

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

**Role of Chinese Social Clubs in Chinese Identity:
An Exploration of a Group of University Students**

by

Cam Hue Lau

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ABSTRACT

This research explored the role of Chinese social clubs in Chinese identity of club members. In addition to examining club missions and activities, the members' decisions to join as well as their views on the role of the clubs in promoting and fostering Chinese culture and identity were explored.

The findings show that differential identification as well as the diverse cultural backgrounds of members were significant factors in influencing decisions to join particular Chinese groups. It was also found that the clubs placed greater emphasis on social than cultural activities. Nevertheless, the findings show that although the Chinese clubs did not actively promote Chinese identity and culture, they did play indirect roles in facilitating the exploration, validation, and affirmation of Chinese identity. Themes on the importance of family and early schooling experiences on ethnic identity also emerged.

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DEDICATION

To my family

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CHAPTER ONE: ETHNIC IDENTITY

I. Introduction

Increasingly, issues of ethnic identity and retention are becoming more significant with the rapidly changing ethnic composition of Canada's population. There have been drastic shifts in the pattern of Canadian immigration over the three decades between 1977-1997. Prior to 1977, the number of immigrants to Canada was highest among those from European nations. In and around 1997, the greatest number of immigrants to Canada were from Asia. As Table 1 illustrates, in 1977, there were 10 179 immigrants to Canada from European nations. This declined to 9390.75 in 1987 and increased slightly to 9828 in 1997. The number of Canadian immigrants from Asia, on the other hand, rose to 34 452 in 1997, approximately 3.4 times greater than two decades earlier, in 1977, when the number was 7845. This increased to 16 834.30 in 1987. Thus, in 1997, the number of Asian immigrants to Canada surpassed the number of European immigrant by approximately 3.5 times. In 1997, Canadian immigration was the highest among non-European groups, with Asia being highest of all groups (Cansim, April, 1988).

**Table 1: Annual Average Immigration To Canada by
Country of Last Residence: 1977-1997.**

Last Residence	1977	1987	1997
Europe	10179.00	9390.75	9828.00
Asia	7845.00	16834.30	34452.00
Australasia	386.75	188.25	358.25
United States, West Indies	6176.75	4798.5	3298.00
All Other Countries	4141.00	269.00	148.50
Africa	N/A	2125.25	3575.00
Other North and Central America	N/A	1718.25	895.00
South America	N/A	2700.25	1461.00

Cansim. "Immigration By Country of Last residence." {<http://datacentre.epas.utoronto.ca:5680/c...=Jan-98&q=annual&c=average&f=plain&y=line>}. April 1998.

In 1996 (PR2CMA.IVT Profile of Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomeration 1996 Census), Canadians of Chinese origin constituted five percent of Calgary's total population of 821, 625. This placed them as the third largest group in Calgary, following Canadians of British origin (12%) and self-defined Canadians-only (11%). As the Chinese population in Canada grows and becomes an intricate part of Canada's multicultural society, it is important to direct attention to studying the effects of a growing ethnic community on the process of ethnic retention and identification of its members. According to Johnson (1992):

In the first hundred years of their history, Canadian-Chinese behaviour was circumscribed by the discriminatory practices of the Canadian state. In the past two decades the barriers to Chinese immigration have been effectively broken down and the cultural expression of a Chinese identity, within a (multicultural) Canadian context has been encouraged (Johnson, 1992: 152).

There is increasing ethnic and cultural diversity both in Canada and the Chinese community. Since 1967 when restrictive immigration policies against the Chinese were changed, the composition of the Chinese population in Canada has become more heterogeneous (Li, 1988; Johnson, 1992), varying in "educational achievement, occupation, generation, wealth, point of migration and the like..." (Johnson, 1992: 167). Thus, growing Chinese communities across Canada are reflective of the growing and diversifying composition of the Canadian Chinese population. According to Johnson (1992), ethnic voluntary associations that were once established to help adapt to discriminatory conditions in Canada, have become fundamental contributing forces in fostering and maintaining the vitality of Chinese identity and culture within the Chinese community (p. 167).

Hence, it is of social relevance and significance to explore the intricate dynamics of a growing and diversifying ethnic population such as the Chinese community, in order to gain a greater understanding of the role of ethnic voluntary associations in the processes of ethnic identification and ethnic and cultural retention.

II. Thesis Research

The foci of this thesis fall into two areas of ethnic identification and cultural retention. The first area is the exploration of Chinese identity among students at the University of Calgary. The nature of and factors affecting identity are explored to gain a greater understanding of how Canadian- and Chinese identities are negotiated and the significance it has on the salience of ethnic identity and retention. Issues of whether ethnic identity is retained only symbolically or whether there is a real sense of attachment and involvement in the culture is also examined. As well, the degree to which self-identification is affected by externally imposed factors such as physical differences and ethnic labelling by others is explored. The exploration of students' ethnic identity will be guided by the combination of existing literature on ethnic identity, ethnic retention, and ethnic salience.

The second area of exploration is the examination of the possible influence of certain aspects of Chinese culture on ethnic identity. For this thesis, voluntary ethnic associations such as social clubs will be examined for their possible role in fostering and maintaining the ethnic identity of Chinese members. Do social clubs play any significant role in the process of Chinese identification of their members, either directly or indirectly? What does it mean to be members of these clubs? What do these clubs offer Chinese students? In which ways

do these clubs fulfill their purpose as “Chinese social clubs”? The combination of members’ perceptions as well as actual club functions and missions are examined.

This thesis explores the combined areas of ethnic identity, such as the process of identity negotiation, salience of ethnic identification and retention, and the factors and indicators of ethnic identity retention in a holistic exploration of a specific population, the Chinese students at the University of Calgary.

Before proceeding further onto the literature review, an overview of Du Bois’ illustration of identity negotiation and double consciousness is in order.

III. Negotiating identity: A review of Du Bois (1903)

In W.E.B. Du Bois’ (1903) “Double-Consciousness and the Veil”, he writes about the double existence and conflict of dual identities of the Negro in America. Living in a land which is not his own native earth, surrounded by those of a different race, the Negro identity is torn between the identity of black consciousness and that of an American. The duality in consciousness and identity is a source of internal conflict. He struggles to find a true self among the two cultures. He knows of his life in America, yet not all of America accepts him. Therefore, at once he is an American, and one who is also estranged from a land that alienates his people. The Negro struggles with knowledge of his racial history, culture, identity, and experience against his knowledge of the “American” way. How much a part is he of either culture? Where does he fit? What is his true identity? The conflict arises when he questions how much a part of his own racial identity and culture he ought to retain in order to fit in with the American society at large and how much ought he accept and internalize of the White world that frowns upon his own people? He lives and experiences both worlds and

is made up of the two influences. There is a duality, a splitting of consciousness of belonging and not belonging.

The Negro, according to Du Bois, needs to recognize the contributions of both societies and integrate both to make up something that is uniquely part of both worlds, yet different from the originals. The Negro needs to take into account an awareness of his Negroid identity, to embrace and to take pride in his own roots and heritage. At the same time, he needs to advance his own racial identity, marrying it with the American identity with which he was raised. The coming together of the two produces a separate identity that comprises of a duality of consciousness and identity. Du Bois describes the Negro as being separated by a veil that incorporates as well as excludes the Negro from his own American identity and society. He may attempt to distance himself from the knowledge and traditions of his own race due to the prejudice of the American society. He needs to empower himself and those of his own race, to merge the two consciousness together, without foregoing one or the other (Lemert, 1993, p.177-182).

IV. Literature Review

A. Ethnic voluntary associations and organizations and other related literature

There are few existing studies examining the role of ethnic voluntary associations in ethnic identification. The existing literature on ethnic organization and associations is comprised mainly of nation-wide studies exploring macro-sociological phenomenon, for instance, the relationship between ethnic organizations and the larger ethnic community (Radecki, 1976; Breton, 1990; Almirol, 1978; Layng, 1978). Studies of voluntary associations within the Chinese community have tended to focus chiefly on the history of

these associations (Kwong, 1984; Johnson, 1992; Li, 1988). There is, however, a lack of literature on individuals' perceptions of the role of ethnic voluntary associations on the process of ethnic identity and identity retention.

Radecki, in a review of the literature on the roles of voluntary organizations in ethnic cultural preservation found that the "... search for literature on ethnic voluntary organizations discovered little of immediate relevance to this subject in Canada" (Radecki, 1976: 275). The studies in Radecki's article looked at the role of ethnic organizations in the maintenance and retention of ethnic culture. The study found that different organizations varied in their membership compositions, organizational structures, and cultural focus. For instance, some organizations catered more exclusively to members of their own ethnic group than other groups, and some organizations attract more first generation members than second and subsequent generations. The studies also found that organizations had different cultural foci. According to the studies, some organizations emphasized cultural retention more than others, while some others focussed more on education, community fundraising, religion, or services to new immigrants. Radecki also cited a 1970 Metropolitan Toronto Survey of various ethnic organizations. It was found in this 1970 survey (p. 282) that 26.4 percent of Polish organizational members said that they joined clubs for social and leisure reasons rather than ethnically-related reasons, 18.8 percent joined for friendship reasons, and 16.8 percent for "mutual aid and protection" (p.282). Consequently, 16.7 percent of the respondent felt that cultural maintenance was a positive benefit of ethnic organization membership. The study concluded that ethnic organizations provide opportunities for their members to maintain

identities and attachments to their ethnic groups. Furthermore, members of such groups interpret the functions of these organizations in cultural maintenance and retention.

Other studies have indicated the importance of the role of ethnic associations, organizations, and institutions on the maintenance of ethnic vitality (Johnson, 1992; Breton et al., 1990; Kwong, 1984). Kwong's 1984 study on the Chinese in Winnipeg, looked at the reciprocal relationship between macro ethnic organizations and ethnic group formation and identity. According to Kwong, ethnic organizations provide various support systems to their members and are indicators of members' ethnic group identifications and patterns of interaction. In turn, members' participation in these organizations help sustain them and contributes to organizational growth:

These organizations satisfy not only the political, religious, educational, and welfare concerns of the members, but also provide the setting where group members socialize, interact and satisfy their emotional needs. In doing so, participation in the organizations increases their group consciousness and sets the group apart from the larger society (Kwong, 1984: 374).

Kwong's study looked at the historical transition of Chinese community organizations in Winnipeg. According to Kwong, between 1900-1945, the very first Chinese associations formed were clan associations based on kinship ties. During this historical period, many Chinese immigrants were bachelors who came to Canada as cheap, unskilled labourers. There was widespread discrimination and the Chinese in Canada were socially segregated from other Canadians. Hence, clan associations began to appear in response to the hostile climate of this period. The associations brought the Chinese culture into the Chinese community. They were places that the Chinese could get together to socialize. Other functions of the associations were to provide protection for their members and to

represent their needs and interests. The community associations at this time were adaptive responses to discrimination and were established to provide social, political, and economic resources to community members.

According to Kwong (1984), the nature and functions of Chinese associations have changed to reflect the increasing diversity within the Chinese community. For example, the Chinese Canadian Association was formed in response to the growing population of Canadian-born Chinese. The role of the association was to reflect the Chinese-Canadian identities of its members and to support its members in integrating into Canadian society. With increasing Chinese immigration into Canada, more associations and organizations were established to meet the needs of the expanding community with members of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Kwong found that, unlike their Chinese counterparts from the early 1900's, after World War II, the Chinese had greater identifications with being Canadian. Thus, the role of some of the new Chinese organizations was to facilitate the retention of certain aspects of the Chinese culture in conjunction with integration into Canadian society.

Similarly, Breton et al. (1990) stated that ethnic institutions played a significant role in ethnic group formation. According to the authors, the strength and vitality of an ethnic community is significantly related to its institutional completeness. In support of this, Johnson's examination of the adaptation of contemporary Chinese into Canadian society found that ethnic associations, over history, have played significant roles in the maintenance of Chinese communities. According to Johnson (1992), the functions of Chinese associations in the mid-nineteenth century were to help association members maintain ties to China, to help them to adapt to Canadian society, and to provide aid and support to

members. Johnson further found that, even in the 1970s and 1980s when the historical experiences of the Chinese in Canada were changing from those of their early 1900s counterparts, Chinese voluntary associations continued to grow and became vital aspects of community cohesion and vitality:

At the same time, the ability of Chinese-Canadians to take advantage of new possibilities was helped by their own sense of ethnic solidarity, it was reinforced by a profound degree of community organization based on a proclivity to create and elaborate voluntary associations (Johnson, 1992: 170).

Hence, Johnson concluded that ethnic organizations played significant roles in the early 1900s in assisting members cope with racism and in providing resources and support to members. These early associations and organizations were the foundations of community building where “contemporary Chinese-Canadian communities have flourished in the conditions that exist in the later part of the twentieth century” (p. 170).

Layng’s 1978 study of the role of voluntary associations on black identity found that Afro-Americans were more likely than white Americans to be affiliated with voluntary associations (p. 173). According to Layng, some have proposed that the greater membership in voluntary associations by Afro-Americans is a compensation for the restriction of black participation in white organizations. This is supported by Myrdal’s and Orum’s discussions on the isolation-compensation theory (as cited in Almirol, 1978: 65). Others have proposed that it is the increased consciousness of ethnic identity that has lead to greater participation by blacks in voluntary associations. Olsen called this the “ethnic community theory” (as cited in Almirol, 1978: 66). Furthermore, Layng found that the voluntary associations were diverse and variable in reflecting the diverse needs and differential identifications of the Afro-

American community. Thus, associations with different foci were established which attract distinct segments of the black community. However, Layng concluded that it was not the goals and missions of voluntary associations which were significant to Afro-American membership and participation. Rather, the significance of voluntary associations on black identity was that status and prestige were bestowed upon members from within and outside of the Afro-American community. Hence, black voluntary associations gave members status, prestige, and a sense of pride.

In a 1978 study on voluntary associations, Almirol defined voluntary associations as falling “within the continuum of corporate forms” (p. 69); corporate forms were characterized by the following: “(1) identity, (2) presumptive perpetuity, (3) closure, (4) membership, (5) exclusive common affairs, (6) autonomy, (7) procedure, and (8) organization” (Almirol, 1978: 69). He further categorized different associations according to their functions. Although not mutually exclusive, Almirol found that particular associations placed greater emphasis on the types of services provided. The different associations were categorized according to the following functions: (1) mutual aid associations, (2) regional associations, (3) occupational groups and labour unions, (4) church associations, and (5) social associations (p. 71-82). Subsequently, he found that the formation and participation in Filipino associations were based on ethnic consciousness rather on kinship ties or compensation for isolation from the larger society. Almirol stated that the Filipino associations “provide an important framework for in-group interpersonal relationships” (Almirol, 1978: 89). Hence, in his final conclusion, Almirol posits that there is a close relationship between ethnic consciousness and membership and participation in ethnic

associations. Thus, the establishment of ethnic associations is a reflection of increased awareness of ethnic identity.

Several other related studies (Lee, 1996; McKay, 1980; Becker, 1990) have, to varying degrees, explored the processes of ethnic identification, and ethnic social affiliation. Lee's study looked at panethnicity of Asian students at an American high school. McKay's 1980 study explored the processes of Italian identification within Toronto's Italian soccer club, and Becker's study focussed on the role of the school on ethnic group affiliation.

The objective of Lee's 1996 study of Asian students in an American high school, was to determine the students' perceptions on being lumped together under one panethnic category of 'Asian' and how these students defined themselves in relation to this panethnic label (p. 109). Data was gathered from both interviews with students and fieldwork observations. All subjects were of Asian descent and varied in their ethnic backgrounds. Some of the Asian backgrounds of the students include Chinese, Cambodian, Laotian, Vietnamese, and Korean. Lee's study found a split between Korean students and the other Asian students. Korean students identified themselves solely as Koreans or Korean-Americans while the other Asian students identified panethnically as well as subculturally. In looking at the panethnic-identified Asian students, Lee found that along with panethnic identification, the students were also divided into three different subgroups: (1) Asian-identified, (2) New wave-identified, and (3) Asian American-identified. She also examined a fourth group, the Korean-identified students.

The significance of Lee's findings illustrate the fluidity of ethnic identity, where panethnic identity and subcultural identities were situationally dependent. Lee found that

panethnic identities were a result of perceived discrimination against all Asians by non-Asians. Among other Asians, however, there were specific ethnic identities. The students felt that non-Asians imposed a panethnic identity on all Asians. Some of these students adhered to this panethnic identity while still recognizing their own ethnic subcultural and American identities. Others such as the Korean students chose to reject the externally-imposed panethnic label and to identify with their own Korean origins so that they may avoid the negative stigma attached to being identified as 'Asian'. Which ever way the students identified themselves influenced the types of social affiliation they had with one another.

Becker's 1990 study is an exploration of the role of schools on the process of ethnic identification and patterns of social affiliation among immigrant Portuguese students. Becker, employing a combination of interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation, studied eighteen Portuguese immigrant students from a New England high school in the United States. The students were divided into two groups, early immigrants who had lived in the United States for six to sixteen years, and recent immigrants who have resided in the United States for less than two years.

According to Becker, the process of ethnic identification of Portuguese students were negatively hindered by implicit school policies such as teacher and peer attitudes toward favouring assimilation and negatively stigmatizing cultural differences. The negative attitudes and social alienation by teachers and students toward the Portuguese students lead many to view identification as a coping strategy. In the homes, the students felt pride in their identities and culture, and the social gap between recent and early arrival students were lessened. However, in the schools, many of the students learned to avoid social estrangement

and negative stigmas by dissociating themselves from their Portuguese heritage and peers, especially those who were recent immigrant students.

B. Defining ethnicity and ethnic identity

There exists academic research which looks at selected aspects of ethnic identity such as measurement and definition of ethnic identity (Clark et al., 1976; Driedger, 1987; Goldstein et al., 1980; Herberg, 1989; Li, 1990; 1988; Marger, 1994), ethnic salience (Mackie et al., 1984; Edward et al., 1987), the maintenance and retention of ethnicity (Breton, et al., 1990; Becker, 1990; Isajiw, 1981; Isajiw et al., 1982; Rosenthal, et al., 1992), and modes of adaptation, acculturation, and ethnic identification (Clark et al., 1976; Hutnik, 1986; Kim et al., 1993; Yinger, 1981). These studies deal with the broader areas of ethnicity, but do not focus specifically on the possible role of voluntary ethnic associations in ethnic identity.

In the academic literature, ethnicity and ethnic identity are defined along both objective and subjective dimensions (Rosenthal et al., 1992; Marger, 1991; Goldstein, 1980). Objective aspects of ethnicity are the degrees to which a person shares in common the various characteristics of his or her ethnic group. Characteristics of an ethnic group include sharing of a common history, territory, culture, religion, and ancestor. According to this definition, membership in an ethnic group is ascribed. The person is born into an ethnic group, whether or not he or she participates in it or identifies with it:

In contrast to the objective approach by which ethnic groups are assumed to be existing as it were “out there” as real phenomena, either identify themselves as being different from others or belonging to a different group or are identified as different by others, or both identify themselves and are identified by different others. The psychological identification as being

different is on account of the various attributes of one's background, cultural, religious, racial, etc., or on account of one's being a member of groups with different backgrounds (Goldstein, 1980: 17).

The subjective dimensions of ethnicity are the levels of identification with and attachment to one's own ethnic group. It is the extent to which a person sees him or herself as a member of the ethnic group. In this case, ethnic identity is achieved rather than ascribed. Ethnic identity may also be achieved by the perceptions of others (Marger, 1991; Goldstein, 1980). External perceptions of difference and imposed ethnic labels add to the subjective dimensions of ethnic identity:

As Barth has pointed out, persons will be identified by others as belonging to one or another ethnic group even if they do not actively share anymore any cultural patterns with that ethnic group as long as a link to their ancestors can be made. Identification by others in turn usually stimulates self-identification and may condition new forms of social organization. Hence, ethnicity is a matter of a double boundary, a boundary from within, maintained by the socialization process, and a boundary from without established by the process of intergroup relations (Goldstein, 1980: 23).

According to Marger (1991), an ethnic group is defined as a group consisting of individuals who share a common and unique culture such as language and or religion. In addition to a shared culture, individuals of an ethnic group share a common conception of community where there is an awareness of inside and outside, the awareness of 'us' and 'them'. There is an awareness of belonging to a group that is unique from other groups. Within ethnic groups, there is a sense of ethnocentrism where one's own group is the centre and all other groups are relationally peripheral. Individuals may also belong to an ethnic group through ascribed membership. That is, individuals may be born into a particular ethnic group, thereby acquiring membership within the group automatically. Marger also defines

an ethnic group as one in which its members share a common territory. Whether at present or in a common history, individuals of an ethnic group originated from a common geographical location. Marger, thus, defines ethnicity as the degree to which individuals identify with or are connected to their ethnic groups. These variables, according to Marger, make up the variability of ethnicity as seen among different groups and over historical time (p. 12-18). From this definition, individuals hold either an ascribed membership or an achieved. Hence, ascribed membership does not necessarily indicate self-identification.

Thus, ethnicity is not only a self-identification, but is also an identity which is defined by others. Ethnic identity may also be a strategical tool for enhancement of self-esteem or cultural adaptation. In a study of "marginality", Johnston (1976) discusses the processes of ethnic identification. For marginality to occur, there must be at least a bicultural society where there are hierarchies of groups. There must already be some level of assimilation into the host society by members of an ethnic group before marginality can occur. Marginality occurs when members of an ethnic group are rejected by the dominant group and when they are uncertain of which group they belong to or identify with (p. 146). Johnston provided an example to illustrate the process of marginality. According to Johnston, when an ethnic group is held in low esteem in relation to the majority group, individuals may attempt to dissociate themselves from their own group by identifying with the majority group. However, if they perceive rejection from the majority, they may attempt to re-enter their own ethnic community. These individuals may perceive or experience actual rejection and lack of belonging in the ethnic group. At this point, when both the ethnic and majority group reject these individuals, they will experience what Johnston terms "marginality". With rejection

from or lack of belonging to either groups, marginalized individuals may dissociate themselves from these groups to form identities separate from either sides.

Researchers such as Becker (1990) examine ethnic identity, not as static, but as variable and negotiated. Becker postulates that ethnic identity may be situational, and dependent on the nature of the relationship with the majority group. Ethnic identities may shift and be used as coping strategies to maximize self-esteem. Further research has found that ethnicity may simply be symbolic in nature (Mackie, 1988). That is, although individuals may label themselves as being members of various ethnic groups, this identification may not be accompanied by any real sense of belonging, attachment, or commitment to the groups. Furthermore, their behaviours and lifestyles may not reflect this ethnic self-labelling. Thus, ethnicity may be purely symbolic.

Thus, in sum, ethnic identity may be objectively defined by one's country of origin, a shared common history with those belonging to a particular ethnic group. By this definition, ethnicity is attributed to a particular person based on measurable demographic variables such as those described above. However, this does not take into account the subjective dimensions of ethnicity, ethnic identification and ethnic salience. That is, although individuals may be born into a particular ethnic group, share a common origin or history, they may not practice group-related culture or tradition and they may not hold a strong attachment or commitment to the ethnic group.

Researchers such as Hutnik (1986), Clark (1976), and Kim (1993) looked at modes of adaptation and acculturation as indicators of ethnic attachment and ethnic identification. According to the subtractive model, the more ethnic minorities assimilate into the society of

the majority group, the lower their level of ethnic attachment and identification. The greater the ethnic attachment to their own ethnic group indicates a lower identification with the majority society, thus, the greater the level of ethnicity and ethnic identification. This theory works from the premise that ethnicity is a bipolar phenomenon. The greater the attachment to and identification with one group leads to a decreased attachment to and identification with another group (Kim et al., 1993).

The additive model, however, is not zero-sum. Rather, ethnic minorities may continue to show high ethnic attachment while being highly integrated into the majority society. This model is not based on the principle of all or none, but rather allows attachment to and identification with one group without reducing the level of attachment to another group (Hutnik, 1986). For instance, Kim's study (1993) found that there were different combinations of modes of adaptation to American society. Studying Korean immigrants, Kim found different types of adaptation which include the following: (1) replacement of ethnic ties with Americanization, (2) retention of ethnic ties while becoming more Americanized, (3) there is a blending of the two groups, (4) retention of ethnic ties without much ethnic loss, or (4) marginalization from ethnic and majority groups (p. 700-701). Thus, Kim's study illustrates ethnic ties are more complex, varying in the types and degrees of ties and attachments to the ethnic and majority groups.

Hence, ethnic identity in this study is measured by the students' subjective self-definitions. Thus, the students define what Chinese identity is to them, how they negotiate their Chinese and Canadian identities, their feelings about being Chinese, and the salience they place on identity and identity retention. Likewise ethnic identity retention is measured

by the students' own accounts and perceptions about the nature and degree of ethnic retention.

V. A Historical look at The Chinese experience in Canada: A Review

One of the earliest Chinese immigration to Canada occurred in the middle of the 1800's. The large migration of this group was driven by various reasons. Two such reasons arose from the poor economic conditions in China and the promise of a better life and future in Canada. The pull towards Canada was also prompted by Canadian recruitment of 'cheap labour' during the industrial expansion of this era. Many Chinese immigrated to Canada in order to improve their own living conditions and to send financial aid back to their families in China (Li, 1988). Most of these earliest Chinese migrants worked in exploitive conditions where wages were low and working conditions harsh and dangerous. The Chinese worked as cheap and unskilled labourers working in Canada's developing infrastructure system, coal mining, providing domestic services (Johnson, 1992: 153), fishery, and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Munro, 1987: 95).

During this era, the Chinese confronted discrimination and racism from other Canadians as well as at the governmental level. In the early history of the Chinese in Canada, many discriminatory barriers were legislated by the Canadian government to segregate the Chinese from all realms of Canadian life. These included social, economic, and political segregation (Li, 1988). Viewed as physically and culturally different, the Chinese were believed to be unassimilable into Canadian society and were accused of having sojourner mentalities. They were also perceived as economic threats to white Canadians. The Chinese were accused of competing unfairly for jobs by accepting low pay for their labours

(Johnson, 1992; Li, 1988). Due to reasons such as these, the Chinese were treated as inferior to white Canadians and were socially and economically segregated from the rest of Canada. They were denied many citizenship rights such as being excluded from full social, economic, and political participation in Canadian society, restricted immigration into Canada, and were levied head tax for every immigrant into Canada (Munro, 1987; Li, 1988; Johnson, 1992).

On a national scale, institutional racism was enforced by the Canadian government. In 1885, the first anti-Chinese bill was passed which prevailed until 1947 (Li, 1988). In 1923, the Chinese were denied any further immigration into Canada (Munro, 1987). Wide spread discrimination, hostility, and restricted access into Canadian society lead to the development of Chinese communities. The earliest Chinese organizations and associations were established to cope with discrimination and to provide support and resources to the Chinese (Kwong, 1984; Johnson, 1992). According to Li (1988), due to the externally imposed exclusionary practices, the Chinese began to establish “ethnic enclaves” such as China towns and establishments such as Chinese associations, community organizations, and schools to provide opportunities as well as financial and emotional support from within the Chinese community. Thus, over the decades, the infrastructures within Chinese communities were established to serve the unique needs of the Chinese population (Li, 1988: 72). Many of the old associations once established to meet the needs of the Chinese have dissolved as their needs have changed over the years. However, new establishments have been formed and continue to expand within the Chinese community, reflecting its changing composition (Kwong, 1984; Johnson, 1992).

According to Li (1988), the history of the Chinese in Canada spans 123 years, and despite the steady increase of Canadian-born Chinese in recent years, there remains a great number of foreign-born Chinese. According to Li, the sex imbalance during the early 1900s to the post-war era played a significant role in slowing the rate of birth of Canadian-born Chinese. In fact, up until 1981, 75 percent of the Chinese population in Canada remained foreign-born. This high rate of foreign-born was also a result of the increase in immigration in 1947, after the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed (Li, 1988: 68). In addition to this, the greater influx of Chinese immigrants into Canada in recent years has increased diversity within the Chinese community. Once, the Chinese migrants to Canada came from small regions of China and other parts of Asia (Li, 1988; Kwong, 1984; Johnson, 1992). Today, however, the diversity in education, occupation, economic status, and region and country is considerable.

Despite discrimination against them, large numbers of Chinese remained in Canada where the Chinese population and community continues to grow over the years. The increasing diversity within the Chinese population along with the growing numbers of the foreign- and Canadian-born Chinese population in Canada, is proving to be both interesting and challenging in the quest to understand the processes of cultural and ethnic identity maintenance and retention of the Chinese in Canada.

VI. Theoretical Framework

This thesis is a qualitative exploration of the role of University of Calgary's Chinese social clubs on members' ethnic identity. This research examines the negotiation of ethnic and Canadian identity, the definition and nature of ethnicity and ethnic identity retention, and

how holding memberships in Chinese clubs contributes to the students' sense of ethnic and cultural identity. What are the missions of these clubs with respect to fostering cultural knowledge? Do the clubs play a direct or indirect role in sustaining Chinese culture and identity of their members?

As just demonstrated, there are few existing studies bearing directly on the role of ethnic voluntary associations in ethnic identity and, therefore, theories on this topic are scarce. Nonetheless, certain sensitizing concepts will help guide exploration of the Chinese clubs and their members. One of these concepts is that of organization. As discussed earlier, organizations can be viewed as formally established groups which represent the interests and goals of their members. The roles of organizations are to facilitate expression, maintenance and retention of ethnic identity (Radecki, 1976). Ethnic organizations also assist in ethnic group formation and sense of ethnic community through in-group social interactions among members (Kwong, 1984; Almirol, 1978).

Furthermore, the decisions to join and participate in ethnic organizations or associations are reflective of existing awareness of ethnicity and ethnic identity (Almirol, 1978). Hence ethnic associations are established for the purpose of providing opportunities for "expressions of ethnic consciousness" (Almirol, 1978: 89).

For the purpose of this study, the concept of ethnic identity as multidimensional is guided by existing literature on situational identity (Becker, 1990), internal and subjective identification (Marger, 1991; Breton et al., 1990), ethnic identity and attachment (Hutnik, 1986; Clark, 1976; Kim, 1993), ethnic salience (Mackie, 1984, Edward et al., 1987), and ethnic identity retention (Isajiw, 1981; Isajiw et al., 1982; Rosenthal et al., 1992). Hence,

ethnic identity is not defined as objectively ascribed identity, but rather, is subjectively defined and is fluid and negotiable.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

I. Research Design

The object of this study was to explore the ethnic identity of a sample of Chinese members of Asian ethnic clubs for students at the University of Calgary. Various clubs were selected for sampling. The majority of students were members of the Chinese Students' Society (CSS) and the Chinese Asiatic Syndicate (CAS), some of whom also held memberships in other clubs such as the Malaysia-Singapore Students' Association (MSSA), Xconcept (campus Chinese newspaper), and the Taiwanese Students' Association (TSA). The majority members from these clubs are of Chinese origin, but are diverse in their academic, generational, and cultural backgrounds.

A. Sample

The goal was to obtain an overall sample of 30 subjects, ideally, with equal numbers of members from each group. Although only 23 members participated in the project, theoretical saturation along the lines of the research problem was achieved. Due to low response rate, however, snowball sampling was used in conjunction with random sampling. Although snowball sampling was used, the combination of both sampling methods resulted in a group of subjects representing a wide range of backgrounds and experiences.

It should be noted that through the procedure of random sampling, both regular and executive club members responded to the study. However, as snowball sampling was employed, more executive than regular members participated. This can be attributed to greater contact and referrals among club executives. This does not pose a problem because the overall number of executive members approximately equalled that of regular members in the study. Furthermore, similar to regular members, club executives were of diverse backgrounds and experiences.

The initial goal was to study only one particular Chinese group on campus. The CSS was chosen due to it being the biggest and longest established Chinese club on campus, having been established over 20 years ago. As research progressed, two factors lead to the modification of the sample population. Rather than focussing on only one Chinese club, the sample opened up to include various other Chinese and Asian student associations. The main criteria for participation in the study was that students had to be of Chinese descent.

1. Student Background

The students interviewed were divided fairly evenly between 13 males and 10 females (56% and 44% respectively) for a total sample of 23 subjects. As well, 11 of the subjects were Canadian-born (CBC) and 10 were foreign-born (48% and 44% respectively). One female subject classified as landed immigrant (4%) and another male subject a visa student (4%). Canadian-born Chinese students were referred to as second generation Canadians or CBCs while students who immigrated to Canada were referred to as first generation foreign-born students.

The average age among these students was 22 years old, and all but two of them were attending the University of Calgary at the time of the study. One of these two students was at the time continuing her studies at Mount Royal College but was planning to return as a University of Calgary student. The male student had taken a year off from the university but had attended in the past as a Humanities student. On average, the students were in their third year of university, and majored in the following areas of study: one in the Humanities, three in Engineering, six in Management, two in Social Science, two in Science, seven in General Studies, one in Computer Science, and one alumni. Of those who were interviewed, 91 percent were Canadian citizens, with 48 percent being Canadian-born and 44 percent attaining their Canadian citizenship through immigration. Only two students (8%) were non-Canadian citizens. Refer to Table 2¹.

When asked whether they were current or past members of any Asian/Chinese-oriented clubs, 30 percent said they were past and 70 percent said they were current members. The number of years of membership for that given year (1997-1998) while attending the University of Calgary in any of the aforementioned clubs ranged from one to four years, and included memberships in the range of one to four ethnic clubs on campus.

The subjects were evenly distributed according to their level of participation and involvement in the clubs. Fifty two percent served on Executive club councils in any given membership year and 48 percent were regular club members. Refer to Table 3².

¹'Other' means non-Canadian citizens (visa and international students).

²Clubs highlighted in bold represent clubs which participants responded as members of or clubs they have participated in most (KSA: Korean Students' Association; FSA: Filipino-Students' Association).

Table 2: Demographics of Members of Chinese-Oriented Social Clubs.

Ss	Gender	Age	Year	Major	Citizen-ship	Canadian Citizen	Gener-ation
1	Female	20	Past	Engineering	Cdn	7 Months	1st
2	Female	23	4	Management	Cdn	10 Years	1st
3	Male	19	2	History	Cdn	CBC	2nd
4	Female	22	5	Management	Cdn	4 Years	1st
5	Male	21	3	General Studies	Cdn	CBC	2nd
6	Male	19	3	General Studies	Cdn	14 Years	1st
7	Male	21	2	Computer Science	Cdn	CBC	2nd
8	Female	19	2	General Studies	Cdn	6 Years	1st
9	Female	21	4	Tourism	Cdn	CBC	2nd
10	Female	18	2	General Studies	Cdn	CBC	2nd
11	Male	21	3	General Studies	Cdn	CBC	2nd
12	Male	20	2	General Studies	Cdn	CBC	2nd
13	Female	24	5	Political Science	Cdn	6 Years	1st
14	Male	22	4	Commerce	Cdn	CBC	2nd
15	Male	26	5	Geography	Cdn	CBC	2nd
16	Female	24	5	Management	Cdn	15 Years	1st
17	Female	24	4	Geography	Other	5 resident	Other
18	Female	23	4	Management	Cdn	CBC	2nd
19	Male	24	1	Engineering	Other	5.5resident	Other
20	Male	24	3	Previous Uof C	Cdn	CBC	2nd
21	Male	21	3	Economics	Cdn	4.5 Years	1st
22	Male	20	2	General Studies	Cdn	15 years	1st
23	Female	21	3	Geomatic Enginee	Cdn	CBC	2nd

Table 3: Club Backgrounds of Members of Chinese-Oriented Social Clubs

Ss	# of Clubs	Past/Current Memberships	Years in Clubs	Executive
01	CSS, HKSA	P	1	No
02	CSS	C	3	Yes
03	CSS, FSA	P	1	No
04	CSS, CAS, (Two non-Chinese clubs)	C	2	No
05	CSS	C	2	Yes
06	CSS, (One non-Chinese club)	P	1	No
07	CSS, (Two non-Chinese clubs)	P	1	No
08	CSS, HKSA	P	1	No
09	CSS, (Three non-Chinese Clubs)	P	3	Yes
10	CSS	C	2	No
11	CSS	C	3	Yes
12	CSS	C	1	No
13	CAS, (One non-Chinese club)	C	2	Yes
14	CAS	C	2	Yes
15	CAS, CSS, (Two non-Chinese clubs)	C	2	Yes
16	CAS, CSS, KSA, (One non-Chinese)	C	2	Yes
17	CAS, CSS	C	2	Yes
18	CAS	C	2	Yes
19	MMSA, TSA	C	1	No
20	CSS, (Three non-Chinese clubs)	P	1	No
21	TSA, HKSA, CSS, (Three non-)	C	4	No
22	CAS, HKSA, CSS, (One non-)	C	2	Yes
23	Xconcept, CSS, TSA, (Two non-)	C	N/A	Yes

Most students joined one or more Chinese clubs on campus and their levels of involvement in these clubs varied. Some respondents chose certain clubs to meet needs that other clubs could not fulfill. Therefore, there was a sense of what different clubs had to offer their members, and respondents chose clubs which were most suited to their needs.

B. Data collection

1. Contacting Club

Through the spring and summer of 1997, attempts were made to contact club executives from the CSS for their participation in the study. During this period, there were no responses. A second stage of contact was initiated again during the month of October, 1997. During the spring and summer months of 1997, copies of the Chinese Students' Society's 1996-1997 club constitution as well as their annual report was obtained from the University of Calgary's Students' Union. Included in the documents was the club's membership list. Using the SPSS statistical program, 30 random numbers were generated from this list and members were contacted for participation in the study. In the following month of November, a total number of 12 subjects responded from the CSS. These subjects were contacted through emailing. Refer to Appendix A. As will be discussed later, some members responding from other Chinese clubs held multiple club memberships including ones held in the CSS. Therefore, in actuality, more than 12 CSS members participated in the study. After this first group of students, the response rate declined to a halting pace. Only in January, 1998 did two more students volunteer for the study.

Structural and theoretical factors lead to the inclusion of other Chinese clubs into the study. The low response rate from CSS members posed a structural limitation. The need for more students was a structural factor which lead to these club additions. There was also theoretical relevance to include other clubs into the study. From the first set of interviews with CSS members, there were indications that different clubs may have varying degrees of emphasis on social and cultural activities. There were also recurring discussions by students about different clubs attracting different types of students. In addition, there were recurring themes of cultural diversity within the Chinese community, as represented by the various Chinese clubs on campus. Several clubs such as the Chinese Asiatic Syndicate, Taiwanese Students' Association, and Hong Kong Students' Association were frequently mentioned by the students in their discussions.

Due to the low response rate and the nature of the information gathered from the thirteen CSS participants, a revision of the original sampling plan was made. Structurally, it was more productive and representative to study more than one Chinese social club. Theoretically, information gathered from the CSS interviews indicated that the study should increase focus on different clubs of varying sizes, objectives, and membership composition. The main criteria for selecting these clubs was that their memberships be Chinese-based. Thus, it was from the emerging themes in the initial interviews which lead to the inclusion of the various clubs mentioned into the study.

Several clubs were contacted verbally as well as by formal written requests for their participation in the study. Refer to Appendix B. Some of the clubs did not respond and the response rate remained low. It was at this stage that snowball sampling was used. An

executive member of the Chinese Asiatic Syndicate volunteered for the study. In the month of March, through methods of snowballing, seven other CAS members participated in the study. In April, 1998, a formal written request was sent to the MSSA from which one member responded. From the TSA, two members volunteered for the study.

Although the majority of students who participated in the study were members of the CSS and CAS, some members from these groups also held memberships in other groups such as the TSA and HKSA. Regardless, the representative members from TSA, HKSA, and MSSA were lower than the two main clubs, a decision was made to include them in the study to gain insight into the comparative perspectives between more panethnic clubs such as the CSS and CAS and smaller, regionally-focussed clubs such as the latter three. The various clubs were placed into three groups: CSS in group 'A', CAS in group 'B', and the other clubs were placed together into group 'C'.

Initially, only CSS members were contacted for study. Therefore, those students who volunteered responded as members of CSS. Some of these subjects, however, also held memberships in other Asian and non-Asian clubs on campus. In such cases, subjects were asked during the interviews to list the number and type of clubs they belonged to. Hence, discussions on their perceptions of various clubs may apply more heavily to the clubs they participated in the most. The students did not give equal weight to their discussions of all the clubs they belonged to.

Due to the ongoing nature of data collection through the spring and summer months into the following fall and winter semester, a mix of past and current members were contacted for their participation. During the spring and summer semester, the 1996-1997 list of CSS

club members were obtained from which members were contacted. This was because the most current club annual reports, 1997-1998 were not available at this time. However, in the ensuing 1997-1998 semester, various clubs were approached and from them, members from this particular academic semester were contacted. Likewise, some members from the 1996-1997 list rejoined their respective clubs, making them repeat and current club members.

2. Face-to-face interviews: semi-structured

Rather than looking at social affiliation or membership in voluntary ethnic associations as indices of ethnic retention, this research explored the direct and indirect roles of ethnic clubs in ethnic identity and retention. It was important to allow the subjects to express their definition of identity as well as their own perceptions of the significance of their membership and participation in the Chinese clubs. Therefore, face-to-face interviews were used:

The method can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. It can also take us into the lifeworld of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves (McCracken, 1988: 9).

Face-to-face, semi-structured, and open-ended interviews were the preferred and most appropriate data collecting technique for this particular study. The main goal of this study was to explore the students' perceptions of the role of the clubs on their ethnic identity. Therefore, it was important that their attitudes, experiences, personal accounts, perceptions, and opinions to be included. Due to the exploratory nature of this project, standardized answers from questionnaires were not possible.

Since there was limited research in this particular area of my study, the exploratory nature of this thesis called not for the use of structured questionnaires or surveys, but indepth interviews. It was not the purpose of this thesis to confirm or verify existing hypotheses. Rather, the focus of this research was to explore the perceptions of students on their club participation the roles of the clubs in their process of ethnic identification and retention. It was important to allow students to construct and define their experiences rather than to try and fit them into different categories. This was best achieved through semi-structured interviews. In constructing the interview guide, separate sections addressing certain areas such as clubs and ethnic identities were asked in order to keep the study focussed on the research question. Refer to Appendix C. However, in each of these sections, questions were left open-ended to allow the students lead to interpret and elaborate on each question as they felt most appropriate to them. From these open-ended questions, some discussions by the students led to the continuous addition and revision of the interview guide. This lead to the exploration and expansion into other conceptual directions that were not originally present.

At the initial stages of the interviews, the guide was followed very closely. However, as more interviews were collected, it became evident that sometimes at the end of interviews, some rich data were given. At the end of interviews, I reiterated the purpose of the study and allowed time for questions or comments. Some students took this opportunity to relay some of their personal experiences or elaborate on some points of the interview. During this time, the interview guide was no longer used, at which point discussion became informal. There was freer dialogue than earlier between the students and myself. From these

discussions, different areas of exploration were incorporated into the interview guide or used to modify and revise some of questions.

Thus, the interview guide evolved continually over many interviews to reflect the needs, perceptions, and experiences of the students. Many of the original questions from the guide were kept, but depending on their relevance in later interviews, different emphasis were given to certain questions and topics. Those questions that students felt did not really apply or were not really relevant, were given less emphasis. However, depending on the course of conversation and students' self-reports, certain questions were asked or not asked.

3. Club constitutions

In addition to interviewing subjects on their perceptions of club activities, their reasons for joining, and the possible role of their clubs in fostering Chinese identity or community, I also did content analyses of existing club documents such as club constitutions and club annual reports. This was an effective, unbiased, and unobtrusive method of collecting club information. By reviewing club documents, exact records of club missions and activities were determined. Unlike interviewing subjects, club documents were official accounts of annual club activities and, therefore, did not rely on the interpretations of members. Content analysis was used to determine the missions and functions of the clubs. Since the focus was on factual information rather than individual perceptions, unobtrusive content analysis was employed. The actual role or functioning of the clubs was important to examine because it allowed comparisons to be made between the actual or "ideal" focus of these clubs and what was actually implemented.

Club homepages of particular clubs were posted on the University of Calgary website. These sites were maintained throughout the school semester to provide students with information on clubs such as: (a) mission statement; (b) past events; (c) current events; (d) suggestions for future events; (e) club sponsorships; and (f) hotlinks to other websites. In remaining consistent with serving their Chinese-Canadian members, the webpages, in varying degrees, operated bilingually in English as well as in Chinese. Thus, contents of club websites were reviewed to obtain additional information on the clubs' roles in promoting and fostering Chinese culture and identity.

4. Possible factors affecting low response rate

The difficulty in obtaining subject participation could be a result of several reasons. Initially, students were contacted during the period of spring and summer months, at which time many may not have been present on campus at the University of Calgary. During the regular school semester, students were initially contacted via telephone calls at home. Using this method of contact, some students could not be contacted, some declined to participate, and many did not return phone messages.

At a later stage of subject contact, emails were sent out to club members. Those who did not respond to the study may be attributed to the fact that school work had priority over extracurricular activities. Although e-mail provided vast accessibility to students on campus, there was a great presence of "junk mail" sent to student accounts. Some students receiving my message may not have bothered to read it because they may have considered it another form of junk mail. Therefore, that population of students may not have been reached. Other students may not check their accounts on a regular basis, and thus, did not access my e-mail

message until later. Thus, for various reasons, some students were reached and some were not. However, to remedy this as much as possible, phone calls were made and club executives were contacted to obtain other avenues of access to members.

C. Informed Consent

At the beginning of each interview, subjects were greeted and then a brief summary of the study was verbally presented to them. The consent form then was read by subjects. Refer to Appendix D. When students were finished reading through the consent form, I again, asked them whether they had any questions or concerns regarding the interview. When the students were completely satisfied with all the information given and had no other concerns, I asked them to sign the consent forms.

Most of the scheduled interviews were held in my office at the Department of Sociology, to ensure privacy. One interview took place at a club office when no other members were present. All the interviews were conducted at the University of Calgary and the average time of the interviews lasted approximately one hour.

Before the start of the interviews, I outlined the areas in which I planned to discuss. A few sample questions were given to allow subjects some ideas of what the interview questions would be like. I asked subjects whether they would consent to being tape-recorded and then have the tapes transcribed into hard copy. All the subjects consented and did not object to being tape-recorded. A few students asked about confidentiality. I assured them of their anonymity and the confidentiality of the interviews. As outlined in the consent form, specific quotes may be incorporated into the thesis and, therefore, their quotes may be identifiable by others. To protect the students' anonymities, they were assured that

pseudonyms would be used in place of real names and that specifics that could identify them would not be detailed. Students were further informed that they may experience some anxiety or discomfort in their discussions of their perceptions of the clubs or any part of their ethnic identity. If such was the case, they could bypass certain questions, and if they wished, to return to them whenever they felt comfortable enough.

Students were informed that the first section of the interview was for demographic purposes and that the questions had fixed responses. The following sections, however, were semi-structured and open-ended, therefore, they may discuss or elaborate as they wished and that there were no right nor wrong answers. The answers given were based on personal experiences and perceptions and were not necessarily a measure of what actually was. The students were also told that they may skip or return to any questions or previous sections. Thus, I facilitated and used the interview schedule as a guide, while allowing students to answer or respond in the way most appropriate to them, and allowed their discussions to guide the data.

D. Analysis

Due to the limited amount of literature on the possible roles of voluntary ethnic associations in ethnic identity, an exploratory study was conducted and its data analyzed inductively as grounded theory. Rather than verifying hypotheses derived from an existing conceptual model, the continual interplay of the research question, data collection, and data over the entire course of this research led to the generation of a theoretic model. The theory generated was grounded in the data collected (Glaser et al., 1967). Rather than starting with an existing theory and collecting data to determine their fit with an existing theory, this

research project began with the purpose of exploring general areas of ethnic identification and the role of the clubs in contributing to this process. As data collection progressed, certain themes and substantive areas began to emerge which led to some revision of the initial interview questions asked as well as the substantive areas to be covered. The foci of the research were continually modified to reflect the changing directions that the data was leading to. For instance, the initial two general areas of exploration included ethnic identity and role of Chinese social clubs. However, as the interviews progressed, repeating themes such as early family influences, early schooling experiences, and peer relations became relevant to the discussions.

Interviews with members of various Chinese-oriented clubs at the University of Calgary were analyzed to explore their common perceptions, experiences, and opinions on the role of Chinese clubs in promoting or fostering culture and Chinese identity. As well, the students' processes of ethnic identification were also explored. From the data, categories were constructed in order to generate a model of the experiences of these students. The data gathered from the interviews were analyzed for their content to determine similarities, differences, and possible patterns and trends in the reported experiences and perceptions of the students. By representing the voices of the students as much as possible within appropriate context, a theory of the role of ethnic affiliation within ethnic voluntary associations on Chinese identification was generated.

Other related theories found in existing literature were referred to in the analysis as points for comparative discussion and guided analysis of the results that this thesis has obtained. The interviews were analyzed in conjunction with other data such as club

constitutions, club annual reports, and websites. Compiling all the various sources of data together, associated ideas and patterns of perceptions and behaviour were examined to determine existing relationships between them.

Grounded in the data, certain themes such as family and early schooling experiences emerged. These themes were analyzed and placed into categories. In order to develop theory, the categories were not predetermined, but only emerged as the data was being collected. These categories were generated theoretically in relation to each other.

The general research topic guided the initial sampling of a group of students. Since the research problem was to explore the process of Chinese identification and retention of Chinese students and the possible role of a Chinese social club on this process, the Chinese Students' Society was selected as part of the study. The reason for initially choosing this club was because it was the longest established club on campus which catered to a large group of Chinese students. Members of the CSS became subjects of the study. These students were of varying academic and cultural backgrounds. The only criterion for participation in the study was that the students must be of Chinese descent.

As the research progressed, it became apparent that varying sizes and foci of different clubs were important. In addition, themes of subcultural differences and stereotypes among different clubs about one another lead to the inclusion of other Chinese-oriented clubs into the study. Rather than looking solely at the CSS, other clubs were included to gain greater insight and perspectives on the functions and roles of different clubs and how each served the diverse needs of their members. Thus, the addition of different groups into the study

reflected the emerging new themes discussed by the students. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967):

Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is *controlled* by the emerging theory, whether substantive or formal. The initial decisions for theoretical collection of data are based only on a general sociological perspective and on a general subject or problem area...The initial decisions are not based on a preconceived theoretical framework (Glaser et al., 1967: 45).

As well, the interview guide was continually revised in response to what students felt were relevant in their discussions about identity and role of clubs. Certain questions or ideas that were initially presented which were considered less relevant to the students were emphasized less and areas where the students felt were important, were added to the interview guide and asked of other students until theoretical saturation was reached. Again, areas which did not reflect the perceptions of students were discarded or emphasized less and the students directed the direction of the study to areas they felt to be significant. This ensured that the data reflect closely the perceptions of the students. The different theoretical categories were generated from the data rather than imposed by an existing conceptual model. The categories did not precede the data:

In research carried out for discovering theory, the sociologist cannot cite the number and types of groups from which he collected data *until* the research is completed. In an extreme case, he may then find that the development of each major category may have been based on comparisons of different sets of groups (Glaser et al., 1967: 50).

The initial goal of the research design was to obtain a sample of thirty students, even though the point of theoretical saturation was uncertain. A goal of thirty was used as a

general guide to provide a large margin for achieving theoretical saturation. Much of the data began to appear redundant as the interviews reached approximately two-thirds of the interviews collected. A few additional interviews were nonetheless conducted. The data collection was completed with a total of twenty three interviews. This was due to two factors. One factor was the limitation of low participation rate. The second factor for obtaining twenty three interviews was because there was redundancy in the data which indicated that there was theoretical saturation.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CLUB EXPERIENCE

I. Club Description

The contents of club constitutions and annual reports were analyzed to determine club mission statements, the nature of club operations, as well as the types of events and functions hosted or sponsored by each club. Members from two main groups participated in the study: Group 'A' Chinese Students' Society (CSS), and Group 'B' Chinese Asiatic Syndicate (CAS). A third group, Group 'C', included members of the other clubs that participated. They came from such clubs as the Malaysia-Singapore Students' Association (MSSA), Xconcept, the Taiwanese Students Association (TSA), and the Hong Kong Students Association (HKSA).

It should be noted that, although the subjects were contacted and interviewed as members of a certain club, many held memberships in other Asian clubs as well. Therefore, even though a person was, for instance, interviewed as a member of Group 'A', he or she could also, at the same time, hold memberships in Groups 'B' and 'C'. In such cases where members held multiple memberships in Asian clubs, they were asked about how they

perceived the roles of the various clubs to which they belonged, but particularly, the club(s) they were most involved in.

A. Group 'A' (Chinese Students' Society)

The CSS is the oldest and most established Chinese club at the university of Calgary. The society was established over 20 years ago in efforts to provide a social space for Chinese students, to integrate new students into the university climate, as well as to provide various forms of support to new immigrant students. The size of the club is the largest of all the existing Chinese-oriented clubs on campus, supporting an average of 290 members each year (CSS Annual Report, 1989-1997). During the summer of 1997 when data collection began for this project, a review of the 1996-1997 annual report indicated that, during that academic year, the CSS membership was 335.

The CSS is a club designed mainly to serve the needs of Chinese students, however, non-Chinese and sometimes even non-university members belong to the club as well. The club's main objectives are to provide a space to represent and connect in a social atmosphere the university's Chinese community. The stated role of the club is to represent the needs and concerns of members as well as to act as a source of communication for and among members. The CSS links members through social events and links them to the rest of the university community by providing news and information on events happening around campus. The CSS also puts members into contact with the wider Calgary community by enlisting community businesses to support club events and returning support by advertising community businesses.

Two main foci are to “promote and cultivate social and cultural activities amongst members of the Society...with the University community...the Chinese community and the community at large” (The Constitution of The Chinese Students’ Society of The University of Calgary, March 23, 1993, p. 1-2). In addition to promoting social and cultural activities, another mission of the CSS is to provide services for the university and Calgary community, with a strong focus on the Chinese community and immigrant population (p. 1-2). These are accomplished through fundraising or voluntary services.

As stated in the club constitution, memberships are available in three separate categories: a) active, b) associate, and c) honorary. Active members are those university students of Chinese origin. These members are entitled to everything provided by the club, and are eligible for election to the Society’s council. Associate members consist of faculty members and non-university students. These members receive from the club everything active members do, but they cannot sit on club council or vote on activities. Honorary members, as defined by CSS, are faculty members who wish to become members or who gain membership through the process of approval by the society’s council. It is the intent of the club to maintain annually a quota of 75 percent active and honorary members from the undergraduate student population, and 25 percent active and associate members from the graduate student population.

Although the majority of CSS members are of Chinese origin, the constitution states that the official spoken and written language of all club operations be in English. Informal communication among members, however, may be in any Chinese dialect or language.

B. Group 'B' (Chinese Asiatic Syndicate)

Over the years since the establishment of the CSS, other more regionally-distinct Asian clubs were formed to serve the more specific needs of their members. Among these clubs were the Hong Kong Students Association (HKSA), and the Taiwanese Students Association (TSA). Other Chinese-focussed or Asian clubs with a predominantly Chinese membership were formed as well. Each club, although sharing a common Chinese membership, differed in its focus. Some clubs focussed more on social events, others more on culture. Some focussed more on academics. These different foci reflect the club's response to the specific needs of the increasingly diverse Chinese population on campus. This is similar to some of Kwong's findings on the change and growth of Chinese organizations in Winnipeg (1984).

The Chinese Asiatic Syndicate (CAS) was established in 1996. The impetus for the formation of the club was to increase the focus on Chinese cultural elements in addition to social events. The objective of the CAS at its inception was to attempt to mediate the fragmentation that seemed to be occurring among Asian clubs. The very earliest student association for Chinese students was the CSS.

The goal of CAS is to reduce the fragmentation among the many Asian clubs and to incorporate them into one federation, while maintaining the uniqueness and diversity of these groups. The principle of CAS is analogous to the principles of multiculturalism. The aim is for unity of the overall group while honouring and maintaining the distinctiveness of each unique group. The gathering of all Chinese students under one group is reminiscent of the objectives of the CSS. However, CAS was formed to increase activities and awareness of

Chinese culture. Although social events remained a significant part of their objective, cultural and community activities have gained greater importance.

Similar to the CSS, according to the CAS constitution (June 23, 1996, p. 1-2), the objectives of the CAS are to serve the Chinese community and to link members to the university and the community at large. However, one of the unique aims of the CAS is to minimize the gap between foreign-born and Canadian-born Chinese. The goal is to increase consciousness of shared historical and cultural backgrounds while recognizing distinctiveness. In-line with their emphasis on culture is the goal of increasing contact between members and the Chinese community and the Calgary community. Cultural activities aim to celebrate as well as educate Calgarians about Chinese history and culture. Other Chinese events and talents are promoted and supported by this group. A further objective of the CAS is to support and ease the transition of new immigrants to Calgary and to promote the growth of opportunities in and awareness of the Chinese community:

Main objectives include increasing interaction amongst other organizations within the University of Calgary, specifically to address the widening gap between Chinese students born in other parts of the world (ie: Hong Kong, Taiwan, etc.), and those Chinese students born in Canada. The Syndicate respects the uniqueness of each individual subculture, and was organized so that members would learn the commonality amongst all the apparent distinctiveness one is lead to believe ((The Constitution of The Chinese Asiatic Syndicate of The University of Calgary, June 23, 1996: 1).

The CAS reported a strong and successful first year of operation, with the organizing of many cultural, social, and community events. In the semester of 1996-1997, the total number of CAS members was 113.

C. Group ‘C’: TSA, HKSA, Xconcept, MSSA

As diversity of the Chinese community increased in Calgary and at the university of Calgary, other Asian clubs began to form. The growing number of Asian clubs reflects the awareness of diverse needs within the Chinese student population and, thus, each club represents students from specific regions or countries of the world.

1. Taiwanese Students Association (TSA)

The Taiwanese Students Association was established to draw Taiwanese students together. In 1996-1997, TSA had 94 members in its club. One of its main goals is to provide service to students who are from Taiwan or are Chinese of Taiwanese-origin. In addition to these members, any students interested in Taiwan, the Taiwanese language, tradition, or culture are encouraged to join. From their constitution (Calgary. R.O.C. Taiwanese Student Association Constitution (By-Laws), 1996, p.1), it is evident that there is a substantial focus on the shared commonalities and experiences of Taiwanese students and on anyone who is supportive and interested in Taiwanese culture. Along with social events, there is a great sense of awareness of cultural distinctiveness and a strong desire to promote Taiwanese culture and heritage:

The association encourages membership from people who express an interest and appreciation in the Chinese culture and wish to learn more about the culture. Any students, academic or non-academic staff of the University of Calgary, Mount Royal College, SAIT, or secondary schools who came from or ever lived in Taiwan, or participated in “Overseas Chinese Language ... Training and Cultural Study Tour” in Taiwan, or is from a family with Chinese Taiwan heritage, or supports the promotion for a better understanding and appreciation of Chinese Taiwan culture and heritage in the Taiwanese Student Association...(Calgary R.O.C. Taiwanese Student Association Constitution (By-Laws), 1996: 1).

From their statement regarding membership, it is evident that a major focus of the TSA is to foster, promote, and maintain the awareness and appreciation of Taiwanese culture, language, and identity.

2. Hong Kong Students Association (HKSA)

In 1996-1997, 113 students joined the club. According to its official constitution, the club's main object is to provide its members with academic, social, cultural, and recreational activities. It is also the purpose of the club to ease the transition of new students into the university:

The club is established for the purpose of providing academic, social, cultural and recreational interactions for students in an attempt to help their adjustment and to make their study in the University of Calgary a memorable experience (Constitution For The Hong Kong Students' Association, 1995: 1).

HKSA is open to all students attending the University of Calgary. Although there are students of diverse backgrounds who join the HKSA, the main attraction of this club is that it is mainly a social club, attracting Chinese students of Hong Kong descent.

3. Xconcept

Xconcept is not a socially-based club. It is a group which publishes the University of Calgary's Chinese newspaper. It is a sizeable club, with 153 members in its 1996-1997 year of operation. The newspaper deals with news about Calgary and the Chinese community. It is written in both English and Chinese. Most of its members are students of Chinese-origin. As indicated in their constitution, the newspaper is a media for open communication and exchange of idea among all interested readers, although most are Chinese:

The mission of the UCCN is to provide a forum for the free exchange of ideas and opinions among, but not limited to, Chinese reading students (The University of Calgary Chinese Newspaper Constitution, 1996: 1).

Hence, Xconcept is an information, communication-based service group rather than a social group

4. Malaysia-Singapore Students' Association (MSSA)

The MSSA was established to meet the social and cultural needs of its members at the University of Calgary. In 1996-1997, the club had 81 members on its list. The mission of the club is to provide social activities and social support to its members. Furthermore, a main aim of the club is to establish close ties and affiliations with other organizations with a Malaysia-Singapore focus:

The objectives of the Association shall be: a) To encourage and promote in its members an esprit de corps, b) To foster closer association with other student organizations, c) To help the University authorities in the reception and orientation of new students admitted to the University, d) To promote social and cultural contacts with other cultural groups or organizations (Constitution of Malaysia-Singapore Students' Association The University of Calgary, 1975: 1).

Thus, it is the intent of the MSSA to promote and encourage the Malaysian-Singaporean culture among its members and among those from the larger university and Calgary community.

II. Club missions and functions

The analysis of club documents and websites reveal the actual rather than perceived roles of the various clubs examined. Prima facie, there are a lot of commonalities among the different Chinese clubs. However, among these similarities, subtle differences exist. In

conjunction with the examination of club operations, comparisons of similarities and differences are discussed.

As evidenced by the information above, the official mission of nearly all the clubs examined is to serve as social clubs with special focus on providing activities for students of Chinese origin. With the exception of Xconcept, all the clubs declared as their missions the incorporation of social and cultural activities for their members. As well, the clubs act as links between members and the rest of the university. Additional aims of the clubs are to integrate new students and immigrants into the university and to provide social environments to make their experiences more enriching and less intimidating.

With all these clubs sharing similar missions, questions remain about why so many different Chinese clubs were created and how members make the choice of which clubs to participate in. Students said they joined clubs for social activities, however, any club on campus can meet these social needs. Although the CSS is the largest Chinese social club on campus, some students elected to join other existing Chinese clubs.

The difference in what the clubs have to offer is often times subtle. These differences are not officially stated, but they are implicitly presumed by prospective club members. Although the CSS is inclusive of all Chinese students on campus, over the years, differences in cultural experiences and identity within the Chinese student population have lead to the branching out of other groups. There is increasing awareness of distinct and unique cultural experiences among Chinese students. Factors such as whether one is Canadian-born or foreign-born have gained greater importance in social affiliation among students. As well, differences in the age of immigration to Canada affect how students identify themselves.

Those who immigrated to Canada at an early age may choose to join one club rather than another depending on whether they identify themselves as Chinese or Canadian. Regional and national differences based on such factors as dialects, language spoken, and cultural practice lead to unique experiences and identifications among Chinese students of different cultural origins. Hence, different clubs cater to these specific experiences and needs.

In reviewing the nature of club events and functions, the activities were coded into separate categories: social, sports, cultural, and miscellaneous. Social events were defined as events such as dances and get-togethers having no reference to sports or Chinese culture. Although sports may be social activities as well, they were defined as any event that involved physical games. These may be either leisure or competitive games such as intramurals, tournaments, or ski trips. Cultural events were events which made reference to the Chinese culture such as Chinese new year, multicultural night, moon festival, or Chinese language classes. Fundraisers, elections, and membership drives were categorized as miscellaneous activities. Although all activities provided were not categorically mutually exclusive and many functions were social in nature, the events were categorized according to whether they were primarily social get-togethers, sporting games, or had specific reference to culture.

As discussed in the previous chapter, students interviewed responded as members of group 'A', group 'B', group 'C', or any combination of the three. However, the students responded as members of two core clubs, the CSS and the CAS. Although these students may hold memberships in any of the clubs in group 'C', questions about their perceptions of the clubs were directed towards those that they reported to have participated in the most.

Therefore, the perceptions discussed by the students relate to the club that they participated in the most and not to all the clubs that they were members of.

For many students, the unique university experience was enriched by incorporating social aspects as part of the regiment of academic life. Some students expressed a want to include social life as enrichment or buffers to academic demands and pressures of university. Social clubs were good ways to relax, socialize, and connect with other students.

Although the Chinese-based clubs were perceived by members as basically social rather than cultural in nature, they did indirectly play a role in fostering a sense of identity and belonging. Due to their club names and the obvious focus on Chinese members, students joined the clubs for several reasons. Two of the most noted reasons were the desires to affiliate socially with those of similar cultural and ethnic background and to feel a sense of belonging.

III. Student perceptions of club experience

A. Reasons for joining a social club

1. Integration into university and social activities

Some students said that, upon first attending the university, they felt lost. The sheer sizes of lecture halls and nameless faces created an atmosphere of aloneness and invisibility. Lecture theatres were packed with students, yet the climate was one of repetitiveness and mundane note taking. Opportunities to connect and socialize with fellow peers did not frequently present themselves. Although encountering countless numbers of students daily, the possibility of becoming familiar with one another was often fleeting. The large size of

the classes did not allow for more intimate interactions. Similarly, some familiar faces may only be present in one or two classes together.

Wendy recognized a few familiar faces in some of her classes, but felt that people did not get beyond acknowledging glances and gestures outside the classrooms. She also felt that it was hard to meet others because most students' agendas were to attend classes and opportunities for socializing was felt to be lacking. Similar to Wendy, other students felt classrooms were un conducive to meeting other students. This was compounded by the overwhelming experience of adjusting to a novel and unfamiliar environment. Students said that they felt segregated and scattered around campus. According to these students, social clubs provided sources of support for easing the transition into university. They felt the clubs could provide some support for making new friends, making choices about courses, and advising them on the politics of university life.

The need to feel well-adjusted and integrated was reported to be a significant reason for joining clubs for students. It was important for the students to know that there were places for them to go and socialize. It was a chance for the students to enrich their academic experiences and participate in social activities to buffer against academic stress. A majority of the students said they joined clubs to meet and socialize with their university peers. Some of the students in this study also said they were attracted to the large and popular dances, sports, and ski trips. Darren, for example said that one of the reasons he became a club member was because he was attracted to the intramural sports offered by his club and Jan joined the TSA for their annual Dragon boat race. Radecki (1976: 282) cited a 1970 survey of ethnic organizations in Canada which found that the highest percentage of members of

Polish organizations reported friendship and leisure reasons as reasons for joining (26.4%). The survey also added that these individuals joined associations for primarily leisure rather than ethnic reasons.

2. Club recruitment and fringe benefits

The majority of students reported little prior knowledge of the clubs they joined. Some indicated that they bought memberships during club week. It was their first and only exposure to the different clubs on campus. By visiting information booths and talking with club executives, many joined the clubs that they were approached by. For many of these students, the only information they had about the clubs they've joined was that they were social clubs with predominantly Chinese memberships. The students who bought memberships this way had little knowledge about the clubs they had joined and, often times, remained low-participating, fringe members. They were "card-holding" members who, at most, attended one or two club functions and were not 'repeat' club members.

Other perks of joining social clubs, according to the students, were the fringe benefits available to club members such as business discounts and academic resources such as past test papers or exams kept on file. Members were able to access these resources to aid them in their academic studies. As well, senior members were thought to be resources in providing emotional and academic support to new students:

Well...it helped me meet a lot of new friends, so...in a sense, it provides some contacts. So, sometimes discussing that I had a problem and then a lot of them would know the answer too because a lot of them are mature members and they usually a year older than me and high grade and they're able to provide some help sometimes. Things like that (Elizabeth).

It was felt that the experiences and knowledge of senior students about courses in particular and the university in general provided new students with valuable information.

3. Academic

The majority of students held memberships in multiple ethnic social clubs. However, there were some who held memberships in both ethnic as well as non-ethnic clubs. These non-ethnic clubs were mostly academically-related. For instance, students joined clubs in their major academic fields. Therefore, in addition to ethnic clubs, students joined groups such as the Computer Science club, Political Science Association, and Insurance and Risk Management Association. There were occasions when the students joined social clubs that were not ethnically-based, such as the ski club, NUTV (New University Television), or the Gauntlet (university student newspaper), but these memberships were few in number. A majority of the students interviewed indicated that when they joined a social club, it was most likely to be Chinese-based, otherwise it was academically-related.

The reasons given by the students for choosing to join academic clubs were for academic reasons. These groups allowed students to meet and network with fellow students from their own department and field of study. Furthermore, it was a chance for students to access course-related resources, and to participate in activities that were field-related. However, for the purpose of socializing, most of the students joined Chinese-oriented clubs.

B. Reasons for joining a Chinese club

Taking these reasons into consideration, the students were essentially seeking social clubs for social activities. These reasons, however, did not specifically account for why they chose to join Chinese clubs rather than any other university social clubs.

1. Sense of belonging and familiarity

The underlying commonality among the CSS, CAS, TSA, HKSA, MSSA, and Xconcept were that all these clubs have predominantly Chinese memberships. Many of the basic commonalities among members include their ethnic origins, and in many cases, shared linguistic and cultural similarities. Hence, one of the main reasons given by students for joining Chinese clubs was to feel a sense of familiarity and belonging.

Transcending generational, dialectical, or linguistic differences, was the common assumption that there were basic similarities in their experiences as Chinese people and as Chinese-Canadians. At a very general level, there was a sense of being Chinese felt by many of the students. In the company of non-Chinese, especially Anglo-Canadians, there was an awareness of difference, and of being ethnic minorities. Affiliating with other Chinese students, however, the feeling of difference was not present. As a matter of fact, regardless of whatever differences there were among Chinese members, the students took comfort in feeling that they had basic connections to one another and that there were unspoken cultural knowledge, understanding, and belonging with each other. However, when asked why members joined these ethnic social groups rather than a non-ethnic social group, they expressed the desire for a sense of belonging and for a chance to socialize with others of the same ethnic group, and of common culture and heritage. This is consistent with the findings of Layng (1978) and Almirol (1978) that membership and participation in ethnic associations were related to awareness of ethnicity and ethnic identity. In general, then, some members joined groups based on club names and the perceived attributes of club members. Similar physical markers also contributed to the members' sense of common culture and experiences

as Chinese Canadians. Indeed, above and beyond certain stereotypes and subcultural differences, there were perceived overarching similarities among Chinese or Asians. However, many of these assumptions of commonality were based on similar physical characteristics as well as assumptions of what “Chinese” entailed.

According to Trinh, one of the most important reasons which influenced her decision to join the CSS was the sense of belonging. She was a fairly active member of her club, aiding executive council activities and participating in various events such as ski trips, movie nights, and get togethers. In seeking social activities, Trinh could join most any social club on campus. However, she felt a Chinese club gave her a sense of belonging that other clubs could not provide:

I thought its' a club (CSS) I can identify...like the people I can identify with. Um...a club where I'm not the minority. Like the ski club is mostly for skiers, but, there's not a lot of orientals or other races. I thought, you know, at least I know somebody in the club...One of the main reasons I joined was because the fact that it is a Chinese group. Um...I felt comfortable, you know? Talking to people who share the common background as I did, you know? Maybe they're born here, but you know...um...like the culture we share, the language and everything. I thought that was one of the main reasons why I joined. Um...yeah...that I fit in, you know...um...physically (Trinh).

Although the CSS is a club inclusive of all Chinese students of diverse backgrounds and experiences, students such as Trinh felt that, regardless of how much difference in interests and backgrounds there were among members, there remained a basic sense of cultural and ethnic belonging. According to Kwong:

Despite the decrease in discrimination, lowering of racial barriers, and the rising level of education among immigrants, many Chinese seem to feel a strong affinity with members of their own ethnic group (Kwong, 1984: 381).

Many of the Canadian-born students felt that Canada was their country, and growing up in the Canadian culture, they were as much Canadians as they were Chinese. However, CBC students shared similar feelings as foreign-born students in feeling different. Although many of the CBCs felt that they were very westernized in their values and lifestyles, they were aware of being perceived as physically and culturally different from other Canadians, mainly Canadians of Anglo backgrounds. Some CBC students also felt that they were a unique group different from foreign-born Chinese and Anglo Canadians. Hence, they joined groups such as the CSS where they could identify with other westernized Chinese students.

2. Meet other Asian students

Canadian-born Chinese (CBC) felt that ethnic clubs provided opportunities for them to meet more Asian students. Many felt that, because they were born in Canada, they were westernized in their attitudes and lifestyles. Therefore, many participated in western Canadian popular culture, and were exposed to peers and friends who were individuals of non-Chinese backgrounds or of Anglo-Canadian background. Many of the CBCs said that their friendship groups had consisted mainly of friends who were from many different ethnic groups or who were Anglo-Canadians. Hence, CBC students felt that they lacked social contact with other Chinese peers and felt that the Chinese clubs gave them the opportunities to socialize with other Chinese or Asian students.

Students born outside of Canada similarly stated their desire to affiliate with other Asian students. However, they also felt that Chinese associations such as the CSS reminded them of and further reinforced their sense of Chinese community they had before immigrating to Canada. Therefore, the clubs served as mini Chinese communities within the larger

Canadian society. For these students, Chinese clubs served the important purpose of helping new Canadians ease their transitions into Canadian by linking them to other Chinese peers and integrating them into Canadian society.

3. Prior ethnic social affiliation

As discussed previously, many students joined clubs without prior knowledge or expectations of what these clubs had to offer. The majority of students did not deliberately seek out particular clubs to join. The reasons may be either incidental such as being approached by clubs during club week, or exposure to certain clubs by friends. The students reported that friends were a strong determinant of which clubs they decided to join.

There was a comfortable familiarity in joining a group with friends. The clubs, like any other environment is novel and can be intimidating. By becoming members with friends, there was less hesitancy in participating in club activities or attempting to meet new friends. For those students who were persuaded by friends to join, there were few personal investments or involvement in the clubs. It was not their intention to join because they were looking for something unique from the clubs, but rather, they joined because of peer influence.

Some students indicated that their awareness of and decision to join certain ethnic clubs came from prior exposure to the clubs from friends or family members such as an older brother or sister who were at some point club members themselves. Senior club members frequently introduce and initiate friends into their clubs. According to the students, the process of specifically choosing which clubs to join was influenced heavily by the friends they knew who could introduce and expose them to elements of the Chinese culture such as

joining Chinese clubs. For these students, there were already prior social affiliations with other Chinese students who were aware of and involved with Chinese clubs. Hence, there was a continual process of transmission of knowledge, resources, and social networking among members.

C. Reasons for choosing a particular Chinese club

The reasons for choosing to join a particular Chinese social club were influenced by preconceptions and stereotypes of different groups. Although many students talked about shared culture and commonalities based on their Chinese ethnicity, there were also many stereotypes and divisions made among different groups of Chinese or Asians. When looking within the Chinese group itself rather than comparing it to the larger Canadian society, it became evident that many of the students identified differently with one another based on actual and perceived subcultures, regional, and experiential differences. Moreover, differential identifications influenced the types of affiliations among the different Chinese groups. According to the students, Chinese students were divided into different groups and there were hierarchies of desirability among these groups. Some students linked desirability to the level of physical and/or cultural assimilation into Canadian society. Those who were perceived as less assimilated were considered to be less desirable and many negative stereotypes were attributed to these less westernized students. This is supported by Becker's 1990 study which found differential identifications and social affiliations between early- and recent Portuguese immigrant students.

In their discussions on being Canadian, many of the students equated Canadians with Anglo-Canadians. To be Canadian or to be assimilated into Canadian culture, was to adopt

Anglo standards, behaviour, culture, and values. There were implicit distinctions made between Anglo Canadians and other non-Anglo minority groups. Thus, when referring to Canadians, many of the students meant western Anglo Canadians rather than multicultural or multiethnic Canadians.

The fragmentation among or distinctions made within the Chinese student community was, in part, due to the actual and perceived differences in attitudes, behaviours, and subcultures among different groups. Thus, the students' differential identification within the Chinese student population was influential in their decisions to join particular clubs.

Currently, on campus, the CSS is the largest and oldest established Chinese social club on the University of Calgary campus. The CSS is a club which attracts students of diverse backgrounds, with their membership consisting of students of mixed Chinese-Asian heritages, first-generation immigrant Canadians, Canadian-born students, new immigrants, and international and visa students. Officially, the CSS is stated as a social club which welcomes all Chinese students, and the club does not focus specifically on anyone subgroup of a specific cultural or linguistic background. Some students felt that, despite what the club officially stood for, the club was more oriented toward westernized Chinese students. Thus, within this group, there were differential identifications and social affiliations among members.

Chinese students who felt greater affinity to specific subcultures or regions may not have chosen to join these general "Chinese" clubs. Rather, they became members of clubs that were more regionally focussed such as the HKSA, the TSA, or the MSSA. Smaller regional clubs catered more specifically to certain subgroups who share similar language,

culture, and experiences, whereas clubs such as the CSS catered to a more panregional population.

1. Panregional inclusiveness and westernized Chinese: Group 'A'

Some students perceived the CSS as a panregional social club. This club was the preferred choice for some members of mixed Chinese-Asian heritage. There were two contrasting perceptions among the students. One was that the club was inclusive of all Chinese members and no distinctions were made about where one came from, the language spoken or the difference in cultural experiences. Thus, it was socially inclusive of all Chinese members.

Students such as Wendy, Trinh, and Tina felt that the CSS was inclusive of all students of Chinese-descent. These students felt that, due to their mixed Asian heritage such as Vietnamese-Chinese or Filipino-Chinese, it was difficult to find clubs which they could really identify with, either because of linguistic or cultural differences. The regional clubs were perceived to be more concentrated on regionally-specific, monocultural identity and experiences:

Like um...like let's say...like...Hong Kong club, when they have a party, they would say from Hong Kong like that. Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Hong Kong. But when you go to the Taiwan, they're gonna say 'Taiwan, Taiwan, Taiwan', right? But, in CSS, they don't emphasize that much...its so inclusive (Wendy).

Whether the attitudes of these smaller regional clubs were accurately depicted or not, the students - nonetheless - held certain stereotypes and assumptions about the exclusivity and inclusivity of certain clubs, which became significant factors in the clubs they chose to join.

Hence, many students, especially those of mixed Asian-heritage, sought out clubs that were inclusive of their ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds.

On the other hand, the CSS was perceived by some students to be more exclusive than inclusive. Many Canadian-born Chinese students preferred to join the CSS because they perceived the club to cater more to westernized or Canadian-born Chinese members. The perception that most CSS members were mainly westernized Chinese attracted those who identified as such to join the group. The CBC's saw themselves as a unique group from other Chinese group with unique experiences and distinct cultures. By joining CSS, they felt they could relate more with other Canadianized Chinese students who shared the same values, beliefs, and cultures. Furthermore, according to some CBC students, members of CSS spoke English or some form of Chinese and therefore, there were few language barriers. Many of the students, especially the CBCs, had the stereotype that regional clubs all spoke regional dialects and that their members were more Chinese culture-oriented, and therefore, were not integrated into Canadian culture. Some foreign-born students also shared the same perceptions about the CSS being a club for mainly westernized Chinese students. These students felt that they did not feel a sense of belonging in the CSS for this reason, and therefore, chose to join other more regionally-distinct clubs. This will be discussed further in a later section.

Students such as Elizabeth, a CBC, felt that students who preferred speaking or want to learn English were more likely to join clubs such as the CSS and those who preferred speaking Chinese were more likely to join regionally-distinct Chinese clubs:

Um...it depends. If the new immigrants were interested in learning English, then CSS would be a place to go, but if they're the ones to uh...stuck on just speaking Chinese, then Asian or Taiwanese, they're best to go off to other clubs that speak actually the dialect (Elizabeth).

Thus, there were differences in perceptions and stereotypes among club members about different clubs. In choosing a particular club to join, students' decisions were influenced by such factors as the cultural and linguistic composition of club members. Depending upon what their self-identifications were, students chose clubs with members that were most socially compatible with themselves in terms of similar experiences, language, and culture.

2. Culture and syndication among growing fragmentation: Group 'B'

There were students who perceived the CSS as having moved away from inclusivity to CBC-exclusivity, which appealed more members who were CBCs. The perception by some students was that CSS members formed cliques of their own, and others who were not viewed as 'westernized' felt that they could not fit in quite as well. There were some students who immigrated to Canada who had chosen to join more regionally-specific groups because they felt they could identify more with peers of similar culture. Thus, there was a division between the 'westernized' and 'less westernized' Chinese. Furthermore, students who were either CBCs or born elsewhere rarely selected a club from a region where they or their families did not originate.

Because of the branching out and establishment of many Chinese clubs, a type of fragmentation began to occur. At one point a group of students felt that the original focus of having a Chinese association for all Chinese had been derailed. According to this group

of students, the Chinese community had been too subdivided by having too many clubs. This concern about the segmentation within the Chinese student population was similarly found in Almirol's study (1978). In this study, Almirol cites Lasker in positing that the growing numbers of Filipino associations were indicators of the diversity within the Filipino community which lacked a common culture (p. 67). The students expressed the desire to join a club that would increase its focus on more elements of Chinese culture and to reunite all Chinese, regardless of regional, linguistic, or cultural differences into one group. The focus they said, should be on unity rather than division. The CAS was felt to be the club to promote and foster the Chinese culture, identity, and to reduce division among the Chinese student population:

Two years ago, our mission statement was just to do a lot of things that would enhance our cultural aspect. I think that was the most important thing for us was to...because we found out that the CSS and like most other clubs on campus, it was basically a lot of social, it was...you know, everyone had the...the ah...the...I don't know, everyone had the...the um...pretty much social clubs. Everyone thought that they were social clubs and typical social club, so we want to be different from typical... We want to do more ethnic events, more cultural events so that we can get in touch with the community...like community. Like we want to be in touch with the Chinese...ah the Chinatown, like the Chinatown core, with the people...and we did achieve a lot of that (Tsang).

According to these students, there was the perception that regional clubs were only for students who were born there. Likewise, some students had chosen not to join regional clubs because they could not fully identify with their club members. For instance, Casey said that, because of her Chinese-Vietnamese background, she felt she could not be completely accepted by the Vietnamese club. She was at one time a member of a Vietnamese club, but left the club because she felt that the other Vietnamese members did not consider her to be

fully Vietnamese. Casey felt that there were differential treatments between her and other Vietnamese members. She joined the CAS because of its principle of unity among diversity:

Well, of course for the Korean...I mean I know nothing about Korean culture. I joined their club because they were my friends, but when you go into there, you find that they party and their cultural events are quite different. And then of course, they would be speaking their own language, and here you are, sort of out in the dark there, and um... I was in the Vietnamese club and...I was a major role in the executive, but again, they didn't really...they didn't really accepted me as a ... Vietnamese. They say that I'm half Chinese, or then there's...so, I rather might as well get something done, connected with um...even though I'm only half Chinese or half Vietnamese, my family was raised in a big Chinese culture, so I can relate more to the Chinese people and their events and their culture, instead of any other groups (Casey).

Thus, students seeking an all-inclusive Chinese club with greater club emphasis on Chinese culture chose to join the CAS. Some members of CAS indicated that they felt a disenchantment with CSS because the group, in their opinions, had strayed from promoting cultural activities to hosting almost exclusively social functions. As well, these students felt that there was too much of a polarization between CBC's and non-CBC's and it was felt that CBC members were becoming the focal group of the Chinese Students' Society.

According to these students, smaller regional groups were contributing to the widening gaps among the university's Chinese student community. Acknowledging and accepting that there were multitudes of experiences and backgrounds among all Chinese students, they felt a group such as the CAS could cater to the different needs of everyone and respect diversity, while still celebrating basic cultural commonalities. The focus of CAS, according to the students, was to foster those commonalities basic to all Chinese, as discussed earlier by students such as Trinh. The CAS, in essence, was perceived as a club which was

panregional and pancultural, encompassing all the similarities and diversities among all Chinese students.

3. Subcultural and regional distinctiveness: Group 'C'

Students who joined regionally-distinct clubs, similar to other students, indicated that they joined for social activities. Although they did not explicitly say that they wanted to socialize exclusively with those students from their country of birth or the region of their descent, examining the demographics of the students revealed that students who came from a certain Asian country or region were more likely to joined clubs that catered specifically to members from that particular country or region. In other words, from the sample of students interviewed, a majority of the students who joined clubs such as the HKSA were normally those who came from Hong Kong, TSA members were from Taiwan, and MSSA were from Malaysia-Singapore. From this sample, a majority of Canadian-born Chinese or self-identified westernized immigrant Chinese students were more likely to be members of the CSS than any of the regional clubs.

Thus, the name and membership composition of a club was important in influencing which clubs to join. Prior to joining a group, there were already some degree of identification with one's cultural and ethnic background. These identifications varied in nature and degree. Some of this identification was based on generational factors and some on cultural and linguistic factors. In the case of regionally-focussed clubs, identification may be linked more strongly to others who came from the same regional or cultural background.

Again, misconceptions and stereotypes either attracted or deterred students from becoming members of certain regional clubs. For instance, a club such as the TSA was

perceived to be for students from Taiwan who spoke Mandarin and members from the HKSA all spoke Cantonese to each other. Also, some students felt that they were not accepted by regional clubs because there were elements of clique-ishness among members of their own cultural backgrounds, at the exclusion of 'outsiders'. Some students felt that members of these regional groups preferred to associate among themselves:

The reason why we're segregated into so many Chinese groups is because of the language barrier. The Hong Kong people don't want to associate with the Canadianized Chinese people and the Taiwanese want to associate with their own people because they speak mandarin. So, I guess there's a bit of tension sometimes amongst the other groups (Elizabeth).

Thus, perceived linguistic and cultural barriers and the perceptions of clique-ishness were some reasons given by particular students for not choosing to join regionally-distinct clubs.

IV. Cultural components of club functions: actual and perceived

Although the desire to socially affiliate with Chinese peers was an important element in the decision to join Chinese clubs, the focus on culture was not perceived to be quite as important, although they were well received. With the exception of some CAS members, for many of the students, the main attractions of the clubs were their social activities. Many of the club members were more aware of social than cultural events offered by their clubs. A majority of the students felt that their clubs were fulfilling their roles as social clubs and need not direct greater focus on cultural activities. The students were aware that the clubs were popular for their social functions and not for their promotion of the Chinese culture. There were, however, perceptions by many students that smaller regional clubs placed greater emphasis on cultural celebrations, Chinese identity, and language.

Students who were interviewed as members of CSS said that the only cultural events they were aware of were the Chinese New Year's dance, the Multicultural Gala featuring Chinese entertainment, and the Moon Festival celebration. Some members remembered Chinese classes being offered. The events noted by the students were indeed sponsored by the CSS. However, despite awareness of these cultural events, few actually attended. For many of the students interviewed, an average of one or two social events such as dances which were not particularly cultural in nature were attended.

In 1996-1997, the CSS had a membership of approximately 335 students. In that same year, a total of 27 events were held. The 27 events held by CSS include the following: car wash, dragon boat festival, barbeque, summer dance, white water rafting, bottle drive, club week, wine and cheese barbeque, two badminton tournaments, casino nite, sports exchange, three dances, two pool tournaments, coat check, two sport intramurals, ski trip, variety gala, multicultural gala, Chinese new year dance and karaoke, badminton, selling entertainment books, and selling chocolate covered almonds (CSS annual report, 1996-1997).

According to the previously defined categories, of the 27 events held, seven were miscellaneous activities, six social events, ten sporting events, and four functions with specific cultural references. Examining past activities of the CSS (CSS annual report, 1989-1997), social get togethers were the major events held. However, one cultural event, Chinese new year celebration, remained a constant part of the CSS' annual Chinese celebration. In some years, the CSS has offered Chinese classes to its members. These classes were taught by club volunteers. According to some CSS members, the CSS is mainly a social club with little emphasis on cultural activities. Some of these students felt that the CSS is best known

for their large dances. Indeed, this was consistent with official club documents. In 1996-1997 alone, a total of five dances were sponsored by the CSS.

In the 1990-1991 academic year, the CSS published a bilingual yearbook (Chinese and English) entitled "Dawn". In this particular issue were reviews of the year's activities and highlights from cultural functions. Along with this were several articles on issues such as Chinese identity, the importance of cultural retention, racism and discrimination. These articles stressed the importance of knowing one's ethnic identity and to appreciate one's Chinese culture and heritage. The article pointed out that in the process of trying to find balance between two different cultures, some elements of the Chinese culture may be lost. Thus, it was important for people to be aware of this and to make conscious efforts at maintaining tradition (Dawn, 1990-1991: 11-12). The author felt that places like Chinatown and the CSS "provide social opportunities to learn about heritage and culture through interaction" (p. 12). The article on racism and discrimination raised issues about the destructiveness of misconceptions, intolerance, and negative stereotypes about particular ethnic groups. The author spoke about educating society about tolerance and equality among all groups. The article continued on further to say that ethnic communities were needed as safe spaces for members to deal with racism while they find their places in the larger Canadian society (Dawn, 1990-1991: 17-19). In the 1990-1991 academic year, the CSS hosted 45 events, of which, 16 were cultural events (p. 23-31).

From this issue, it was evident that the CSS placed great focus on Chinese culture, and the promotion and fostering of Chinese identity and pride and the importance of cultural retention.

It was discussed earlier that many students believed that regionally-distinct clubs placed greater focus on cultural activities than larger groups such as the CSS. Darren, a member of CSS voiced the following:

Mm...I think...I think they try to, but a lot of the members...majority of them aren't too fluent with Chinese. There are a lot of first generations. So like, you'll have your Hong Student Society or whatever...HKS or something like that. Um...they're probably a lot more Chinese than us. We try to promote Chinese activities like Chinese New Year, dragon boat races and stuff. We try to promote the culture, but a lot of us aren't deeply involved with it...that kind of thing (Darren).

Students such as Darren perceived regional clubs to be somehow more Chinese or more Chinese-oriented. In actuality, however, clubs from groups 'A', 'B', and 'C' were similar in their emphasis on social activities and cultural events. For instance, the MSSA offered its members social, sporting, and cultural activities such as: graduation parties, dances, tri games, multicultural nights, paint ball, Chinese New Year, and various fundraising activities (MSSA annual report, 1996-97). Other past club events included the Dragon boat race, Halloween party, wing nights, hiking trips, white water rafting, barbeques, and Christmas dances (MSSA annual report, 1992-95).

A content analysis of the MSSA annual report (1996-1997) indicated that many of the functions offered were social in nature. These included club get togethers, sports, and dances. There were a few cultural activities such as multicultural nights, Chinese new year celebrations, and the Dragon boat race. In the academic year of 1996-1997, according to their official annual reports, 12 events were held, of which two included the multicultural night and Chinese New Years celebration.

However, the MSSA had more cultural content on their website ([Http://www.acs.ucalgary.ca/~malasing/](http://www.acs.ucalgary.ca/~malasing/)) than any of the clubs in this study. The MSSA website, in addition to informing members of club news and events, also served the purpose of furthering associations with other Asian and Malaysia-Singaporean clubs by providing various web links to different sites on its homepage. As well, the MSSA provided links to sites such as the Malaysian Singaporean Breneian Community Association (MSBCA), the Seri Malaysia Club at the University of British Columbia, University of Alberta's South East Asean Students' Association, Malaysian Students' Union of the University of Western Australia, Sydney University's Singapore Society, Malaysian and Singaporean Society of King's College London, University of Buffalo's Malaysian Students Association, UBC Asian Studies Student Association (ASSA), University of Western Australia's International Networking club, and International Students Center of the University of Calgary. From these sites, MSSA members and those interested can link onto various Malaysian Singaporean sites around the world. The goal of these sites was to provide links to news and information on International, Malaysian Singaporean, and Asian affairs. By doing so, members were able to maintain or establish connection to International Asian communities. Always present on its homepage was the focus on Malaysia-Singapore.

Other MSSA sites included the Sights and Sounds of Malaysia-Singapore. Here, web surfers were able to link onto photographs and brief descriptions of various sites and attractions of Malaysia and Singapore such as Penang Island, Malaysia's Capitol Kuala Lumpur, historical sites such as Malacca, a Malaysian traditional kite called "Wau", and Malaysia's highest mountain - Mount Kinabalu.

In reviewing the events sponsored by MSSA, it appeared that there were many social activities such as sporting events, hiking trips, and get togethers that had no or little reference to Malaysian Singaporean (M-S) cultures. However, it was very evident from the MSSA website that there was a great focus on increasing exposure and connection to M-S culture. There were numerous photographs and biographies on the M-S countries, historical sites, islands, mountains, M-S websites, radio stations, newspapers, and M-S culture. The web links were like homes away from home. These links served several different purposes. One was to maintain contact between those who were originally from M-S and their cultures. Second, was to increase exposure to the M-S experience and culture of those of either Asian or M-S origin who were born in Canada. A third purpose was to inform and promote Malaysian-Singaporean culture and experience to anyone interested.

The Chinese Asiatic Syndicate's main foci of the 1996-1997 academic year was to increase emphasis on and promotion of the Chinese culture and Chinese identity. According to their 1996-1997 annual report, the CAS reported hosting six events: one sporting event (ski trip), three socials (dances), and two cultural functions (moon festival and Chinese New Year's celebration). According to several club members, the moon festival and Chinese New Years celebrations were great successes and were widely attended by the wider Chinese and Calgary community. Tom, a CAS member, estimated that attendance at the moon festival was at 1500 to 2000 people. There were Chinese cultural souvenirs sold, children participated in Chinese games and carnivals, and there were demonstrations of moon festival rituals. The Chinese New Year celebration was also estimated by Tom to be attended by

approximately 1000 people. As part of the festivities, arts and performances by local Chinese artists were celebrated.

The CAS, as stated in their mission statement, placed strong emphasis on promoting Chinese culture. This was demonstrated by their two cultural functions over the 1996-1997 academic year. Their goal was to promote, foster, and educate the Chinese and Calgary communities about Chinese culture. In their 1996-1997 newsletter, articles were written which shared with readers the history and legends behind the Chinese moon festival. In addition, articles on the history and purpose of CAS were written. In these articles were messages of cultural appreciation, unity, acceptance of diversity, and self-empowerment. The author argued for unity among different groups for a sense of Chinese community. It was with this undivided community that self-empowerment and action can be possible:

Yes, you can. We all can. Sitting around waiting and praying for positive change isn't going to make things happen anytime soon. We've got to bring it on now, all Chinese together. We can no longer use the excuse that we're too young for that type of action. And we're all going in the same direction, so we can't compete against each other. The Syndicate is a group of different people with one common goal, moving in the same direction. Which means we could have HKSA, TSA and CSS, and they would have all their own leaders and their own chain of commands, but we would be all together. Whatever we do we have to support each other, because until then we're just fighting against ourselves (Chinese Asiatic Syndicate: SYNDICATION: 2).

Thus, the CAS was perceived to be an inclusive and panregional club which placed strong emphasis on Chinese culture and community.

One of TSA's main foci is to promote the Taiwanese culture, experience, and identity. As the name indicates, the club caters to a majority of members of Taiwanese origin. Similar to the other clubs discussed, TSA is a social club, and it is the purpose of the

Association to provide social events to its members. From 1994-1997, TSA sponsored events such as wine and cheese parties, sporting activities, dances, language classes, dragon boat race, and Chinese New Year celebrations. In the 1996-1997 academic semester, there were five social events, four sporting events, one miscellaneous function (elections), and one cultural activity (Chinese New Year banquet). In the previous academic year, TSA sponsored mandarin classes for members. However, events varied from year to year, with social events taking precedence over cultural activities. Similar to the other clubs, Chinese New Years was celebrated annually in the form of dinners or dances.

The TSA's homepage (Wysiwyg://14http://www.acs.ucalgary.ca/~taiwanst/) was written bilingually. Accompanying photographs of TSA's past events were descriptions written in both English and Chinese of each activity. Constructing a bilingual website facilitated access by all individuals, those who could or preferred to read Chinese and those who were Canadian-born Chinese who may only be able to read English. By offering the option of either languages, TSA made their web page more accessible and welcoming.

The basic function of TSA's website was to inform members of past and future club events. It also gave members access to hotlinks onto different websites. As well, members were given the opportunity to provide suggestions on various matters such as club activities, links to include, or any matter related to club operations. TSA also provided a list of club sponsors. TSA's sponsors according to their 1997 homepage included various businesses from the surrounding Chinese community.

A review of the 1996-1997 annual report of Xconcept revealed that, over this academic year, in addition to monthly membership meetings and club orientations, there were

three social events (two wine and cheese and one year end dance), unspecified number of miscellaneous events (visiting nursing homes and publication and distribution of Xconcept newspaper), and one cultural function, a Chinese New Year celebration.

In reviewing the annual reports and websites of the clubs in this study, it was evident that, regardless of whether the clubs were regionally-distinct or panregional, they were similar in their emphasis on social activities over cultural activities. The clubs were indeed social rather than cultural clubs, however, Chinese New Years celebration was a central cultural event celebrated annually by all the clubs. Despite perceptions by some students that regional clubs were more culturally-oriented, the main difference found among the clubs was not their greater or lesser emphasis on Chinese culture, but the cultural backgrounds of club members.

V. Role of club: social affiliation, validation and affirmation of Chinese identity

Approximately half the students interviewed had little knowledge about the clubs they had joined and they had few involvements participation in club activities. This is consistent with Almirol's finding that many people lack knowledge about goals or missions of the voluntary associations which they join. In his critique of Lopata's definition of voluntary associations, Almirol stated that association activities were often competitive rather than cooperative and members are divided amongst each other rather than integrated (Almirol, 1978: 69). Many of the students were "club holding" or "fringe" members. As discussed above, those students who reported low levels of participation were among those who did not actively seek out clubs to join, but were either "recruited" or persuaded by friends to join. These students may have been aware of many club events, but they only participated in one or two social events.

Many members from larger clubs such as the CSS, observed that there were a lot of clique-ishness within the clubs. When attending socials, many go in groups with friends and stayed within their own social circles. There was very little intermingling amongst the members and some students felt that it was difficult to meet other members. Tina felt that it would be easier to meet others through the club if members had prior connections to friends within the club. Friends already in the clubs could introduce them to other members or inform them about different club functions:

U...I see them (CSS) as a clique, you know? Like, the only way that you would know about them or if you even want to approach them is if you knew someone that can bring you in. You're accepted faster and easier if you knew somebody. a lot of the programs that they have, nobody knows about it, you know? Only their friends know about it. So, I think they're doing a terrible job at reaching out to the community and to the students. They're not like...more so to the students because that's their priority, but... but, they're not really focussing on that (Tina).

However, if a student joined without prior connections to any other members, it was very difficult to enter into a clique. Thus, many new members remained on the fringe, which further reduced their participation in club activities.

A majority of the students said that they met casual acquaintances through their clubs. However, it was rare that these acquaintances ever developed into friendships. Nevertheless, the benefit of joining clubs was in meeting other students. Some felt that it made their university experiences less estranged knowing that they belonged to a club and that, when walking around campus, they were able to recognize a few familiar faces. However, in terms of getting together and socializing outside of the club environment or off-campus, the students said that they socialized mainly with their own groups of friends that

they had prior to joining the clubs. According to a majority of the students, outside of the clubs, they socialized with their own friends and rarely socialized with other club members.

This did not apply to those who served on club councils or members of smaller sized clubs. Some of the students felt that club executives formed cliques of their own. Many executive members said that they had friends who also served on club councils. Because executives were in such close contact with each other through the coordination of club operations, friendships beyond acquaintance level did develop through the clubs.

Some students perceived that clubs such as the TSA or HKSA had greater opportunities to meet other members. Again, the level of social affiliation with other members was influenced by levels of club participation and whether there were prior social connections to someone within the clubs. Size of club was an important factor, but participation and prior association proved to be important to the development of friendships within the clubs. Many were club-holding members who remained on the fringe.

Fringe members acknowledged the contributions of the various ethnic clubs in adding to the university culture, however, many had indifferent views of the clubs or the clubs' contributions to their personal experiences. They recognized that these clubs could provide social support to students, but in terms of whether the club had promoted or fostered any sense of culture or identity, many students felt that the clubs did not really add much to what they had known or experienced prior to joining.

Exceptions were found among some Canadian-born Chinese who experienced affirmations of their Chinese identities. For some foreign-born students, the clubs were a reminder of a familiar culture left behind. The students felt that, by joining Chinese clubs,

they were exposed to more Chinese culture and increased opportunities to socialize with their ethnic peers. The students felt that this had a positive influence on their Chinese identities.

According to the students' perceptions, those who joined clubs that were more regionally-focussed were better able to meet other club members. This may be due to the greater level of actual and perceived shared experiences and identifications with others of similar cultures. As well, the size of the clubs may be a hindrance to internal socializing. For large clubs such as the CSS, the objective was to cater socially to a large general group of Chinese and there were a lot of diversity within the club. Thus, the large size of the club may have made it more difficult for members to become socially intimate with one another. Furthermore, the cultural diversity among members may contribute to a fragmentation of interests and identifications among club members.

The common perception among most of the students was that smaller, regional clubs promoted Chinese culture to a greater extent as part of their club activities. However, reviewing the annual reports of the clubs examined in this study, the main focus of most of the clubs remained more social than cultural. Most of the events sponsored by the various clubs included social events such as dances, intramural sports, fundraisers and social get togethers. In regards to cultural activities, Chinese new year celebrations were sponsored annually by all the clubs in this study. Occasionally, clubs such as the CSS or CAS hosted functions such as multicultural gala night or Chinese moon festival celebrations. The CSS, in the 1990-1991 academic year, however, placed strong emphasis on promoting Chinese culture, identity, and identity retention. In some academic years, different clubs offered Chinese language classes to their members. The MSSA club seemed to be more culturally-

oriented in terms of their website construction with links to other M-S cultural sites. However, all the clubs were similar in their foci on social and cultural activities.

The perception that regional clubs were more culturally-oriented were based more on the students' stereotypes of these clubs than the actual functions held by them. Some of the stereotypes about these clubs were that their members were less westernized, they adhered more to the Chinese culture, they spoke more of the Chinese language than English, and that they were self-segregating and cliquish.

There were some differences found in the mission statements of the different clubs. Common among all include the goal of integrating new and immigrant students into university, to provide social activities for students of similar ethnic backgrounds, and to promote the Chinese culture. Different clubs placed different emphasis on any aspect of the goals stated above. The CAS and TSA, for example, stated that their mission was to promote greater awareness of culture. The missions of the clubs varied in their emphasis on social and cultural events, however, the actual activities sponsored by these clubs did not reflect, to a great extent, the stated goals of the clubs. The emphasis on promoting Chinese culture, remained at best, in the missions of the clubs rather than in the actual functions. Whether the club was the CSS, CAS, or any of the other regional clubs, the functions remained more social than cultural.

The differences found among the clubs, however, reflected the diverse Chinese population on campus. Students joined different clubs depending on their perceptions of the cultural composition of club members and which clubs they felt they could identify with the most. As discussed earlier, many of the students had little prior knowledge about clubs

they've joined and therefore, became members based on the fact that these clubs were Chinese oriented or clubs which catered more specifically to certain subcultural groups. The students felt that the clubs that they were members of were more socially- than culturally-oriented and some felt that they were satisfied with this. Most students did not see much actual club promotion of the Chinese culture.

According to the students, the clubs did play indirect roles in contributing to their sense of Chinese identity. They said that the clubs gave them a place where they were able to socialize with their Chinese peers, to be exposed to and learn the Chinese language, and the organization or participation in the Chinese cultural functions gave them a chance to experience their Chinese cultures. The most important influence, however, was being able to feel a sense of belonging and be validated by their own peers:

I feel I'm proud. I would say that, before, that, um...not to be rude, but I didn't feel as comfortable with myself. Like, I don't know...like...because in junior high and high school, um...I was mostly not with Chinese people. Like, I wasn't really good friends with orientals, so it was kinda hard for me to...you know, I would have misconcepts. Even me, like whose an oriental, had misconceptions about...you know, they're always talking too much, they all play cards. You know. Then when you meet people in a club setting like this, it gets you thinking, well like, I'm proud. There's nothing wrong with being oriental. I'm proud. Like, I wouldn't change my race for anything. You're more pro...pro oriental, but you're also, you know, like proud to be Canadian. See, there's no conflict there anymore (Tsang).

In sum, the main roles of the Chinese clubs were to provide social environments where students could continue to explore, reaffirm, and validate ethnic identities among their peers. This finding is further supported by Radecki's 1976 study which found that:

...the majority of ethnic organizations in Canada considered by the studies to date do not serve as vehicles facilitating members' full entrance into the Canadian society's norms and values but provide situations and means of maintaining individual's allegiance to their ethnic or national identity and values (Radecki, 1976: 283).

Thus, the clubs did not play a role in raising ethnic consciousness of their members, but rather, to facilitate development of ethnic identity.

VI. Conclusions

Many students indicated that it was difficult to meet other club members. There were clique-ishness within the groups. According to the students, they socialized with friends that they knew prior to joining the clubs, but friendship development within the clubs were rare. This may be due to the size and diversity of these social clubs. Many subjects also said that they did not socialize with many members outside of the club environment, but they did see familiar faces of club members around campus. This played a role in helping Chinese students feel more a part of and more integrated into university life. Rather than feeling isolated, they at least knew that they belonged to a group and that they did recognize familiar faces that they can greet on campus.

Meeting other people of one's ethnic group and/or forming friendships with these individuals can influence one's own ethnic identification. According to some of the students, prior to contact with others of their own ethnic group there was extensive identification with the dominant Anglo-cultural groups. They formed stereotypes about their own ethnic group through the perceived Anglo-view of other minority groups. In other words, the students took on the identification of Western Canadians and viewed others through Anglo eyes. However, many said that, although they identified with white Canadians in their earlier

experiences, the eventual contact with other Asians decreased their social distance toward and dispelled some stereotypes about their own ethnic groups. Through increased contact, many began to learn or relearn some aspects of their Chinese culture and heritage. Some began to practice their spoken language, felt more at ease with their culture and began to identify with their own ethnicity. Students said that earlier in their experiences, their ethnic identification and culture were not seen as important and their distance created a sense of alienation from their own groups. During this time, they identified solely with Anglo-Canadians and would identify themselves as purely Canadian. However, eventually, due to increased contact with their own ethnic groups, they began to incorporate the two aspects into one and identified with being hyphenated Canadian.

For some, increased contact and exposure would have little impact on identification, and therefore, these individuals would continue to identify with being western or more like Caucasians in their culture, values, and behaviours. The only aspect of being Chinese would be their physical characteristics and/or their Chinese-origins. For some, being hyphenated Canadian may only reflect superficial characteristics, ethnic origin, or others' categorization of them as being Chinese. Other more important aspects of themselves were comprised of western-Canadian (Anglo) values.

For others, there was a returned acceptance and increased salience of ethnic identification. Although there were increases in the identification with their own ethnic group, there was also acknowledgement of the influence of Canadian culture on their self-identities. Therefore, the students embraced hyphenated Chinese-Canadian identities.

CHAPTER FOUR: CHINESE AND CANADIAN IDENTITIES

I. Nationality, ethnicity, and self-identification

Ethnic identification is a multifarious process which is dependent upon factors such as family upbringing, early schooling experiences, peer influences, perceptions of others, and generational differences. It was found from the interviews with students that, identity for many, was situational and variable. Although Canadian-born Chinese were expected to be more likely to identify with being Canadian than Chinese, the findings indicated a less clear-cut process of identification. There were differences found in the level of identification and ethnic salience among and within the Canadian- and foreign-born groups.

Nationality or ethnic descent, as discussed by the students, did not necessarily indicate how the students truly identified themselves. The question of ‘what nationality are you?’ was interpreted by many of the students as inquiring about ethnic origin rather than how a person identified him or herself, or even in some cases, his or her country of birth. Thus, many of the students, for the purpose of simplicity and brevity, responded that they were Chinese, even if their nationality of birth was Canadian or they had acquired Canadian

citizenships. It was often times assumed that those who responded as Chinese identified primarily with being Chinese only. This, however, proved not to always be the case.

For students of sole Chinese ancestry, the initial response to the question of their nationality was predominantly 'Chinese', regardless of whether they were Canadian- or foreign-born. The CBC students, however, were more likely to reply 'Chinese-Canadian' than foreign-born Chinese students. Students of mixed Chinese-Asian origin, however, responded by indicating the separate ethnic origins of both their parents. They categorized themselves into hyphenated Asian-Chinese. Some foreign-born Chinese and non-Canadian students, responded to the nationality question by indicating their country of birth.

When the question was left open-ended, a majority of the students indicated 'Chinese' as their nationality. However, when given fixed categories such as: (1) Chinese, (2) Chinese-Canadian, (3) Canadian, (4) mixed Asian descent, and asked which they most identified with, some differences were found between the initial response (nationality as equated with ethnicity) and the latter response (identity). The category that the students felt they most identified with became 'Chinese-Canadian' rather than purely 'Chinese', as some had initially responded. Non-Canadian status students, and foreign-born Chinese students who had immigrated to Canada at an older age, however, were more likely to identify as Chinese than the CBC's or "westernized" foreign-born Chinese. The CBC's and westernized Chinese students felt that the category Chinese-Canadian most reflected their self-identification.

In discussing the difference between initial response to the question of nationality and how the students truly identified themselves, it became apparent that, initially, factors

such as the relationship to the person asking the question and the perceptions of others, influenced the responses given. This is consistent with the finding that external ethnic labelling by others influence self-identification. An individual may be perceived as belonging to a particular ethnic group based on identifiable features or common ancestry, regardless of whether he or she participates in the ethnic group culture. This perception by others contribute to the subjective dimensions of one's ethnic identification (Marger, 1991; Goldstein, 1980).

A. Perceptions of others

The reason why many of the students labelled themselves as Chinese first was not because they identified themselves foremost as such. Rather, it was because they were aware that, due to their physical traits, people automatically perceived them simply as Chinese. The students further felt that non-Asians had the tendency to perceive and categorize "oriental" featured people as "Chinese". As Trinh and Wendy expressed, people do not make distinctions between Chinese, Japanese, or Vietnamese. Every oriental, according to the students, seemed to be placed together under the ethnic category of "Chinese". This is similar to Lee's 1990 findings on panethnicity. The students felt that people made assumptions based on the most obvious physical and perceived cultural differences. According to the students, most people do not stop to distinguish differences within an ethnic group. Rather, based on physical characteristics, people with oriental features were perceived as being physically and culturally different. Aware of these assumptions and anticipating others' perception of how they were categorized, most of the students identified themselves according to what they felt others expected of their answers or how they felt they

were perceived. They were, in essence, mirroring external views of how they were perceived by others, and thus took on, to some degree, externally imposed ethnic labels. According to Rosenthal et al. (1992: 224), "...labelling by self and others may contribute to the maintenance and salience of ethnic identity".

Whether within the Chinese community or the larger Canadian society, students such as Jan felt the pressure to identify as Chinese. Sometimes, according to Jan, there were pressures from within the Chinese community to identify as Chinese. Jan said that she used to tell people that she was Canadian because she was born in Canada. She remembered people used to look at her strangely and negate her Canadian identity by asking her what nationality she really was. This echoes Goldstein's discussion on ethnicity (1980: 34). According to Goldstein, nationality was usually equated with ethnicity or ethnic group. Thus, nationality was determined by one's ethnic origins, and regardless of generation, one was identified as ethnic first. Jan felt the negative stigma of expressing her Canadian identity because other Chinese people would become offended by her identification. She felt that by saying that she was Canadian, she was perceived as betraying her own Chinese origin:

This may, at its most consensual, be the validation of the others' internal definition(s) of themselves. At the conflictual end of the spectrum of possibilities, however, there is the imposition, by one set of actors upon another, of a putative name and characterization which affects in significant ways the social experience(s) of the categorized (Jenkins, 1994: 199).

This pressure to identify with one's ethnic group is similar to the findings of Almirol's study of Filipino associations. In his study, Almirol questions the voluntary aspects of voluntary associations. According to the author, "members join not by individual choice or volition but from social pressure" (p. 68). It was found that many association members were

recruited by family or friends and refusal of membership was perceived by other ethnic group members as a rejection of the ethnic group. Thus, the pressure to join ethnic associations can be paralleled to the pressure to identify with one's ethnic group. Here lies the distinction between the chosen self-identification of the students themselves and externally imposed labels or categorizations by outside groups:

...depends on which place the people came from. Like, most of the students from Hong Kong treat me like I'm from Philippines. Like, they knew I'm Chinese, but they do treat me like I'm (Filippines), but, I don't blame them since I was born there, right? Mmm...people from Taiwan and from China would be like treat me as a Chinese, right? And...but, most other...like other cultures people, they...they treat me as a Chinese...so, its kinda...I don't know...Like, because they don't know...like let's say if you're from Hong Kong, oh there's this type, and there's from Taiwan there's this type, there's from China there's this type. But, when I show up, they don't know where I came from, you know what I mean? (Wendy).

The students felt that non-Asians were not sensitive enough to regional or cultural diversity within the Chinese community. The students were aware of the diversity within the larger Chinese community, and therefore, made distinctions among different groups of people. Some of the students indicated that when asking about nationality or ethnicity, many Chinese were satisfied with the general answer of 'Chinese'. However, others have probed for greater details about place of birth, and regional ethnic backgrounds. This was an indication of awareness and distinctions made within the Chinese community. However, the students felt that people of non-Chinese backgrounds perceived them as one homogenous ethnic group. Unlike Lee's findings on panethnicity, the students identified themselves as Chinese, not because perceived common discrimination against all Asians, but because of the awareness of being perceived as culturally and physically different.

It was interesting to note that Canadians, as used in the context given by the students, indicated Caucasians as the main reference group. Furthermore, when students identified as Canadians, they expressed a difference between themselves and 'Canadian-Canadians'. According to the students, for them to be Canadians meant that they were the Chinese in Canada, the Chinese born in Canada, or the second - third generation Chinese in Canada. There were conscious distinctions made between Chinese-Canadians and Anglo-Canadians.

To be 'Canadian', was for some of the students equated to Anglo-Canadian culture. Conscious of being visible ethnic minorities, Canadian identity was qualified as ethnic-Canadian. Regardless of the level of cultural or structural assimilation, the awareness of being an ethnic-Canadian persisted. Some of the students were Canadian-born and their associations, values, beliefs, culture, and lifestyles followed more closely with western Canadian culture than with the Chinese culture. This, however, did not negate a Chinese identity.

To reiterate, when asked 'what nationality are you?', some students replied Chinese, some replied Chinese-Canadian. A few students replied just 'Canadian'. However, when given three fixed categories: Chinese, Chinese-Canadian, or Canadian, and asked which one was most reflective of how they defined themselves, those who were Canadian-born and some who immigrated to Canada at an earlier age replied Chinese-Canadian. Those who were not Canadians, such as visa students, or those who had immigrated to Canada at a later age, responded more frequently that they were simply Chinese or indicated the nationality of their birth place.

B. Diversity and Stereotypes within the Chinese community

Students identified themselves as simply Asian or Chinese with people of non-Chinese origin. Within the Chinese community, however, there were clear distinctions made among subcultural groups. These distinctions were based on actual and observable differences such as regional and subcultural differences, as well as based on stereotypes.

A universal Chinese identity among all Chinese was not consistently reported by all the students. In fact, through the course of the interviews, many of the students indicated awareness of ethnic distinctiveness among different groups within the Chinese community. These perceptions of difference provided students with a sense of uniqueness and belonging as well as, in some cases, served to separate and exclude them from other Chinese. There was a sense of 'us' and 'them' within the Chinese community. Likewise, there were many stereotypes attributed to different subcultural groups based on 'inside' and 'outside' distinctions made.

By virtue of holding memberships within specific Chinese clubs, the students already, to some degree, identified with being Chinese. The reasons for selection of certain clubs, as discussed by the students, were influenced by the specificity of their subcultural identification. Thus, generational differences and length of Canadian residence were significant factors in identification and nature of social affiliation. This finding that regional or generational differences affect social affiliation is further supported by Becker (1990) and Lee (1996).

C. Westernized Chinese and 'FOBs'

Some CBC students such as Darren felt that, being Canadian-born, there were many obvious western influences on behaviour and thought that made CBC's distinguishable from other Chinese people. From the way they spoke to their mannerisms, Darren felt that people could automatically identify someone as being Canadian-born or as someone who had immigrated to Canada:

Yeah, a lot of people...they...its funny because when they look at you, they can tell you're Canadian-born Chinese. They don't need any ah...few don't usually mistaken me as someone who just came from Hong Kong (Darren).

Many of the students shared the perception that CBC's were very westernized in their attitudes and lifestyles. By contrast, those who were born outside of Canada or immigrated from different regions of Asia were perceived to adhere more closely to their own culture and language. There were stereotypes that Chinese immigrants were more culturally and socially 'backwards' than CBCs. Immigrants were viewed as dressing differently, socializing exclusively among their own ethnic group, and speaking only their Chinese dialect. The perception that immigrant Chinese were self-segregating and spoke little English played a large role in the lack of identification by CBC students with non-CBC students. Many students felt that there were cultural as well as linguistic barriers among the different Chinese subcultures. Recent immigrant Chinese were seen as groups who refused to adopt Canadian culture and identity.

The gap between Canadian-born Chinese and recent immigrant Chinese were based on mutual stereotypes about one another. Non-CBC students felt that the CBCs had a superior attitude over them and that they tend to associate mainly with one another rather

than accepting of everyone. Some of the Canadian-born students labelled the 'less westernized' students, who associated mainly with other Chinese and spoke more of the Chinese language, as "FOB's" (Fresh Off the Boat). The perceptions of immigrant Chinese were that they were less desirable than and culturally different from 'westernized Chinese'. They were seen as conforming to traditional Chinese culture, lifestyles, and mentality. There were images of FOBs that they were socially inept, self-segregating, and less Canadian.

Canadian-born Chinese students gave illustrations of how they were different from foreign-born students. The group most used as illustrations of FOBs were the Chinese who immigrated from Hong Kong. According to most CBC students, Hong Kong Chinese were considered to be FOBs because they continued to partake in Hong Kong popular culture, and they were physically distinctive in terms of their Hong Kong styles of fashion. There were simplistic stereotypes about their attitudes and appearance. These students were said to have unnatural, sometimes colourful hair, they had "odd" senses of fashion, and they could usually be spotted with their cellular phones and the types of "FOB cars" they drove. Many FOBs, but especially those from Hong Kong, were viewed negatively by CBCs and other westernized Chinese students, as loud and speaking almost exclusively in Chinese. One of many negative perceptions of FOB attitude or mentality was that they refused to integrate into Canadian society:

Like, some of the Chinese immigrants, like, they're only interested in speaking Cantonese, and they're only interested in their bubble of like, friends who are from Hong Kong, and so they don't have any interest in being Canadian, they don't have any interest in taking English, and so...yeah. Like I said before, all they do is drive around in their nice cars and like...well, they also have more money than I guess the average Canadian person, right? And so, you know, they have like cell phones ...

and talk while the cell phone's ringing in class and like they don't care. My brother's telling how these FOB's...like, it was during their graduation banquet, during the speeches, they'd be like phoning each other up on their cell phones and laugh. Like, they're so rude and obnoxious. See, I think its people like that that give Chinese people a bad image, and like, no offence, but like if they love speaking Chinese so much, you should go back to Hong Kong, you know? Maybe I'm kinda racist when I say stuff like that, but its true, 'cause like they're not even interested in becoming Canadian (Jan).

While CBCs had stereotypes of immigrants, they were also aware of being perceived as 'bananas'. Being a banana meant that the students were yellow on the outside, but white on the inside. Although they looked Chinese, they acted as if they were white, thus were perceived as denying their Chinese identity. Some foreign-born students felt that they were not fully accepted by CBCs and, therefore, felt that they could not identify with these students. There were mutual stereotypes by both groups that Canadian-born and foreign-born Chinese differed culturally. Setting stereotypes and misconceptions aside, the gap between Canadian-born and foreign-born Chinese was sometimes based on actual subcultural and regional differences. The experiences of students who were born in Canada and were raised in a western society were uniquely different from those who were born outside of Canada. Canadian-born students were aware of their Chinese-origins, however, they also felt that they were Canadians because Canada is their country of birth, and the only country that they had ever known and were raised in. This was also true of students who immigrated to Canada at a young age and were raised in western Canadian culture. Non-Canadian or Immigrant students who immigrated to Canada at a later age, however, had knowledge of another country, another identity, and another lifestyle in their country of

birth prior to their immigration to Canada. Therefore, their sense of identity and experiences were different from those of CBC students.

Having said this, however, ethnic identity is not dichotomically polar among the students, with CBCs at one extreme and foreign-born students at another. As findings from the ethnic identity literature indicate, ethnic identification should be measured by using a non-zero sum model of identification (Hutnik, 1986). That is, one dimension measures the degree of identification with one's ethnic group. The other dimension measures the degree of identification with the majority society. The intersection of these two dimensions allows for variation in the combination and degrees of identification with both groups. Furthermore, Hutnik proposed four categories of identification: assimilative, dissociative, acculturative, and marginal (Hutnik, 1986: 154). Acculturation is when one identifies equally with both the majority and ethnic group. The students in this study varied in their levels of identification, thus foreign-born students did not always identify more as Chinese than Canadian, nor did all CBC students identify more with being Canadian than with being Chinese. For instance, some foreign-born students who immigrated to Canada at an early age felt that they were "westernized Chinese" in the sense that they grew up surrounded by western culture and their lifestyles, values, attitudes, and mentality were more congruent with western Canadian culture than with Chinese culture. Likewise, westernized Chinese students felt greater commonality with CBC students than with recent immigrant students. Although there were variations in the degree of identification among the students, most of them felt integrated and identified as Chinese-Canadians.

Due to these mutual stereotypes, many of the CBC students felt they had little in common with non-CBCs; therefore, they identified more socially and culturally with other CBCs and westernized Chinese students. Thus, many CBC students joined groups such as CSS because it was perceived to be more or less a CBC-focussed club. Likewise, some foreign-born students felt that groups like CSS catered more to Canadian-born Chinese, and therefore, they felt that they could not fit in.

Contrary to these stereotypes, there were a great mix of Canadian-born and foreign-born students in the CSS and CAS. For example, in addition to the Canadian-born students, some students interviewed had immigrated from such countries as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Vietnam. These students associated with predominantly Chinese friends, which included both CBCs and westernized foreign-born Chinese. These students, although members of regionally-distinct clubs such as the TSA and HKSA, spoke English most frequently outside the home, and felt they lived westernized lifestyles and identified themselves as hyphenated Chinese-Canadians. There were some foreign-born students who felt that, although they were not born in Canada, they identified more with being Canadian than Chinese. For some of these students, retention of Chinese culture were not viewed as very important.

Some foreign-born students such as Tina felt that her Chinese identity was an externally imposed label. Although she was born outside of Canada, she felt westernized and identified herself as more western Canadian than Chinese. However, with combining factors such as perceptions of others and her Asian features, she said that she was aware of being seen as different. Therefore, her Chinese identity was essentially based on the reflection of

external categorizations. When asked about her identity, she would indicate her ethnicity because it was the most physically obvious. However, on a deeper level of identification, she felt more 'Canadian'. Identifying with Chinese was only at a symbolic level:

I see it more as I'm Chinese because I look Chinese and I think that's the reason why. That's where my identity is because of my appearance (Tina).

Likewise, from the interviews, there were some CBCs who said that they identified highly with their Chinese identity and felt the significance of Chinese culture on their ethnic identification. Cheryl, a Canadian-born student, felt that she identified more with her Chinese origin because of her close and family-oriented upbringing.

Thus, there were some support for the stereotypes, but there were also contrary findings. The important point, however, was that distinctions were made within the Chinese community which served to label and socially segregate one another. Within the Chinese community, there were differences in identity and a mentality of "us" and "them".

II. At the crossroads of identity negotiation

Anne was originally born in Hong Kong and had come to Canada at the age of seventeen. Although she still felt connected to her Hong Kong culture, she felt that the critical periods of change in her life occurred in Canada. During this period of her early adulthood, Anne was exposed to and surrounded by western Canadian culture and values. She met and socialized with Anglo-Canadians. She also added that, although she was originally from Hong Kong, she did not often socialize with other Hong Kong students. Those formative years living in Canada forged within her a strong sense of Canadian identity. Although she continued to visit Hong Kong and remained familiar with the Hong Kong

culture, Anne felt that she was more westernized in her lifestyle and identity. She was quick to point out, however, that being born and raised in Hong Kong, she had also been influenced and shaped by her Chinese culture. Although she could not pin point specific influences, the Hong Kong culture will always be a part of her, even if her use of the Chinese language or practice of the Chinese culture declines over time. Anne sometimes found it confusing to balance the old and new cultures:

Actually, I don't know. 'Cause like...its kinda confusing a lot of time, I find that, like I'm Chinese, but I'm more like Canadian, 'cause I watch like most of the Canadian...I can live two or three months without Chinese like TV or like ah...newspaper or whatever. But then, I don't know what I'm going through, but its just like, I'm kinda like, sometimes I'm kinda lost, like which culture actually I'm coming from. But then, I still somehow, no matter how...like...I'm like...I guess, like, merged into Canadian culture or western culture, I'm still a little bit tied back to Chinese. I like to eat Chinese food, I go out for Chinese food sometimes for Chinese food and stuff like that too, and like, I go and buy like Chinese junk food stuff. Somehow, I'm still tied back to that aspect or like in the language wise, say like I'm taking exams and stuff, I'll think in Chinese, you know (Anne).

Sam immigrated to Canada from Taiwan and had lived in Canada for eight years. He, like Anne, was trying to find a balance between the old culture he once knew and the new Canadian society in which he currently lives:

I like being a Canadian. I adopt pretty much...a lot of the Canadian culture already. I've been here for eight years, so...actually, I might be identifying some as Chinese as well. Its kinda of a confusion there because I did live there (Taiwan) for 12 years and I was raised...I was born and raised there, so... (Sam).

The negotiation between Chinese and Canadian identity was not only limited to foreign-born students. Students such as Jan sometimes found it difficult to find a place where they felt they could belong. According to these students, there were actual cultural

differences between CBCs and foreign-born students. Jan felt that, although she was born in Canada, she did not fully identify with other CBCs. At the same time, she could not identify with some non-CBCs whom she perceived to be FOBs. She felt that she fell “in the middle of nowhere”, where she could not fully identify with either group. Jan felt a sense of biculturalism and marginality at the same time:

I'm not a real FOB because I don't dress like FOB's, I don't drive FOB cars, I don't have like...you know, I don't have shiny pants and like, orange hair and stuff, okay? And like, I don't like talk Chinese really loud, and I DO speak English. So, like I'm totally not a FOB in that way, but, at the same time, like the CBC's...well, no offence, but sometimes I think a lot of the CBC's are like...they remind me of gangsters, and like they're really into like nice hair, nice make-up, nice girls, nice boyfriends, nice...you know, cars and stuff too. Like, I'm totally not that either. So, in a way, I'm kinda like both, so I'm kinda stuck in the middle of nowhere (Jan).

Alex, on the other hand, immigrated from Singapore to Canada in 1980 at the age of five. At the time of the interview, he had resided in Canada for 14 years. According to Alex, his Singaporean identity was very important to him. However, having been raised in Canada, he felt that there were positive contributions from both Chinese and Canadian cultures, and that it was important to learn and accept a bicultural identity:

For myself, I like to think of myself as Canadian or Chinese, but more part Canadian. I think you gain more if you accept both cultures. I like to know Canadian history too as well as Chinese history (Alex).

Casey, a 24 year old student of mixed Chinese-Vietnamese descent, had lived in Canada since 1983. When she was asked about her nationality, she indicated Chinese-Vietnamese. However, when presented with the fixed categories, she identified most with being Canadian only. This was a reflection of her current lifestyle. Casey described her

family upbringing as being very strict and traditional in the Chinese culture. Thus, she identified more with the Chinese culture. However, her ethnic identity was also fluid in that she did identify with other Vietnamese people because she understood the Vietnamese language. In addition to defining herself in terms of her Canadian and ethnic identity, Casey also negotiated between her Chinese and Vietnamese identity. Overall, Casey identified highly with being Canadian. However, depending on the situation and who she affiliated with, her identity was variable and situationally dependent:

I identify with...actually, this is hard...I identify more with the Vietnamese just because I know the language more, but then my culture is more with the Chinese side, so...religious wise...I identify more with the Chinese. So, again, its half and half (Casey).

The students identified themselves with strangers as a member of their ethnic group. However, with friends, they discussed in greater detail their ethnic status or their self-identification. Canadian-born students, addressing strangers stated their identity by either referring only to their ethnic group, or saying they were “Chinese-Canadian”. A select few identified themselves as purely Canadian. Only with friends was a more personal identity revealed. The difference in response between CBCs and foreign-born students was that CBCs often times replied by disclosing their ethnic origins or the origins of their parents. Some students, however, did qualify this by saying that they were Chinese but born in Canada. Even then it was difficult to discern how these students really identified themselves. With strangers, self-labelling or categorization remained at a very superficial level. It was only with familiar individuals that there was a greater disclosure of self-identification.

Many of the Canadian-born Chinese students felt that their lifestyles and values were very westernized. Canadian-born Chinese students felt that they were a separate and distinct group of their own. They were a unique product that was both a part of and separate from Chinese and Canadian culture. Born in Canada, many of the students were raised in Canadian schools and were socialized with other Canadian children. There were a lot of western influences in their lives as they were growing up. Although they were surrounded by western Canadian culture, in the home, Chinese culture nevertheless contributed to their ethnic identities. The CBCs felt that they could identify most with other CBCs. They were a group which fell mid-line of two different cultures. Acknowledging their western influences, they remained loyal to both their Canadian and Chinese identities. This dual identification was what Kim et al. (1993: 700-701) called “blending” or “synthesis” of both ethnic and host culture. While, recognizing that their lifestyles were more westernized than Chinese, the students were also aware of being different from the typical Canadian:

Chinese Canadian. I mean I...I used to...I would've...if you asked me that question 2 or 3 years ago, I'd say Chinese. But now, I mean like, you know, I've come to the realization that, yeah, growing up in Canada makes me different from those people from Hong Kong or China, etc., you know? And like, certain experiences in Canada shape me into who I am right now, so I can't trivialize my experiences in Canada, you know, as a Canadian. And I'm not gonna let anyone's idea that I'm not Canadian, like just say Aryan nations, white supremacists, whatever. You know, I'm just as Canadian as they are and I'm not going to let THEIR ideology hinder upon my own, and I'm not gonna limit myself to saying I'm just Chinese, you know? 'Cause I grew up with Chinese upbringing and cultures and rituals, and the ethnicity and everything like that, but, I also grew up in Canada, growing up with the Canadian kids, you know? Being the only Chinese kid in school, so I mean, I just come to accept that..really enjoy being both (Tom).

Those students who said that they identified most as Chinese-Canadian discussed how they were very westernized in terms of their thinking and their participation in Canadian society. They equated Canadianization to being either born in Canada or having immigrated to Canada at a young age, spoke mostly English, participated in Canadian culture such as the consumption of popular media, or lacked knowledge and practice of Chinese culture and heritage. In their discussions, there was the indication that, although their lifestyles were more 'Canadian' than 'Chinese', these students defined this as being westernized Chinese rather than being solely 'Canadian'.

The reasons for this were that they were aware of their physical differences as well as their parental origin and ethnic heritage. Some students felt that their Chinese family upbringing played a significant role in their continued acceptance of their Chinese identity. Peer relations and other ethnic affiliations also played significant roles in students' identification, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

A. Ethnic salience and identity retention

According to many of the Canadian-born Chinese and foreign-born 'westernized' Chinese students, hyphenated Chinese-Canadian most accurately reflected their self-identifications. Although for many, their lifestyles were consisted of more western than Chinese cultural influences, the symbolic recognition of their Chinese origin remained salient for their sense of identities. The students acknowledged that, in childhood, their Chinese heritage identities were not accorded great importance. In early adulthood, however, there had been increases in the awareness of their Chinese identities and the salience of cultural and identity retention. This is similar to findings on ethnic rediscovery (Isajiw, 1981; Isajiw

et al., 1982). Although these authors found ethnic rediscovery among mainly the third generation and subsequent generations, this study found a resurgence of ethnic awareness within the first generation as well as among the second generation. To embrace only one identity while negating the other, according to the students, was to deprive themselves of their unique cultural heritage and upbringing. They were, in essence, moulded and shaped by the balancing and merging of two different cultures.

Therefore, understanding that they were surrounded by western lifestyles, values, and beliefs, the students were also aware of their Chinese family upbringing, and the values, heritage, and culture that were also parts of their ethnic roots. Hence, for many of the students, acknowledging their Chinese roots was a salient part of their identities, and acceptance of both cultures and identities were to acknowledge their complete selves. Many of these students felt the importance of rediscovering more about their Chinese heritage, participating and practicing more Chinese customs, and retaining their sense of Chinese identities:

Its very important because that's one of the defining aspects of who I am. You know, I grew up being a Chinese person, I can't just let it go. I guess just like something part of you. I really have a problem with people, like Chinese people who grow up here and then they start saying, 'well, I don't date Chinese people'. All I gotta ask them is 'what do you see when you look in the mirror? Do you see someone ugly? Its this self-loathing that's bringing you and us down. I mean, they don't really have any knowledge of self, and whereas, I'm not saying I have all this knowledge of self, but like, I have some and I'm still learning about myself and culture, and that's a big part of it (Tom).

According to Bill, no matter whether a Chinese person is Canadian born or not or how westernized he or she may be, there will always be differences between the Chinese

person and Anglo-Canadians. The Chinese person can never fully fit in, and to deny his or her own Chinese identity is to outcast a large part of him- or herself:

Um...its pretty important. If I didn't keep it, then I wouldn't be Chinese. Almost an outcast because um...'cause you take on a lot of western ways, but you're not Caucasian, so you will never be seen as part of that. You'll always be seen different, and um...the Chinese culture is a belief that I keep because that's what I am and there's no way of changing it. Um... So, I believe its something to kind of hold on to that I believe in because its my language (Bill).

Many of the Canadian-born Chinese students talked about their lack of exposure to and identification with the Chinese culture as youths. However, as young adults, they had experienced greater exposure to the Chinese community. The increasing ethnic exposure was accompanied by a sense of ethnic acceptance, identity, and pride. Donald, for example, felt pride in his Chinese identity even though he was born in Canada. He felt that his Chinese roots were an integral part of who he was, and as part of his ethnic identity and pride, he wanted to promote himself as a Chinese person and to surround himself with Chinese friends, participate in Chinese organizations such as Martial arts groups, learning the Chinese language, and sharing and educating others on what Chinese culture really is rather than what myths, misconceptions, existing negative images and stereotypes depict. Along with a personal identification, there was a sense of obligation in promoting and sharing the Chinese culture with others:

For me, its one of the most important things I ever do, ever wanna do because, being born here doesn't really help me much, you know? Like, I'm Canadian and what not, but, um...I like to advocate myself as Chinese. Like a lot of the new Chinese friends, they think I'm from Hong Kong because I speak so much Cantonese and I speak it so well. They're like, 'oh, you're from Hong Kong'. I was born here, you know? I think, generally...its because of what I do in Martial Arts too. Its ...

because, generally, society to me... 'ancient Chinese secret, martial arts' don't advocate that. We're more than that, you know? We're more than, you know... more than secrets or eating weird animals or martial arts, you know? That's what I'm trying to promote (Donald).

Most of the Canadian-born students interviewed said that they had similar experiences in early adulthood, rediscovering ethnic salience and identity retention. Many of these students grew up embracing only their Canadian identities. Like other children, the need to belong and be the same as everyone else lead many to accept their western cultures while denying their ethnic origins. However, as they reached early adulthood, the realization that they were different along with the increasing exposure to their own Chinese community, many began to acknowledge their Chinese origins and wanted to retain different elements of both the Chinese and Canadian culture, without losing one or the other:

Mm...I've have to think about that. Well, for me personally, I guess it'd be like to retain some Chinese identity, but I don't want to be totally, fully meshed into it because I am probably Canadian and I value...I highly value some values. So, a com...a combination of both is good for me. I like to retain some, but I don't want to be fully Chinese 'cause I can't live the way my parents lived before, so...(Elizabeth).

According to Cheryl, her Chinese identity was important to her and she said that it was important for her to retain her knowledge of the Chinese culture so that when she has a family, she may expose her children to their ethnic heritage and culture. Cheryl felt unique in being able to exist within and identify with two different cultures:

How important? Um...I found it very important. I would like my future, if I ever had children, family...I would like them to know you were brought up like I was brought up. The things I know, I want them to know too, and the things I missed out on like the really traditional stuff, where it all came from bad or good, I would like them to know more because I find that...I believe that people should be...and um...having two cultures, you have very good opportunities and you can find a balance ...

between good and bad. So, you do kinda feel that being born here um... You get best of both worlds and that is very important (Cheryl).

According to Trinh, although she is a Canadian citizen through immigration, she felt that her Chinese-Vietnamese identity was very important to her because it was who she was, and the awareness that she was different and a member of an ethnic minority group, gave her a sense of pride and strength to succeed:

I think its very important because it makes me a stronger person. Like...in a lot of ways, you know, when I'm about to give up, and I think...well, I can't give up because...I gonna sound bad, but like, you know...I have to work a little harder because of my origin. I'm here, so, I'm gonna be a bit more disadvantaged. That's how I think. So therefore, I have to work a bit harder. Like, I don' know if that makes sense, but, its not my country. Like it is, but, um...its not really. Like I am a citizen, but... a lot of ways, I'm not bestowed. Like you know, all these privileges. So therefore, I have to work harder to get respect or to get far in life in this country (Trinh).

While recognizing her Canadian citizenship, she felt that although she is a citizen of Canada, it was not really her country. Her self-identification was Chinese-Vietnamese, and her country is her place of birth.

B. Going through the motions

For both Canadian-born and foreign-born students, there was the desire to retain a sense of Chinese identity. However, in actuality, the knowledge of Chinese heritage and tradition was limited in comparison to their daily exposure to western influences. Foreign-born students who were raised in different cultures prior to immigration to Canada had been exposed to different ethnic cultures, and for some, their ethnicity was deeply ingrained in their sense of self. For CBCs and students who immigrated to Canada at an early age, however, they were exposed to the Chinese culture and lifestyles only in their immediate

families. These students felt that their Chinese influences extended only to Chinese food eaten in the home and the Chinese language they communicated in with their parents. A majority of the students said that their mother tongue was Chinese and that they spoke Chinese to their parents most frequently in the home. Students of mixed Asian origin usually spoke several different languages, for example Chinese and Vietnamese, depending on which parent they were speaking to. Some students said that they were exposed to Chinese music and television in the home. There were some students who said that they were aware of Chinese rituals such as traditional celebrations, festivals, or superstitions.

Although the students said that they spoke Chinese and participated in Chinese culture such as traditional celebrations, many did not understand the purpose of these occasions. According to some of the students, their use of the Chinese language or their participation in Chinese events were, in essence, shadowing parental routines rather than intentional choices to participate. In essence, many students felt that they continued using the Chinese language only to communicate with their parents and that they participated in events because their parents participated. Without the influence of their parents, some of the students felt that they would not retain much of their Chinese culture. This is similar to Isajiw's concept of ritualistic ethnic identity which is defined as having a high level of retention of and participation in ethnic cultural activities, with a low level of attachment to the ethnic group (Isajiw, 1981: 3). Even though the desire to retain and transmit Chinese identity and culture onto future generations was felt to be important for some students, the actual influence of Chinese culture seemed to be more immediate to the students than being strong enough for generational transmission. According to many of the students, their

current lifestyles were very westernized while their knowledge and sense of Chinese history and practice of culture paled in comparison. Thus, parental and family influence played significant roles in Chinese identity and retention:

Um...I guess not really important, like...because I know if um...because right now, I'm speaking Chinese because I have to to my dad, you know? But I think, if I had no one to speak Chinese with, eventually, I would lose the language. So, I guess its circumstantial and stuff. Like, if I don't have those Chinese influences, I wouldn't retain it (Tina).

According to Wendy, she would like to incorporate positive aspects from both the Chinese and the Canadian cultures. However, to her, ethnicity was not a salient part of her life. She did not feel that it was very important for her to actively instill that in her children in the future.

Well, as a Chinese person, you have to know something. But, I'm not really like...well, there's a lot of good stuff, but, there's a lot of bad stuff...so like, because of Chinese, they felt things were really conservative or like, they're really old fashion. So, when I came here, I think...I'm kinda used to the western culture more. But, I don't know...I do want to preserve some Chinese stuff. Just at the...just being a Chinese, I think um...I were really interested in learning the words and stuff like that. But, I don't think its like, its kind of like, really really important...but, I don't see myself like forcing my kids or something (Wendy).

Although, Wendy felt westernized, she also felt that it would be a healthy balance to incorporate different features of both Chinese and Canadian cultures.

III. Conclusions

Ethnic identification is not a static, unidimensional process. Rather, it was sometimes negotiated and situationally-dependent or sometimes it was purely symbolic. Many of the students felt that, regardless of how westernized they may be or whether they were Canadian-born or not, they were still perceived to some degree, as Chinese people first.

They were aware of being viewed as different from the main Canadian society because of their physical traits and also because of perceived cultural differences.

Many of the students felt that they were perceived both by Asians and non-Asians as ethnic-Canadians. Non-Asians categorized them into one homogenous 'Chinese' group because they were not sensitive to the diversity within the Chinese community. The students also felt pressures from Chinese people to identify as Chinese first. To identify as Canadian was perceived as rejecting Chinese culture and identity. Hence, the students felt that some non-Asians saw them differently as Chinese or ethnic-Canadians rather than just Canadians, and Chinese people wanted them to identify as Chinese first. Thus, some of the students said that their Chinese identities were more mirrors of externally-imposed expectations than of chosen self-identities.

The students saw themselves as diverse groups of people rather than as 'just Chinese'. They identified with each other according to such factors as generational and ethnic background differences. Some of the differences among the different groups were based on actual cultural or linguistic differences. However, the divisions made by students among different Chinese students were also based on misconceptions and stereotypes. These distinctions and divisions influenced how the students identified themselves and their social affiliations with one another.

When presented with fixed categories of ethnic and Canadian identification, the majority of students felt that Chinese-Canadian most reflected their identification. Canadian-born students felt that they were Canadians because Canada was their country of birth and that they were raised in a western Canadian culture. They felt that they were

Chinese-Canadians but were symbolically identifying with their Chinese origins. However, they identified as being Canadians because they grew up with western Canadian upbringings. There were similar findings among foreign-born students who immigrated to Canada at an early age. The difference between the two groups was that foreign-born students recognized that they were immigrant-Canadians. However, similar to CBCs, some of these students felt that they were raised as Canadians, but at the same time, they acknowledged their ethnic origins. Some of the students felt that 'Canadian' was how they truly identified, but to certain extents, because of either pressure to recognize and identify with their ethnic origins, the students chose the category of Chinese-Canadian as most reflective of who they were.

Some of the foreign-born students who immigrated to Canada at a later age said that they identified according to their ethnic origins. They saw themselves as being members of their ethnic groups first, and then they were Canadians by citizenship. For these students, their ethnic groups were their main sources of identification and Canadian identities were more symbolic, whereas the opposite was true for some CBCs and foreign-borns who immigrated to Canada at an earlier age.

Most of the students felt that they grew up with some Chinese culture in the homes, but were surrounded by western influences outside the home. Both cultures played significant roles in shaping their identities. Thus, adoption of a bicultural identity was preferred by most. According to the students, to deny any one of their cultures would be negating who they really were. Many of the students felt that they lived very 'Canadian lives'. However, in recent years, many came to the realization that they had to acknowledge the salience of Chinese influences on their lives, and that it was important for them to retain

their Chinese identities and culture. For some of the students, however, cultural and ethnic identity retention remained on a symbolic level. The resurgence in ethnic identity was more closely related to Isajiw's concept of ideological ethnic identity than ethnic rediscovery (Isajiw, 1981).

CHAPTER FIVE: FAMILY AND PEER INFLUENCES

I. Family upbringing

Many of the students indicated that their families played a large part in their sense of Chinese identity. Family influence was oftentimes indirect and subtle. Growing up Chinese was more a matter of an unquestioned lifestyle than active learning of Chinese culture. Approximately half of the students interviewed were immigrants to Canada and half were second generation Canadian-born Chinese. The parents of these students all immigrated to Canada from various Asian countries.

Many of the students talked about being raised in family environments where they were exposed to some elements of Chinese culture such as popular Chinese media, and participating in traditional Chinese rituals and celebrations. The students were hard pressed to define what a 'traditional Chinese' upbringing was. When they spoke about Chinese culture in the home, many of them indicated obvious things such as eating Chinese food and speaking Chinese. Kim's 1993 (p. 705-709) study found three important elements of the Korean cultural experience: exposure to Korean printed media, bilingualism, and consumption of Korean food. The importance of ethnic media and practice of ethnic traditions have also

been found by Isajiw (1981). Many of the students said that they retained the Chinese language in order to communicate with their parents. Many of the students also said that their parents placed great importance on retaining the Chinese heritage, culture, and identity. For example, some students spoke about their parents' insistence that they attend Chinese schools when they were younger. The role of the family, in essence, instilled in them a sense of heritage, as they negotiate their dual identities within Canadian society.

A. Exposure to culture

Some of the immigrant generation discussed being exposed to a lot of Chinese traditions, rituals, and culture from their families and the Chinese community, which influenced their early sense of ethnic identity. One particular student, Trinh, remembered her life back in Vietnam where she grew up in a developed Chinese community. Growing up, she was surrounded by Chinese relatives, speaking her Chinese mother tongue, and participating in Chinese customs and culture. Trinh felt that because she was raised in a well-developed Chinese community, her Chinese identity was strongly ingrained in her sense of self. This allowed her to retain a strong sense of Chinese identity and knowledge of her culture even after immigrating to Canada. When asked how she most identified herself, she responded that she was Chinese or Chinese-Vietnamese. Trinh identified more with being Chinese than Vietnamese, even though she was born in Vietnam and was of Chinese-Vietnamese origin. She attributed this to being born into and raised in a Chinese culture:

It was Chinese. So, um...I didn't really know a lot of Vietnamese until I went to the Vietnamese school because in Vietnam, we have a really close-knit Chinese community, and when I was growing up, I was basically raised on my grandmother's farm (Trinh).

Casey, also of mixed Chinese and Vietnamese origin, echoed the experiences of Trinh. Her ethnic identification is half Chinese and half Vietnamese, although she identified most with being Canadian. Similar to Trinh, Casey said that she identified more with being Chinese because she had greater exposure to the Chinese culture in the home as she was growing up. However, she said that at times, she could identify more with Vietnamese people because her knowledge of the Vietnamese language was greater than her command of the Chinese language. The similarities between Trinh and Casey were that, although they were of Chinese-Vietnamese heritage, they identified more with being Chinese than Vietnamese because of greater levels of exposure to the Chinese culture in childhood.

B. Language

The Chinese language was an important cultural element which instilled, at a basic level, the sense of Chinese identity which was separate from the larger Canadian society. Language use were functionally- as well as situationally dependent. A majority of the students said that their mother tongue was Chinese. Some students, especially those of mixed Asian origin, said that their parents spoke different languages or dialects within the home. In order to communicate with their parents, many of these students learned to speak several Asian languages or dialects. Most students of mixed Asian backgrounds were either bi- or multilingual and the language spoken varied in different situations. For example, both Casey and Trinh spoke Chinese and Vietnamese with their parents. Trinh said that her mother tongue was Chinese but she spoke Hakgow, a Chinese dialect, with her mother and Vietnamese with her father. Wendy was born in the Philippines to Chinese parents and spoke the Filipino language as well as a couple of Chinese dialects in the home. She spoke Chinese

with her parents and a mix of Chinese, English, and Togalo (Filipino dialect) with her siblings.

Some Canadian-born students indicated English as their mother tongue and said that they spoke English most often, either inside or outside the home. These students said that, although they understood Chinese, they felt more comfortable speaking English. In some instances, some parents would speak in Chinese and the students would respond back in English. Hence, despite having English as their mother tongue, many CBCs were nevertheless exposed to the Chinese language in the home.

Most of the students were bi- or multilingual, and language use was versatile and situationally-dependent. Most of the students said that, within the home, Chinese was spoken most often. English was spoken more frequently outside the home, at school or the work place. In social situations, language use was dependent on the ethnic and linguistic background of people spoken to. For instance, some of the students had ethnically diverse groups of friends, and therefore either English or Chinese was spoken. Some Canadian-born students said that they sometimes used Chinese with friends who preferred speaking Chinese and English with those who were more comfortable speaking English. According to Sandy, she spoke Chinese most often at home because there were few opportunities for her to practice the language outside the home. This was because, at the time she immigrated to Canada, she had few Chinese peers. She was surrounded by English speaking people most of the time. Therefore, the languages spoken were divisive in that the Chinese language was spoken almost exclusively in the home and English outside the home:

Um...I used to speak Cantonese only at home 'cause when I first moved here, um...there weren't so many Chinese friends around and so most people that I deal with in the past only the English background. So, I have to speak English with them all the time. But now, when more Chinese have moved to Canada, then I get the opportunity to speak to them in Chinese which reduces my chance of speaking English with my other friends (Sandy).

Darren gave an example of how friends would sometimes alternate between speaking Chinese and English and how sometimes the two languages were blended together to form what he called 'Chinglish'.

C. Parental influence on culture and identity

Some of the students indicated that family members such as parents and grandparents stressed the importance of cultural retention and affirmation of Chinese identity. Sandy immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong where some of her family still live. Sandy grew up in a traditional Chinese family and spoke Cantonese with family members. Both her parents and grandparents were very traditional and strongly encouraged the retention of the Chinese culture, including the Chinese language. Sandy maintains ties with her family and continues to visit them in Hong Kong:

Um...I think its very important because um...besides my parents, my grandparents are very traditional and so, um...even now, when I go back to visit them in Hong Kong, um...of course, they prefer me speaking Cantonese with them because they don't know any English, and second of all, um...they're so unique that they don't like their sons or grandsons or daughters changing to become mainly Canadians, 'cause they will see the gap there and they don't really like the idea of us moving to Canada in the first place (Sandy).

With a traditional Chinese upbringing and family ties in Hong Kong, Sandy said that both her parents and grandparents stressed to her the importance of continuing to speak

Cantonese in order to communicate with her grandparents on her visits back to Hong Kong. According to Sandy, her family continually reminded her of her Chinese identity and of the importance of maintaining her culture because they were concerned that she may become 'too Canadianized' and eventually lose her Chinese culture. They wanted to prevent this cultural gap.

Elizabeth, a Canadian-born student, similarly recalled that she experienced a cultural gap with her parents. She remembered her parents discouraging her from adopting westernized attitudes. They instead encouraged her to retain more of the traditional Chinese ways. According to Elizabeth, her parents thought she was too Canadianized and was too outspoken. They wanted her to be more conservative and adhere to traditional gender practices such as being quiet and passive. She felt that, due to her parents' strong views on adhering more to traditionally Chinese ways, she grew up passive and "mousy". As Elizabeth grew older, however, she wanted to become more open. This created conflict with her family who equated openness with westernization. Thus, there was cultural conflict between Chinese values and western values:

Well, when I was younger, maybe a few years ago, my mom thought I was too much like a Canadian girl who talks too much and too loud, too outgoing. Shouldn't talk to people or talk to guys, they should make the first move. So, she's very traditional about retaining a kind of uh...Chinese, conservative type of girl. So, she's telling me I shouldn't talk to people, should always let the boys make the first move. I was quiet and mousy when I was a kid, but like I'm older, I want to be with people and I want to open up to people. I want to talk to ... people. So, that was one of the things I did. It was a personal crisis there, conflict with my mom. The other thing was, I didn't value education as much when I was younger (Elizabeth).

The experiences of Canadian-born students differed from those of foreign-born students. Canadian-born students were born and raised amidst two different cultures. Early in their lives, before school, many CBCs were surrounded by both Chinese and Canadian cultures. The similarities to foreign-born students, however, show that there were strong Chinese influences in the homes from family members, especially from parents. Some students such as Donald, Elizabeth, and Darren said their mother tongues were in English. In the homes, they would communicate in English with their parents. Similar to Sandy, Darren said that, growing up, his parents actively reminded him of his ethnic roots and encouraged him to learn the Chinese language. Despite this, however, Darren felt that his parents lived very westernized lives and socialized with Caucasian friends. Hence, Darren felt that his upbringing was westernized both inside and outside the home. Darren attributed his strong Canadian identity to his westernized upbringing:

...My parents and grandparents were always telling me to learn Chinese and what not, but all their friends were Caucasian. Like ah...I had a really, really westernized upbringing. My parents are westernized too. Although they weren't born here, they're really, really westernized (Darren).

Tom, like Darren, was born and raised in Canada. As a child, Tom grew up surrounded by western culture. In his home, however, Tom experienced many Chinese influences. Reflecting back, Tom felt that his family upbringing was fairly liberal and less traditional compared to other Chinese families. There were some degrees of cultural gap between him and his parents, but it was not a significant obstacle. His parents taught him the Chinese values that they grew up with, and the knowledge instilled by his parents gave him the incentive to learn about his culture and achieve "knowledge of self". According to Tom,

his parents instilled in him a strong identity and pride in his Chinese heritage and appreciation for the Chinese culture. When he was younger, Tom identified solely with being Canadian because he was born in Canada. However, in his early adulthood, he began to recognize both Canadian and Chinese cultures and, hence, began to adopt a hyphenated Chinese-Canadian identity. In spite of Tom's Chinese-Canadian background, he continues to appreciate and learn more about the Chinese history and culture.

Michael also grew up practicing Chinese rituals and traditions. Initially, he participated in the activities for the sake of his parents. Recently, however, he began to voluntarily participate in the Chinese traditions, celebrations and culture such as eating Chinese food and listening to Chinese music. He blended the Chinese and Canadian cultures together. The balance between Chinese and western influences was reflected in his friendships, most of whom were Canadian-born Chinese. Michael immigrated to Canada at an early age and felt that he identified equally with both Chinese and Canadian culture.

Cheryl is a Canadian-born student and she identified as Chinese-Canadian. She felt the biggest cultural influence from her family was that she was raised in a very close Chinese family. She grew up with her cousins and kept very close ties with her extended family members such as aunts and grandparents. Cheryl felt that her family was more traditionally Chinese than western and that her family ties were important influences on her Chinese identity:

So, they have that culture in like that sense that family is important because we've been brought up with our relatives and we're very close to all eight of our cousins. We don't...I guess the difference with us is that we don't exactly go out to make a lot of friends because we've been brought up with our cousins, so, we don't

need them (friends) as much. We just hang out and they take care of each other and we have our best friends within our cousins... So, we don't...in that way, I think we are more traditional Chinese and we'll live with our aunts and we were with our grandparents. Every month, we would go up to Edmonton and find our relatives and have family reunions to keep everyone really close (Cheryl).

Students such as Darren, Tom, and Michael grew up in both Chinese and Canadian cultures. According to these students, their parents were the pipelines to their ethnic heritage as seen in the continual practice of Chinese culture and traditions. The parents also instilled in them that they were Chinese and that it was important for them to retain their Chinese identities and cultures. Most of the students experienced a lot of Chinese culture through their parents as they were growing up. However, many of them felt that they did not have great personal involvement and interest in cultural activities; they participated in the culture because their parents participated. However, some of the students said that, when they reached early adulthood, ethnic identity and culture gained greater salience in their overall identities, and therefore, many experienced ethnic reaffirmation of their ethnic origins.

...I took Chinese school. My parents...ah...my first trip back to China, I guess really affected me 'cause like I was 10 years old, I went back to China, I could barely speak Chinese. I could understand it in a sense, but I couldn't...when I got back from China, I just started speaking Chinese, like whereas before, I just spoke English ALL the time, and then I kinda came to the realization that well, this is my only chance to talk Chinese. 'Cause like everywhere else I'm surrounded by western ideas, western culture, English, English-speaking society. So...you know, I had to take that opportunity...I think it was all subconscious, but... (Tom).

Most of the students said that they were enrolled in Chinese schools when they were younger. Many of them remembered disliking attending Chinese schools and felt that it was imposed onto them by their parents. They felt Canadianized and that learning Chinese was

not important. They did not want to learn or speak the Chinese language. Reflecting back, however, some of the students felt that they should have appreciated learning more Chinese, because as young adults, some of them were experiencing increased concern for learning and maintaining the Chinese language and culture. Enrolment in Chinese schools was among the early cultural influences on the students' Chinese identities.

According to Isajiw (1981: 83), there are three mechanisms of ethnic socialization. One mechanism is ethnic language use by parents with their children, enrolment in ethnic schools, and friendships with ethnic peers.

II. Early school experiences

Many of the students said that in their early elementary and junior high school years, many did not associate with other Chinese or Asian friends. Most of their friends were Caucasian students. They went through the Canadian school system immersed in western "Canadian" culture such as music, dress, language, and food. While they lived Chinese lifestyles at home, at school they were first and foremost Canadians. The students grew up living parallel lives, participating in both Canadian and Chinese cultures.

Many of the Canadian-born students said that they felt they had more in common with white students than with other Chinese students in their schools. The assumption among many of the CBCs were that most of the Chinese students they attended school with were immigrants, and therefore, they were culturally different and un-westernized. Many of the westernized Chinese and CBC students said that they couldn't identify with other Chinese students because they felt Canadian and the small numbers of Chinese in their schools were 'too' Chinese. This is similar to Wong's findings on the gap between recent Chinese

immigrant students and students who were born in or raised in Canada (Wong, 1979: 65). Due to the smaller sizes of the immigrant Chinese student population in schools, they found that it was easier to identify with other white students.

In those early years of schooling, the students placed little importance on their ethnic heritage. To them, their ethnic backgrounds were irrelevant and they distanced themselves from their Chinese language, customs, and identification with others of the same ethnic origin. According to the students, at school they were simply Canadians, like all other students. Chinese culture remained exclusively in the homes. This finding is supported by Becker (1990). Most of the students felt accepted by Anglo students and most did not recall experiences of exclusion or racism in the schools. The feeling of acceptance by Anglo students together with the lack of contact with other Chinese peers worked to diffuse any sense of ethnic identification. For most of the students, Chinese identity was non-existent outside the home.

Students such as Elizabeth and Cheryl experienced some discrimination in the schools. Although they were both born in Canada, they learned at an early age that they were different from other Canadian children. Elizabeth said that she distanced herself from her Chinese identity because, as a result of the discrimination, she experienced internalized racism. She wanted to distance herself from the Chinese culture because she was teased for being culturally and ethnically different. Another reason why Elizabeth identified more with being Canadian than Chinese was because she was one of the few Chinese students in her schools, therefore, she said that she grew up with “mostly Caucasian people”. The Anglo peers she grew up with became her source of identification:

Yeah. That was the problem in junior high, elementary. I was the only Chinese girl in my class. So, I had to interact with mostly Caucasian people. It was a very hard experience because in junior high, uh...people are really immature so, I got teased a lot and at that time, it made me hate my identity...being Chinese...because I couldn't adapt with people making fun of me all the time because they're making fun of me because I'm Chinese. I'm different colour. So, that was very hard time (Elizabeth).

Likewise, Cheryl felt that she was made to feel different and "ugly" because she was Chinese. Tsang immigrated to Canada in 1979. She said that she experienced quite a bit of discrimination, social segregation, and name-calling from other children while she was growing up. That's when she first learned that she was different. According to Tsang, she was one of the very few oriental students in her school and her early friendships were with an ethnically diverse group of friends. In junior high, most of her friends were Caucasians. It was in grade 11 that she began to get in touch with other Chinese students. Tsang felt that because she did not have many Chinese friends she was betraying her Chinese culture. Because of her feelings of betrayal, she attempted to distance herself from her non-Chinese friends in order to be with other Chinese students. At first, she did not feel that she belonged with the other Chinese students because she felt they saw her as being on the 'wrong side' and that she did not have much of her Chinese identity left. Therefore, they did not want to socially affiliate with her. Tsang remembered feeling uncomfortable with other orientals because she had not been exposed to many Chinese students and it seemed like they had more in common with each other than with her (Tsang).

Many of the students interviewed immigrated to Canada in the early 1980's. According to the students, there were very few Chinese students in the schools, and therefore, their friends were mostly white students. Many of them said that when they were younger,

ethnicity was not important to them. They felt that either because they were born or raised in the Canadian culture and associated with Anglo-Canadian children almost exclusively, they identified themselves as being strictly Canadian. According to these students, although they knew that they were Chinese, they felt greater connection to Canadian culture and identity than to being Chinese. Despite feeling that their lifestyles were westernized, some of the students were aware that they were perceived differently by other Canadian students:

...when you're 10 years old, 15 years old, you don't care, you know? I'm Canadian, man. Like, you know, it doesn't really matter to you. But, I mean, with the way I was raised, I always answered 'Chinese', and now, I answer 'Chinese-Canadian'. I knew I was different growing up in an all-white school. I mean, you're kinda forced to realize that you get picked on, get into fights and stuff like that. And um...just things my parents taught me were a lot different. I mean, the food I brought to school was different. I didn't bring sandwiches. I had like noodles and stuff, and then people looking at me weird. I mean, I can't really pinpoint...(Tom).

As discussed previously, many of the students felt that their early friendships were exclusively with white students because they were the only few Chinese students in their schools. There was either a lack of opportunity to socialize or a lack of identification with other Chinese students. Many of the students felt that high school was the time when the Chinese population in schools increased. At this time, social affiliations with other Chinese friends, likewise, increased. This trend continued into university (Michael). A majority of students said that, beginning in high school, they began socializing more with other Chinese students than with white students. At the time of interview, most of the students said that their friendships were mostly with other Chinese or Asian students.

Its kinda funny because when I was younger, my good friends were like white people, and maybe one or two Chinese, and now my friends from

church were all Chinese. But, um...yeah, but like at school, I hung around a lot of white people, and then when I got to junior high, it seemed like...yeah, I had a couple of good friends who were white and some were black, but very diverse. But, when I got to high school, it was like all my good friends were Chinese that I hung out with, and it seems like I seldom talk to anybody, like...for like...whose not Chinese for anything except for school or science or something, you know? (Jan).

According to the students, the increased contact with other Chinese students provided greater opportunities to socialize with each other. The larger Chinese population in the schools also meant that diversity within the Chinese student population increased, allowing for differential identification within the larger Chinese group. Westernized or Canadian-born students were able to identify more with other CBCs and more recent immigrant students were able to identify more with students of similar backgrounds.

III. Ethnic peer influences

Through this new connection with other Chinese students, the students felt the beginning of increased awareness and validation for their own ethnic uniqueness and difference. Their ethnic identities could finally be acknowledged and reaffirmed through the mutual sharing of experiences, culture, and language. Increased social affiliation with peers also helped dispel myths, stereotypes, and misconceptions they had of each other. The students felt that they were beginning to see commonalities in the experiences of being Chinese in Canada and in their family upbringing, customs, and heritage. There were unspoken similarities and familiarities that enhanced and reflected the identities of so many of these students.

Some students said that they began speaking Chinese with each other and this forced some to learn or relearn the language in order to communicate with others in the group. For

others, it was a chance to speak their mother tongue and in doing so, there was increased acceptance and reinforcement of the language . Because the students were able to identify with others of their ethnic groups, there was a normalization of their Chinese identities and culture. They were able to identify with their Chinese origin at different levels. Students who felt more westernized could still identify with being Canadian without rejecting their Chinese identities. Most of the students said that, no matter how westernized their upbringing, they felt different from other Canadian children. The social affiliation with other Chinese students both validated their experiences as well as gave them a sense of belonging.

Peer influence played a significant part in affirming ethnic identity. Increased social contact among other Chinese gave students a sense of belonging and validated their identities and experience. As many of the students said, they still grew up socializing with mainly white students because there were very few Chinese students in their schools. When they entered university, however, many sought out opportunities to socialize with people who they felt they shared the most in common with. The various Chinese social clubs provided the chance to connect with other Chinese student and to feel a sense of ethnic belonging and validation.

Canadian-born students found validation among other CBCs because they could identify culturally with each other introduce each other to different aspects of the Chinese culture. Seeing their friends participate or identify with the Chinese culture gave students the safe space to explore their Chinese identities. Most of the students found validation among their Chinese peers which helped them to accept both their Chinese and Canadian identities. Thus, most students identified as Chinese-Canadians.

At the time of the interviews, most of the students said that their current friendships were mainly with other Chinese peers. They said that they went from mainly white friends to mainly Chinese friends:

Like, I mean the people I grew up with...I grew up in a neighbourhood where I was the only Chinese kid. And like, I was the only Chinese kid in school, you know? It was like that until junior high, high school, so, I still consider those people my friends because like, you know, even though you don't see them, doesn't mean that they're not your friends. So, I mean like, for me going from 90% white people...well...white...Italian...90% European friendships to 90% Asiatic friendships, you know, I'd have to say, its a little mixed (Tom).

Some students said that their friendships tended to be ethnically diverse. Students such as Sam said that they have Asian friends of different cultural backgrounds as well as friends of Caucasian background. Sam said that he socialized with different groups of friends separately, depending on their cultural backgrounds:

There are different groups of friends. Usually, I hang out with my Caucasian friends or...oriental...or...Chinese people who are born here together. Then, I tend to hang out with my just Taiwanese friends or Chinese friends in separate groups (Sam).

Many of the students maintained culturally diverse groups of friends, which reflected their multi- or bicultural identities. However, it was evident that as they came in contact with a greater number of Chinese students, there were significant shifts from socially affiliating with mainly white friends to mainly Chinese friends. According to Isajiw (1981: 20-21), studies in the past have found that, despite degrees of assimilation or exposure to outside groups, individuals are more likely to form intimate relationships or friendships with others of their own ethnic groups.

IV. Conclusions

Early childhood influences such as family upbringing, early school experiences, and ethnic peer relations played significant roles in the shaping of Chinese and Canadian identities of the students. Regardless of whether the students were born in or immigrated to Canada, many of them were raised in the Chinese culture and were introduced to elements of the culture through their parents. These influences varied in form and degree. However, much of the Chinese influences on identity were matters of lifestyle rather than active transmission of knowledge and culture. Many of the students identified the food eaten in the home as obvious elements of their Chinese culture. Language was another important influence. The mother tongue of many of the students was Chinese. Growing up in Canada, they are inevitably surrounded by the English language. Many of the students said that they spoke English most frequently outside the home. In their homes, however, many spoke in their native ethnic language, be it Cantonese, Togalo, Vietnamese, or Mandarin. The ethnic languages spoken in the homes were the main forms of communication with parents. Some of the students said they spoke Chinese in the homes with their parents. Students of mixed ethnic origin usually spoke at least two languages in the home, depending on the country of their origin and the ethnic backgrounds of their parents.

Some Canadian-born students said that their first language was English, and some said that because of their limited command of Chinese, they communicated mostly in English with their parents. Despite not being able to fully communicate in Chinese with their parents, there were compromises between the two sides where the parents spoke in Chinese to the

students and they responded in English. Thus, exposure to and practice of the Chinese language in the homes varied considerably.

Raised in Chinese households, many of the students said that their parents continued Chinese traditions such as annual celebrations and religious ceremonies. Some of the students said that they also grew up with Chinese popular culture including listening to Chinese music and watching Chinese television and movies. Initially, according to the students, their participation in these cultural activities were not voluntary and they had very little interest in them. The main reasons for their participation were that they did what their parents did and what they were told to do. Although they participated in cultural activities, many of the students felt that they were only going through the motions and not fully appreciating or understanding the significance of their Chinese cultures. However, beginning in early adulthood, ethnicity and cultural retention became more salient for the students.

There were significant family influences on Chinese identity. The students said that, growing up, they were continually reminded by their parents that they were Chinese and that it was important for them to retain their ethnic identity and heritage. The parents stressed the importance of knowing their ethnic backgrounds and speaking their language. The biggest concern of many of the parents was that their children would become too Canadianized and lose their Chinese identities. Some CBC students felt that their family upbringing was nevertheless very westernized. Despite being westernized, their parents continued to stress Chinese identity and cultural retention.

The students, in essence, grew up surrounded by two different cultures. Within the home, they were socialized into Chinese culture. Outside the home, however, the lives of

the students were very westernized, speaking English and socializing mainly with white friends. The main reference for identification was with the white peers that the students grew up with. Despite being surrounded by western Canadian culture and identifying strongly with being Canadian, the students felt that they were perceived by others as being culturally and physically different. As the students reached early adulthood, many began to adopt bicultural identities, aided by the increase in contact with Chinese peers who reaffirmed and validated their unique identities and experiences. Where once white peers were their main sources of identification, Chinese peers now mirrored their Chinese identities. Earlier, the family instilled in them the awareness of their Chinese identities and the importance of cultural retention. However, Chinese peers played valuable roles in their exploration and reaffirming of Chinese identities. Many of the students felt that although their Chinese identities had become more salient in their sense of self, they did not negate the influences of their earlier schooling experiences and western culture. Thus, many defined themselves as westernized Chinese. Combining their family and peer influences, the students adopted different aspects of both Chinese and Canadian cultures and constructed fluid Chinese-Canadian identities to match.

CHAPTER SIX: THE FACILITATING ROLES OF CHINESE CLUBS IN ETHNIC IDENTITY AND IDENTITY RETENTION

The role of Chinese social clubs was to provide mostly social activities to their members, but certain elements of Chinese culture such as traditional Chinese holidays were also promoted by the clubs. However, among all the clubs in the study, there was greater focus on promoting social events rather than Chinese culture. The students felt, nevertheless that the clubs did play indirect roles in the facilitation of ethnic identity exploration and validation and reaffirmation of the ethnic identities of their members. The following summarizes the major findings of this study.

I. Principal observations of the study

The purpose of this thesis research was to explore the process of ethnic identification of University of Calgary's Chinese students and the possible roles of the various Chinese social clubs in promoting their cultural identity and identity retention. A sample of 23 students participated in the study; they were diverse in their academic, generational, and cultural backgrounds. Although the main criteria for participation was that the students had to be of Chinese descent, this did not yield a homogenous group. Their demographic

backgrounds showed that approximately half were first generation Canadian-born and half were foreign-born Canadians. A majority of the students were of pure Chinese origin, a minority were of mixed Asian-Chinese origin. As for looking at ethnic identity, it was found to be influenced by generational differences, age of immigration, and level of exposure to different cultures.

Semi-structured and open-ended interviews were conducted to allow students the opportunity to discuss their individual perceptions of the process of ethnic identification and the role of the Chinese social clubs to which they belonged. The original interview guide was continually revised to reflect newly revealed situations and forces that the students felt were important to the development of their identities. Here, the students spoke of the importance of the salience of ethnic retention and early childhood experiences such as family influences, early schooling, and peer relations on their ethnic identifications.

The findings indicate the importance of ethnic affiliation on ethnic identity and identity retention. This is reflected by students' memberships in Chinese social clubs. Prior to joining these clubs, a majority of the students said that they already identified in varying degrees with being Chinese or were exploring their ethnicity. This Chinese identification is a major factor leading students to join Chinese social clubs rather than just any university social club. The most significant roles of these Chinese Associations were to provide opportunities for students to socialize among their Chinese peers, which contributed to the affirmation and validation of their Chinese identities. In addition, the different Chinese clubs gave students the option to join groups which were most suited to their cultural identification.

Many of the students joined clubs without prior knowledge of club missions or backgrounds. Many joined knowing that these were Chinese-oriented social groups, but not having prior expectations of what the clubs had to offer. The students were introduced to the different clubs either during club week recruitment or through friends and family. The ethnic identification and social affiliation with peers of their ethnic group was important to the students in their decisions to join Chinese clubs.

Before proceeding with the findings on the role of clubs, it is helpful to review the findings on the processes of ethnic identification. According to the students, the clubs do indirectly play a role in contributing to their sense of Chinese identification, however, the level of exposure to Chinese culture in childhood played an even greater role in their ethnic identities.

One of the most important cultural influences was the role of the family in instilling and maintaining ethnic culture and identity. Some differences were found in the self-identifications of foreign-born and Canadian-born students, but a bicultural Chinese-Canadian identity was the most common among the students, regardless of generational position. However, foreign-born students who immigrated to Canada at an older age were most likely to identify more as Chinese than as Canadian. In contrast, the experiences of foreign-born students who immigrated to Canada at a younger age were similar to those who were Canadian-born, and were most likely to identify biculturally or more as Canadians.

The self-identification of the majority of students differed from the ethnic labels they adopted. Students' awareness of being members of a visible ethnic group was not indicative of how they identified themselves. When responding to questions regarding their nationality,

the students respond by indicating their ethnic origins. Despite the fact that all but two of the students were Canadian citizens and half of them were CBCs, most responded to the nationality question by saying that they were 'Chinese' rather than 'Canadian'. Some students did indicate their nationality as Canadian, however, a majority of the students replied 'Chinese' more frequently. This can be attributed, in part, to their beliefs about the perceptions of others regarding their ethnicity.

Common among the students was the awareness of being visibly identifiable as an ethnic minority. Along with this visibility was the awareness of being perceived by others as culturally different from the larger Canadian society. Canadian society, in this context, referred to Anglo-Canadians as points of reference. The students felt that, no matter how westernized they might be, based on physical differences, others will perceive them first as Chinese before seeing them as Canadians. Thus, many of the students adopted ethnic identities as mirrors of the perceptions of others. This mirroring, however, does not necessarily lead to the internalization of externally-imposed images of difference or of ethnic labelling. Furthermore, the mirroring of externally-imposed ethnic labels can be attributed to the social pressures to identify or conform with expectations from both the Chinese community and larger Canadian society.

The students' personal self-identifications, however, tended to reflect their sense of biculturality. As discussed previously, a Chinese-Canadian identity was adopted by most of the students. Many of the CBCs and foreign-born students who grew up in Canada at a young age felt that they were 'westernized' Chinese. These self-identified westernized

Chinese students had similar early childhood experiences which influenced their current ethnic and Canadian identities.

Canadian-born and westernized Chinese students said that the category Chinese-Canadian most reflected their self-identifications. This adoption of a dual identification was a result of their increasing awareness and recognition of their Chinese heritage and culture, which began in their early adulthoods. Prior to this, apart from their homes, the students felt that they were raised in western Canadian culture. For a large part of their lives, they were exposed to Canadian values and lived very western lifestyles. Thus, in terms of their participation in Canadian culture or structural institutions, the students felt that they lead western Canadian lives. Their recognition of their Chinese origin, however, remained more a symbolic identity.

The students felt that their early schooling experiences played a significant role in their Canadian and ethnic identities. It was the combination of exposure to a mainly Canadian culture and the lack of social affiliation with Chinese peers that contributed to their strong identification with being Canadian and the negation of their Chinese identities. The students remembered that when they were younger, there were very few Chinese children in their neighborhoods and in their schools. Prior to junior high and high school, they recalled being one of a few Chinese students in their schools. Therefore, most of their friends, at this time, were Anglo-Canadian children. The Canadian culture which surrounded them became their main source of reference for identification as Canadians. The students said that they felt they had more in common with other Anglo peers than with the few Chinese peers from their schools. Chinese students who were foreign-born and viewed as 'less westernized' were

considered less socially desirable and were considered to be culturally different by other Chinese students who considered themselves more westernized. Despite feeling cultural commonalities with Anglo students, the students said that they were aware of being perceived as different from other students. However, as with most children, the desire to belong lead many of the students to identify with the majority group and dissociate themselves from their Chinese heritage.

According to the students, prior to early adulthood, they identified mainly as Canadians. At this time, they participated in Canadian culture and associated with Anglo-Canadian friends, therefore, being Canadian was who they were. Many of the students denied their Chinese cultures and felt that having a Chinese identity was unimportant. Thus, the influences of Chinese culture were kept within the confines of the home, where family was the primary source for instilling and maintaining Chinese culture and identity of the students.

For all students alike, regardless of generational factors and age of immigration, the family played a significant role in the students' sense of ethnic identification. Within the home, the students were exposed to various aspects of Chinese culture. Exposure to the Chinese culture ranged from everyday activities such as eating Chinese food to annual celebrations of Chinese holidays. One of the most prominent aspects of Chinese culture was the Chinese language. With the exception of a few CBCs who said that their mother tongue was English, most of the students said that their mother tongue was Chinese. The mother tongue of students of mixed Asian-Chinese origin consisted of a mix of Chinese and the language of their other Asian backgrounds. Thus, in the case of many CBC's, despite being

born in Canada, the first language they learned was the Chinese language. The overwhelming number of students who had Chinese as their mother tongue may be attributed to the fact that all the parents of the students in the study were immigrants to Canada, and therefore, maintained, practiced, and transmitted many aspects of the Chinese culture to their children.

The language spoken most often in the homes was Chinese. The students spoke different Chinese dialects or a mix of languages with their parents. Students of mixed Asian-Chinese origin were bi- or multilingual in order to communicate in the different languages of their parents. The Chinese, language, then was an important tool of communication with parents. The use of the Chinese language contributed to their overall sense of Chinese identity. Some of the students felt that they were raised with the Chinese language in their homes. However, they felt that they continued speaking the language because they had to in order to communicate with their parents. They felt that they would cease to speak the Chinese language if it did not serve this function.

Most of the students said that, outside the home, English was spoken most frequently. Hence, the use of language was situationally-dependent and varied according to the people spoken to. For instance, the students spoke mainly English in the work place and at school. However, in social situations, the students used English with their English-speaking friends, and spoke a mix of Chinese, English, and other languages depending on the linguistic backgrounds of those spoken to. With Chinese-speaking friends, English and Chinese were sometimes used interchangeably. According to the students, socializing with Chinese peers increased their opportunities to learn and practice the Chinese language.

According to the students, some elements of the Chinese culture they were exposed to in the homes included strong family ties, Chinese popular culture, knowledge of Chinese rituals, traditions, superstitions, language, and annual Chinese celebrations. Although they were exposed to and practiced many of these cultural activities, many of the students said that they did so because their parents did so. Their participation was, in effect, mere mimicking of their parents actions and held little significance or meaning for the students. As with language, these cultural practices would not be retained were it not for their parents.

Most of the students recalled that their parents, in addition to exposing them to the Chinese culture, also stressed the importance of maintaining their Chinese culture and identity. Although their parents were not against Canadian influences, they were wary that their children might become 'too Canadianized'. Thus, they encouraged the retention of Chinese identity and culture. Consequently, many parents, thus, enrolled their children in Chinese schools. According to the students, when they were younger, they rejected their Chinese culture. Therefore, many disliked Chinese schools, and felt that learning Chinese was irrelevant. In retrospect, however, many of the students felt regret for not being more open as youths to learning their heritage and culture. Beginning in their early adulthoods, many of the students experienced increasing levels of awareness and recognition for their ethnic heritage and showed a growing concern for retaining their ethnic identities and culture.

This continuing increase in cultural awareness can be attributed to the combination of early family experiences as well as increasing social contact with ethnic peers. According to the students, socialization within the homes laid the foundations for ethnic awareness and identity. However, the influences of home and school were kept separate from each other.

In the homes, the students were exposed to and practiced, to varying degrees, Chinese culture. In the schools, however, the students were surrounded by western Canadian culture, and there was a lack of opportunity for participation in Chinese culture. Thus, Chinese identity was confined to the home.

As pointed out earlier, the early friendships of these Chinese students was comprised of Anglo-Canadian children. There was a lack of identification with the few Chinese students in the schools because of the split between westernized and less westernized Chinese. Starting in junior high and high school, however, there were increasing numbers of Chinese students in the schools. Thus, according to the students, the level of contact with other Chinese peers increased. The most significant effect of this increasing contact with Chinese peers was the beginning of ethnic validation, affirmation, and identification. Prior to this time, the Anglo students were the main reference for identification of students. However, with increasing contact, the students felt that they were able to explore their Chinese identities which were laid out earlier by their parents. Chinese friends mirrored their cultural upbringings and experiences. Together, they were able to share their experiences as Chinese-Canadians, explore and experiment with their Chinese identities and cultures, and learn and practice the Chinese language. In essence, the opportunities for expression of Chinese identities were validated and affirmed by ethnic peers.

In addition to ethnic validation and affirmation, the increasing numbers of Chinese students in the schools also meant an increase in the diversity of the Chinese student population. In an earlier discussion, 'westernized' students felt that they could identify more with Anglo students than with immigrant students. However, with the increased cultural

diversity of Chinese students, subcultural groups began to appear. Chinese students were increasingly able to associate with groups of Chinese students that they could identify with most. The diversification of the Chinese student population at once increased opportunities for socializing among Chinese peers, while at the same time, creating segmentations or divisions among different subcultural groups. Nonetheless, the increased socializing among Chinese students led to ethnic validation and affirmation.

Thus, beginning in junior high and high school, the ethnic composition of the students' friendship groups shifted from mainly Anglo friends to almost exclusively Chinese or Asian friends. At the time of the study, the students said that they socialized the most with Chinese or Asian friends, although some still maintained ethnically diverse groups of friends. In their high school years, the students said that they socialized mainly with Chinese friends, and that there was increasing recognition of their Chinese heritage and identities.

This process of ethnic exploration was facilitated by the university's Chinese social clubs. First introduction to these social clubs, according to the students, came from family and friends who wanted to join or who were past or current club members. Thus, prior social affiliation with Chinese students increased opportunities for awareness of and exposure to Chinese culture and cultural associations such as the student clubs on campus.

As part of their university experience, the students joined clubs for social activities to buffer academic stress and to meet friends. Many of the students interviewed held memberships in several clubs. A majority of the social clubs were Chinese-oriented. However, other clubs included academic or special interest clubs such as the student newspaper or student television groups. The reasons given by students for joining social

clubs included engaging in social activities, meeting friends, and receiving fringe benefits such as academic support and access to educational materials. However, the students chose to join Chinese-oriented clubs rather than other campus social clubs because they wanted to join along with their friends, they wanted to meet more Chinese students, and they wanted clubs where they felt a sense of belonging and cultural familiarity. As the students had discussed, no matter how westernized they might be, they felt that they were perceived by others as somehow different. The Chinese social clubs, however, provided the students a sense of familiarity and belonging with peers of similar ethnic and cultural background.

With the exception of club executives, however, many of the students were card-holding members who had low levels of participation in club activities and remained on the fringe. These members had little knowledge of the missions or functions of the clubs that they joined and they participated in, at most, one or two social activities per academic year. Club executives had greater degree of knowledge about club operations than regular members and had greater opportunities to socialize with other club executives. Regular members, however, felt that club members were divided into cliques, therefore, making it hard to meet other students. This was more prominent in the larger sized clubs. The students mainly joined clubs with their friends and attended functions with their own social groups. There were very few opportunities for socializing with other club members. Rather, the way to meet new people was to have prior social connections with other club members or club executives.

The students talked about joining social clubs to meet friends. However, most of the students said that they did not frequently attend club functions and that few friendships

developed from the clubs. A majority of the members joined with friends and socialized with their own group of friends inside and outside of the clubs. The students felt that belonging to a club made their university experiences less alienating by linking them with other students. However, many members knew each other on a casual level, and members, with the exception of club executives, rarely socialized with each other outside of the club environment. Thus, the main attraction of these clubs was their social activities and the opportunities to meet friends. However, according to the students, the actual club atmospheres were not conducive to meeting new people.

The various clubs were established to meet the diverse needs of the Chinese student population. Similar to the findings on the differential identification of Chinese students in high schools with different subcultural groups, university students of diverse cultural backgrounds were able to join clubs that they identified most with. According to official club mission statements, some clubs placed greater emphasis on social activities, while other clubs stated the promotion of Chinese culture as their defining missions. The focus of some clubs include the integration of new or immigrant students into Canada. Their mission is to reduce the cultural gap between Chinese culture and Canadian culture. Also, there were stated commitments to promoting cultural knowledge and activities as part of club events. The missions of the various clubs, however, were similar in that they are social clubs catering primarily to Chinese students.

The actual implementation of club functions and activities showed that social activities remained the focal point of all the groups. There were, however, efforts by the clubs to host cultural events such as the Chinese New Years celebration, a multicultural gala night, a

Dragon boat race, and a few Chinese language classes. Thus, despite stereotypes that regionally-distinct Chinese clubs promote mostly culture, the finding among all groups was that social events were given greater emphasis over cultural events. However, the clubs do host events to increase awareness of and exposure to some aspects of Chinese culture. These events were shared with club members as well as with the larger Calgary community. Moreover, the students felt that the clubs were more socially- than culturally oriented. Most were satisfied with this and did not feel that more culturally events were needed.

The clubs also integrated the support of the Chinese and Calgary business communities by enlisting their sponsorships for certain club events. In return, some club activities include fundraisers or hours of voluntary service, which were donated back to the Calgary and Chinese communities.

The findings indicate that official club missions differed slightly from one club to another, with the operations of the various clubs remaining mainly social in nature. However, the composition of members from different clubs attract specific types of students. It was perceived by some students that mostly westernized students and students of mixed-Chinese heritage joined the Chinese Students' Society. This is because the CSS is perceived to be a club that is CBC-oriented with members who were mainly westernized Chinese students. Students of mixed-Chinese descent joined the CSS because of its perceived panethnic focus. These students identified themselves as partly Chinese, and felt that they could not identify with other Asian clubs because they felt culturally different. Since the CSS is the largest Chinese social club on campus, its membership include all Chinese of diverse cultural backgrounds. By contrast, regionally-distinct clubs are thought to appeal to those

with similar cultural or linguistic backgrounds. For example, members of the Chinese Asiatic Syndicate joined this club because it promotes Chinese culture, bridges the gap between Canadian- and foreign-born Chinese students, and reduces the fragmentation among the segmented Chinese groups on campus.

Students joined specific clubs based on their identification with the cultural backgrounds of club members as well as based on stereotypes. As illustrated, students joined the CSS because it is perceived either as a panethnic club or as a westernized Chinese club. Other students chose not to join this club because they felt that it was too CBC-oriented and, therefore, not inclusive enough of all members. Some students said they did not want to join regionally-distinct clubs because they perceived cultural and linguistic differences between them and the clubs' members. Because of these perceived differences, the students felt that they could identify with only specific groups and not others. These stereotyped differences serve the dual function of both linking and dividing the Chinese club members.

Memberships in different clubs reflect the differential cultural identification of their members. These perceived differences also divided the students into different subcultural groups. There were gaps between self-labelled 'westernized Chinese' such as the CBCs, and the 'less westernized' or recent immigrant students who were known as FOBs. According to the students, the more westernized or Canadianized a person, the more socially desirable he or she was. Thus, FOBs were perceived negatively based on the stereotypes that they were less Canadian, did not have good command of the English language, and were self-segregating from other Canadians. The perceptions about westernized Chinese were that they are bananas, white on the inside, yellow on the outside.

The differential identifications of Chinese students with one another, whether based on actual differences or stereotypes sort students into subcultural groups. The diversity of Chinese-oriented groups on campus was a reflection of this differential identification. The role of the club, then, was to provide different social spaces for students to feel a sense of identification and belonging. Thus, clubs were not active socializing agents instilling cultural pride or ethnic identification in their members. The role of the clubs was to accommodate the needs of their members. The main functions of these clubs were to socially link Chinese students together and expose their members to some Chinese cultural events through cultural functions hosted by the clubs. Chinese students interested in Chinese culture or exploring their ethnic identities interpreted the significance and roles of the Chinese clubs in their retention of Chinese identity. According to some students, socializing with their Chinese peers helped validate and affirm their existing ethnic identities. For most students, a sense of ethnic identity and culture existed prior to joining a Chinese club. The clubs were, in essence, mirrors or extensions of the students' ethnic identifications. Thus, the main roles of the clubs were to provide members with a sense of belonging, exposing members to some elements of the Chinese culture, and providing opportunities for them to socially affiliate with their Chinese peers.

Peer relations proved to be important to students' self-identification. The shifts in the ethnic composition of the students' friendships and their increased awareness of Chinese culture and identity in early adulthood can be attributed, in part, to social affiliation with Chinese peers. As discussed earlier, the increase in social contact among Chinese students allowed them to explore their ethnic and cultural identities. Chinese peers helped them in

their ethnic exploration and helped validate their ethnicity. Prior to junior high and high school, the Anglo students were the main source of identity reference. However, as social affiliation with other Chinese students increased, there were greater opportunities for ethnic identification. This, however, is not to say that students shift their identities from Canadian to Chinese or vice versa. Rather, many of the students adopt a Chinese-Canadian identity. Many also felt that ethnic identity and culture were salient parts of their self-identities and that to negate one culture for another was to deny their overall identities. Thus, most of the students said that they felt it was important to retain their Chinese identity and cultures along with their Canadian identity. Although the salience of ethnic retention at the time of the interviews was greater than in their childhood, many continued to live fundamentally Canadian lifestyles.

II. Limitations of the study

Most of the students who participated in this study were members of the Chinese Students' Society and the Chinese Asiatic Syndicate. Ideally, there would have been equal numbers of participants from each club. There were smaller numbers of students representing individual clubs from group 'C'. Thus, much of the discussions on clubs related more to groups 'A' and 'B' than to group 'C'. Group C clubs were categorized together because they were more subcultural, regional clubs. As discussed in chapter two, low response rates lead to the use of snowball sampling in addition to random sampling. The snowball sample, however, resulted in interviewing mostly executives from group 'B'. Since some of the executives were referred by one another, there is the potential that their perceptions on their club may be shared by one another. Hence, discussions on club functions

and benefits were based mostly on the points of view of club organizers, and thus, may not be representative of all members of this particular club. This is not to say, however, that there were no representative regular members included in the study.

The participants in this study were comprised mainly of second generation Canadian-born and first generation foreign-born students who immigrated to Canada at an early age. Most of these students identified themselves as 'westernized Chinese'. Hence, club experiences and perceptions on identity may be more representative of this sample of students than of students who did not define themselves as 'westernized'. Although there were approximately equal numbers of Canadian- and foreign-born students in the study, a greater number of older aged immigrant students would contribute to a more inclusive view of the the diverse experiences and backgrounds of the Chinese student population. Furthermore, participation in this study relied on the time and commitments of volunteers. Those students who volunteered for the study may differ in their perceptions and experiences in regards to club membership and identity from students who did not volunteer. In addition, there may be differences in the level of club participation between the two groups. Furthermore, students who participated expressed interest in the topic of study. Thus, they may bring in experiences and perceptions that are unique when compared with the general club members.

Since this is an exploratory study of university Chinese students with memberships in Chinese social clubs, there is limited generalizability beyond this population. The findings in this study may be hypothetically generalizable to other Chinese university students in Western Canada.

III. Further research

The findings of this study should lend to future research on a greater number of Chinese groups at different universities. Future studies should focus on comparing the roles of regionally-oriented clubs with the more panregional/pancultural clubs. Regional clubs attract mostly members who identify specifically with a certain culture or regional background, therefore, there should be future exploration into the cohesiveness of these clubs and whether they emphasize Chinese culture to a greater extent. Due to the growing diversity of the Chinese population, regional clubs may diverge amongst themselves, therefore, there should be greater focus on within group comparisons as well. As the present study has found, the perceptions among many students are that panregional clubs cater to and attract more westernized or Canadian-born members. Social affiliation with other members of similar backgrounds reinforces self-identification. Further exploration should look at the role of regional clubs in ethnic identity to determine whether these clubs reinforce greater ethnic identity than Chinese-Canadian identity. Studies should examine the stereotypes that students who are less integrated into Canadian society choose to join more regional clubs and are socially and culturally segregated.

Furthermore, there should be more comparative studies between recent and early immigrants to determine club selection and the different roles of clubs for these two groups. There should be a focus on comparing the perceptions of identity of members who join Chinese-oriented and non-Chinese clubs.

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Appendix A

Email request letter

To: Past and current members of the (insert club name)

I'm writing in regards to a master's thesis project I am working on. This email is to request your greatly appreciated participation in my research.

I am a Master's student from the University of Calgary's Sociology department and my area of specialization is in race and ethnic relations. For my thesis project, I am mainly focussing on the issue of ethnic identity, but specifically, Chinese identity. Some questions will focus on how you define and identify yourself in terms of being Canadian or hyphenated Canadian. Other parts of the interview will focus on your PERCEPTIONS on the possible role of the (club name) in your self-identification.

Hence, I am looking for some members of the (club name) in participating in my thesis research. You can help by taking part in an interview that would take approximately one hour.

The preferred times are weekdays from 9-5pm and preferred location is at the University of Calgary. However, other times and locations can be renegotiated.

If you would like to take part and help out, please reply to my email address. If you have any questions or concerns, feel free to contact me.

Thank-you for your time and cooperation!

Cam Lau.

Appendix B

Request Letter

Cam H. Lau
Department of Sociology
2500 University Drive N.W. T2N-1N4
Calgary, Alberta

(Club Name)
MacEwan Hall
2500 University Drive N.W. T2N-1N4
Calgary, Alberta

Attention: (Insert club name)

Dear (executive member),

My name is Cam Lau, and I am a Sociology Graduate student from the University of Calgary. As part of my Master's program, I am currently conducting my Thesis project in the area of ethnic identity, specifically, Chinese Identity of University of Calgary students.

I am writing to request the participation of your club, the (club name) in my study. The topic of my Thesis explores how Chinese students define themselves in terms of ethnicity (Canadian, hyphenated-Canadian), and the students' PERCEPTIONS of what the possible roles of the Chinese club(s) they belong to have in facilitating, fostering, or maintaining Chinese identification.

As part of my method of data collection, I will be looking at club constitutions as well as conducting face - to - face interviews with past and current club members. The (club's) participation, as well as any inputs you may have in regards to my study, is highly valued.

I would greatly appreciate it if we could set up a time to meet so that we may further discuss the possible participation of the (club name), as well as providing an opportunity for us to discuss the focus of the Thesis project in greater detail.

My Thesis project is being conducted under the Department of Sociology at the University of Calgary and has been approved by the Ethics Committee. If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me at 217-1141 in the evenings, or leave a message at the Sociology Office at 220-6501. I may also be contacted by email at chlau@acs.ucalgary.ca.

Thank-you for your time and cooperation. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Cam H. Lau

Appendix C

Interview Guide

SECTION I: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is the sex of the respondent?
A. Male B. Female
 2. Which year were you born in? 19____?
 3. What year of University are you currently in? ____?
 4. What are you majoring in?
 5. Are you a Canadian citizen?
(If 'no', go to question #8, if 'yes', go to question #6,).
 6. Were you born in Canada?
 7. How many generations has your family been in Canada? (Skip questions #8 and #9).
- *** NO *****
8. How long have you lived in Canada?
 9. How long have you been a Canadian citizen?

SECTION II: MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

10. How many clubs do you belong to on campus?
11. Could you name the club(s) you belong to?

12. Why did you choose to join this/these clubs? (If just one, skip #13; continue if > one)
13. Which club do you participate in most frequently?

Questions pertaining to knowledge of Club(s) and level of participation

14. How many years have you been a member of [club(s)]?
15. Are you part of the executive body of [club(s)]?
16. How often does the [club(s)] hold meetings?
17. How often do you visit the club office in a typical week?
18. What kinds of events and functions does the club provide?
19. How often do you participate in [club(s)] events in a typical year?
20. What types of events or functions do you attend? (Educational, political, social, cultural, fund-raising, etc.)

SECTION III: REASONS FOR JOINING CLUB(S)

21. What is your reason for joining the [club(s)]?
22. How do you think the club will meet your needs? Has it?
23. What do you think is the objective/purpose of the club?
24. How well do you think the club has carried out its objectives? (In terms of hosting events/discussion of issues).
25. Do you think that the club makes a positive contribution to the University? (What is its best features?)
26. How much importance do you place [club(s)] at in relation to the overall university experience?
27. Have you volunteered to organize or support club activities, functions, events?

28. Do you think the club has created a social atmosphere where members can get to know each other well?
29. In your opinion, are [club(s)] members a close group? (Are they friends?)
30. Do you have friends who are members of the [club(s)]? Are most of your friends Chinese? Discuss.
31. How often do you associate with other members of the club? (During club activities, on campus, socially off-campus).

SECTION IV: CULTURAL FEATURES OF CLUB(S)

32. What do you think makes the [club(s)] distinctive from other clubs?
33. Do you think the [club(s)] promotes an atmosphere of Chinese identity and pride?
34. How great an emphasis is there on celebrating and maintaining Chinese culture? (Do you think the club has done enough?)
35. Can you name some cultural functions or events provided by the [club(s)]?
36. Are you aware of any education, politics, outreach programs provided by the [club(s)] in relation to Chinese culture?
37. What kinds of languages do [club(s)] members speak?
38. Do you think the [club(s)] has contributed/fostered a sense of positive Chinese identity and pride for you personally?
39. Have you gained anything from the club in terms of cultural knowledge, history, language, customs, friendship, identity, pride?
40. How do you think the club is perceived by the University community in general? (Positively, negatively).

SECTION V: ETHNIC IDENTITY

41. What ethnic group do you belong to on your father's side?
42. What ethnic group do you belong to on your mother's side?
43. What ethnic group do you think others, in general, define you as belonging to?
44. How do you define yourself as?
45. If I were to give you three categories, which do you personally identify most with? Chinese, (ethnic-Canadian), Canadian.
46. If a stranger came up and asked you what nationality you are, how would you automatically define yourself?
47. If someone you know well asked about your nationality, how would you respond?
48. How do you, personally, prefer to identify yourself as?
49. What is your mother-tongue?
50. Which language do you speak most often at home?
51. Which language do you speak most often outside the home?
52. How do you think the Chinese community is perceived by the general Calgary Community?
53. Do you think it is important to maintain your Chinese culture and heritage? Discuss.
54. What aspects of your Chinese identity and culture do you believe you have retained?
55. How would you define Chinese identity?

Questions pertaining to Family Upbringing

56. Could you discuss your family upbringing?
57. Were your parents more "ethnically traditional" or were they more "westernized" in their parenting? Were there cultural conflicts between yourself and your parents?

- 58. Were you exposed to the Chinese culture, customs, and traditions while growing up?
- 59. Were you exposed to popular Chinese culture such as movies, readings, or music?
- 60. Do you still maintain these traditions?
- 61. Are you a part of any other Chinese organizations, clubs, etc. outside of the university?

Questions pertaining to Early Schooling Experiences

- 62. Did you start school in Canada early? How early?
- 63. Could you discuss your earlier school experiences in terms of language, culture, and friendships?
- 64. What nationality were your friends comprised mostly of? Chinese? Non-Chinese?
- 65. How were you viewed by your peers?
- 66. Did you experience any discrimination/prejudice?
- 67. Did you have a sense of difference or was race not a major issue for you?
- 68. What were your values and perceptions of your Chinese identity and heritage in your early school years?
- 69. Did you associate with Chinese students? To what extent?
- 70. Were you active in school?
- 71. What activities, teams, clubs, organizations were you a part of?
- 72. How have your views on friends, heritage, culture changed (if at all) since before you came to the University?
- 73. To sum it up, how (if at all) has the club contributed to your sense of Chinese identity and pride?

Appendix D

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY CONSENT FORM

Research Project Title: The Maintenance of Chinese
Identity of University
Calgary Students And The
Possible Role of Chinese Social Clubs.

Investigator: Cam H. Lau

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, please ask. Please take the time to read this form carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The purpose of this research project is to explore the possible role of ethnic affiliations, such as social clubs, in fostering and maintaining ethnic identity in their members. Members of one or more Chinese/Asian-oriented social club of the University of Calgary will be the subjects of this research project. These clubs are chosen because they are social clubs, and their members may consist of members of the Chinese community on campus. Every member has an equal chance of being selected to participate.

You will be asked questions on various topics such as how you define yourself in terms of ethnicity, and what role you perceive the club(s) in fostering ethnic and cultural identity and pride. The interview will take approximately one hour to complete. You may feel slight discomfort in your discussions of the club and its internal politics due to perceived risk of repercussion from club executives and other club members. You can refuse to answer any question or decline to discuss any topic during the interview.

Your name will not be used or written up in any form. However, specific quotations and comments may be taken from the interview. Therefore, there is a potential that your comments may be identified. Records and data from the interview will be retained for a period of three years after the thesis is completed and will only be accessible to myself and my supervisor. Any information shared in the interview will not be discussed with anyone else such as club executives or other club members.

Upon request, you can be provided a copy of the summary of all findings. During the course of the research project, you can contact me at a given phone number to discuss any concerns or request updates on the progress of the research.

The interviews will take place on University campus during school days. Only in extreme cases where there are schedule conflicts may the interview take place off campus. At such a time, you will have to pay for your own transportation.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participating in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. If you have further questions concerning matters related to this research, please contact:

Cam H. Lau
220-3215/6501

R.A. Stebbins, Supervisor, 220-5827/6501

A.W. Frank, Chair, Ethics Committee,
Department of Sociology, 220-5037/6501

If you have any questions concerning your participation in this project, you may also contact the office of the Vice-President (Research) and ask for Karen McDermid, 220-3381.

Participant

Date

Investigator

Date

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.