bach, 1985). How would this acculturation pattern affect their behaviour and eventually affect the choice of leisure activities?

This research took place in Vancouver, which has a mature and well established Chinese settlement. Support for new Chinese immigrants has been well established by different Non-Government Organisations such as the S.U.C.C.E.S.S. Foundation (<http://www.successbc.ca/eng>) and CCM (Chinese Christian Mission). They are located at the China Town (old) and the Crystal Plaza (China Town in modern setting) which is a popular hang-out place for the Chinese people. These two groups also organise outdoor adventure-based activities such as the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme and Scouts. Do the activities, organised by these organisations in such social environments, reinforce a further development of “ethnic enclosure” or do they help the participants to break away from their comfort zone and enhance further acculturation to the majority Canadian society through participation in outdoor recreation activities?

1.6 The Overseas Chinese in Canada and outdoor recreation

Chinese immigration to Canada started in 1858 and grew to be the largest visible minority in the present day. In 2006, over 1.26 million individuals identify themselves as Chinese (<http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/101/cst01/demo50a-eng.htm?sdi=chinese>). In the city of Richmond in Vancouver, British Columbia, one of the most favoured cities for new immigrants in Canada, Chinese people account for 44% of the total population, the highest proportion among the Canadian cities. (<http://www.richmond.ca/discover/demographics/Census2006.htm>) Although Chinese people consider Canada as one of the most popular countries for migration, they are mostly unassimilated into the majority Caucasian society (Lam, 1998, Li, 1988, 1992). Their unassimilated acculturation mode is saliently reflected in their leisure and recreation behaviours (Yu and Berryman., 1996). Chinese people were found to have a different leisure pattern from the Caucasians majority; they are under-represented in most of the popular Canadian sports such as ice-hockey and particularly in outdoor recreational activities (Walker et al., 2001, Spiers & Walker, 2009).

Given that this group of Chinese immigrants are well-educated urban professionals, ready and capable to settle in this country and given that, according to Uchida (2003), socioeconomic factors and the level of education attainment are the factors affecting people's motivation to engage in the outdoors, what are the constraints that hinder their participation? It would appear that their under-representation in outdoor recreation activities can only be explained in cultural terms.

Chinese youth in Vancouver, particularly the children of recent immigrants, receive their education in a modified British system and socialise in a more Westernised way of living than their parents. According to assimilation theory, children are more exposed to Western culture through different socialisation agents, school, peer groups, leisure and recreation activities, and they are more likely to acculturate to Western culture at a faster pace than their parents. Cross-cultural psychologists call this the “intergenerational acculturation gap” (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). These differences in culture and values will likely cause tensions between the two generations if they are not handled carefully. For example, Chinese Canadian parents consider their children as ‘misbehaving’ if their behaviours are acculturated to the Western style

(Lam, 1986). Will the strong impact of adventure education programmes reinforce more individualised behaviours among the young participants? How would the parents appreciate this behavioural change of their children? How well could these individualistic outcomes from the adventure education programmes fit into the collective Chinese family culture?

1.7 Conclusion

Literature shows that Chinese people are underrepresented in outdoor recreation activities and consider this as a cultural phenomenon (Uchida, 2003, Walker and Deng, 2001). Chinese parents focus on the academic development of their children and emphasise a formal approach to learning. Adventure education programmes have a playful atmosphere and are conducted in informal settings. Do the Chinese parents sending their children to adventure education programmes agree with this type of approach? Scouts, Outward Bound and Project Adventure programmes are different approaches to adventure education but all carry a strong Western individualistic cultural implication of developing self-esteem and self-confidence. Would these adventure education programmes meet the parents' expectations? Little is known about the outcomes of outdoor adventure programmes organised in a Chinese Canadian context. Whether the implications of Western values and culture can fit harmoniously with traditional Chinese culture is uncertain. Parents send their children to these programmes hoping to develop their self-concept and self-efficacy but they may not expect that the outcome of "self-development" in the Western culture is different from the Chinese culture. Therefore, the participation in these programmes may lead the young participants to a faster acculturation of western culture and may enlarge the intergenerational acculturation gap in the family and eventually the expectation of the parents could never be achieved.

In this thesis, I investigated the cultural "fit" of adventure education to Chinese Canadians in Vancouver, Canada. The research used a qualitative approach with in-depth interviews of the adventure education programme participants, their parents and the instructors. Participant observation and document analysis was carried out to search for the cultural implications of these programmes. The Chinese Diaspora is commonly found in nearly every country, Chinese Canadians are only one example where the individualism of Western countries meets Chinese collectivism. More understanding of their differences and similarities would certainly be

beneficial to the future interaction of Chinese and the people in their host countries such as Canada, America, Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, it is hoped that this research will contribute to the Adventure Education research literature on the awareness of the cultural differences between the Eastern and Western philosophies and countries in the context of ever-growing cross-cultural interactions and globalisation.

In the next three chapters I will cover the review of literature and outline the existing theories to build the foundation of this study. In Chapter Two, I will trace the philosophical roots and historical development of outdoor adventure programmes; I shall explore the development of the Scout Movement, Outward Bound School and Project Adventure and uncover the cultural implications of their programme. I shall also scrutinise the model of adventure education and trace its philosophical foundations of attaining the high effectiveness of these programmes.

In Chapter Three, I shall discuss the roots of Chinese culture and compare traditional collectivism embraced by the Chinese people with Western individualism. In Chapter Four, I shall explore different acculturation theories and explain the current acculturation mode of the Chinese Canadians. I shall also explore the literature regarding the leisure behaviour of the overseas Chinese people and the cultural implication of these activities. A set of research objectives and research questions were derived after the literature review and answered by the empirical data generated in the research process.

Chapter Two: Outdoor Adventure Education

2.1 Introduction

It is unclear when Adventure Education (AE) began. From the beginning of the Twentieth Century, several institutions from Western countries organised different programmes to educate young people with challenging activities in outdoor settings. It is generally believed that outdoor adventure is a product of Western educational philosophy. In this chapter, I shall focus on the Western philosophies which served as the backbone of modern adventure education programmes, outline their history of development and compare them with the traditional Chinese Confucian educational philosophy. I shall discuss three very distinctive examples of AE providers: the Scout Movement (1907), the Outward Bound School (1941) and Project Adventure Inc. (1972). These three programmes evolved to gain strong recognition in the field and developed on a worldwide scale. Their style and focus are different and symbolise the three developmental stages of AE programmes. I shall also outline the development of outdoor adventure education in Canada and the participation of Chinese people in Scouting activities.

Since AE providers proclaim strong educational values that will impact on participants, the latter part of this chapter will investigate their learning outcomes and discuss the cultural implication of their programmes. As the main focus of this study is on the relationship between acculturation and participation of the Overseas Chinese in AE programmes, I shall also relate these programmes' activities to traditional Chinese culture.

2.2 The root of modern adventure education programmes

Using the outdoors as a classroom to educate young people in Western countries can be traced back to Plato and Aristotle and subsequent thinkers in Western philosophy (Miles and Priest, 1990). In *The Republic*, Plato (427.-347B.C.), discusses the best way to raise children "...to assume the obligations and responsibilities of adulthood" (Miles and Priest, 1990, p. 119). Specifically, he is concerned with pedagogical issues: how to teach young boys and girls the virtues needed to assume leadership roles in the city-state. For a Greek, to be virtuous was to exhibit the excellence demanded of participation as a citizen in the city-state. The four cardinal virtues needed by citizens and future leaders, according to Plato, were *wisdom, bravery,*

temperance and justice, and the best way to instil them was by direct participation in a “war”. (The “war” was interpreted as “adventurous situations” by modern adventure educationists and requires the four virtues suggested by Plato to be exercised (cited in Hunt, 1990)).

Aristotle (384 – 322 B.C.), a student of Plato, identifies educating young people in these virtues as the ultimate goal of education. Aristotle suggested that in order to learn the virtues, one must live them by developing the right habits. The pathway to develop the right habits is through education. This is where adventure education laid its foundation (Hunt, 1990). Aristotle’s ideas were shared by a modern philosopher William James (1842-1910) in his famous essay, “*The Moral Equivalent of War*” (a speech given at Stanford University, 1906), where he waged a “war against war” (<http://www.constitution.org/wj/meow.htm>). In this essay, James draws from the military theorist, S.R. Steinmetz, and lists the following as virtues that are uniquely habituated by war: “Fidelity, cohesiveness, tenacity, heroism, conscience, education, inventiveness, economy, wealth, physical health and vigour.” (p. 4). He acknowledges military virtue but abhors the use of war to achieve these virtues. Instead, James suggests using adventurous situations and utilising nature for moral education and teaching young people to achieve them.

Plato and Aristotle’s philosophies are foundations of Western culture. It is no doubt that they were highly influential in the thinking of two great pioneers of modern adventure education, Baden Power and Kurt Hahn, who took the philosophical traditions of Plato, Aristotle and James, put them into practice and founded the Scout Movement and the Outward Bound School which are the foundation stones of Adventure Education today.

2.3 The Scout Movement and the Chinese people

Baden Powell founded the Scout Movement in 1907 in England after his return from the Boer War in Africa as a victorious war hero. Soon after the establishment of the new Nationalist government (Kuomintang) in China in 1911, this “ancient country,” awakened and started to seek ways to modernise and strengthen its national power. This is also the time when the Chinese people became more open to the Western world and tried to absorb new ideas, technologies and science from Western countries to build a strong nation. Scouting was believed to be one of the strategies for developing military-style training for school-age youth.

Semantically, Scouts (Tung Tze Jun) in Chinese means “the boys’ army”, which suggests not only the military training and scouting methods but also the disciplinary formats as well as the hierarchy. Scouts earned a very good reputation through their good deeds in society and their contribution in the Sino-Japanese war is well known among Chinese people. Even today, Scout training is included in the formal school curriculum in Taiwan and the Scout Law inherited from the Western philosophies was modified with the philosophy of Confucianism. The 12 main points of the Scout Law are Honesty, Loyalty and Filial, Devotion, Helpfulness, Loving kindness, Courtesy, Justice, Responsibility, Cheerfulness, Industriousness and Thrift, Courage, Cleanliness and Public Spirit (<http://www.scout.org.tw>). These points carry strong traditional Chinese cultural values. Obedience and loyalty to seniors and commitment to social services are widely recognised and appreciated by the Chinese people, who believe that scouting activities are good for young people. Scouting activities ceased in PRC after 1949 but were replaced by another form of youth training group called the Young Pioneers of China (Shao Xian Dui). It is unrelated to Scouts but its organisational structure is similar and provides a large variety of extra-curricular activities and Communist education for young people. It is well-received in PRC and parents generally think that formal training organised by Scouts and Young Pioneers is good for their children.

2.4 The Scout Movement in Canada

Scouts Canada (formerly known as Boy Scouts of Canada) was established following the publication of Baden-Powell’s book, *Scouting for Boys*, in 1908. Boy Scouts of Canada soon became a well-received youth programme as well as the biggest youth organisation in Canada. In 2009, there were 97,566 registered members (<http://www.scouts.ca>).

Despite the number of Scouts remaining stable in other minority groups in Canada, Chinese participation in scouting activities has been growing in recent years. In 2006-07 there were 47 Chinese Scout groups with 3177 registered members; in 2007-08 the number of ethno-cultural Scout groups grew to 50 and members increased to 3286 (Table 1).

Table 1: Ethno Cultural Scout Groups Statistic 2009

	2006-2007	2007-2008
Number of Chinese Scout Groups	47	50
Membership	3177	3286

Source: <http://www.scouts.ca>

Notes: (These Chinese Scout Groups also welcome people from other ethnic groups to join, but in actual fact most of these groups consist of only the one ethnicity.)

According to the statistics of Scouts Canada, in the Pacific Coast (British Columbia), the Chinese Scout population represents 27% of the total Scouting membership, compared with 18% in Shining Water (area between the Rockies and the Great Lakes) and 7% in Toronto. These figures are encouraging to the organisers as Scouts Canada puts multiculturalism as one of its major visions for future development. Statistics from Scouts Canada show that the number of Scouts is growing in the Chinese community, particularly in the British Columbia region. Chinese churches and youth groups are enthusiastic in using Scout programmes and outdoor activities to attract the interest and participation of Chinese youth. This is a rather unusual scenario as researchers commonly found that Chinese people are known to be under-represented in outdoor recreation (Walker and Wang, 2009; Li, 2006). Why would parents allow or encourage their children to join Scouting activities? What would be the parents' expectation when sending their children for Scout training?

In order to answer these questions, it is helpful to understand the mission of Scouts and also the nature of their programmes. Scouts celebrated their centenary in 2008. Over the century of evolution of Scouts, there have been changes and modifications to the practice of Scouting, with perhaps the most notable being the military-based training format giving way to an experiential approach to outdoor adventure education. Nevertheless, the Scouts Movement still strongly embraces its traditional values, such as loyalty, bravery and dutifulness when delivering training programmes to young people. This is reflected in the "Scout Promise": *Duty to God, Duty to Others and Duty to Self*. These are the three basic principles of Scouts Canada:

- “Duty to God: Defined as, the responsibility to adhere to spiritual principles and thus to the religion that expresses them and to accept the duties there from.”
- “Duty to others: Defined as the responsibility to one’s local, national and global community members to promote peace, understanding and cooperation through participation in the development of society, respect for the dignity of one’s fellow-beings, and protection of the integrity of the natural world.”
- “Duty to self: Defined as the responsibility for the development of oneself to one’s full potential physically, intellectually spiritually and socially.”

(<http://www.scouts.ca/dnn/AboutUs/OurMissionPrinciplesandPractices/tabid/55/Default.aspx>)

These principles carry a strong message to develop Scouts with a sense of responsibility to themselves, their nation and their religious beliefs. Chinese culture values the development of responsibility and dutifulness as major educational goals for young people, and this appears to fit well with the philosophy of the Scout Movement (Marshall, 2002).

Marshall (2002) studied Chinese Scout groups in Calgary, Canada, and found three main reasons for their participation.

The first reason was the opportunity for comfortable social interaction for both young people and parents. Building friendships with people of similar background and language within the Chinese community was a major reason for participation. Particularly when most families have only one child, parents want to ensure their children have comfortable and enjoyable social lives. Parents who arrived with their children for Scout meetings often remained in the Multicultural Centre throughout the activities, and as a consequence formed their own adult, social networks. “Participation and enrolment in this Scouting group is initiated by the parents more than by the children for reasons such as promoting interaction with children of the same culture and language, as well as to meet other parents with similar backgrounds and experiences in Calgary” (Marshall, 2002, p.3).

The second reason was the opportunity to learn about Chinese and Canadian culture. There are a large variety of activities in Scouting. Some activities are outdoor-based, such as camping, trekking and skiing, but there are also some activities to help Scouts understand the government and Canadian culture, such as visiting government departments. Outdoor camping in Canada also involves learning Canadian history and the way of life. It is significant that the parents themselves see exposure to a “Canadian way of life” (p. 10) as a very desirable experience. They indicated that they, as well as their children, were benefiting from their children’s participation in the activities.

The third reason was that Scouting participation facilitates the continuity of language. Marshall found that most of the meetings in these Scout groups used Chinese as the medium of instruction. It is suitable for the participation of new immigrants who do not speak very good English. The parents also consider that their children do not have many Chinese-speaking friends of their own age. They wanted to preserve Chinese language for their children by providing them with a Chinese language environment. Parents’ participation and contribution was encouraged as most parents’ English skills are comparatively weaker than those of their children. By volunteering with the Scout group, parents may learn the outdoor activities that they perceive to be “typical Canadian” (p.11).

Marshall’s work reveals that Scout activities in these Chinese groups enhance a multi-dimensional development of the Chinese children; it is more than just an extra-curricular activity, and instead it becomes an important learning opportunity in the eyes of Chinese parents. On one hand, it helps to sustain a Chinese social circle by maintaining the use of Chinese language among the young people, but on the other hand it also helps the young generation to build an understanding of Canadian culture and society.

2.5 The Outward Bound Movement

Another major stakeholder in Adventure Education is the Outward Bound School (OBS). Many studies even consider OBS as the true start of Adventure Education programmes (Hattie et. al. 1997) because it does not carry any military background and its philosophical foundation is rather explicit and direct: “... to help people discover and develop their potential to care for

themselves, others and the world around them through challenging experiences in unfamiliar settings.” (<http://www.outwardbound.org.hk>)

The OBS was founded by Kurt Hahn in Aberdovey, Wales in 1941. OBS courses are well known to be tough and physically demanding and the four-week course was considered as a life-and-death experience for many people. However, Miner and Boldt noted that Hahn practised an educational philosophy that was intended “... to enable the student to make intelligent judgements and to develop the inherent strengths of selfhood...to build character, in the old-fashioned phrase” (1981, p.41-42).

The OBS in Aberdovey was a successful implementation of Hahn’s educational philosophy. Soon, many countries opened up their OBS. In 2008, there were more than 50 training centres in over 30 countries. More than 250,000 people attended their courses and were inspired by their learning experiences. These training centres are coordinated by Outward Bound International and they share the same Hahnian educational principles, “The Four Pillars”: *Physical training, Self-discipline, Craftsmanship and Service* (Vokey, 1987). These principles were derived from the famous speech given by Hahn at Harrogate in 1965, in which he said:

“I regard it as the foremost task of education to insure the survival of these qualities: an enterprising curiosity, an undefeatable spirit, tenacity in pursuit, readiness for sensible self-denial, and above all, compassion” (<http://www.outwardbound.org.hk>).

Hahn believed the purpose of education was to develop people’s potential and the ultimate goal was to reinstall compassion through building self-reliance. The OBS emphasises the role of character, service, challenge and physical endeavour and many have adopted the theme espoused by William James (1967) in his search for the “*Moral Equivalent of War*.” Hahn claimed that the aim of Outward Bound was to “enthral and hold the young through active and willing Samaritan service, demanding care and skill, courage and endurance, discipline and initiative” (Hahn, 1957 p.10 cited in Hattie et.al, 1997, p.44). Hahn saw the approach to promoting self-reliance and compassion as a process of personal development:

- one reveres life for having experienced it in real, dramatic terms;
- that from such experiences one learns to respect self;
- that from respect for self flows compassion for others and
- that compassion for others is best expressed in service to mankind

(COBWS, 1984, p.6)

The core training value of OBS is to develop self-concept. When self-concept is established, individuals start to respect themselves and then they learn to respect others and eventually enhance their compassion for the people and the world around them. The tool to develop compassion is through service. The OB training objective should never be merely focused on “developing self-concept or personal growth”; it has a much higher goal to achieve, and a much broader social concern needs to be developed. Indeed, the effort to develop self-reliance and compassion is intended specifically to enable participants to take responsibility for the creation of a more just society (Miner, 1990).

Most of these components serve one purpose: to take the participants away from their “comfort zone” and experience a newer dimension of themselves (Walsh & Golins, 1976). Although it is a general impression that training programmes in OBHK are good for participants, no empirical data have been collected to examine this. This phenomenon is not unique to OBHK. In all the OB programmes around the world, there has been little scientific work to evaluate the programmes’ effectiveness. Course evaluations are mainly based on the experience of the students and observation of instructors immediately after the programme. Marsh, Richards and Barnes (1986) called this approach “post-group euphoria” and suggested that it is not scientific and is unreliable. Supporting data and findings for adventure education (AE) programmes are mainly drawn from Western countries such as Australia, United Kingdom and the United States of America, where subjects are mainly European. Hattie et al. (1997) also note that AE research papers “... read more like program advertisements than research” (p. 44).

One of the major targets of the AE programme in OBS is for the “self” development of participants, defined as the development of self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-effectiveness and locus of control of the individual. However, as discussed in the previous chapters, the Chinese

view of self as a socially connected organism is very different from the Western concept of the “individual self”. Does the training in OBS fit into the Chinese culture? Would it create a cultural clash due to differences in participants’ learning in the family compared to what they learn from the OB courses? How does the learning experience in OB impact on the family lives of participants?

The Outward Bound Movement initiated the use of the outdoor environment to develop young people’s self-concept. The strategy is physically demanding and the natural environment is not always predictable and may sometimes affect the programme outcomes. From 1971, a new approach - “Project Adventure” - reformed the entire concept of AE (<http://www.pa.org>) and has become the most popular approach in the field of AE today.

2.6 Project Adventure Inc.

Traditional AE programmes are run in outdoor wilderness settings. They may be land-based programmes that involve rock climbing, mountaineering and expeditions, or water-based programmes such as sea voyages by kayaks or sailing boats. The basic principles are to use the experience of the outdoor challenge to enhance the development of “self-concept”. In 1971, the young principal of the Hamilton-Wenham Jr./Sr. High in Massachusetts, Jerry Pieh started a revolutionary approach to conducting adventure education in school settings.

Pieh and his team integrated the elements of AE programmes into the normal curriculum of physical education, language and science classes. The concept of “adventure” has been modified “as a process of exploration and meeting new things” (Miles and Priest, 1990, P.98). Learning becomes an adventure when an element of surprise exists. Engagement, challenge and risk are also essential components (<http://www.pa.org>). Instead of relying on the ever-changeable and unpredictable outdoor environment to motivate students to keep alert, their new approach was to use the “portable adventure” activities. This is a non-wilderness based training programme, using a range of problem-solving activities (initiatives) and challenging rope courses. Although it does not take place in the outdoor wilderness, elements of challenge, adventure and unpredictability remains as foci of the programme (Rohnke, 1984).

After three years of exploration and implementation of Project Adventure, a detailed and scientific evaluation was conducted using the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, the School Climate Survey (based on David McClelland's Classroom Climate Survey). The evaluation report concluded that the programme has a strong positive impact on students, particularly in the improvement of their self-concept, confidence and sense of personal competence. The programme and approach proposed by Project Adventure was highly recognised and the Government decided to continue with funding support to the project. According to Miner and Bold, in their history of Outward Bound (1981; p. 336), "No other innovative educational proposal spinning off from Outward Bound has enjoyed a greater success with the educational establishment than Project Adventure." Project Adventure Inc. became independent of schools in 1981 and expanded its exposure in the field of social work and youth development. They proposed a new approach to counselling: "Adventure-Based Counselling" (ABC) (<http://www.pa.org>) which integrates the Outward Bound (adventure) elements, the Experiential Education theories and targeted the development of self-concept through systematic counselling techniques. Adventure Based Counselling was regarded as a very successful approach for juveniles and has been broadly used in the field of youth work (Itin, 1998; Schoel, 1988).

Facilitators focus on the learning process and conduct adventure education programmes in a very systematic and approachable way to fit individual needs. Walsh and Golins (1976) summarised this model of learning and called it the "Outward Bound Process". They suggest the "learner is placed into a unique physical environment and into a unique social environment, then given a characteristic set of problem solving tasks creating a state of adaptive dissonance to which the learner adapts by mastery, which reorganises the meaning and direction of the learner's experience" (p.16).

Project Adventure successfully brought AE into a new dimension. Instead of using the outdoor environment, expensive equipment and technically competent instructors to conduct an expedition like the OBS programmes, most of these elements have been transformed into a form of problem-solving (initiative) activities with props and interesting scenarios that involve a psychologically or emotionally challenging situation (Prouty, Panicucci & Collinson, 2007). Under this modified approach, the physically demanding, mentally tough and emotionally risky

Outward Bound-styled adventure education programmes become a fun session, more enjoyable, affordable and most importantly, with highly achievable pre-determined objectives (Mckenzie, 2000). Instead of focusing on the technical element (hard skills) of adventure activities such as rock climbing, kayaking and sailing, the instructor focuses on the process of learning. The actual outdoor environment and the technical competency of the facilitators are not as important as before; instead, their new role is to facilitate (soft skills) the learning process of participants.

2.7 Contemporary developments in Adventure Education

Project Adventure brought about dramatic change in the field of AE and youth work in the world. This reformed approach of AE programmes penetrated into many sectors and a large variety of “adventure programmes” suddenly evolved: youth development, leadership, juvenile delinquent adjustment, corporate management, children and family programmes. These programmes also flooded into the Chinese community. The duration of these programmes varies from half a day to a maximum of 3-5 days and they are conducted mostly indoors or in established outdoor education centres. Programme providers claim that they are providing AE training to enhance personal growth, and the core value of the programme is to develop the self-efficacy of individuals. According to Bandura’s social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1999), self-efficacy is essential for understanding how individuals perceive their own ability. Basically it is a self-evaluation mechanism that reflects the performance of an individual either on his or her own or in the team situation.

As more practitioners promote adventure education programmes, the focus of these programmes seem to have adjusted towards the need of the “market” instead of promoting the intrinsic values of the programme. Long-term values are being replaced by immediate, measurable outcomes. More emphasis has been put into programme design, debriefing skills, risk management strategies and the excitement and enjoyment of activities. A distinctive component of an AE programme is its unpredictable nature; participants having to be “prepared” and “alert” to face unforeseeable changing circumstances in order to overcome the challenge and gain a sense of achievement. In the new strategy, climbing the mast of a tall-ship to adjust the sails in the rough sea is replaced by a fixed rope course; crossing the river with rapid running water now becomes an imaginative, imitative activity with wooden blocks (Rohnke, 1984). Adventure is

being manipulated from the unknown natural environment to an artificial setting in order to achieve immediate and measurable outcomes.

The modern approach of AE programmes has not only taken away the outdoor elements, it has also taken away the fundamental core value of adventure programmes - the transferability of values. In the Scout Movement, the development of self-concept is transferred to the demonstration of patriotism as a citizen of the society; in the Outward Bound School, self-efficacy leads to the development of compassion by means of service. In these programmes, developing self-concept is only a means to achieving a higher goal. However, nowadays adventure education programmes are driven by humanistic psychology and the development of a healthy self-concept on the part of the individual participant becomes a high (if not the highest) education priority. It is being promoted as the end product of the adventure education programme (Luckner and Nadler, 1997). Vokey (1987) strongly reminds us that "... it will certainly be dangerous to make self-concept as determinant of behaviour and a corresponding exclusive emphasis on self-concept in education, can perpetuate an individualistic bias" (p.42).

As I have noted earlier and will develop further in Chapter 3, Chinese culture upholds collectivism which is considered as an opposite to individualism by its nature. If the end product of adventure education has the tendency to develop individualism among participants, a cultural clash between the two generations of Chinese families may develop.

2.8 Adventure Education in Canada

Inherited from European culture (British and French), "... [the] Canadian finds adventure is a great churning in the heart and soul" (Priest, 1997). Outdoor adventure education in Canada follows the dominant perspective of concern for intra-personal and inter-personal skills development (Priest, 1990). Practitioners see outdoor adventure activities as a vehicle to develop the participants' self-concepts, team work and communication skills (Mckenzie, 2000). Nevertheless, there is a very distinctive difference between Canadian and others' approach to outdoor adventure programmes. Canadians normally make use of the outdoor natural

environment instead of the “portable adventure and initiatives activities” such as the high rope-courses and team building games (<http://www.pa.org>) suggested by Project Adventure Inc.

Canadian adventure programmes are usually “in” the outdoors with teaching and experiences “for” and “about” the outdoors (Henderson, 2001). This means that AE programmes in Canada are mostly implemented “in” the outdoor environment with special focus on delivering the knowledge of environment education so as to enhance the awareness of environmental conservation. These interdisciplinary teaching strategies enrich the physical and intrapersonal and interpersonal skills of conventional outdoor adventure education. “Integration of environmental education/field interpretation subject matter (biology, geography, astronomy) as well as the special opportunities for Canadian heritage skill development (history, geography, literature, anthropology, native studies) are common in the Canadian context” (Henderson, 2001, pp 232). It is presented in such a way that, “the so called “hard” technical skills - often travel and camping skills - and the “soft” skills and personal growth qualities are blended with, one might say, the “green” and “warm” skills of a complementary eco-adventure focus” (Henderson, 2001, p.227).

In Canada, outdoor adventure education programmes are organised by various organisations and departments. Summer youth camps, schools (secondary school, colleges and universities), community and commercial programmes are the main settings for adventure education (Potter and Henderson, 2004). Their programme spectrum extends from leadership development, team building initiatives and technical skills development, through to environmental awareness and travel experience.

Schools used to be the main provider of Outdoor Adventure education programmes in Canada. In the 1970s and early 1980s, school boards were very supportive of teachers attending training courses and environmental conferences. However, starting in the early 1990s, many school shifted their priorities and most of them only support outdoor pursuit activities and environmental clubs within an extra-curricular agenda. In recent years, secondary schools initiated an “integrated curriculum approach to education” which usually involves one or two teachers co-ordinating one class for one semester of a four-credit course. Many teachers in

British Columbia design outdoor programmes by blending theory with study out-of-doors and outdoor travel. As the content of these programmes is highly flexible and may reflect the teachers' special interests and expertise, many new initiatives related to the outdoors are offered. Programmes involving adventure-based field trips in collaboration with geography, history, natural science and language, are commonly found in these courses. Many students seem to have benefited; nevertheless, it needs to be noted that these programmes are the exception to the rule. The survival of outdoor adventure education in schools still needs more support from the government and school boards (Potter & Henderson, 2004).

There are, however, many camps in the private sector offering adventure education programmes for school-age children during summer and winter breaks. Church groups and other youth services organisations also actively organise adventure educations for youth in Canada. Programme objectives extend from recreational, skills-based programmes to personal development or therapeutic youth-at-risk programmes (Priest, 1997). Enhancing the development of self-efficacy and self-concept are also the most popular objectives in Canada (Mckenzie, 2000). Some variation in programme focus may easily be noticed: Outward Bound Canada has a strong community service component and Scouts Canada follows the Scout Principles, aiming to develop young people's global responsibility, patriotism and brotherhood. Nevertheless, there is one major common philosophy in most of the adventure programmes in Canada, which is to develop people's relationship with nature. These programmes make use of the natural environment and "out-of-door travelling" as the major components (Potter & Henderson, 2004). The utilisation of rope courses as their exclusive adventure offering is not as popular as in the US because natural resources are fairly accessible. In Canada, adventure education programmes still emphasise the authentic experience of travelling in the outdoor environment and it is believed that through this "first-hand" experience, one can truly develop a real appreciation of nature.

2.9 The cultural characteristics of Adventure Education programmes

A common objective of AE programmes is to enhance the development of self-concept and self-efficacy (Neill, 2008). These carry a culturally constructed definition. As mentioned earlier, the definition of self is different between individualistic and collectivistic cultures.

Elements treasured in an individualistic society may not have the same value in a collectivistic culture. In Chinese cultural settings, people who display high self-esteem may be seen as having too much pride and may not be regarded as presenting a good personality for the Chinese community, which treasures humility (Tseng, 1972).

In Western society, individualism prevails. Triandis (1989) revealed that people in individualistic cultures, such as those of North and Western Europe and North America focus more on their personal perspective in making judgements. In individualistic cultures the communication is more direct. People are more independent and tend to use the word "I" more to express their feeling and their experiences whereas Asian and African countries are more likely to be collectivists and interdependent and use "we" in their expressions (Triandis & Suh, 2002).

Social psychologists (Hofstede & Arrubdekk, 1998) further scrutinised individualism and suggest that there are two different forms of individualism existing in Western culture. In "vertical individualist cultures", such as America, competitiveness is strong, and one must be "the best" in order to climb the social hierarchy. This occurs in nearly every aspect of American as well as Canadian society; heroism and individual success are highly recognised and appreciated. In team games, a "Most valuable Player" will be picked out from the winning team and be glorified. In the academic situation, among the university students who achieve high-grades and obtain "First Honours", there is a "Dean's List" established to praise those who are the "best-of-the-best". The "vertical individualistic" society is highly competitive and self-esteem and self-concept are determined by a comparison with others (Hofstede and Arrbdekk, 1998). In "horizontal individualistic cultures", such as Australia, New Zealand and some North European countries, hierarchical differentiation is de-emphasised and the emphasis is on self-reliance, independence from others and uniqueness. These are societies that favour egalitarianism where everyone enjoys their own space of development. Societies under such a cultural ideology discourage comparison between individuals. Basically, the individual has their own right to be themselves and not have much connection with others (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). However, it must be noted that in both forms of individualism, the values of social justice, personal integrity and individual freedom are strongly embraced.

Triandis and Gelfand (1998) suggest that collectivism can be considered along horizontal (emphasising equality) and vertical (emphasising hierarchy) dimensions. Walker and Wang (2005) suggest that the “Five Cardinal Relationship” (*wu lun*) emphasised in Chinese cultural are hierarchical. Chinese culture believe in stability through the existence of power distance between the ‘senior’ and the ‘junior’ (ruler and subordinates, father and son, husband and wife and elder brother and younger brother). This also applies to friends; usually older or more knowledgeable people will gain more respect among friends. The definition of self very much refers to the individual’s position and rank in relation to his or her group. It is very unusual for Chinese people to challenge these hierarchies and it is considered inappropriate and impolite (*li*) not to respect them.

Modern AE philosophy introduced by the Project Adventure Inc. is rooted in Western society particularly from America, where individualism is upheld and also carries cultural characteristics. Extending one's comfort zone, knowing one's strengths and weaknesses, personal breakthrough, goal setting, are common objectives of AE programmes today. Individualism focuses on the success, sense of identity and achievement of an individual. The main goal of life is self-fulfilment and personal freedom. Individuals are taught to be free from the ties of their family, cultural and social constraints (Howitt & Julian, 2002). With reference to Walsh and Golin’s (1976) Outward Bound Process Model, self-esteem comes from the accomplishment of the task which originally caused the participants “emotional imbalance”. Participants pass through the process of feeling unable (emotional disequilibrium) to feeling successful (accomplishment). Therefore, without this “feeling of success” generated from accomplishing the AE activity, learning objectives will not be achieved. The self-concept and self-efficacy built from AE programmes are mainly based on success and achievement.

However, in collectivist cultures, the main emphasis is on interdependence and in-group harmony. People belong to strong and cohesive groups, sense of identity involves a focus on the community and to maintain group harmony and consensus is the main goal in life. This is often achieved by subordinating one's preference and value for the benefit of others. In collectivism, trying to seek the solution by mediation instead of being critical and firm on personal preferences is the general practice (Gire, 1997). In this regard, questions regarding

whether adventure education programmes (individualism-based) 'fit' in Chinese culture (collectivism-based) remain unanswered. Following are two distinctive examples of common concepts in running an AE programme: Full-value contract and Challenge by Choice.

2.9.1 Full-value contract

The origin of the concept "Full value contract" was suggested by Medrick (1978) as a legitimate form of agreement between programme providers and participants to ensure the commitment of participants. This was to encourage participants to commit themselves and work together as a group toward individual and group goals. The full value contract usually consisted of three things: "play hard" (try your very best to complete the goal); "play safe" (adhere to the safety guidelines) and "play fair" (no cheating and be responsible) (Rohnke, 1984). It is a very important concept that must be incorporated in the beginning stage of every Project Adventure programme. The rationale is to motivate the participants and relieve any stress that may be generated by the activities during the programme. This is a symbolic gesture and participants need to indicate their agreement by signing their name (like signing a business contract) that they will be responsible for their own actions. Contracting, protecting the rights of both the employer and the employees, is one of the distinctive features of Western individualistic culture. Individualism promotes personal right and choices, so it requires a legitimate gesture to guarantee the full engagement of participants as well as ensuring that their rights are being protected. However, this idea of promoting ownership to the programme is suitable to Western society but may not be shared by Chinese people, particularly among the older generation with a traditional collective ideology. In my personal experience, most Chinese people think that the "contract" is for the benefit of the "project owner", who is now the 'instructor' in the AE programme. Official and legitimate contracting does not make much sense in Chinese culture, where "*Guanxi*", interpersonal connection and relationship, is the major determinant of the involvement and commitment of participants. This is strongly linked to the "social-self concept" of the Chinese individual that was discussed earlier. Chinese collectivists consider that individuals from the same in-group are inter-related and that each person's well-being depends upon the results of collective effort. If each person follows the norms of the group and acts in the interests of the group, the group will be harmonious and prosperous (Bond, 1996).

“*Guanxi*” is also determined by, and in response to, “*face work*”. The better the “*guanxi*” between the instructor and participants, the more “*face*” will be given to them and the participants will be more involved and devoted. Leung and Chan (2003) found that in Chinese culture, “*face*” carries four dimensions: reciprocity, response, respect and reputation. It is considered as a social recognition mechanism between the participants and the instructor. If the instructor is a renowned figure in the field or able to present a professional image (reputation), demonstrate competency in the knowledge and experience of the content of the programme (respect) and displays concern for the encouragement of participants, face will be given to the instructor and the participant will be more involved.

2.9.2 Challenge by choice

The original idea for this concept came from Rohnke (1984). Semantically, this statement means that the instructors are not there to force you to participate and you have the freedom to choose how much you are going to be involved. However, when this sentiment is implemented together with the “Full value contract”, the participant is expected or obligated to “play-hard”. So, it is actually using a legitimate strategy to push a participant’s involvement. Challenge in an adventure programme involves creating “emotional disequilibrium” (Nadler and Luckner, 1993). Forcing people to do something that they do not want to do is unacceptable in an individualist society. It is the strategy of the facilitator to give back choice to the participants so that they can decide their own commitment and challenge level. They will feel more motivated and more willing to participate. Participants are assured that their choice will still be respected. Freedom of choice and being responsible for your decision are very distinctive individualist characteristics (Priest and Gass, 1997). As mentioned earlier, for collectivists it will be more effective and they will be more motivated if instructors make the choice for them. Collectivists are more ready to follow instruction and be obedient to authority while individualists are more ready to think of their own rights and benefits. From my personal experience, if Chinese participants are asked to make their own choice of participation, most of them will become bystanders or simply not participate. There may be a strong tendency for Chinese participants to choose less challenging activities because it is not part of their culture to take risks. Taking risks and meeting challenges may be a way to demonstrate courage and heroism in Western

culture, but Chinese people are not used to standing out from a group. Maintaining intra-group harmony is one of the major priorities of Chinese people. Many writers have observed that humility is a salient norm in Chinese societies and that this norm originates from Confucianism (Bond, 1996; Tseng, 1972). Taking risks also leads to a strong possibility of failure which will bring the feeling of “losing face”. For Chinese people, lost face is a very disgraceful thing and they try to avoid it. As a result, participants will not normally give a 100% effort to commit to the programme unless they are quite sure that they will accomplish the task. They would rather allow the instructor to decide the challenge level for them because even if they fail, they will feel less stressed as they can still “maintain their face”.

2.10 Conclusion

Adventure education programmes embed a strong Western culture and educational philosophy and claim its universal effectiveness will be supported in different ethnic cultures. The Scout Movement and Outward Bound Movement have already developed a worldwide network and Project Adventure Inc. is also influencing the recent development of adventure education programme worldwide. Owing to their different backgrounds, programmes offered by the Scouts, Outward Bound and Project Adventure Inc. may have different missions, but one of the most common objectives of these programmes is to enhance the self-concept of the participants. Empirical evidence shows that outdoor adventure education programmes have a strong impact on participants (Neills, 2008) but how it will affect Chinese immigrants’ acculturation to the host society is in need of investigation.

Adventure education programmes focus on the development of self-esteem and self-confidence, which are the most essential aspects in Western education philosophy. However, this is quite different from the general expectation of the Chinese parents who treasure more the obedience of their children and harmony in their family. Parents send their children to these programmes and expect them to learn more life skills and to gain some personal development. How much do they know about the cultural impact of participation on their child? Will it bring about a cultural clash in their family and will it enlarge the acculturation gap between the two generations? Their understanding about the cultural implication is essential to the success of

the programme and it is also very important for the organisers to raise their awareness of this, but research in this area is very limited.

As mentioned previously, there are cultural differences between Chinese people and Caucasians. In the next chapter, I will talk about these differences and we shall trace the history of the beginning of the Chinese Diaspora. I will focus on the migration of Chinese people to Canada and how it varied in the past 20 years. Demographic factors may be quite different but traditional Chinese culture and values have been firmly established in Chinese culture for more than 2000 years. Parents' expectation of their children to excel in education hasn't changed; will parents treasure the playful atmosphere and fun aspect of adventure programmes?

Chapter Three: Chinese Diaspora and Chinese culture

3.1 Introduction

The study of acculturation of Chinese people in Canada and their participation in adventure education programmes crosses over several areas: the social psychology of migrant Chinese people in relation to their acculturation to the majority Western (Canadian) culture; the traditional values of the Chinese people and their differences to the Western culture; and the expectations of their children. How will the outcomes of adventure education programmes meet the expectation of the parents and how do they tackle the potential of a cultural clash between the two generations? In this chapter I will examine: the historical background of Chinese migration and recent changes; traditional Chinese culture and its adaptation to Western society; and the expectation of Chinese parents and their acculturation into Canadian society. I shall also compare and contrast the philosophies of the two cultures and discuss how adventure education programmes affect the development of young Chinese participants.

3.2 Chinese Diaspora and recent changes

To most Chinese people, migrating to another country is against their will or their traditional culture (Tan, 2004). Family is the most important element in Chinese culture (Bond, 1996); staying with the family and taking care of their own parents and their siblings is the most important commitment of Chinese adults. Living together with one's family, including four to five generations, is regarded as a great blessing to the Chinese. Previously, the Chinese were mostly reluctant to leave their home town unless there were strong reasons threatening their survival and their families. The Chinese Diaspora began in the mid-nineteenth century as a result of the political and economic instability of the weak and shrinking "Chinese Empire" (Qing dynasty).

3.2.1 The historical background

Some historians regard China's long history as a history of civil wars (Rhoads, 2007; Frederic, 1985). The ruler of the last kingdom (Qing Dynasty, 1644-1911) was Manchu, a tribal ethnic minority group who lived in the north-eastern part of China and north of the Korean Peninsula. The Manchu ruled China for almost 300 years but the latter days of the Qing Dynasty were marked by corrupt government. Various rebellions and uprisings broke out, mainly in the South

and these, together with natural disasters, brought about political and economic instability to the country (Rhoads, 2007).

The Taiping Rebellion in the mid-19th century was the first major instance of anti-Manchu sentiment threatening the stability of the Qing Dynasty. The rebellion started in the Guangdong Province, Southern China, and quickly spread across the country. It was finally put down with assistance from foreign powers, including Britain and France. In 1840 and 1850, two Opium Wars involving the British Army broke out in Guangdong Province and led the Qing Emperor to sign the Treaty of Nanking (1842) and the Treaty of Tianjin (1858), which were oppressive and further damaged the weakened economy of the dying kingdom (Frederic, 1985).

A common view of 19th century China is that Qing's control was very weak and the economy was fragile, waiting for foreign powers such as Britain, France, Japan and Germany, to intervene (Li, 1988; Tan, 2004). The region most affected at this time was Guangdong Province, where the Taiping Rebellion began. The economic activities of this province had also been greatly disturbed by civil war. Given that the Guangdong Province is located close to Hong Kong, which was under the sovereignty of the British Empire as a result of the Treaty of Nanking, and given also that the two Opium Wars began here, the southern provinces in particular were facing mass unemployment and starvation. Lai (1975), estimates that about 23% of the Chinese in British Columbia, Canada, around 1884-85 were from Toishan county (Guangdong Province) and between 1885 and 1930 as many as 45% of the Chinese entering Canada came from Toishan. According to Liu and Zheng (1982), "the county of Toishan was hardest hit with natural disasters in the latter half of the nineteenth century; between 1851 and 1908 it suffered fourteen major floods, seven typhoon, four earthquakes, two droughts, four plagues and five famines. In addition, a local war between clans from 1856 to 1864 was directly responsible for the death of twenty to thirty thousand people". (p.13) Pushing many local peasants to the brink of starvation, these natural and social calamities made them vulnerable to recruitment for overseas labour markets. The people of Toishan, Guangdong and other southern provinces were forced to think of other opportunities in order for their families to survive. At this time, there were foreign agents recruiting coolie and cheap labour in Hong Kong to work in the gold fields of British

Columbia, Canada (Li, 1988). Many men from Guangdong Province joined these labour movements and began their miserable journeys to this foreign land.

3.2.2 Early immigrants to Canada (from 1840s to 1950)

Large-scale Chinese immigration to British Columbia and Vancouver Island began in 1858 (Li, 1988). These people were “sojourners” because most of them were “recruited” by the coolie brokers of Hong Kong. They were hired as cheap labourers to complete a section of the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR), with the intention that they would return to China at the end of their contracts. Massive importation of Chinese labour did not take place until the early 1880s, when the CPR was constructed to link British Columbia and eastern Canada between 1881 to 1885 (Krauter & David, 1978; Li, 1988). Many came to British Columbia as common labourers and most of them were paid only in vouchers and mats of rice, making them effectively captives of the firms which imported them (Ng, 1999).

According to the Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration (1885), the total number of Chinese arriving in Canada directly from China, between 1876 and 1880, was 2326. This number rose to 2939 in year 1881, 8080 in year 1882 and 9126 in year 1891. Together with other Chinese who came to Canada from the US, the total number of Chinese labourers in British Columbia between 1881 and 1884 was over 15,700 (Royal Commission of Canada, 1969, cited in Li, 1988). In a study of Chinese who entered Canada between 1885 and 1903, Li (1992) found that many immigrated at an early age and had little or no working experience prior to immigration, aside from working in agricultural fields. Most had limited formal schooling and spoke practically no English before coming to Canada. Like many of their predecessors who went overseas, the Chinese who came in the early part of the twentieth century left home and fought hard for their survival. Despite the indispensable contribution made by the Chinese in developing the pioneer industries in the British Columbia province, the Chinese were blamed for virtually every social evil such as epidemics, overcrowding, prostitution, opium-smoking and corruption (Ng, 1999).

These early migrants were sojourners and never wanted to commit themselves to the Canadian society. They kept their “pig-tails” (braids) because they did not want or expect to stay in this

foreign land; once they earned enough money they would return to their families in China (Ng, 1999). They were more willing to endure any hardships such as longer working hours and lower wages than non-Chinese workers, and to put up with dangerous working conditions in order to support their families in China. This attitude to work complicated the labour market situation and the dominant “white” Canadians considered them a threat (Li, 1988). The employment pattern of the Chinese in their first fifty years in Canada shows how they answered the labour needs of British Columbia. They were recruited for various labour-intensive industries such as mining, railroad construction, land clearing, public works, gardening, lumbering, salmon canning and domestic services (Royal Commission 1902, cited in Ng, 1999). They were welcome as cheap labourers in pioneer industries where other labour was not readily available.

Given that economic conditions in Vancouver after the completion of the CPR in 1885 were very bad, and most of the Chinese could not accumulate enough money to go back to China, they remained behind. They lived in the coastal area around Vancouver, in complete destitution and took jobs at almost any wage (Krauter & Davis, 1978). Open anger against the Chinese was displayed as they were considered a threat to the labour market. Anti-Chinese sentiments intensified. Union organizers and politicians used the issue of “anti-Orientalism” as a means to consolidate union organization as well as to win political support or advance political careers (Li, 1979). The Canadian Government under the Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, passed the *Chinese Immigration Act* in 1885 and began to charge a form of head tax for each Chinese person trying to immigrate to Canada. Starting at \$C 50 in 1885, the head tax was raised to \$C 100 in 1901, and then \$C 500 in 1903. The Chinese were the only ethnic group which had to pay such a tax. The Canadian government collected nearly \$C 19 million in head tax from 1885 to 1923 (Baureiss, 1985).

The anti-Chinese sentiment in British Columbia did not end with the discriminatory federal head tax. The federal Liberal government passed the *Chinese Immigration Act* 1923, which prevented virtually all Chinese from entering Canada. The Act was both humiliating and devastating for the Chinese as it prevented men from bringing their wives and children to Canada. A tangible outcome of the Act was the significant decline of the Chinese population in Canada.

Between the 1930s and the end of WWII, the number of Chinese shrank from more than 46,000 to around 30,000. In the same period, the Chinese population in Vancouver was reduced even more drastically, from 13,000 to about 7,000. Census of Canada 1951 statistics (cited in Ng, 1999) also show that age and gender distributions were seriously skewed, with half of the population being males, 45 years old or above. The Act was perceived as a necessary measure to protect White Canadians from the Chinese since the imposition of the Head Tax was not adequate to stop the influx of Chinese immigrants into Canada, given the political unrest, famine and social and natural calamities that Chinese peasants had to suffer in the southern part of China at that time.

The federal Head Tax, anti-Chinese laws, and public hatred against the Chinese, made the lives of the Chinese in Canada harsh and difficult. Throughout Canadian history, “Prejudice, discrimination and scape-goating dogged the Chinese” (Krauter and Davis, 1978: p.63). They were stereotyped as “opium-smokers”, “heathens” and “gamblers”, and this lifestyle was seen as undesirable and detrimental to the well-being of Canadians (Chow, 1976). They were denied voting rights, not allowed to sell liquor or buy property, nor to practice law or pharmacy (Li, 1979). Resentment towards the Chinese people continued until Canada declared war on Japan after the Pearl Harbour incident on December 7 1941. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association requested its members purchase Canadian and Chinese war bonds and boycott Japanese goods. Many Chinese joined the Canadian Army to participate in the Sino-Japanese War (Ng, 1999).

The situation for the Chinese in Canada changed slowly after the establishment of the United Nations (UN) at the conclusion of WWII. Canada was one of the founding members of the UN and signed the UN Charter to stand against racial discrimination. In 1947, Chinese-Canadians were granted voting rights in federal elections. In the same year, the *Chinese Immigration Act* was repealed by the Canadian parliament, finally permitting the reunification of families split between Canada and China. It was not until 1967 that a points system was introduced in the Immigration Act, and the Chinese were granted the same status as people of other countries when it came to applying for immigration into Canada (Li, 1979).

It had been a long and agonizing journey for Chinese Canadians to gain the right to become “Canadians”. Finally, on June 22, 2006, on behalf of the Government of Canada, Prime Minister Stephen Harper offered a formal apology to Chinese Canadians for the inequalities and hardship they had suffered, and a compensation of \$C 20,000 was paid to the survivors and their spouses. This compensation and the apology symbolised that Canada had now officially ceased using discriminatory practices against the Chinese and was moving to establish a country which appreciated cultural diversity and embraced multiculturalism.

3.2.3 Chinese Immigrants today

The Chinese in Canada today are often viewed as obedient, introverted and hardworking. They are seen to hold tightly to family values and live a different lifestyle to that of White Canadians (Lam, 2000; Li, 2001). Chinese people normally show a strong motivation to achieve good academic results in school and are strongly represented in professional fields (Bond, 1996; Mak, 1988).

Under the points system, immigrants of any nationality can come to Canada as long as they can pass the immigration assessment in the areas of education and training, occupational skills and demands, knowledge of English and French, personal assessment, age and employment opportunities in the area of destination (Li, 2001). As a result, most Chinese immigrants who entered Canada after the changes to the Immigration Act in 1962 were professionals who possessed occupational skills valued by Canadian society. The changes to immigration policy have impacted upon the demographic structure of the Canadian Chinese population. According to Statistics Canada 2006, between 1996 and 2000, 33,505 immigrants came from Hong Kong and 108,285 from China PRC respectively. Between 2001 and 2006, however, China PRC immigrants outnumbered Hong Kong immigrants by 155,105 to 7430. In other words, Chinese from the Mainland have become the major source of Chinese migrants to Canada since 1998 (Statistic Canada, 2006).

Unlike the earlier migrants, who were mainly uneducated peasants, the new migrants were highly educated, urban professionals, who intend to settle permanently in Canada (Li, 2001). Wang and Lo (2003) studied the Immigration Class distribution among Chinese people from

1980 to 2000 and found that 54% of them were economic immigrants compared with only 38% immigrants from other countries. They are mostly skilled workers or professionals and considered to be able to participate in economic production and to contribute to the Canadian economy. Altogether, 19% of these Chinese immigrants had some post-secondary education at the time of immigration (this includes trade certificate, college certificate or diploma and some non-degree university education). Another 13% already possessed a bachelor's degree and 4% held Master Degrees. Also, 1% of the immigrants from China PRC obtained a doctoral degree before migration, which translates into 7,600 PhDs gaining entry to Canada through the migration scheme.

The proportion of entrepreneur and investor immigrants among the Chinese is also high: 19% as opposed to 7% for the general immigrant population. Among the immigrants in this period, 80% of the Taiwan Chinese are economic immigrants. They are mostly entrepreneurs and investors as well as skilled workers and professionals (Wang and lo, 2000).

With such an educational and economic profile, it can be expected that the occupational distribution, economic status and lifestyle of the recently arrived Chinese (China PRC, Hong Kong and Taiwan) will be different from the early would-be sojourners. One would expect their participation and contribution to Canadian society to also differ.

3.3 Traditional culture and values of the Chinese people

Introduction

Culture can simply mean “the characteristics of a particular human society or community” (Oxford Advance Learning English-Chinese Dictionary). To the anthropologist and sociologist, culture is “a set of beliefs and values people have about societies, social change and the ideal form of living they seek” (Billington et al, 1991, p 36). It is the value system and the implicit and explicit guiding principles of daily lives of people. The definition of culture as consisting of patterns of acting (behaviour) as well as patterns of thought and feeling follows the precedent set by E. Taylor, the founder of academic anthropology in Western countries:

"Culture.... taken in its wide ethnographic sense is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. The condition of culture among the various societies of mankind, in so far as it is capable of being investigated on general principles, is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action" (Taylor, 1871 cited in Harris and Johnson, 1995, p 9).

Culture, being passed on from one generation to another through different institutions – family, school, peers, workplace – contributes to the reinforcement of the specific cultural system in explicit and/or implicit ways. Culture should not be seen as a set of control mechanisms of human behaviour in a society (Geertz, 1973). This living wisdom is different from society to society and is accumulated over a long period of time. It is considered as the invisible hand that manipulates the reaction and behaviour of people of a society, even when people are not consciously aware of its existence (Freilich, 1972). It is so powerful that it penetrates into all walks of life and affects people's behaviour and judgement without them noticing it.

When seeking to compare Traditional Chinese and Western cultures, it is useful to distinguish three aspects of Chinese culture: collectivism (Confucianism); intra-group harmony and mediation (avoidance of conflict in interpersonal relations); and large power distance (hierarchical relationships) (Hu & Grove, 1991). Each element, and its intellectual history, will now be discussed.

3.3.1 Collectivism: Confucianism

With its long historical background, geographical location and the vast diversity of ethnicity within China, it is not easy to suggest a single theory to explain Chinese culture and the psychology of the Chinese people. However, following the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.), the emperor of Han Dynasty (*Wu Ti*) adopted the philosophy of Confucius to be the official political and administrative philosophy of China. He established a national university type of organisation to study Confucianism. The educational system and selection standards of government officials were primarily based on the mastery of Confucian ethics. Confucianism gradually became recognised as the official philosophy of China (Bond, 1986). Confucianism

thus became the back-bone of Chinese culture and particularly influential in the organisation and structure of the Chinese family (Tan, 2004).

The central thinking of Confucianism is loyalty (*Zong*), dutifulness (*Xiao*), kindness (*Ren*), righteousness (*Yi*), etiquette (*Li*) in relation to the "Five Cardinal Relations" (*wu lun*). The relationship between the king and his subordinates is handled by loyalty, between father and son by dutifulness, between elder brother and younger brother by kindness, between husband and wife by righteousness and between friends (older and younger) by courtesy and etiquette (Bond, 1986; Chiang, 2004). A state of social harmony will be attained if each unit is conscientious in following the requirement of his or her role (Bond, 1986). The empire will then enjoy a state of stability when this social order is maintained.

Confucianism was favoured by the ruling party to maintain its sovereignty and ruling status. For this reason, that party was happy to espouse it as the standard and official ideology of the Chinese people. Government officials and educated elites who were educated under Confucian thinking became the ruling party and transmitted Confucian values and ideology through various ways to the non-educated civilian and peasants. Thus, all Chinese people were enmeshed in the Confucian tradition (Bond, 1986). This practice was continued for almost 2000 years until the traditional governmental examinations were officially abolished by the new Chinese government (Republic of China) in 1905 (Chiang, 2004). Confucianism was the root of Chinese culture and it is still very influential in Chinese families today. For example, although the Five Cardinal Relations indicate the appropriate behaviour within a rank of the Chinese society, they also suggest a senior-junior hierarchy in the social unit. The king has supreme power over his subordinate government officials; the father has authority over his son; the husband is the head of the family where his wife always plays a supporting role; the elder brother is seen as the leader of his siblings and friends are ranked according to their seniority by age. In this ranking order, subordinates are expected to respect those who are in senior rankings. In China, young people tend to be obedient to their seniors and the Chinese look to others for leadership in the workplace.

3.3.2 The differences between collectivism and individualism

The differences between individualism and collectivism have been studied extensively (Triandis, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). As described in Hofstede (1983, p. 83):

"Individualism stands for a preference for a loosely knit social framework in society where individuals are supposed to take care of themselves and their immediate family only. Its opposite, collectivism, stands for a preference for a tightly knit social framework in which individuals can expect their relatives, clan or other in-group to look after them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty."

People in collectivist cultures see the environment as more or less unchangeable or fixed with stable norms and obligations and themselves as changeable (Chiu & Hong, 1999). They would rather blend their own ideas or perspectives to suit the environment than attempt to change the environment to make it fit for them. Conversely, people from individualistic cultures see themselves, their attitudes, personality and rights, as more or less stable and the environment as changeable. That explains why, in collectivist cultures like Japan and China, people tend to stay in their jobs longer than people in Western countries. Choi & Nisbett (2000) concluded that people in collectivistic cultures usually have greater tolerance for contradictions than do Americans and are more ready to give up their own ideas for the sake of achieving the group goal.

Differences in behaviour in a group setting were also reported in two studies. Iyengar & Lepper (1999) found that children of European and American background were more motivated when they had a choice and showed less motivation when authorities or peers made the choice for them. Conversely, Asian children were less motivated when given a personal choice, whereas having choices made for them by trusted authority figures and peers actually produced the highest levels of intrinsic motivation and performance. This may be explained as the result of the didactic approach to education which most Chinese endorsed. Chinese people under this teaching style are generally not used to thinking in creative ways and choosing the best options for themselves. They are used to listening carefully, reading the text books, being spoon-fed with information, doing what they are told, and memorising facts that will be needed in

examinations. Singelis et. al. (1999) and Yamaguchi et al. (1995) found that people from a collectivistic culture tend to have lower self-esteem. They are easily embarrassed, show greater tendencies toward affiliation, are more sensitive to rejection and have lower needs for uniqueness.

3.3.3 Achievement Motivation

Another major difference between individualism and collectivism is in achievement motivation. McClelland et al. (1958) developed a scoring system to measure the achievement motivation of individuals, widely accepted and adopted by Western scholars. They suggested that achievement motivation involves the following three suppositions: personal success is considered as a form of individual achievement, so individuals determine their own achievement goals; subjective judgement determines the degree of incentive value for any particular achievement; and subjective judgement also defines standards of excellence. Bond (1996) claimed these suppositions reflect the cultural values of middle-class Western societies and that their validity is open to question when applying to the collectivist-dominated culture such as China and Japan. Yang and Yu (1988) summarise the individualist-based nature of this scoring system:

“achievement goals and standards of excellence are largely determined by the individual, as are the incentive values of the achievement goal and standard of excellence; each individual determines the behaviour needed to reach achievement goals, as well as the maintenance, continuation, and evaluation of such behaviour; the individual is the primary evaluator of his or her achievement performance; positive or negative reinforcement of achievement performance also comes from within the individual including a sense of success or failure, self-satisfaction or self-contempt, and self-approval or self-criticism; and finally, the overall characteristics of the system are strong self-instrumentality and functional autonomy”
(Yang and Yu, 1988; p.230).

As mentioned earlier, in Chinese culture the meaning of self is different from Western culture. It carries the meaning in their social network and other people’s expectations, and thus the autonomy enjoyed by an individual to make his or her own judgement and evaluation is not as

apparent as for Western individuals. According to Confucian thought, the role of self is not to express and manifest itself (as in Western models) but to develop the internal moral self; this has always been expressed as conquering selfishness to restore ritual propriety (Bond, 1996). Self-realization, as a process of internal self-development, is considered a gradual, regimented process (Abbott, 1970). While Western ideals emphasise an understanding of what the self is and how to control and master it, Confucianism stresses the remaking and reforming of the moral self in the hope of realising the ethical ideal of “ultimate goodness” (*zhishan*) (Fan, 2000). This concept has been passed to the individual through different significant social institutions – the family, clanship, school and friends – and is deeply-rooted in Chinese’ minds. Under Confucianism, attaining these family and clan-oriented achievement goals is the true measure of self-realisation and the fulfilment of one’s familial self. Chinese people pursue these social values with societal, clan or familial characteristics, and these values have been a great motivating force behind individual self-development (Bond, 1996). The motivation for achievement among the Chinese is based on fulfilling the desire for completion of the familial and moral selves, seen as the ultimate goal of Chinese people.

This is one of the cultural differences that the adventure education programme organisers have to consider when organising programmes for participants of Chinese origin. In adventure programmes, the organiser will put forward a concept of “Challenge by Choice” and participants will agree upon a “Full-value contract” (Rohnke, 1996). This means that the participants have the autonomy to choose the challenge level that they feel comfortable with and their commitment is bound by the contract to which they have agreed (and sometimes signed). Since the young Chinese participants’ motivation is influenced by significant others, such as their family or other external social network, they may not be able to internalise the needs for themselves or possess the autonomy to make their own decision as do Western participants. This may create enormous pressure for participants in relation to the outcomes of the programme.

3.3.4 Intra-group harmony and mediation

Confucianism led Chinese people into a highly interdependent society where collectivism was embraced. In collectivist cultures, people are interdependent in their in-groups (family, tribe, and nation), give priority to the goal of their in-groups, shape their behaviour primarily on the

basis of in-group norms and behave in communal ways (Triandis, 1994; Mills & Clark, 1982). A harmonious relationship is then very important to keep this sociological philosophy in good practice. To choose the right behaviour, show the appropriate courtesy (*li*) and always find the "mediation" to resolve conflicts, are the teachings of Confucius. Mediation comes from moderation of one's desires and wishes (Tan and Chee 2005). Being too outstanding in a group is considered as inappropriate, particularly on the part of a young person in front of his or her "seniors". In Chinese culture, it is considered normal practice for a younger person or one with a lower rank in the social order to 'sacrifice' or to suppress his/her views in order to maintain the harmonious relationship in the society or group (Chiang, 2004). Moderation is embodied in the Confucian doctrine of the Golden Mean, which admonishes people to listen to different counsels and to 'hold the mean', that is to take the middle, and not the extreme course of action.

Throughout Confucius' teaching, it is apparent that keeping this hierarchical pattern, performing one's assigned role and maintaining a good social order and network, is the strategy for keeping China a peaceful society and nation. This has been considered as the best choice for an individual. Creating disturbances to affect social harmony is considered as a rebellious or revolutionary behaviour and this is not acceptable in a Chinese society (Bond, 1986). Unlike individualism, collectivism gives priority to the goals of one's group and defining one's identity accordingly. Possessed of an interdependent self, one's identity is defined more in relation to others and involves a strong sense of belonging (Myer, 1999). Estranged from the family, colleagues and loyal friends, one would lose the social connections that define who one is. Being humble, not boasting of one's own achievements, is the general principle for living among the Chinese (Huang & Jones, 1980). This principle is reflected in the naming of Chinese people, who place their family name first and their given name last to honour their ancestors and maintain their social identity (Myer, 1999).

Chinese students have been found to be more emotionally controlled but less open and less extroverted than typical American students (Bond, 1982). Chinese people are generally not ready to voice their opinion because they do not want to "break" the harmony and they are used to being tolerant and adaptable in different situations. To suppress one's idea and follow the

decision of others, particularly seniors, is a form of general practice in Chinese society (Bond, 1982).

In contrast to the analytic, monotheistic, materialistic, rationalistic or autonomous embodiment in the Western context of individualism, there is a broader definition of self in the Confucian philosophical tradition (Johnson, 1985). Instead of seeing self as an independent entity, Chinese see self as a part of a social network system. Confucian thought has undermined the autonomy of individual self (Tu, 1985) and its definition extends to include a wide variety of significant others. A Chinese person is defined by a bilateral relationship with another person which defines and organises his or her existence (Sun, 1983). The Chinese derive their sense of self and self-esteem from their kinship network, and continue to remain an integral part of their family throughout life (Yang, 1981). Hsu (1963, cited in Lam, 1986) claims that the concept of self among Chinese people is “hammered in” and regulated by kinship organisation.

The ultimate target of Confucianism is to develop a morally perfect person who practises his daily life with the principle of “*ren*” (a selfless person). Semantically, “*ren*” means relationship between two persons. To maintain a fair, friendly, gentle, non-competitive relationship with other people, is the most recommended way of handling interpersonal relationships (Lam, 1986). Confucianism views individual self as part of an organic whole and considers the true meaning of self is attained either by placing the self in a context of the total scheme of things, or by service to others, sometimes even by sacrificing the “little me” to allow the completion or success of the “big me” (*‘little me’* refers to the individual-self and *‘big me’* means the collective values of a group) (Dien, 1983). Comparable concepts such as Roland’s “family self” (1987), Baumeister’s “collective self” (1986) and Yang’s “social self” (1981) all stress that the Chinese self exists in and through relationships and an “un-individuated” self is considered a norm for self-structure in Chinese culture, while it is considered as pathological in Western culture (Marsella, 1985)

Collectivism believes that the effectiveness of individuals from the same group is inter-related and that each person’s well-being depends upon the results of collective effort. If each person follows the norms of the group and acts in the interests of the group, the group will be

harmonious and prosperous. Everybody contributes their part in the group and for the benefit of the group so that ultimately everyone in the group will enjoy their share of the result. Placing a priority on taking care of the individual's need and the achievement of individual goals is considered to be a form of selfish behaviour.

Seeking an intra-group harmony so as to achieve better performance and productivity is also reflected in Chinese dispute resolution. Thomas and Kilmann (1974) designed an instrument called "Management-of-Differences Exercise" and asked subjects to rank possible methods to resolve conflicts in their group: 'competing', 'collaborating', 'compromising', 'avoiding' and 'accommodating'. They found that Chinese employees in Hong Kong ranked compromise first and competition last. In contrast, British managers who worked in Hong Kong ranked collaborating first, competition second and compromise third.

3.3.5 Power distance (hierarchical relationships)

The concept of power distance is taken from the work of the Dutch social psychologist Mulder (1977; Mulder et al., 1971) who based his theory on laboratory and field experiments with small groups. Mulder (1977) defines power as "the potential to determine or direct the behaviour of another person or other persons more so than the other way round" (cited in Hofstede, 1983, p 83). Further, Mulder claimed that since the power distribution between members of the same social structure is different, a certain degree of inequality is generated.

Hofstede (1983) suggested that power distance explains the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions (like the family) accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. This represents inequality between members of the group, but it is defined by the "lower ranks" of the group instead of the "upper ranks" (Fernandez et al., 1997). It suggests that a society's level of inequality is endorsed by the followers as much as by the leaders (Hofstede, 1983). In this type of society, the decision making process is most likely in a top-down direction and the chance of negotiation by the lower ranks is very limited. Hofstede (1983) compared the administrative structure of IBM Ltd. in 50 countries and found that Hong Kong Chinese have one of the highest power distance rankings among Asian countries. This indicates that there is inequality of power and wealth distribution within the society and he

suggested that this can be seen as a form of cultural heritage. The sophisticated hierarchy of the "Five Cardinal Relations" developed by Confucianism formed the basic structure of the society and it is generally understood that being obedient to the seniors is a valued behaviour on the part of juniors. Being "respectful" in Chinese carries the meaning of being "obedient" to and accepting decisions from seniors who are seen as authority figures. It is not a good deed to criticise the decision of your senior, particularly in the presence of other people (Bond, 1986).

Family is the strongest and most significant unit in Chinese social structure and carries the responsibility of educating the younger generation on their behaviours in different social settings. It is also the most powerful socialising agent to transmit traditional values such as humanism, collectivism of the large family kinship and clan relation, self-discipline, and order and hierarchy, to the younger generation (Bond, 1996). Generally, Chinese families view the parental role mainly as that of a teacher, thus reinforcing the power distance between the younger and older generation. Parents take seriously occasions when their children's behaviour is inconsistent with their expectations; their role includes teaching children self-control/discipline, the ethics of good conduct, mutual dependence and virtues of filial piety (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Compared with the Western approach to parenthood, Chinese parents are more restrictive, controlling and authoritative (Li, 2001). In most situations, unquestioning obedience to authority is emphasised rather than open communication between parent and children, particularly during early- to mid-childhood; the use of physical punishment and yelling towards children is not uncommon on the part of Chinese parents (Chao, 1994). It has been argued that the parents do this purposely so that the authoritative image of the parents (usually the father) is developed in children at a young age (Chao 1994). The establishment of authority is seen to have a positive effect in reducing conflict and promoting family harmony (Bond, 1996).

However, whether this approach of developing a strong and authoritative image of the parent can bring about family harmony is questionable, particularly in an immigrant family. Emigration to other countries normally brings about a drastic structural transformation where the size of the family reduces from a large family and kinship network to a nuclear unit of a small family; both parents and children face new challenges and develop new networks (Li, 2001). Several elements upheld by the traditional Chinese family face challenge: parental authority and filial

piety; valuing family interests over self-interest; and gender-role expectation (Fong, 1973). Song (1988) studied Chinese immigrant school children and adolescents residing in New York City between 1976 and 1979. Families experience cultural-related conflicts concerning perceived parental restrictiveness and the formality of emotional or affective expression in family relationships. In a new environment, the authoritative approach and upholding the power distance to sustain family harmony face problems that may not have existed before migration.

Following migration, individuals must find a balance between retaining features of their ethnic culture and adopting features of the host culture. Research findings show that parents and children may work through their acculturation at different rates (Kwak, 2003; Okazake & Bojczyk, 2002). Children generally acculturate more quickly than their parents, with parents maintaining ethnic traditions that are at odds with the children's experiences in the new culture. In this situation, conflicts will eventually occur (Kwak, 2003). Vancouver's well-established Chinese community may provide a positive attractiveness to the Chinese people to retain their ethnic culture, particularly for the older generation. Chinese is the second most common language in Vancouver after English (Statistic Canada, 2001), and there is a large, vital, Chinese community (Tsang, 2003), consisting of well-established organisations which provide settlement services, language instruction and employment training, as well as a sense of community belonging (Guo, 2004).

On average, Chinese parents place greater emphasis on parental control and academic achievement, have later age expectation for behaviour autonomy, and are more protective of children than are European American parents (Lee & Zhan, 1998). However, as children grow older, they increasingly participate in environments that are not selected by their parents and in which their parents are not involved, such as school camps or peer-group activities. Children of Chinese immigrants may have more acculturation opportunities that are independent of their parents, resulting in the development of acculturation differences. Conflict between parents and their children may well occur (Garcia, Coll & Pachter, 2002). Children usually have more freedom and gain more trust because most of the time their parents rely on their children's English-language skills to assist them to settle in the foreign land. In turn, this

reliance, which subverts Confucianism teaching, raises questions about how much independence children should be allowed and how much supervision parents should provide. This can increase the likelihood of parent-child conflict around issues such as family rules, discipline and friendship choices (Lee and Zhan, 1998).

3.4 Expectation of the ideal child among overseas Chinese parents

It is a common scenario that Chinese parents have high expectations of their children. *"Raising children as a preparation for their aging is just like saving the crops for the starving seasons."* (Chinese proverb). It is the wish of Chinese parents to give the best that they can to their children so that their children will take care of the parents when they become old. *"Wanting their son to become a dragon (heroic and successful) and their daughter to become a phoenix (intelligent and beautiful)"* (Chinese proverb) is a common dream among Chinese parents. They are willing to spend a lot of money on their children's private lessons: on some "middle class activities" such as playing musical instruments, tennis, swimming and ballet dancing. It is very common for primary school children to master two musical instruments. Some sports may be chosen because of the noble image but not necessarily for the intrinsic value of physical skills and fitness. Children are nearly fully occupied after school hours (Cheung, 1997, Yau & Smetana, 1996).

Chinese parents' perceptions of attributes of the ideal child are closely related to traditional values in Chinese culture (Shek & Chan, 1999). Shek and Chan (1999) suggest that there are four categories of attributes of the ideal child: family-related, academic-related, conduct-related and social-related. Chinese expect their child to be obedient and behave properly in the family. Respecting their parents means being obedient, following the instruction and guidance of their parents. Academic achievement is always the utmost important attribute of a good child. Parents expect their children to study hard and be successful in school subjects. Education in Chinese communities such as Hong Kong, China and Taiwan is highly competitive; to gain entry to a 'good' primary school and hence a 'good' secondary school is perceived to improve the chance of getting into university and enjoying a successful career in the future. As a result, heavy academic workloads start at a very young age. Conduct-related attributes refer to good character: self-discipline when going out; being well behaved; and not mixing with undesirable

peers. Parents expect their child to be well behaved and not let them lose face in front of others. Social related attributes refer to their relationship with others. Parents expect their children to have good relations with their friends and to be mature.

In collectivist cultures, maintaining good behaviour and good character is the most effective way to maintain a good relationship with others. The social hierarchy allows subordinates to understand their role and position in the social ranking so that they can pay respect to seniors. This understanding was formed through a tight family system. Among the five cardinal relationships, three are about the relationship in a family setting. According to Confucian thought, filial piety is the prime guiding principle of socialization practices. *"Among hundreds of deeds, filial piety is the first and the most important one"* (Chinese proverb). Family is not only the first socialisation agent of an individual, but also the most important vehicle to pass on traditional values. Unlike Western philosophy, respect is not based on an equal status of both parties (democracy and egalitarian society). It requires obedience to the parents and those who are in a higher social-hierarchy and acceptance that they have authority over you. If the young ones do not follow the instruction of the seniors, they are considered as not respecting them.

These expectations are very different from those of American parents. American parents perceive sense of humour, self-confidence, and consideration of others, health, courage in convictions, independence in thinking, initiative, self-sufficiency, sense of beauty, curiosity, affection, and independence in judgement, sincerity and openness to ideas of others, as the most desirable behaviours of their children (Bachtold, 1974).

Parental expectations are also reflected in the academic performance of the Chinese younger generation. For many Chinese, academic achievement is the ultimate goal that will bring glory to the family (Lee, 1989). Previous comparative work on Eastern and Western cultures has consistently reported that Chinese parents generally emphasise the value of academic achievement more than do White American parents (Chao & Sue, 1996; Stevenson, Lee & Stigler, 1990). After comparing the beliefs of emigrated Chinese mothers of Taiwanese origin and European American mothers on the role of parenting in children's school success, Chao & Sue (1996) found cultural differences in maternal beliefs and practices. Immigrant Chinese

mothers stressed both learning process and outcome while European American mothers emphasised learning process over outcome. The study suggests that Chinese maternal belief in education and effort is largely shaped by Chinese tradition or Confucian ideology. Parental expectations, involvement and investment, are co-contributors to children's school achievement.

Wong (1995) analysed the 1980 American "High School and Beyond" survey data obtained from three Asian groups (Chinese, Filipino and Japanese) and a White American group. The Asian students scored higher than the White students in terms of educational expectation, science and technological career aspirations and academic characteristics. The Chinese students scored even higher than the other two Asian groups in these categories. Wong's study concludes that the school success of Asian students, especially the extraordinary academic attainment of Chinese students, is significantly influenced by their unique cultural traditions, high parental expectations and direct parental involvement.

In China, formal education and government examinations have had more than 2000 years of history behind them. Education is the only available channel for social mobility, even in contemporary Chinese society (Wong 1995). The annual "university entrance examinations" in Hong Kong, Mainland China and Taiwan are highly competitive because they have been seen as vital in advancing one's socioeconomic status in society and securing one's career and the progress of one's family in the future (Chen & Uttal, 1988). Chao (1996) conducted a cross-cultural comparison of parental beliefs. She sampled 48 immigrant Chinese and 50 European American mothers of preschool-aged children about their perspectives. The Chinese mothers were characterised by: (a) the great degree of value they place on education; (b) the high investment and sacrifice they feel they need to offer; (c) the more direct intervention approach to their children's school and learning and (d) a belief that they can play a significant role in the school success of their children. On the other hand, European American mothers primarily expressed: (a) a negation of the importance of academics or academic skills (instead emphasising social skills); (b) a less directive approach to learning; and (c) a concern for building their children's self-esteem.

In North America, many Chinese tend to define their cultural identity in light of academic achievement (Siu, 1992). Immigrant Chinese parents generally believe that education is the most significant means for their children to improve their status in life because school achievement can bring career rewards. The Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC) interviewed 130 Chinese Canadian women and found that they generally believed that “education was the most important thing” (CCNC, 1992, p.129).

Parental expectations also reflect a deeper sociological meaning. Since the introduction of the points system for migrating into Canada, the majority of Chinese immigrants has consisted of business investors and well educated urban professionals. Although recent Chinese immigrants and Chinese Canadians have built an image of a community that is “upwardly mobile, financially successful, and culturally cosmopolitan” (p.141), the old view of the Chinese as “culturally distinct and racially foreign has become a deep-seated cultural stereotype in Canada” (CCNC, p.142; Li, 1998). The new Chinese immigrants continue to experience racial prejudice and discrimination in all sectors of Canadian society. After examining the data on the occupations of Chinese in the employed labour force of Canada, 1971-1991, Li (1998) found that skin colour remains socially significant in Canada despite its multicultural propaganda. Chinese people are still regarded as less desirable by the White majority and thus less deserving of high status jobs. This finding concurs with the perspective of Portes (1997) that incorporates an appreciation of the fact that the reaction of the host society is an important aspect of acculturation. Despite the recent emergence of the Chinese middle class brought forth by the rapid expansion of high-tech industries in Canada, Chinese immigrants are under-represented in other professional careers, such as managerial, scholastic and administrative positions. Perceived racial discrimination in the Canadian labour market may greatly influence the career aspirations which Chinese immigrants hold for their children. Most Chinese immigrants come to the new land with dreams of success. Parents’ expectations of social mobility play a significant role in facilitating the school attainment of Chinese children (Chao, 1996, Li, 2001). Immigrant status increased parental expectations in immigrant Chinese families (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns, 1998).

To Chinese people, with their strong collective cultural background, education achievement carries significant meaning in their social networks. Academic achievement is not only

considered as a personal achievement, it is a family thing (Chao, 1996). High academic achievement will bring “glory” to the entire family or the clan to which one belongs. The Chinese collectivist orientation also nurtures children’s strong sense of duty and responsibility to their families and their cultural heritage. Creating social mobility opportunities by means of academic achievement is considered a normal path among the Chinese.

3.5 Outdoor recreation activities among the Canadian Chinese

Recreation behaviour of minority ethnicity groups came to the attention of social scientists and public resource professionals in the 1960s and early 1970s when the United States was undergoing great social upheaval and citizen groups argued that there was great inequality in the distribution of recreational resources (Stanfield et al., 2005). It was found that ethnic minorities were under-represented in outdoor recreational settings (Uchida, 2003).

Hung (2003) studied the participation of Chinese people in Vancouver in outdoor recreation activities and discovered that their participation was very low. He found that Chinese who are more acculturated to Canadian culture visit a greater number of parks and are willing to travel a further distance to access them. They also tend to visit parks more often, stay longer, and tend to be attracted to more physically demanding or ‘hard adventure’ activities, whereas less acculturated individuals are inclined to prefer more passive outdoor activities. Hung suggested that this may be explained in cultural terms because Chinese tend to be more concerned with the level of cleanliness of the wilderness environment, place greater emphasis on academic development, put higher priorities on work and on involvement in more clannish activities (activities with family relatives).

Walker and Wang (2009) further explored the reasons for the under-participation of Chinese-Canadian in outdoor recreation activities and found that most Chinese including youth, prefer indoor activities such as watching television, playing computer games and playing mah-jong. The same pattern was noticed by Yu and Berryman (1996) when studying the leisure behaviour of Chinese adolescents residing in the United States. This phenomenon was supported by Tsai and Coleman (2007) when studying Hong Kong undergraduate students. These students reported being more interested in social activities, resting and relaxing, watching

non-sporting events on television, and playing non-physical games than in playing sports, watching sports events on television, reading or writing for pleasure or doing artistic or outdoor activities. Walker (2008) studied the leisure patterns of Mainland Chinese and found that watching television, reading books or newspapers, listening to the radio, playing mah-jong and chatting with family members were the most common home-based activities. Outside the home, going to parks, playing mah-jong and going to the movies were their most common activities. Walker and Wang (2007) concluded that the leisure motivation of the Chinese people is intrinsic and it is a cultural norm that activities should involve little physical effort and preferably be calm and relaxing. The study also found that people's motivations for outdoor recreation were correlated to their value system. Chinese people tended to prefer activities that coincided with values of group membership and humility while Whites tended to prefer activities that coincided with autonomy and independence.

3.6 Conclusion

Adventure Education programmes carry strong Western individualistic cultural values and aim to develop people's independence, critical thinking and self-confidence. These may conflict with Chinese parents' expectations of obedience and high academic achievement and may clash with the parents' idea of maintaining high power distance in the family. While these values fit well with the Western philosophy of building a child's self-esteem and independence, they differ from Chinese parents' expectations. Literature shows that Chinese people who migrated to Canada still uphold a strong traditional Chinese belief in an ideal child. Parents enjoy high power distance and treasure intra-group harmony, particularly in family and extended family settings. However, adventure education programmes aim to develop young people's self-concepts and an appreciation of an egalitarian society and to be ready to stand up and challenge authoritative statements with which they do not agree. There are significant cultural differences between the Chinese collectivism and the individualism of Western countries. Acculturation processes may impact upon these differences.

In the next chapter, acculturation theories and the possibility of developing adventure education programmes for Chinese people in Western countries are discussed. I shall go through different models of acculturation theories with particular application to the situation of the immigrated

Chinese families in Vancouver. I shall also compare and contrast the concept of uni-dimensional and bi-dimensional approaches to acculturation. A detailed discussion of Berry and Sam's (1997) "Four Acculturation Modes Model" and their behaviour is presented and further elaborated to understand the participation in adventure education programmes of the Chinese people in Canada.

Chapter Four: Approaches to the study of acculturation and assimilation among immigrant communities

4.1 Introduction:

Traditional anthropological conceptualisations regard culture as fixed and unchanging (Dawson, Whitney & Lau, 1972; Inkeles, 1977). However, owing to the fact that there are more interactions between people from different cultural backgrounds, more opportunities for international travel and more human activities undertaken away from their original cultural environment, this view is open to question (Gordon, 1995; Berry, 1997). Culture should be viewed as “more fluid and open, concerning relationships, interactions and a matter of everyday activities which is continually shifting and changing” (p.228, Wetherell & Maybin, 1996)

Nieto (2002) noted that, “cultures are always changing as a result of political, social and other modifications in the immediate environment. When people with different backgrounds come into contact, changes are expected to be even more explicit.” (p.49) Jun Li (2001) summarised Nieto’s seven characteristics of culture into six themes in relation to the analysis of the immigrant Chinese experience in Canada (p.20).

- 1) Culture is dynamic and is always in a process of active changing.
- 2) Culture is multifaceted and culture identifications are multiple, eclectic, mixed and heterogeneous. Even in the same cultural group, there may exist many and often conflicting cultural identities.
- 3) Culture is socially constructed and contextually embedded. It cannot exist outside social contact and everyday practice.
- 4) Culture is learned, transmitted and passed down from generation to generation.
- 5) Culture is related to issues of power. It is influenced by social, economic and political factors and conditions.
- 6) Culture is dialectical and is full of conflicts and inherent tensions due to social, political, economic and historical influences.

Acculturation entails the social and psychological exchanges that take place when there is continuous contact and interaction between individuals from different cultures (Berry, 1997,

Cabassa, 2003). These changes can be observed across different domains such as attitudes, values, behaviours and sense of cultural identity (Ryder et al, 2000; Stodolska and Alexandris, 2004). Migration from one country to another will bring about more opportunities for interaction between two different cultures. It is predicted that over time and across generations, migrants will gradually lose their original ethnic culture and adapt to the majority culture.

There are two distinctive interpretations which dominate the study of this complex phenomenon. The first stipulates that acculturation is a uni-dimensional construct involving a single continuum, ranging from the immersion in the person's culture of origin to the immersion in the dominant or host culture (Cabassa, 2003; Gordon, 1995). The second argues that acculturation is bi-dimensional or multi-dimensional, consisting of two or more distinct independent dimensions, involving some level of adherence to the dominant culture and to the maintenance of the culture of origin (Berry, 1997; Ryder et al., 2000). In this chapter, I will discuss the strengths and limitations of these two models and use these two theoretical perspectives to interpret the situation of acculturation among the Canadian Chinese.

4.2 Acculturation

When an immigrant moves to another country or society, acculturation begins. It is "a process of adopting the customs, social behaviours and/or national or collective identity of the host society in preference to, or in place of, those of one's country of origin" (Bond, 1996, p. 458). Assimilation implies that the collective identity, customs and behaviours acquired in the host society replace those from one's country of origin (Gordon, 1995). Acculturation can be analysed at the group (cultural) level and the individual (psychological) level. At the group level, the changes are global in scale, affecting the whole group in political, economic, demographic and/or cultural terms (Fan, 2000). This usually happens as a result of invasion or colonisation where the original culture is being suppressed and forced to change to satisfy the requirement of the new government (Berry et al., 1986). The anti-Chinese legislation in Canada in the early stages also forced the immigrant Chinese to change to adapt to Canadian society. In the present research, acculturation refers to a psychological process by which an individual in one culture is transformed from one state to another due to contact with another culture (Berry, 1988). Changes within individuals of the minority culture will be the focus.

In order to make a more systematic observation or investigation at the level of acculturation of the individual, Wong-Rieger (1984) identified four main areas of concern: cognitions, identification, voluntary behaviours and involuntary behaviours. In each area of acculturation, the changes may theoretically shift either in the direction of the dominant culture or in the direction of one's traditional culture. Berry (1980) called these changes or shifts in different areas of acculturation, the "cultural shift".

In the area of *cognitions*, acculturation shifts involve the learning or unlearning of some cognitive aspects of the new or the traditional culture. This is a knowledge-based aspect of acculturation. For example, in contact with the majority society, a new immigrant in Canada may learn about the official language (English or French), the history of Canada and the social system, develop some understanding of Canada's social norms and also gather more knowledge of the area in which he or she is living. The immigrant may at the same time lose some memory or knowledge about his or her own language or the history of his or her own country of origin. This knowledge-based acculturation is the very first step for the immigrant to learn about the culture and become familiar with the new environment, both physically and culturally, and will be helpful in developing a sense of belonging in the later stage. The findings of Marshall (2002), as mentioned in Chapter 2, advocate that Chinese people participate in Scouting activities in order to gain more knowledge of the Canadian lifestyle. Skills in the outdoors are considered as important to adapt to the new life in Canada.

In the area of *identification*, acculturation shifts involve the affective responses of an individual to a culture. This includes what cultural identity one adopts, one's feelings of belongingness to one or more cultural groups and friendship ties with members of a culture. This may refer to the ethnic group to which the individual belongs and/or to official clubs, friends of common interest or sports teams.

In the area of *voluntary behaviours*, acculturation shifts involve the behavioural participation in certain activities of the host culture. These activities include involvement in social gatherings, recreation, entertainment and religious activities (Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987). These are voluntary because the individual is free to choose whether or not to participate in the behaviours.

In the area of *involuntary behaviours*, acculturation shifts involve some social-structural changes such as work or schooling with regards to the children and residence, which may not be under the full control of the migrant. He or she may not always find it easy or straightforward to obtain a suitable and satisfying job. Some professional qualifications may not be recognised in the new country, so immigrants may be forced to accept a pay-cut, engage in less than fully satisfying work, and/or retrain to gain required qualifications.

These four areas interact and form a general pattern as to the level of acculturation of an individual. If individuals' attachments are only to their own ethnic groups, if their participation is limited to their own cultural activities, and if they rely solely on their own ethnic language to communicate, they are said to be less acculturated. If people have the confidence to break away from their own comfort zone to enjoy more official and unofficial activities associated with the majority culture, then according to Wong-Rieger and Quintana (1987), they are considered to be more acculturated.

4.3 Uni-dimensional model

Early researchers in acculturation adopted an anthropological approach and followed a uni-dimensional model (Dawson et al., 1972; Inkeles, 1977). They assumed a single, linear path of acculturation from "traditionalism" towards "modernity". Traditionalism includes attitudes towards obligations to kinships, preference for a large family and respect for elders, which represent the home culture of many minorities. Modernity includes attitudes toward active public participation, reduction in family size, work commitment and women's rights, all characteristics of Western culture (Dawson et al., 1972). This approach is imbued with Western ethnocentrism; that is the minority culture is assumed to be less "modern" than Western culture and the end point of acculturation is generally seen to be the adoption of modernity associated with Western culture, involving a rejecting of traditional minority culture (Inkeles, 1977).

Supporters of the uni-dimensional models (e.g. Gordon, 1995) believe that the acculturation process can be conceptualised as movements along a single continuum, involving a loss in one cultural domain as the individual moves toward another cultural domain (Rogler, Cortes &

Malgady, 1991; Gordon 1995). A number of researchers use this approach. It has, for example, been used to explain the outdoor recreation behaviour, style and preferences of Hispanic Americans (Carr & Chavez, 1993; Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Juniu, 2000). Carr & Williams (1993) found that Anglo-Americans and Hispanics with longer generational tenure (length and depth of exposure to the culture in the host country) and higher levels of acculturation, tended to visit more with friends and less with their extended family. Carr & Williams' (1993) findings also showed that with longer time and exposure to the American culture, the behaviour and values of the Hispanic American become more similar to the host culture. Floyd and Gramann (1993) also examined the effects of acculturation and assimilation on outdoor recreation patterns. It was hypothesised that the greater the level of acculturation, the more similar Mexican-Americans would be to Anglo-Americans in the pattern of outdoor pursuits. Floyd and Gramann's (1993) findings show that the recreation behaviour of highly assimilated Mexican-Americans was more similar to Anglo-Americans than to less-assimilated Mexicans. Similar results were found by Shaul and Gramann's (1998) investigation of the influence of cultural assimilation on family-related and nature-related recreation among Hispanic Americans.

The uni-dimensional model assumes that "individuals can carry only one piece of cultural luggage" (Berry, 1997). As individuals become more acculturated to the dominant culture, they are expected to throw away some aspects of their original culture to make room for the acquisition of new cultural values, attitudes and behaviours. This assumption leaves no room for the existence of two cultures within an individual and provides an incomplete and fragmented measure of this complex cultural process (Cabassa, 2003, p.133). Dawson et al. (1972) studied the traditional-modern attitude change among the Hong Kong Chinese and found that some of their subjects scored highly at both ends of the scale. Respondents tended to retain some traditional values but at the same time treasured the value of modernity. Similarly, research by Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez (1980) among bicultural Hispanic-American youth, found that as minorities adopt the host American culture, they do not necessarily discard the attributes of their own culture. Instead, some individuals may become bicultural, adopting the larger culture and retaining the original culture simultaneously. They may resist abandoning their

original culture but at the same time are required to interact with the larger society (Fan, 1990). Their engagement with the host society may be quite 'selective'.

4.4 Selective Acculturation

Keefe and Padilla (1987) have defined assimilation as the "social, economic and political integration of an ethnic minority group into mainstream society" (p.18). Moore (1976) was one of the first sociologists to argue that the uni-dimensional model could not provide a comprehensive explanation of acculturation and integration of the ethnic minority into the majority society. Moore discovered that Mexicans residing in US for more than 150 years still have not reached the final stage of assimilation to the majority American culture. They still retain a reasonable amount of traditional (core) values and behaviours which are very different from the mainstream culture. More than two-thirds of Mexican Americans interviewed in Moore's (1976) study believed that they had stronger family attachment than did other Americans. Similarly, Keefe and Padilla's (1987) report that both Mexicans and Anglo Americans believe that family attachment is valued more highly by Mexican Americans than by Anglo Americans and they also suggest that Mexican-Americans' assimilation patterns are different from those described by classic sociological models.

The concept of selective acculturation was introduced to account for these differences. Selective acculturation describes the retention by an ethnic group of certain core cultural traits, such as family organization, child rearing practices, traditional foods and music preferences, and attitudes towards education and recreation, while other traits of the majority groups that contribute to socioeconomic advancement, such as language, are adopted fairly quickly. Immigrants behave tactically, adopting certain strategic traits of the mainstream culture that facilitate their adjustment to the host society but at the same time retaining some of their ethnic cultural characteristics, ensuring long-term survival of the group. Thus, Mexican-Americans who have been living in the US for a long time speak American English but still retain their traditional food, music, keep close family relations and leisure preferences.

In the UK, Carrington et al. (1987) reported on the after-school activities of South Asian Muslims. South Asian girls were constrained in their leisure pursuits by the lack of parental

approval, strict dress codes, inadequate availability of single-sex facilities and their religious beliefs. Their leisure activities were mostly home-oriented and centred around their extended families. Tirone and Pedlar (2000) studied second generation South Asian Muslim teens residing in Canada and obtained similar results. It was reported that young Muslim girls spent much of their free time with parents and siblings and their leisure activities were mainly with the family members or with South Asian social clubs. These clubs were central to the continuity of their religious traditions and provided activities for children and teens such as sports, dances and festivals. Parents encouraged their children to participate in activities organized by ethnic clubs as these constituted an appropriate social environment for teens to meet people of similar religious and cultural background and thus reduced their chances of developing ‘inappropriate’ friendships outside of their ethnic community.

Stodolska and Livengood (2006) found similar results. The Muslim families in their study expressed their desire to retain their traditional lifestyles but they wanted their children to succeed in school and become productive members of American society. Stodolska and Livengood (2006) also found that Muslim people were keen to make subtle changes to their lifestyles, including leisure, and as a consequence created a world of “cultural hybridity” that allowed them to remain true to their heritage, while functioning successfully in the new environment. This concept of “cultural hybridity” is similar to Keefy and Padilla’s (1987) concept of “cultural blends” and is a situation when immigrants “participate selectively in both cultural orientations, but are not equally proficient in both cultures” (p.96). Gibson (1988) provided evidence of the selective acculturation of Punjabi Sikh immigrants in California. Punjabi parents resisted moves by their children to develop close contact with the majority White students, but they urged them to abide by school rules, ignore incidents of discrimination and learn skills that could help them succeed in the mainstream society.

The theory of selective acculturation created a much larger space and flexibility to study acculturation than the uni-dimensional model suggested by Gordon (1995). In reality, as numerous research now attests, the pattern of acculturation of minority groups is selectively adjusted according to the resources of the society and the uneven distribution of power between the majority and minority group (Juniu, 2000).

According to the newer models of acculturation and assimilation, acculturation can be classified into two different domains: public and private (Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Shaull & Gramann, 1998). The public domain refers to the skills and ability to survive effectively in the mainstream society. This includes: language, education, abiding by the law, following the norm of the society. These are traits necessary to ensure survival and effective living. The private domain refers to the internal value system such as the ethnic values, attitudes towards family and kinship, proper behaviour towards the seniors, traditional festivals and costumes, food and eating habits, and one's self-concept (Phinney, 1990, Berry, 1997). Under the current understanding of this model, migrants can practise a dual cultural life-style, that is, they practise the majority culture in public when dealing with the majority such as at work or in school, but practise their ethnic culture at home or with their own ethnic group (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Previous studies that have adopted a two-domain model have mostly focused on identifying the demographic or psychological correlates of each domain (Kwan & Sodowsky, 1997).

Berry, (1980) criticized the uni-dimensional approach as being uni-cultural and for assuming a "linear process of assimilation" whose end goal is the absorption of the immigrant group into the dominant, host society. Berry and Sam (1997) defined acculturation as "a psychological process by which an individual in one culture is transformed from one state to another due to contact with another culture" (p.294). Berry considered that acculturation is a form of psychological adaptation which should be considered as "a matter of learning a new behavioural repertoire that is appropriate for the new cultural context". This also requires some "culture shedding" to occur (the unlearning of aspects of one's previous repertoire that are no longer appropriate); and it may be accompanied by some moderate "culture conflict" (where incompatible behaviours create difficulties for the individual) (p 311).

Based on the bi-dimensional approach to acculturation, (maintenance of one's original culture and interaction with the dominant culture), Berry (1997) identified four distinct modes of acculturation practices: '*assimilation*', '*integration*', '*separation*' and '*marginalisation*'. Berry suggested that acculturation is pluralistic and multi-dimensional which is different from the traditional "melting pot model" (uni-dimensional) and it may have any evolutionary

development in the options whereby one of these options becomes, over time, the favoured outcome.

Assimilation occurs when a minority member seeks daily interaction with mainstream society and does not wish to retain his or her own cultural identity (Fan, 1990). While this particular mode is consistent with Gordon's uni-dimensional approach, Berry (1980) does not consider assimilation to be the only possible adaptation to acculturation. It is only one option.

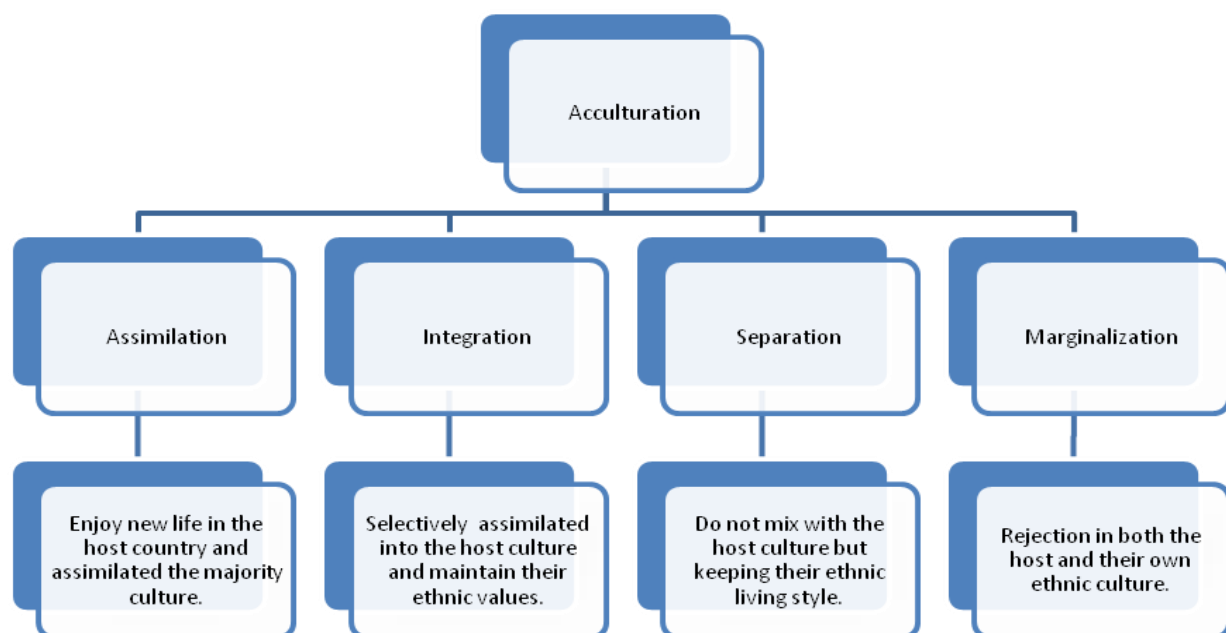
Integration involves strong identification and participation in both one's native culture and mainstream culture (Li, 2001). This may represent a pragmatic approach to acculturation as an individual is able to choose what is more favourable for him or her. The individual may be able to retain a certain degree of his or her ethnic culture while interacting with the larger society. The policy of multiculturalism in Canada clearly encourages this mode of acculturation in the case of immigrant ethnic groups (Fan, 1990).

Separation entails an exclusive involvement in one's home cultural traditions, coupled with little or no interaction with mainstream culture (Li, 2001). This is a common scenario when minorities with a low socio-economic and education background enter a new society; it will be very difficult for them to break the cultural barrier and participate in the dominant society. To achieve a greater sense of security and for survival, they will huddle together with reference to their related ethnic groups. Situations such as refugees from one country entering a host country, would usually find these migrants huddled together for the support of common needs and sense of security. They may not even have any life-skills such as language and recognised professional attainment that enable them to survive in the host society. The China Towns in Vancouver, New York and London were settled in this manner many years ago by the early settlers and still provide important spatial references for the descendants of the early would-be sojourners. In the case of more recent groups of Chinese immigrants, these China Towns probably hold much the same curiosity value as they do for non-Chinese residents and tourists who visit them for their markets, food outlets and traditional Chinese remedies and treatments.

Marginalisation is characterized by a rejection or lack of involvement in both one's native culture and mainstream culture (Bond, 1996). This is highly unlikely to happen among immigrants "selected" according to the points system because: (a) this type of anti-social behaviour can be carried out in their home country without the need to migrate to other countries; (b) would-be immigrants with histories of anti-social behaviour are extremely unlikely to gain entry status. However, in the situation of the refugees of some developing countries "being moved" to other countries for humanitarian reasons, their socio-economic background and their unpleasant experience in the original country may generate tension with the host society and the anti-social behaviour may result. Portes (1996) argues that the second generation of working class immigrants (mainly refugees) may experience a downward socioeconomic mobility as a result of migration and may gravitate to street gangs and other anti-social elements within the host society. However, since this is not the main focus of this thesis, it is not discussed here.

The following model summarised the bi-dimensional theories and four acculturation modes suggested by Berry (1997).

Figure 1: Four Acculturation Modes and their behaviour (Berry et al, 1997)



Berry (1980) notes that acculturation can occur unevenly across four modes; for example, “one may seek economic assimilation (in work), linguistic integration (by way of bilingualism) and marital separation (by endogamy)” (p. 217).

Current psychological research suggests that integration or biculturalism rather than assimilation can provide a more comprehensive explanation for immigrants’ adjustment (Berry, 1997). Taft (1981) argued that the advantages of integration to immigrants outweigh the disadvantages. Although keeping both cultures may give rise to possible internal attitudinal conflicts, a ‘bicultural’ individual can possibly resolve his or her conflicts by means of compartmentalisation. This involves applying each set of cultural norms in its appropriate situation. With growing acceptance of tolerance and pluralism in recent years, integration is becoming a more and more realistic option. This is especially true in Canada where, under the policy of multiculturalism, the integration mode is officially encouraged by the government.

4.5 A theoretical framework for this study

The theoretical framework and the concepts on which this study is based are rooted in the ideas of multidimensional acculturation theories (Berry, 1986, 1997) and the studies of the social psychology of overseas Chinese people (Bond, 1986) in relation to parents’ expectation of the education and development of their children. I will also draw upon the studies of culture and values of Chinese people from Hofstede (1980), and the selective acculturation model suggested by Costigan and Dokis (2006a). Through application of these theories and the support of the philosophy of Adventure Education suggested by Walsh and Golins (1976), an understanding of the cultural implications of adventure education for Chinese people living in Vancouver, Canada will be developed. This research investigates the cultural impact of adventure programmes and the effects of the outcomes of these programmes on the acculturation of Chinese Canadians.

First generation immigrants, born in Hong Kong and China PRC, were socialised in traditional Chinese families within a social structure that embraced traditional Chinese collective values. Hofstede (1980) measured the cultural values in four areas: power distance, individualism, masculinity and uncertainty avoidance, and found that traditional Chinese culture favours the development of high power distance and uncertainty avoidance but individualism and

masculinity were less favoured. Instead, Chinese people embrace collectivism and intra-group harmony and consider this as a core value to maintain a peaceful atmosphere in the family and the stability of the society. Bond's (1986) studies of the psychology of Chinese people who had migrated to Canada also support observations that filial piety, obedience and high academic achievement expectations placed on children are embraced in Chinese families and have effects on Chinese Canadian immigrants. Upholding traditional values, the Chinese migrate to Canada where an individualistic culture is dominant and their children socialise in school and among peer groups in ways which may contrast to socialisation patterns in the home. The cultural distance between the Chinese and the Canadians appears large and acculturation may be difficult. Their pace of acculturation is believed to be different and creates an acculturation gap between the two generations (Okagaki & Bojczyk, 2002; Portes, 1997). Since outdoor adventure education is a very powerful educational tool and will bring about behavioural changes in the young people, how do young people and their parents cope with these changes? Does it enlarge the acculturation gap between the two generations?

The four different acculturation modes identified by Berry et al. (1988), namely assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation, seem to provide a more comprehensive framework for understanding and appreciating the acculturation of Chinese immigrants in Canada. Different behaviours demonstrate different reactions towards acculturation in the host country. Berry and Sam (1997) state that the integration mode is the most common and also the most adaptive, in terms of psychological adjustment. However, it should be noted that the behaviour is never fixed; the social psychological approach to acculturation theories suggested by Berry (1980) proposes that acculturation is a process which will change in accordance with immigrants' exposure and their interactions. The depth and width of reactions by Chinese Canadians may differ from one situation to another, such as assimilation in their language, integration in the food and eating habits, and possibly separation in their social circle and leisure behaviour.

This study focuses on the impact of adventure education programmes in a cultural context. For reasons which I will make clear in the following sections, I will focus on the motivation of the parents and their children before joining these programmes. I will also investigate whether their participation will enhance acculturation to Canadian culture.

4.6 Research objectives

- To investigate the extent to which traditional Chinese values are still being upheld in immigrant Chinese Canadian families in Vancouver, Canada.
- To investigate the motives and expectations of young participants, parents and the programme organisers with regard to Adventure Education programmes in Vancouver, Canada.
- To understand Chinese parents' preliminary awareness of the cultural implications of Adventure Education programmes.
- To investigate whether the learning outcomes of Adventure Education programmes create or influence acculturation gaps between two generations of Chinese Canadians' families
- To investigate the impact of Adventure Education programmes on the Chinese Canadians' families in relation to their acculturation to the majority Caucasian culture.

4.7 Research questions

With reference to the above research objectives, the following research questions for this study are appropriate:

1. What is/are the cultural identity/identities of Chinese Canadian parents and their children?
2. What are the cultural values and assumptions underpinning Adventure Education programmes in Canada and how do Chinese Canadians value these cultural implications?
3. What are the values and assumptions underpinning Chinese-Canadian culture and how do they reinforce these cultural values in their second generation youth?
4. Why are Chinese Canadians motivated to participate in Adventure Education programmes and what are their expected learning outcomes?

5. Do the learning outcomes of Adventure Education programmes enlarge the acculturation gap between two generations of Chinese Canadian families?
6. How are the learning outcomes valued by the young participants and their parents and in what other ways are the Adventure Education programmes valued?
7. How does participation in Adventure Education programmes affect the acculturation of the Chinese Canadian families into the majority Caucasian culture?

Research literature supports the conclusion that the leisure pattern of Chinese people is passive, non-physical and non-participating (Wang and Stringer, 2000; Uchida, 2003; Walker and Deng, 2007). This behaviour is believed to be rooted in the Chinese culture (Gordon and Wang, 2009). Leisure in Chinese is expressed in two words, Xiu Xian, which semantically mean “a person leaning against a tree or at rest” (Xiu) and “a tree inside a yard” (Xian) (Ma, 1998, as cited in Deng, 2004). As a result, relaxation and enjoyment are the primary leisure motivations. Yu and Berryman (1996) found that Chinese adolescents residing in the United States exhibited many of the same leisure preferences with home and indoor activities such as watching Chinese TV programmes, singing karaoke, playing mah-jong and reading, as their most popular choice of leisure. This situation is consistent with research which shows that Chinese people are under-represented in sport activities, particularly in outdoor recreation (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Walker & Wang, 2009).

Uchida (2003) suggests three main reasons to explain this low participation rate of ethnic minorities in the outdoors: socioeconomic reason, education attainment and cultural perceptions. Given that there has been a significant improvement in socioeconomic achievement and educational attainment for this new wave of Chinese immigrants, the first two reasons do not appear to have continuing relevance in providing an acceptable explanation of their under-representation. The main reason could therefore be cultural differences in the concept of leisure.

This research aims to study outdoor adventure education among the Chinese Canadians in Vancouver. How do Chinese Canadians make sense of outdoor adventure education programmes and what is the impact on them in terms of their acculturation? This research is based on the “selective acculturation” approach suggested by Keefe and Padilla (1987) and the “four acculturation modes” suggested by Berry et al (1997), which posits that immigrants may not assimilate the entire cultural system that they encounter, but choose what to assimilate and what to retain according to their cultural preferences. I will investigate the effects of the participation in adventure education programmes and its relationship towards their acculturation modes in the two domains.

This study endeavours to add to the existing research literature on ethnic minority involvement in outdoor recreation in three ways. First, I will compare and contrast the concept of outdoor adventure recreation between the two cultures. Owing to the historical and cultural background of the European immigrants, outdoor recreation is an integral element of the Canadian culture. How different is this concept to the Chinese? I will investigate the extent to which traditional Chinese values are still being upheld in Chinese Canadian families in Vancouver, Canada. I will also investigate the cultural impact of these programmes on the acculturation modes of the Chinese Canadian families.

Second, I will investigate the effect of adventure programmes on the acculturation gap between the two generations. The younger generation has more opportunities to encounter the majority culture through school, mass media and peer group activities, whilst the older generation usually has greater limitations and therefore acculturate at different rates (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). Adventure education programmes are a powerful vehicle to bring about significant changes in self-concept and self-esteem (Neill, 2008; Hattie et al. 1997), but their definition of self carries strong implications of individualism which stands in stark contrast to the collectivism of “self” upheld by the Chinese. Will this create a cultural clash and further enlarge the acculturation gap between the two generations? How does the Chinese family value this development and how will they accommodate the changes after their participation?

Third, Chinese parents strongly emphasise formal learning; they are well-known to be academically focused and have high expectations of their children's academic attainment, particularly on physical science and engineering (Li, 2001). Allowing their children to participate in these extra-curricular activities is purposeful and aimed at achieving some educational and developmental goal. In this regard, their expectation of the AE programmes and their satisfaction on the outcome of these programmes is investigated.

4.8 Conclusion:

The above three objectives interweave and provide another perspective which could enrich the understanding of acculturation of Chinese Canadians. Literature about Chinese people's participation in outdoor adventure education programmes is rare. Since the Chinese are the most visible minority in Canada, particularly in the Vancouver region, it is the aim of this research to make a thorough understanding of the Chinese Canadian family in terms of their adventure education participation. The research is conducted in a qualitative way by in-depth interviewing of AE participants, their parents and instructors.

In the next section, I will explain the methodology chosen for this research. I shall discuss the advantage of using qualitative methods and how I ensure the weaknesses of these methodologies were minimised. Qualitative research emphasises processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). However, it has been criticised in relation to its internal and external validity. In the latter part of the chapter I shall discuss the suitability of modelling research on Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1964) and how this theory improves the validity, credibility, transferability and verifiability of the qualitative research.

Section II: Research methodology

Chapter Five: Methodology

5.1 Introduction:

In this chapter, I will outline the methodology that was used to develop the understanding of the cultural impact of participation in adventure education (AE) programmes provided by the Scouts and Enoch Youth Outreach on Chinese-Canadians. I will first provide an overview of the rationale for utilising a qualitative research method, the research design and my role as a field researcher. I will also highlight the different stages of the research process from its preparation stage to sampling, data collection and the analytic process. Finally, I will discuss the strategies taken to ensure the validity of the data.

5.2 The qualitative research approach

Researchers approach a problem from a certain paradigm or worldview; that is, a basic set of beliefs or assumptions that guide their inquiries (Creswell, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Researchers with different paradigms or “interpretive frameworks” may arrive at very different descriptions of the same data because they examine the problem through different lenses. These “frameworks” combine beliefs about ontology (What is the nature of reality?), epistemology (What is the relationship between the researcher and the researched?), and methodology (How do we know the world, or gain knowledge of it?) (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Guba, 1990). Bateson (1972) further asserts that “the researcher is bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises which regardless of ultimate truth or falsity become partially self-validating” (p. 314). Therefore, all research is basically interpretive and guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied.

The literature review brought together a diverse number of studies to lay the groundwork for selection of the research design and allowed the specific design chosen for this study to emerge (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, Lincoln & Guba, 1985). A qualitative methodology was selected in order to get an in-depth understanding of how Chinese parents and their young children make sense of the AE programmes they have received. A qualitative research paradigm helps to preserve the context for maintaining the meaning of the data and to obtain first hand information

in understanding the dynamic interaction of the complex social, historical and cultural forces (Lam, 2000).

The Chinese work in a social system called “*guanxi*” (relationship) (Bond, 1996), and truthful responses can only be obtained by means of face-to-face contact. This implies that, if they don’t “know” (trust) you, Chinese respondents will not give you a complete picture of what they think. This is a very important cultural factor that needs to be taken into consideration when designing the research. If the researcher cannot develop a sense of trust with the interviewee, some standard answers may easily be given, which may not reflect the real situation.

In my personal experience, I know that Chinese people are very sensitive about any recording of their responses. This is particularly true for immigrants to foreign countries. It is very difficult to convince them that the “written records/materials” that they have given will not be used for other purposes. There may be some historical reasons for this sensitivity as the traumatic experiences of the Cultural Revolution may still affect the thinking of Chinese people, particularly those from China PRC. Messages in written format are considered as “cold messages” and normally Chinese people will not bother to answer in detail. They will treat them as a formality and not as a personal matter. They will also consider written questions as insincere or disrespectful or both. Even if they participate in quantitative research such as questionnaires, their answers will normally be very brief and not give much detail, as they do not bother to write in detail, particularly on sensitive issues.

The methodological inspiration for this study drew upon an understanding of grounded theory associated with Glaser & Strauss (1967). The grounded theory approach refers to “a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of analytic or interpretive procedures to generate inductively derived theory which is grounded in the experiences of the research participants” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 43). “It is an inductive method that maintains the connection between the data and its context” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 13). The grounded theory study does not begin with a theory and then attempt to ‘prove’ it. Rather, it begins with an area of study and then analyses what is relevant to that area so as to develop an emerging theory. The

core of the grounded theory research is that human mind must be understood through mediated action and activities in a particular historical and cultural context (Charmaz, 2000).

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990):

“A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. It is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other” (p.23).

Due to time constraints on fieldwork, it was not feasible to fully embrace a grounded theory approach which would have involved moving backwards and forwards between the field and theory-development and -refinement. Instead, a multiple data collection method was employed. This included open-ended, in-depth interviews with the young participants of adventure education programmes offered by the Scouts and Enoch Leadership Camp, their parents and the organisers. A field-observation of the Scouts’ winter camp as well as their normal meeting was undertaken to obtain first hand information of the actual setting. Web-based research and documentary research was carried out about the aims and objectives of their programmes to deepen the understanding of the nature of the programmes offered by the organisers. Data from different sources ensure trustworthiness and establish research triangulation.

5.2.1 The researcher

One of the key elements in qualitative research is the researcher. The quality of the data always depends on the feeling of the respondents (Marcus & Fischer, 1986) and the relationship between the interviewer-respondent (Crapanzano, 1986). Spradley (1979) describes the interviewer-respondent interaction in qualitative research as the establishment of human-to-human relationship between the researcher and the respondent. The most important element of this in-depth encounter in an interview lies in its desire to understand (researcher) and the willingness to tell the truth (respondent) (Spradley, 1979). Hence, the nature of the research relationship represents a critical ethical issue and the establishment of trust and understanding (rapport) becomes the most important thing for the researcher (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

In the present study, the researcher was the most important research instrument. Fundamental to the use of the researcher as an instrument, the researcher is required not only to have access to the setting, but also needs to relate to participants, understand the culture and the language of the respondents and communicate with them. The researcher is also required to be able to promote a sense of respect, mutuality and empowerment within the research relationship, be willing to have empathetic understanding, be ready to spend adequate time for in-depth exploration, and be prepared for prolonged engagement to allow for informants' direct involvement in further discussion (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Trust and rapport between researcher and each participant are essential while engaging in qualitative interviewing.

I have the advantage of being Chinese from Hong Kong, able to speak the languages (English, Cantonese and Putonghua), understand Chinese culture and be well-accepted by respondents. Having been a teacher in secondary school for 10 years, university for 15 years and involved in Adventure Education programmes for more than 20 years, I am mature and experienced in the field, as well as approachable, friendly and non-threatening. The participants (Chinese) felt comfortable and able to trust me and treated me as a visiting friend. Normally, Chinese participants are rather introverted and very careful when talking to a stranger. During the interviewing process, I was able to put myself in the role of respondents and see the situation from their perspective rather than imposing the world of academia and preconceptions upon them. This attitude certainly made the participants feel more comfortable and willing to expand on their personal experience and perspectives. One of the major advantages of the quick development of the interviewer-respondent relationship was assistance of the AE providers (Chinese Christian Mission, CCM and Enoch Youth Outreach), who helped contact the participants and arranged for a counselling room to be available for interviews. This facility and logistical support increased the trust among the participants towards the interviewer. My experience in AE programmes, but my non-involvement in any Scout group, provided participants with confidence to say what they really wanted to and not what they thought I might want them to say. This is very important as normally Chinese people are reticent with strangers.

5.2.2 The participants

According to Creswell (1998), “...the purposeful selection of participants represents a key decision point in a qualitative study” (p.18). A theoretical sampling strategy is employed in the study because it is featured in grounded theory research. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), theoretical sampling is “sampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory” (p.176). This means that theoretical sampling procedure is cumulative, with an increasing depth of focus which aims to discover if the events and incidents are saturated enough to develop a convincing theory.

The participating groups of this research were members of the 16th Burnaby Scout Group, organised by the Chinese Christian Mission and the Enoch Youth Outreach Society (Enoch). Official inquiries were made to the two organisations (Appendix 1) and the staff helped to contact the participants and seek their consent. Feedback from the parents and the AE participants was very positive and there were altogether 30 participants (including parents and young participants) willing to participate in the research (Appendix 2).

The criteria for selection were as follows:

- The parent must be non-Canadian-born Chinese
- Their children must be the first generation either born in Canada or immigrants to Canada recently.
- The children’s ages must be between 13 to 18 (high school, pre-university)
- The children must also have participated in some kind of adventure education programme in the past two years.
- They must be willing to participate voluntarily and sign the consent form prepared by the researcher under the Lincoln University Human Ethnic Committee Guidelines.

Most of the parents participated in this research were immigrants from Hong Kong, except one from Tianjin, one from Shanghai and one from Zhongshan County, China PRC. They have resided in Canada from 31 years to 1.5 years and all feel very settled and consider Canada as their homeland. They enjoy the lifestyle in Canada and consider Canada as a good place for

their children to grow up. This was an ideal group for this research and fitted perfectly with the research objectives.

5.3 The research process

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this exploratory research was guided by the concepts of grounded theory and therefore the research process was incremental and developmental (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The concepts and insights that emerged from the data as it was collected guided the research direction. As such, it is difficult to divide the research process into clearly identifiable stages since the research process was dynamic and interactive in nature. For clarity of presentation, the research process will be grouped according to the following: participant observation, sampling, selection of research site, locating participants, the interviewing process, data management, data analysis and strategies to enhance trustworthiness.

5.3.1 Participant observation

One of the participating AE providers (16th Burnaby Scout Group) is based in a commercial building called Regent Plaza in Burnaby, under the administration of the Chinese Christian Mission (CCM). The Regent Plaza is a typical small modern Chinatown containing Asian Food-courts, Chinese supermarkets, as well as different kinds of Chinese shops. Cantonese and Putonghua are the most common languages used here. It is a gathering place for the Chinese community, and occasionally some Canadian white people may go to eat out in the Asian food court.

The service of the CCM is broadly-based. Its main target is Christian evangelism with Chinese people globally through a large variety of programmes. It is not only a church group (it has Sunday services and Bible-study groups); it is a multi-tasked social service centre with a special focus on Chinese immigrants. It began in Detroit, Michigan in 1961 and established its branches internationally in Hong Kong (1965), the Philippines (1970), Singapore (1977) and Malaysia (1994). In Canada, CCM started its service in Calgary in 1992, establishing the Vancouver office in 2000 in response to the surge of Chinese immigrants into Canada in the 1990s.

The 16th Burnaby Scout Group was established by a Hong Kong immigrant in 2005. He was a teacher in a primary school for children with special needs and had been a Scout leader in Hong Kong for a number of years. This newly formed group was well received by the Chinese community in the Vancouver region. There were 30 registered members including boys and girls and consisted of three groups: Cubs (age, 8-10), Scouts (age, 11-14) and Venturers (age, 14-17). The Scout leader is a locally-born Chinese with various outdoor skills and ample Scouting experience. This group meets once every week and normally organises two camps every year. The winter camp in the snow environment is organised during a weekend in March so that it will not affect the young participants' school work. Summer camp is held in the summer holiday (July, August) and involves mainly water-based activities. Scouts enjoy the camping experience and they treasure the wilderness survival skills such as building snow shelters, setting a camp fire and sleeping in tents.

The Enoch Youth Outreach Society (Enoch) is also a Christian organisation but it does not belong to any church. It was established in 1995 with the mission to “nurture Chinese-Canadian youth to become leaders of our multicultural community and churches by enabling them to exercise their gifts and faith” (<http://enochyouth.org>). Their AE element lies in the Wilderness Leadership Adventure Camp and their annual Leadership Camp targeted to students (Grade 11 and above) and career youths. Their adventure elements include orienteering, canoeing, rock climbing as well as some team-building initiatives (portable adventure) in a 4-day residential camp (<http://camp.enochyouth.org/>).

Enoch's programme is not big but its innovative approach appeals to Chinese-Canadian youth and positive comments have been spread mainly by word-of-mouth in the Chinese community in Vancouver. Some churches may also provide funding support to their congregation members to attend the adventure camp. The Enoch also runs a web-based radio and the audience is mainly Chinese Canadian youth, which also helps promote the wilderness adventure programme.

During the three-week data collection period in Vancouver, I was immersed in the local culture by being one of the participants. Before the interviews began, I attended a winter camp organised by the 16th Burnaby Scout group. It was an excellent opportunity to be involved with

their outdoor programme and mingle with the Scout leaders to get their perspectives on their AE programme. It was also a golden opportunity to develop friendships with the young participants and observe their behaviour and group interaction. This informal setting built a good relationship between the researcher and the participants and had a positive influence on the later interviews. Besides participating in their winter camp, the researcher also chatted with the parent groups in the food court outside the CCM Centre. This was also very helpful in the data collection process as Chinese people are normally reluctant to talk in-depth to a stranger unless they know their background. As mentioned earlier, trust needs to be built between the researcher and the participant in order to gain good quality data in qualitative research (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

5.3.2 Sampling

Since the target group of this research is very specific, the study adopted a purposive and theoretical sampling method. Purposive sampling seeks out settings where the processes being studied are most likely to occur and it seeks out information-rich individuals to provide details about personal meaning and experiences (Patton, 1987). Theoretical sampling employs theoretical purpose and relevance as sampling selection criteria (Gilgun et al., 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). With approval from the two organisations and unfailing support from their passionate staff, AE programme participants and their parents was identified, 30 in total. The two organisations helped me to contact them, explain the research and arrange interview times.

The original plan was to include only those participants who were accompanied by a parent. However, three more parents volunteered to be interviewed when their children were participating in the Scouts gathering, there was also one parent who felt that the interview was not suitable for her daughter and therefore did not allow her to be interviewed. Eventually, there were nine pairs of parent-child-groups, six parents-only-groups, two instructors and two child-only-groups, for a total of 28 participants (Table 2, p. 84). It should also be noted that all the interviewees who participated in the interviews gave very valuable and relevant data.

5.3.3 Selection of research site

All participants lived in Vancouver, a city with the fastest growing Chinese population and a mature, well-established Chinese immigrant community. This choice of site met the three criteria outlined by Schatzman and Strauss (1973): suitability, feasibility and suitable tactics. Most of these families with young children migrated to Canada in the 1990s from Hong Kong, Taiwan and China PRC. The parents were brought up in a traditional Chinese family culture in their homeland and moved to Canada when their children were still very young. They were expected to face an acculturation gap between the two generations. This created an ideal situation for the researcher to pose the research questions. Since I am a Chinese Christian and have connections with Canadian Christian groups, contacting those AE providers was highly feasible. As this research would also be very valuable for these groups to develop some understanding of their programmes, they were very eager to provide logistic support to the project. The participants and their parents were more willing to participate in the research when the referral came from the AE provider. However, it must be noted that the researcher worked independently on the data collection without any interference from the AE providers.

5.3.4 Locating participants

It would have been almost impossible to locate the participants if I had not obtained assistance from the AE organisers. They made the initial contact with all their participants and drafted a schedule for the interviews. After I attended the winter camp with the Scout group, friendships developed with the group members and more young Scouts participated. When the researcher chatted informally with the parents in the food court outside the CCM, more referrals were received and more parents signed the Consent Form. This concurred with the research finding mentioned in the review of literature that Chinese culture treasures *guanxi* or interpersonal connections (Bond, 1996); the Chinese normally treat out-group members as less trustworthy and regard strangers as less likeable (Li, 1992). In order to break the ice, the researcher had to be pro-active to develop the interpersonal relationship first in an informal setting.

5.3.5 Data collection: Interview and the interviewing process

A series of semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with the participants, their parents and the AE providers after the signing of Consent Form (Appendix 2). The main

advantage of semi-structured interviews was to allow a free flow of conversation and at the same time adhere to a guided framework. Questions are normally specified, but I had more flexibility to probe beyond the answers in a manner which would not appear prejudicial to the aims of standardisation and comparability. Nevertheless, some demographic questions such as the participants' age, school grade, and length of residency in Canada, language they prefer to use for the interview, years in the Scouts or participation in the Enoch AE programme, were posed in a standard format. Since it is considered inappropriate to ask a lady's age, I used my discretion to omit this question unless it was revealed naturally during the conversation.

The identities of all the interviewees were confidential and kept anonymous; they chose a pseudonym from an alphabetical ordering in accordance to their assigned sequence and their gender. Parents were asked to use the names with the same initial as their children for easy comparison. I normally asked participants to introduce themselves at the beginning so that they were used to talking to me. This "grand-tour" type of question was very helpful because I could grasp the content of this introduction and start the interview with a common interest.

Only one interview was conducted for each of the parents and participants and the content was audio tape-recorded. All the interviews were conducted independently with the interviewees in a quiet room provided either by the AE organisers or by the research participants. The interview sites were very relaxed, comfortable as they were quiet, uninterrupted and the participants felt that they could talk freely and confidentially without being distracted. The interviews lasted about one hour for the adults and 40 to 45 minutes for the young participants. The interviews of the AE participants were mostly conducted in English except three because they had moved to Canada recently (1.5 to 3 years). The parents' interviews were all in Chinese (two in Putonghua and the rest in Cantonese). The parents and the children were interviewed separately to ensure confidentiality, this was particularly important when I wanted to encourage the young participants to talk freely and independently. In Chinese culture, interviews with children, without the presence of a responsible adult, are common and acceptable. In order to comply with the Lincoln University HEC requirement, however, I ensured that a responsible adult was in the next room.

Respondents were reminded that the interview would not involve any kind of physical or psychological stress or distress; they could quit the interview if they felt uncomfortable and all the recorded materials would be destroyed. There was no quitting of the interview, the general atmosphere was pleasant and everybody seemed to enjoy the interviewing process.

Four sets of key questions were designed before the interview so as to ensure the coverage of the topic area. These questions are derived from 4 different categories:

5.3.5.1 The parents' and the AE participants' understanding of objectives of adventure education and the cultural implications.

This set of questions informed the researcher about whether the research participants are aware that adventure education programmes carry strong implications of individualism and could develop a sense of self-concept focused on the individual self, which may not fit the expectation of the Chinese parents.

5.3.5.2 Parents' expectation of their children.

Questions focus on the cultural differences between the two generations. Parents coming from a traditional culture may not acculturate at the same rate as the children and an acculturation gap will be formed. Parents' expectations of their children normally carry strong cultural values including their academic attainment as well as their behaviour at home. Their expectations of academic achievement would certainly influence parents' acceptance of participation in adventure education programmes as they may see them as a waste of time and may not appreciate the playful attitude and fun aspects of the programmes. Questions may also include their (both children and parents) relationship with the senior persons in their family and their expectation of their future career aspiration.

5.3.5.3 Their (both parents' and the AE participants') perception of Chinese culture and ways in which their families reinforce this culture.

These questions are designed to provide information about the acculturation mode (Barry et al, 1980) of the family. Questions included the private domain of their daily life and the language that they use at home, the food they eat at home and the general lifestyle of the family and their extended family and the leisure activities that they engage in during their free time. Questions also included their attitude to and experience in outdoor adventure activities. It was also hoped that data from this area of questioning would suggest whether the outdoor adventure experience of their children might encourage the parents' participation and thus enhance their acculturation into the majority Canadian society.

5.3.5.4 The differences, if any, between the parents' expectations and the child's expectation of the programme outcomes (this includes reference to power distance and conflict resolution within families).

This area will evaluate the cultural implication of the AE programmes that the children have participated in. How do participants and parents interpret the cultural implications and how do they appreciate the behavioural changes if there are any? It also evaluates whether there is a cultural clash between the traditional culture reinforced in their family and the individualistic culture that children learned from the AE programmes. Would “selective acculturation” be apparent in the way that these Chinese-Canadians lead their lives in Vancouver?

Table 2: Summary of the background of the research participants

Name	Sex	Age	Grade/occupation	Years residing in Canada	Place of origin
Albert	M	15	Grade 11	12 years	HK
Amy*	F	-----	Housewife	12 years	HK
Bobby	M	18	Finished Grade 12 (Scout Leader)	Born in Canada	HK
Cathy	F	16	Grade 11	Born in Canada	HK
Charles*	M	52	Technician	20 years	HK
Damien	M	16	Grade 11	6 years	China/Tianjin
Elsa	F	16	Grade 11	9 years	China/Shanghai
Elton*	M	50	Electrician	9 years	China/Shanghai
Frank	M	21	Finished Grade 12 (Scout Leader)	Born in Canada	HK
Gloria*	F	-----	Bank clerk	20 years	HK
Helen	F	17	Finished Grade 12	Born in Canada	HK
Irene*	F	-----	Housewife	31 years	HK
Joey*	F	-----	Housewife	23 years	China/Chung Shan
Larry	M	16	Grade 12	3 years	China, Tianjin (alone in Canada)
Mike	M	15	Grade 10	Born in Canada	HK
Michelle*	F	35	Secretary	20 years	HK
Norman	M	15	Grade 10	Born in Canada	HK
Nancy*	F	-----	Housewife	20 years	HK
Patrick	M	16	Grade 11	Born in Canada	HK
Pauline*	F	-----	Secretary	15 years	HK
Ronnie	F	16	Grade 12	3 years	HK
Renée	F	16	Grade 12	3 years	HK
Rosa*	F	-----	Housewife	3 years	HK
Sammy*	F	-----	Housewife	18 years	HK
Samuel	M	16	Grade 12	Born in Canada	HK
Tony*	M	50	Businessman	20 years	HK
Tracy	F	17	University year 1	Born in Canada	HK
Tiffany*	F	-----	housewife	20 years	HK

Note: * parents

5.3.6 Observation and documentary analysis:

5.3.6.1 Documentary research: excavations and evidence:

An analysis of promotional materials such as programme pamphlets, web-sites, letters, and pictures of the AE providers was carried out to examine the cultural implications of the organisation. Both the Enoch Youth Outreach (<http://enochyouth.org>) and the Chinese Christian Mission (http://www.ccmcanada.org/f_news.htm) use the internet to publicise their programmes. It is not difficult to search their information and activities on the web. Unlike the CCM, which is a worldwide Chinese Christian organisation with a large variety of activities and service groups, Enoch mainly focused on Chinese-Canadian youth and their development. They use internet as their most common communication channel, therefore web-material is of the utmost importance for Enoch to promote their programmes and activities. Their website is innovative and very adaptable to the youth culture. They also have a weekly web-based radio broadcast which is gaining popularity among the Chinese youth community. On the other hand, the 16th Burnaby Scout Group has only a small link to the CCM. Owing to the fact that the nature and activities of Scouts is quite self-explanatory, not much information can be found on the web. However, since it is a branch of Scouts Canada, this Scout group is required to follow the regulations and practice of the mother organisation. Scout Canada has a very comprehensive web-site that contains most of the material needed for this research. The CCM relies on printed materials and they have a full-time administrator for the adventure education programme. There is a designated meeting room for the adventure group and printed pamphlets and posters were adequate for research purposes. Content analysis was carried out by using a qualitative approach which “emphasizes the fluidity of the text and content in the interpretive understanding of culture” (Ericson et al., 1991, p.50).

5.3.6.2 Participant Observation (Overt)

Participant observations were conducted during the programme with permission from the AE provider and instructors. The researcher attended a winter camp (two-day, wilderness-camping) with the CCM Scouts to observe the “cultural signals” during the implementation of the programme. It was a valuable experience for the researcher to get a deeper understanding of the programmes of this Scout group. It was also a very good opportunity to observe the interactions between group members - particularly those with different roles and ranking in the

Scout group. During the camp, the researcher was able to interact with some of the group members and develop a good relationship (*guanxi*) with them which was beneficial to the interviews that were to be held in the following weeks.

5.4 Data management

Permission was requested from all participants to audio-tape record the interviews. Immediately after ending the interview, a field note was completed. In the field note, I summarised the emotional tone and overall impressions of the interview. A general description of the participant, their background and personal history were outlined. Those interviews conducted in Chinese were transcribed into English verbatim. Interviews in English were also transcribed verbatim. The computer voice files and transcriptions were kept in my personal computer to which I alone had the access code. Hard copies were printed and kept in a locked cabinet in my office; back-up files were made on a portable hard-disk to protect the data.

5.5 Data analysis

An ongoing dialogue between data collection, identification of significant themes and subsequent coding and analysis are hallmarks of qualitative research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In qualitative research, design and data analyses are mutually shaping processes (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Data analysis begins as soon as the data collection begins.

The first stage in the analytic process could be best described as an increasingly detailed reading of the interview transcript for the purpose of identifying themes from the participants' experiences and perspectives. Van Manen (1991) identifies three ways of undertaking the data analysis: (1) a holistic approach which focuses on identifying sentences or phrases which capture the fundamental meaning of the text as a whole; (2) a selective or highlighting approach, which searches for statements or phrases that seem particularly essential about the experience being described; and (3) a detailed or line-by-line approach, which examines each sentence or sentence cluster to determine what it reveals about the interviewee's experience. In this study, I have adopted all three approaches. After scrutinising the transcripts, I was able to pull out the key themes from each interview transcript to establish various categories. It was hoped that by examining the key themes of all the transcripts, I would "...discover the underlying uniformities

in the original set of categories or their properties and then formulate the theory with a smaller set of higher level concepts” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.110).

Through the comprehensive and systematic process of coding all the transcripts, I gradually discovered developmental processes, the expected outcomes and the cultural implications of adventure education programmes for Chinese-Canadian youth and their families. The grounded theory of the meaning of the adventure education programmes and their relation to Chinese traditional culture evolved through the process of theoretical sampling and vigorous data analysis. The evolution of conceptualisations gradually moved to a higher level of abstraction, as suggested by Glaser & Strauss (1967). An alternative model of individualism-based adventure education programmes and their relation to traditional collective Chinese culture was gradually discovered through an inductive method of model development.

5.6 Validity of data

Qualitative studies are frequently criticised for their research merit based on the positivist criteria of external and internal validity. Qualitative researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) argue that conventional criteria are inappropriate to the naturalistic paradigm and thus a set of alternative criteria has been proposed in judging the “trustworthiness” of naturalistic inquiries. The criteria include credibility (paralleling internal validity), transferability (paralleling external validity), dependability (paralleling reliability) and confirmability (paralleling objectivity) (Guba, 1990).

5.6.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the truth value of the inquiry and involves the degree to which the researcher is adequately representing the phenomenon that is being observed (May, 2001). It is a twofold task which requires the researcher “first, to carry out the inquiry in such a way that the probability that the findings will be found to be credible is enhanced and, second, to demonstrate the credibility of the findings by having them approved by the constructors of the multiple realities being studied” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.296).

Triangulation is a frequently used technique in qualitative research for improving credibility. Denzin (1994) has distinguished between different types of triangulation: data, investigator,

theory and methodological forms. Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that the use of multiple theories for the sake of triangulation is unacceptable as findings are theory-determined. In a research scale like the current one, using different investigations to achieve triangulation is impossible. Data triangulation (contextual validation and data check) and multiple methods (interview, documentary research and participant observation) were therefore used in this study to ensure the credibility of the findings.

5.6.2 Transferability

Grounded theory is a process to generate theory or theories to interpret a unique social phenomenon (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Since the qualitative research data is so unique and confined to the situation in Vancouver, it may not be easily transferable. However, the theme of the current study was to investigate the cultural implication of adventure education programmes for Chinese-Canadian families; the same situation could be applicable to other immigrant Chinese families in the USA, UK, New Zealand and Australia. Chinese families migrating to these countries would face similar situations of an acculturation gap between two generations as well as the difficulties of fitting an emphasis on the individual into their collective Chinese culture. It is hoped that the theory that is generated by this research could fill a gap in the literature on ethnographic research and its relation to adventure education.

5.6.3 Dependability and confirmability

Dependability parallels the positivist concept of reliability and confirmability corresponds to the positivist concept of objectivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In qualitative research, the researcher is the prime instrument in the data collection and interpretation process. It is difficult to demonstrate the observer's objectivity and reliability. However, Huberman and Miles (1994) suggested a "Transparency" approach to methodology as a solution to overcome this natural disadvantage of qualitative research. In view of the conventions of quantitative research requiring clear, explicit reporting of data and procedures, they suggest the same principle should apply to qualitative researches. This means "a) the reader will be confident of and can verify, reported conclusions; b) secondary analysis of the data is possible; c) the study could in principle be replicated; and d) fraud or misconduct if it exists will be more track-able" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 439).

This study adopted the audit trail (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) as the primary strategy to promote dependability and confirmability and to ascertain that the findings are grounded in the data. The research supervisors of this research served as the methodological auditors. Raw data, (including audio-recording files and the interview transcripts); observation notes and instrument development information, including interviewing guide and observation formats, were filed for the audit process. The procedure and the methodology have strictly followed the guidelines of the Lincoln University Human Ethic Committee (HEC) and approval was obtained before undertaking the research.

5.7 Conclusion

This study was designed to understand the cultural implication of adventure education programmes for Chinese-Canadian participants and their families. It was an exploratory research and employed a qualitative research paradigm that emphasises the personal meaning and experiences of research participants. In the study, open-ended, semi-structured in-depth interviews were the principal method of data collection. The validity of the data was supported by triangulation of data from participant observation and documentary research. The accuracy and reliability of this research was supported by the transparency of the data and the audit trail established by the research supervisor.

In the next section, I will to present the data collected in the field and categorise them in relation to the research questions. As the amount of data collected in the field was enormous, I have separated the data into two chapters (Chapter Six and Chapter Seven), while detailed analysis of the data are carried out in Chapter Eight. In Chapter Six, I shall touch upon the data concerning the salience of traditional Chinese culture in an overseas setting while in Chapter Seven I will present data about adventure education and its relationship with overseas Chinese. Demographic data will be tabulated for easy comparison.

Section III: Results and analysis (Chapter 6-9)

Overview:

This research aimed to investigate the relationship between participation in adventure education programmes and the acculturation of Chinese Canadians living in Vancouver, Canada. As the research was qualitative and data were mainly collected by semi-structured interviews, participant observation and document analysis, a large volume of data was generated. In this section, I am going to present the data under two main categories: (a) Chinese culture; and (b) the effect of participation in adventure education programmes. Each is then sub-divided into discussion points in relation to the research objectives indicated in Chapter Four.

Chapter Six and Chapter Seven will mainly focus on the presentation of the categorized empirical data and detailed analysis will be conducted in Chapter Eight.

In Chapter Six, the focus is on traditional Chinese values and how these values are challenged after migration to Canada. With the support of the empirical data, I shall present the salience of traditional Chinese values of Chinese Canadian families and the Chinese parents' awareness of the cultural implications of AE programmes. I shall first present the demographic information of the research participants so that readers may have a thorough understanding of their educational, social and economical backgrounds. I shall then categorise the data to show the retention of their cultural characteristics, which includes the hierarchy and power distance characteristics in their family, the gender role ideology, the relationship regarding opposite gender, their social circle (with an implication of the ethnic enclosure mode) and parents' expectations of the academic achievement of their younger generation. I shall also focus on disclosing their attitude towards leisure activities and their concept on risk taking and outdoor activities. Demographic data of the research participants will be tabulated and qualitative data will be presented with direct quotations from the interview transcripts.

Chapter Six: Continuity or change: The salience of traditional Chinese values in an overseas setting

This chapter presents the results of the face-to-face interviews conducted during the research process. It begins by detailing the social-demographic characteristics of the interviewees, their background, their motivation to the outdoor recreation activities and their length of residence in Canada. This is followed by a discussion of their cultural practices both at home and at work. The first part of the data is more focused on the cultural background and the acculturation mode of this group of Chinese Canadians. The second part (Chapter Seven) will be more focused on the effect of adventure programmes.

6.1 Demographic data of the research participants

The 28 interviewees were sub-divided into three categories with reference to their roles in adventure education programmes: the AE participants, parents and instructors.

Table 3: Gender distribution of each category

	Male	Female
AE participants	7	6
Parents	4	9
Instructors (Scout leaders)	2	0

The age of the AE participants ranged from 14 to 18 years. The group consisted of 13 parents (4 males and 8 females), 13 AE participants (7 males and 6 females) and 2 male instructors. As mentioned in the last chapter, the number of parents and children are not exact pairs; there are 9 parent-child-groups, 2 instructor-only, 2 child-only and 6 parent-only-groups. Most of the parents were from Hong Kong, one from Tianjin city, one from Shanghai city, and one from Zhongshan County, China PRC. The parents grew up in Chinese families with both parents being Chinese and then migrated to Canada as adults. This satisfies one criteria of the study, namely that the parents will come from traditional Chinese family backgrounds.

Most of the AE participants were born in Canada and all the parents were first generation migrants. Some AE participants migrated with their parents and some had their parents join them after they settled. The number of years residing in Canada varied between 1.5 years and 31 years. (The participant who had only lived in Canada for 1.5 years is a student from Tianjin, China and his parents are still in China PRC. He lives with his elder sister in Vancouver.)

Among the AE participants were twin sisters who were born in Canada but who returned to Hong Kong for primary and secondary education (9 years), then settled back in Canada 3 years ago with their mother; their father joined the family 2 years ago.

Table 4: Place of birth of the different categories

	Born in Canada	From Hong Kong	From China
AE participants	9	1 (moved to Canada when 3 years old)	3
Parents	0	10	3
Instructors (Scout leaders)	2	0	0

Five of the Canadian-born AE participants had never visited China PRC and Hong Kong prior to the interview. Two of the young participants, Albert and Damien, visit Hong Kong with their parents every 2 years to see their grandparents. Some AE participants have visited Hong Kong or China, but not on a regular basis.

Table 5: Educational attainment

	High school	Tertiary, prevocational training	University
AE participants	12	0	1 (Year 1)
Parents	6	4	3
Instructors (Scout leaders)	1	1	0

The educational attainment of the participants was above the Canadian average. Three of the parents attended university either in Hong Kong or China PRC; all completed high school education or above. Two parents completed high school in Canada but none studied at university in Canada. One AE participant has just entered university in the year of the interview, but she was in Grade 12 (final-year of high school) when she attended the Enoch Leadership Training Camp in August 2008.

Table 6: Outdoor experience of the participants

	Scouts	Enoch	Other programme or outdoor pursuit activities		
			DEA/Air cadet	Ski/Park visit	None
AE participants	9	4	3	1	0
Parents	0	0	0	3	10
Instructors (Scout Leaders)	2	0	0	1	0

The AE participants were mainly recruited from two groups: the participants of the Leadership Training Camp organised by Enoch Youth Outreach (Enoch) and the 16th Burnaby Scout Group (Scouts) organised by the Chinese Christian Missionary. Two of the participants from the Enoch group are also members of the Air Cadets which also have some outdoor adventure elements in their training programme. One of the girls from the Scout group also participated in the Duke of Edinburgh Award (DEA) organised by another Chinese immigrant supporting group, Sino United Chinese Community Enrichment Social Services (S.U.C.C.E.S.S.). There are some camping and trekking elements in the DEA scheme. One of the AE participants is an assistant ski instructor.

None of the parents had experience in any adventure education programmes. Two of them (a couple) have learnt skiing with their son and have been involved in outdoor pursuit activities such as kayaking and camping. One of the parents visits leisure parks near their home regularly.

Table 7: Language used during interview

	English	Cantonese	Mandarin
AE participants	9	3	1
Parents		12	1
Instructors	2	0	0

During the interviews, participants were first asked to choose a language that they would like to use for the interview. Most of the AE participants chose English as they felt more comfortable and found it easier to express their feelings. Three of them chose Cantonese and one of them chose Mandarin because they have not been in Canada very long. One of the participants who was born in Canada also chose Cantonese, but in the event, almost 40% of the interview was conducted in English. All the parents chose Chinese (12 Cantonese and 1 Mandarin), some of them has been migrated to Canada for 20 years and most of them has been residing in Canada for more than 10 years. These results are suggestive of generational differences in acculturation to living in Canada.

6.2 Traditional Chinese values in the Chinese-Canadian families

Research data indicated that Chinese families show strong enthusiasm to retain Chinese traditional culture through family education. This finding concurred with the review of literature indicating that Chinese people consider family as the most significant unit to transmit traditional Chinese values such as respecting seniors, filial piety to their parents, maintaining harmony with family members and with their relevant clan (Bond, 1996). The following section is categorised into 10 different themes to illustrate the strategies which Chinese families use to retain their traditional culture. These themes are based on the literature reviewed in earlier chapters which show the major differences between Chinese and Western countries. We shall also note the effect of family education on the development of selective acculturation among the participants.

6.2.1 Insisting on learning Chinese language

Attending Chinese language school after school hours is a very common practice among Chinese immigrants. Parents considered this as an important channel to retain their Chinese culture. Most of the children attended Saturday classes and there were also evening classes during the

week. There were also “oral classes” that specially focused on spoken Chinese: Mandarin. The Chinese language schools adopted a modified approach in language teaching which was more relaxed in the eyes of the parents when compared with the traditional approach, but was still considered quite demanding in the eyes of children. There was homework after each class, dictation every week and tests every month. Formal examinations were conducted at the end of each term. Some of the children (4) admitted that they did not like to attend Chinese school and found it very difficult. Most of them (8) found written Chinese language difficult and felt pressure from their parents.

Some parents revealed that learning Chinese was for their children’s future benefit. As the economy in China is improving and it is quite likely that the young generation may work or do business in China PRC in the future, the parents considered that learning Putonghua would be beneficial. (In recent years, it has been very popular to send their children to Chinese school to learn Mandarin/Putonghua as it is the national language in China PRC.)

The children understood the rationale of the parents who encouraged them to attend Chinese language class for pragmatic reasons. However, only four of the children were interested in returning to Hong Kong/China to work after graduating from university. Among these four, one migrated to Canada 13 years ago but visited Hong Kong every two years; the other three have only been resident in Canada between 1.5 and three years.

Six young participants attended the language school regularly; five of them did not attend because they finished high school in Hong Kong or China and had already developed competency in the Chinese language. One suffered from dyslexia and had personal difficulties in learning the language and thus decided to drop the course a year ago. Another boy suffered from Asperger’s syndrome and found learning Chinese was too demanding. His mother, Gloria, decided to drop the Chinese language class two years ago after spending a long time wrestling with her son’s negative attitude towards learning a Chinese language.

Helen (AE Participant) "... Chinese school. I learned, ever since I was 3, I started learning Cantonese; and ever since I was 6, I started learning Mandarin. I am still learning Mandarin now. I used to take two Chinese classes every single week."
"I can now speak English, Cantonese, Mandarin and a little bit of French."

However, most of the parents think that the main use of the language is for communicating with themselves and the grandparents. Usually they speak their mother tongues (Cantonese or Mandarin) at home. Some of the grandparents and close relatives also live in Canada and they insist that the younger generation use Chinese language in family settings.

Norman (AE participant) "My dad, I always speak Cantonese to, I just feel like he feels more respected if I speak Chinese to him. My mom, not as much, because she understands English really well. For my relatives, on my dad side, I speak Chinese...and on my mom side, I speak [Cantonese] to my grandmother, but my uncles, I'd put in a few words of English, because I know they are raised here too. They came here when they were in high school.

Irene (Parent) "Traditional Chinese heritage...Chinese people should know Chinese. My husband likes Chinese, so my children have to learn Chinese. For me, I think Chinese people have to learn Chinese because it is an important component of our culture. At least my sons would be able to converse with the grandparents. My eldest son, maybe he's gifted, he could read a lot of Chinese characters when he was only 3 years old."

Learning a Chinese language may be considered a burden by the AE participants as the classes were conducted outside school hours (usually on Saturday).

Irene (Parent) "The younger one doesn't like it, because he doesn't really get it. He can speak it, and he would laugh with us when he watches Chinese TV dramas with us. Every week, we almost have to wrestle him to get his Chinese homework done. He says he tries his best. He's okay with the dictations, but he doesn't do well on tests."

One of the parents (Gloria) was reluctant to give up Chinese language classes but found it a big relief after making the decision. She now considers that not forcing her son to study Chinese language is to adopt a “Canadian” view on things.

Gloria (Parent) “So this is my Canadian view on things, because at that time, a lot of people asked me why I don’t send him to Chinese school. Actually, he studied Chinese for 4 years, but his school teacher at the time told me that there are people whose brain development is not balanced, and that my son is weaker with languages...so at that time, I took the teacher’s opinion and I gave up on sending him to Chinese school. I felt that it’s a struggle in keeping him in Chinese school and it would only break our relationship, not strengthening it. And I feel that after he’s taken out of Chinese school, it’s a win-win situation for us.”

Another parent, Joey, gave up Chinese school because she found that her daughter is a slow learner and suffers from dyslexia.

Joey (Parent) “...like studying Chinese, of course all Chinese parents would prefer that their children know both Chinese and English, but it is really difficult for her with her learning disability. I enrolled her in Chinese school for two years, and she really had a tough time, and I was having a tough time studying with her as well. So I let it go in the end.”

6.2.2 Hierarchy in the family and the reinforcement of power distance

All the children and the two instructors (age 16 and 21) revealed that their parents were the ones who made the final decision in the family. The situation of being male-dominant in Chinese families is facing a challenge, for data from this research reveal that both the moms and the dads have a fair share of authority in the family.

Frank, one of the Scout leaders, who is 21 years old and has been working for 2 years in the automobile industry, thinks that strict parents are good and he doesn’t feel negatively about their control over him.

Frank (Instructor) “Yes, mostly the Chinese parents are very strict. They like to...they always want me to do the right thing... Like, don’t do all those bad habits, don’t make friends with the wrong reasons, and also don’t hang out with other people who have bad influence to you. Only the good ones... I think this is good for me and I don’t think putting some kind of control is bad.”

One rather extreme case was found in Norman’s family. Norman commented that father is too strict and difficult to communicate with.

Norman (AE participant) “In my dad’s case, I just obey him, but I really don’t think we are on equal levels. Yah, he’s like way up high, and I am just here, like a speck. So I just listen (obey) to him and I tried not to argue with him.

“His attitude, he’s like a living fossil...that kind.”

(Interviewer: How about your mom?)

“I still consider her as a really ‘high up there’ person, a person to be respected. And I listen to her, but she is not as high up there as my dad, because sometimes I won’t listen to her.”

Maintaining a certain hierarchy in the family is accepted in most of the Chinese Canadian families, and the children are resigned to or accept the fact that this may never change.

Some families adopt a rather mediated approach but with the final decision still in the parents’ hands. Sammy, father of Samuel who attends Air Cadets and the Leadership Camp organised by Enoch, thinks that power distance is an aspect of Chinese culture which needs to be retained.

Sammy (Parent) “I can see the resemblance (between Air Cadet training and the family), because in Chinese families, the parents are well respected usually... and within the army, the hierarchy is similar...

(Interviewer: So would this be the way you manage your family?)

Sammy, “Half and half... I tried my best to use the style which kids growing up here would accept, except for certain extremes, which I don’t agree... say my son wanted to call me by name... but then does it mean he can’t contribute his own opinions to decisions? No, we can chat together, and play video games together even though I am not good at it... it’s okay. I wanted to find the balance between the two, but I would still keep some of the traditional values, those that I think are important... we are Chinese; we have to keep these traditional values...

(Interviewer: It’s interesting that you mentioned finding a balance between the two approaches and there are some traditional Chinese values that you would like to keep What are they?)

Sammy, “Manners, especially to the elders... he doesn’t have siblings, but he needs to know how he should behave in front of his parents... we can be very close, but when it comes to important decisions, he needs to know that it’s not a democracy in which we get to vote on it...that in those situations, I have a say in it.”

It’s a usual practice that the parents are more dominant when their children are young, but when they grow up and show maturity, gain confidence, show good behaviour and sensible judgements, parents gradually give back the right to make decisions to their children. In Chinese culture, there are gradual steps in order to gain this respect and the children must first show that they are mature enough to make the decision first before this right is granted.

Damien (AE participant) “They are definitely higher than me, but I don’t think they make every decision for me. I ask them for consent on things, and they want me to make my own decision for myself so I can learn from my mistakes. They know that I am getting older and older, and they want to respect my own room...they let me make

my decisions, but I have to communicate with them...so they know what I am doing and I know what they are thinking. So...that's sort of...but they don't rule over me.

Traditionally, the male is the head of a Chinese family and the female always takes the supporting role. It is common for fathers to be the authoritative figures and to make final decisions for the family. The mother is usually the mediator and the children will normally negotiate with the father through her. In the modern Chinese family, this concept has gradually changed and some young participants revealed that it is their mother who is the head of their family and they find their father more approachable.

Ronnie (AE participant) “ I think my mom is more like a senior person and I have to ask her opinions for a lot of things and she would tell me what to do. Sometimes she would let me make my own final decision, but say, she gave me two choices and I can tell that she prefers one over the other... I usually would choose what she prefers...”

Elsa (AE participant), noticed changes in family hierarchy after her mother converted to Christianity.

Elsa “I think in my family, my mom is the dominant, I think...and my dad is just kinda there...well, they make decisions together actually. Before my parents became Christians, my mom was the dominant one in the family, and then after she believed in God, and then she led my dad to believe in God. So then, little by little, it's actually changing her...she wasn't that dominant anymore, she actually talk out decision stuff with my dad...so that was a pretty big change in my family, I think...from my perspective...cause I knew that not every single decision, [I] ask my mom, even though most of the time, my dad would ‘oh, ask mom, she will know’...whatever, but yah...my dad is like levelling up...

Field data from this research show that more communication between the AE participants and their parents has been observed. Mutual respect and support between the parents were shown in their decision making process on family matters.

Amy (Parent) “On a lot of things, we take my husband’s advice, but because my husband is very good to me, and a lot of the times, he (father) looks at me (mother)...so he always have the last word, but it’s usually something we have talked about beforehand and we have both agreed on. Sometimes, my son just talks to me and ask me to tell dad, and I would say, “No, you have to go ask dad yourself.”

Some families have not kept the traditional Chinese power distance in their family. They treat their children as friends and are willing to talk with them before a decision is made.

Bobby (Instructor) “My father...the generation prior to us, yah, it was like that...whatever my grandfather, of either side, said was the last word, no matter how fair or unfair it seems. But then, as soon as we were born and my cousins were born, my parents throw that idea out of the window. They didn’t believe in one person leading or having the last word, or must do what we say, kinda like the anarchy and dictatorship kinda thing. We follow more of the democracy...like being generally fair, or as fair as possible.”

In general, however, families still upheld the power distance between the two generations. This was particularly obvious when big decisions were to be made; father in general was still the head of the family. In some cases, mother was more dominant but this possibly reflects the particular character of those families and the personality of the mothers and fathers.

6.2.3 Gender role

Traditional Chinese gender ideology is not obvious in this group of Chinese Canadians. Boys and girls seem to have fairly equal rights with their choices and opportunities. However, it seemed that girls experienced a tighter control on their social circle and particularly their friendship with the opposite sex. This is reflected in girls’ requests to participate in “sleep-over parties” organised by friends. Cathy (AE participant) was not allowed to attend a sleep-over party and there is no way that she could negotiate with her parents.

Cathy: “It’s really weird, because I can’t go on sleepovers. Most of the Asian parents, they’d say “no” to sleepovers. I have noticed my white friends; they can go anywhere they want actually. Like not that they are bad kids, but their parents [give them more freedom].

“They [my parents] are very firm on not letting me go anywhere else, but at home. I can organise sleepover at home, but not at someone’s house. Honestly, I feel sometimes maybe they are being a bit over-protective. I understand about like...being a little hesitant about it, because you don’t know the other people that well.”

Cathy felt this gender difference in attitude and restrictions towards boys and girls.

Cathy: my mom was like, “if you were a boy, I’d let you walk home and go to sleepover... but you are a girl, so you cannot.”

6.2.4 Relationship with opposite sex

Chinese parents are more conservative than Western parents towards interaction with the opposite sex, this is slightly more relaxed for boys but in general, they are more restrictive.

Helen (AE participant) “Generally, my parents don’t want me sleeping over at anybody’s house. Even with my closest friends, sometimes when I am playing at her house and it’s 9 o’clock, and I would be like, “can I go at 10 o’clock?” and they would be like “okay”. And when it’s 11 o’clock, I’d be like, “oh, can I just stay longer?” we might just decide to have sleepovers, and my parents won’t like that. They would be like, “oh, are their dads home? Are their brother at home?” because they are “dangerous”, right? They generally don’t really like it, because they don’t know what’s going to happen to me overnight.”

“They always ask! Like even when it’s not a sleepover, if I am just going to someone’s house, they will always ask if there are any males in the house, because my

parents think that they will immediately abuse me...I think, in general Chinese parent are very sensitive on this issue.”

Similar concerns were raised in relation to sons. Member of the opposite sex being in a boy's room is considered as inappropriate behaviour in Chinese culture.

Irene (Parent) “Last summer, there were 3 female classmates (2 Asian and 1 Caucasian) came over to my house...I was still at work then, and my husband was at home...he was shocked, “how come there are 3 girls looking for my son?... Two of them my son knew from elementary school and there's one new girl, a grade 9 student...they all went into his room to play games...and I told my son to be careful... having 3 girls in his room, you don't know what can happen...like my husband says, he can be naïve...maybe nothing has happened, but what if they spread rumours about you afterwards? Yah, so those things I can't accept...so my husband actually has to go out to meet with a client, but he waited until I got home before he left....yah, so I was there to keep watch....”

Chinese parents generally consider Western society very open in sexual relationships. Sex Education emphasising “safe sex” and the use of condoms is taught in Canadian schools since Grade 6 and Chinese parents generally think that this is inappropriate for children at such a young age. When speaking about her expectations of her twin daughters (age 16), Rosa revealed strongly that:

Rosa (Parent) “They can't be sexually promiscuous... this is the most important thing! I have already started to talk to my girls with regards to this. I told them that I don't mind them finding a boyfriend, but they need to know what they are looking for in a person and they need to be cautious in making friends... plus, I talked to them about the certain things they need to pay attention to when making guy friends...”

(Interviewer: Is staying away from sexual promiscuity actually a Chinese moral value?)

Rosa, “Yes, I think the Caucasians are very open about this...they don’t really care about this... you can tell by the clothes they wear... the lowest of the deep V’s... I have seen it on a 12 year-old! Yah, so for them, they are trying to be an adult, being sexy and mature...”

6.2.5 The social circle: ethnic enclosure

Most of the families were closely linked with the Chinese community and did not acculturate with Canadian society. Most of them set strict boundaries for their children in their participation in activities other than those offered by the schools. Both girls and boys had similar complaints. Some of the parents also noticed this but rather than consider this a problem, they saw it as protecting their children.

Charles (Parent) “Yah, my daughter knows a Caucasian girl, who is very independent because her parents give her a lot of freedom. Like, if you want to go swim, then go...if you want to join whatever competition, join it yourself... it’s very different, say for my daughter, if she wanted to join a swimming competition, we would ask, “would it interfere with your study? What kind of friends would you know there?” We have a lot of worries and a lot of restrictions towards our daughter. We might say, “Maybe you shouldn’t join because you might not be able to handle your study.” I think for Caucasians parents, they worry less and they let their children try. It’s different from Chinese parents.

In Western societies, the peer group is very influential in teenagers’ social and psychological development. As migrants to a foreign country, parents were particularly sensitive to their children’s peer group. There was no difference between boys and girls but as data from the last section suggested, it seemed that Chinese parents have tighter control on the girls’ peer group.

Elton (Parent) “My wife and I have always been telling her to stay away from those people who don’t exhibit good behaviour... and we would remind her...we tell her that if she wants to know whether her friend is a good person or not, just

look at that person's friends and she will know... I don't know if she's been listening, but we keep telling her that..."

As indicated in the Literature Review, some Chinese families are introverted and consider people not belonging to their community as strangers. This sometimes even happens to the neighbours if they were not from their ethnic group.

Cathy's parents treat their neighbours as strangers and seldom talk with them and did not welcome them when they moved in. This made Cathy a little bit guilty and ashamed as she knows that Canadians have a more open culture towards neighbours and friends.

Cathy (AE participant) "...say our neighbours... like my friend who is Caucasian, she is very friendly with her neighbours. She likes do jobs for her neighbours. They like say hi to each other. And my parents, they think something's always going on next door, like very wary of what they are doing. My parents don't like their neighbours. They are just a little bit more closed..."

6.2.6 Academic achievement

Chinese parents have a reputation for being very demanding towards their children's academic development. They have developed a general stereotype that they will push their children to study science and maths (Li, 2001; Chao, 1996). This has been viewed as a cultural phenomenon of Chinese-Canadians.

When Helen was asked about her view of her parents' attitude towards her academic development, she said:

Helen (Parent) "I think so. Generally, Chinese parents want their kids to excel...I think Chinese parents are very competitive, they always see a perfect child as the one who can beat everyone else...."

“It’s kinda like an un-written stereotype. It’s one of those things not many people will mention it, but then Asians are very competitive. I think for Western people, they are most relaxed and positive towards their kids’ achievement. Maybe it’s because they are more open-minded and therefore they are more positive. It’s like, “hey, good job! You did your best! I am so proud of you.” And they are very loving... Asian families are a lot tighter.”

Larry, who went to high school in China PRC, shared his view on the competitiveness and the working attitudes of the Chinese students with the following comments:

Larry (AE participant) “My parents are very traditional in terms of my academic attainments... for example, ...they are really not wrong or treating me poorly, but they have certain ideals...like I shouldn’t have time for myself at all...they think that everyone is working hard, and if I don’t, other people will surpass me. So they are too ideal in wanting me to be studying non-stop...but some parents are more relaxed with it and believe that young people should be allowed to experience and to grow... My parents probably know this too, but they were growing up in China, every day they feel defeated...” (Larry moved to Canada 1.5 years ago and was studying English at the time of interview.)

Nancy (a mother of two children, who moved to Canada 20 years ago) thinks that academic demands are too weak in Canada so she requested her sons do extra exercises to compensate for the differences.

Nancy (Parent) “I think it’s like the difference between heaven and earth when comparing life in here to life in HK. I have been giving them exercise booklets to work on when they were young, so they would get used to doing homework...of course, the amount is nowhere comparable to that given in HK. At least, they didn’t think it was that much of a difference once they get homework in high school...so I still think this is the right thing to do....”

When Sammy (father of a 16 year old boy) was asked about his academic expectation of his son, he replied, “Of course I would hope that he does well in school. Simply put, university is not an option for him, it’s a must!”

Pressure from parents concerning academic achievement was felt by Norman, who is just 15 years old.

Norman (AE participant) “Academics, yah... I am getting A’s, low A’s, high B’s, that kinda thing, my mom, she would be proud of me. But my dad’s a top A student, so I think I got that from him...so... I don’t know...they have to sign my report cards, so I had to show it to my dad. If he sees a C+ or something like that, he doesn’t say anything...”

Cathy’s parents want her to be a pharmacist but her personal ambition is to do fine arts. She is good at drawing and painting but since her parents think that this will not provide Cathy with a secure job in the future, they strongly encourage her to take Maths and Chemistry in Grade 12 so that she can study Pharmacy at university.

Cathy (AE participant) “Yah, I think they have determined more of my goals than I have determined them myself. Like, ever since I was younger, they have been pushing me into a more academic career. Like my cousin, she’s a doctor, and they are like, “oh, doctor, oh!” and she married a doctor... and I think I am sort of expected to go on a very successful path, like my cousin. Like I see other people at school, and they are like, “oh, I am going into filming...” and I am going into... whatever, computer engineering...I am actually very into arts and don’t really have a lot of patience for science. But I am doing science now and I am doing more of an academic career and I think if I were not Chinese, I would not be [pursuing] this career. I don’t want to disappoint my family, and I can see why they don’t want me to be in other careers because it’s not as stable, not as trustworthy...but I want my family to be happy, so I am going [towards] that path...”

Cathy's father, Charles, agreed that it is Chinese tradition to make decisions for their children because they are too young to understand what to choose. Cathy showed acceptance of this suggestion.

Charles (Parent) "My wife wants her [Cathy] to become a pharmacist... Yah, cos right now there has to be a goal...like to become a pharmacist, you need these 4 courses, and say when she entered into university, she doesn't like it, then she can decide to do something else...it's better to have us set a goal for her than to not have a goal at all...teenagers these days are too innocent to make such decisions....I asked her, "what do you want to be in the future?" "I don't know"...and when she asks her friends, they don't know either...like they can't foresee how the future is going to be like...they have never worked before, so they wouldn't know...so we set a goal for her..."

This hard working attitude is reflected in Chinese people's style of academic work. Most of the parents were of the view that the Western approach to education is too laid-back and there is not much to do after school, whereas in China, there is lots of homework and most of the children have to take private tuition after school hours to catch up with the demands from school.

Katherine (Parent) "There's really a lot of freedom here. You can pretty much do whatever you want, and there's no homework, even now when he's in grade 8! Every time he comes back home and I ask him if he has any homework, and he always says no. When he comes back home, he either goes on his computer to play games or watches TV, but his grades are fine! He usually gets 80+% or 90+% in his subjects, but I am not sure if the grading system is more relaxed here, because I didn't think my son is that smart."

Pauline (the mother of a 15 year old son) has a different view of the Western education approach. She disagrees with the traditional Chinese/HK way of school system and the dialectical teaching methodology.

Pauline (Parent) “I think I am lucky in sense... I am quite comfortable with the Western-style of education here...I am not like the other parents who push their kids to go the extra mile.... I can see that he [son] is happy studying here...but it’s not like he didn’t learn anything from school...it’s very different from memorizing from the books...I really like the Western-styled education system. It’s really flexible...”

Irene accepted the fact that her academic expectation for her sons is being “white-washed”, she allowed her sons more freedom which is very different from her own mother’s view.

Irene (Parent) “I don’t need him to be a lawyer, or a doctor.... Yes, I think I am being influenced by the Canadian culture... because the mentality here is really slack...as compared to that in HK...people go all out studying...Yah...I don’t think it’s necessary to be a doctor or a lawyer, unless he is really interested in being one... and I get scolded by my mom for having this mentality...why am I giving him a choice to choose...and my mom would say, “he should go and study what I told him to”. But I don’t think things have to be done like that here...”

Instead of following the traditional Chinese educational path of going to university after high school, Frank, the Scout leader, is training as an automotive technician in an apprenticeship scheme.

Frank (Instructor) “My mom doesn’t feel that bad. She knows automotive makes a lot of money...so...she wants me to actually get my licence, so I can get more work and get lot of money...”

Bobby’s parents allowed him more choice in his academic development. Both his parents have university and post-secondary school attainment and do not wish to see their children suffer from high academic pressure.

Bobby (Instructor) “Not necessarily the education, more of what experience they had in the past had to go through. My mom has told me many times that she doesn’t wish

us the suffering that she has to go through... That's why they moved here. They knew that the education in Canada is less strict and more easy-going as compared to that in China and in HK, Asia in general."

Joey, a mother of a girl with dyslexia and low IQ, revealed her concerns regarding her daughter's situation. She has been so worried about her daughter's academic development and is ready to be her care-giver for the rest of her life.

Joey (Parent) "I think before, I had hoped that she could do well in her studies, like all Chinese parents. But now, knowing my daughter's limitations, I only wish that she would be healthy and happy and hope that she can do well in what she thinks she is good at. I feel that like some kids, you just can't force them to do what you want, and I have tried it and it damaged our relationship."

6.2.7 Family values

The family is a basic unit of a Chinese community and an important component of Chinese culture. It carries the role of educating the younger generation about how to behave in a Chinese way. It is not only confined to the immediate family between parents and their children, in a collective sense. A Chinese family includes uncles and aunts and may further extend to all the people of the same clan (same surname). Throughout the interviews, parents emphasised this aspect of education and they strongly revealed their concerns that recognition of the importance of the family is lacking in Western culture and neglected in Western educational systems.

Nancy and Amy were asked about what they, as parents, thought to be the most important thing to retain from Chinese culture

Nancy (Parent) "Basically, I think the most important element that they need to retain are the traditional manners and the attitude to respect elders... traditional etiquettes like, greeting people when entering the door, appropriate greeting before meals, and greetings before going to bed and after getting up. Also, they need to

know about the traditional festivals... say it's his grandma's birthday, what should he do?"

Amy (Parent) "I care very much about how he treats the elders/seniors. I expect him to be good to his grandparents. I think it's something that he has to do well. I think this is really important. There was a time in the past that he doesn't really want to speak Chinese, and I would tell him that his grandparents don't know English, if he doesn't know how to speak Chinese, how can he communicate with them?"

In terms of respecting the seniors in the family, Pauline doesn't think that there is any difference between Chinese and Western people. She thinks it is only the personality and personal choice of action.

Pauline (Parent) "But I don't think all Caucasians are not respecting their parent or seniors....the ones I know, the Canadian born Chinese parents respect their own parents...well, I don't know many Caucasians, but those are the closest to Caucasians I know...and they do respect their elders....maybe I haven't seen enough..."

Dinner time/meal time is regarded as a very important and formal family time to transmit family values. In Chinese families, meals are presented in different dishes and everyone shares the food on the table. Under normal circumstances, meals cannot be started until everyone is gathered together at the table. The younger generation is expected to greet all the senior people before they eat. Nowadays, this gesture has been slightly modified but it is a matter of courtesy that young people wait until their parents are ready before they start eating. Usually, parents will take this opportunity to talk with their children about family matters and express their views on different issues. Traditional values are thus transmitted intrinsically to the young generation.

Irene (Parent) "Well, we eat dinner together... we don't accept each person bringing their own food into their room to eat... we would also have a TV on when we eat dinner....we always insist to eat dinner together, this is the time that we can talk..."

Nancy insists that her sons need to finish all their homework before dinner so that they could have dinner together and have family time afterwards.

Nancy (Parent) “Basically when I get home at 7, they would be taking their showers while I prepare for dinner...we eat dinner together, and then watch TV together, have a little chat... I also emphasize that we need communication to keep the family together...and so far, the older brother has no problem with it... the young one learns it from the elder one and I am glad that the elder brother can be a role model for him...”

6.2.8 Cultural identity

I asked my respondents about their personal view of their cultural identity. Respondents were given three choices and asked to comment: “Chinese”, “Canadian” and “Chinese-Canadian”. Cathy (AE participant), who was born in Canada in a Chinese (Shanghai) family, insisted on putting herself as “Canadian-Chinese” because she thinks that she is culturally more adapted to the Canadian style than Chinese, but her appearance gives others the impression of her Chinese background. She literally does not think that she has strong Chinese qualities except that she was born into a Chinese family. This idea is quite commonly shared by most of the young participants but they think that their Chinese quality was not only biologically inherited but also culturally assimilated through their Chinese parents. Three AE participants identified themselves as Chinese, probably because they have only resided in Canada for 1.5 years and 3 years. They are still struggling with their identity and developing their sense of belonging in the new environment.

Table 8: Self-postulated ethnic identity of the participants

	Chinese	Canadian	Chinese-Canadian	Canadian-Chinese
AE participants	3		9	1
Parents	8	1	4	
Instructors (Scout Leaders)		1	1	

Some Chinese families remain surrounded by Chinese settings and life-styles. They participate in Chinese entertainment and they have more Chinese/Asian friends than Caucasian friends. Most of them work in companies run by Chinese owners or, if they are

self-employed, most of their clients are Chinese or Asian. This sense of “enclosure” (Carr & Williams, 1993; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998) is more noticeable among parents than among those who migrated to Canada in their late teens.

In response to a question about her cultural identity, Pauline was decisive:

Pauline (Parent) “Chinese....of course....honestly, I have lived in HK most of my life, over 30 years and I have only been here 15 years...I still tend to identify myself more as a Chinese... It’s very apparent actually. When reading a Chinese newspaper, I would still read the HK news section before reading the Canadian news section....same with watching Chinese TV news programme...I think it’s different for me....I am not very passionate about Canada...I still work within the Chinese community, my boss is Chinese, my clients are all Chinese....I am working for a Chinese boss, and my clients are all Chinese, from Taiwan or HK....I am still very much tied to my Chinese community, even here in Canada...” (Pauline finished post-secondary education in Canada and English language is not a problem for her)

However, according to Pauline, her son is very different. “I think he prefers himself to be Canadian, he prefers Canadian food.... He always says that he is Canadian...he doesn’t like Chinese (language)...”

There is a distinctive “acculturation gap” between the two generations of this family. Pauline’s husband is a very traditional Chinese father who maintains a high power distance with his son. He seldom communicates with his son and does not tolerate the Western style of living that his son treasures. Pauline has difficulties striking the balance between her husband and her son. It is fortunate for the solidity of the family that her son is very obedient and respects his father’s behaviour.

Pauline: “Sometimes even I ask myself: “Why do we have to go for dim sum every week?” ...I think twice a month is okay, but my husband just won’t budge.... Sometimes, my son would say, “I don’t want to go for dim sum, I want to go eat

Western cuisine.” But my husband doesn’t like that...and since I am stuck in the middle, I would tell my son, “that’s how your father is”...it’s a never-changing fact....

As with other AE participants, Helen made it clear that she practises both cultures. She enjoys the freedom to pick what she wants from both. She accepts that she is being ‘white-washed’ and her personality is in “banana-style”- yellow skinned but white hearted. Integration seems to be the most convenient way for her to surf around in the two cultural systems.

Helen (AE participant) “I am for sure Chinese-Canadian, because I practice both cultures. I know about Chinese culture, I know all the media stuff out there. I know what’s going on in Canada here too. Stuff I wear is from both cultures. I speak English.”

Bobby was a typical example of a Chinese boy born and bred in Canada - less concerned about clothing styles and entertainment celebrities, and more with life-styles which are localised and Canadian. The assimilation level of the boys seems to be higher than that of their female counterparts in this regard.

Bobby (Instructor) “I was born here. So I didn’t get much of chance to interact or encounter many things in other countries. So as of this moment, I would say, and say it firmly, that yes, Canada is my homeland. I would just say I am Canadian. I mean I did adapt the language and lifestyle somewhat of using chopsticks, eating rice...the whole Chinese etiquettes and lifestyle, but my way of thinking, as I believe, it’s more of a Canadian traditional, or as we called it “white-washed”, nowadays...same with my brother, even my parents now actually, they are less strict and more of a freedom kind of style.

6.2.9 Attitudes toward leisure and recreation

Research cited in the literature review concluded that leisure patterns of Chinese people are different from the Canadian majority (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004). They tend to spend more time in indoor activities such as playing “*Mah Jong*” or singing karaoke and playing computer

games. Results from the interviews partially support this but also suggest strong gender differences in choices of activities. Girls are more likely to favour indoor activities while boys are more likely to participate in sports and outdoors. Parents seldom participate in outdoor activities or even sports activities. They consider paying tuition fees to learn something is a form of investment, and they do not wish to “invest” their money in sports and games.

When asked about the differences between Chinese and Caucasians’ choice of sports,

Helen (Parent) “Definitely there are huge differences. I think Chinese people don’t really like to get out much. I think here in Canada, if you are a son/daughter of an immigrant, the way they teach you is completely different. They’d think, “oh yah, I gotta stick to school”. It’s like “why are we paying for you to get activity? When you walk to school, you are getting activity. They don’t really find it as necessary, they think it’s all game. Why are you playing games?”

In general, Chinese people are more conservative and favour systematic training schemes instead of “mucking around” and learning sport simply by way of participation. Parents are willing to pay money for tuition and sports training as a form of education. If their children do not undergo an institutionalised teaching and learning structure, parents either consider it as unsafe or as casual play which is not “educational” for their children.

Sammy, father of a 16 year old Canadian born boy, who is a competitive swimmer, disagrees that the Chinese only stick to books but agrees that the whole concept of sport is different for Caucasians.

Sammy (Parent) “Chinese are also very active in sport. For example, he likes swimming, he actually joined a club for it, so there’s more of structure. There’s a coach who teaches him how to swim and he will participate in competitions, so he knows what he needs to do. The swim club that he joined encourages him to beat his own best time, not comparing to others...The Club is a local club and open for everyone, but 90% of the members are Chinese people... it just so happens...Chinese

people here are the ones who enrol their kids in extra-curricular activities outside of school.

Other parents disagree with any perception or stereotype that Chinese only stick to books and study; instead they see themselves as seeking a balance of study and play. However, when asked about the priority of sports (play) and academics (study), they always say to their children, finish the homework (study) first...

Katherine (Parent) “maybe because he has always liked to play since he was young. All I wanted for him was to know when it’s the time to play and when it’s the time to study, not neglecting one or the other.

Patrick, 15 years old, Canadian born, plays in the junior basketball league but has trouble balancing his time between study, sports and scout.

Patrick (AE participant) “Like right now, I have a tutor to help me in English reading and writing because in my last report card, I got a C+ in writing and reading. Well, other than the 2 C+’s, I got 9 A’s and only 1 B’s, so I guess, yah, I am doing pretty well, but they want me to get at least B+ in all subjects so...

And I also have basketball practice, so after basketball season, my mom says she’s going to give me math papers to do at home...”

6.2.10 Risk taking and outdoor activities

As mentioned in the Literature Review, previous studies found that Chinese people are under-represented in outdoor recreation activities (Carr & Williams, 1993). They may consider outdoor activities as risky and not worth trying. Chinese immigrants generally like the outdoor environment in Canada but hesitate to participate in outdoor activities because they have no experience and lack confidence in the outdoor environment.

Elton (Parent) “Yah, I love the environment here..., the forests are beautiful in the mountain. Basically, we go travelling as a family to nearby area every year...in the

summer... My wife doesn't like outdoor so there were a few times only my daughter and I went...but of course, we mostly went with friends as well because we are not so familiar with the environment and we have no knowledge of outdoor camping...Sometimes, we would arrange to stay at a motel or an inn for two nights, and sometimes at the official camp sites."

Chinese parents are more concerned about the safety of their children. They are more likely to keep them away from potentially risky environment or activities. When comparing the differences between Chinese parents' and Caucasian parents' attitudes towards looking after their children, Irene (parent) said:

"Yah, Chinese are very different regarding our interpretation of risk and taking care of children... they are very relaxed about it, they even walk away sometimes when their children are playing at the beach...but I can't. I have to keep my eyes on my kids...almost like an eagle... I feel that it's my responsibility as a mother.... I know I have to let go, but I just can't...but there are a few occasions in which I just let it go...pretended that I didn't see it. For example, they went hiking last time, for 4 hours, but still I was really worried about them..."

Although the AE participants appreciated their parents' attitudes and believe that their parents love them and care about them, they still think that they are being over-protective.

Cathy (AE participant) "I think it is common among the Chinese families, but a lot of my Asian friends tell me that my mom is being too over-protecting, too. But I definitely think that Asian families are a little over-protective of their sons or daughters."

Some parents see the positive side of adventure or risk taking. Proper training is important in adventure activities. Parents generally think that systematic training is essential, particularly for outdoor sports.

Gloria (Parent) "Well, when I actually let him go; I would usually be quite at ease. No one wants accidents to happen, I would expect the leaders would have thought

about the liability issues and when I let him go, I give him into the leaders' hands. It depends on what he does, like if he goes skiing, if he's already quite well-trained, then I would let him go; if he doesn't know how to ski at all, then it's not safe..."

Some parents will not allow their children to participate in "risky" sports; this is more obvious among those from China PRC because they have only one child and are rather reluctant to send their children to the outdoors, even for school field-trips. Larry migrated to Canada from China PRC 1.5 years ago; his parents are open-minded about his participation in the Scouts and also in outdoor activities. However, what he heard from other parents was very different.

Larry (AE participant) "When I was in elementary school in China, we had field-trips to parks and stuff; I would hear a lot of parents say, "don't let the kids go, what if they tripped and fell? What if they got lost and went missing?"

Amy agreed that sometimes risk taking activities are beneficial to her child; her Christian background provides her with another dimension to release her stress and tension

Amy (Parent) "I just pray. Even skiing, it's dangerous. Just pray for him, and ask him if he has prayed, or we pray together. We can't worry about every single thing and not letting him to experience. If he wants to do it, then sure...it's his choice, let him choose. It's not like other parents, "Oh, he's my only son, he can't go". My husband and I both feel the same way, that if he had the training and he wants to fly a plane, whatever, I think we should let him try."

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, data concerning Chinese culture and the extent to which it is being retained in Chinese Canadian families have been presented. Most of the parents insist on retaining Chinese traditional culture and some of them lived in an ethnic enclosure system whereby their social circle is separated from the majority Canadian culture. This was even true of some of those who had lived in Canada for 10 years or more. Most parents do not have many Caucasian friends and do not speak good English. They seldom interact with Caucasian people and are quite satisfied with the social environment in Vancouver where the government is stable and Chinese people

are respected. Their acculturation to Canadian society is selective and their integration into Canadian culture is slow. In the private domain, parents commonly want their children to retain certain elements of Chinese culture such as insisting on speaking Chinese language at home, respecting the seniors, emphasising education attainment, exhibiting conservatism towards relationships with the opposite sex and being modest about personal success. However, they also understand that Canadian culture is very different from the Chinese culture and it is their wish to open opportunities for their children. The Burnaby Scout Group and the Enoch leadership programme are therefore satisfying choices for them as these groups are organised by Chinese groups with good reputations and provide a “safe” and enclosed environment for their children.

Data from the AE participants show that the children are more acculturated and adapted to Canadian society and there appears to be a significant acculturation gap between the two generations. This doesn’t seem to be an immediate problem at this age because the young people appear to have adapted so that they practise both cultures smoothly most of the time. They behave as their Chinese parents expect at home (private domain) and are more Canadian in the public domain. They use both languages well and understand the cultural differences in their behaviour between Chinese and Canadians. They admitted that they are being “white-washed” and they are satisfied that they retain significant elements of both cultures.

In the next chapter I shall present the data focusing on the participants’ and the parents’ interpretation of adventure education programme in relation to their Chinese cultural background. I shall also present the findings related to their expectation of these programmes and their interpretation of the learning outcomes in relation to their acculturation to Canadian society.

Chapter Seven: Adventure Education and the Overseas Chinese

After reviewing the cultural concerns of the Chinese Canadians in Chapter 6, I now present the data relating to the outcomes of adventure education, under the following headings.

- The expectations of Adventure Education programmes held by participants, parents and programme organisers.
- The differences in the interpretation of self-concept and self-esteem by Chinese-Canadian parents and youth.
- The influence of the learning outcomes of Adventure Education programmes on the acculturation of Chinese Canadians.

Further analysis of these headings and their findings will be conducted in Chapter 8.

7.1 The expectations of Adventure Education programmes

Consistent with the literature (Walker & Wang, 2009; Marshall, 2002), Chinese Canadians (including Adventure Education (AE) participants, parents and instructors) consider their participation in AE programmes as purposeful and wish to achieve certain objectives. They do not consider it as a playful time but expect their participation to be both educational and developmental. The distinct objectives that AE programmes offer are: technical skills; social skills; leadership skills; coping with adversity; widening horizons and their social circle; and developing self-esteem and self-confidence (Priest, 1997). Empirical data collected in this research strongly suggest that these objectives are met by the two Vancouver programmes.

7.1.1 Technical skills

Technical skills are the most obvious benefits obtained through an outdoor adventure experience. Scouting offers an outdoor skills programme where children gain hands-on experience of living in the outdoors and using the available resources for survival.

Frank (Instructor) “In the Scouts, we teach them outdoor camping skills. I am the A.K.E.L.A....yes...they call the Cub leader AKELA...the wolf leader... And we just

teach them how to tie knots, how to use the compass, and what happened if you get lost in the woods...and how to set up tents, how to cook...so when you are in the outdoors, and you have no food... like hunting is also part of it... to know which berries to eat, and which ones are poisonous, so you don't eat those...and know which kind of mushrooms are edible.”

Norman,” We do knotting; we are timed in tying different things. Sometimes we tied catapults, and flagpoles...other activities include orienteering... which is to look up different checkpoints in an isolated area using only compass and a map. And other tasks such as lighting fires, cooking on these fires...”

These skills were important as it shows that the children have “learnt” some useful things through the activities. These skills are valued by some families because their children will become more resourceful when the families go camping together. Since most of the parents do not have much outdoor experience, they hesitate to participate in outdoor activities even if they want to. So, sending their children to Scouts to learn skills and gain outdoor experience may facilitate their own participation in the outdoors. This is in fact a first but most important step in motivating Chinese parents to appreciate outdoor recreation activities.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, Pauline's husband is a very traditional Chinese father and did not communicate with his son much. Their son felt that his father didn't care about him and would not be interested in what he learnt. Most of the time their communication was confined to around 10 sentences a day. However, since her son has been involved in Scouting, Pauline had become aware of noticeable changes in her husband's behaviour. Their family camped with other families and this provided them with an opportunity to communicate.

Pauline (Parent) “Oh yes, we and a bunch of other parents go camping together once a year...this is as far as my husband can go because he likes camping himself....my son would make use of his skills and experience in the Scouts to help to get all the equipment ready in an orderly manner, his father sees that and praises him, they were happy.”

Amy's family loves the outdoors. Her husband loves travelling and always goes camping with the family. He teaches his son some camping skills and they have happy times in the outdoors. Amy found that her son could communicate with them very well after he learnt camping and survival skills from the Air Cadet training camps.

Amy (Parent) "Yah, I think so, and it could be good. For example, when my son was young, my husband used to teach him how to set up a tent. We needed to work together, because it is something that cannot be done by one person, so my son gets to help out. And there are many other things such as carrying water back and finding the "washrooms", all these things he can help out and contribute..."

Both parents and young participants found that they were more confident in the outdoors if they were more skilful and resourceful. It also helped the children to initiate similar activities with their own family as their parents are unlikely to be able to organise this on their own. Competence in technical skills could be considered as a starting point of their acculturation into the Canadian culture, in terms of outdoor recreation.

7.1.2 Social skills

Different to the pure thrill-seeking outdoor experiences, adventure education programmes use the adventure experience as a means to achieve educational goals; developing participants' social skills are crucial elements.

Gloria's son suffered from Asperger's syndrome, an autism spectrum disorder, and therefore showed significant difficulties in social interaction. She hoped to use the Scout group and challenging activities to help him focus and develop an incentive for social interaction.

Gloria (Parent) "Yah, after many sessions with the psychologists, we realized that it is not because he can't perform academically, but it's his lack of social skills. In the real world, no matter how intelligent you are, it's useless if you lack social skills. I think Scouts is a social activity, it gave my son the chance to interact with people,

which my son is lacking. I think Scouts has helped him in improving his social skills.”

Joey’s daughter is a slow-learner identified by educational psychologists. She suffered from dyslexia and scored very low in the Intelligent Quotient (IQ) test. She is studying in a special school for students with learning difficulties and this is her second year in the Scouts. Her mother perceived that Scout training helped her daughter to be more focused and responsive to social interactions.

Joey (Parent) “I expect her to improve on her social skills, so that she will be able to communicate better with others when she works with other people in the future. And boosting her self-confidence is also important. My wish for her, in bringing her to Scouts, is to improve her self-confidence and social skills. I hope that she will learn those things in Scouts. The Scouts programme encourages participants to be independent, and I hope she would pick that up from Scouts as well.”

Nancy had two sons in the Scouts. Her older son (Bobby) had a strong character and was appointed as a Scout leader. Her younger son was not a determined person, was “emotional”, and not tough enough when challenged. After two years of Scout training, Nancy found he became significantly tougher and was able to cope with demanding situations.

Nancy (Parent) “...as for the younger brother, I just wanted to toughen him up. I hope that he can find a way to solve the problem whether it is good or bad, instead of being carried away by his emotions. He has big outbursts of emotions; when you tell him that he hasn’t done something right, he shuts down and has a panic attack... The Scouts all know about this now, even his leaders know now. In the beginning, his leaders were caught off guard by this behaviour of his, but after I have talked to them, they are okay with it. I notice that he really needs to improve his social skills by working together with a group, Scouts provide the best opportunity.”

The small size of Canadian Chinese families, especially among those from China PRC, combined with the frequency with which both parents are in paid work, places limits on

opportunities for the younger generation to develop social skills. The small group setting of Scouts provides an opportunity for the development of these skills.

Norman (involved in Scouts for 5 years): “I think Scouts trains life-time skills. Once you are in Scouts, you’ll never forget to use these skills for life. In everyday life, I guess it teaches you leadership, so.... I have been getting along better with a lot of people ever since I joined Scouts. I was born in a small family and I am the only child, we do not have many relatives in Canada. Since I’ve joined Scouts, I have been getting along with more people, like opening up more...”

Some adventure education programmes particularly focus on team-building and cooperation. Special activities are designed to build trust between group members and participants find them very effective and touching.

Ronnie (Participant) “There was a big group of people at this [Enoch] leadership camp and I didn’t know any of them. I went with a few friends, but we all ended up in different groups. We played some games and then we looked at what we need to improve as a group, for example, listening skills, cooperation skills, and trust...things like that. Through adventure activities and sharing sessions, we got to know each other better and we talk and joke with each other, now we became good friends. I found I would not be so afraid of talking to strangers as I used to be.”

Adventure Programmes provide a novel setting for participants to tackle challenges. Participants from various family backgrounds work together to accomplish these challenges, which require many social skills and good teamwork. Nowadays, Chinese families usually are small in their family-size; it is common to have only one child or two children. Data shows that AE programmes are effective and welcome by those participants from small families.

7.1.3 Leadership skills

Leadership development, another usual objective in adventure education programmes, is also the most common expectation among participants and their parents.

Bobby, currently a Scout leader, has just one year's experience in the Scouts. However, this sensible young man demonstrated competence and had the charisma of a leader. Despite his short experience in the Scout group, he gained respect from the Scouts and their parents.

Bobby (Instructor) "I lead the Scouts group with a bunch of my friends, who are both engaged in the "*Leader in Training*" programme, which was created by my leader. It's more like giving other people chances to try and lead the group, since we are all older and more mature. As a leader, you need to lead all sort of people, you know how some kids are...the crazy ones, and the emotional ones, and the ones with disabilities."

Bobby's mother also recognized his leadership ability and wanted him to grasp this chance in the Scouts and further develop his potential.

Nancy (Parent) "I expect him to pick up some leadership skills, which will be useful for him in the future at his job. Not everyone is capable of leadership, whether you can learn it or you can actually do it, they are two different stories. I hope that he will have this ability because it's going to be good for him wherever he goes..."

Samuel, who attended the Enoch leadership camp last year, was also a trainer in the Air Cadets. He is a leader of a small team and responsible for their training.

Samuel (AE participant) "In cadets, one of the really big goals is leadership, because as you move up your level, meaning every year you go up a level and you pass, you have to help lead the younger cadets, teach them classes, maybe you have to take them to certain places, you have to do stuff with them. I think the most important element in leadership is confidence. You also need to be able to respect other people; you don't want to be a dictator. You have to be able to listen to other people's opinions."

Rosa, a teacher, had experience in getting students to attend leadership training camps run by AE programme providers in Hong Kong. She had high expectations of the Enoch Leadership training camp but was unsure about their effectiveness as she thought the 3-day-2-night camp was too short to create big changes.

Rosa (Parent) “I always think that leaders have to be able to help others. Say you are leading group of people, you give them a goal and you have to lead them towards the goal... like within the process, learning skills or methods, or even developing personal traits to lead a group of people to achieve a goal... whether it is a skill or an ability...A leader must be able to think independently and be decisive, being calm and in changing situations...this is what I expect of my two daughters... so I hope that these messages can be carried forth in whatever they learn and in whichever organization they learned with...”

Clearly, there is a limit to the extent to which a single experience of a camp will develop leadership potential but in general, parents value this chance of allowing their children exposure to this opportunity. The feedback from the parents is generally positive.

7.1.4 Broadening horizons and social circle

Young participants and their parents generally agreed that they have comparatively small social circles. Their social circles away from school or workplace are normally confined to the Chinese community, church or their relatives. Chinese Canadian parents generally remain in an ethnic enclosure and have restricted links with the majority Canadian society. Data from this research shows that there are possibilities for acculturation gaps to develop between parents and children.

Irene (Parent) “It gives me the impression that Scouts is a different kind of extra-curricular activity. Personally, I don’t feel the need to send them to Math or English tutors, or learn Mandarin. Through Scouts, he [son] has more chance to get along with people and know more about Canada”

The Scouts Movement is also quite popular in Hong Kong; however traditional Chinese families would normally not allow girls to participate, especially in camping and activities away from home.

Katherine (Parent) “Personally, I didn’t get to participate in any extracurricular activities when I was studying in Hong Kong, my school was very traditional and there were not many choices of activities. My family is very strict; I didn’t care much for Scouts. But now I think participating in extracurricular activities is good, it broadens one’s horizons.”

The Leadership camp organised by Enoch focused on personal development and team work. It uses an experiential approach and challenging activities to stimulate young people to reflect on the topic. Strong team bonding was formed through a series of trust activities.

Albert (AE participant) “Enoch camp helps me to know how to work with others...last year their theme was “Change”. It helps me to change what I don’t like about myself. I have learned to trust people more, and to work better as a team with others.”

Since Chinese people are comparatively introverted compared with the majority of Canadians, widening their horizons may be considered as a challenge to their comfort zone. The younger generation was eager to explore the world which might be much bigger and more colourful than that of their parents. However, their parents sometimes felt threatened and hesitant. This is particularly true for the parents of girl Scouts.

Elton (Parent) “Yah, probably... When she first came back, my first impression is that she was very excited that she went...she kept telling me this and that from the camp... and she got to know a lot of friends....my daughter, maybe she’s still a bit shy, she is not the type to initiate friendship... therefore, her social circle is quite small and narrow... her friends were usually from church and from school. So after she went to this camp, I felt that she has expanded her horizons and got to know people from

outside of her current social circle. She still hangs out with some of her friends from camp.

Findings from this research show that the social circles of Chinese Canadian youth are generally small and narrow; AE activities help them to expand their horizon and social circles.

7.1.5 Coping with adverse situations

A key element of adventure education programmes is challenge. Challenge sometimes involves physical or emotional challenge. Chinese parents generally believe some degree of hardship will bring about positive outcomes to assist in the personal growth of their children.

Amy (Parent) “I think in terms of overcoming hardships...that’s important. For example, sometimes my husband brings him [son] to rock-climbing...when he did made it to the top, he felt that it was satisfying... he felt that he can do it, and he did, which helps develop his self-esteem. Actually my son joined the air cadet, because we want them to train him, to let him experience some hardships...because there isn’t a lot of focus on moral education or character building in school, as compared to that of HK.

When Nancy was asked for her view about using physically demanding activities in adventure education programmes, she said:

Nancy (Parent) “Yes, I think that children need to experience a lot of things, because nowadays, their journey of growth is too smooth...the parents have prepared it all for them. In the future, they have to face a lot of things themselves, and I won’t be around them all the time. So if I don’t let them experience some basic hardships now, they won’t have the ability to solve the even more complex problems in the future.

Parents generally think that overcoming hardship and adverse situation helps develop young people’s positive attitudes towards challenge. They fear that young people nowadays are

well-off and are not required to meet challenges, and it will be good for them if they have these experiences.

7.2 The interpretation of self-concept and self-esteem

Self-confidence and self-esteem are other main foci of adventure education programmes. Changes to these are the most common expectation of Chinese parents when they consider sending their children to an adventure education programme. Some positive effects had been noticed after their children's participation and parents generally felt happy about the development.

Irene (Parent) "Yes, the Scout programme is certainly helpful to enhance his self-esteem. For example, at the Chinese school graduation ceremony, he usually gets a prize and whoever gets a prize needs to take a picture with the school principal. For the past years, my son usually walks across the stage having his head down, even in pictures. Just these past few years after he had joined the Scouts, he has been holding his head high, across the stage and in pictures. I feel that Scouts has built up his confidence."

Charles, a parent, was brought up in a traditional Chinese family and finished high school in Hong Kong. He has not had much experience participating in outdoor adventure activities. He migrated to Canada 32 years ago but lives in a Chinese social circle, so he wanted his daughter to experience more about Canadian culture and thought that the programme would help to boost her self-confidence.

Charles (Parent) "Like myself, my wife (her Mom) has never really participated in these types of activities, so we have never let our daughter participate in any outdoor activities. I wanted her to participate in these types of programme to boost her confidence."

Some parents were aware of their own limitations as immigrants and searched for good programmes for their children. Since Scouts had a good reputation in character training and

they were not sure of other programmes, parents sent their children to Scouts. They generally felt satisfied about the results and continued to support their participation.

Pauline (Parent) “I have always wanted to be a Girl Guide ever since I was young, but could never make it. Boy Scouts are very popular in Hong Kong and I know they provide good training to the young people. There are positive learning outcomes in joining these programmes: learning how to camp, how to be independent. I think Scouts can definitely train my son to be independent and to do things on his own.”

Rosa recognised the importance of developing self-esteem and self-confidence in her daughter and thinks that a good leader is a humble servant instead of someone who is merely strong and skilful.

Rosa (Parent) “Self-esteem and self-confidence are very important in today’s world. I wanted to let them go because I think these programmes are helpful... Yah, I always think that leaders have to be able to help others, say you are leading group of people, you give them a goal and you have to lead them towards the goal... Western people think that the leader is someone who is talented and charismatic but we Chinese think that it is more important to be humble and a heart ready to serve others...”

Elton wants his daughter to retain the traditional Chinese values as he disagrees with the Canadian culture and thinks that Canadian kids are wild and impulsive.

Elton (Parent) “I was worried for a while that she would become a “banana”... but I think she is still a Chinese... we hope that she would keep the traditional Chinese values, Canadians kids are wild...what I mean by wild is being impulsive...yes, local kids are wild and impulsive and they are self-centred.”

Mike, a young participant, feels that he has more confidence in himself and learnt to become a more “open” person. He thinks that it will make him a better person and also be useful to society.

Mike (AE participant) “I guess so...like for a fundraiser, we went to the mall and we had to ask people for donations. So I guess...it makes you more open...and not be ashamed of going into the public... so yah,...we got a lot of money...so I guess that could be a way for people to donate money and make you a better person at the same time.”

“When I get older, I might volunteer as a Scout leader or something, and that makes me help people more...I guess it makes me more helpful and useful...I feel more open to doing stuff [as compared to] before, when I didn’t do much. Now that I have joined Scouts, it makes me more open to people and not ashamed to be a Scout.”

Helen thinks that self-confidence is important, and it reflects on a person’s ability to react to changing situations. She calls this, “street-smart”.

Helen (AE participant) “Outdoor experiences are basically, how to apply knowledge to life...You are not going to live in a classroom all your life. If you get into real situations, you can’t always depend on book-smart. You can’t find everything in books. You have to know how to deal with people, like social things...there are 2 kinds of smarts that a real smart person has to have – street-smart & book-smart... I think outdoor experience can really brings it out a person’s street-smart-ness. In Scout activities, you’ll learn the way to handle situations, as a leader, between people particularly, and managing situations. Your self-concept grows in parallel to the improvement of your street-smart-ness.”

Samuel, who participated in the Enoch leadership camp and was recently promoted to be an instructor in the Air Cadet, expresses his view on leadership and self-confidence.

Samuel (AE participant) “Discipline is important and is in fact good for the team otherwise the team simply cannot function. Basically a leader needs to know what he is doing and have the self-confidence to stand against challenge. A leader also needs to be able to respect other people; you don’t want to be a dictator. You have to be

able to listen to other people's opinions. So, if one of my cadets has an idea, I am not going to be like, 'no, we have to do it this way'. I would listen to it first, and if I think it's a good idea, I will implement it into our current plan."

Renee, who was born in Hong Kong and migrated to Canada 3 years ago, does not consider herself Canadian because she thinks that Canadian youth are sometimes arrogant and disrespect seniors.

Renee (Participant of Enoch camp)"I like the fact that they allow more freedom in expressing yourself, but sometimes I think they go overboard by giving people too much freedom and the people ended up not knowing how to respect others...I saw this in many of my classmates, some of them are arrogant....they consider their seniors as peers, teachers as their friends"

The interpretation placed on self-concept and self-esteem differs between parents and AE participants. Parent generally thinks that self-concept is the reflection of a person's good character and a "serving-heart", while younger participants think that it is the ability to react to changes in society.

7.3 Adventure education programmes and acculturation

Literature suggested (Hattie et al., 1997; Purdie & Neill, 1999) that there is a strong cultural implication of individualism and Western culture in adventure education programmes, different from the traditional Chinese collective culture. This may create cultural clashes or enlarge the acculturation gap between two generations. At this point, I will investigate the cultural awareness of the parents, the participants and the instructors.

7.3.1 Low cultural sensitivity

In contrast to the literature referred to above, AE participants in this research indicated that the adventure education programmes in which they participated either carried no cultural implications or the connections to their own culture were weak. Instructors in these programmes believe they do not pay particular attention to the cultural dimension when they plan

their activities and implement their programmes. This may be explained by low cultural sensitivity (Freilich, 1972) because young people are so used to practising dual cultures, particularly when undertaking educational activities. The same kind of learning pattern may already be happening in school or the public domain. They are not aware of any differences and thus do not feel the cultural implication of these programmes.

Bobby (Instructor) “I don’t see a racial or an ethnic background when it comes to Scouts. I just see that we are a group that get to know each other, help each other out, and understand the aspects and the promise of the Scouts and to embark on our activities and to learn new things. It’s more like a youth group than a racial group. That’s the way I see it. So to answer your question, no, I do not take into consideration what ethnic background they come from. I plan the activities to give them the utmost, the chance to learn, to grow and to have fun...”

Samuel had been an Air Cadet for five years and is now also taking some leadership role in the group. He considers Canada to have developed a multi-cultural culture which is a good mix of many different cultures, and Chinese culture is one of them.

Samuel (AE participant) “I see myself as a Chinese Canadian, because it’s a mix of my heritage and... I was born in Canada, so I can’t just say I am Chinese, so I am Canadian... Racially, I am Chinese, but culturally, I am Canadian. I don’t have as strict rules as someone who’s raised up in China does. But at the same time, I am not all white.”

Helen was born in Canada and her parents have been living in Canada over 20 years. Although her family has a traditional background, she does not have a strong sense that there is a cultural clash between Chinese culture and Canadian culture. Her understanding of Chinese culture is very limited and she thinks that her family has been living in a Canadian cultural style.

Helen (AE participant) “Personally, I don’t know that much of the culture; I really haven’t been to Asia. They (my parents) are not like those new immigrants; they

came here way before I was born. Perhaps they are used to the Canadian culture now. They let me do things; they encourage me to get out...What the Canadian society is looking for are people who are going to be out in the community, doing things for people, well-rounded people, not just strong as academics.

Elsa migrated to Canada when she was 7 years old and she found herself somewhere in the middle between two cultures. When asked about her idea of her personal identity, Elsa was a bit puzzled and thought that she did not belong one-hundred per cent to any particular culture.

Elsa (AE participant) “Um...I guess, I don’t know. Canadian Chinese is like a banana. Like you look Chinese, but you are kind of white-washed. Do you know what I mean? And then Chinese is like you just came from China and you can’t really speak English, you can’t really communicate with the rest of the people. And then, Canadian just means you are White. So...I don’t know...I never thought about that, actually”.

(Interviewer: Do you think you are “white-washed”?)

E: Um...no, not really. I am kind of in the middle...’cause I don’t really like partying or whatever, like all those drinking alcohol or whatever they do. And then...I think I am more Chinese then, ’cause I like reading, or watching game shows and stuff...I like singing karaoke.”

7.3.2 Parents keep “open-minded” in retaining Chinese culture

Parents know that their children need to adapt to the Canadian culture but at the same time they also want their children to retain their Chinese roots.

Pauline (Parent) “Sometimes, I want to assimilate into the culture here, but then I don’t know how to do it. However, I would let him [son] have his Canadian ways for the most part, except for certain things...”

(Interviewer: What do you mean by the “certain things”?)

“For example, Chinese language...I want him to learn Chinese...I make him go to Chinese school even though he didn’t want to in the beginning...I told him that learning an additional language will benefit him, but I think as a Chinese, this is really basic, essential....”

Gloria migrated to Canada 16 years ago and her son, who has Asperger’s syndrome, was born after their migration. She admitted that her cultural perspectives changed without her even noticing it.

Gloria (Parent) “I think over time, some of the Chinese culture may have changed without even noticing, because now that I see people who just came from HK, I feel that I have already been assimilated into the North American culture...for example, Scouts gives out a lot of instructions, and my son is quite stubborn and sometimes he just won’t follow your way. Chinese parents would urge him to follow the rules and insists him to do what he has been told. Now that I learnt to let go, to let him have his own way and run into problems...and that is very different from traditional Chinese parents.

7.3.3 Family education verses Adventure Education programmes

Family is a very important socialising agent for Chinese people. The Chinese generally believe that family education is the crucial way to transmit cultural values important to a person’s development. The parents in the sample thought that while adventure education would impact on young people, family education would provide a long term interaction and therefore would be more effective in developing their personal values.

Rosa (Parent) “...it’s not easy to achieve the change after going to these programmes only once or twice, but I think it would definitely make an impact on the children... however, I still think that family education is more effective and long lasting in developing their personal values. I am a teacher and I think adventure education is a form of education, it changes a person over time, it is difficult to give long term results

in 3 days... I think interacting in the family would have a much stronger effect on the children in the long run.”

Elton would encourage his daughter (Elsa) to expand her horizons and social circle. He admitted that he was not a strict father but he would set some basic guidelines for his daughter to follow.

Elton (Parent) “Our strategy is just to give her a bottom line, say she has to be back before 11, and just tell me afterwards where have they been...I can’t say I am a strict father because I am not even strict with myself... There are a lot of basic bottom lines I give to my daughter... if it lies outside of those boundaries, she has to give me a reason... usually I would support her...or give her another reason why I can’t let her do it...”

Dinner time was considered as the best time for family sharing, where cultural values are transmitted informally at the dining table.

Irene (Parent) “Dinner is important to Chinese people, it is not simply a time for eating, instead it is a chance to interact with the family, particularly here in Canada. Our house is not very big but still they have their own room. Dinner is the time that everyone gathers at the table and chats about daily life. Culture and values are not stuff that you could learn from books or formal channels, it is through our daily sharing and the younger generation could understand how we handle a situation and why we handle it such a way. Camping and adventure programme are effective but they are only on skills, in terms of culture and values, I think family is still the more effective channel...well, we eat dinner together... we don’t accept each person bringing their own food into their room to eat... we would also have a TV on when we eat dinner....we always have to eat dinner together...”

Bobby, a Scout leader, considered himself as Canadian but had been influenced by both Chinese and Canadian cultures. He thought that adventure education programmes were influential but not as strong as the socialisation in the family. He has a close family and always takes care of

his younger brother. He thought that this is what his family taught him and agreed that this is different from the normal Canadian family.

Bobby (AE Instructor) “It depends on the way their parents influence them while they are growing up. Their family has stronger influence to their cultural development. Family is the place where you learn who you really are and where you come from. I am not sure whether this is Chinese culture but I am sure that family is important to everyone, particularly when they are young.”

Nancy, a mother of two boys, thought that family education was important in developing young people’s character. It was an important vehicle to teach young people appropriate and suitable behaviour in different situations.

Nancy (Parent) “Family education is very important as you see them every day and they must learn from you, but I think children need to be exposed to the outside world and be taught by the people around them as well. It is because if I were to be the only one teaching them, I would limit it to the old traditional ways, since just following the ways of how I was being taught... of course, everyone complains about the ways they were being taught when they were young, but I would hope that by using the traditional ways, I could get them to understand the family structure system, family views, and what I expect of them. I think Chinese people are generally people with good manners, and they respect their elders, which I think Caucasians might have over-looked.”

7.3.4 Scout programme reinforces dutifulness and responsibility

Scouting activities are renowned for their focus on developing the dutifulness and good deeds of the young people towards society. As stated in Chapter 6, the Scout Promise places emphasis on Duty to God, Duty to others and Duty to self. Their values are practical and specific but inadequately emphasised in the school education system in Canada or perhaps Western societies in general today. Parents thought these values were important, however, and considered Scout training could serve as supplementary exercises for the children. They valued the discipline

and the hierarchical structure in Scouts and thought that this would educate their children to become obedient people.

Frank, a Scout leader, thought that discipline was welcomed by the parents because it taught their children to be more respectful to them.

Frank (instructor) “Our Scout group, we also teach them discipline too. And some parents already told us that their kids are behaving way better than before. Now, some of them are helping parents with chores and before they wouldn’t, now they would...The Scouts try to carry on what the parents have already done to them, and we want the Scout leaders to have the same respect as they have [shown] for their parents.”

Nancy, a mother of two Scouts, thought that Scout training supplemented young people’s family education and educated young people to be better disciplined and readier to take up responsibility. She thought that Canadian society was rather “laid back” and that young people were very reluctant to take up responsibility. She believed that Scout training could change this attitude on her son’s part.

Nancy (Parent) “The other thing that is being taught is how to follow the leader.... other than teamwork, there is also discipline. You have to know what you are doing, and you have to be responsible for what you are doing, not just in the family, Scouts also emphasize obedience. They learn the attitude and are always ready to take up their responsibility; I think this is a very important learning point for young people today.”

7.4 Conclusion:

Data show that parents and participants are generally unaware of the implications of individualism carried in outdoor adventure programmes. Some parents think these programmes are just another extra-curricular activity which teaches technical and social skills. They value the opportunity for some leadership development, coincidental with broadening the horizons and

enhancing the self-esteem and self-confidence of their children. There are different views on the definition of self-concept and self-esteem: young people's views are more "individual" while parents' views are more "social". Parents generally feel that even if the programme brings about a cultural clash with their traditional thinking, this will not endure and it is only one of the experiences that their children encounter in a 3-day camp. They have confidence that they can nurture their children through family education. They believe that dinner talks and family activities can bring about long lasting effects in retaining their tradition culture.

Some parents and participants agree that the objectives of the Scouts programme reinforce the development of dutifulness and they consider it a good training for their children. Parents of Scouts appreciate the emphasis on developing a sense of responsibility because they think that it is an important element that is lacking in the education system in Canada. Both parents and participants seem to be very satisfied with the outcomes of the AE programmes.

AE participants generally feel that their families and parents are living in an "ethnic enclosure"; participation in these programmes helps them to know more people and widen their horizons. They do not feel that it will bring about any cultural clash because they are so used to practising a system of "dual-cultures" in public and private domains. They are encouraged by their parents to develop self-esteem and self-confidence in the public domain. Parents generally feel happy knowing that their children have developed a good sense of leadership as they think that is very important for a successful life in Canada. However, children are expected to be obedient, follow the advice and guidance from the senior people of the family, and that is why they maintain a high power distance hierarchy in their family.

In Chapter 8, I will make a full analysis of the data in relation to acculturation enhancement through adventure education, combining data from Chapter Six and Chapter Seven and using selective acculturation theory to answer the research questions stated in Chapter Four.

Chapter Eight: Discussion of Results

8.1 Introduction:

Sociologists postulate that migration brings about cross-cultural interaction between the migrants' original cultural system and the culture of the host country. Instead of a uni-dimensional approach to acculturation (Gordon, 1964), migrants are likely to practice a "bi-cultural" (Keefe & Padilla, 1987) or multidimensional acculturation mode (Barry et.al, 1986). This pluralistic approach treats acculturation as a complex and multifaceted phenomena and may result in four different acculturation strategies: Assimilation, Integration, Separation and Marginalization (Barry et al, 1986). Different acculturation modes on the part of the migrants demonstrate different attitudes and behaviour towards the host country as well as their daily lives. It will certainly affect their perception of outdoor adventure education programmes. The main focus of this research is to investigate whether the experience of young people participating in Western-philosophy driven outdoor adventure education programmes enlarges the generational acculturation gap (Costigan & Dokis, 2006) and how parents in Canada face this cultural clash.

First-generation Chinese Canadian parents grew up in a traditional Chinese collective cultural environment and migrated to Canada where individualism is embraced. They encountered differences between the two cultures and negotiated their integration into Canadian society. Their second-generation children socialise at home, where traditional Chinese collective culture is upheld, but are immersed in the individualistic Western socialising agents such as school, peer groups and mass media. Their learned traditional Chinese values may encounter challenges through socialising with their Caucasian peers and the Canadian society, while practicing Western individualistic culture at home will earn the disapproval of their parents.

In this chapter, I will use the findings presented in Chapter Six and Seven as evidence to answer the research questions listed in Chapter Four. I will also use acculturation theories to interpret the cultural value system of Chinese Canadian families. The differences and similarities between the adventure education programmes offered by the two providers in relation to Chinese culture will then be discussed. The parents' expectation of the learning outcomes of adventure education programmes will be scrutinised and the possibilities of making use of these learning

outcomes to enhance the development of their children's traditional Chinese culture will be examined further. I will also discuss whether the learning outcomes of adventure programmes enlarge the acculturation gap between the two generations of Chinese Canadian families and how these outcomes affect the acculturation of Chinese Canadian families into Canadian society. Finally, based on the finding of this research, I will adapt Barry's (1986) model to help comprehend the interplay between adventure education programmes in Canada and the Chinese Canadian people in a traditional Chinese cultural context.

8.2 The cultural identity of Chinese Canadian parents and their children

Acculturation theories suggest that socialisation is a never-ending process in which new immigrants encounter cultural differences between their own ethnic culture and the culture of the host country and continuously negotiate their new identities in the new environment (Cheng & Kuo, 2000). Chinese parents, brought up in a traditional Chinese cultural environment, encounter the Canadian culture through migration. My parent respondents appreciated some of the Canadian values but still upheld quite rigid traditional Chinese values.

The collected qualitative data indicate that Chinese parents maintain very strong links to their Chinese traditional values, no matter what their length of stay. This finding is consistent with Fan (2000), who suggested that although there are great differences between the Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, it is still possible to identify certain core cultural values that are shared by Chinese people no matter where they live and how long they have been living there. The two parents (Charles and Irene) who have been living in Canada for more than 30 years averred that they still consider themselves as Chinese and admitted that they have been living in a rather confined Chinese community. Sociologists call this social phenomenon "ethnic enclosure" (Hwang & Murdock, 1991; Carr & Williams, 1993). It is very common for parents to uphold Chinese culture in the family. They seem to understand that there will be a cultural conflict between the family's values and the majority Canadian society, but still try as much as possible to maintain traditional Chinese culture. Data from this research are consistent with selective acculturation (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). Parents encourage their children to practise Canadian culture in the public domain (in school or at work) but insist they maintain their ethnic culture in the private domain (at home or with relatives). Family is the most crucial element in Chinese

society and sociologists consider it as a unit of interacting personalities. Social psychologists focus attention on the way that people interact with each other by using different media: languages, roles, rules and daily practice in their socialization (Bond, 1986). In the following sections, these media will be discussed independently: with support from the research data, I will discuss how these media are being used to reinforce the development of selective acculturation.

8.2.1 Language

The interviewees were asked their preferred language for the interview. All parents chose their native language (Cantonese and Mandarin), while most of the young participants used English, except for the three who had been in Canada only 1.5 to 3 years. Parents were more comfortable using Chinese rather than English even though they had been in Canada for a long time (two for over 30 years, most for over 10 years). One parent (Katherine) even said that in Vancouver, one does not need to use English in daily living at all.

Parents insist children speak Chinese at home and one child (Patrick) revealed that it would be more respectful to his father and the elders if he spoke Chinese to them. Children generally found it more convenient to communicate with each other in English but once a senior person was present, they would switch to Chinese. This also happened within the family; they would use English with their peers but would be stopped if they spoke in English to seniors. Some parents (e.g. Helen) were more accepting and allowed their children to mix the two languages to communicate but, in general, Chinese was still the main language in the family.

Most parents insisted their children learn Chinese language in Chinese schools, which open after school-hours. They believed that “Chinese people should know Chinese language” (Irene); it was also the only means to communicate with the senior generation. Language was an important element to maintain ethnic culture. As mentioned earlier, most of the research participants intend to stay in Canada permanently. Their motive in encouraging their children to take Chinese language courses can be interpreted as a cultural expectation, as Irene concluded.

Children are more comfortable communicating in English. The adventure education programmes that they participated in (16th Burnaby Scout Group and Enoch) are mainly

conducted in English. Parents are happy about this arrangement as they think these programmes are formal learning opportunities, just like the learning which takes place in school. One parent explicitly indicated that she chose to send her child to the Burnaby Scout Group because the medium of instruction in this group is English. This finding is different from Marshall (2002), who interviewed some Chinese Scout groups in Calgary and found that parents want them to use Chinese language in Scout groups. While Marshall concludes that the Chinese people in Calgary are intending to use Scout activities to reinforce cultural cohesion among the Chinese immigrants, my data support a selective acculturation theory interpretation (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Parents insist that children maintain their link with Chinese culture, so expect them to use Chinese at home (private domain) but recognise the importance of using English in formal settings (public domain).

8.2.2 Social group

The social groups of both parents and children are quite confined to the Chinese community in their daily lives, including their leisure activities. This coincides with Carr & Williams' (1993) and Stodolska & Jackson's (1998) use of the concept of ethnic enclosure - that minorities use this mechanism to distance themselves from the majority and prefer to associate with those of similar cultural and historical backgrounds. Besides going to school and mingling with Canadian peers, Chinese children mainly socialise with close relatives, while their parents mainly socialise in the workplace and family. The parents do not generally mix very well with the majority Caucasians. Helen commented that her parents do not even befriend their neighbours. The parents' social circle was mainly Chinese and reinforced their cultural identity as Chinese. Their usual meeting place was at home or at Chinese restaurants, where Chinese language was most frequently used. Shops and the food court at the Crystal Plaza where the Chinese Christian Mission is located, are typical hang-out places for Chinese people. The food stalls sell Chinese food of various styles and Chinese is the most common written and spoken language in the plaza. Most importantly, almost all the storekeepers speak Chinese.

For both parents and children, life in Vancouver is quiet and simple compared with the lifestyle in Hong Kong and China. Most of their time after work is spent at home. Data indicate that Saturday and Sunday for these Chinese families are mostly family days, except for churchgoers.

Family days usually involve going to Chinese restaurants and meeting relatives. Children find their social circles are very small and they are usually not allowed to go anywhere. Even if they were allowed to hang-out with friends, they needed approval and transportation support from their parents; extensive travel distances and comparatively inconvenient public transportation systems in Vancouver constrain the social development of children. This situation is expected to change, however, when the youngsters become eligible to drive as they expect to gain more autonomy in their leisure activities. This explains why Albert feels like returning to Hong Kong as he feels he had more “freedom” in Hong Kong; he could go anywhere very easily by public transportation. This feeling was shared by some other young participants, particularly those in single-child-families such as Albert, Cathy, Helen and Patrick, as they felt lonely at home when both their parents went to work (p. 98).

Most of the parents regarded themselves as Chinese or Chinese Canadian. For various reasons, they could not acculturate into the majority Caucasian society. One parent (Gloria) considered herself Canadian based on economic reasons. She admitted that the living cost in Hong Kong is too high for her and therefore she cannot move back permanently. Pauline, who moved to Canada from Hong Kong 15 years ago and has a stable job in a “search company” in Vancouver, admitted that she literally has no Caucasian friends. Some parents and children reported that their social group is mainly confined to their relatives or Chinese people in the church. Patrick’s father insists on a Chinese way of living and he insists the family should go “yum-cha and dim sum” every weekend; he considers that this is the lifestyle which a Chinese family must maintain.

Cathy’s case is typical. Her father Charles’ social circle includes more Asians than Caucasians: it includes Indians, Vietnamese, Malaysians and Indonesians, but Charles has few Caucasian friends. Charles finished high school in Hong Kong and migrated to Canada 32 years ago. He speaks reasonably good English and completed pre-vocational training at the British Columbia Institute of Technology in Vancouver. He has a stable job and economic status and no language barrier, but still has difficulties in extending his social circle and fully acculturating into the majority Caucasian society. Data suggest that the parents (first generation) of Chinese immigrants have difficulties in acculturating into the host society even after a long period

residing in Canada. This finding concurs with Wong's (1978) comparison of the differences in acculturation between Chinese immigrants in New York City and Lima, Peru. His finding suggested that Chinese people have difficulties in adapting to English-speaking countries.

8.2.3 Social, leisure activities and parental control

A small social circle also limited the Chinese families' choice of social and leisure activities. Outdoor activities in wilderness areas were not popular among Chinese families. Only Albert's family skis regularly, and his parents are willing to ski and go camping with their son. The nature of sports participation on a family level supports the literature (e.g. Uchida, 2003 and Walker and Wang, 2009). Research shows that the Chinese are underrepresented in outdoor recreation activities. Chinese children spend most of their leisure time at home, reading and playing computer games while the parents mostly enjoy home-based activities such as watching television or reading newspapers (Uchida, 2003, Hung, 2003). The findings of this research are consistent with Walker and Wang (2009) and Hung (2003) in that the most frequent leisure activities among Chinese people were "passive" whereas the majority Canadian favoured "active" forms of leisure. This study also supports Yu & Berryman (1996): Chinese American children in New York City participated most frequently in home-based activities and were attracted to various mass media using Chinese language and music. They often socialised with family members, Chinese friends or were alone in their free time. A small social circle and limited choice of leisure activities are common among Chinese immigrant families and may have detrimental effects on the social development of the second generation.

The nature of sporting participation among my respondents is also stereotypically Asian. Their choice of sports is different from the majority Caucasians, results which are consistent with Walker and Wang (2007), who found that Chinese people tend to prefer activities that coincide with their values of group membership and humility while Caucasian children tend to prefer activities that coincide with autonomy and independence. On a family level, badminton and walking in the mall are the most popular activities during the weekends. Parents are willing to send their children to learn and participate in sports clubs. They are more willing to participate in organised sports than in informal sports. Nevertheless, no participants wanted to try ice-hockey, a national sport in Canada and highly popular among Caucasian children.

Through the influence of the success of Chinese athletes in major international games such as the Beijing Olympics (2008), participants show greater acceptance of sports participation. Albert (ski instructor) and Samuel (competitive swimmer) mentioned that they felt an ethnic identity after the Beijing Olympic Games and they believed that Chinese people can also do well in sports. Because Chinese people typically have smaller body sizes compared with Caucasians, they are unlikely to participate in physical activities that involve a lot of body contact such as American Football or Ice-hockey. They are more likely to participate in badminton, table tennis and soccer. Findings from this research also suggest that the second generation is breaking through the traditional boundaries of Chinese stereotypical image in their choice of leisure activities. A number of the boys have quite an active lifestyle and participate in different sports activities: Bobby (Taekwondo), Samuel (competitive swimming), Patrick (basketball league) and Albert (skiing instructor at a young age). The data suggest an alternative scenario to that of Yu and Berryman (1996) who claim that Chinese youths' lifestyles are sedentary and girls mainly participate in arts and craft activities at home. My results provide another perspective to challenge the stereotypical image of overseas Chinese youth.

Owing to geographical and economical constraints, children need their parents to provide logistical and economic support in order to participate in sport; their sporting preferences hence need to be acceptable to parents. This is crucially important as parents are the main resource providers. Samuel, who is a competitive swimmer, has quite high coaching fees and training is often very early in the morning. He needs his parents to support him economically for training and to provide transportation. Since his father was also a keen swimmer, Samuel has no problem in obtaining this support. Others, particularly the girls, may not be so lucky if they choose some sport that their parents do not agree with.

Parental control is comparatively tighter than among their Caucasian counterparts. Both parents and children admitted that respondents' children are over-protected; they admit this is unsatisfactory but have no intention or confidence to change. Helen's mother would not allow her to walk to school because she is a girl. Elton would give more freedom to Elsa if she were a boy. Children, particularly the girls, are normally not allowed to hang-out with friends unless

with convincing reasons. They have to report who they hang-out with and give details of the activities and meeting places. Parents will also set rules: when to return home; drinking and smoking strictly forbidden. Children find this a demonstration of their parents' love and care and accept this is a cultural stereotypical phenomenon. Parents may also try to control their children's social activities by occupying their time in different types of learning, such as learning musical instruments, attending Chinese school and Scouts. These activities are normally organised after school or during the weekend. They are classified as "meaningful activities" for young people and parents also think that the behaviour of the participants in these activities is better and more trustworthy. They are very cautious about the peer group of their children and they carefully choose for them. Most of the parents are Christian and they have more confidence in activities run by a Christian-based organisation such as Enoch and the CCM.

8.2.4 Traditional values

Traditional values, such as power distance, mediation, intra-group harmony and collectivism, are upheld in Chinese Canadian families. This finding concurs with Hu and Grove (1991) and Tan (2004), who suggest that the above mentioned elements are important in Chinese culture. Hofstede (1983) suggested power distance is a very distinctive feature in Chinese families and Chinese people tend to accept and expect that power is distributed unequally in the family. Parents always "have a final say on important issues" and this was confirmed by all the parents and children. Some of the young participants who demonstrated high maturity and trustworthiness (Bobby and Frank are Scout leaders), may have more opportunities to negotiate their preference with their parents, but most of the time children simply accepted that parents were able to make better choices for their benefit.

However, diverging from traditional thinking, the stereotypical image of the father as the head of the family, suggested by Tan, (2004) seems to be diminishing, at least among my respondents. Some children reported that their mother is more dominant in the family. More communication between both parents before making decisions was commonly found in participants' families. A more democratic atmosphere existed in the Chinese Canadian families, a sign that the traditional treatment of females as inferior to males is changing.

Li (2001) and Chao (1994) suggest that Chinese parents are restrictive, controlling and authoritarian. Parents (usually the father) purposely built up this authoritative image, particularly when the children are young, so as to reduce conflict. In my sample, however, most of the children reported that they are able to negotiate within some boundaries and their parents, particularly their mothers, are more approachable. This is consistent with Chao (1994), who also noted that mothers take a mediator role between fathers and children. More communication was found in most families, except for Patrick, whose father is very traditional and the communication between them shows serious tensions. As I reported in an earlier chapter, Patrick described his father as “a living fossil” who would not consider making any change over time. His father would not even consider his wife’s suggestion to make changes for the sake of building a better relationship with their son. However, after Patrick joined Scouts and they went camping with another family, his father appreciated Patrick’s ability and relaxed his authoritative image a little. This evidence suggests that AE programmes may enhance intergenerational relationships instead of enlarging the generation gap. If children can convince parents that they have the competency to take care of themselves, parents are more likely to relax their control. Most of the parents and the children reported that their communication had improved after the children participated in AE programme. There is evidence that they have more to talk-about and the children are also more willing to share their new experiences in the outdoors with their parents (p.101).

Consistent with Bond (1996), collectivism and keeping intra-group harmony are still important elements among the Chinese Canadian families. A close kinship network is maintained by close contact and family activities. Those who have grandparents in Canada keep close contact with them and visit them quite often. Those whose grandparents and close relatives were not living in Canada would normally return regularly to Hong Kong or China to visit. Respecting and taking care of the seniors is one of the main characteristics of Chinese families. Enoch’s programme focuses on the development of communication, particularly between generations, and feedback from both parents and young participants are positive. Children (Renee, Albert, Tracy and Sammy) reveal that they are more aware of the importance of maintaining good communication with their seniors after the AE experience.

8.2.5 Academic expectation

This study reinforces the stereotypical image of Chinese people having high expectations for their children's academic achievement, although it varies from family to family. In general, it is consistent with Li's (1998) finding that Chinese parents consider academic development to be most important; children are not allowed to participate in extracurricular activities or social activities until they have satisfied their academic requirements. Children in this research affirmed that the most important thing for them was to finish homework first as they may not engage in any other extra-curricular activities if this has not been completed. Participation in leisure activities and extracurricular activities is based on the first principle: that it must not interfere with their academic studies.

University education is still a mandatory path for most children and most young respondents accept that this is good for them. Some of the parents, particularly those with their own parents in Canada, still restrict their children's choice of study. Some still prefer traditional subjects such as medical science and engineering, and discourage their children from non-traditional subjects like drama (Helen) and fine arts (Elsa). As I reported earlier, Sammy insisted that "University education is not an option, it is a must!" for his son Samuel. This reveals the parents' thinking and supports the conclusion of the Chinese Canadian National Council: "Education was the most important thing for the Chinese family" (CCNC, 1992) and Tan's (2004) findings.

In contrast to Wong's (1995) study of the academic and career aspirations of Chinese students, which suggested that physical science and technological studies are the most common goals for Chinese students, the children in my sample have wider choices. One parent (Gloria) admitted that she is affected by the egalitarian Canadian culture and thinks that it will be good if children develop careers that they feel interested in. A sense of pragmatism could be noticed in the data, that after living in Canada for a number of years, some parents realise that there are actually more opportunities to earn a good living than purely by studying for a university degree. Frank's parents supported his apprenticeship as an automotive technician. Irene said that she would not want her son to be a lawyer or doctor if he didn't want to. She would rather encourage her son to study catering and hospitality, because he is interested in cooking.

Sammy set no restriction on what his son studied in the first degree (but he must study at university) because he thought that he was still too young to choose.

8.2.6 Institutionalised learning programmes

Traditional Chinese culture suggests that “Diligence is the only pathway to success; play and gaming are detrimental to one’s future” (Chinese proverb). The concept of diligence covers most training and learning activities, including sports and leisure. Formal learning is considered as the only proper way to gain knowledge and skills and this ideology was apparent throughout the interviews. Based on traditional thinking, parents do not accept the idea of going to the wilderness and participating in adventure activities without proper training. This is not seen as beneficial to their children. Parents are willing to pay for instruction for sports courses and ski training programmes, Scouts and the Enoch leadership camp, but they will not allow their children to participate independently in outdoor activities with their friends. Data show that parents scrutinise programmes and seek recommendations from friends. They are more likely to choose those programmes about which they have a clear understanding of their background, and which have a trusted ‘brand’ or name. The safety of courses and the reputation of those who provide them, are always their major concern.

Enoch and CCM Scout Group satisfy these concerns. They are Christian organisations and most of the participants are Christian. The long history of Scouts in China gives parents confidence that it is a good youth programme that promotes intelligence (Tze), humanity (Ren) and bravery (Ruen) (Scout Motto, Scouts of China ROC). Elton, a parent, admitted that since they are immigrants, there are still many things that they do not fully understand. They fear that things may be out of their control so they need to be very careful in choosing the programme organizers. Since their knowledge about adventure education programmes is rather limited, they have more trust in the programme if it is run by a church group or a well-known organisation. Throughout the history of the Chinese Diaspora, Christian missionaries played an important role in connecting new immigrants and the majority society. Chinese immigrants, even if not Christian, have positive feelings towards church groups.

8.3 The cultural implications of adventure education programmes

Data from the qualitative interviews shows that second-generation Chinese immigrants have little understanding of their own ethnic culture; they are ambiguous about the differences between Canadian culture and Chinese culture. Their social circle is small and they encounter cultural differences between family socialisation and their daily experience in Canadian society. Some of them have never been to China, Taiwan or Hong Kong and cannot even distinguish Chinese culture from other Asian cultures. They admit to being “white-washed” and consider themselves “*bananas*” (yellow skinned but white at heart). They are readier to accept the Western style of teaching and individualistic values. It was anticipated that this would create a cultural clash with the collective values in their Chinese heritage.

The key objective of modern adventure education programmes is the development of “self concept and self-efficacy”. However, the definition of “*self*” in Western philosophical concepts is different from the Chinese and may challenge the authority image of parents. Earlier, we noted that owing to the Christian background of these two AE providers, their programme contents are modified to fit their religious background. Their objectives in “self” development may be slightly different from those of non-Christian AE providers. The Christianity-based definition of self may be more easily accepted by Christian parents.

Chinese parents send their children to adventure education programmes hoping to build their character and self-confidence, but the resultant boost in self-esteem can challenge the parents’ authority and leadership in the family. While this is a potential challenge that Chinese families have to face when they send their children to these training programmes, parents consciously or unconsciously anticipate and negate that challenge by their careful selection of appropriate training programmes. They choose Scouts not only because of the AE activities involved but also because they are attracted by the obligation and dutifulness philosophy (Scout Law) developed through the Scout programme. The leadership training programme organised by Enoch also carries the meaning of building communication between generations. The parents will ensure the outcome fits their expectation of an ideal child and develop selective acculturation in their children. In the public domain, children are expected to display

self-confidence and self-esteem like the majority but in the private domain they are expected to be obedient and be dutiful to the family and seniors.

The interviews suggested that parents were confident that their family education provided a safety network to prevent their children to become “self-centred” after AE training. They believed that the effect of adventure programmes was only short term but their family education was long-term. They showed very little concern about possible cultural impacts and thought that they were able to teach the children to practise only desirable outcomes. They think that maintaining close family relationships and controlling the social circles of their children were the best ways to avoid negative impacts. This strategy may be effective before their children become adults, for Vancouver’s geographical and logistical conditions inhibit ‘undesirable’ social activities. Once the children are able to drive, however, it is possible that the entire social and therefore cultural, atmosphere will change extensively.

An additional reason why parents were comfortable about the programme outcomes is because the programmes provided by the Scouts and Enoch were modified to satisfy the needs of the participants and their families. The establishment of the Enoch Youth Outreach Society is targeted to serve second-generation Chinese immigrants and one of their core mission statements is to enhance intergenerational communication and relationships (p. 66). This message is explicitly publicized on their web-site and is one of the promotion points of the organisation during recruitment. The nature of the Scouts also gives parents confidence that it is a disciplined/uniform group and will provide good training for their children. Parents are also heavily involved in the Scout programme as parent volunteers; they have a full understanding of the instructors’ teaching and can keep track of their children’s peers. This transparency in the programme structure gives more confidence to parents and the pre-selected social circle develops more trust between the programme organiser and parents.

8.4 Expectations of learning outcomes

Parents mostly consider these programmes as extra-curricular activities and are unaware of any cultural implication. Expectations of these programmes are straightforward and simple. Widening their children’s horizons and meeting more potential friends is the most common

expectation. Parents are aware that their children's social circles are very small and that this could be disadvantageous in the future. However, as immigrants, they lack confidence to expand their comfort zone. Their local knowledge and information about social support institutions are rather limited. They know they need to extend their horizons; they are not sure where they should extend their wings and what will be the consequence if this runs out of their control. As a result, they tend to gravitate to those organisations they trust or know by virtue of belonging to the same ethnic identity. This is consistent with ethnic enclosure theory (Hwang & Murdock, 1991; Carr & Williams, 1993). Staying in the same ethnic group provides parents with a safety network in which they have more confidence. Some of them choose the church, particularly Chinese churches; some choose the S.C.C.U.S.S. (a non-profit making charitable organisation for the purpose of promoting the well-being of Canadians and Chinese immigrants) and CCM (Chinese Christian Missions) to obtain support when necessary. At least they are able to communicate efficiently in these organisations. Participation in adventure education programmes provided by both Enoch and Scouts means families can widen their horizons and make more friends. The AE participants generally felt satisfied with the result and have developed some friendships. Cathy, one of the young participants in this research, commented positively after her 3-day camp with the Duke of Edinburgh Award about this aspect of the experience.

Cathy (AE participant) "Being with people who are like the same as me (peers), rather than being the only child at home. There's no one to really turn to when things get hairy. I have always wanted a brother or sister, and being at camp is like having a million brothers and sisters."

Parents are aware of the significance of peer influence and therefore carefully chose what they thought was good for their children. Through various connections, the Enoch Leadership camp and the Scout programme at CCM were recommended to them. They enrolled their children in these programmes mainly because they have trust in their background and their brand. Most importantly, they trust the people in charge and the participants in these organisations and believe that there will be no harmful effects on their children from participation. Their motivations in pre-selecting a controllable peer-group for their children are understandable.

Most of the parents commented that their children lacked self-confidence. This is consistent with the finding of Chang (1975) and Bowler et al. (1986), that Asian-American children have comparatively lower self-esteem and self-confidence than Anglo-American, Blacks and Mexican Americans. Due to differences in body size between the majority Americans and the Asian immigrants, Asian children have a poor body image, considered a major component of personal self-esteem, compared to the Blacks or the Whites (Henkin & Nguyen, 1984; Pang et al, 1985). Chinese parents are aware of this problem and realize that adventure education programmes will provide a good learning opportunity. The results are quite noticeable: several parents commented that there were significant improvements in their children's self-confidence and were pleased about these changes. This feedback supports Hattie et al (1997) and McKenzie, (2003) that adventure education programmes have a positive effect in building participants' self-esteem and self-confidence.

Some parents are also aware that their children are being "protected" when growing up in an untroubled environment and they worry that their children may not be able to withstand adversity. Building their children's resilience is therefore an expectation of joining AE programmes. Chinese Canadian parents generally believe that the experience of tough and demanding situations will help their children to mature and enhance the development of their "Emotional Quotient" and "Adversity Quotient". This is not new in Chinese culture: "*Jade only becomes valuable after being cut and polished*" (Chinese proverb). Parents accept that they need to give freedom to the organisers to conduct the programme so that their children can be "tough" in the future. However, safety is still the major concern for some parents. They know that sometimes "risks" are unavoidable and if these adverse situations are managed well, positive outcomes will result. Their attitude to risk-taking is positive but they would prefer that risks be minimized. To achieve this involves systematic training, strategic planning and scientific programming. Parents believe that joining adventure programmes and tackling risk situations are means to achieve personal growth; one should not take risks purely for enjoyment. "*Experience one thing; your wisdom will improve one step*" (Chinese proverb). "*Your body is given by your parents, you are not allowed to do any harm to it, this is the fundamental of filial piety*" (Xiao Jin). Semantically, this perspective may look outdated and pedantic but it is

embedded in Chinese philosophy: it is not commendable to risk and harm your body unnecessarily. This idea links with the definition of “self”, which, in Chinese philosophy, carries a strong social dimension. Avoidance of risk-taking is considered a responsibility not only to yourself but also to your family, particularly to your parents. Therefore, taking risks for the holistic development of a person is acceptable to Chinese culture but the Western approach of taking risks for self-satisfaction and enjoyment is not commendable. Nevertheless, it worth stressing here that Western parents also want to minimise “risks” to their children, but unlike the Chinese parents, they have more acceptance of allowing their children to explore and experience even if there is a certain risk involved.

Much literature covers the psychological status of participants in adventure education programmes and suggests that they will need to break through their “Comfort Zone” and enter the “Stretch Zone” to gain most personal growth (Priest & Gass, 1997). These Chinese-Canadian children are born into small family units, well taken care of within the family and build very close family networks. In a collective Chinese culture, every person is regarded as an integral part of the family because they are closely knit together, socially and emotionally. This is particularly true of Chinese immigrants’ families. As they have faced the changes and challenges through migration together, their relationships are much tighter than in normal families. Adventure experience is not only new to the children but to the entire family, particularly the parents, and therefore the parents have to “choose very carefully”. Sending their children to an unknown experience could be a very overwhelming experience for them too. This may also explain why parents stay with the Scout group when they have meetings or are attached to the group as volunteers. When asked how they felt when their children went camping, some parents admitted to being very worried. One even cried for the entire three days and went sleepless until her son came home safely. A father recalled that he kept anxiously holding his mobile phone and stayed alert because it was the first time his daughter slept away from home and he needed to be ready to react fast in case of emergency!

8.5 Adventure education fulfils parents’ expectations

Education is regarded as being very serious and important to a person’s development, as well as the “face” of parents in Chinese culture. Students are expected to develop a hard-working

attitude when they are young; not merely for their personal achievement but also for the glory of their parents and family. Teachers are highly respected in Chinese culture and their role is not confined only to the transmission of knowledge and skills but also sets a model for students to follow. School also carries the responsibility to develop students' good character through Moral Education (Cheng & Kuo, 2000). This education includes traditional Chinese values such as the five cardinal relationships, in a modernised and modified format: loyalty, filial piety, integrity, obedience, righteousness and respectfulness. Unlike the friendly and egalitarian teacher-student relationships in Western countries (noted by Renée), Chinese teachers are usually firm and solemn in school. They also take up the role of the "discipline master" and exercise punishment if students misbehave in, and even outside, school. Education in Chinese traditional concepts consists of two basic elements: "*Guan*" (discipline) and "*Jiao*" (teach), a fundamental difference between Chinese and Western education philosophy.

Parents generally feel positive about the more relaxed atmosphere of education in Canada, offering many opportunities to develop the children's potential. Parents agree that the Canadian educational system can enhance the development of public speaking skills, creativity, good reading habits and application of knowledge. In the case of children with special needs, parents particularly appreciated the slow pace and unpressured educational environment.

Chinese parents comment disparagingly, however, on what they perceive as the failure of Western educational approaches to emphasise enough discipline (*Guan*). Parents disagree with the lack of "discipline" in school and worry about the egalitarian atmosphere of the educational system. Even the young participants feel uncomfortable about the lack of hierarchy in school and consider this as disrespectful to the teachers (senior). They also consider that more emphasis should be placed on moral education and character building in the school curriculum. Besides asking their children to do extra mathematics and language exercises at home to compensate for the relaxed academic atmosphere and lack of homework, parents are also concerned about their children's character development. They expect the Scouts and the Enoch Leadership Camp to act as a form of moral as well as practical education for their children to compensate for what they see as a weakness in Canadian school curricula.

Scouts and Air Cadets are uniformed groups modified from a military structure with a ranking system and distinctive hierarchy in their management system. The decision-making models are favoured by a high power distance culture such as the Chinese traditional culture. Since it is not as strict as the military system but of a similar nature, parents wanted this attitude of obedience towards elders to be transferred to their own family. They do not wish to turn the family into a military structure but they wish to build the character of obedience to elders, self-discipline, loyalty and integrity through participating in uniformed groups. This parental attitude is consistent with the findings of Shek & Chan (1999), who investigated Hong Kong Chinese parents' perception of an ideal child. They found that expectations were closely related to traditional Chinese culture with characteristics of good character, good academic performance, self-discipline, obedience, filial piety, acquaintance with desirable peers, good parent-child relationships and readiness to fulfil family responsibilities. Chinese people are deeply rooted in traditional culture and these expectations are commonly shared by Chinese parents, both in Hong Kong and Canada.

Parents also show appreciation of the Scout Promise: "Duty to God, Duty to self and Duty to others". They think that it is essential to develop young people's dutifulness at a young age; taking up duty and responsibility demonstrates good character. By carrying out the duties of family and society in a practical way, children put what they have learnt into action; this is considered as important for young people and consistent with Chinese culture. Most importantly, this is something which parents think is missing in the Canadian education system.

Enoch Leadership Camp does not have a uniformed and military background; instead it provides another dimension of adventure education programmes to Chinese Canadian youth. It develops young participants' leadership and communication skills, in the style suggested by Project Adventure Inc. (p. 23). One of the main strategies is to use adventure activities to bring out deep-sharing sessions among the group. Participants learn to open themselves to other members and share thoughts and feelings in order that the whole team can grow together (Luckner and Nadler, 1997). Through a systematic debriefing session, participants analyse and synthesize their experience and seek ways to transfer their learning outcomes into their daily lives (Priest, & Gass, 1997)). This type of training is very powerful and effective in building

self-concept and self-efficacy among young adults. These programmes also assist in building recognition among team-mates and gradually develop emotional connections with other people.

In a Christian context, Enoch camp encourages participants to reflect on their personal weaknesses and make changes. The camp also emphasises building and restoring a good intergenerational relationship with the elders in their own families. Nevertheless, these types of adventure programmes are new to Chinese Canadian parents and this approach is also quite new to the Chinese church groups in Canada. My data suggest that most of the parents who sent their children to the camp were merely attracted by the title: Leadership. They were aware that one of the major differences between Caucasian youth and their own children is self-esteem. Caucasian youth usually have higher self-esteem and show more readiness to take up leadership roles in any situation. In order to excel in Canadian society in the future, self-esteem and leadership skills are, in parents' eyes, very important for their children to acquire.

These parental priorities could be a reflection of the parents' personal experiences when they migrated to Canada. Li (1998) examined the Canadian employed labour force from 1971 to 1991 and discovered that Chinese are underrepresented in managerial, scholastic and administrative positions. Although the Statistics Canada 2001 census clearly showed that higher education is a gateway to higher income, recent immigrants have substantially less earning power than native-born Canadians, regardless of their education attainment, even after 10 years residence in the country (Statistics Canada, 2001). Ethnic background remains socially significant in Canada, despite its multicultural policy. Unlike earlier Chinese immigrants, the majority of recent Chinese immigrants are highly educated urban professionals who intend to settle permanently in Canada. However, many of them have to work as manual labourers for basic survival and some find it very difficult to practice their professions. Most find their career aspirations cannot be fulfilled and they do not want these unfavourable conditions to be repeated in their children's lives. AE participants such as Samuel indicated that academic excellence is only one of the criteria for 'getting ahead'; he needs to be well-rounded and successful in his career. Helen defines "leadership" as "street-smartness" which means that efficiency in reacting towards changing situations is as important as academic achievement. In encountering Caucasian culture, Chinese Canadians realise that leadership

skills and self-esteem are crucially important in order to break through ethnic stereotypical ideologies.

Parents had little idea about the content of the activities before the Enoch camp but they trusted that, because it is a Christian organisation, it offered a good learning opportunity for their children. After the camp, they talked with their children and generally felt that their children had fun and had expanded their social group. They admitted that they had not observed much improvement in their leadership skills but felt that their children had more confidence and became more outgoing. They agreed that it is a healthy development but worried that the effect would not endure. The participants also could not recall many details about the camp but thought they were more ready to take up responsibility. Some had the courage to communicate and voice their own ideas more willingly, and some were more confident to take up leadership roles and had good friendships with other participants. In general, the expectations of AE participants were met and the camp left them with good memories.

8.6 Adventure education and the acculturation gap

Individual immigrants move into a new country to seek new opportunities but they also face many challenges, in terms of acculturation. Their problems become more complex when they are examined in a family context because different family members may move at a different pace in balancing issues of ethnic cultural retention and host cultural adoption (Costigan and Dokis, 2006). The situation is more obvious between the first and second generations of immigrant families. Chinese Canadian parents negotiate their own acculturation while also socialising and teaching their children to be successfully acculturated into the multicultural environment in Canada. This may introduce expectations and values that differ significantly from those of young people's cultural origin (Phalet & Schönplflug, (2001)). Children from immigrant families need to find the balance between the values that they learnt from their parents and those of their peers and Canadian society. What traditional values need to be retained? How much can they accept the new culture? How much deviation by their children from their traditional culture can the parents accept?

All parents in this study are first generation, having migrated to Canada from either Hong Kong or China. They consider themselves Chinese no matter how long they have lived in Canada. Their children mostly consider themselves as Chinese Canadian: they admitted that they are “white-washed” and their way of thinking as more Canadian than Chinese. A few consider themselves Canadian. Cathy insists that she is a “Canadian Chinese” because she feels more Canadian than Chinese and has never been to Asia. Her only Chinese element is her Asian appearance and the fact that she can speak Chinese. Examples of generational acculturation conflict reported by my respondents included parents forbidding daughters to participate in “sleepover” parties organised by school friends; different attitudes to socialising with the opposite sex (both boys and girls); over-protectiveness by parents in seeking to control their children’s social groups; parental demands on children regarding their academic development; and parental requirements that their children attend Chinese school outside school hours. Consistent with Kwak (2003), parents strive to transmit their ethnic culture to their children and the children attempt to balance these teachings with their experience in the new culture and negotiate, more or less successfully, a working compromise.

Self-esteem is treasured in Western society and regarded as one of the most important attributes of youth by Caucasian parents (Yu & Berryman, 1996; Schnittker, 2002). As a result, AE programmes are specifically designed to cater for their needs and are found to be successful (McKenzie, 2000). However, from the standpoint of the traditional collective Chinese culture, if self-esteem is manifest as independence of thought, action and values, this is not acceptable, particularly when young people face the elders in the family. High self-confidence can be seen as self-conceit, deemed inappropriate in the collective Chinese cultural environment. Hence it may be anticipated that a cultural clash will occur after young people participate in adventure education programmes. Migrant Chinese understand that in order to survive and be successful in the Western society, their children need to adapt to the Western culture (being individualistic and have self-esteem), and they also know that this is unavoidable because the younger generation also socialize in school or perhaps have their own social groups. However, they still worry that adaptation may turn out to be beyond their control and lead them lose face in front of their Chinese relatives, particularly when their own parents are also living in Canada. They

therefore encourage their children to practice both cultures selectively, “Western” in the public domain and “Chinese” in the private domain.

My AE participant respondents manage both the host culture and their own ethnic culture and practice different cultural behaviour, depending on different situations. They practice Chinese culture at home, being obedient to their parents, and speaking Chinese to their elders, but they practise Canadian cultural behaviours in their own social circle, speaking English among their friends, preferring Canadian food and liking “English” media. Patrick shows obedience to his strict and traditional father at home but can be very “wild” on the basketball court. Compared to the Caucasian players, he is short and physically weak, so such behaviour is the only way that allows him to stay on the court. The girls show frustration at not being allowed to go to “sleepover” parties but they obey their parents and accept that this is a cultural issue. These findings support the bi-cultural or multi-dimensional acculturation model suggested by Padilla (1980), Martinez & Mendoza, (1984) and Porter and Washington (1993); the individual can accommodate aspects of the host culture or social structure and still retain the culture or associations of their original ethnic group.

Practising pluralistic models of acculturation accords with the suggestion of Costigan and Dokis’s (2006). The daily experiences of immigrant families are divided into “private” and “public” domains. The private domain corresponds to family life and/or interactions with people from the same ethnicity. The public domain represents interaction with the majority people from the host society. Chinese Canadian parents have different expectations of their children’s behaviour in the two domains. In the private domain, children are expected to be obedient to their parents and the elders. Proper behaviour such as to be humble, speak Chinese to their parents, be polite and well behaved at all times, is expected of Chinese youth. However, in the public domain, parents expect their children to be tough and able to confront challenges, have high self-esteem and self-confidence, demonstrate good leadership and participate fully in Canadian culture. This selective acculturation strategy is commonly found among Chinese Canadian families and data show that both parents and children seem to accept this as normal practice.

The cultural differences, or even clashes, between the public domain and the private domain facing children cannot be reduced without support from the family and ethnic group. Parental warmth and communication (Costigan and Dokis, 2006) are two main contributors to success in building the multi-dimensional acculturation mode and reducing the acculturation gap among Chinese Canadian families. This relationship may serve as a strong bond between the two generations and the children are more likely to be obedient to their parents because of the close relationship. Parents emphasise the importance of their family dinner time; all family members are expected to have dinner together in the Chinese style. This is the time for family gathering and for developing close relationships with their children. This is also the time for parents to show support, share their perspectives and pass on traditional Chinese values to their children. Most traditional Chinese values need not be communicated verbally; children learn the parents' model in their daily lives, so communication helps build a better understanding between two and sometimes three generations.

It should also be noted that most of the participants in this research are Christians; their Christian faith and family lifestyle also play a very important role in their acculturation process. Christian faith and Christian teaching are expected to be the bridge for selective acculturation because Christianity carries Western values and certainly influences the values and daily lives of this group of Chinese Canadians. This finding supports Taylor (2005), who examined the relationships between family religiosity (level of commitment to the religion), family recreation and family functioning (adaptability and cohesion of the family) of African Americans. She articulates the importance of maintaining family functioning by means of family religiosity and family recreation. Her finding shows that family religiosity was the most significant predictor of family functioning in the case of parents, whereas for youth, family religiosity and family recreation were significant predictors of family functioning. In the current research, parents indicated that being more religious (following closely the teaching and values of the Christian religion), made their families closer and makes for better relationships among family members. However, in the case of their children, religious activities only provide a platform to communicate; they want to enjoy more recreational experiences with family members. Family leisure, especially core family leisure involvement, is important to youth and their perceptions of family functioning. (Taylor, 2005; Agate, 2007)

Among my respondents, “length of residency” is another crucial factor affecting the acculturation of children. These findings support Nguyen & Williams (1989) and Phinney et al (2000). Children with a shorter residence in Canada more readily retain Chinese cultural behaviours because they have spent more time in the ethnic culture and therefore are more fluent in Chinese and familiar with Chinese media options. Twin sisters - Renée and Ronnie - migrated to Canada 3 years ago when they were 14. They had difficulty in adapting to the majority Canadian society and experienced more shock. Renée compared their experience of school in Hong Kong with that in Canada. Schools in Hong Kong are serious places for education; well disciplined behaviour must be maintained most of the time. School prefects assist teachers to monitor the school rules governing appropriate behaviour of students. When Renee first arrived in a Canadian school, she was shocked that students could sit on the floor and chase each other during recess and lunch time. Teachers chatted to students after class like friends, which was quite a shocking experience for her. She felt that she should respect the teacher as a senior person and it would be very impolite if a student talked to a teacher as though they were friends. This would represent a situation where the power distance between teacher and student no longer applied or applied only under some situations. Renee’s feelings were not shared by the Chinese young people born in Canada, including Samuel, Helen and Bobby, as they believed that in school everyone is equal and students should not fear teachers. They thought that obedience only happened in the family; one need not be obedient to anyone, anywhere else, in Canadian society.

Children exposed to the host culture’s behaviours and values through school, media and contact with classmates from different backgrounds, may feel a greater need for peer acceptance than parental acceptance (Okagaki & Bojczyk, 2002). In comparison, the social circle and socialisation opportunities of parents, particularly housewives, are much smaller than their children’s. The parents’ social circles are very confined and their children have greater opportunities to become familiar with the host culture at a much faster rate. However, although there is a strong possibility that children may acculturate faster than their parents, children may still not engage in the wholesale adoption of Canadian culture owing to the influence of the family background. They may act strategically and selectively when interacting with the

dominant Caucasian culture, even when their choices may not directly reflect their parents' behaviour.

Adventure education programmes explicitly encourage the development of an individualistic culture. They may be effective catalysts for enlarging the acculturation gap between two generations. However, the acculturation of immigrants should not be seen in light of a "single continuum model", where assimilation is the only final destination (Gordon, 1964). Ethnic and mainstream cultures should not be treated as mutually exclusive and assimilation to the host culture does not necessarily require a loss of traditional culture. Chinese families adopt a multi-dimensional acculturation mode with support from close-knit family relationships, the Chinese community and particularly from their Christian church involvement (if they are Christian). It appears that when the children are still closely enmeshed in their families with strong parental supervision and control, the learning outcomes of adventure education programmes only enhance any "individualistic" development in the public domain. It makes little difference to their cultural behaviour at home. Evidence was also forthcoming that parents appreciated their children's development in the public domain, more trust was built and this positively enhanced their parent-child relationships (certainly in the case of Bobby, Frank, Patrick and Sammy).

8.7 Adventure education enhances acculturation

Canada has abundant resources for outdoor adventure activities, making outdoor recreation one of its main recreational activities (Henderson, 2001). However, for previously mentioned reasons, Chinese Canadian immigrants are underrepresented in outdoor recreation (Walker, Deng and Chapman, 2007). The cultural ideology towards outdoor recreation has been considered one of the main constraints on Chinese participation in Canadian society (Hung, 2003). The findings of this research suggest that outdoor programmes organized by certain institutionalised organisations may bridge the gap and attract greater participation of Chinese Canadian families, making use of this experience to enhance acculturation to Canadian society.

Uchida (2003) suggested three possible reasons for the under-representation of Chinese people in outdoor recreation activities: lack of economic and educational resources, cultural

unacceptability and institutional discrimination (p.55). Findings from this research partially support these suggestions but give supplementary support for a different perspective. It is not the case that Chinese people always denigrate the values of outdoor recreational activities. Sometimes, it is just because of their lack of relevant skills, knowledge and information about outdoor recreation. These activities are also outside their comfort zones, therefore they normally view these activities as “risky” and rank them as low priority. Most of the parents indicated that they had no experience of outdoor adventure before they migrated to Canada. Even those who have some experience either find the outdoors in Canada too challenging or feel anxious about the unfamiliar environment. Sammy was an experienced SCUBA diver in Hong Kong, who gave up diving because his equipment was unsuitable for use in the cold water of Canada. Most of the Chinese families were from Southern China and the snowy mountain environment of North America represents a big challenge. New immigrants had to face many changes before settling into a new environment. Outdoor recreation involves money and time and was therefore not made an immediate priority. This would appear to support Uchida’s first explanation: “lack of economic and educational resources.”

Parents send their children to Scouts and Enoch to gain proper techniques for outdoor living and become competent to enjoy outdoor recreation. Some of the parents even join winter and summer camps as camp volunteers; to experience outdoor activities with well-trained experts. Some parents also enjoy the outdoor environment, join Scout camps as volunteers and even organise family camps together with other Scout families or their friends. This is a good indicator that Chinese Canadian families would like to participate in outdoor recreational activities if they are trained and feel competent. As I have mentioned earlier, Chinese parents consider proper training is essential in adventure activities; this applies to their children as well as themselves. Further, they are more likely to participate if there are other families involved. The Chinese place a high priority on the need for social interaction when participating in leisure activities (Walker and Wang, 2009) and prefer activities that coincide with values of group membership and humility (Deng et. al, 2005).

The findings of this research do not fully support Uchida’s second suggestion that outdoor recreation is not acceptable to Chinese culture. Chinese people practise pragmatism and

consider it as wisdom of their daily lives: *“A wise man will not stand near an unstable wall.”* (Chinese proverb) Traditionally, Chinese people are very unlikely to participate in outdoor adventurous activities simply for pleasure. To most of the parents, taking “unnecessary” risks is not advisable, but if taking risks within a closely ‘monitored situation’ can be shown to develop their children’s self-esteem and self-confidence, they are happy to support them. A typical example from this research is Joey’s daughter, identified as a slow learner. She was encouraged to take skiing lessons and even compete because Joey thought that the outdoor experience would help her daughter’s social and personal development. Joey was willing to give up her daughter’s Chinese language class in favour of ski training and Scout meetings. Gloria felt relaxed about allowing her son, who suffers from Asperger’s syndrome, to participate in rock climbing if he had training. She felt that the activities would boost his self-esteem and improve his life efficacy. Chinese parents believe that adventure experience is a means to achieve higher and long-lasting goals; they consider it “unnecessary” if the only thing at issue is thrills or personal pleasure. The pre-requisite for involvement was that the children must undergo a systematic and formal training before taking risks. As a result, formal institutions like Scouts and Air Cadets provide good opportunities for Chinese youth to participate in outdoor adventure activities. Parents trust that these activities will provide good level of safety when delivering their programme. To encourage Albert to gain higher grades in snowboarding as part of increasing his self-confidence, his parents joined some training sessions so that they could ski with their son. They also encouraged him to develop self-confidence and leadership skills by volunteering as an assistant skiing instructor.

Uchida’s third explanation for the under-representation of Chinese people in outdoor recreation is that structural discrimination may discourage Chinese people from visiting recreation areas. However, different ethnic groups may have different preferences in terms of the outdoor recreation activities in which they would like to participate. Most Chinese parents in my study perceived outdoor activities as harsh and uncomfortable. Originally, they believe that it is good training for their children but not for themselves because they think that their life experience already provides a harsh training whereas the life experience of their children has been smooth and comfortable. Some may also think that outdoor recreation is only for young people and they are “too old” to participate. Some of them perceive outdoor activities as risky. Barriers

to participation in outdoor recreation activities are psychological and cultural. The traditional stereotypical idea creates a structural barrier restricting Chinese participation. However, data from this research show that Chinese parents are more willing to participate in outdoor recreation after their children's camping experience. Through participation with a formal training provider such as Scouts or a recognised trustworthy institution such as the Enoch Youth Outreach, parents are more accepting of their children's participation in outdoor challenges. Perhaps eventually they too will be more willing to participate. This unexpected finding in promoting outdoor recreation to Chinese people will be developed further in the next section.

8.8 The model for Chinese people participating in outdoor recreation

Acculturation is an ongoing process, fluid and ever changing (Nieto, 2002, p.45). As mentioned in Section 8.6, participation of second-generation Chinese Canadians in AE programmes create new leisure opportunities for parents. Adult Chinese do not have an incentive to experience outdoor recreation because most of the adults do not have the required skills and are not willing learn them at their age. If parents are convinced that these programmes are positive and "educational" for their children, they will show more acceptance of them and they may be more likely to make changes in their own recreation patterns.

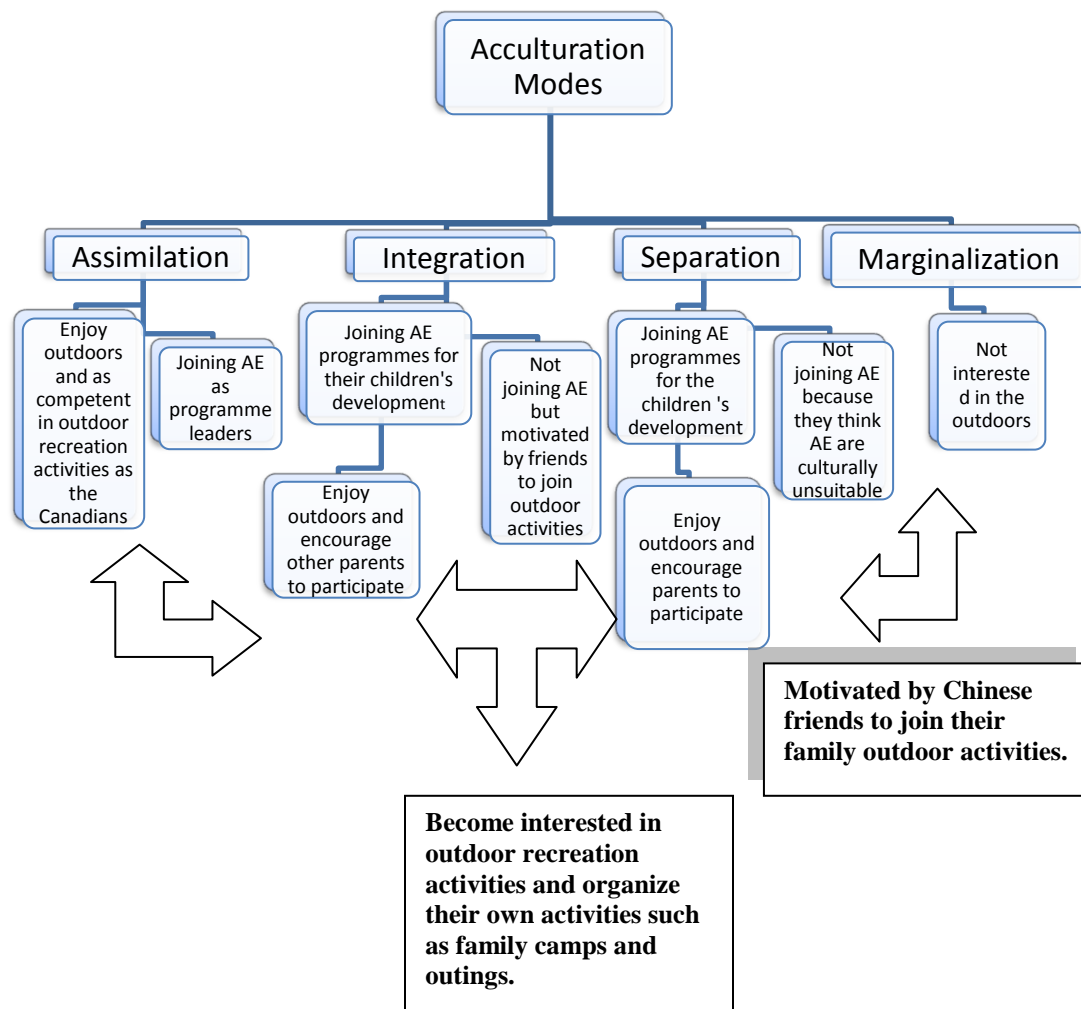
Parents' social circles have also expanded through their children's participation in adventure education programmes, particularly those parent-volunteers in Scouts. They can enjoy the outdoors with other parents. This is a learning and recreational opportunity they did not have before. Some of these parents, such as Gloria, Irene, Charles and Joey, enjoy the outdoors with other families and eventually start to organise outdoor activities within their own family. Albert, Sammy and Bobby also take the initiative to invite other Chinese friends who may not be participants in Scouts, to join their families in camping and other outdoor activities. Educating their children may increase the adults' motivation to participate with their children as well as with other Chinese friends.

Findings from this research show that the acculturation of Chinese Canadians is multi-dimensional and they practice selective acculturation. Parents who encourage their children to participate in AE programmes use these outdoor experiences to develop their

children's self-esteem and self-confidence so that they may be successful in the Canadian society (public domain). They insist their children retain traditional Chinese cultural values and behaviours at home (private domain) and think that this is essential. This practice is effective and does not cause them to lose face among their Chinese friends, relatives and particularly their seniors. Findings of this research also show that there is a positive reduction in the intergenerational acculturation gap between young participants and their parents. Better intergenerational communication and conflict reduction between parents and children were observed. Greater appreciation on the part of parents of their children's achievements was noted and in general intergenerational relationships appear to have improved. Parents are more positive about the outcomes of AE programmes and more likely to participate in outdoor recreation activities with their children. As Chinese families live in a close knitted social circle, the change of one family may lead to change of the social group to which they belong. The participation of their children may facilitate changes among the parents. This was an unexpected finding which points to one possible pathway for motivating Chinese people to participate in outdoor recreational opportunities.

The following model is based on the findings from this research and is an application of a multi-dimensional understanding of acculturation developed by Berry (1986, p. 51; 1997) and Berry et al. (2006), who suggested four types of behavioural adaptation on the part of immigrants towards the host's culture: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization.

Figure 2: Model for Chinese people participating in outdoor recreation activities



Assimilation in the context of my research occurs for those immigrants who fully adopt the Canadian cultural values and lifestyle; integration means being partially involved in the majority culture; separation means exclusively interacting with their own ethnic group and marginalization refers to those people who are not following the practice of either the host or the ethnic culture (Berry et al., 1990).

In this model, assimilation refers to those Chinese immigrants who adopt the values of the “White Canadians” and consider outdoor recreation as an essential “Canadian” characteristic. These Chinese immigrants enjoy outdoor recreation activities and make full use of the natural

environment for their leisure and recreation activities. There are two types of people in my sample who illustrate the assimilation mode. First are those who have a personal interest in outdoor activities and make it the choice of recreational activities for their family just like normal Canadian families. Amy's family arrange their own outings and camping in disregard of what other Chinese friends say. They fully enjoy the outdoors and do many "non-traditional Chinese" activities such as learning to fly a plane (Amy's husband), fly a helicopter (Amy) and becoming a ski instructor (Amy's son). Second are those who enjoy outdoor recreation activities and share their time and effort to organise and lead programmes for other people, like the Scout leaders and the leaders from Enoch. They are crucial in motivating Chinese parents to enjoy the outdoors. Some parents, Gloria and Joey, admitted that their major motivation for volunteering in the programme was because they were impressed by the selflessness of the instructors.

Integration refers to those who selectively acculturate into Canadian culture. Pragmatism is the main philosophy of this group. When they make their choice, parents consider whether the programme would be helpful to their children's future development: Is the fee worth it? Is the organiser trustworthy? And: Is the activity safe? Some parents might not have high expectations of these programmes, participating only because they think that the programme is good for their children or because they trust their friends' recommendations. For the Chinese family, children are always the focus and the parents will be more willing to participate in activities unfamiliar to them if they know their children will benefit. Their integration is via a two-generation step. If the parents change at all, it is because of their children. The nature of the programme, the other families with whom the parents come into contact via the programme, the church and the organising body, might have secondary influences but the most significant factor still lies in the possibility of positive changes occurring for their children. Their own integration into the majority society strongly depends on the experience of their children.

Some parents might be interested in outdoor recreation activities, but have no previous experience and therefore no confidence in organising them. They value their children's development and they agree that adventure education programmes can bring positive effects to their children. They concur with the programme objectives of leadership training and

self-efficacy development and think that these are important to young people of immigrant families. They realise that the Scouts and some recognized organisations such as the church will not be harmful to their children and so they send them for training. They notice changes in the children which reinforce the idea that adventure education is good for them. They may volunteer in the organisation and meet other Chinese parents in the same situation. They learn some outdoor skills through volunteering and are motivated to organise their joint-family outdoor recreation activities. Most of the parents who participated in the research belong to this group. They are positive about Scout training and leadership training conducted by Enoch and towards the outcomes of the adventure education programmes. Scouts, Outward Bound Schools and adventure education programmes have a long history and good reputation in the Chinese community. Most of the people from Hong Kong and Taiwan belong to this group. Those from China PRC may be influenced by the stereotypical concept of the Siu Sin Dui (Young Pioneer group) and may not think that the training is useful but at least they will not hold a negative impression of these programmes.

With respect to the traditional Chinese cultural perspectives on the expectation of an ideal child (p.40), some parents do not understand these programmes and think, pragmatically, that adventure education programmes are not useful to their children, so they do not join. They disagree with the playfulness and relaxed atmosphere and think that the programmes are of low educational value. They are unlikely to commit to long term activities such as Scouts as they think it will interfere with the academic development of their children. However, they may be invited by other enthusiastic parents who may be relatives or friends and may join their self-organised, non-AE activities. They are likely to be interested because they want to try something new and they may not relate these activities to Canadian cultural values but simply like to enjoy the natural environment of Canada. Joining someone who is competent in the outdoors and comes from a similar ethnic background with similar ethnic values is a lot safer than undertaking outdoor recreation themselves. Anyway, these activities are often passive recreational outings, such as picnics, which do not involve serious physical activities (Charles). (See also Hung 2003)

The families living in a ‘separation’ mode are characterised by exclusive involvement in their home cultural traditions, with little or no interaction with mainstream culture (Li, 2001). Irene, Joey, Pauline and Gloria are in this group; however they think adventure education programmes will be helpful to their children in their social and psychological development. Joey is a typical example; she is not a Christian and lives exclusively in a Chinese social circle. She sent her “slow learning and low IQ” daughter to join the Scouts because she was impressed by the Scout leader and observed some improvement in her daughter’s self-confidence after joining the Scouts. Pauline, the single parent, admitted that she has no Caucasian friends and thought that the Scout programme would expand the horizon of her son and herself and considered Scouting as an important social development. These parents send their children to training because the adventure education programme is organised by a Chinese group where they obtain information from their Chinese networks and they understand the objectives of the programme will be very useful to their children. Most chose to have their children participate in these two programmes because the medium of instruction was English. They think that these are good programmes which can enhance the development of their children. Parents in the ‘separation’ mode understand that they are constrained by many limitations, economic, social or personal ability. They would not like to see these limitations apply to their next generation. Therefore, if adventure education programmes are offered by an organisation that they trust and which provide some financial subsidy to those who need it, such parents will certainly be encouraged to send their children along.

Another sub-group of Chinese families living in a “separation mode” will not join these programmes because they think that such programmes clash with their traditional Chinese cultural ideologies. The programmes are perceived to be too risky, too playful and a waste of time. Parents may also think it detracts from their children’s academic development. However, since these people live in a very close Chinese circle, the values and the effectiveness of the programmes are easily spread by word-of-mouth from those participating parents. They may also be aware that as immigrants in Canada, their children face similar constraints as other Chinese immigrants, such as low self-esteem and small social circles. If they see changes in young participants and hear the recommendations from the parents involved, they may develop a more positive attitude towards adventure education programmes.

The marginalization group is very rare in practice and is characterized by their rejection of both majority and minority culture (Berry, 1976, 1980). In theory, it is unlikely that they will participate in the activities of both their own ethnic or host culture. Basically they have their own style of living which is unlikely to reach out or be open to AE programme for their kids.

8.9 Conclusion

The findings of this research support most previous studies of Chinese Canadians: Chinese people are selectively acculturated into Canadian society after migration. For practical and pragmatic reasons, the first generation (the parents), mostly live in the ethnic enclosure mode (Stodolska et al, 2007), explicitly reflected in their under-representation in outdoor recreation. However, they encourage their second generation (the children) to participate in AE programmes to enhance the development of their self-confidence and self-esteem because they understand this is the culture that Canadian society upholds. They consider that individualism-based AE programme will better prepare their kids to settle and perhaps be successful in Canadian society. Empirical data from this research show that the outcome of the programmes are effective and most of the parents support the positive changes in the self-efficacy and the noticeable change in their children's self-confidence. As the definition of self is different between the Chinese people (social self) and the Western people (individual self), there is a worry that this may enlarge the acculturation gap and bring about a cultural clash between the two generations.

Parents show confidence in their family education and believe that it is effective in retaining their traditional values through close family relationships. This research supports the findings of Keefe and Padilla (1987) on selective acculturation. Chinese parents encourage the development of a Western individualistic culture in the public domain and insist on retaining traditional values in the private domain. Any enlargement of the acculturation gap between the two generations of this research group is not noticeable, perhaps because of the closeness of the intergenerational relationship and the bonding between family members. In contrast to the expectation of a generation gap opening up between the two generations after their AE experience, findings of this research suggest that intergenerational communication is improved by participation. More understanding and closer relationships between parents and children

were indicated by both sets of respondents. The children's participation in outdoor adventure activities also provides opportunities for parents. Some parents of Scouts became eager to participate in AE activities after their children joined the Scouts but this is not so obvious in the case of the parents of the Enoch group, possibly because there are significant differences between the two programmes. Parents are welcome to participate as volunteers in the Scouts, whereas the Enoch camp is simply a 3-day-2-night camp away from home, and parents' involvement was minimal.

An unexpected finding of this research also shed light on understanding the participation in AE activities of Chinese people by using the four acculturation modes proposed by Berry et al. (1990). Through formal and systematic adventure education programme undertaken by their children, it is highly likely that adult Chinese Canadians' participation in the outdoors will increase.

In the next chapter, I summarise the findings of this research and its limitations. I also make recommendations for future research in the area of adventure education among Chinese people and the acculturation of Chinese people in Western societies.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This research provides insight into the relationship between adventure education programmes and the acculturation of Chinese Canadians in Vancouver, Canada. In this chapter, I will discuss the major conclusions resulting from my research findings with reference to the research objectives stated in Chapter 4, Section 4.6. These objectives include: a) the investigation of the extent to which traditional Chinese values are still being upheld in immigrant Chinese Canadian families; b) the motives and expectations of young participants, parents and the AE providers with regards to their participation in AE programmes in Canada; c) the Chinese parents' awareness of the cultural implications of AE programmes; d) the investigation of whether the learning outcomes of AE create or influence acculturation gaps between two generations, and lastly e) assessing the impact of AE programmes on the Chinese Canadians' families in relation to their acculturation to the majority Caucasian culture.

The chapter recaps the main findings that explain the motives of parents for sending their children to AE programmes and the way they cope with the changes. The major finding of this research is that participation in adventure education programmes does not appear to create a cultural clash or enlarge the intergenerational acculturation gap because Chinese-Canadians practice a selective acculturation mode. Parents allow and encourage their children to practise Western individualistic culture in the public domain but insist on maintaining a traditional Chinese collectivist culture at home (private domain). Findings from this research show that intergenerational communication between parents and their children improved after their children participated in Scouts and the Enoch Leadership Camp. I shall summarise the major findings of the research according to its implications for theory, policy and future research. Hopefully, these findings will serve as a general framework for understanding the acculturation of Chinese people, both in Canada and other Western societies.

9.2 Implications for theories.

9.2.1 Selective acculturation

The objective of this research was to study the cultural fit between outdoor adventure education programmes and Chinese Canadians. Although the fundamental cultural philosophies are different, there was no significant cultural clash between Chinese Canadians after participating in adventure education programmes. Empirical data generated from this research are consistent with the acculturation theories suggested by Chia and Costigan (2006) and Keefe and Padilla (1987): Chinese Canadians are practising selective acculturation for pragmatic reasons. Chinese Canadians parents act strategically; they adopt certain traits of the mainstream culture that facilitate their adjustment and more particularly that of their children, to the Canadian society. This multi-dimensional approach to acculturation also supports the four acculturation modes suggested by Berry et al. (1990), which argue that acculturation is not linear and uni-dimensional. Berry's theory suggested that acculturation is an ongoing process; it allows Chinese Canadians to integrate into the majority Canadian culture while simultaneously retaining their own traditional Chinese culture. This approach also allows their children to practise Western "individualistic" culture in their own social circles with their majority Canadian friends (public domain), while retaining their traditional Chinese "collective" culture within their family (private domain). This practice certainly reduces the possibility of cultural clash between the host country and Chinese people. In promoting multi-culturalism, Canada has successfully brought people from different ethnicities together and built a society that welcomes diversity under the same governmental system. People from different cultural backgrounds can enjoy the freedom of choosing what is suited to their ethnic culture without the pressure of being pushed to assimilate into the majority culture.

9.2.2 Ethnic enclosure

Although most of the parents in this research, in terms of their daily living, are in an ethnic enclosure mode (Stodolska et.al, 2007), they should not be classified as being in a separation or marginalisation mode (Berry et al., 1986). They integrate with Canadian society, some more than others, and most of them showed passion to make Canada their home. Most of the parents who participated in the interviews had full-time jobs and interact with majority Canadians in

different occasions and levels of intensity. They practice Canadian culture in public but insist on maintaining their Chinese heritage at home (private). The private domain of this group of Chinese Canadian parents is strong as they do not accept Western family values and the freedom given to the young generation before they become adult. They are particularly concerned about their children's interactions with the opposite sex and they have high expectations for the academic and occupational achievement of their children. It is the latter expectation which fuels the parents' pragmatic approach to mainstream culture – they want their children to be “successful” in the mainstream Canadian world.

9.2.3 Pragmatism and acculturation

Parents still insist on retaining Chinese culture as their ethnic identity and consider themselves as Chinese more than Canadian no matter what their length of stay, but this is obviously different for the second generation. Young participants generally consider themselves as being “white-washed”; they consider themselves Canadian culturally and only their “history” makes them feel that they are Chinese. An atmosphere of pragmatism generates its own tensions from both ends, between retaining Chinese culture and assimilation into Canadian culture. As a result, Chinese immigrants may not accept the entire Canadian cultural system that they encounter, but choose what to adopt and what to retain according to the needs and their cultural preferences (Berry et al. 2006). Parents want their children to develop good self-reliance and self-effectiveness because they know that this is important for them to survive in Western society where individualism is dominant, but they fear that their children may become self-centred and rebellious. Such behaviour would be inappropriate in traditional Chinese social circles. Therefore, parents support and encourage their children to practice Canadian individualistic cultural behaviour in the public domain but require them to practice Chinese culture in their family.

9.2.4 Uncertainty avoidance

Parental control among Chinese Canadian families is more authoritarian than in local Caucasian families (Li, 2002). A more conservative way of controlling social development for girls is obvious among Chinese families. Parents are more restrictive in the peer group involvement of their daughters than their sons (Bond, 1996). These findings support the suggestion of

“Uncertainty Avoidance” suggested by Hofstede (1983), which stated that Chinese people show high reluctance in facing uncertainty. Their interpretation of risk is based on the traditional Chinese gender ideology and cultural interpretation on masculinity and femininity. Camping with friends is strictly forbidden for the girls. Some adventure programmes require over-night residential experience away from home; parents generally worry more about their daughters’ safety than the sons. Parents need to be convinced and trust the organiser before they allow the children to participate in over-night camping. Parents seemingly view participation in AE as a way of acculturating to Canadian society. They know that outdoor recreation is popular among White Canadians but they lack the knowledge to be involved. It is not their wish to join some Caucasian outdoor groups as they are uncertain about the safety of their children. Findings from this research show that they have more confidence in their children joining groups that they are familiar with or are organised by good “brands” such as the Scouts or church groups. Chinese parents may participate in outdoor recreation after their children receive formal training. Family camping fits well with the concept of uncertainty avoidance as parents can have full control of the participants (selective group) and activities in the camp.

9.2.5 Intergenerational acculturation gap

Theories suggest that since there are significant differences in the exposure to the majority culture between the parents and their children, their pace of acculturation may not be the same and thus an intergenerational acculturation gap may develop (Kwak, 2003). Findings from this investigation show that adventure education programmes provided by Enoch and the 16th Burnaby Scout Group help to mediate the possibility of tension between the two generations. Adventure education provides a new dimension of life experience for the two generations and these experiences give rise to positive communication opportunities. This research reveals that the younger generation experienced something that the older generation has not experienced before and they are excited to share this with their parents. Parents can make use of the opportunity to show their appreciation of their children’s achievement and also convey their concerns about them in an acceptable way. In some cases, there is significant reduction in the acculturation gap between parents and children and the general feedback from parents about adventure education is positive.

9.3 Implication for Adventure Education Programme providers

In this section I will sum up the findings generated from this research and their implication for the design AE programmes for Chinese people in the future. This section will include the parents' views on the positive outcomes of participating in adventure education programmes. This feedback may be used to improve the programme design and delivery of future AE programmes to Chinese people.

9.3.1 Chinese prefer a formal training style

Parents do not have much experience in outdoor adventure activities but believe the military style of training provided by the Scouts and educational experiences organised by the church group will provide good learning opportunities. They also think that these activities could develop their children's resilience towards adversity and build their self-confidence, the most important elements to put in place for their futures. China's modern history is an agonising journey; parents tend to think that the younger generation has been brought up in a smooth and over-protected way. Adventure education programmes stimulate the participants to realize that they are blessed and need to be more alert to future challenges. This is especially true for people who live in a country that they are not fully familiar with.

Findings from this research, however, reinforce previous findings in the literature that Chinese parents still consider academic development as the utmost important formal training for their children. If the time for adventure education programmes clashes with their academic commitments, they will certainly make academic studies a higher priority.

9.3.2 Adventure Education encourage dutifulness

Another attraction for the parents to choose Scouts is the sense of duty emphasised in their programmes. Traditional Chinese people think that education is to get oneself ready to take up duties to serve society. Scouts build a strong image of being prepared to help others and be dutiful to the family and then to society. Many parents expressed their appreciation of this behavioural change observed after their children joined adventure programmes. The core value

of traditional Chinese educational philosophy is to perform good deeds for others and this is considered as the utmost important ideology for Chinese parents to pass on to their children.

9.3.3 Adventure education programme reinforce power distance

Parents also appreciate the hierarchy of Scouts and consider it a way to reinforce the power distance and social hierarchy of the Chinese community. Parents generally believe the hierarchical structure of Scouts reinforces respectfulness and develops their children's sense of obedience, which coincides with traditional Chinese culture but is not emphasised in the Western educational and social system. Enoch's programme uses a different approach; it is a programme tailor-made for overseas Chinese and aims to build understanding, communication and resolve problems between the two generations. Its programme encourages more communication between the two generations; the feedback from both parents and participants is very positive.

9.3.4 Adventure Education programmes enhance personal growth

Parents understand that risk is sometimes unavoidable and this research finds that parents are more accepting of risk-taking than traditional literature has revealed. Parents are target-oriented. Safety is certainly one of their major concerns, but if they can be convinced that there will be valuable learning outcomes, they are still willing to take some risk. Their most common concern was about whether the programme could generate positive educational outcomes. What could be learnt through this experience? Is it worth taking the "risk"? They tend to think that risk-taking activities managed in a controlled environment are good for the children; it will strengthen their resilience and build their self-confidence. Parents accept that in adventure education programmes, some distress may cause "emotional disequilibrium" (Nadler & Luckner, 1992) to participants, but seeing the positive results in the long term, they are very supportive of the arrangement.

9.3.5 Motivation for outdoor recreation participation

Chinese people are underrepresented in outdoor recreation activities (Walker and Wang, Uchida, 2000,). The research literature suggests that unlike the majority of Canadians who see outdoor recreation activities as an integral part of their culture, Chinese people's recreation preferences

are passive, indoor activities. Results from this research, however, indicate another perspective and point to a promising direction to motivate Chinese people to participate in outdoor recreation. The findings of this research suggest that children's participation in outdoor adventure programmes had a positive impact on adults' participation in outdoor recreation activities.

The parents' social circles also expanded through participation in adventure education programmes with their children. They have a chance to enjoy the outdoors as volunteers with other parents in these groups. This is a learning opportunity that they did not have before. Owing to the cultural ideology of "*face*" and the importance of maintaining the stereotypical image of a parent as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.9.1, it is very difficult for parents to "step-down" and learn the skills together with their children. However, it can be managed if they participate as volunteers and possibly act as advisors and at the same time learn new skills. They can then enjoy the outdoors with other families and begin to organise their own activities. They may also invite other Chinese families who are not participants in adventure programmes to join their camping and outdoor activities. Like most of the Chinese immigrants in other countries, they always feel fascinated about the outdoor scenery of the country but in fact, their participation in the outdoors remains passive and largely as spectators.

Traditional Chinese culture limited full acculturation into Canadian culture, particularly regarding participation in and enjoyment of outdoor recreation. Chinese people view outdoor recreation activities as harsh and involving a lot of risk which is not what traditional Chinese culture values. However, through the model suggested in Figure 2, Chinese people may be attracted into the outdoors after they have received formal training in adventure education programmes. Unlike Western society where people more confidently learn outdoor skills by directly experiencing the outdoors, Chinese people are more likely to enter by joining a formal training path. These training programmes require specific learning objectives that participants are very likely to be able to apply in daily life. They are consistent with traditional Chinese approaches to learning, which emphasise formal learning. Adventure education programme providers design programmes systematically and professionally and these arouse the interest of parents, who may be attracted into programmes as volunteers and make friends with people of similar backgrounds. This new social group may motivate them to participate in more outdoor

adventure activities, either with this newly formed group or through organising their own family outdoor activities. Those who do not join the parents' volunteer group may nevertheless be impressed by their children's involvement and therefore wish to undertake some outdoor activities with their own friends and relatives.

9.4 Implications for future research

This study has a number of limitations but they can be improved for future research. First, the current research participants were recruited through personal connections with church groups in Vancouver; thus the two organisations are Christian-based. Although some of the participants in the adventure education programmes are not Christian, this Western philosophically-driven religion may itself carry some cultural implications and may explain why, in this circumstance, an acculturation gap was not identified. In other words, I was possibly studying two provider organisations which were least likely to provoke generational conflicts and which were chosen by parents with this in mind.

Second, in terms of the place of origin before migration, there are three main groups of Chinese people residing in Canada: China PRC, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Their attitudes towards Western culture may differ due to their exposure and experience. In this research, only 5 participants came from China PRC and none from Taiwan. In the future, it would be worthwhile to separate these three groups of Chinese and compare any differences between them in terms of their perceptions and behaviour regarding adventure education programmes.

Third, acculturation is defined as a process of change (Nieto, 2002). It is advisable to conduct longitudinal studies to identify changes over time. As children grow older, they increasingly participate in environments that are not selected by their parents (Coll and Pachter, 2002). Therefore adolescents have more acculturation opportunities that are independent of their parents than do younger children, and this may aggravate parent-children acculturation differences.

Two critical points may change the acculturation patterns of the young people in this study. My child respondents were young people between 13-18 years old; most of them were just below the official driving age of 16. It is anticipated that there may be a big difference in their social

patterns after their driving age when they no longer need logistical support from their parents. Entering university will be another possible watershed as most parents consider that their children are adult once they enter university and will give them more freedom, particularly in their leisure activities and social life. It would certainly be informative to see how the acculturation modes of young people in this study change after they enter university. Some of them may even live away from home for their university education.

The limitations of this study of AE and its relationships to acculturation thus suggest a number of future research priorities. First, if resources permit, longitudinal studies of young people from Chinese families should be undertaken as they move through their adolescent years. Will the distinction between “private and public” domains, as evident in the age-group I studied, continue to have relevance as children grow into young adults with the independence which driving licences and entry to university permit? If resources for a longitudinal study are not available, then secondly, a number of one-point-in-time studies – of young people at different ages – could proceed and the data compared, provided respondents were drawn from similar communities in similar locations, e.g. urban Canada. Thirdly, the Chinese Diaspora – past and present – involves many countries besides Canada. It would be very useful to compare the acculturation gap between societies where outdoor adventure is culturally significant (Canada, Australia and New Zealand for example) and societies where more ‘passive’ forms of leisure are prevalent or equally prevalent (e.g. the USA). This would enable researchers to comment on the significance or non-significance of partaken forms of leisure and recreation on the acculturation experiences, and acculturation tensions, of the overseas Chinese. Fourthly, the sample for this study of “Chinese” Canadians was almost exclusively drawn from Hong Kong migrants. Comparisons with migrants from China PRC and Taiwan would provide greater confidence that the findings of this and follow-up studies really do encapsulate the experiences of “Chinese” Canadians.

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Appendix 1: Letter to the AE providers

To the AE providers:

**CCM 16th Burnaby Scout Group,
Enoch Youth Outreach**

Dear Sir,

I am a post-graduate student of the Lincoln University of New Zealand, currently conducting research about adventure education and the Chinese Canadians in Vancouver. I am studying adventure education programmes in a cultural context. As a one of the adventure education provider in Vancouver, with a good reputation in the field, I am happy that you will participate in the project.

Educating people through outdoor adventure experience has become more and more popular since the 1990s. The effectiveness of these programmes has mainly based on research findings from Western countries; the implication of these programmes in the cultural setting of Chinese-canadians is in need of investigation. Little research has been conducted so this is an exploratory research and we hope to open-up more opportunity as we go along. At the moment there is no specific area for investigation. Empirical data will be collected by interview and observation. I am intending to interview the participants, their parents, the adventure education programme providers and the instructors to find out their understanding, expectation and the outcomes of their adventure education experience. These interviews will be tape recorded for transcription purposes. It is also aimed to generate awareness of the cultural dimension of adventure education among providers and trainers.

Hopefully, one outcome of the research will lead to a further development of adventure education programmes in the overseas Chinese community. Your involvement in the project is summarized in the attached form. As one of the major programme provider of the industry, your contribution and assistance will be a crucial part of this process. To acknowledge your contribution and assistance, a summary of the research finding will be sent to you after the research completed.

I understand that you may have questions concerning the research, I would be grateful if you can arrange some time to meet me in person so that I can go through the details of this project with you. You are most welcome to contact me on loh2@lincoln.ac.nz or call me on 00852-28173835 for further enquiries. You may also want to contact my supervisors at Lincoln University of New Zealand. They are Dr. Robert Gidlow (Gidlow@lincoln.ac.nz) and Prof. Grant Cushman (Cushmanj@lincoln.ac.nz).

Thank you very much for your attention and I am looking forward for your favourable reply.

Yours sincerely,

(SIMON LO, Ph.D. candidate, Lincoln University)

General principles of the interviews and observation:

- All information provided by interviewees will be confidential and they will have pseudonyms. Only the researcher will have access to the actual names of participants and their personal particulars via a coding sheet, and this, together with the interview result will be kept in secure storage.
- Interviews will be tape recorded for transcription.
- There should not be risk of any kind involved in the research process.
- The participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any point if they think it is offensive and uncomfortable and any information they have already given will be destroyed accordingly.
- The research has been approved by the Human Ethic Committee, Lincoln University of New Zealand and will be guided by the regulations laid down by the committee.

Summary of the AE providers' involvement in the project:

- Meeting with the researcher to develop a clear understanding of the research project and their involvement.
- Sign a Consent Form with the researcher and insert an Information Sheet with a reply slip in your programme leaflet.
- Pass the list of applicants and their telephone contacts (only those who have indicated their willingness to participate in the research) to the researcher and allow the researcher to select the interviewees.
- Participate in an interview (40-60 minutes) with the researcher after the programme at a time convenient to both parties.
- Allow the researcher to conduct an unobtrusive observation session during the AE programme.
- Allow the researcher to interview the instructor (40-60 minutes) after the programme.

Summary of the involvement of the participants and their parents.

- A telephone contact will be made to the participants and their parents (provided by the AE providers) to gain a consensus of the research and to decide a time for interview convenient for both parties.
- Sign a Consent Form before the interviews begin as a written approval.
- There will be only one interview which will not be longer than 60 minutes for the parents and 40 minutes for the AE participants, with a responsible adult close-by.
- The researcher will interview the participants and their parents independently and separately at a time and venue convenient to them.

Summary of the instructors' involvement.

- Allow the researcher to conduct an unobtrusive observation during the AE programme.
- Participate in an interview (40-60 minutes) after the programme at a time convenient to them.

Telephone script

Name of Project: Adventure Education and Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver _____

Hello, my name is: **Simon Lo** _____

I am a postgraduate student of the

Environment, Society and Design _____ Division

at Lincoln University undertaking study for **Ph.D.** _____ degree

You are invited to participate in a project that aims to:

Find out about adventure education in Vancouver, including the experience of the participants and their parents.

Your telephone number was obtained from the reply slip in your application form from the AE organiser where you have indicated that you agree to participate in a research project related to adventure education in Vancouver.

Your participation in this research will involve:

Two interviews for both of your parents and yourself separately: one before and one after the adventure education programme. It will be around 40 to 60 minutes each for your parents and 30 to 40 minutes for you.

(Parents: Please note it is important that although your child will be interviewed separately, a responsible adult be close-by during the interview is essential. This is to meet the condition of Lincoln University of New Zealand.)

Participation in the research is voluntary and you may decline to answer questions or withdraw at any point you find uncomfortable or offensive.

If you do withdraw at any stage, any information you have already provided will be destroyed.

All information will remain *confidential or anonymous* to me as researcher and my supervisor(s).

Are you prepared to participate in this research project?

Interview date and time is to be decided, preferably by weekday evening or weekends.

Thank you for your time. If you have any questions regarding this research, please contact:

Name of researcher **Mr. Simon Lo** _____

Telephone number **00852-28173835** _____
or my supervisor(s)

Full name(s) of supervisor(s) Dr. Bob Gidlow and Prof. Grant Cushman

Telephone number(s) of supervisor(s). _____

Note: details to be provided if supervisor(s) are involved in the project.

Lincoln University

Division: Environment, Society and Design Division

Research Information Sheet

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled

Name of project Adventure Education and Chinese -Canadians in Vancouver

The aim of this project is:

Find out about adventure education and the overseas Chinese in Vancouver, including the rationale of their participation, understanding and expectation of the programme from the parents and participants as well as their experiences. This is an exploratory research project and we hope to open-up more options as we go along, at the moment there is no specific area for investigation.

Your participation in this project will involve:

One interview for both of your parents and yourself independently and separately. It will be around 40 to 60 minutes each for your parents and 30 to 40 minutes for you. They will be conducted in a time and venue convenient to you.

Interviews will be taped recorded and transcribed for research writing.

Please be noted that you parents and yourself will be interviewed independently and separately but a responsible adult close-by will be most welcome.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: the identity of participants will not be made public without their consents. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality the following steps will be taken:

All participants will be invited to select for themselves a pseudonym. This pseudonym will be used in all reports and presentations of the research. Only the researchers will have access to the actual names of participants and this information (actual names) will be held confidentially. Transcripts will not contain actual names, but pseudonyms, so discussion during data analysis will not involve reference to actual names.

The project is being carried out by:

Name of principal researcher Mr. Simon LO

Contact details 00852-28173835 shylo@hkucc.hku.hk

He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project.

Name of Supervisor/ Group Leader/Division Director Dr. Bob Gidlow and Prof. Grant Cushman

(If you are a staff member seeking HEC approval please provide Group Leader/Division Director details)

Contact Details _____

The project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.
Simon, ditto

Consent Form

Name of Project: Adventure Education and Chinese Canadians in Vancouver

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Name of the adventure education programme participant: _____

(Block Letters)

Name of the programme: _____

Programme organiser: _____

Age: _____

Sign: _____

Name of the parent: _____

(Block Letters)

Relationship with the participant: _____

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Example of questions that may be asked during the interviews:

A. Questions for the parents:

1. How well do you know about the Scouts movement and the Enoch Youth Outreach?
2. How well do you know about the philosophy of the AE programme?
3. How do you perceive the risk involve in the AE programme?
4. What do you expect from the AE program?
5. What do you think an ideal child should attribute?
6. How well do you think the AE program can help your child to attain these attribute?
7. What does it mean to be a Chinese?
8. What do you think a Chinese-Canadian value?
9. How does AE make sense for the Chinese-Canadians?
10. How does AE fit into the Chinese culture?
11. Do you participate in any outdoor adventure activities?
12. What other extra-curricular activities have your son/daughter participated?
13. What other holiday activity or learning courses have you son/daughter participated?
14. Why do you think these activities important to them?
15. How does the AE programme fit into your expectation of your child's future?
16. How do you see the traditional Chinese culture affecting you?
17. How do you see the traditional Chinese culture affect your child?
18. How would you describe the culture of Chinese-Canadians?
19. How would you normally resolve conflicts between family members?
20. How do you describe the changes of your child after the AE programme?
21. How would you value these changes?
22. What are the most significant changes of your child after the programme?
23. How do you see these changes?
24. How are these changes important to their future?
25. How do these changes meet with your expectation of an ideal child?
26. Are there any behaviour that resulted from the programme that you don't like or agree?
27. How would you cope with these undesirable behaviours?
28. How well do you think the objectives of the course achieved?
29. Would you recommend this programme to other parents?
30. How do you see these impacts influence your child in the future?

B. Question for the participants:

1. How well do you know about the AE provider?
2. How well do you understand the philosophy of AE programme?
3. How do you perceive the risk involve in the AE programme?
4. Who initiated the idea of participating an AE programme, yourself, parents, teacher or peers?
5. What do you expect from the AE programme?
6. How important are these learning outcomes to you and your future?
7. How do you think the AE programme will make a different to you?
8. How do you value these differences?

9. How would you say your own nationality, Chinese, Canadian or Chinese Canadian?
10. Why you see yourself as this nationality and how does it different from the others?
11. What does Chinese culture mean to you?
12. How do you see the Chinese culture?
13. How do you see the Chinese culture affecting you, your social and family life?
14. How would you normal resolve conflicts between family members?
15. How would you normal resolve conflicts between friends and classmates?
16. Can you recall an experience that you have conflict with your parents?
17. How did you resolve the problem?
18. How was your experience in the AE programme?
19. What did you value most in the AE programme?
20. In what way do you see yourself changed after the AE programme?
21. How do you value these changes?
22. How do you see these changes relate to you future?
23. How do you see these changes impact on your social life?
24. How do you see these changes impact on your family life?
25. Do you think you have become a “better person” in a social context?
26. Do you think you have become a “better child” of the family in the eyes of your parents?
27. Do you think that is the result of the AE programme?
28. Would you recommend these programmes to your friends?
29. How would you compare the learning outcomes of the AE programme and your family education?
30. How well do your parents appreciate your changes?

C. Interview questions for the AE providers:

1. What are the main objectives of your programmes?
2. What model or theory do you based when designing your AE programme?
3. Why are these learning outcomes important to the participants?
4. How do you think the Chinese-Canadian parents value these learning outcomes?
5. How do you think the Chinese-Canadian participants value these learning outcomes?
6. Will there be differences between the programme expectation and the learning outcome?
7. To what extend do you think your programmes being effective.
8. How does your programme different from other extra-curricular programme?
9. Why is taking risk and challenging activities so important your programme?
10. How does the Chinese-Canadians perceive “risk taking”?
11. What are the “transferable skills” that you expect your participants to gain from the programme?
12. What are the main constrains to apply these “transferable skills” in their daily experience?
13. How do you think about the cultural implication that carried by these transferable skills?

14. How well do you think the philosophy of “adventure education” fits into the Chinese-Canadian culture?
15. How does AE make sense in the Chinese-Canadians’ cultural setting?
16. Have you ever received any complaints from the participants and parents?

D. Interview questions for the AE instructors:

1. What are the main learning objectives of your AE programme?
2. Why are these learning outcomes important to your participants?
3. What training have you received to make you an instructor?
4. What sort of theoretical model do you use to deliver your programme?
5. Why do you think this is a good model for your clients?
6. How different is this AE model different from the traditional Chinese learning model?
7. Why is “risk taking” an important element in your programme?
8. How does Chinese-Canadians perceive “risk taking”?
9. What are the “transferable skills” that you expect your participants to gain from the programme?
10. What are the main constraints to apply these “transferable skills” in their daily experience?
11. How do you think about the cultural implication that carried by these transferable skills?
12. How well do you think the philosophy of “adventure education” fits into the Chinese-Canadians’ culture?
13. How does AE make sense in the Chinese-Canadians’ cultural setting?
14. Can you recall any “positive” experience of a client’s “behavioural changes” after an AE programme?
15. Why was it so successful?
16. Can you recall any “negative” experience of a client’s “behavioural changes” after an AE programme?
17. Why was it not successful?
18. How would you relate the successfulness in a cultural context?
19. Will there be any follow-up activities after the programme?
20. How do you think the importance of a follow-up activity contribute to your programme?

Appendix 2: Letter to the AE Participants and their parents.

Dear Applicants/Parents (*NAME*),

I understand that you have participated in an adventure education programme organised by the XXX organisation. It is an agreement of your programme organiser and the Lincoln University of New Zealand that this course will be used as a subject of a research into adventure education and the Chinese-Canadian in Vancouver. I would be much appreciated if you can consider participating in the research.

The research will be qualitative and the data will mainly be collected by interview and observation. I will interview the participants and their parents to find out their understanding, expectation and the outcomes of their adventure education experience. This is an exploratory research project and we hope to open up more opportunities as we go along, at the moment there is no specific area for investigation.

As an interviewee your participation is voluntary and your decision will not affect your participation in the programme, but we sincerely invite you to make contribution to this research. We shall invite you and your parents for the interviews at a time and venue convenient to you. The interview will last for about 30 to 40 minutes for you and 40 to 60 minutes for your parents. There should not be risk of any kind involved in the whole process. You also reserved the rights to withdraw at any point you find uncomfortable or offensive. Your name and information will be kept confidentially and a pseudonym will be used throughout the process.

The research project is exciting and meaningful which aims at further developing adventure education programmes for the overseas Chinese. Your involvement in the project is a crucial part of this process. I would be grateful if you could reply the attached slip and return it to the organiser at your earliest convenience.

Thank you very much for your attention and I am looking forward for your favourable reply.

Yours sincerely,

(SIMON LO, Ph.D. candidate, Lincoln University)

General principles of the interviews:

- All information of the interviewees will be confidential and they will have pseudonyms. Only the researcher will have access to the actual names of participants and their personal particulars via a coding sheet, and this will be kept in secure storage.
- Interviews will be tape recorded for transcription.
- There should not be risk of any kind involved in the research process.
- The participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any point if they think it is offensive and uncomfortable and any information they have already given will be destroyed accordingly.
- The research has been approved by the Human Ethic Committee, Lincoln University of New Zealand and will be guided by the regulations laid down by the committee.

Summary of the involvement of the participants and their parents:

- A telephone contact will be made to the participants and their parents (provided by the AE providers) to gain a consensus of the research and to decide a time for interview convenient for both parties.
- A letter and a consent form will be mail to them to gain a written approval of the interview.
- There will be two interviews each of which will not be longer than 60 minutes for the parents and 40 minutes for the AE participants.
- The researcher will interview the participants and their parents independently and separately.

Reply slip

Research Project: Adventure Education and Chinese Canadians in Vancouver

I **would** / **wouldn't** * like to participate in the above research project conducted by researcher from the Lincoln University of New Zealand. I understand my rights and my involvements in the research programme and would be willing to cooperate with the researcher.

Name of participants: _____ (_____)
(BLOCK LETTER) CHINESE NAME

Telephone number: _____ Mobil phone: _____

E-mail address: _____

Age: _____ Signature: _____

Name of the parent: _____ (_____)

Relationship with the participant: Father / Mother

Signature: _____ Date: _____

* Please circle the appropriate option