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Education, Gender and Erosion of Tradition:

Perceptions and Experiences of

Second-Generation Chinese

by

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ABSTRACT

Canada, a country of opportunities, has long been a destination for the Chinese. This journey has generally been successful since many families were able to find material comfort. But immigrant parents and their descendants struggled to integrate two different and at times, antagonistic cultures. This acculturation process appears most pronounced in the second-generation of immigrants since the first-generation cling to their ethnic values while the second-generation tries to bridge the cultural chasm.

This thesis investigates intergenerational and cross-cultural conflict issues faced by second-generation Chinese. Fifty-six of these immigrants were interviewed on education, grades, dating, marriage, ancestor worship, and parental support. The discussion focused on whether women experienced more conflict than men in each of the six topics. Results showed that women felt greater conflict in five of them. This conclusion has important implications for the perception of immigrants and suggests that educational programs sensitive to these women should be designed.

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DEDICATION

A special dedication to all members of my family tree whose labor and sacrifice have helped to plant the seeds that eventually bore the fruit of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
Approval Page .....	.ii
Abstract .....	.iii
Acknowledgements .....	.iv
Dedication .....	.v
Table of Contents .....	.vi
List of Tables .....	.viii
 CHAPTER ONE: STUDY CONTEXT AND THESIS OVERVIEW	 1
PROBLEM DEFINITION	1
THESIS ORGANIZATION	2
A. Literature review	3
B. Interview of second-generation Chinese men and women in Calgary	6
C. Findings and discussion of interview questions	7
D. Summary, conclusion and implications	7
ACCULTURATION FRAMEWORK	7
SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY	11
 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	 16
TRADITIONAL CHINESE FAMILY VALUES	16
A. Generational cohesion	16
B. Elderly reverence	18
C. Male dominance	19
TRADITIONAL VERSUS CONTEMPORARY CHINESE FAMILY VALUES	21
A. Generational cohesion versus professional success	21
B. Elderly reverence versus youth centredness	23
C. Male dominance versus gender equality	24
THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE IN CANADA	27
A. Formation of the Chinese family	27
B. Bridges of transition	30
C. Conflict of values	32
 CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	 35
POPULATION AND SAMPLE SELECTION	35
RESEARCH DESIGN	36
DATA COLLECTION	37
PILOT INTERVIEWS	38

	<u>page</u>
SELECTED SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS .....	.39
A. Demographic characteristics .....	.40
B. Socioeconomic characteristics. ....	.42
C. Education history and immigration of parents. ....	.45
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	.49
EDUCATION .....	.49
GRADES .....	.58
CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	.66
DATING .....	.66
MARRIAGE .....	.76
CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	.85
ANCESTOR WORSHIP.....	.85
PARENTAL SUPPORT .....	.91
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS .....	.101
SUMMARY .....	.101
CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS. ....	.102
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	.106
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	.107
APPENDIX .....	.112

LIST OF TABLES

page

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

SELECTED SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Table 1 Demographic characteristics by gender	40
Table 2 Socioeconomic characteristics by gender.	42
Table 3 Educational history and immigration of respondents' parents	46

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

EDUCATION

Table 4 The importance of higher education: Respondents' self-perceptions and their perceptions of their parents' attitudes	50
Table 5 Respondents' perceptions of their experienced level of conflict with parents over higher education	53
Table 6 Respondents' perceptions of their experienced frequency of conflict with parents over higher education	57

GRADES

Table 7 The importance of high grades: Respondents' self-perceptions and their perceptions of their parents' attitudes	59
Table 8 Respondents' perceptions of their experienced level of conflict with parents over grades	62
Table 9 Respondents' perceptions of their experienced frequency of conflict with parents over grades	63

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

DATING

Table 10 The importance of dating Chinese: Respondents' self-perceptions and their perceptions of their parents' attitudes.	67
Table 11 Respondents' perceptions of their experienced level of conflict with parents over dating	72
Table 12 Respondents' perceptions of their experienced frequency of conflict with parents over dating	74

MARRIAGE

Table 13 The importance of marriage: Respondents' self-perceptions and their perceptions of their parents' attitudes.	77
Table 14 Respondents' perceptions of their experienced level of conflict with parents over marriage	79
Table 15 Respondents' perceptions of their frequency of conflict with parents over marriage	81

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

Table 16	The importance of ancestor worship: Respondents' self-perceptions and their perceptions of their parents' attitudes. . .	.85
Table 17	Respondents' perceptions of their experienced level of conflict with parents over ancestor worship. . . . .	.88
Table 18	Respondents' perceptions of their experienced frequency of conflict with parents over ancestor worship . . . . .	.89

PARENTAL SUPPORT

Table 19	Respondents' perceptions of their parents' frequency of requests for physical support. . . . .	.92
Table 20	Respondents' perceptions of their experienced level of conflict with parents over physical support . . . . .	.93
Table 21	Respondents' perceptions of their experienced level of conflict with parents over physical support classified by his or her father's occupational category	
	21A) Professional/Managerial/Technical (currently employed). .	.95
	21B) Manual Labor (currently employed). . . . .	.95
	21C) Manual Labor (retired). . . . .	.95
Table 22	Respondents' perceptions of their experienced frequency of conflict with parents over physical support. . . . .	.99

CHAPTER ONE: STUDY CONTEXT AND THESIS OVERVIEW

PROBLEM DEFINITION

Considerable research has been conducted on the acculturation process of new immigrants into countries of destination. These efforts have paved the road to a smoother transition for first-generation immigrants as government organizations aid in the adjustment period. However, less emphasis has been directed on the process faced by the children of these original immigrants. The purpose of this research is to augment this less understood phenomenon and investigate the nature of intergenerational conflict between second-generation Chinese adult children and their parents in Calgary, Alberta, from the children's perspective. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to unravel the potential sources of this conflict and determine whether there are differences in the degree of conflict experienced by males and females.

Since the basic concepts of culture, conflict, acculturation, and assimilation will be used throughout this thesis, it would be best to define the meaning of these terms now. Culture is a body of knowledge that consists of values, perceptions, and practices that are shared among the members of a given society and are passed on from one generation to the next. Culture provides the larger context in which human conflicts occur. Its interdependent parts require conflict to stimulate and reorganize its system over time (Ting-Toomey, 1985:72). As a result, conflict "is for the most part a rubber concept, being stretched and molded for the purposes at hand" (Ting-Toomey, 1985:71). Acculturation is the adoption of the cultural patterns of the larger society (Lee, 1952:319) whereas assimilation is the process by which groups of

individuals relinquish their cultural identity and move into the larger society (Georgas and Kalantzi-Azizi, 1992:229). An individual's degree of acculturation or assimilation can be defined on a continuum because it varies for each member of society.

The term "Chinese" deserves some clarification. In this study, I am specifically concerned with individuals of Chinese ethnicity whose parents' country of birth is in the Far East, e.g., China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan, and Vietnam. "Second-generation" refers to those children whose parents were first-generation immigrants in Canada.

Children of immigrant parents live in a distinct psychosocial world since they walk between two very different cultures. These bicultural individuals often experience conflicts of value, otherwise known as the "second-generation dilemma". Chinese children in particular find some aspects of their parents' traditional attitudes obsolete. Hence, they are often ashamed of their beliefs. In Chinese thinking, a child remains a child of the parent regardless of his or her age. He or she should remain, both emotionally and financially, attached to the parents throughout life. In Western thinking, parental dependence gradually ceases once a child turns eighteen years. These divergent poles of belief can potentially create conflict in areas such as pressure for achievement, e.g., education, or in interracial dating and marriage.

THESIS ORGANIZATION

In order to create some structure and frame the issues in the problem statement, this thesis is organized into six additional chapters: a literature review, a description of the interview process, three separate chapters on the analysis and interpretation of the data, and finally, a

wrap-up chapter on summary, conclusion and implications. A brief introduction will preclude each topic and subsequent chapters will discuss them in more detail.

A. Literature review

Since any body of research rarely stands alone and isolated from all other works, a composite review containing related literature is a natural launchpad for this thesis. The review itself is divided into three sections: traditional Chinese family values, traditional versus contemporary Chinese family values and the Chinese experience in Canada.

Traditional Chinese family values

Many of the present-day values of Chinese parents in Canada stem from traditional Chinese society, and as such, one cannot understand the modern Chinese family without walking in its past. The kinship system of traditional China was based on male dominance. Each member's role was rigidly prescribed by age, gender, and generation. From an early age, the children are made aware of their future roles, boys as providers and girls to obediently serve the family into which they marry. Hence, the elders prefer the birth of a son over a daughter.

Chinese children often grew up with extended family where strict rules, such as respect and obedience, were followed. Filial piety, the moral ground of Chinese thinking, is couched in the attitudes and expectations of the elders. It has perpetuated intergenerational relationships for centuries. Elders, a highly prized commodity in the Chinese culture, represent wisdom and experience (Dhooper, 1991:70). In real-life, few families had sufficient financial resources to promote strict piety behavior. A more interdependent relationship evolved between the

generations in rural China. But in the urban areas, the level of interdependence was more difficult to measure because each member usually worked outside the home.

Traditional versus contemporary Chinese family values

Canadian historical forces helped shape the evolution of the Chinese family. Discriminatory government legislation barred many Chinese immigrant men from entering into certain occupations, e.g., medical practitioner. Consequently, they migrated into service trades and/or entrepreneurship (Dawson, 1991:74). This forced-choice of occupations made it necessary for many immigrant wives to work in partnership with their husbands in running the family enterprise. This in turn shifted the importance of father-son to husband-wife as the central dyad and equalized the power positions of both genders within the family. Thus, the cultural tradition of gender inequality in Canada has been recently challenged. An economic restructuring of the family resulted and the nuclear family unit emerged.

Since much of their time is devoted to paid employment outside the home today, many Chinese wives are unable to or prefer not to nurture and care for their spouse's elderly parents. As well, professional success has placed new demands on the younger generation, hence some modifications to traditional filial behavior has taken place. This is a new way of thinking for the Chinese elders who relished their self-esteem from relationships of interdependence. As children growing up in the company of extended family in their homeland, they learned that mutual dependency between family members is a natural way to live. With their strong belief in filial piety, the elders expected complete devotion from their children in the new country. This is the manner in which pride and prestige was garnered, a philosophy opposite of the Western

practice of independence. As a result, value conflicts have become more common between the generations.

The Chinese experience in Canada

The previous discussions apply generally for all Chinese families. This section specifically looked at the conditions that Chinese immigrants discovered upon their arrival in Canada. The first wave of male immigrants into Canada left behind families in China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway. For many, the search for economic success was difficult as they were met with severe discrimination and the government imposed Chinese head taxes. The Chinese Exclusion Law of 1923 ostensibly halted Chinese immigration to Canada. This period, from 1923 to 1947, became known as the “dark age” in Chinese immigration history (Hoe, 1987:150). During these tough years, some of these men turned to relatives or other people of the same kinship to start their own enterprises. This cycle of help and looking for support and resources from within the family and the Chinese community continued even for the first-generation of local-born children. After all restrictions on Chinese immigration were lifted in 1967, family reunifications took place (Yeung, 1982:6). Wives and children joined the male heads and became active contributors to their own family operations. By this time, the difficult experiences of the past had created a well entrenched attitude of reliance on the family. This attitude of the family pooling resources and struggling for success would become a hallmark of expectations for future generations.

Today, with many variations of family types, one could place first- and second-generation families into two very broad categories of assumptions: the less-educated parents

who work in the enclave community (Chinatown) and the white-collar family with higher socioeconomic status. In both scenarios, the decision-making power of the couple is equalized as husband and wife become co-breadwinners. While there are variations to this pattern where the wife assumes the role of helper rather than equal partner (Wong, 1988:249), generally there is a trend toward mutual sharing of responsibility for most aspects of family life. In the meanwhile, many Chinese parents continued to practise the traditional values learned in the old country. When this happened, some children encountered a “tug o’ war” over which values to adopt. They see some inconsistency between the values taught at home and social rewards of Canadian society.

The literature review provides a rough map of the research that had been done in the field as well as a historical context with which to put the research in perspective. With this backdrop in mind, I made a decision to proceed with a series of interviews with second-generation Chinese immigrants to secure the primary data. A description of this process will be given next.

B. Interview of second-generation Chinese men and women in Calgary

A semi-structured survey with quantitative and qualitative questions was prepared. The interview itself consisted of two components: first, a series of general questions with structured responses were administered, followed by more delicate questions in open-ended format. The snowball technique was used to draw the study sample after recruitment efforts through two Chinese clubs and associations did not attract enough respondents. Fifty-six respondents, 26

males and 30 females, were interviewed from August through October 1996. Their ages ranged from 17 to 50 years.

C. Findings and discussion of the interview questions

The raw data from the quantitative portion of the interview were computer-coded and then I calculated some simple descriptive statistics, e.g., frequency distributions and cross-tabulations, for the purpose of interpretation. Pattern analysis was used for the qualitative portion.

D. Summary, conclusion and implications

All the key elements of the study are brought together in this final chapter. The major findings are discussed in the summary. Concluding remarks on the findings and hypothesis, made in support of the already rich literature on the Chinese, lend a gender perspective to the world of educational research.

ACCULTURATION FRAMEWORK

Before we begin with the actual analysis, it is useful to formulate a general framework for the process of acculturation. The brief description that follows will provide an outline for the analysis of the survey results.

It has been reported that intergenerational conflict between immigrant parents and their children is more severe because acculturation takes place at varying rates for each group. According to the progressive removal continuum, progressive removal from the ethnic culture

occurs as the awareness and internalization of Western norms increase (Fong,1973:124). However, there are several variations of this general theme. The Japanese attitude toward the host culture, for example, has been represented by Osako and Liu's curvilinear pattern. The first generation cling to tradition, the second-generation shy away from it, and the third-generation revert and rediscover their cultural roots despite their extensive acculturation (Osako and Liu,1986:152). "Straight-line" theory argues that acculturation begins the moment immigrants arrive in the host country and each local-born generation acculturates further and raises its status vis-a-vis the previous (Montero,1981:835). In fact, today's second-generation may only acculturate into a segment of culture or what is called bicultural (Gans,1992:188).

Studies show that despite evidence of acculturation to certain Western norms over time, immigrant families generally continue to maintain some traditional aspects of family life. Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil (1981) provided an insightful look at the highly selective approach of socialization for immigrant children. They claim that these families resisted changes in their core values but accepted alterations in pragmatic aspects of their lives.

The "foreign" physical features of Chinese continue to generate stereotypical assumptions about their ethnic character by the non-Chinese population. One of the more powerful stereotypes relates to the presumed tie of Chinese with their home country. As a result, outsiders are in disbelief when they learn second-, third-, and fourth-generation Chinese are unfamiliar with their ancestors' language and culture (Kitano,1981:126). However, there are Chinese who are uncomfortable with their cultural identities and exhibit indifference or negative attitudes toward anybody who actively promoted their cultural heritage. But lately, there has been a resurgence of interest in Chinese community issues by the young Chinese

(Fong,1973:125). It seems that the degree of desired acculturation and the rate of acculturation for different people is not automatic. The stereotype of Chinese people being a homogeneous group that think alike because they look the same is not accurate. People have distinct attitudes relative to their own individual pace of acculturation.

Many older people, age 40 and over, still prefer to think and act in the traditional way and expect the same behavior from their children (Yeung,1982:10). Since the identity of immigrant parents (or first-generation) are anchored to roles or groups, they perceived their children's higher pace of acculturation to be an identity threat (Boekestijn,1988:94; Gans,1979:12). There are generational differences in acculturation.

Chinese parents have adopted two reaction patterns to counter their children's acculturation rate. First, in their desire to ensure cultural continuity, the parents stress Old World traditions, customs, history, and language more rigidly than in their home country. They are of the belief that it is their responsibility and obligation to inculcate the "Chineseness" in their children. As a consequence, many second-generation Chinese children attend Chinese language school outside of regular school hours (Wong,1988:250). Speaking or learning the mother tongue is seen as the culture itself. In most instances, the issue of language is the single most important factor in cultural conflict between the different generations. In a study of Greek-Americans, generational conflict (strongest between first- and second-generations) is caused primarily by barriers in language (Kourvetaris,1990:146). Language describes cultural core values. By taking appropriate action, parents hope to delay the acculturation process of their children (Chen,1988:26). Second, the parents may reject their children's "foreign" ideas and behaviors; anything considered non-Chinese is barbaric. They believe that a Chinese by

race should behave like a proper Chinese regardless of their nationality. Only a Caucasian person is a true Canadian.

Children undergoing acculturation feel more conflict relative to adults because they have not yet developed a maturational perspective in which to understand their bicultural situation. Some feel enormous pressure from host society to conform (Kourvetaris,1990:146), and naturally the children, being bred in the country desire the equal status (Sam,1992:23). However, not all children experience the same kind of conflict nor to the same degree. Over time, the young Chinese in North America have become better matched in their psychological make-up and general behavior to their host society (Fong,1973:123).

There are four broad, but not mutually exclusive, character types of young Chinese at present. In the first group, some individuals overidentify with their Caucasian friends and go out of their way to “prove” that they are Western in their behavior. Their defiance of parental values can result in strained family relationships (Lee,1984:24;Yeung,1982:43). Such an individual might be perceived as more likely to engage in intermarriage. In the second group, the person does not believe in open disobedience and hence, faces internal conflict when his or her own personal feelings disagree with parental expectations. They stay fiercely loyal to family obligations and associate mainly with other Chinese (Lee,1984:26;Yeung,1982:43). The third group does not feel that complete obedience to traditional values is possible. They “walk the line” between the two cultures. Members remain respectful to the old, time-honored ways but they have a favorable rapport with the host society. Their parents are generally happy with their Chinese orientation but less so with their disobedience (Sue and Sue,1973:120). Finally, some children adopt different roles, one role at home with parents and another outside the

home. This group feels “marginalized” or torn between two cultures because this person cannot identify with either set of norms (Chen,1988:26;Dhooper,1991:67;Sam,1992:23;Sue and Sue,1971).

In summary, previous studies have extensively explored the issues of acculturation, cross-cultural adjustment and intergenerational relations. In this report, I will attempt to take a narrower focus and examine the impact of gender on cross-cultural and intergenerational conflict for second-generation Chinese immigrants. This refined definition of conflict has led to the formulation of this hypothesis: Chinese women should experience a greater overall level of conflict than men due to the evolving role of working women. In other words, the levels of conflict felt is often dependent upon the gender of the individual. The research will endeavour to provide evidence for the above.

Chapter two will take a look at some of the traditional Chinese family values and their incorporation into the host society. This marks a logical starting point since intergenerational conflict has a greater probability of occurring when there are value discrepancies.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

A large volume of literature has been written on intergenerational conflict. Chinese conflicts have typically concentrated on immigrant parents and their children with no gender-specific differentiation. However, I feel that Chinese-Canadian females face a common set of dilemmas that has a potential to create acute conflict between the generations. The rationale is

that the changing role of women in contemporary society creates additional pressures for most Chinese females.

Today's women have a dualistic attitude toward their life orientation precipitated by their own and/or their parents' immigration. Naidoo and Davis (1988) conducted a study of South Asian women and found that immigrant families are making gradual adjustments in their concepts about family life that are bringing them closer to the Canadian norms. Previous traditional attitudes that relate to the women's responsibilities of home-making and child-rearing are changing to include career aspirations for themselves and their daughters. No longer are men solely responsible for the financial support of the family; men and women share equal responsibilities in and outside the home. This contemporary or modern attitude is a reflection of the values and beliefs of mainstream society. However, in spite of greater acculturation, the immigrant women see their primary status to be that of wives and mother with careers being less important (Nandi and Fernandez, 1994:1). These traditional attitudes relate to views about the place of men and women in society (sexual division of labor) and remain deeply rooted in immigrant families.

In the book, JIN GUO: Voices of Chinese Canadian Women, the Women's Book Committee (1992) brought together a rich collection of oral history from Chinese-Canadian daughters. The purpose of this publication was to present the historical experiences of the Chinese women. After all, "women's history is equally as important as men's history, regardless of numbers" (p. 11). Certain patterns emerged through the different fragmentary stories, especially around the themes of identity, marriage, parents and education. This diverse array of intimate accounts were vibrant yet painstaking in its ability to recapture the negative

climate of sexism, within and outside of family boundaries. Many of the women's similar feelings were heard across generational boundaries and the clash of values were unmistakable. But what range of social implications are attached to these conflicts?

One example from the JIN GUO book is Grace Lee's stand against her family's preference to sponsor her brothers for higher education. She "couldn't stand the archaic thinking of the Chinese that females shouldn't study – that they would never succeed" (p.130). Her desire to prove them wrong was unwielding. Grace rebelled and financed her own way through a teacher's program and never married, much to her father's dismay. Her father held staunch cultural expectations of gender roles, hence he was unsupportive of his daughter's ambitions. Fortunately, Grace matured into a responsible citizen with no long-term social deviances. But in contrast, the documentary, "The Evelyn Lau Story" showed how a Chinese teenage runaway fell into the trap of drug and alcohol addiction because of difficulties in acculturating. Her parents were traditional Chinese and Evelyn found leaving home the only way to escape their controlling ways. The film showed Evelyn's breaking point to be her mother's scolding comment on being "too far". How was she to attract suitors? Evelyn wanted to live a normal teenage existence but in the meantime, her mother was busily fitting her as a prize catch. It was her mother's desire to see Evelyn married off to a good Chinese family. This is an extreme example of a negative social implication that arose out of different ways of thinking and it highlights the high stakes that are involved in poor acculturation that led to high levels of intergenerational conflict.

This topic is of particular relevance to educators in the multiculturalism and cross-cultural fields. This type of knowledge would not only aid in the acculturation process of newcomers, but through its discourse, “provide students with a lens through which to examine society, not so much in order to understand what students think they know about others, but more importantly, for what we don’t know about ourselves” (Sefa Dei,1991:41). It would help educators, more efficiently and effectively, design new educational programs, e.g., multiculturalism lesson planning for elementary children, or revise existing curricula in women’s studies. In the instance of Evelyn Lau, perhaps a self-help support group for second-generation women facing similar hardships, might have alleviated some of her emotional turmoil. This open forum and mutual sharing would provide Evelyn with an umbrella of comfort, and hence make her realize that embarking on the streets is not the only answer to her problems. By taking these preventative measures now, it is hoped that future government intervention programs will be kept to a minimum.

The role of Chinese women has steadily changed as a result of the migratory process overseas. The blurring of roles will continue as traditional family values are redefined within a Canadian context. This issue, a significant source of potential conflict, and other issues will be discussed in Chapter two.

In summary, the thesis could aid in understanding the acculturation process and cultural conflict for Chinese immigrants. But it also has implications for the less explored area of gender bias in these fields and it leads to the question of whether or not gender issues are in

fact more significant than cultural issues. While this is outside the scope of this project, the findings would certainly be the basis of additional research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter expands on the three main themes of traditional Chinese family values, traditional versus contemporary Chinese family values and the Chinese experience in Canada that were introduced in Chapter one.

TRADITIONAL CHINESE FAMILY VALUES

The literature highlighted several distinct elements that characterized traditional Chinese family values. I chose to focus on the three that appeared to have the greatest effect on intergenerational and cross-cultural conflict. These are: generational cohesion, elderly reverence and male dominance.

A. Generational cohesion

Central to the social organization of the Chinese village is the extended family. Children usually grew up in the company of adults, not only their parents, but also members of the extended family. Social independence was generally not emphasized as children were expected to live at home until they married at an appropriate age (Tsai,1986:162). Rather, children learned that mutual dependency between family members and strict social rules are a natural way of life (Lee,1984;Yeung,1982:31). Some examples of these social rules include respect and obedience, preservation of harmony, and repression of emotions as themes of strict discipline and control, proper conduct, and acceptance of social obligations (Rosenthal and Feldman,1990:497;Yeung,1982:8).

Filial piety, loyal devotion to one's parents, is the moral fiber that governs Chinese thinking (Davis-Friedmann,1991:48). Couched in parental attitudes, its main purpose is to regulate the parent-child relationship as long as the child lived. From parent to child, piety has four obligatory sub-components. In its most literal translation, this Confucian belief favored the rights of the old over those of the young and legitimized power in the parents' hands. The child must (1) obey and respect his or her parents, (2) beget a son to continue the lineage, (3) support them in old age, and (4) garner prestige by high professional achievements, bringing honor to parents and ancestors (Osako and Liu,1986:130).

Strong parental role models are emphasized in Chinese-Canadian childrearing. Whether the parents were professionals who stimulated intellectual conversations, or a waiter who worked long hours for meagre wages, they trained the child to bring honor to his or her family (Tsai,1986:163). Filial piety occupies the highest priority step on the value ladder in traditional China. It is explicitly demanded that support of parents by adult children take precedence over all other obligations (Kim, Kim and Hurh,1991:237;Lin,1985:14). A son's filiality is measured by his material success and the material comfort he can provide for his parents. Parents in return, were required to give little to the child beyond basic sustenance.

Education is highly valued in the Chinese family. Chinese parents will undergo extreme financial sacrifice and hardship so that their children can receive maximum education. This value on education may stem from several factors: the parents' traditional Confucian respect for learning, the realization that education is an avenue by which their children can gain security and a better life than they had, and the elevated social status that the parents receive in the Chinese community if they have a college-educated or professional child (Wong,1988:250).

In actual practice, few families have been wealthy enough to promote strict piety behavior. This was particularly the case amongst most working-class (farming) villages in rural China where intergenerational cooperation was essential. Initially, parents cared for their children but as parents grew old, a more interdependent relationship evolved between the generations that reflected the increased earning power of the young (Davis-Friedmann,1991:48). This interdependence trait remains between parent-child relations because neither generation can live as well on their own. The generations, knitted together into a unit, each perform the tasks that maximize the earnings for the entire household. The levels of interdependence, however are more difficult to measure in urban families (Davis-Friedmann,1991:50). Each working member is self-sufficient, that is, his employment status is not reliant on the earning ability of the others. Parents and children do not pool all of their salaries into one budget. Even though the basis for cohesion is lessened in urban areas, the cultural practice established by a history of previous rural existence ensures continued generational cohesion even in these locations.

B. Elderly reverence

Great value is placed on the past by the Chinese, and as such, ancestor worship is a vital Chinese religious practice. Older Chinese persons represent a link to the past and it is believed that they will join the ancestors to be worshipped when they die (Lin,1985:5). Growing old is regarded as a blessing. Although the physical strength of the elderly had declined, their source of status is extracted from enriched life experiences and knowledge (Dhooper,1991:70).

To elderly Chinese parents, what it means to be old is the fulfilment of filial piety (Kim, Kim and Hurh, 1991:240). The belief in co-residence, mentioned in Cheung's study (1989) as a traditional value category, is thought to help promote caring parent-child relationships. Although the traditional structure of Chinese society has never been reproduced in North America, older Chinese persons believe that their traditional values about aging, families, and children should persist and be protected.

The strength of the bond between Chinese parents and their children has been the subject of considerable research in North America. It has been shown that Chinese children show greater concern and devotion toward their elders than Caucasian children. In addition, they are the primary source of assistance for the elderly Chinese and not social service agencies (Wong, 1988:250).

C. Male dominance

The traditional Chinese family is a rigid system with a clear hierarchy prescribed by age, sex, and generational status. The oldest patriarch's authority is supposed to supersede all generational boundaries (Wong, 1988:249). In the meantime, a dutiful wife is expected to serve her husband and in-laws. The subordination role of wives to their husbands relate to the subordination role of women to men in traditional Chinese society. As a mother, she commands the children and decides what is best for them (Wong, 1988:249). The children are expected to obey both of their parents and show respect for all elders (Yeung, 1982:23).

Variations to the traditional family exist in real life in China. In rural families, the head of the household is usually the adult who earns the highest income. Control of family assets

become the provision of the most vital, best-paid worker since income-earning ability of working members varied in direct proportion to changes in health while authority reigns with the older generation (Davis-Friedmann,1991:81). Head of household in urban families has a different interpretation. The title befalls the member who maintains the household budget. Determination of authority is based on the financial superiority of one generation over another. The young gain stature when the old leave the workplace (Davis-Friedmann,1991:81). For both rural and urban situations, quarrels centred mainly on finances and the care of grandchildren can result in total estrangement, but this is rare (Davis-Friedmann,1991:71).

The father-son relationship is the cornerstone of the Chinese family. The birth of a son is preferable to that of a daughter. The Chinese adage, "A boy is born facing in; a girl is born facing out" means that sons preserve the sacred lineage, while daughters would be a primary benefit to the family into which they married (Mark and Chih,1982:61;Yeung,1982:8). Different treatment of the two sexes begins at birth. Boys are expected to take responsibility in the family business and be more diligent in their studies. The training of a daughter is aimed at fitting her to be a proper wife, mother, and daughter-in-law. Educational opportunities were often denied to females because it was thought of as an endangerment to feminine virtue (Lee,1984:21). Ambitions would corrupt the devotion of a wife to her husband, and daughter-in-law to her future mother-in-law (Fong,1973:119). In time, girls come to learn the three obediences of the Confucian doctrine: to obey the father when unmarried, obey the husband when married, and obey the sons when widowed (Tsai,1986:157). Chinese women were placed under the control of the males from their birth to death.

Many parents purposefully cultivate the loyalty of sons over that of daughters. The reason is that in rural China, parents of all ages continue to rely almost exclusively on sons for financial support. Urban parents though turn equally to daughters. The shift away from the traditional preference for sons can be partially explained by new employment opportunities for women. This conscious preference and behavior adjustment reflect the new income redistribution of family members (Davis-Friedmann, 1991:47).

TRADITIONAL VERSUS CONTEMPORARY CHINESE FAMILY VALUES

Each of these three elements of traditional Chinese family values will now be compared with their contemporary counterpart in this section. The clash of values is often at the root of many intergenerational conflicts.

A. Generational cohesion versus professional success

The desire for professional success, under certain circumstances, can threaten generational cohesion. The young do not depend on the old to make a living as was the case in the homeland. Higher education has naturally opened the door to greater job prospects and new demands. Many present-day occupations require the worker to move with the job. Most workers will comply with these requirements to ensure status mobility. These pressures and commitments may sometimes intervene and take priority over family concerns (Montero, 1981:833). As a result, the elders' needs are considered an added responsibility beyond those of the profession. Some children find it a burden and an inconvenience, within their personal schedules, to accommodate parents and relatives. The value of the elders'

wisdom has even diminished, as formal channels of education has become better recognized for learning occupational skills (Lin,1985:6).

The child might be willing to remain filial in the traditional sense, but he or she might feel compelled to modify or eliminate some of their parents' behavior patterns to accomodate his or her present situation (Lin,1985:23). For example, nowadays it is common for all children to share in their parents' physical care. The degree to which each child can help however is dependent upon physical proximity, employment, willingness to care and/or emotional attachment (Kim, Kim and Hurh,1991:242). Hence, the fulfilment of piety obligation is more a reflection of personal attitude and practical considerations. The duality of attraction model shows that while second-generation Japanese find the lure of socioeconomic advancement from the host society attractive, they also feel the conflicting pull to remain in the ethnic community for identity ties. Practically though, the socioeconomic advantages makes it unrealistic for the young to return to the ethnic fold (Montero,1982:837).

The changing family structure is also threatening family solidarity. The extended family was the ideal; the isolated nuclear family has now become the norm in this shifting job market. Under the traditional system, sons and their wives were expected to sacrifice their marital loyalties in favor of caring for the elderly parents. This may no longer be viable nor desirable because many wives currently work outside the home. Their status and power within the families are enhanced as a result of their wage-earning ability (Tsai,1986:158). With new-found confidence, wives purposefully choose to separate their family life from parental interference. They prefer not to care for in-laws in the traditional sense.

B. Elderly reverence versus youth centredness

There are obvious differences between the expectations and needs of the Chinese elderly who came to this country as an adult and those who were born and/or raised here (Dhooper, 1991:70). The latter are perceived by many Chinese people to be less traditional because they are influenced by the new culture (Cheung, 1989:457).

An extra layer of needs is created for some Chinese elderly with the contemporary, youth-oriented Western society. The personal worth of the aged is discounted relative to the Chinese culture. Changing family and societal values have undermined the commitment of Chinese children to traditional norms and at the same time, relieved them of their duty to care for aging parents. Individualism and the nuclear family structure has taken centre stage in younger people's lives (Cheung, 1989:458; Rosenthal and Feldman, 1990:497). This is vastly different from the traditional Chinese values of interdependence and close extended family relationships.

For the aged, relationships with their adult children take on an added sense of importance. Not only do the children have more resources and options than their parents, but they are, in fact often the very reason the parents left their home country. There is greater expectation on the younger generation to succeed and show gratification to their parents as a result of their hardships. These increased expectations run counter to the children's more Westernized lifestyle. The Chinese elders have basically forsaken a society in which they would have been viewed as family treasures for a society in which there is little appreciation for growing old (Lin, 1985:29).

The Chinese believe that parents and children should be physically and psychologically attached (Rosenthal and Feldman,1990:511). Appropriate place and behavior for any given person is defined by his or her kingroup. He or she is expected to conform to the demands of established social reality rather than changing reality to suit individual aspirations (Yeung,1982:13). On the contrary, Western norms encourage children to take charge and make their own decisions. They have the right to think for themselves and live their lives as they see fit. Any violation of these feelings is considered an intrusion. Hence, children should feel free of obligation, commitment and tradition.

To many Chinese, relationships of interdependence determine one's worth. In Western thinking, it is better to die than beg for help. While these parents struggle to maintain their dignity by being self-sufficient, the Chinese maintain their self-esteem by having someone on whom to depend (Lin,1985:21). The Chinese view their positions within a web of social relationships with often demanding or even conflicting roles (Chen,1988:19). It is primarily these social relationships that determine the emotional well-being of the Chinese elderly.

C. Male dominance versus gender equality

Each culture has a dominant dyad that is accorded central importance. The dyad is the culmination of all the society's values and subsequently, colors all of society's relationships. In Western society, the husband-wife dyad takes precedence over other dyads in the nuclear family. Husband and wife are supposed to have equal say in household matters. Chinese society, on the other hand, is dominated by the father-son dyad. For example, in traditional Chinese society, the parents have greater say in the choice of their son's future wife than the

son himself, as in the case of arranged marriages. The needs of the parents take precedence over the married partners. Vertical relationships are the foundation of Chinese culture; a society oriented toward preserving the status quo. In Canada, the father-son relationship matters less than the husband-wife bond (Lin, 1985:22). Status quo preservation is less tenable in a society where horizontal relationships prevail and linkage to the past is left behind (Fong, 1973:116).

The cultural tradition of gender inequality is still prevalent amongst the present-day Chinese although the expanded role of immigrant wives have helped narrow the gap. Women often toiled beside their husbands in running the family enterprise, e.g., dishwashers in restaurants and as clerks in stores. The success of the family operation usually relied on the labor of wives and children. Home life and family livelihood were often inseparable. Although the traditional Confucian model with father as the authority figure was followed in families, children were taught to listen to both parents.

A variation to this pattern are those Chinese women employed in the labor market, namely those working as sewing machine operators in garment industries. Commonly seen as exploiting their workers, the shops paid these women less than minimum wage and no overtime pay (Tsai, 1986:159). The acculturation process is heightened for immigrant women in a new country due to the relative placements of men and women on the traditional family hierarchy. Her position is seriously challenged as the traditional roles of daughter, wife and mother are redefined to include educational and career roles. Studies show that as Chinese women become more acculturated, there was a low correlation between traditional values, e.g., obedience to parents, and contemporary values, e.g., career ambition (Lee, 1984:15).

In contrast to the garment workers is the growing segment of women that have made inroads into the high-paid labor market. Their socioeconomic success can be largely attributed to their perseverance and higher education. Neither the garment workers nor the extremely successful women profile represent the average Chinese-Canadian woman. The majority of them fall somewhere between these two groups, enrolled in higher learning institutions or employed in professional and technical positions. Of Chinese women who did not have college degrees, most were employed as clerks and in other low-paying jobs. The numbers of female professionals have steadily increased as more Chinese women completed postsecondary degrees from North American universities. In 1970, 58 per cent of Chinese women in the age group of 18-24 years were enrolled in school while 31 per cent in the age group of 25-34 years were employed in professional and technical jobs (Tsai,1986:160). The expanded role of the female head (mother) as income earner has improved the situation for the next generation (daughter) (Mark and Chih,1982:66). There is growing acceptance for Chinese girls to further their education but merely as a means to locate better husbands or to satisfy parental expectations (Tsai,1986:161). Other girls have faced resistance from parents in regard to getting any higher education (Fong,1973:120).

The attitude that boys are more precious than their sisters continue to persist, after centuries of being ingrained in the Chinese social character. Chinese males can pursue career or academic goals without feeling any direct challenge to their traditional dominant position. However, great strides have been taken by contemporary women during the past few decades to change their image from weak subservience to social confidence (Tsai,1986:161).

Liberalization has allowed these women more freedom. Their fathers, brothers, and husbands have also learned to show sensitivity to some of their emotional needs.

THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE IN CANADA

A reflection on the history of how Chinese have attempted to integrate and acculturate into the Canadian lifestyle have provided an insight into the Chinese character and some of their attitudes toward Western society and people. It is this context that will set the stage to discuss the three topics of this section: the formation of the Chinese family, bridges of transition, and finally, conflict of values.

A. Formation of the Chinese family

The family is the fundamental unit of Chinese society. Being at the core of the value system, the structure and evolution of the family affected the way Chinese think and act. The present Chinese family and community life is best understood in light of its formation through different historical periods. The traditional extended family structure of China greatly influenced the present family structure. The modern Western ideal consisting of only the conjugal unit of parents and children was practically non-existent in traditional Chinese thought (Wong, 1988:236).

The first wave of Chinese arrived to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Most of these immigrants had a sojourner attitude and voraciously clung to the Chinese culture. They came to Canada in search of financial security, and some planned to return to their homeland once they made their fortunes (Chan, 1987:12; Lin, 1985:25). Able-bodied men migrated first,

and those who had intentions to stay made preparations in the host society for family to come over later. In the meanwhile, men supported their families with remittances.

Early Chinese settlers led a very insulated lifestyle. Before 1920, bachelors sought comfort and refuge in Chinatowns and formed clan associations (Boeckstijn,1988:83; Lee,1984:7). This formation of community was seen as a necessary defence against a hostile and discriminative environment or a voluntary attempt to preserve cultural identity through segregation (Dawson,1991:74;Johnson,1979:360). The conditions gave rise to split household families, a situation where the married Chinese male in Canada was physically separated from his wife and children in China (Wong,1988:236). As a result, Caucasians thought the Chinese came to Canada without their wives, refused to assimilate and worked for petty wages (Chan,1991:40).

The Chinese could not be completely blamed for not assimilating into Canadian society; their inability to speak English made association difficult. Institutional racism was also partly to blame for the perceived delay of Chinese assimilation. Certain government legislations suppressed the Chinese from full participation in the host society. Many Chinese found themselves entrenched in menial service jobs, e.g., cooking (Chan,1991:41). The more resourceful Chinese became financially successful businessmen despite laws that prevented Caucasian women from being employed in these enterprises. Chinese immigrants were deliberately made as scapegoats for Canada's economic ills (Satzewich,1989:320). A large number were segregated in schools and exposed to physical violence.

Between 1920 and 1943, split household families continued as the predominant form although the small producer family emerged. Second-generation local-born children divided

their time between helping out in the family enterprise and trying to excel scholastically. Cultural ties between the Chinese family in Canada and the traditional family in China continued (Wong,1988). This tie gradually weakened as the family members became more acculturated because of their exposure to host country values.

Accompanied by the head tax, a socioeconomic form of discrimination, the Chinese Exclusion Law was introduced in 1923 by the Canadian government. These tightened measures helped to restrict the influx of Chinese immigrants, but were later repealed in 1947. This may have been a result of changes in the social climate towards the Chinese. The war helped to reduce racial sensitivities because China joined forces with the Western nations against the Japanese in World War II (Baureiss,1987:19). The Chinese still were unable to unite their families until they became citizens and this came as late as 1957. Restrictions on Chinese immigration were entirely removed in 1967. General prejudice was also declining, so the Chinese changed their former sojourner mentality to one of accepting Canada as their permanent home (Yeung,1982:6).

The kind of Chinese migrant has changed over time. Peasants from impoverished areas of China coming to work as laborers have almost become a memory of the past. Two family structures, nevertheless, have prevailed. The new form of dual-worker family consists of the new immigrant Chinese family where both husband and wife are employed in separate unskilled labor jobs that serve the enclave economy (Chinatown) (Wong,1988:248). Some struggle financially to make ends meet. The family enterprise of the small producer period has become less common as more parents and children are separated during the day. Due to different job schedules, the parents sometimes spend very little time with each other or with their children.

This group of immigrants has helped preserve some of the old traditional ways more so than typically found in the Chinese middle-class or Caucasian families (Wong,1988:248). The second type of Chinese family reflects the sophistication and wealth of the British colony of Hong Kong (Johnson,1979:366). With their degree of education and affluence, this middle-class migrant population contrasts sharply with previous Chinese migrants to Canada. They are more modern and cosmopolitan in orientation and of higher socioeconomic status (Wong, 1988:249) and often live comfortably in the suburbs. However, a semi-extended family situation can result with this group of Chinese. Grandparents may establish a residence on the same block or neighborhood as their children. Variations of these family patterns exist too -- for example, a family-run restaurant outside of Chinatown.

B. Bridges of transition

Dhooper's study (1991) on intercultural transition showed that several factors can contribute to migration success including racism, economic survival, loss of extended family, and cultural conflicts. The Chinese felt all of these inhibitors to an extreme. Asian families have traditionally been characterized by their stability, interpersonal and social support but these factors were all reduced during the migration process (Dhooper,1991:78).

Past research indicate that the elderly Chinese often do not wish to assimilate. Their reluctance to give up their cultural values easily from the old country retards their adjustment in the new country (Cheung,1989:457). Chinatowns, established to replicate the home country climate and as a refuge from unfriendly surroundings, acted as buffers in the adjustment process. In the instance of ancestor worship however, many Chinese still perform the tradition,

although there is a parting from these rituals (Yeung,1982:22). Influences of Western society have changed some of the traditional practices in Chinese families.

Cross-cultural clashes are generally more obvious in families belonging to cultural groups that have lived in ghettos such as the Chinese. Any long-term delay in acculturation of the first-generation will appear as an intergenerational conflict of values in the second one. In many cases, however, the clash is intercultural rather than intergenerational (Sluzki,1979:387). "A Chinese person might easily live, work, socialize, and function solely within a Chinatown" (Dawson, 1991:77). It was the focal point of urban community life for the Chinese. There was a wide cultural gap between the Chinese and the host population in terms of general lifestyles and attitudes.

The modern Chinese family, whether dual-worker or middle-class, holds more conservative views in regard to sexual values and more traditional attitudes toward the role of women than the Caucasian population (Wong,1988:249). The women themselves believe that taking care of a home and educating the young were more important and rewarding than having a job or living independently. Persistence of traditional attitudes among Chinese women is perhaps best reflected in their child-rearing practices (Tsai,1986:163). Children are motivated to learn and to be aware of their proper social roles.

How Chinese children grow up in Canada can be clearly illustrated by the concept of physical space and possessions within the home. Unlike Canadian households, a complete community of interests is enforced. Chinese parents do not insist on privacy for all individuals. A child's physical environment would include shared rooms with parents and the freedom to

use any of the family members' belongings and vice versa. No lines are drawn between space and possessions (Tsai,1986:162).

Divorce is uncommon among the older Chinese. However, with the younger generation reared in a society that believes in romantic love and personal happiness in marriage, divorce rates have risen. The family unit has certainly changed from the single bachelor days and it continues to evolve as immigration patterns change and acculturation continues.

C. Conflict of values

Relational problems between the younger generation and their parents may result from the conflicting forces of two value systems. The traditional codes of behavior that the elderly promote are in many ways contradictory to what the younger generation has learned at school and in society. Sometimes described as "cultures in conflict", these two cultures often seem to oppose each other (Cheung,1989:459). It can lead to a situation of personal discomfort for those involved (Kitano,1973:7). The degree of intergenerational conflict will depend on the extent to which tradition is a meaningful expression of the cultural values (Osako and Liu, 1986:152). Frequent surfacing of conflicts between generations would be shocking in traditional China. But this is not the case in Canada where Caucasian parents customarily encourage their children to choose their own role in life (Fong,1973:118). However, even the most liberal Chinese would still not allow their children so much freedom.

Both the old and young generations suffer from a loss of self-esteem in value clashes between generations; the old suffer from loss of status from the young while the latter become confused with their identity (Gold,1989:408). The younger people experience feelings of

shame and embarrassment which seems to have interfered with the old-respect relationships. The same thing occurs in some three-generational families. As the oldest generation experience role reversals and the youngest generation is caught in bicultural conflicts, the stability of the middle generation is also decreased (Yeung, 1982:26).

Clearly, from the descriptions given above, there is potential for intergenerational and cross-cultural conflict to occur between Chinese parents and their children. The position of the family head is undermined when the young generation begins to override parental sanctions. That is, the traditional Chinese family evolves from a tight, hierarchical structure to one of greater equality between parents and children as Western ideas are introduced into the home by the latter. This conflict over parental authority appears to peak during adolescence (Fong, 1973:118). The generation gap may be accentuated by the language barrier between the two generations.

The quality of parent-child relations is based largely on reciprocity or the exchange theory. This approach holds that individuals generally expect some sort of equitable reward for deeds completed (Suito and Pillemar, 1988:1038). Conflict arises when there is a perceived inequity for either or both parties. This is the Western grain of belief. It runs opposite to the Chinese custom of filial obligations where Chinese parents believe they are entitled to a significant social and economic position as they grow older.

The literature review was intended to provide a context and a foundation for selecting a research topic, designing a methodology and analyzing the results. The next chapter will

discuss the second of these steps, the actual research procedure, that was used to gather the data collection.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

With the understanding from the literature review that the second-generation experience of two colliding worlds is common, this chapter will take a look at the research methodology. A semi-structured interview was conducted in the fall of 1996 of adult Chinese men and women in Calgary who are children of immigrant parents.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE SELECTION

The population consisted of all second-generation Chinese men and women residing in Calgary. The snowball sampling technique was used to generate the names of participants after efforts to draw a systematic sample from the membership lists of two Chinese clubs, the Chinese Students' Society at the University of Calgary and the Sien Lok Society, a Chinatown affiliated association, were unsuccessful. These clubs were chosen for their comprehensiveness and direct accessibility to the desired sample. Although neither of the clubs enforce cultural exclusivity, there is a greater potential of reaching the desired participants with the majority of members being Chinese. The criterion used to determine participant eligibility is whether both parents are Chinese and first-generation immigrants to Canada. No restriction was placed on the age of the immigrant in order to assess its full impact on the children's perceptions of filial obedience.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The investigation concentrated on the child's perception of parental expectations in six categories of interest: education, grades, dating, marriage, ancestor worship, and parental support. The respondents were asked to indicate the level of importance of these items to their parents on a four-dimension scale, from "not important" to "very important". These questions were carefully designed to determine the respondents' perception of the parents' orientation toward gender differences and subsequently, how it influenced their childrearing practices. The respondents were then asked to rank the same questions from their own point of view. By doing so, I wanted to see if the respondents' perceived value disparity led to open conflict. Only in parental support were the respondents asked their perception of the frequency of their parents' requests instead of the importance question. The response choices were "rarely", "occasionally", "frequently", and "always". To measure the degree and frequency of conflict, I applied four-dimension scales again. For the former, the response choices were "none", "a little", "some", and "a great deal", and for the latter, the same scale used for parental support frequency was applied. If the respondents experienced no conflict, then the frequency question was skipped.

To cast a brighter light on the unique experiences of the sample, less structured questions were added to the common set mentioned earlier. I found it fascinating to delve deeper into the family issues of respondents with the open-ended questions, similar to attaching a monitor to the heart to measure emotional pulses.

Although findings from this study cannot be applied to the entire population as a whole, certain aspects nevertheless appear to reflect the reality of second-generation Chinese

children in Calgary. The limited size and non-random sample will naturally restrict the generalizability of the study's results. A complete list of the research limitations is supplied in Chapter seven.

DATA COLLECTION

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were employed to investigate the degree of intergenerational conflict of second-generation Chinese. I formulated the questions and they were applied in semi-structured interviews from August through October 1996. An interview is "a conversation with a purpose" (Berg, 1995:29). Participants were initially generated through a two-fold strategy: First, an e-mail message was sent to the Chinese Students' Society executive prior to the intended study frame. Its intent was to seek the help of club executives by fanning out my request for volunteer participants. Upon their approval, this message was sent out to 120 active members. The volunteers could respond to the researcher by either e-mail or telephone. This initial fan-out, which occurred in August, produced no responses. A month later, another fan-out with the same message was sent to 150 members. This time, seven members indicated interest and interviews were scheduled.

Second, a different approach was used to recruit volunteers through the Sien Lok Society. I made no request for message dispersion. Rather, I established direct contact with the president prior to the intended study timeline. The president offered to pre-screen all active members based on the selection criterion. In this way, she wished to determine both the interest and willingness of participating members. Unfortunately, the expected list of volunteers never materialized. An alternative course of action was taken. The Sien Lok

director in charge of the social club agreed to include an insert in the September mailout to their 99 members. The content was the same as the CSS e-mail message. Volunteers were asked to call me if they were interested. There were no responses.

I found the low response rate very disconcerting because the sample size could not be achieved. Hence, due to this low rate of response, additional referrals were obtained through the snowball approach. The seven participants recruited through the CSS were sent a second e-mail message of my intent. They all responded with a minimal of one contact name. Consequently, each person thereafter was asked for referrals until my study sample size was reached. After the intended study frame had passed, a few respondents called to provide names of people that expressed an interest in participating in my research. I declined their offers since I had moved into the data analysis stage.

PILOT INTERVIEWS

The survey questions were revised several times and administered in the form of interviews to five adult children, 2 males and 3 females. The pretest progressed fairly well. Respondents appeared honest and were thorough with their answers and explanations which indicated that the wording used and my interview style were generally effective. However, the sequence of some questions in a few sections were altered to enhance the flow. Meanwhile, certain questions were eliminated and others added. The new interview schedule was then ready for the actual data collection.

One problem emerged during the pretest of interviews. Upon making the appropriate arrangements with a female respondent to meet in her home (she co-resides with her parents), I

was shocked, at the time of my arrival, to be told by the person that an alternate location had to be used. Her voice conveyed a sense of urgency and panic. The person confided in me later (in the interview) that her parents were extremely cautious with personal safety and did not welcome strangers in their home. Because of my inexperience with conducting field research, I tended to schedule meetings in places that were most convenient for the respondents and did not think about how others occupying the same living quarters might feel. To avoid further unforeseen complications, a decision was made that the most suitable interview environment would be in a quiet public locale, e.g., coffee shop. Not only would this remove the respondent from facing curious questions from family, but it would also give him or her the privacy to engage in an open and frank interview.

SELECTED SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

After the format for the interviews was finalized, the final sample consisted of 56 participants, 26 males and 30 females. The uneven number reflects the greater accessibility of females in this particular study. Table 1 shows various demographic characteristics of the sample. Table 2 shows their socioeconomic traits. Finally, Table 3 traces the educational history and immigration of the participants' parents from their country of origin.

A. Demographic characteristics

In Table 1 is a profile of the demographic characteristics of the sample.

TABLE 1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS BY GENDER Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)			
	All Respondents	Male	Female
BIRTHPLACE			
Canada	60.7% (34)	53.8% (14)	66.7% (20)
Hong Kong	17.9% (10)	26.9% (7)	10.0% (3)
Vietnam	7.1% (4)	7.7% (2)	6.7% (2)
Malaysia	5.4% (3)	3.8% (1)	6.7% (2)
China	3.6% (2)	3.8% (1)	3.3% (1)
Taiwan	3.6% (2)	3.8% (1)	3.3% (1)
South America	1.8% (1)	0.0% (0)	3.3% (1)
Total	100.1% (56)	99.8% (26)	100.0% (30)
AGE			
17-18 yrs	10.7% (6)	15.4% (4)	6.7% (2)
19-29 yrs	41.1% (23)	34.6% (9)	46.7% (14)
30-39 yrs	39.3% (22)	38.5% (10)	40.0% (12)
40-49 yrs	7.1% (4)	7.7% (2)	6.7% (2)
50-59 yrs	1.8% (1)	3.8% (1)	0.0% (0)
Total	100.0% (56)	100.0% (26)	100.1% (30)
Median Age 28			
MARITAL STATUS			
Never married	60.7% (34)	53.8% (14)	66.7% (20)
Married	33.9% (19)	42.3% (11)	26.7% (8)
Common-law	1.8% (1)	3.8% (1)	0.0% (0)
Widowed and remarried	1.8% (1)	0.0% (0)	3.3% (1)
Single parent	1.8% (1)	0.0% (0)	3.3% (1)
Total	100.0% (56)	99.9% (26)	100.0% (30)

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

The birthplace for 60.7 per cent of the sample was in Canada, 17.9 per cent were from Hong Kong with the remainder born in Vietnam, Malaysia, China, Taiwan, and South America. The snowball referral process most likely generated a high percentage of Canadian-

born participants. They might have felt greater comfort with me because of our common birthplace and shared childhood experiences. This level of cooperation indicated a relatively close social network between Canadian-born Chinese, and even more so for females. Sixty-six and seven-tenths per cent of the females were Canadian-born compared to 53.8 per cent of the males.

The median age for the sample was twenty-eight, with the youngest and eldest members interviewed at 17 and 50 respectively. Eighty and four-tenths per cent of the sample were between 19 and 39 years of age. Most of the sample have never married (60.7 per cent) while 33.9 per cent were wed. The remainder lived in either common-law, remarriage, or single parent situations. Such diversified home arrangements reflect where the adult children are within the different stages of the life cycle.

B. Socioeconomic characteristics

In Table 2, we see the socioeconomic characteristics of the sample.

TABLE 2 SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS BY GENDER Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)			
	All Respondents	Male	Female
EDUCATION			
High school	35.7% (20)	38.5% (10)	33.3% (10)
College/Technical institute	14.3% (8)	7.7% (2)	20.0% (6)
Bachelor's-University	33.9% (19)	38.5% (10)	30.0% (9)
Master's-University	16.1% (9)	15.4% (4)	16.7% (5)
Total	100.0% (56)	100.1% (26)	100.0% (30)
OCCUPATION			
Professional/Managerial	30.4% (17)	30.8% (8)	30.0% (9)
Technical	12.5% (7)	15.4% (4)	10.0% (3)
Skilled labor	8.9% (5)	7.7% (2)	10.0% (3)
Self-employed-Prof/tech	5.4% (3)	7.7% (2)	3.3% (1)
Homemaker	3.6% (2)	0.0% (0)	6.7% (2)
Student	39.3% (22)	38.5% (10)	40.0% (12)
Total	100.1% (56)	100.1% (26)	100.0% (30)
ANNUAL INCOME*			
Less than \$5,000	5.9% (2)	12.5% (2)	0.0% (0)
\$5,000-9,999	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
\$10,000-24,999	8.8% (3)	6.3% (1)	11.1% (2)
\$25,000-39,999	20.6% (7)	12.5% (2)	27.8% (5)
\$40,000-54,999	32.4% (11)	18.8% (3)	44.4% (8)
\$55,000-69,999	17.6% (6)	18.8% (3)	16.7% (3)
\$70,000+	14.7% (5)	31.3% (5)	0.0% (0)
Total	100.0% (34)	100.2% (16)	100.0% (18)

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

* All twenty-two students were removed from the final calculations due to some of their fluctuating and unpredictable income situations.

There was a fairly even distribution between secondary level (high school) and Bachelor's degree (university) in terms of education (35.7 per cent and 33.9 per cent respectively). The reason for the large number of people who have only completed secondary

education lies in the fact that 39.3 per cent of the respondents are students in postsecondary institutions at present, so their highest level completed would be secondary.

Discretion was used by the researcher to code the occupation variable. Variability in skill types and skill development levels were the primary factors used to segregate occupational categories. While certain occupations have minimum qualification standards and skill requirements, emphasis was placed on the actual occupation at the time of the interview rather than on the training that the respondent received. For example, someone trained as a physician but now worked as a carpenter would be classified as a skilled laborer rather than as a professional.

Thirty and four-tenths per cent of the sample's occupations fell into the category of professional and managerial. Some of these respondents earned their living as computer analysts/programmers, engineers, and nurses whereas 12.5 per cent worked in a technical capacity, e.g., medical laboratory technician and electronics technician. Skilled laborers, e.g., carpenter and auto mechanic, comprised 8.9 per cent, 5.4 per cent were self-employed, e.g., oil and gas consultants, 3.6 per cent were homemakers, and lastly, 39.3 per cent were students, as previously indicated. There is not a large gender difference in the breakdown of occupations in any of the categories.

The yearly income variable was created in the following manner: only those respondents who held full-time jobs were included in the data because their income was steady and originated from one source. Meanwhile, most students entertained a combination of income sources, e.g., parents, scholarships, summer jobs, part-time work, student loans, and as such, their income distribution sometimes fluctuated. Some sported high earnings for a short

period of time, e.g., summer jobs, while others worked part-time jobs. This type of variance and unpredictability in start-and-stop times would have potentially distorted and skewed the socioeconomic profile of the sample. Hence, the 22 students were removed from the income calculations and the percentage figures were based on the employed field of 34.

Five and nine-tenths per cent of the sample earned less than a yearly salary of \$5,000, and 8.8 per cent made between \$10,000 and \$24,999. About one-fifth (20.6 per cent) fell in the \$25,000 to \$39,999 range while 32.4 per cent were between \$40,000 and \$55,000. An interesting statistic is that almost half (44.4 per cent) of the females were in the \$40,000 - \$55,000 bracket. This rising earning potential confirms the rise of Chinese females in the socioeconomic sphere (Tsai,1986:160). Still, another 16.7 per cent of the total working women interviewed earned between \$55,000 and \$69,999. Lastly, approximately one-third (32.4 per cent) of all the respondents earned over \$55,000, with almost the same fraction of males (31.3 per cent) in the above \$70,000 category. No females were recorded in this upper income level.

These socioeconomic variables tell the common story of adult children that are or aspire to be high achievers. They have the desire to excel and do better than their parents. There is progressive and upward movement with each successive immigrant generation (Montero,1981:835).

C. Educational history and immigration of parents

This section summarizes the general trends for education history and immigration of the participants' parents. Parents are often considered one of the greatest influences on children, therefore their own personal profiles are outlined. Data have been separated for mothers and fathers in Table 3.

TABLE 3		
EDUCATIONAL HISTORY AND IMMIGRATION OF RESPONDENTS' PARENTS		
Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)		
	Father	Mother
EDUCATION		
Grade 6 or less	17.9% (10)	33.9% (19)
Grade 7-9	25.0% (14)	14.3% (8)
Grade 10-12	30.4% (17)	39.3% (22)
College/Technical institute	8.9% (5)	1.8% (1)
Bachelor's-University	17.9% (10)	10.7% (6)
Total	100.1% (56)	100.0% (56)
PLACE OF EDUCATION		
China	50.0% (28)	42.9% (24)
Hong Kong	21.4% (12)	28.6% (16)
Canada	10.7% (6)	7.1% (4)
Vietnam	5.4% (3)	7.1% (4)
Malaysia	5.4% (3)	5.4% (3)
Taiwan	3.6% (2)	5.4% (3)
England	3.6% (2)	3.6% (2)
Total	100.1% (56)	100.1% (56)
OCCUPATION*		
Professional/Managerial/Technical	21.2% (11)	11.1% (6)
Self-employed-Professional	1.9% (1)	0.0% (0)
Self-employed-Skilled labor	15.4% (8)	9.3% (5)
Self-employed-Semi-skilled labor	17.3% (9)	13.0% (7)
Skilled labor	9.6% (5)	9.3% (5)
Semi-skilled/Unskilled labor	15.4% (8)	27.8% (15)
Homemaker	0.0% (0)	11.1% (6)
Retired	19.2% (10)	18.5% (10)
Total	100.0% (52)	100.1% (54)
AGE OF IMMIGRATION		
18 yrs and under	28.6% (16)	12.5% (7)
19-29 yrs	37.5% (21)	48.2% (27)
30-39 yrs	16.1% (9)	23.2% (13)
40-49 yrs	10.7% (6)	10.7% (6)
50-59 yrs	5.4% (3)	5.4% (3)
60-69 yrs	1.8% (1)	0.0% (0)
Total	100.1% (56)	100.0% (56)
COUNTRY OF BIRTH		
China	62.5% (35)	60.7% (34)
Hong Kong	17.9% (10)	21.4% (12)
Vietnam	8.9% (5)	5.4% (3)
Malaysia	5.4% (3)	5.4% (3)
Taiwan	5.4% (3)	7.1% (4)
Total	100.1% (56)	100.0% (56)

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

* Deceased parents of the respondents have been removed from the occupation calculations.

There were some notable differences in the individual profiles of parents. From the children's viewpoint, fathers generally attained more education than mothers. Surprisingly, 33.9 per cent of the respondents' mothers had less than grade six education (elementary level) as compared to 17.9 per cent for the fathers. But at the opposite end, 26.8 per cent of fathers and 12.5 per cent of mothers completed the postsecondary level of schooling.

China was the most popular place of education for parents (50.0 per cent of fathers and 42.9 per cent of mothers), followed by Hong Kong (21.4 per cent of fathers and 28.6 per cent of mothers). The parents also studied in the countries of Taiwan, Vietnam, Malaysia, Canada, and England.

In terms of employment, only living parents were included in the calculations. The greatest area of concentration for parents is in manual work, e.g., hairstylist and auto mechanic (skilled labor), cook and butcher (semi-skilled labor), janitor and maid (unskilled labor). Fifty-seven and seven-tenths per cent of fathers and 59.4 per cent of mothers, which includes the self-employed segment, are currently employed in this type of job. Even those children whose parents are now retired (19.2 per cent of fathers and 18.5 per cent of mothers), also mentioned their parents worked in various manual capacities during their active years. In the meanwhile, 23.1 per cent of fathers and 11.1 per cent of mothers earned their living in professional, managerial, or technical positions. The rest of the respondents' mothers stayed at home.

Father usually held more skilled positions than the mothers. Relative to the 42.9 per cent of children who make their living from white-collar jobs employed by others, only 21.5 per cent of fathers, e.g., engineer and instructor, and 11.1 per cent of mothers, e.g., bookkeeper and data entry clerk, share the same category. There is a reverse trend for the self-employed

sector as fewer children become entrepreneurs (5.4 per cent) than the parent generation (17.3 per cent of fathers and 22.3 per cent of mothers). Virtually all of the respondents' efforts are directed towards higher-level work, e.g., film director and environmental technologist, and not with manual labor like most of their parents'. Only 1.9 per cent of the fathers operated their own business in the professional field. There were no reports of mothers here.

Migration patterns of fathers to Canada have typically taken place at an earlier age than that of mothers. The reason for the women's later arrival may be directly attributed to their reliance on the men for marriage sponsorship. The birth country for the majority of parents was China (62.5 per cent of fathers and 60.7 per cent of mothers), followed by Hong Kong (17.9 per cent of fathers and 21.4 per cent of mothers). Since the two places are physically situated very close to each other, many families move from China to Hong Kong or use Hong Kong as a temporary home until their immigration papers were approved in Canada. Vietnam, Malaysia, and Taiwan were the other countries of birth for parents.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

EDUCATION AND GRADES

Chapters four, five, and six will review the findings gathered from the interviews, for all respondents and in relation to gender differences. Six categories were targeted for research as potential sources for intergenerational conflict. This chapter will review education and grades, Chapter five will cover dating and marriage, and Chapter six will take a look at ancestor worship and parental support.

EDUCATION

“There are more fish in your sea when you have a degree”, was how one respondent recalled her parents’ philosophy in metaphorical terms. Another elaborated, “I can still hear my dad’s loud voice. Go to university. With no degree, you will not catch a good man”. Chinese pay their highest accolades to scholars. Parents wish to see their children climb the socioeconomic ladder through the attainment of higher education. But this story takes on a peculiar dimension for females.

The opening thoughts of this section were sentiments that were commonly shared among the children. They reflect the older generation’s belief that education should be of secondary importance to females. Generally, higher education, in the past, has usually been perceived as a means to an end. A person progressed through schooling to learn, earn a university degree and at the end, qualify for more and better employment opportunities. A variation of this theme, however, emerged with the female sample. “Mom wanted me to get a

MRS degree” was the way a respondent summarized her mothers’ wishes for her daughter. But to see whether this opinion was shared across the generations, it is necessary to turn to the interview questions. Respondents were asked to rate the overall importance of higher education for themselves and on their parents’ behalf (how much importance they felt their parents placed on higher education). Table 4 is a summary of their answers.

TABLE 4 THE IMPORTANCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION: RESPONDENTS' SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' ATTITUDES Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	V Important	Important	Somewhat	Not at All
Male				
Parent	57.7% (15)	42.3% (11)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Child	73.1% (19)	26.9% (7)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Female				
Parent	53.3% (16)	33.3% (10)	10.0% (3)	3.3% (1)
Child	66.7% (20)	30.0% (9)	3.3% (1)	0.0% (0)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Table 4 supports my impressions from interviews that significant numbers of parents have made educational pursuits a primary objective for their second-generation children. At one extreme end of the spectrum is the 3.3 per cent of daughters that believed their parents placed no value on education at all for females. No sons felt the same way. For the most part, respondents thought their parents emphasized education more for males with 100.0 per cent of males and 96.7 per cent of females stating that it was either “very important” or “important”. While there is great emphasis on higher education overall, there appears to be more pressure for boys to succeed in school than for girls.

Another intriguing piece of information that quickly stands out from Table 4 is the 73.1 per cent of males and 66.7 per cent of females who assigned the “very important” self-rating to higher education. Only 57.7 per cent of sons and 53.3 per cent of daughters did the same for their parents. Therefore, children perceived education to be more important than they thought their parents did.

Without the formal credentials, the main fear for some parents is the possibility their daughters would face a less certain future in terms of quality suitors. One respondent put the aspirations of her parents succinctly as “If a girl had a degree, then she could marry a boy with at least a university degree”. This remark strongly suggests the parents’ desire to match academic standings between partners. This desire and the criteria that compose the ideal son-in-law will be covered in the marriage section.

“My parents are backwards! Who gets a degree so they can get married off? I should expect a wedding for my graduation gift! Learning, though, is quite important to me”. These comments raised the possibility that real differences exist in terms of both how parents and daughters perceive the desired reward or application of their education. In some cases these differences may lead to serious, open conflict. However, for most families, different perspectives on what constituted the reward for education did not effect the daily interactions between family members. Striving towards a common goal, the degree, is the source of much of the compromising relations between parents and daughters in school. “Life is great. Mom cooks, Dad earns money, and I study. The glue that keeps us from fighting like cats and dogs is our belief in what education can do. Getting married will be a topic for fights later.” At least for the time that she is in school, the daughter believed her parents’ peace had been “bought”.

These responses provide an insight into the range of emotions Chinese daughters faced as a result of living at home with parents who think education is key to a successful personal life. The younger generation, particularly the females, appear to have taken control of their learning curve and accepted that continued schooling is a vital ingredient in this process. Support from literature states that the average Chinese woman is engaged in higher learning or employed in professional and technical positions. In 1970, 58 per cent of women in the age group of 18-24 were enrolled in school, and 31 per cent of women in the age group of 25-34 were employed in professional and technical positions (Tsai,1986:160). The composition of my female sample follows this trend closely (39.3 per cent were postsecondary students and 42.9 per cent were in professional, managerial, or technical positions).

Parents' opinions, although valued by daughters, matter to a lesser degree than their own values and feelings as observed by this female respondent: "I have great respect for what my parents think, because they speak from experience. But they don't always know what is best for people of my age. I'm the best judge of what to do". There is a dramatic shift towards realizing ambition, maximizing potential, and craving career satisfaction for females, a sharp contrast to their past subservient role. Studies show that with each successive generation, Chinese women gain a more contemporary outlook (Lee,1984:16).

This movement helps to explain the frustrations that some daughters experience. Anticipation of unavoidable collisions with their parents after graduation make the daughters feel uneasy and worried now. What remains a mystery is whether the degree can magically capture a groom later. Although parents approved of their daughters' entrance into higher education, their attitude towards the role of the job market is very different. During the prime

mating years, the workplace was sometimes viewed as a temporary time filler until a suitable husband is located. "Stop working overtime!", was a mother's order, "What good is it when you're only there a little while? Better to spend time looking for a husband". This matter-of-fact statement was reminiscent of other parents with newly graduated daughters.

These brief snapshots into the world of unmarried Chinese daughters take another twist when reality had not coincided with their parents' promise, as this woman in her mid-thirties views with a hint of sarcasm: "How naive my mother is to think that all the doctors and lawyers in the world would line up at my door because I have a Mickey Mouse degree behind my name!". Daughters thought their parents overvalued the applications of a degree. Such stories make their parents motives seem humorous.

To see how these views affected generational relations, respondents were asked two general conflict questions. Discussion of the statistical data will mirror the systematic interview approach and be separated according to the same parts: amount of conflict and the frequency of conflict. The percentage of respondents and their reported conflict levels follow in Table 5.

TABLE 5 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED LEVEL OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER HIGHER EDUCATION Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	3.8% (1)	15.4% (4)	7.7% (2)	73.1% (19)
Female	6.7% (2)	23.3% (7)	13.3% (4)	56.7% (17)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Table 5 shows females reported more conflict than the males (56.7 per cent of females and 73.1 per cent of males felt no conflict with parents). Only 30.0 per cent of females and 19.2 per cent of males felt “a great deal” or “some” conflict. On the whole, the figure for females is low. The discussion will now elaborate on the Chinese parent-daughter relationship.

The daughters’ somewhat higher perception of conflict may be a result of perceived injustices from parents due to the preferential treatment given to their brothers. It is an age-old Chinese attitude that boys are held in superior regard to girls (Tsai, 1986:161). “A girl’s going to get married, so education is useless for them. Why waste our money?” was how one respondent recounted her parents’ arguments against her requests for further schooling. Another added, “Girls must accept their lot in life. Find a husband and have babies. School is no good because it can’t teach you how to be a good mother.” These parents, unlike the more typical ones that support higher education, believe education is entirely impractical for females and did not see a marriage value attached to it.

The source of this male bias is twofold. The first is rooted in the “old country” position in rural China and has been accentuated through immigration. In the immigration process for rural Chinese, it was generally the males that were sent overseas to capitalize on suspected great fortunes. Wives were left at home, to farm on the family land as their in-laws cared for the children (Wong, 1988:236). Since the entire objective of moving to a foreign country was to earn a better living, it follows that the greater the ability to earn a fortune, the more prized the person is within the family. Hence, rural women had “zero earning power” which made them subservient to males. For urbanized Chinese, both husbands and wives worked outside the home but the husband still had greater earning power. The females were subservient to the

males even in these situations. This historical view of men as the breadwinner for the family continues today and this extremely traditional mindset was validated by a male respondent. He stated that the foremost criterion used by parents to establish ranking of children from the same family is:

Importance or position in the family is based on how much money you have the potential to earn. So, higher education is very, very important for males because they are the breadwinner.

Hence, the pecking order of children from the parents' perspective is based on projected household contribution value. What a person earns determines their placement within the family. This the central reason why there is a greater emphasis on males.

The second reason for the bias is social and not economic. Males carry on the family lineage and name. While this is certainly not unique to Chinese culture, the males carrying on the family lineage while females marry out contribute towards a male emphasis. Sons will contribute steadily to the family's income while the females will eventually contribute labor and children to another family.

A method frequently employed by parents to demonstrate male importance was the sexual division of labor over routine household tasks. The sexual division of labor is "the assignment of the survival tasks of the society according to gender" (Ward, 1996:3). This is a common observation made about Chinese parents from respondents of both genders was as follows: "Parents tend to adhere to gender-traditional role definitions". More specifically, "my mom always made me fold the laundry and wash the dishes - not fair!". Sons were often spared this obligation because parents perceived household tasks to be "women's work", since

daughters would benefit most from perfecting their domestic skills. The sons would not require this skill later in life, because they will have a wife to perform these tasks. Besides, the sons needed to utilize their time efficiently to achieve good grades. The reasoning behind this logic will be covered in the grades section.

Besides sexual division of labor, favoritism towards sons came in other forms, e.g., material, physical, and or financial. "My brothers? They were spoiled rotten with a free car, tuition paid for, and help moving to the city. Then because I'm a girl, I was told to forget everything and work in the family restaurant", was how a female respondent described her hard luck. Educated or talented women in traditional society were thought to threaten the cohesion of the family unit so educational advancements were denied (Fong,1973:119). If she were educated, it was so she would be better equipped to teach her sons and care for her family (Yung,1986:10). Accordingly, traditional parents respected this belief and enforced this on their children.

Such action angered the daughters that wanted to better themselves through education. Those subject to this fate obeyed their parents' commands until sufficient resources were gathered to enable them to leave and realize their dream. Unfortunately, chronic resentment lingers for one respondent: "How can I forget the pain my parents put me through? All I wanted to be was a nurse. To do the job, I had to go to college. Nothing bad about that!". Although this example represented a small segment of the sample, it is nevertheless important because it illustrates gender bias.

Although few parents blatantly forbid their daughters from attending postsecondary studies, their perceived inequitable treatment often escalated tensions. For those respondents

who experienced conflict with their parents, how often did the encounters arise? Below in Table 6, is a summary of respondents and their reported frequency of conflict with parents.

TABLE 6 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED FREQUENCY OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER HIGHER EDUCATION Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely
Male	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	57.1% (4)	42.9% (3)
Female	15.4% (2)	15.4% (2)	30.8% (4)	38.5% (5)

Total number of respondents = 20, 7 males and 13 females. Only those respondents that reported feeling conflict were included in the calculations.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

The total number of respondents in the calculation of conflict frequency is low because only those that reported feeling conflict were included. As such, my forthcoming analysis and conclusion can only be suggestive.

Consistent with what we know of the cultural bias towards males, it is surprising to find that 7 of 7 males felt conflict “occasionally” or “rarely”. This result is interesting since it implies that the males could more freely than females choose what level of higher education to pursue without interference from their parents. One would expect that, with the emphasis on males and the pressure to fulfil the family dream through their role as breadwinner and family leader, males might have experienced more arguments. But with the lower reported levels of conflict, this meant that the males either consented to the role or the family accepted the males’ decision to do otherwise.

Nine of 13 females reporting conflict said they experienced conflict “occasionally” or “rarely” over higher education. This figure shows that although conflict was not common, the

conflict is still more frequent for females than males. We have already discussed the ubiquitous male bias, but there may be another explanation that relates to the women themselves. Their desire to marry may equally match their parents', but the difference could be when this goal is achieved. This will be covered further in Chapter five under the marriage section.

Chinese parents value higher education and believe it to have empirical power to "make a dream come true". The next topic, high grades is closely linked with this belief because it provides the parents with a direct measuring stick of how well their children are living out the fairy tale.

GRADES

"Get higher grades than our friends' children!" was the demand from one set of parents to their son. A key comparative measure of success, grades was a fierce game played by some parents. Early in life, children learned that their parents' honor and reputation were at stake in the cultural community, and to not disgrace the family with low grades in school. One male respondent perceived that while "they realize that it's not customary to brag in Western society", Chinese parents can boast about their children's grades within their own community.

Grades are a frequent theme with parents and their expectations show that Chinese children shoulder great responsibility throughout their academic lives. Below in Table 7 is a summary of the respondents' ratings and their parents' value of high grades

TABLE 7 THE IMPORTANCE OF HIGH GRADES: RESPONDENTS' SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' ATTITUDES Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	V Important	Important	Somewhat	Not at All
Male				
Parent	42.3% (11)	50.0% (13)	7.7% (2)	0.0% (0)
Child	38.5% (10)	50.0% (13)	11.5% (3)	0.0% (0)
Female				
Parent	40.0% (12)	43.3% (13)	10.0% (3)	6.7% (2)
Child	33.3% (10)	56.7% (17)	10.0% (3)	0.0% (0)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Table 7 show that parents, through the eyes of their children, have higher grade expectations for males than females (92.3 per cent of males compared to 83.3 per cent of females said grades were “very important” or “important” to their parents). Overall, most parents have made higher grades an important goal for their children. In the minds of a few females (6.7 per cent), however, it was felt parents did not value grades at all.

Percentages reported by the respondents themselves immediately demonstrate a shared value of high grades. Eight-eight and five-tenths per cent of males stated it was “very important” or “important” compared to 90.0 per cent of females, very similar to what the children thought their parents valued. Not one person thought high grades were unimportant. The data reinforced the liberation movement in progress for Chinese women.

In varying degrees, almost all parents seem to live their dreams through their children and this is particularly true of immigrant parents. Immigrants, many with memories of desolate living conditions from their homeland, feel they personally have very little to be proud of and rather, more to be bitter and embarrassed with. Parents, often not able to pass on glory stories

to their children, naturally embrace what the present has to offer but focus more on the future. Part of this firm handle on the future entails certain expectations that parents have of their children, to reassure themselves that this impoverished cycle of struggle that they endured while growing up, does not repeat itself in the next generations. Parents were convinced that grades and education would open the door to a window of social and economic opportunities (Mark and Chih, 1982:72).

The desire of immigrant parents for their children to do well manifested itself in a number of ways. As alluded to in the section's first quotation, parents often linked their family's prestige to the children's scores. Some applied compensatory rewards to ensure their wishes were granted. "Father paid \$1 for a B, and \$10 for an A", reported one respondent. A few parents resorted to physical punishment. Another respondent said, "Anything lower than 80% was punishable, usually by getting yelled at and hitting". The majority, though, seemed to prefer badgering their children through comparisons, "Why can't you be more like your brother? He never gives us any problems, always an A student!".

The premise or rationale of some of the parents' thinking may be explained in light of the Chinese cultural concept of "face". The claim to face rests almost entirely on the hierarchical social network that the family is embedded into (Hwang, 1987:944). A moral sanction for improper conduct, losing face can be a serious matter for all family members because it can affect their ability to function effectively within the cultural community. It takes place when an individual's actions or that of people closely related to him, did not fulfil designated social standards (Ho, 1976:867). As heads of the household, these parents felt that their positions held a certain unwritten legitimate claim, like a pedestrian at a crosswalk with a

right-of-way. Several respondents mentioned, "Parents think it's fair to compare children and that it's bad not to encourage competition. They must be proud amongst friends." Overall, the children seem to understand their parents' push for good grades.

Further, some parents want outsiders to draw the "smarter children-smarter parents" analogy. Being reflections of their parents, children with better grades should be obviously borne from more intelligent parents. This search for vicarious honor may even be particularly true for this sample where only 26.8 per cent of the respondents' fathers and 12.5 per cent of the mothers completed some level of postsecondary education. In this way, the offspring can compensate for their parents' perceived educational inadequacies. Also, grades are viewed by parents as a fair or objective measure in which to compare children. It can remove most of the inherent advantages and barriers typically associated with different socioeconomic stratas. For example, a very poor family that lives in a tattered house can proudly boast that their son outscored the surgeon's son to win the physics award. Comparing grades evens the playing field. For those born in the lower classes, their children's education might be the only means by which they could hope to rise above their personal situations (Yung, 1986:10).

There was another reason parents motivated their children to score well academically. "Get good grades, keep your scholarships and save on car insurance! Make life easier for all of us" was what several respondents heard from their parents. This financially driven plea was designed to invoke empathetic responses from the children.

So far, the investigation has taken a look at what the children thought their parents' position on grades was, as well as their own position. It would seem respondents and parents

alike were desirous of high grades. Below in Table 8 are the respondents' indication on the amount of conflict in relation to grades.

TABLE 8 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED LEVEL OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER GRADES Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	7.7% (2)	38.5% (10)	19.2% (5)	34.6% (9)
Female	16.7% (5)	6.7% (2)	26.7% (8)	50.0% (15)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Table 8 shows two response patterns. Half of the women (50.0 per cent) said they experienced no conflict over the issue of grades. This finding is consistent with the respondents' perception of their parents' higher value of grades for males. In the case of a family with both male and female children, most parents would focus on their sons because of the inherited future breadwinner role.

Second, on a general level, conflict for both genders is not high. Only 7.7 per cent of males and 16.7 per cent of females reported "a great deal" of conflict. Shared grade definitions between the two sides may explain this statistic. When asked to define high grades, most respondents said, "80 per cent and higher". This achievement ethic was widespread, as one male respondent indicated, "Study hard, get good marks in school, and then your future will be set because of the money earned from a great job. My friend's parents said the same thing too!". High grades were seen as a prerequisite for a good life, a straightforward recipe for

financial stability. Another male phrased his desire for financial stability this way: “Grades are equated with making a decent living.”

With this forward focus on long-term planning, it is no wonder the younger generation put so much pressure on themselves to excel. “Boy, to say that my parents had high standards is true. But it was even more important to achieve for my standards than to please them”, was how one daughter described her own expectations. It may appear that, in order to maintain their own self-imposed standards of achievement, some of these children strove to outpace or surpass their peers in the classroom. Grades became a convenient and measurable currency with which to compare with the others. “A voice inside of me said go, go! My friends were super competitive and scored high, so I wanted to be the same. Besides, who wants to be known as a dummy in the group?”, was how one Chinese male recounted his situation. There was also a fear of being looked upon as “stupid” by one’s peers.

This inside peek at the intergenerational relations over grades leads us to pursue the question of conflict frequency. Table 9 is a summary of how often the respondents experienced conflict with their parents over the grades issue.

TABLE 9 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED FREQUENCY OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER GRADES Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely
Male	0.0% (0)	35.3% (6)	23.5% (4)	41.2% (7)
Female	6.7% (1)	33.3% (5)	13.3% (2)	46.7% (7)

Total number of respondents = 32, 17 males and 15 females. Only those respondents that reported feeling conflict were included in the calculations.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

The forthcoming analysis should be read with caution as the total number of respondents in the conflict frequency calculation is low because only those that reported conflict were included.

Seven of 17 males and 7 of 15 females rarely felt conflict. For this segment of the group, the lack of conflict could be due to the parents' recognition that their children have made a successful transition to adulthood. Their mark of entry is the crossover from secondary to postsecondary schooling. "My parents have let go of some strings. That's what happened with all the kids. Guess they figure we know what we're doing now that we're in adult school", is how one male respondent in his mid-twenties explained his parents' reasoning. It appears that when the children were in elementary and high school, parents were most concerned with the actual scores because they would be the primary determinant of entry to postsecondary education. But now that the children have reached this plateau, their sights may be shifting from grades to degree completion. Hence, parents might be relaxing their expectations of grades at this stage.

For more than one-third of the sample (6 of 17 males and 6 of 15 females), conflict was probably experienced "always" or "frequently" because the parents wanted to motivate their children to achieve higher than their present grades. This is one daughter's thoughts: "I hear the same thing at every report term. How come you didn't get 100.0 per cent? I know that I can't do it because I'm not perfect". For others, the parents' desire to see their children enter a specialty field beyond the degree might have contributed to the stress. They believe that higher grades will increase their children's chances of entering a specialty field, as this male respondent

expressed, “Why can’t they [the parents] leave me alone and let me be happy? Why must they push me into optometry school? And this thing about all A’s is ridiculous”.

Females themselves, might have faced a different type of parental pressure over grades because their parents hold a gender equality outlook. “It’s a man’s world so always stay one step ahead with the grades”, was how one respondent told of her father’s career advice. Perhaps the most significant factor was not the grades themselves, but the uneven distribution of chores which created more turmoil at home, “Mom expects me to dust, clean and be a star pupil!”.

So far, analysis of my research has centred on education and high grades. Along with the culture’s forward focus on achievement is their value of family life. Dating and marriage follow in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

DATING AND MARRIAGE

In the previous chapter, education and grades were covered. A separate chapter was established for dating and marriage due to the overlap of themes that emerged from the interviews.

DATING

“My parents don’t like me to date Caucasians. They are very prejudiced and believe in cultural purity.” This statement, made by a male respondent, is reflective of the way many Chinese elders think. Remaining racially and culturally pure has been common and not restricted to the Chinese.

It appears some parents have a tendency to make generalized opinions based on skin color. “Parents live with racial stereotypes of East Indians, Natives, and Blacks” is how one son summarized this point. These parents apply a sliding scale of tolerance, that is, the darker the skin, the less acceptable a person is as a suitable partner, as the following response indicates, “My mom always said that it’s better to marry a lo fun [Caucasian] than Black because their skin is too dark!”.

In Table 10 are the children’s answers on the importance of dating Chinese. The data is divided into the respondents’ perceptions and their perception of their parents’ views.

TABLE 10 THE IMPORTANCE OF DATING CHINESE: RESPONDENTS' SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' ATTITUDES Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	V Important	Important	Somewhat	Not at All
Male				
Parent	34.6% (9)	7.7% (2)	30.8% (8)	26.9% (7)
Child	3.8% (1)	15.4% (4)	23.1% (6)	57.7% (15)
Female				
Parent	40.0% (12)	36.7% (11)	10.0% (3)	13.4% (4)
Child	6.7% (2)	20.0% (6)	30.0% (9)	43.3% (13)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

There is a contrast of opinions between the generations. Comparatively speaking, children thought parents placed more value on dating partners being Chinese (42.3 per cent of males and 76.7 per cent of females said that it was either "very important" or "important" to their parents that they date Chinese). The children were more relaxed in their own dating attitudes (19.2 per cent of males and 26.7 per cent of females said that it was either "very important" or "important" that they date Chinese).

The fundamental meaning of courtship today is vastly different than it was for most of the previous generation. As a Chinese male in his twenties admitted, "Parents didn't understand this concept. Really, it is a difference in definitions: girls as friends versus girls as girlfriends only." The logical dating-to-marriage sequence is no longer the sole intention of the younger generation. For some, the dating years are carefree and need not be serious. Every person that they go out with may not be considered as a potential long-term partner. Dating can be used primarily as a vehicle for socializing, a convenient excuse for friends to get

together because they enjoy each other's company. This is not to discount those that are interested in betrothal because the eternal concept of marriage will always have its appeal.

In the parents' generation, dating was not common social practice because the old-fashioned Chinese believed in arranged marriages. Respondents were asked in the interview whether courtship with their current partner differed from their parents and if it did, to indicate how it was different. It seems only 34.6 per cent of the respondents' parents dated. Of the remainder, 53.8 per cent were arranged and 11.5 per cent were some other form, e.g., long-distance letter-writing as the primary form of courtship. The basic premise of arranged marriages lie with the elders' belief that they know best. Parents felt that their maturity, wisdom, and kinship connections made them best suited to select a spouse for their child. A decision as important as this should not be delegated to the child since they were more likely to err in judgment due to their inexperience and youth. For the parents, finding the appropriate match was also seen as a natural extension of their role to care for their children as they matured. Typically, in an arranged marriage, neither of the parties would have dated beforehand. They learned of one another's character through intermediaries.

For many of the sample's parents, it was impractical to date because of physical separation. Young and single Chinese males comprised the majority of early immigrants. While a good number of them spent most of their waking hours trying to carve out a living, little time was left to find a Chinese spouse. As a result, some eventually wrote home for someone and met their partners through arranged marriages or "arranged introductions". Arranged introductions were brief courtships where the male travelled back to the homeland to meet the girl and propose marriage. Technically, the parties dated but often not with the same flavor as

the modern-day ideal of love and romance. There were three distinct differences: the choice of partner was not optional (somebody else, usually the parents, would decide on the identity), dating will lead to marriage and the partner would be of the same race. Other men stayed in contact with their future spouses by writing letters and many would meet for the first time when they married. Long distances did not deter this early generation from staying in touch with one another. The absence of distance barriers coupled with their exposure to Western values have altered the second-generation's attitude toward dating and marriage. In fact, the most heated conflicts arose over this subject because the children wanted the right to make their own spousal choice based on love (Mark and Chih, 1982:85).

Aside from the general definition of dating, six themes emerged from the children relative to why their parents disapproved of dating non-Chinese. The first reason involves communication. Many Chinese parents had only partial understanding of English, hence could not communicate fluently with non-Chinese. This is not an issue for the dating parties as much, but more a consideration between the parents and the person interested in their child. The parents felt they could communicate better with somebody Chinese. A number of respondents agreed, "Parents preferred Chinese because they could understand the culture and speak the language".

Cultural continuity was the second issue that the respondents raised over interracial dating where their parents were concerned. "Parents want future generations to remain Chinese and retain an understanding of the culture and language" was what one female said over its importance. Interestingly, there are many different versions of spoken Chinese and this attitude extends downward such that dating and marriage is preferred between those speaking

the same dialect, as this daughter's statement indicates: "Mom would have been happier if I fell in love with a guy that spoke our dialect [Toi Shan] and not Mandarin! Now they speak English to each other, but she is okay with it".

Reverence for the aged is central to Chinese culture while Western culture emphasizes youth and strength. This filial piety expectation is the third reason why some Chinese parents have difficulty accepting non-Chinese. They worry that as they grow older, their children will shuffle them off into nursing homes. This uncertainty goes beyond just the economic needs for the parents since many have enough funds to be self-sufficient. They wonder who will provide the physical support as their health deteriorates. Parents believe that a Chinese in-law would be more indoctrinated and accepting of the filial piety values. Hence, they would be more likely to encourage their spouses to provide physical support to their parents and make their golden years more comfortable.

The fourth reason is the elders' feeling of distrust towards foreigners. Early Chinese faced racial discrimination from the Caucasian population, and as a result, this treatment soured their "Gold Mountain" experience. Yu's study (1987) on discrimination and coping behavior of the early Chinese in Canada, claims that the Chinese immigrants as whole, might have identified more positively with their new country had there been more tolerance and acceptance. Instead of idolizing it as they did in their homeland, the immigrants scrutinize the Western scene more realistically after being exposed to the current events (Yao, 1979:111). It is the sentiment that non-Chinese may not fully appreciate, understand, or respect these perspectives that disturb the older generation. As one daughter rephrased her father's thoughts, "We're not like the White people. They can look you in the eyes and lie. Marry a

Chinese and they always treat you right". Parents would teach this lesson as they would any other because they believed their culture represented the moral high ground.

The fifth reason for parental objection revolves around interracial grandchildren. Some parents are very concerned about racial prejudices against Chinese, especially with future generations of their own lineage. "My parents suspected that I was dating a White girl. They didn't really know but that didn't stop them from giving me the gears. They kept asking, what am I putting my children through because they would be half and half", was how a male reiterated his parents' viewpoint. They fear that a half-breed Chinese grandchild would have to deal with additional stressors that accompany mixed heritage, e.g., conflicting cultural traditions.

Lastly, the high divorce rates associated with Western culture has sparked a fear in Chinese parents. They do not wish their children to be another divorce statistic. Various tactics were used by parents and grandparents to entice their children to date Chinese including bribery. "My mother made the preference known through the offer of jewellery", was how one daughter described her situation. While others used threats of disownership, "Marry Chinese or risk losing inheritance" was one grandmother's threat to her grandson.

Dating non-Chinese is a highly charged topic for Chinese parents, but did the varying expectations of the generations on this topic lead to conflict? Table 11 shows the conflict levels reported by the respondents over dating.

TABLE 11 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED LEVEL OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER DATING Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	3.8% (1)	19.2% (5)	23.1% (6)	53.8% (14)
Female	20.0% (6)	20.0% (6)	30.0% (9)	30.0% (9)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

A quick look at the table shows that just over one-half (53.8 per cent) of the Chinese males do not feel any tension with parents over who they court. However, at the other end, one-fifth (20.0 per cent) of the females say there is "a great deal" of tension. There is an obvious strong gender bias. The greater conflict of females may be due to the parents' protective concern for daughters. Parental protectiveness of daughters occurs in many cultures and not just Chinese. Females are viewed as the weaker sex physically and emotionally. This perceived vulnerability is derived from the traditional thinking that daughters will eventually marry out of the family and become dependent on their husbands for support. One respondent cited his parents' thoughts aptly as, "Women can't be trusted to take care of themselves". Many parents were more protective of their female children and implemented stricter house rules for daughters (earlier curfews, more scrutiny of dates, no moving out, etc.). These harsher restrictions relative to those for the sons demonstrated unequal treatment within the family and usually led to conflict. "My brothers? They get cut so much slack, it upsets me. They have no curfew or grounding penalties", was the way a female summarized her feelings.

Many of the daughters perceived these arbitrary differences to be additional evidence of favoritism in an already male dominated culture. Daughters were expected to act more

maturely in terms of performing household duties, yet they were given less freedom simply because they were female. The following response illustrates the constraints females live and work under: “Mom is so picky. She’s on me about housework, and lately, it’s been this moving out bit. Bad girls don’t think like that. They want the image that they raised a good daughter”.

Parents believe that helping their daughter preserve a clean image is critical for finding a choice husband, especially if a spouse with virtuous qualities is valued. A girl with a colorful past and rebellious nature is thought to be a less desirable choice for a wife (Hom, 1984:30). Since dating history is rarely a subject that can be concealed well, parents attempt to tightly monitor their daughter’s dating activities. A baby borne out of wedlock is every parents’ worst fear. This tiny human serves as a perpetual reminder, both to the parents and to the outside world, of the daughter’s indiscretions. Blame may fall on the parents’ shoulders because some people may criticize them for failing to instil proper morals into their child. Therefore, these forces polarized some parents’ attitudes towards protection of daughters and the daughters reacted unhappily to the unfair rules. Conflict inevitably resulted. A number of daughters thought their parents kept a different scorecard for the children based on gender. This situation can be compared to a baseball game with the parents as the umpire. Every rule is followed meticulously for the daughters, however, rules are often bent or lacking for the sons. From the girls’ perspective, too many times, a strike is called a ball instead of a strike. They dislike their parents’ selective enforcement of rules and the multiple penalties imposed on their actions. “I understand why my parents think the way they do, but when is it okay for somebody to stay out all night? That’s what my brothers do,” was how one daughter felt.

How often female respondents felt conflict over dating is shown below in Table 12.

TABLE 12 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED FREQUENCY OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER DATING Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely
Male	0.0% (0)	16.7% (2)	33.3% (4)	50.0% (6)
Female	4.8% (1)	23.8% (5)	42.9% (9)	28.6% (6)

Total number of respondents = 33, 12 males and 21 females. Only those respondents that reported feeling conflict were included in the calculations.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

In the calculation of conflict frequency, the total number of respondents is low because only those that reported feeling conflict were included. As such, my forthcoming analysis should be utilized to draw general conclusions but with caution.

Overall, the level of conflict experienced over dating is quite low. Conflict was felt "occasionally" or "rarely" by 10 of 12 males and 15 of 21 females. There may be several explanations to justify these statistics. First, 23.5 per cent of respondents claim their parents had no knowledge of their dating practices when they were asked the question, "Do or did your parents have knowledge of your dating practices?". Conflict cannot arise when children purposefully kept their love lives quiet. Perhaps they were afraid of their parents' objections to whom they dated or that the children preferred to stay low-key on dating for personal comfort. For those children that dated Chinese and made their preference known publicly, some said that it was "not by design or compliance, but it just happened".

Second, parents are learning to accept interracial dating as it becomes more commonplace and as a result, less of a stigma is attached. This may not mean that they like the

idea of mixed relationships any better and probably still prefer their child become romantically involved with someone Chinese. The older generation's acceptance of interracial dating should increase with each long-lasting and successful interracial marriage, especially for those within the extended family circles, e.g., cousins. It gives them more confidence and promise that these type of relationships can endure. This was evident in the attitude of one female respondent who was dating a Caucasian at the time of the interview: "I still prefer Chinese, but I'm past the age to be picky." A recent trend, indicated in a study by Osako and Liu (1986), shows that the relevance of traditional values in the lives of Japanese-Americans are more likely reduced by the increased cases of intermarriage.

Third, several respondents thought their parents had succumbed to reality. That is, if they insisted their children marry within the Chinese culture, their children would be alone forever. This is largely due to the small numbers of Chinese who lived in these towns or cities. These parents, however reluctant, allowed their children to explore the interracial boundaries and at the same time, still silently hoped that they would find true love within the same race (Yung, 1986:92). A male respondent expressed his parents' philosophy in this way, "On special occasions, like my high school graduation, I was allowed [by his parents] to date the White girls, since there were so few Chinese around. But they still expect me to marry Chinese".

Females though felt conflict more intensely and frequently with their parents over dating than the males (6 of 21 females said they felt conflict "always" or "frequently" relative to 2 of 12 males). The following remark reinforces the notion that females must be cared for by a husband: "There is more pressure for females to marry Chinese because they [the elders] believe that a Chinese would be more responsible and reliable as a husband than a Caucasian".

From the parents' positions, dating should always be serious and lead to marriage. It is critical then for the parents that their children date only those people, in other words Chinese, that would become their preferred spouses. But the children's attitudes towards interracial dating is one of greater acceptability in its practise. However, the priorities of young people these days are changing and in some cases, professional obligations (jobs and careers) supersede personal commitments (marriage).

MARRIAGE

"My dad keeps asking me, when will I settle down? I've bought a house, what more does he want? A husband, that's what." Implicit in these words from a daughter, are the older generations' attitude that marriage should be top priority for young people. Chinese parents seek a philosophical meaning to the concept of marriage and believe it to be the cornerstone of human existence. "What normal person doesn't want to get married and have children? That's what we're supposed to do" was the way one respondent summed up his parents' perspective.

Many Chinese parents seem to feel their duty in life and last obligation to their children is to see that they get a proper start to their lives by marrying well. The criteria most often used by the Chinese to judge whether community members (parents) have "done their job", are: children have finished postsecondary education (usually university), be gainfully employed, get married (preferably to other Chinese), and have children (preferably boys).

Anecdotal evidence from respondents show that the subject of marriage is very dear to parents' hearts. Table 13 separates the importance of marriage by generation as reported by the male and female children.

TABLE 13 THE IMPORTANCE OF MARRIAGE: RESPONDENTS' SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' ATTITUDES Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	V Important	Important	Somewhat	Not at All
Male				
Parent	38.5% (10)	46.2% (12)	11.5% (3)	3.8% (1)
Child	26.9% (7)	46.2% (12)	15.4% (4)	11.5% (3)
Female				
Parent	56.7% (17)	33.3% (10)	10.0% (3)	0.0% (0)
Child	30.0% (9)	43.3% (13)	16.7% (5)	10.0% (3)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Similar responses from the children show that there is little gender difference in terms of the value placed on marriage (26.9 per cent of males and 30.0 per cent of females assigned a "very important" rating to marriage). This unisex opinion among the younger generation appears to be a product of acculturation since the children generally thought their parents valued marriage more highly for females than males (38.5 per cent of sons said their parents rate marriage as "very important" compared to 56.7 per cent of daughters). This recent reversal in phenomenon contradicts the centrality of Chinese thought where betrothal is considered more important for males due to their traditional obligation of "continuing the line".

There may be two explanations for the shift in social trend. First, the constant hope of Chinese parents to see their daughters marry probably effected the female respondents' assignment of values. This is not to say that parents did not have the same expectation of their male children. It is just that the daughters face the biological dilemma of childbirth. This topic will be discussed further with the conflict frequency results. Second, since the younger generation are less receptive to the idea of arranged marriages as the primary vehicle to

meeting a life partner (reasons were stated in the dating section), parents will naturally feel a certain loss of influence. Some parents may try harder to exert control and persuade their children of its importance verbally. This reason, combined with the previous notion that there is a greater immediacy of females to marry, could explain the new pattern of thought.

Overall, the respondents felt that their parents valued marriage more than they did. Both males and females still like the concept of marriage. Almost three-quarters of the sample (73.1 per cent of males and 73.3 per cent of females) stated that marriage was either “very important” or “important” to them.

There are two possible reasons for the different views over marriage between the generations. The first reason centres on how parents define happiness. These first-generation immigrants came to Canada in search of material wealth. From their perspective, if one attained wealth, then one should be, by definition, happy. Similarly, they extend this outlook towards one’s personal life in that if one was married, then one has achieved happiness. Therefore, most parents expect marriage to bring happiness to their children. It is difficult for parents to understand why their children are sometimes reluctant to commit themselves to such a delightful event. Children, however, reared in a very different environment than their parents, often have a different measure of happiness. They are centred more on the concept of self-fulfilment. Hence, the act of marriage may not necessarily equate with happiness. Marriage is not a priority event for some children as parents would wish it to be.

Divorce and the fear of making a marital mistake constitute the second reason for the intergenerational difference in marriage values. In the parental generation, divorce was practically unheard of as marriage was for life regardless of the consequences. In fact, when

respondents were asked to state their parents' current marital status, 83.9 per cent said "married". This is a high figure considering, as mentioned in the dating section, that 53.8 per cent of the parents' marriages were arranged. Children today sometimes fear making a permanent commitment because they do not want to make the wrong choice. The entire mindset towards the institution of marriage has changed, as comments from one male indicates, "I want to get married someday. But I have to be careful so I don't make a mistake. I want to get it [marriage] right the first time. Living together is a possibility first".

The widest discrepancy in intergenerational values of marriage came from the females. Fifty-six and seven-tenths per cent of daughters ranked marriage as "very important" to their parents compared to 30.0 per cent of daughters. From the sons' perspective, 38.5 per cent ranked marriage as "very important" to their parents compared to 26.9 per cent of sons. There is a striking perceived difference of opinions. Statistics from Table 13 showed that marriage for daughters remained a top priority for many parents (as stated in the education section). To see whether a value difference between the parents and their daughters translated into conflict, Table 14 shows the reported overall levels of conflict from the younger generation's perspective.

TABLE 14 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED LEVEL OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER MARRIAGE Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	7.7% (2)	0.0% (0)	19.2% (5)	73.1% (19)
Female	30.0% (9)	13.3% (4)	43.3% (13)	13.3% (4)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Females encountered more conflict with their parents over the topic of marriage (30.0 per cent of females and 7.7 per cent of males reported “a great deal”). This finding supports what is already known about parental expectations. Since parents have higher expectations for daughters to get married, the desire to transform a lifelong hope into reality created tension between the two generations. It was surprising to see that about three-fourths (73.1 per cent) of the males did not report any conflict at all especially when 84.7 per cent of males felt marriage was “very important” or “important” to their parents. This implies that while it is generally important to both parents and male children that the latter marry, low levels of conflict arose over the issue. There appears to be a general understanding that male children will get married at some time and that this is acceptable to both parties. More on this topic will be covered in the discussion on conflict frequency.

What primary factor accounts for the greater conflict reported by the women? Many women today like the symbolic meaning of economic independence. They want a means by which to support themselves as opposed to relying on a husband as the breadwinner. With this money-earning potential comes greater freedom and decision-making power on issues such as marriage. If the woman is able to function on her own, then she can leave home at any age and at the same time, not feel the need to get married by a specific age.

This new social trend has caused some worry for parents as the average age for daughters to marry is later. “Before the age of 30, my mom insisted I see only Chinese boys, but after 30, Caucasian was fine”, was the observation of one Chinese female. This reluctant drop in the criteria for the ideal son-in-law reflects the parent’s desperation. To have an unmarried daughter would be shameful to traditional Chinese parents. In the olden days, girls

were reared for the purpose of marriage. According to one daughter, her parents' choice of qualities for an ideal husband would typically be someone who is "Chinese, have a minimum of a Bachelor's education, have a steady job, be a professional, have no bad habits [drink or smoke], and be respectful of the elders".

Just how often collisions over marriage was felt between parents and their children is summarized in Table 15. The data is separated between the male and female respondents.

TABLE 15 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED FREQUENCY OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER MARRIAGE Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely
Male	0.0% (0)	28.6% (2)	0.0% (0)	71.4% (5)
Female	34.6% (9)	34.6% (9)	30.8% (8)	0.0% (0)

Total number of respondents = 33, 7 males and 26 females. Only those respondents that reported feeling conflict were included in the calculations.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

The total number of respondents for my calculation on conflict frequency is low because only those that reported feeling conflict were included. As a result, my analysis and conclusions over marriage are suggestive.

Over one-third of the females (9 of 26) reported that they were "always" in conflict whereas no males felt this same frequency of emotion. In fact, they experienced the exact opposite, that is, 5 of 7 males encountered "rare" conflict over marriage with their parents and recall the majority reported feeling no conflict at all. This phenomenon may be a result of the multi-track focus of contemporary women. Many desire the opportunity to realize their full potential as individuals for the sake of self-fulfilment. It is no longer enough to derive complete

satisfaction from the accomplishments of one's husband and children. "I love to share in the triumphs of my family. But then I wanted something that I could call my own, so I took a securities course and passed!"

In their quest for fulfilment, the women attempted to strike a balance between all aspects of their lives. Optimally each segment should fit together like a jigsaw puzzle. But these women sometimes faced the overwhelming strain of mismatched puzzle pieces (multiple roles) and conflict resulted. Life has become so complicated for today's family as the trend for women to spend more time outside of the home continues.

There are two explanations for how this social movement has impacted intergenerational relations and has led to greater frequency of conflict for females. First, parents perceive a greater sense of urgency for females to get married because of their brief childbirthing years. This is the fundamental reason why females tended to marry young. Sometimes this urgency of parents' manifested itself in the form of expectations when parents meticulously planned events for every stage of their children's lives to ensure this brief opportunity is not missed. In one particular instance, the strategy backfired! A daughter recounted the events. A Chinese mother, eager to see her daughter marry, arranged for a surprise visit at their home by a set of interested parents and their son. Unbeknownst to everyone, the daughter had just finished a shower. She was not dressed in what would have been considered appropriate attire; however, she did make a lasting first impression. Men did not experience this same biological pressure as women. They can start a family later in life.

Women's historical pattern of making commitments earlier than men has led to a cultural stigma associated with unmarried older women. This cultural stigma, which can

negatively impact a person's public image, has the potential to brand the old maid label on the unmarried female. She could be seen potentially as possessing some undesirable traits, e.g., inferior domestic skills. According to a few male respondents, a suitable daughter-in-law who pleases their parents would be someone who is "reliable, cooks, takes care of the family [husband and children], and of paternal parents when older". By stating this criteria, sons have acknowledged the elders' importance of females in their traditional domestic roles.

Contrary to the female childbirth issue, there is a counter argument that men can use to rationalize their later marriage age. Men are expected to demonstrate their ability to support their potential wives prior to proposing marriage. The pressure to marry then is reduced since the elders understand that time is needed to amass wealth and to prove to his future wife (and her family) that a life with him would be stable and secure. How much wealth and how much time is required to accumulate the wealth varies from situation to situation.

Second, higher conflict reported by females could be a result of timing. Although all respondents were asked the question, "What behavior or action of yours do you think would please your parents the most?", the majority of unmarried females answered without hesitation, "Get married!". But this immediate wish of the parents conflicted with the immediate wish of this segment of females (20 of the sample's 30 females were unmarried). Most of the unmarried daughters admitted that they would eventually like to settle down and raise a family. They may even leave the workforce after their children are born. This creates a narrow time window in which these women have an opportunity to make their mark in the job place. Therefore, they may view professional life more importantly because the opportunity could soon be foregone.

Some female respondents are in the age group where they are just about to enter into the workforce, so they are anticipating a quick sprint in the career arena before putting that aspiration on hold temporarily or permanently to raise a family (there were 10 female students in the sample). Curiously, this fact may well be one of the excuses why some women choose to emphasize careers, as long as they are progressing well, they can claim that they are too busy to search for a spouse and settle down. In this sense, careers become an excuse for deflecting marriage pressures. The focus on career can be more intense because of this shortened time frame and this often led to a perception amongst parents that their daughters are too career-oriented. This, in turn, increased the frequency of conflict.

The parents' forward look into the personal future lives of their children were examined in this chapter on dating and marriage. In the next chapter, we reflect on the parents' nostalgic reverence of the past, best personified by ancestor worship and parental support.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

ANCESTOR WORSHIP AND PARENTAL SUPPORT

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

“Must go to grave and show our respects. Nothing hard about that”, was an often heard directive of parents. Children were summoned to gather at the burial plots of ancestors on significant dates to honor their memory. This act of remembrance, known specifically as ancestor veneration, was the area investigated in my research. Since the pilot interviews did not reveal a distinction between the worshipping sites of the burial plot (outside the family home) and the ancestral tablet (inside the family home), the interview questions were not separated to reflect both practices.

In order to determine the depth of the “out-of-home” homage, respondents were asked to rate the importance of ancestor worship for their parents and themselves. Table 16 contains their answers.

TABLE 16 THE IMPORTANCE OF ANCESTOR WORSHIP: RESPONDENTS' SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' ATTITUDES Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	V Important	Important	Somewhat	Not at All
Male				
Parent	19.2% (5)	38.5% (10)	34.6% (9)	7.7% (2)
Child	7.7% (2)	23.1% (6)	42.3% (11)	26.9% (7)
Female				
Parent	30.0% (9)	33.3% (10)	26.7% (8)	10.0% (3)
Child	3.3% (1)	23.3% (7)	53.3% (16)	20.0% (6)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

What is revealing about Table 16 are the low values that children assigned for their parents for ancestor worship (57.7 per cent of males and 63.3 per cent of females said ancestor worship was either “very important” or “important” to their parents). It is interesting to note that some children perceived only a moderate importance of this cultural tradition to their parents especially since Chinese traditionally value the past and one’s ancestors are seen as a link to the past (Lin, 1985:5). Ancestor worship appears to have lost some of its original lustre. This more relaxed attitude of these parents towards worshipping illustrates the evolving characteristic of acculturation. But it seems that other elders still want to retain the tradition in Canada. Their loyalties to ancestors, which will be discussed in the next paragraph, surfaced in different ways. Living physically distant from the home country where most cultural traditions originate, it would have been easier for all parents to simplify their lives abroad and discontinue the rituals. Yet, the respect for ancestor worship and what it represents symbolically is evident today.

It is the responsibility of the mother to pass Chinese traditions on to the children (Mark and Chih, 1982:69). Around special Chinese holidays, she would cook special food, as the following description confirms. “My parents celebrate the festivals, Moon Festival and New Year’s Festival. Mom always makes her special pastries. But when it comes to visiting the gravesite, they’ve stopped that.”

Most major lunar festival celebrations and rituals are observed in varying degrees by Chinese families (Hoe, 1987:154). “The only thing my family does to show respect is twice a year, in the spring and fall, we visit the cemetery where grandpa was laid to rest” was how one son relayed his family’s routine. Modification or simplification of certain traditions may signify

a weakening of loyalty ties to the ethnic culture (Johnson, 1979:369). Some of the reasons why will be covered later with the conflict tables.

Daughters, more so than sons, thought their parents clung more tightly to ancestor worship. Nineteen and two-tenths per cent of males and 30.0 per cent of females said the tradition was “very important” to their parents. Since it has already been established that it is usually the mother’s role to instil traditions onto their offspring, this reported difference in perceptions between males and females on the importance of ancestor worship could be due to a closer emotional bond between mother and daughter. When respondents were asked the question, “Could you describe your relationship with your mother?”, females indicated more often than the males, that family matters was amongst one of the topics discussed with their mothers. It makes sense then for daughters to be sensitive to their parents’ value of worshipping because they heard the topic more often than their brothers.

The children’s perspective was fairly uniform between the genders. They attached considerably less value to worshipping as a whole, relative to their perceptions of their parents’ commitment (30.8 per cent of males and 26.6 per cent of females said ancestor worship was “very important” or “important” compared to the 57.7 per cent of males and 63.3 per cent of females who gave the ratings for the same categories for their parents). Different rates of acculturation can explain this trend. Progressive removal from the ethnic culture occurs for each successive generation as the internalization of Western norms rise (Fong, 1973:124).

With the perceived conflict between the two generations on the ancestor worship tradition, the amount of conflict between generations became an interesting question. Presented in Table 17 are the children’s responses.

TABLE 17 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED LEVEL OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER ANCESTOR WORSHIP Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	7.7% (2)	0.0% (0)	26.9% (7)	65.4% (17)
Female	0.0% (0)	6.7% (2)	6.7% (2)	86.7% (26)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

A remarkably high percentage of children (65.4 per cent of males and 86.7 per cent of females) said they did not feel any conflict over the age old tradition of ancestor worship. There are several factors that might explain the low levels of conflict. The first could be the parents' realization that some form of acculturation is inevitable with a move to a foreign country. Values for the next generation will not be identical with that of the parents' and eventually, there is some acceptance of this social reality. A conscious reordering of priorities by the parents takes place. "To my parents, school is more important than ancestor worship, so they've never insisted on my participation," was how one daughter explained her own lack of involvement with this tradition.

The second factor in the low conflict levels could be the impracticality of ancestor worship in 23.2 per cent of the cases because the children did not live within driving distance of the gravesites (in the interview, respondents were asked the burial locations of their ancestors). Hence, a convenient excuse to avoid the trap of obligatory duties. Of the respondents who lived within the reasonable driving distance (76.7 per cent), many stated that the duties, a few bows once or twice a year, were quite simple. As such, they did not feel the rare, innocuous demands of their parents were stifling their personal lifestyle.

Finally, many parents and children themselves did not feel the preparations for the ritual were worthwhile. Often, these duties were performed in China as a way of demonstrating to others in the cultural community that they still remember and respect one's ancestors and the tradition. With fewer eyes looking over their shoulders in a new country, there might be a tendency for the parents to comply less or simplify the ritual.

To better understand why males expressed more conflict with their parents over ancestor worship than females (7.7 per cent of males reported "a great deal" of conflict; no females reported this same level of conflict), it would help to examine the frequency levels as well. Table 18 is a summary of the children's estimated occurrence of conflict between parents and themselves.

TABLE 18 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED FREQUENCY OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER ANCESTOR WORSHIP Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely
Male	0.0% (0)	22.2% (2)	22.2% (2)	55.6% (5)
Female	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	100.0% (4)

Total number of respondents = 13, 9 males and 4 females. Only those respondents that reported feeling conflict were included in the calculations.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Caution should be used in the interpretation of Table 18 because of the low number of respondents. Only those that reported feeling conflict over ancestor worship were included in the conflict frequency calculations.

Consistent with the males' experience of higher conflict levels are the higher frequency levels. Just over half of them (5 of 9) said their conflict was "rare" while 4 of 9 said "frequently" or "occasionally". "Rare" conflict happened for the 4 females who felt conflict.

Part of the reason for the differences in perceived conflict frequency levels between the genders could be that traditionally ancestor worship was the exclusive responsibility of Chinese males. Males carried the sacred family name, hence ritual obligations to worship ancestors and parents after death is their inherited lifelong duties (Johnson, 1979:361). Females though, visited the gravesites of direct descendants until they were married off, as this Chinese daughter confirmed, "I don't do ancestor worship with Mom and Dad since getting married". After marriage, daughters are expected to participate in the worshipping of their husbands' ancestors.

There might have been several sources to the higher frequency of conflict for males. One male respondent expressed his conflict in this manner: "I believe in the theory and idea of ancestor worship, but don't see the practicality of the ritual as much". He did not understand the relevance of the tradition and whether it fits in with his present Canadian lifestyle. Second, a lack of understanding the ancestor worship tradition led to the occasional blunder: "It's so weird, I started to eat the food on the table, then Mom yelled at me to stop and bow to it". The sacrificial food is symbolically served to the deceased. Third, some people did not believe in worship because of religious differences. "Christians don't worship, we say prayers", was how a Chinese son explained his position.

Lastly, the expectation of males to conform to their parents' demands combined with the younger generations' preferred desire for convenience and flexibility elevated the conflict results. A married male stated his negotiation strategy in this manner, "I don't mind the

cultural tradition. I try to suggest different dates which are more suitable for my family.” However, another finds the driving to distant sites, a heavy burden, “My parents’ requests are less reasonable because of the distance to Vancouver. These walkabouts should be done when we’re there on summer vacations.” This statement reflects the sentiments of a number of the study’s respondents. “Ancestor worship is a tradition long past gone, but our respect can be shown in other ways. We shall always remember and think of them”, was how one male interviewee phrased his resolution over the ancestor worship question..

As much as the elders expect their children to worship the deceased, parents insist that this show of respect and obedience be displayed when they are alive and after death. It is this filial expectation when parent are alive that requests for physical support can potentially lead to some emotional scarring between the generations.

PARENTAL SUPPORT

“What my parents would want most from the children is respect. Do what they say and do what they ask for. Even with things that I may not be comfortable doing”, was one son’s thoughts of his parents’ requests for respect and obedience. This obligation to be obedient was a topic that emerged in my research. It frequently manifested itself in the form of physical support. Physical support means children lending a hand to their parents in times of distress and need.

The data presented in Table 19 is the respondents’ perceptions of their parents’ frequency of requests for physical support.

TABLE 19 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' FREQUENCY OF REQUESTS FOR PHYSICAL SUPPORT Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Never
Male	0.0% (0)	11.5% (3)	57.7% (15)	30.8% (8)
Female	16.7% (5)	16.7% (5)	33.3% (10)	33.3% (10)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Table 19 shows that female respondents thought they were asked more often to help out their parents. There is a common perception that parents want all their requests granted. Sixteen and seven-tenths per cent of daughters constantly felt this obligatory concern with no sons in the same position. A probable cause for the perception of uneven demand for help is planted in parental attitudes of gender roles.

Although modern Chinese parents may be less traditional than their historical counterparts, they nevertheless expect their daughters to be domestically compliant. The home is used by parents for defining tasks. Females, when they are young, are expected to share household chores with their mother. After marriage, household matters are the women's responsibility.

In theory, parental expectations of help from the daughter should cease after she is married. The daughter does not live under the jurisdiction of her parents any longer. This explanation makes some sense in light of the data. Sixty-six and seven-tenths per cent of female respondents have never been married, so they would be asked more often for physical support since it is their duty and it accounts for the higher request for support figures for females. A married daughter stated: "I don't feel the need to honor my parents' requests like I used to because of being married off".

Human interaction is generally governed by the reciprocity rule, that is, both parties should perceive a benefit to the relationship. Exchange theory suggests that during interactions, individuals try to maximize their rewards and minimize their costs (Suitor and Pillemer, 1988:1038). When an imbalance is perceived, then the relationship ends, or conflict continues.

With the inherent power of parents and the knowledge that home duties are the females' domain, I expected to find a considerable amount of conflict in the parent-daughter relationship. Aggregate findings listed in Table 20 tell the respondents' story on the issue of gender conflict in relation to parental support.

TABLE 20 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED LEVEL OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER PHYSICAL SUPPORT Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	0.0% (0)	23.1% (6)	46.2% (12)	30.8% (8)
Female	16.7% (5)	36.7% (11)	20.0% (6)	26.7% (8)

Total number of respondents = 56, 26 males and 30 females.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

It is surprising to see the low conflict ratings for both genders. Seventy-seven per cent of males and 46.7 per cent of females reported feeling "a little" or no conflict. This general sense of harmony between the generations over physical support may be linked to two factors. First, the nature of the requests accounted for the children's ease of reception. Most requests were simple and not time-consuming. "Dropping off my parents in Chinatown or picking up a

bag of rice on the weekend isn't a big deal. I have to pass through there anyway on my way to the gym or a friend's house" was one male respondents' view of parental support.

Second, the requests could be evaluated on an individual, case-by-case basis by the children. This element of control and flexibility is important to the younger generation as seen in this statement, "I don't mind phoning the doctor's office to make appointments because I don't have to set foot outside my house. But it's harder when I have to drive over to Dad's to look over forms". It appears a redistribution of power has taken place within the family. The traditional hierarchical order, where the male head's position is absolute, has evolved into the current structure of greater equality between parents and children (Cheung, 1989:459).

In terms of gender comparisons, 16.7 per cent of daughters experienced "a great deal" of conflict. There were no males in this category. This reported conflict difference between the genders could be a result of the types of requests and its frequency made by parents.

During the course of interviews, two notable types of needy parents arose: the working-class parents who migrated to Canada with barely a shirt on their backs with minimal command English, and middle-class parents who had better financial and language capabilities. Language may have been a barrier to adjustment due to the strong attachment of working-class parents to Chinatown (Cheung, 1989:458).

In order to gain a more comprehensive profile of the type of parent that would most require their children's language and physical support, I have further segmented the respondents' answers on level of conflict according to his or her father's occupational category. This variable was chosen because the father is usually the primary breadwinner, and as a result, the dependence level on the child can be directly measured. The data have been

broken into three separate tables: First, Tables 21A) and 21B) contain respective information for fathers currently employed in professional/managerial/technical and manual labor jobs. Second, Table 21C) takes a look at the historical occupation of retired fathers. Nineteen respondents, who lived in different cities from their parents, have been removed from the calculations. Although a number of them expressed a desire to help their parents, it was impractical due to geographical separation. Almost all respondents said the question was not applicable to their personal situations. Below are the conflict levels for respondents classified by his or her father's current occupation and past occupation for retired fathers.

TABLE 21				
RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED LEVEL OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER PHYSICAL SUPPORT CLASSIFIED BY HIS OR HER FATHER'S OCCUPATION				
Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
A) Professional/Managerial/Technical (Currently Employed)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	0.0% (0)	20.0% (1)	40.0% (2)	40.0% (2)
Female	0.0% (0)	20.0% (1)	40.0% (2)	40.0% (2)
Total number of respondents = 10, 5 males and 5 females. Only those respondents who reside in the same city as his or her parents have been included in the calculations.				
B) Manual Labour (Currently Employed)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	0.0% (0)	10.0% (1)	40.0% (4)	50.0% (5)
Female	25.0% (2)	25.0% (2)	12.5% (1)	37.5% (3)
Total number of respondents = 18, 10 males and 8 females. Only those respondents who reside in the same city as his or her parents have been included in the calculations.				
C) Manual Labour (Retired)				
Gender	A Great Deal	Some	A Little	None
Male	0.0% (0)	25.0% (1)	25.0% (1)	50.0% (2)
Female	0.0% (0)	60.0% (3)	20.0% (1)	20.0% (1)
Total number of respondents = 9, 4 males and 5 females. Only those respondents who reside in the same city as his or her parents have been included in the calculations.				
Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.				

An overview of Tables 21A), 21B), and 21C) revealed that the fathers' occupations might have effected the conflict level of children. In terms of intensity, 2 of 10 of respondents

with professional/managerial/technical fathers, 5 of 18 of respondents with manual labor fathers, and 4 of 9 of respondents with retired manual labor fathers experienced “a great deal” or “some” conflict. There appears to be a positive relationship, although not strong, between how the father earns his living and the conflict reported by children.

Those parents employed in manual labor occupations tended to have more conflict with their children than those employed in the higher socioeconomic jobs. Besides the dependency on their children at home, some of these self-employed parents also expected the children’s involvement at their place of business. Often from an early age, resources were frequently drawn from an entire family. The children undertook the role of mediator handling affairs between their parents and the outside world because their English was superior to their parents’ (Wong, 1988:240). This created more potential for conflict since the expectation of physical support in the business would be greater than in families without. “My parents always made the children work in their [garment] factory because we were cheap labor”, was how a female respondent rationalized her parents’ situation. By no means is the expectation for physical support true of only the self-employed parents, but they enlist the support of their children more.

Middle-class parents, relative to the working-class parents, are probably more self-sufficient. Although middle-class parents hold the same principles of children owing respect and help for the older generation, their requests were mainly restricted to items. Many of these parents possess at least rudimentary self-help skills in areas that the working-class parents did not. They often have a driver’s licence so there is less worry over transportation. Their English comprehension ranged from basic to working knowledge, so their requests relate to

more complicated transactions, e.g., financial investments. Children are rarely called upon for help except in areas where the parents think they have special knowledge or a higher skill level, as this Chinese son observed, “My Dad doesn’t ask for anything. The occasional time he might ask me to edit his business letter”. Therefore, it appears middle-class parents make fewer and less time-consuming requests for support from their children. Even the nature of the requests vary from those of the working-class parents.

In summary, manual labor parents seem to have greater needs for help which increased the potential for conflict. This implies that, in the case of the retired manual labor parents, it is no longer an issue of available time, comfort or ability for these parents. Rather, this phenomenon has to do with the parents having become accustomed to their children’s help in certain areas as this respondent verified, “Us kids used to do our share in the restaurant. We ordered stock and dealt with customers. Now that Mom and Dad don’t work, when the phone rings, it’s because they want to go to another doctor! But the demands on our time is not nearly as much as it used to be”.

A very interesting trend from Tables 21A), 21B) and 21C), can be noted in regards to which of the children the parents sought physical support from. For the technical/managerial/professional parents, gender did not seem to matter since male and female respondents each report 1 of 5 in favor of “a great deal” or “some conflict”. But there does appear to be a gender bias for the children of manual labor (4 of 7 females reported conflict compared to 1 of 9 males) and retired manual labor fathers (3 of 5 females reported conflict compared to 1 of 4 males). This data suggests that conflict over assistance depends on both the occupation of the parent and the gender of the child with daughters of manual occupation

parents more likely to experience conflict over parental requests for assistance. I have based this conclusion on a small sample size that might not reflect the population's feelings as a whole, so discretion should be used in its interpretation.

The gender component will be discussed first followed by the occupational component with the conflict frequency table. Males generally experienced few conflicts in all categories of parental occupations. There are two possible explanations for the greater overall level of female conflict. First, parental requests made to a daughter may be of a different nature than those requested of the son as indicated by this female respondent, "My brother might get asked to drive my parents to Safeway [supermarket] which if we're lucky takes 15 minutes, but I'm asked to take them to the shopping mall and stay for hours!".

Second, some parents may prefer to ask their daughters for physical support over their sons because there is a perception that their brothers' time is better utilized for school or job. This traditional mindset of parents was observed in this quotation from a daughter: "Bobby could be at the store all afternoon, and my Mom doesn't ask him to do anything. As soon as I walk in the door, it's do this, do that. I think sometimes he pretends to be doing homework so he doesn't get bothered. It's comes down to sons being her favorite".

The frequency of conflict occurrences helps measure the full impact of parental requests on intergenerational relations. Children were asked to rate how often conflict arose in these situations. Their responses are outlined in Table 22.

TABLE 22 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCED FREQUENCY OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS OVER PHYSICAL SUPPORT Percentage Distribution (Number of Respondents)				
Gender	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely
Male	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	55.6% (10)	44.4% (8)
Female	13.6% (3)	13.6% (3)	13.6% (3)	59.1% (13)

Total number of respondents = 40, 18 males and 22 females. Only those respondents that reported feeling conflict were included in the calculations.

Note: Calculations have been rounded to the nearest 1/10th decimal place.

Females reported higher incidences of conflict than males. Six of 22 females felt conflict “always” or “frequently”. No males felt conflict to the same degree. This frequency of conflict could be a result of two factors. First, some parents labored long hours outside of their homes so they might have sometimes found it necessary to depend on their children for support on chores at home. This may have been particularly the case of working-class parents. Table 21 showed that conflict resulted more often for female children of these parents than those with parents of higher socioeconomic positions. Hence, this may explain why working-class parents felt more conflict with their female children. Household chores, traditionally considered “girl’s work”, were probably delegated in higher frequency to the daughters. Professional parents on the other hand, have shorter workdays and more spare time to do housework or the financial capability to hire outside help.

Second, middle-class parents tended to hold a more contemporary outlook towards life, e.g., gender equality, than the working-class parents. So, in some cases, their requests for physical support were fairly equitably split between sons and daughters. Favoritism towards sons were less likely to occur, as observed by this female respondent: “Ever since we were little, my brother and I’ve had a schedule of chores. He’s always had to take out the garbage

and vacuum the house. Mine were to wash dishes and water the plants. My parents always tried to raise us with the same rules, the best they knew how.”

This chapter has reviewed ancestor worship, the age-old cultural tradition whose modern version in Canada has seen some modifications in practice, and physical support, the children’s chief method of displaying their obligatory obedience to their parents.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Chapter seven, the final chapter of this thesis, will bring together the key elements for discussion: the purpose of the study, its key findings, implications for the world of education, and finally, the limitations of the research.

SUMMARY

The primary purpose of this research was to investigate the nature of intergenerational conflict between second-generation Chinese adult children and their parents in Calgary from the children's perception. For centuries, the Chinese family has been grounded within the Confucian thinking of filial piety and the promotion of strict gender roles. Males were almost always the sole breadwinner and granted the utmost status in traditional society while the females' place was to lie within the home. With migratory forces, this situation has recently been challenged and it continues to evolve today. Great pressures ride on Chinese families in general and females (immigrant mothers and their daughters) in particular to adapt to their host environment and gain a more modern outlook. Canadian-born children, raised in a bicultural environment, with two sets of ideals, feel the residual impact of their immigrant parents' experience.

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect the primary data and to determine whether there was a gender relationship to the conflict reported by Chinese children with their parents. The sample comprised of 56 children, 26 males and 30 females. Thematic analysis was used to interpret the qualitative data while a combination of frequency distributions and cross-tabulations helped decipher the quantitative data.

The data analysis showed that a gender bias existed for perceived conflict between children and their parents. With the exception of ancestor worship, females experienced a higher level of conflict in all other categories. In terms of specific trends, children actually had stronger feelings regarding the importance of higher education and grades than they perceived their parents to have. This implies that most children tended to be career-oriented. The reverse trend was observed for ancestor worship, dating, and marriage. In other words, parents were thought to place greater emphasis on cultural and traditional aspects of family life. The overall level of conflict was low, possibly because Chinese generally abhor open conflict of any kind or both the parent and child generations have accepted some level of Western influence.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

What appeared initially to be a simple idea for immigrant Chinese males to carve out a better living may have unintentionally triggered a spiral of life changes for each successive generation. This remarkable journey across the Pacific Ocean literally uprooted the whole culture of the immigrants who subsequently fast-tracked their acculturation to guarantee socioeconomic survival. It is unlikely that the first-generation of immigrants envisioned these cultural changes would take place as a result of their actions but it is certainly a powerful force in Chinese families today. This seems to be at the root of a lot of cross-cultural and intergenerational conflict within the family.

While most Chinese children must adapt to life in a culturally different land, for Chinese daughters, many of these acculturation issues are magnified since their evolving role as

bicultural immigrants has been compounded by the massive changes for women in society. As phrased by Yung (1986), the present position of Chinese women can be described best as being “a minority within a minority”. Women have long fought a battle to be treated as equals, e.g., the suffrage movement. They felt like second-class citizens relative to their male counterparts. This subordinate position sometimes negatively impacted their success in the professional ranks. However, for Chinese women, there is an additional burden created by their race or ethnicity. As a visible minority, most Chinese lived with the knowledge that they looked different from most of the people in the mainstream population. “My parents always pushed me to try harder. They said Canada is a White man’s country so I had to put in twice the effort to prove myself”, was how one daughter explained her parents’ position.

Over time, acceptance of both the Chinese and of women grew. Chinese women, as a result, have successfully integrated into the work world. Some of this success is a direct result of the passing of certain government legislation, e.g., equal opportunity laws. This change in public status for women has led to some modernization of parental attitudes towards higher education and grades for their female children. Previously, an educated daughter was unheard of because Chinese parents believed knowledge was an unnecessary evil. But today, most females are given the opportunity to further their studies because parents believed an intelligent daughter is more marriageable. Parents still felt that a proper daughter should get married, have children and serve her husband and in-laws. This predisposition to a lesser role, as established by tradition, occasionally collided with the daughter’s professional ambitions. Parents may be more open-minded than they used to be, but most still do not prefer an all-career lifestyle and no marriage for their daughters.

Parents are less resistant to altering the pragmatic, peripheral aspects of the culture, e.g., achievement, especially when they conveniently fit into today's lifestyle. But the higher degree of conflict experienced by females than the males over higher education and grades illustrate the private battle being fought by daughters for equal rights within the family. A double-standard continues to prevail on the homefront for many females as this quotation suggests: "Although encouraged to be better educated than their predecessors, they [second-generation Chinese women] were still handicapped by traditional notions of female inferiority at home" (Yung, 1986:88).

The private battle of daughters was perhaps most evident in the dating, marriage, and physical support sections. Since these topics strike at the heart of the older generation, they will naturally resist changes. The Chinese deeply cherish the core values of family cohesion and elderly reverence. The daughters face a challenge in their attempt to bridge the gap between their own personal aspirations and the parents' preference for their traditional fulfilment of birthright roles. This could explain the higher levels and frequency of conflict felt by females than the males over dating, marriage, and physical support. As the acculturation process slowly erodes traditional values layer by layer, starting with the surface elements and progressing towards the core, conflict is felt when the stress of acculturation differences fracture intergenerational relations. A degree of tradition has eroded between the first- and second-generation immigrants, and perhaps at a quicker pace for females. This is largely due to the wide hierarchical gap of females, moving from a very subservient role in traditional Chinese society towards a more liberated role in Western society.

We must now address the hypothesis posed at the beginning of the study. The hypothesis is that Chinese women should experience a greater overall level of conflict than men due to the evolving role of women. The evidence collected in this study is fairly clear with women experiencing higher levels of conflict in five of the six study areas. Therefore, the conclusion is that gender affects the level of conflict experienced. Certainly there were areas where the effect was more pronounced. For example, women experienced markedly higher levels of conflict in dating and marriage. Additional studies with different and larger samples would naturally be required to make an overall statement about the hypothesis, but this study did generally support it. The lone area where men felt more conflict was in ancestor worship. This is traditionally viewed as a male role, thus females would have less direct responsibility for its continuity.

Although this study does not claim that intergenerational conflict was a direct result of changing women's roles, it reflected on the phenomenon. It seems that women's roles have been changing in the larger society as a whole and as such, Chinese women are allowing themselves to become integrated into the value structure of the larger society. This absorption probably contributed to some of the women feeling value conflict. In order to validate the conclusions, the same hypothesis could be repeated with a larger, random sample.

The plight of Chinese Canada is indeed a complex survival story, with chapters still to unfold. As the "sandwich" generation unearths new ground, undoubtedly, they will find more uncertain acculturation questions. This is especially true for women because of the dramatic value changes that continue to occur. Researchers should redirect their efforts to investigate these issues in order to more fully understand the acculturation process.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The limitations of this study has been divided into three classifications. The first set of reasons are related to methodology. The non-random selection of the sample and its limited size will naturally restrict the study's generalizability. As well, it might be difficult to draw direct inferences from the findings about the nature of intergenerational and cross-cultural behavior for a specific age group because this study attracted respondents of diverse ages. This was not the anticipated plan but the main reason was due to the low response rate of university students to my e-mail message for volunteers.

The second set of limitations pertain to cross-cultural similarities. It must be stressed that the final research results do not attribute conflict to being Chinese but rather it suggests that conflict has a Chinese character. Conflict is a universal phenomenon. Hence generational conflict, which in this study was perceived by the daughters to have been derived from their parents' differential treatment of their children, is also not unique to the Chinese. Traditional parental attitudes in relation to gender roles are still prevalent in a number of societies around the world.

The final shortcoming addresses the low intergenerational conflict levels reported by the respondents in the six study categories. This finding may mistakenly imply that synchronized acculturation between the generations will eradicate conflict. This is not the case because family dynamics is comprised of many complex situational variables and cannot be reduced to a simple solution.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Second-Generation Chinese, Calgary

August-October 1996

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERGENERATIONAL CONFLICT:

A STUDY OF SECOND-GENERATION CHINESE IN CALGARY

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions. The main purpose is to find out what the relationship is between parents and their children in a number of different areas. I want to take a look at your experiences and your personal feelings.

Although individual responses like yours are important to this study, it is the aggregate responses that I am looking for. They will help me identify major themes.

This is an informal interview. If you become uncomfortable at any time, you may stop the interview process or we can simply go on to the next question.

(Interviewer notes)

Sex: M / F

Date of interview: _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

First, we need some background information about you and your family.

1. Where were you born?
Canada (Go to question 3)
Outside Canada, place _____
2. How old were you at the time your family immigrated to Canada? _____
3. How long have you resided in Canada?
All my life / Part of my life, _____ years
4. Can you tell me what your present age is? _____
5. Are you a student? Yes / No (Go to 5(b))
 - a. What year of studies, e.g. 1st? _____
What is your major? _____
Was this your first choice? Yes / No
Why or why not? _____
 - b. What is your occupation? _____

6. Can you tell me a bit about your parents?

a. Employment and education

Is your father currently employed? Yes / No

(Past) Occupation _____

Level of Education _____

Place of Education _____

Is your mother currently employed? Yes / No

(Past) Occupation _____

Level of Education _____

Place of Education _____

b. Birth country and approximate date of arrival

Father

Birth country _____

Date of arrival _____

Mother

Birth country _____

Date of arrival _____

c. Parents' marital status and date of remarriage if divorced/widowed:

Mother _____

Father _____

Age of respondent at divorce/loss of parent: _____

7. Do you have any brothers and sisters? Yes / No

(if yes)

Number of siblings

Older brother _____

Younger brother _____

Older sister _____

Younger sister _____

Age(s) of brother(s) and sister(s):

Older brother _____

Younger brother _____

Older sister _____

Younger sister _____

8. a. What is your marital status?
 Never married / Married / Remarried / Common-Law / Single Parent/
 Separated / Divorced/ Widowed
 Other _____
- b. Do you have any children? Yes / No
 (if yes - continue)
 (if no - go to Question 9)
- How many children do you have? _____
 Age(s) of son(s) and daughter(s):
 Son(s) _____
 Daughter(s) _____
9. What is your (and your spouse/partner's) highest level of education completed?
 respondent _____
 spouse/partner _____
10. Where was your spouse/partner born?
 Canada
 Outside Canada, place _____
11. How old was your spouse/partner at the time his/her family immigrated to Canada? ____
12. Do you live ...
 _____ with your parents and sibling(s)
 _____ with mother and sibling(s)
 _____ with father and sibling(s)
 _____ with people other than relatives
 _____ with your spouse/partner and children
 _____ with your spouse/partner, child(ren) and parent(s), (circle one)
 paternal/maternal
 _____ with your spouse/partner, child(ren) and grandparent(s) (circle one)
 paternal/maternal
 _____ by self
 _____ alone with child(ren)
 _____ with other, _____
13. In terms of living arrangements, how many generations live in your household? _____
14. Do you presently feel a part of some religious group?
 Yes / No
 (if yes - go to Question 15) (if no - go to Question 17)

15. Which religious group are you affiliated with?
 Roman Catholic / Jewish / Buddhist / Muslim /
 Protestant, specify denomination _____ /
 Other _____
16. In the past year how often have you attended church services?
 Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
17. (if respondent was born in Canada or immigrated prior to 5 years of age)
 Did your parents ever send you to Chinese school? Yes / No
- (if no)
 Was Chinese school available in the city you lived? Yes / No
 Why not? _____
18. How often do you speak Chinese with your ...
- a. mother?
 Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
 - father?
 Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
 - b. siblings?
 Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
 - c. children?
 Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
 - d. peers (reference group)?
 Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never

INTERGENERATIONAL CONFLICT - CATEGORIES

Grades

- 1.
 - a. How important to your parents are the achievement of high grades?
 V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. How important to your parents are high grades as it applies to a male?
 V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
 - c. How important to your parents are high grades as it applies to a female?
 V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
- 2.
 - a. How important to you are the achievement of high grades?
 V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all

- b. Do you feel it is more important for a male than a female to achieve high grades?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
3. a. How often were you able to achieve high grades in school (Kindergarten through grade 12)?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare
What was your definition of high grades? _____
- b. (if applicable)
How often are (were) you able to achieve high grades in postsecondary education?
What is (was) your definition of high grades? _____
4. Is (was) it important to you that you achieve the grades your parents want(ed)?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
5. a. How much conflict do (did) you experience with your parents over the issue of high grades?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
(if None - go to Higher Education Section)
- b. How often does (did) of conflict occur?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare

Higher Education

Higher education is defined as postsecondary or tertiary level.

1. a. How important to your parents is higher education?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
- b. How important to your parents is higher education as it applies to a male?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
- c. How important to your parents is higher education as it applies to a female?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
2. a. How important to you is higher education?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
- b. Do you feel it is more important for a male than a female to pursue higher education?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
3. (respondents who pursued higher education)

Did your parents support your decision to pursue higher education?

V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all

OR

(respondents who did not pursue higher education)

Did your parents encourage you to pursue higher education?

V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all

4.
 - a. How much conflict did you experience over your decision to pursue higher education?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
(if None - go to Question 5)
 - b. How often does (did) conflict occur?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare
(students - go to Dating Section)
5. (non-students)
 - a. Did you achieve the minimum level of higher education your parents wanted?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. Were your parents disappointed with your minimum level of higher education?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all

Dating

1. (if respondent is not married)
(if respondent is married - go to Question 2)
Have you ever dated somebody? Yes / No
(if Yes)

Are you currently involved in a relationship? Yes / No
(if No - go to Question 9)
2.
 - a. Do (did) your parents prefer that your dating partners be Chinese?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. Do (did) your parents prefer that dating partners be Chinese for a male?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
 - c. Do (did) your parents prefer that dating partners be Chinese for a female?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all

3. (if answer in 2(a) is other than Not at all)
 - a. Do (did) you comply with your parents' wishes that your dating partners be Chinese?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. Do (did) your parents have knowledge of your dating practices? Yes/No
4. How much influence do (did) your parents have on your choice of dating partners?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
5.
 - a. Do you feel that it is important dating partners be Chinese?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. Do you feel that it is more important for a male than a female to date Chinese?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
6. Courtship is defined as a dating pattern; the act or period of wooing a mate. Note: * is used for married respondents
Is (was*) your courtship with your current partner different from your parents?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
(if answer is other than Not at all) In what ways is (was) your courtship different? ____
7. How much conflict do (did) you experience over this particular issue?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
(if None - go to Marriage Section)
8. How often does (did) conflict occur?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare
(go to Marriage Section)

Marriage

1.
 - a. How important to your parents is marriage?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. Do your parents feel marriage is more important for male than a female?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
2.
 - a. How important to your parents is career?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. Do your parents feel career is more important for a male than a female?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all

3.
 - a. How important to you is marriage?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. Do you feel marriage is more important for a male than a female?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
4.
 - a. How important to you is career?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
 - b. Do you feel career is more important for a male than a female?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
5. Are your parents supportive of the idea of an arranged marriage?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
Why or why not? _____
6. Are you supportive of the idea of an arranged marriage?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
Why or why not? _____
7. (if respondents are not married)
Would you marry somebody non-Chinese?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
(if other than Not at all - go to Question 14)
OR
(if respondents are married)
Did you marry somebody of Chinese origin? Yes / No
(if yes - go to Question 10)
(if no - go to Question 11)
8. Would you have married somebody non-Chinese?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
9. How much influence do (did) your parents have on your choice of a marriage partner?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
10. How much conflict do (did) you experience with your parents over the choice of a marriage partner?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
(if None - go to Choice of Friends Section)
11. How often does (did) conflict occur?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare
(go to Choice of Friends Section)

12. How much conflict do you anticipate having with your parents over this particular issue?
A great deal / Some / A little / None

Choice of Friends

(Use "do" if the respondent still lives at home with his/her parents and "did" for all others)

1. Do (did) your parents prefer your friends be Chinese?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
(if answer is Not at all - go to Question 3)
2. Do (did) you comply with your parents' wishes that your friends be Chinese?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
3. Do (did) your parents encourage you to have non-Chinese friends?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
4. How much conflict do (did) you experience with your parents over your choice of friends?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
(if None - go to Question 6)
5. How often does (did) conflict occur?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare
6. Think of your three closest friends, how many are Chinese*? ____ Non-Chinese? ____
* Category includes all Orientals (ie: Koreans, Filipinos) because of the similar value systems.

Parental Requests for Assistance

Parental requests can include translation and driving, items that parents cannot or do not feel comfortable doing on their own.

1. Do your parent(s) live in Calgary? Yes / No
(if No)

Do your parent(s) live in a town or city within one days' driving distance from Calgary? Yes / No

Where do your parents live?

Father _____

Mother _____

2. How often do your parents request assistance?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
(if Never - go to Cultural Tradition Section)
3. To what extent do you feel your parents' requests for assistance should be honored?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
4. Do you feel your parents' requests for assistance are reasonable?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
5. How often do you comply with your parents' requests for assistance?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
(if Always - go to Cultural Tradition Section)
6. How much conflict do you experience with your parents over this particular issue?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
(If None - go to Cultural Tradition Section)
7. How often does this type of conflict occur?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare

Cultural Tradition - Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship is the reverence for deceased generations; visiting the gravesite of ancestors to show respect.

1. How important to your parents is ancestor worship?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
2. How important to you is ancestor worship?
V important / Important / Somewhat / Not at all
3. Do you have ancestors buried in Canada? Yes / No
(If No - go to Quality of Life section)

Do you have ancestors buried in the Calgary vicinity? Yes / No
(If Yes - go to Question 4)

Do you have ancestors buried within a days' driving distance? Yes / No
(If Yes - go to Question 4)
(If No - go to Quality of Life section)

4. How often do your parents insist that you participate in ancestor worship?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
(if Never - go to Quality of Life Section)

5. How often do you comply with your parents' requests?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
6. To what extent do you feel your parents' request(s) for ancestor worship should be honored?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Never
7. Do you feel your parents' request(s) for ancestor worship are reasonable?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
8. How much conflict do you experience with your parents over this particular issue?
A great deal / Some / A little / None
(If None - go to Quality of Life Section)
9. How often does conflict occur?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare

Quality of Life

Taking all things together, how well would you say things are these days? Let's take a look at how you feel.

1. Do you agree with the statement, "I am generally happy with my life".
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
2. Do you agree with the statement, "I am generally happy in my relationship with my parents".
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
3. Would your parents change anything in their relationship with you?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
4. Would you change anything in your relationship with your parents?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
(if answer is other than "Not at all" - go to Question 5)
(if answer is "Not at all" - go to Question 6)
5. How much would you change in your relationship with your parents?
A great deal / Some / A little / Almost none
6. Do you agree with the statement, "I have a good relationship with my parents".
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
7. In your relationship with your parents, do you feel mostly
V proud / Proud / Somewhat proud / Not proud

Now I'd like to ask you to indicate your feelings on a scale of different items. And remember, these are your feelings in general.

For example,

Relaxed	-----x-----	Stressful
Happy	-----	Sad
Friendly	-----	Lonely
Easy	-----	Hard
Calm	-----	Busy
Quiet	-----	Noisy
Enjoyable	-----	Miserable
Hopeful	-----	Discouraging
Free	-----	Confined
Rewarding	-----	Disappointing
Brings out the best in me	-----	Doesn't give me much chance

GENERAL

Family Relationships

1. Do you have a close relationship with your mother?
Very definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
2. Do you have a close relationship with your father?
Very definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
3. How often do you see your parents now?
Always / Frequently / Occasionally / Rare
4. Do your parents participate in your major decisions?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
Major decisions are defined as those with long-term impact.
5. Have your parents adapted to the Canadian way of life?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
6. Would you describe your parents as traditional?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Family Relationships

1. Could you describe your relationship with your mother.

2. Could you describe your relationship with your father.
3. What behavior or action (eg: career success to bring the family glory; physical services) of yours do you think would please your parents the most?
4. There are advantages and disadvantages when two adult generations live in the same household. In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages?

Intergenerational Conflict and Resolution

From time to time parents and children disagree with one another. What behavior or action by your parents would be most likely to anger or upset you?

Let's look at one episode when conflict occurred between you and your parents.

1. Can you describe the situation and the events that lead up to it.
2. What do you feel was (were) the source(s) of the conflict?
3. How did you deal with the conflict?
4. How did your parents deal with the conflict?

Other Background

Finally, we would like to ask several general questions:

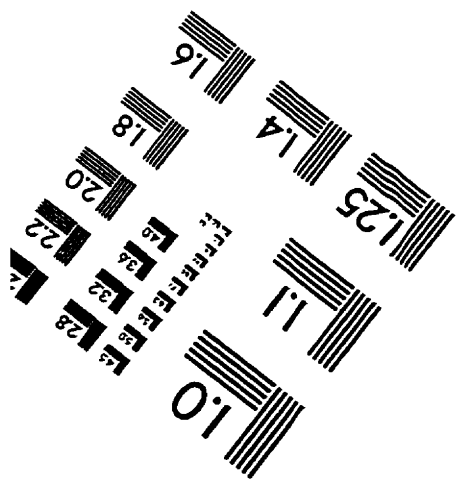
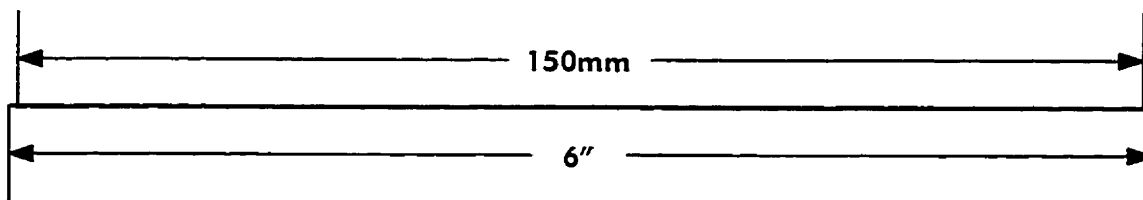
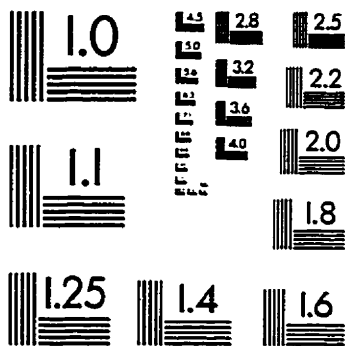
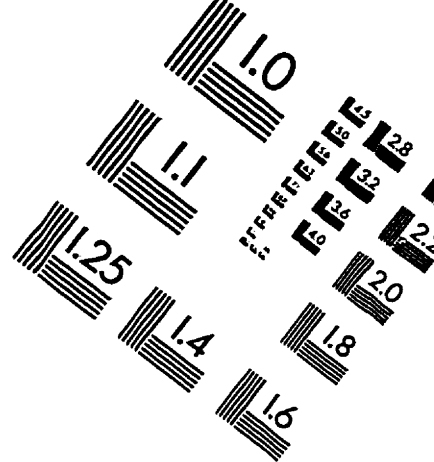
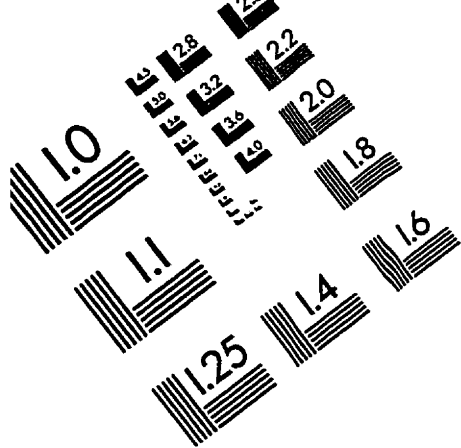
1. Do you presently work? Yes / No
(if yes - go to Question 2)
(if no - go to Question 3)
2. How many hours per week do you work? _____
3. (if respondents are married)
Does your spouse/partner work? Yes / No
(if yes - go to Question 4)
(if no, go to Comments Section)
4. What is your spouse's occupation? _____
5. How many hours per week does (s)he work? _____
6. What are your source(s) of financial support?
Parents / Own Employment / Spouse / Student Loan /
Scholarship(s) / Other, specify _____

7. What is your total annual income?
Less than \$5000 / \$5000 - 9,999 / \$10,000 - 24,999 /
\$25,000 - 39,999 / \$40,000 - 54,999/ \$55,000 - 69,999 / \$70,000 and over
8. What is your spouse's total annual income?
Less than \$5000 / \$5000 - 9,999 / \$10,000 - 24,999 /
\$25,000 - 39,999 / \$40,000 - 54,999/ \$55,000 - 69,999 / \$70,000 and over
9. Have you helped your parents with regular living expenses?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all
10. Have you helped your parents with the occasional offer of money (does not include gifts)?
V definitely / Definitely / Somewhat / Not at all

COMMENTS

1. How did you find this interview?
2. Were there any questions that you found difficult to answer?
3. Was there anything that I asked that you had never thought about before? Elaborate.
4. Non-verbal cues and behavior (eg: nervous, anxious, withdrawn, frank)

TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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