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## Acculturation and Ethnic Identity of the Chinese Population in Kalamazoo, Michigan

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ACCULTURATION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY  
OF THE CHINESE POPULATION IN  
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

by

Tsi-Yin Lee

A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Faculty of The Graduate College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
Degree of Master of Arts  
Department of Anthropology

Western Michigan University  
Kalamazoo, Michigan  
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Tsi-Yin Lee

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## INTRODUCTION

As contact among ethnic groups increases in the modern world, empirical study of the cultural change of ethnic minorities becomes more feasible and imperative. The Chinese have been an ethnic minority in the United States for more than one hundred years. There is a large number of studies on Chinese immigrants in the United States. Most of them deal with the socio-cultural backgrounds of Chinese immigrants or give general descriptions of their lives in this country.

S.W. Kung (1962) has given a complete history of Chinese immigration in the United States. He points out that assimilation is a two-way process within Chinese-American society and that the Chinese in the United States are on the whole satisfied with their present minority status.

Rose Hum Lee (1960) has provided an analysis of the social, economic, occupational, institutional and associational life of the Chinese in the United States. She analyzed the assimilation process by examining cultural patterns and social organizations. She observed that the process of assimilation was obstructed by physical characteristics, a lower standard of living, social conflict between generations, and geographical isolation.

Frank Hsu (1971) based on the viewpoint of culture and personality, tries to trace the "Americanization" in the personalities of Chinese immigrants. The meaning of American-

ization, according to Hsu, involved two parts. First, a functioning membership in the American society. Second, the assumption of attitudes and behavior patterns compatible with being a member of the American society whether in discharging one's duty or in enjoying one's privileges.

Lily Sho-Hong Sun (1973) has done research about the Chinese population in Kalamazoo, Michigan. She states that cultural assimilation tends to occur first after a Chinese family's arrival in the United States. It is followed by structural assimilation, and finally by identificational assimilation. The standards used in this study are "years of stay in the U.S.," "ethnic identity of children" and "nationality of close friends" as well as Chinese food habits.

According to Fong (1963), the process of assimilation encompasses three sequences: 1) acculturation, i.e., the acquisition of the cultural patterns or traits of another culture; 2) social integration, i.e., the common participation of minority members in the social organizations of the host society; and 3) amalgamation, i.e., the entering into the highest form of intimacy. For decades the two terms "assimilation" and "acculturation" have been broadly used and treated as the only and inevitable processes and conclusions in studies of cultural contact. But by 1960, major interest in acculturation had died out. Since then, great numbers of studies have tried to examine more assumptions and use dif-

ferent aspects in those fields.

The research in this paper was designed to study a sample of Chinese families in the Kalamazoo area to see how they deal with the situation of contact as an ethnic minority living among a dominant majority. There are around 120 Chinese in the Kalamazoo area. The spatial boundaries of this population are not fixed. Therefore, the sample families are mainly those who participate in the Chinese Association which is organized by the Chinese residents and students in the Kalamazoo area.

Hopefully, this research can present some aspects of cultural contact which have been neglected in past studies of the Chinese in American society.

To many people, "Chinese in the United States" means "China town." Hence, it is necessary to examine briefly the different categories and the history of Chinese immigrants in the United States.

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The Chinese in the United States today can be classified into three categories of legal status: 1) temporary sojourners, such as tourists or other visitors, and students 2) permanent residents who, having complied with the prevailing immigration laws, may stay in the United States indefinitely and are qualified to apply for American citizenship 3) American citizens of Chinese descent who have acquired U.S. citizenship through naturalization, or because of their being born in the United States. The third category constitutes a major part of the Chinese population in this country.

The Immigration Commission records that the first Chinese arrived in the United States in 1820. The Chinese were entitled to free immigration under federal laws during the period of 1820-1882. Cheap labor was much in demand on the west coast for the exploitation of gold mines and other natural resources, as well as the construction of railroads. Since for many years almost all Chinese immigrants were illiterate laborers, most Americans had in mind the image of a coolie when talking about Chinese.

During this period, the ghetto China town had been established to serve the needs of the immigrants. Most importantly, within the ethnic boundaries of China town members of this minority group developed a sense of social belonging. Group members shared a common origin, beliefs and values. China

towns continue to exist in the United States today.

The Sino-American Treaty of 1894 prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years. In fact, Chinese immigration decreased until 1943. For these years Chinese immigration never exceeded 250 per year, including students.

By 1970, American-Chinese in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth generation outnumbered those of the first and second generations. Some China town members deny the identification with Chinese culture. They claim instead that their cultural background should be "China town culture."

Chinese studying in the United States on student visas can be traced back to 1870. The peak of Chinese student enrollment occurred in 1949 with 3,916 students. A large number of students and intellectuals came to the United States in 1950 when the Government of the People's Republic of China took over the mainland from the Nationalist Government. Around 5,000 students, scholars, visitors and officials were forced to stay, find employment and change their students' status or other temporary status to that of permanent resident.

In 1965, the U.S. Congress passed a new and more liberal Immigration and Nationality Act which enabled up to 20,000 Chinese per year to obtain permanent residency in the United States.

In 1971, Frank Hsu classified the Chinese in the United States into four identifiable groups: the first is China town centered Chinese; the second is Chinese in Hawaii who

are supposed to be among the earliest immigrants; the third is scholars and professionals, a majority of whom had obtained at least part of their higher education in China and who have settled in the United States mainly since World War II; the fourth is college students with student visas.

Nearly all Chinese scholars and most Chinese professionals in America today were born, raised and college educated in mainland China or Taiwan. They obtained advanced degrees in this country and have been accepted into highly professional positions with middle-upper class incomes.

Students, scholars and professionals from China or Taiwan have had varying degrees of social contact with the American-Chinese. They regard the American-Chinese with feelings of disdain and inferiority (Lee, 1960:396). The American-Chinese were also regarded as cultural hybrids or marginal men. The students and scholars from China and Taiwan tend to believe that they came from a more modern China and that Chinese born in the United States were more backward than they are. But the Chinese and Taiwanese also felt deficient in many areas. The American-Chinese were avoided by those from China, and vice versa, because of the disparity in social class.

The majority of the original China town Chinese immigrated into the United States from Canton, a province near the south coast of China, and "Cantonese" was the only language used among them. These early immigrants were either illiterate or

virtually uneducated. They did not bring with them the "great tradition" of the Chinese culture which includes the system of writing based on the pronunciation of "Mandarin"-Pekingese. Nowadays, China town Chinese are publishing a variety of newspapers and magazines which are written in Chinese but are based on the pronunciation of Cantonese. Those publications are hardly intelligible to Mandarin speakers. Mandarin has been used by intellectuals and upper class people for centuries. It was also the national official language of China in the beginning of the 20th century. Since then, Mandarin has been the only language used in school education in both Taiwan and mainland China.

To the later immigrants, China town only functioned as the shopping center for Chinese goods. The China town originated people are an ethnic group between American and Chinese, definitely not "real" Chinese. The best example for this evaluation is that usually only the Chinese of Hsu's third and fourth category are invited to, or automatically participate in, the "Chinese Association activities" in colleges or college towns. Chinese of these two categories very much identify with each other as belonging to the same ethnic group. Having settled in the United States earlier, the Chinese of the third category always play the role of host family for newcomers, especially new students.

The identification of early immigrants as opposed to later immigrants is a complex problem. The discrepancy of

social background and language are the key points in articulating the difference.

Strictly speaking, even though the whole Chinese community in the United States is from the same origin - China, it can hardly be treated as one ethnic group because of the different developments of its members in this country.



## THE PROBLEM AND ITS THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

For an ethnic minority living among a dominant majority, cultural change is inevitable through continuous contact. My question is how the highly educated minority members deal with these changes. What sense do they make of the contradictory habits and beliefs they are confronted with as members of two different cultures? Are they confused? Are they aware of the changes they are forced to make? What are their attitudes towards them? How do they react to them? Since the change is unavoidable, what role does ethnic identity play in their changing environment and changing life?

Cultural change has been treated as a definite result of cultural contact. Nowadays, cultural contact is a widespread phenomenon given the large scale immigrations to industrial societies all over the world. It is assumed that if a group of minority people tries to function in a complex and rapidly changing society, it has to reconcile two strong and different traditions.

A great number of studies have been done to examine the process of cultural change. Assimilation and acculturation have been particularly popular topics in this field for decades. Gordon (1964) has distinguished seven sub-processes in assimilation which are cultural, structural, identification-al, marital, attitude receptional, behavior receptional, and civic assimilation. Each of these assimilation processes may

be thought of as constituting a particular stage or aspect of the assimilation process and may take place in varying degrees.

A study of 336 Chinese college students in America has been done by Stanley L.M. Fong at San Francisco State University. His assumption is that for most assimilation-oriented minority members, social and cultural interests, nationalistic identity, and allegiance lie predominantly in the host society rather than in the ethnic community or the old country. In contrast, the least assimilation-oriented members are those who wish to confine themselves to their ethnic enclave in the host society. Some of them may even reject and avoid the large dominant society. He attempts to demonstrate that the perceptions and orientations of ethnic minority members are influenced by their social groups; social pressure can be exerted quite openly, but norms can also be transmitted without the minority member being aware of any pressure.

The result of this study supported the thesis that as Chinese become progressively removed from their ancestral culture and are in greater contact with the dominant American culture, they show a concurrent increase in their assimilation-orientation and internalization of American norms. The Chinese students who anticipate returning to their hometown have the lowest assimilation-orientation to the American society. One of the most important points presented in this research is that it is possible for minority members to be highly ac-

culturated but yet not be integrated into the dominant American society. Thus, the author comments that the label "assimilated" has been applied too often and too loosely to minority members who are only acculturated. Similarly, Barth (1969) says that the important thing to recognize in the study of cultural contact is that a drastic reduction of cultural differences between ethnic groups does not correlate in any simple way with a reduction in the organizational relevance of ethnic identities (1969:32).

Kiefer differentiates acculturation and assimilation in that he defines acculturation as the disappearance of outward behavior traits that distinguish a minority population or an individual from the host culture and assimilation as the disappearance of exclusive and discriminatory behaviors on the part of the members of the minority culture which permits the minority group or individual to join the host society. The assimilation studies emphasize behavior as distinct from mental processes while acculturation means the learning, by members of one culture group, of skills and values native to another group.

Kiefer points out that "change" often occurs only under certain circumstances. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify the meaning of "context" or "situation" when defining the concept of "acculturation." He agrees with Berreman (1964) that in situations where power is held chiefly by one group at the expense of the other and intercultural contacts are consistently

more punishing for the subordinate group, members of that group must and do learn a much more elaborate repertoire of techniques for managing intercultural contacts to their own advantage. In the process of learning these techniques, minority group members seldom lose their native culture or become absorbed by the majority culture (Kiefer, 1974, also see Berreman, 1974).

A "nonlinear model" has been used in studies which recognize the situational character in the adaptations to environments. While the linear model suggests that accepting one cultural standard entails all-out rejection of the other and of those who prefer it, the nonlinear model sees the acculturation process as contingent upon "context" and therefore as a function of social relationships, and that acculturating people can choose between cultural alternatives or reference groups, (Kiefer, 1974, also Lebra, 1972:6).

In a comment on the use of "acculturation" by anthropologists, Hsu (1971) says that the term "acculturation" is used to describe changes in the lifestyles of various people from other cultures. But actually only certain modifications in the other culture were noted without any systematic and comprehensive analysis of the American culture to which the foreign people were acculturating. It would be an unaccomplishable task in anthropology to draw up a systematic picture of each culture. As Beals (1962) stressed, the fact that most cultures have never been absolutely homogeneous, static, or

isolated makes it difficult to measure the effects of cultural contact on individuals, let alone groups. The precontact status of cultures are extremely difficult to reconstruct.

Merton's reference group theory is also used in the study of cultural contact. People frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behaviors and evaluations. In general, reference group theory aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individuals and groups act as comparative frames of reference.

Berreman (1964) uses the reference group theory to study the mobility and acculturation of the Aleutian Islanders. He argues that an individual may have a number of reference groups which are relevant for him simultaneously, alternatively, or, as is very frequently the case, situationally.

Lynch (1968) also uses reference group theory in his study of the social mobility of the Agra Indians. Lynch separates the reference groups into three types: 1) the reference group of imitation -- this is a group whose values and ways of behavior are accepted as right and proper and therefore to be imitated by the group making the reference; 2) the reference group of identification -- this is a group to which an individual refers when identifying himself; 3) negative reference group -- this is a concept of the pattern of hostile relations between groups in which the behaviors or values of one are dependent on the values or behaviors of the other

to which it stands in opposition. The three types of reference groups are analytical types and may be overlapping. That is, they may all be located in one concrete group. These three reference groups function to define the social situation and status of an acculturating group, by providing answers to three basic questions: a) who are we; b) how do we behave in order to validate who we are; c) who is blocking our way or rejecting our claims (Berreman, 1964:231). Reference group theory has changed the emphasis placed on the rejection of the traditional culture to the process of adoption of the cultural model derived from the dominant group, when culture contact occurs.

The question of how ethnic identity functions in a complex social system has been present as long as dominant political states have existed. But ethnic conflict has usually been treated from the standpoint of political struggles for territory rather than from the psycho-cultural viewpoint of what occurs within individuals when confronted with the necessity of changing allegiance to a new master, including adopting a new religion, or even acquiring a new language, in order to participate in a dominant political society that is ethnically different. Today, furthermore, there is growing interest in those who resist changing allegiance. (George DeVos, 1975:3).

Ethnic identity is a sense of common origin, common belief, common value, common sense of survival and, in brief,

a common cause, which has been of great importance in uniting men into self-defining groups. In its narrowest sense, ethnicity is a feeling of continuity with the past, a feeling that is maintained as an essential part of one's self-definition. Ethnic identity is determined by what a person feels about himself, not only how he is observed to behave. Defining oneself in social terms is one basic answer to the human need to belong and to survive. Ethnicity is a subjective sense of continuity in belonging. The ethnic identity of a group of people consists of their subjective symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of culture in order to differentiate themselves from other groups. These emblems can be imposed from outside or taken from within. Ethnic features such as language, clothing or food can be considered emblems, for they show to others who one is and to what group one belongs. The sense of belonging can not be separated from the development of the sense of self.

Barth emphasizes the importance of boundary maintenance for ethnic distinction. He states that categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but that they do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained in the course of an individual's life. Ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interactions and acceptance, but are on the contrary often the very foundations on which social systems are built. Interaction

in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence.

Maxine Fisher (1978) has done research on the processes by which an ethnic identity is forged in the Asian Indian population residing in the New York area. This minority group lacks a strong sense of identity as Asian Indians. Fisher tries to attest to an opposing trend toward the general assumption that "one identifies himself according to his general identity, presumptively his origin" through the Asian Indian's conscious creation of a new ethnic group among the power structure of the overseas society. This concept of created ethnic identity is supported by Schiller. She points out that "ethnic identity is not a primitive instinct, but a situational response that can be elicited after the hard work of ethnic group organizing has taken place" (see Fisher, 1978:285).

The development of different viewpoints improves the possibility to understand different phases of the lifestyles of ethnic minorities under changing circumstances. In this study, I have employed several viewpoints to describe the origin and the content of ethnic identity of Chinese professionals in Kalamazoo, and how this identity is fostered in children and expressed in the community.



## METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH RESULT

### Methodology

The goal of this research is to explore the changing lifestyles of a highly educated minority group under cultural contact circumstances. The Chinese population in Kalamazoo, Michigan is the target group for this study.

The majority of the Chinese population in the Kalamazoo area falls into the category of scholars and professionals. The total number of Chinese residents in this area is about 120, students not included. All of them are in this country legally - either as permanent residents or American citizens. For purposes of this research, they were studied as an ethnic group, even though they reside in Kalamazoo, Michigan without any ethnic boundaries.

The term "ethnic group" is generally understood in Anthropology to designate a population which is biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental cultural values, realized overtly in particular cultural forms establishes a network of communication and interaction; and has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. Members in this study population identify themselves as "Chinese," and have immigrated into this country approximately ten years ago.

In Kalamazoo, the Chinese Association was organized by

the Chinese residents and students from Taiwan, mainland China and Hong Kong. The membership of this organization is open to all Chinese in this area, including non-Chinese spouses of mixed marriages. The majority of the Chinese residents in the Kalamazoo area belong to this association. As members, they regularly or occasionally participate in the association's activities such as pot luck dinners during Chinese festivals, Chinese movies or picnics. In the past, some of these activities have attracted as many as 80 people. Members also provide services to each other when help is needed, and assist newcomers to the area. Besides the Chinese Association, many smaller groups have formed among this ethnic group. Some examples are the Investment Club and the Mar-jung Club (Mar-jung or Chinese dominoes is a very popular social game). Both of these groups were organized by fifteen Chinese couples.

Members of this study group have completed part of their higher education in their homelands, and have obtained advanced degrees in the United States. The majority of the male members hold doctorates and are engaged in highly respected professions. The majority of the female members have master's degrees. As mentioned above, they do not live within an ethnic boundary; they own houses in various, prosperous neighborhoods, and their income is far beyond the average in this country. Outwardly, it would seem that they have adapted to the new environment very successfully and function as members of the dominant society; however, they still retain

a strong ethnic identity.

#### The Research Population:

18 Chinese families (36 adults and 40 children) were included in the sample group. The Chinese in Kalamazoo are an ethnic group without a spatial boundary. Hence, the target families were drawn from the membership of the Chinese Association in the Kalamazoo area. In the process of getting to know these families, this researcher held office in the Chinese Association for a year and also served as a "Chinese teacher" for the second generation of this Chinese group. For the purpose of this research, a "family" will be defined as a unit consisting of two parents and at least one child. This research unit was chosen for the sake of understanding parental expectations toward their offspring.

For the consistency of the sample, all parents in this research group grew up and were highly educated in Chinese areas before coming to this country for advanced degrees or better jobs. The majority of them are employed in technical professions and earn middle to upper-middle class incomes. One sample family owns a restaurant in Kalamazoo and is doing very good business, according to the owner. Only one exceptional family is below this standard. These people were overseas Chinese in Vietnam and came to the United States 4 years ago as refugees. They lost all their property during the war and arrived in this country without any knowledge of English. Both parents in the family are studying English and have

blue-collar jobs, even though they are well-educated and had white-collar jobs in China and Vietnam.

Methodology used in this research includes a) highly structured interview, b) participant observation and c) library research. The principle method is the interview, but no questionnaire was used in order not to limit potential answers of the informants. Informants were encouraged to express themselves freely; they could tell "what" they do and "why" they do it for certain aspects of life. They also could show their agreements or disagreements towards their own, or other's, behavior.

The information elicited through the interview can be classified into four categories. The first category, "ideology," includes identification of nationality, cultural identities, education of the second generation, language used in the family, marriage between Chinese and non-Chinese, and religion. Secondly, "social structure," includes financial relations between parents and children, living arrangements between generations, the traditional Chinese concept of "filial piety" in the family, authority of the role of father in the family, and social life. Third, "daily life" includes food, clothing, amusement, newspapers and magazines, and personal names used in the family. Fourth is "folklore" which includes Chinese festivals, Chinese New Year, folkstories and folksongs, birthdays, and folk customs (see Appendix).

Participant observation was employed while the research-

er was involved in the activities of the Chinese Association, teaching Chinese and being invited to the homes of the sample families and to their social activities. A relationship of familiarity and informality was established before the formal research started.

Library research has provided background information on Chinese immigrants in the United States.

## Description of the Data

### Basic Information of the Sample Families

The basic information of the eighteen families, such as the period of time they have been in this society, their ages, their professions, etc., are rather varied. In order to understand the target group better, it is necessary to know their personal backgrounds.

The following chart will give an overview on the 18 families' basic data.

In the chart:

- the 18 families will be marked with letters of the alphabet from A to R.
- Husband is marked with 'H'.
- Wife is marked with 'W'.
- Ph.D. means Doctoral degree.
- M. means Master's degree.
- B. means Bachelor's degree.
- under the item of "Place of Birth" China includes mainland China and Taiwan.
- "Age" of the informants is estimated approximately, according to their life histories.
- "Decoration of Home" is based on the displays of Chinese painting, Chinese style of furniture, utensils, and so on, in their living rooms or dining rooms.
- (U.S.) means the degree was obtained in the United States.
- (Japan) means the degree was obtained in Japan.
- (Taiwan) means the degree was obtained in Taiwan.

# Basic Information of the Sample Families

	Age	Years In U.S.	Place Of Birth	Education	Occupation	Decoration Of Home	Number Of Children	Age Of Children
A	H=60 W=55	30	China	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Professor W=Librarian	Half-Chinese Half-American	4	22-32
B	H=47 W=47	20	"	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Researcher W=Researcher	American	2	11-14
C	H=40 W=35	10	"	H=PhD(Japan) W=B(Japan)	H=Biologist	Half-Chinese Half-American	3	6-10
D	H=45 W=40	20	"	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Professor W= Piano Instructor	Predominantly Chinese	2	14-16
E	H=45 W=40	18	China Hong Kong	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Professor	Predominantly Chinese	2	4-11
F	H=45 W=40	17	China	H=PhD(US) W=PhD(US)	H=Researcher W=Administrator	Exclusively Chinese	1	5
G	H=45 W=35	5	"	H=B(Taiwan) W=High School (Vietnam)	H=Janitor W= Nurse Assistant	Predominantly Chinese	4	5-11
H	H=37 W=35	11	"	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Researcher	Half-Chinese Half-American	2	3-7
I	H=35 W=35	11	"	H=M(US) W=B(Taiwan)	H=Administrator	Half-Chinese Half-American	2	2-9

# Basic Information of the Sample Families (cont.)

	Age	Years In U.S.	Place Of Birth	Education	Occupation	Decoration Of Home	Number Of Children	Age Of Children
J	H=35 W=35	8	China	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Statistician	Half-Chinese Half-American	2	2-5
K	H=32 W=32	7	"	H=PhD(US) W=B(Taiwan)	H=Researcher	American	2	1-6
L	H=43 W=41	18	"	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Researcher W=Researcher	Predominantly Chinese	2	9-10
M	H=35 W=32	12	China Hong Kong	H=B(China) W=Community College(US)	Restaurant Owner	Predominantly Chinese	3	4-8
N	H=40 W=37	12	China Hong Kong	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Statistician	Half-Chinese Half-American	1	11
O	H=60 W=58	35	China	H=PhD(US) W=B(US)	H=Administrator	Half-Chinese Half-American	2	20-27
P	H=35 W=35	8	"	H=PhD(US) W=B(Taiwan)	H=Researcher	Chinese	2	5-7
Q	H=36 W=34	8	"	H=Med.School W=B(Taiwan)	H=Medical Doctor	Predominantly Chinese	2	4-6
R	H=35 W=33	9	"	H=PhD(US) W=M(US)	H=Architect W=Technician	Half-Chinese Half-American	2	3-7



The data collected in this research will be described in the sequence of ideology, social structure, daily life and folklore.

### Ideology

#### Ethnic identity and nationality

15 families out of 18 are American citizens; 3 families are permanent residents. However, when referring to ethnic identity, all 18 couples refer to themselves as Chinese, not American. Very consistently, all 18 couples stress that they are very proud of being Chinese. When asked, "Why did you become an American citizen?", the answers varied: "Because it is convenient, you don't have to get a visa when entering the majority of countries in the world." "With American citizenship, you can help your families to immigrate into this country." "An American passport can help you in and out without too much hassle when you go back to Taiwan or China." A second question, "Why did you come to the United States?" elicited answers like: "For advanced study and degree." "Better job opportunities." "All my family has already immigrated into this country." "The political situation at home is too shaky." "I have rushed out from mainland China once before, I do not want to be a refugee again."

The entire second generation of these 18 families was born in the United States. 8 families consider their chil-

dren to be American-Chinese, or "A.B.C." - American Born Chinese. These parents think it is unavoidable for their children to lose their Chinese identity, and it would be easier for them to think of themselves as American-Chinese. 10 families insist that even though their children were born here, they are "Chinese." They have been telling their children "you are Chinese" since they started to talk. 12 families mentioned the problem of their children coming home from school and asking why they were not American. Some children refused to be Chinese for awhile, but as they have grown older, they have started to consider themselves as Chinese, or American-Chinese again. One mother used to tell her 8 year old son: "You are Chinese, because you are different. Look at your face, your eyes and your nose, you are Chinese."

None of the children interviewed referred to themselves as American in this research. They referred to themselves as either Chinese or American-Chinese. The chart on the following page will show the generations' nationality and ethnic identity separately.

#### The education of the second generation

All parents plan to send their children to college or university. Going to college is very important to them. 10 families are sure their children will go to college and even on to graduate school. They do not even think that their children may give up study after they graduate from high

Table 2  
Nationality and Ethnic Identification

Parents	Nationality	Ethnic Identity
Chinese	3	18
American	15	0
Total	18	18
Children	Nationality	Ethnic Identity
Chinese	0	9
American	18	0
American-Chinese	0	9
Total	18	18

school. They believe that children growing up in a highly educated family will automatically go to college. Another 8 families started telling their children that they had to go to college ever since the children were very young. 17 families said that they would insist, and use all means to convince their children that a college education is necessary, if their children ever should refuse to go to college. The family with 4 children can only "hope" that their children will be able to go to college because of the financial problem. But even to them, it is not only necessary for boys to go to college, but also for girls. To all, going to college is the most important step in attaining knowledge, a good job, a stable life and to achieve a respect-

able status in this society.

Being a person of knowledge traditionally is the highest criterion of a successful man.

Some parents are prepared to finance their children's education completely, even medical school or graduate school. They think it is better for the children to concentrate on study and to finish earlier to start a career. Two families said they would do so "only if we can afford it." Most parents, however, plan to support their children completely at least through college. One mother plans to work when she can leave the youngest child with a babysitter, in order to save enough money for her children's college education. The following chart will show the parents' attitudes towards supporting their children.

Table 3  
Parental Attitude Toward Supporting Children

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Parents Pay Everything, Even Medical School or Graduate School . . . . .	5
Parents Pay All The Expenses in College . . . . .	9
Parents Pay Only Tuition Fees and Living Expenses. Children Have to Work a Little . . . . .	3
Parents Will Not Pay Expenses. . . . .	0
Parents Hope To Pay, But May Not Be Able To Children Will Have to Work . . . . .	1

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Language used among members of the sample families

All the first generation informants interviewed are at

least bi-lingual in Chinese and English, but the second generation is not necessarily bi-lingual. In all 18 families, only Chinese is used between parents. But between parents and children or between children, there are various situations, as the following chart will show:

Table 4  
Language Spoken In The Family

	Chinese	English
Between Parents	18	0
Parents to Children	12	6
Children to Parents	9	9
Between Children	5	13

80% of the informants stress that they have tried very hard to speak Chinese to their children since the children were born. But right after they started school, they began losing their Chinese and refused to speak it. In 12 families, parents still insist on speaking Chinese, even though children answer in English. Four mothers refused to answer their children unless they spoke Chinese. In another five families, children speak to parents in a mixture of Chinese and English. Most Chinese-speaking children are in the younger age group that hasn't yet been greatly influenced by their peer group. Only 2 families intend not to speak Chinese to their children in order not to confuse them. Four families gave up speaking Chinese to their children in order to improve communication between generations. After refusing to speak Chinese for 6

years, two teenage brothers - 14 and 16, recently picked up their Chinese books and studied Chinese on their own. According to their parents, both had refused to recognize being Chinese when they were little, but changed their attitude recently and identify themselves as Chinese now. The reason for this change is not clear to their parents. One boy had increased his interest in Chinese after he was asked to interpret for a school teacher a couple of times. Only one family comprising 3 generations - grandmother, parents and three children - speak only Chinese at home because the grandmother doesn't speak English at all.

In order to offer a better environment for children to learn Chinese, 10 families organized their children into two classes according to age, and hired two Chinese students from Western Michigan University to teach them both spoken and written Chinese. Students in the "older" class are 9 to 11 years old; in the "younger," 5 to 7. One family is responsible for ordering books and tapes from Taiwan; one is responsible for purchasing all the teaching materials, and so on. Twice each year, the 10 families and teachers get together to examine how much the students have learned.

Older children are not willing to go to the Chinese lessons. "Why do we have to study Chinese?" they argue in the classroom. The families in better financial situations try to take their children back to Taiwan as often as possible and send the children to Chinese schools for a couple of

months during their summer vacation. One family tries to take their only daughter back to Taiwan every summer to improve her Chinese as well as her understanding of Chinese culture. The parents hope that she will choose a Chinese husband from Taiwan, Hong Kong or China; the girl is only six years old now.

#### Attitudes towards marriage between Chinese and non-Chinese

This seems to be the toughest problem in all Chinese families. During interviews, all parents show great anxiety about the future marriages of their children. 16 families with younger children strongly express unwillingness to agree to their children marrying non-Chinese. Almost all families are bothered by this problem very much. Their first reaction to this question is, "We hope it will never happen." Basically, their attitude is negative, but it varies slightly. Some families try to prevent it by putting the idea that it is better to marry Chinese in their children's mind at a very young age. One mother always told the child that only if he married a Chinese girl he could have Chinese food all of his life. One mother can accept her daughter marrying non-Chinese, but not the son - the son has to marry Chinese for the family's sake. One family was very mad and sad when their daughter married a non-Chinese. But now the parents say they would not care if their other children married non-Chinese. They had tried to unite with other Chinese families

when they lived in California in order to have their children meet other young Chinese. But by the time they left California, not one marriage had taken place among the second generation through this attempt. Other parents stopped to worry about this 12 years ago when their older son was 15. Otherwise, they say, they would not be able to "survive" in this society.

The ideal marriage in those parents' minds is one between persons from the same background. One eleven year old girl has been doing everything together with a same age Chinese boy. The mother of the girl said she would be extremely happy if they could remain this way until they got married. 3 families feel they would even like to go back to China because of their children's marriage. But half of the sample families say that they are powerless to avoid the possibility of their children marrying non-Chinese. They may as well take the attitude of "let it be" since their children will have very few chances to meet other young Chinese. The following will show the slightly different attitudes of the 18 families toward Chinese and non-Chinese marriages.

Table 5  
Parental Attitudes Toward Children's Marriage

Try to Prevent It . . . . .	6
Will Accept It Unhappily . . . . .	9
Will Not Challenge the Child's Decision . . . . .	3



## Religion

Only 7 out of 18 refer to themselves as religious families and church-goers. Four families are Catholic. In one family, the mother is Catholic and the father is Presbyterian. In the beginning, they went to both churches alternately, but later quit because of too many leisure activities. All seven families were Christian before they came to this country. One mother is from a minister's family.

When the 11 non-Christian families were asked whether they practiced the traditional Chinese religion (ancestor worship) 10 families answered "no"; only the one family having the grandmother living with them, is practicing it. Two kids of two non-Christian families go to church occasionally with their friends and babysitter.

The seven Christian families take their children to church and hope they can remain religious all their lives. One family believes that members of religious families are usually more cohesive. They hope that because of the religious cohesion, their children will take care of them in the traditional Chinese way later. This family is a regular member of the Chinese Bible study group in their community. One child in a Presbyterian family is thinking about switching to another church. His parents take this news very calmly and will respect his decision, no matter what the child decides.

Eleven non-Christian families declare that if their children wanted to go to church or convert, they would respect their choices. The Chinese attitude towards religion is very open. The so-called traditional Chinese religion is a kind of integration of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, and the three co-existing doctrines also form the fundamental basis of Chinese philosophy. Many Chinese even believe that all world religions should be united. As opposed to other ethnic groups, religious practice is largely an individual matter in China (Rin Shien, 1975:138). "No religion" may not be the proper category for those Chinese believing in no specific religion; they have some kind of religious belief nevertheless, which is part of their philosophy and is practiced in their daily lives, although not in particular rituals. In the following chart the number of families practicing religion is recorded.

Table 6  
Religions Practiced Among Sample Families

	Christian	Traditional Chinese Religion	No Religion
Whole Family	7	1	8
Children Only	2	0	0
Parents Only	0	0	2

### Social Structure

Financial relation between parents and children

This question has been investigated from two aspects:

between the informants and their parents, and between the informants and their children. In the former aspect, 4 couples do not support their parents in China, either because their parents are in a better financial situation than they themselves, or their parents are dead. Five families are more or less supporting either husband's or wife's parents or both. Usually those couples share the responsibility of supporting their parents with their siblings. One family supports the husband's mother individually, because the mother lives with them and helps to take care of the children. One family among the five was supporting the wife's brother while he attended Western Michigan University. 9 families do not have to support their parents financially; their parents are well off. But because of the traditional Chinese relationship between parents and children, and also because they like to return what their parents have done for them, they send money to their parents regularly, or for their birthdays or Chinese festivals. One husband's father in Taiwan always proudly shows the check from his son when he is playing "mar-jung" with friends. Some couples hope what they have done for their parents will influence their children into doing something for them in the future.

In the second aspect, only one family expects their children to support them financially in the future, because of their financial situation not being good. These parents

have been trying very hard to convince their children of the importance to support and to take care of their parents in the future. 17 families have no such expectations at all; they only hope that their children will always think of them and treat them well in the future. One family hopes to go home if the situation in Taiwan becomes stable. There, supporting and taking care of parents is still the children's obligation. Social sanctions would prevent children from discarding or ignoring living parents. The chart will show both the current situation and expectations.

Table 7  
Financial Relation Between Generations

	Not Expecting Support From Children	Expecting Support From Children	Total
Supporting Their Parents	4	1	5
"Symbolically Supporting Their Parents	9	0	9
Not Supporting Their Parents	4	0	4
Total	17	1	18

#### Living arrangements between generations

All sample families are nuclear families with the exception of one which contains 3 generations. The relationships among members in this extended family are very harmonious, with both parents working in their own restaurant and

the husband's mother taking care of the three children. The couple thinks that it is really nice for his mother to stay with them; they meet mutual needs and the children can keep their Chinese language ability better.

One of the families had been a nuclear family for more than 10 years before the husband's parents came to live with them from Taiwan. Their house is in a nice suburb without any bus route. Their parents can not drive so they have to stay home all day long. Both the husband and wife have full time jobs, and after work they spend the rest of their time with their parents, giving up their own leisure time. After one year, this couple really felt exhausted. Finally they suggested their parents move out and bought a town-house close to downtown and on the bus route for them. In the beginning, their parents resisted moving out for fear of losing family reputation - friends would laugh at them because their son doesn't want them to live with him. They later agreed to move, but asked that it be kept a secret. All their mail is still sent to the son's home and then forwarded to them. The son's family gets together with the parents once a week and takes them out to dinner or shopping. This son shares all the parents' expenses with his other 5 siblings. According to the wife, the parents now seem to enjoy their private life very much. They take the bus to English lessons, take walks through nearby Western Michigan University's campus, and participate in the Chinese Associa-

tion's activities more than their own son and daughter-in-law. They often invite students to their house. This researcher was invited once and found their house decorated almost exclusively Chinese as opposed to their son's home which is exclusively Western. There is only one Chinese painting in the son's family room which, according to the wife, their parents insisted on hanging there.

Other families often have their parents come to stay for a couple of months. The rest of the time, their parents live alternately with their other children. In this way no serious problems develop. Two couples' parents are dead and five couples' parents stay with the husbands' brother or sister exclusively.

Aside from current living arrangements, those families have almost totally given up the idea that their children will live with them in the future. Only 2 families still expect to live with their children, especially sons, in their old age. 10 families gave up this hope completely, some even prefer to live separately from their children after they are married. They feel this would be better for both of them. Six families hope their children can live very close to them in the future. 2 families hope their children will go to school at Western Michigan University, so that they will not leave home too early.

Similar to this last item - financial relations between parents and children - parents realize that they

can not expect the substantial support or spatial closeness customary in the traditional Chinese society. They can only "hope" their children will remember them, think about them often, and possibly sometimes take care of them. The current living arrangements and expectations for the future can be seen in the following chart.

Table 8  
Living Arrangement Between Generations

	Expecting To Live With Children In The Future	Not Expecting To Live With Children In The Future
Living With Their Parents	0	1
Not Living With Their Parents	1	6
Occasionally Living With Their Parents	1	9

#### Traditional Chinese "filial piety" in the family

Chinese "filial piety" has tied families together since thousands of years. Filial piety in China combines many subtle meanings such as obedience, love, tolerance, gentleness and obligation in a person's attitude toward his parents. Filial piety is the criterion by which a person is judged in China. A person not showing filial piety would be referred to as "bad." In ancient China, before the emperor offered a person a higher position, he would check the person's recommendations from his neighborhood to see whether he show-

ed appropriate filial piety.

Traditionally, filial piety has been ranked next only to "loyalty." Loyalty is a person's love and obligation to his country; filial piety is his love and obligation to his family. The traditional Chinese religion of ancestor worship, is based on the concept of filial piety. Children are educated to be a person of filial piety both at home and at school at a very young age.

In this research, the degree of filial piety in the family could not be examined due to the lack of opportunities to observe situations in which it is expressed, and the fact that filial piety is very abstract. Only the parent's attitudes in this aspect has been checked. 10 families regard it as important to teach their children filial piety, i.e., that a good person is one who is good to children and parents. Two families out of ten think it is necessary to insist on obedience of the children; eight families do not think it is necessary to educate their children about filial piety. They only state that they will be satisfied if the children treat their parents well in the future. In these families, "obedience" toward parents is not an issue. Some families refer to themselves as "very free," i.e., children can have their own opinions and parents are easy to talk to. 7 families reward children for their help. 11 families do not do so, but want their children to realize that it is their obligation to help parents. As mentioned before,



filial piety is an abstract concept containing many meanings. Thus, parents differ in their expectations of what behavior is required by filial piety. The following chart shows some parents' expectations.

Table 9  
Parental Expectations For Children

	Yes	No
Children Should Have Filial Piety (The Whole Concept)	10	8
Children Should Be Obedient	2	16
Children Should Treat Their Parents Well in the Future	18	0

About 7 families have been told by their children's school teachers that their children are much more polite than most students in school. While I was teaching Chinese to the children from these families, I was told frequently by my American roommate and friends that they were the most polite and best behaved children they had ever seen. Some mothers try to point out that even though they don't actually require the children to be obedient or respect parents as authority very much, somehow they have conceptualized to their children certain Chinese ways. Children have absorbed these and applied them in school and on other occasions.

On the other hand, around six families have been criticized by the grandparents during visits that their children behaved very badly according to the Chinese standards. Chil-

dren's behavior may be counted as a by-product of filial piety.

#### Authority of the role of father in the family

Traditionally, the father is the most authoritative figure in the Chinese family. However, things have been changing. The status of women has been raised in Chinese society recently, and families in which the father is the only authority figure are considered as very conservative or old-fashioned. Informants in this research were quite modern before they came to this country. Hence, the result of this question is not representative enough to see the change through cultural contact. It may only be able to show the differences in the personalities of the parents.

In three families, the father is very authoritative, in that he makes decisions and punishes children. Those families do not think the father should have this position, but somehow it happens anyway. In 5 families, the father is not always the greatest authority, but he plays the role of punishing the children; and children go to their mother first if they want to ask something. In 5 families the role of mother is much more authoritative than that of father. In another five families, father and mother play very balanced roles. The results are in the following chart.

Table 10  
Authority Figure In the Family

	Number of Families
Father is the Only Authority . . . . .	3
Father is More Authoritative Than Mother . . . . .	5
Mother is More Authoritative Than Father . . . . .	5
Mother and Father are Equal . . . . .	5

### Social life

Only 10 sample families associate mostly with American or non-Chinese in their social life. 7 families associate half with Americans; 3 families have the tendency to associate with Americans more than Chinese. Another 8 families associate only with Chinese in their social life.

Almost all the Americans with whom the Chinese associate are colleagues at work. To some informants, however, these are "colleagues", not friends. Friends are Chinese. When they first came to Kalamazoo, some families checked the telephone book for Chinese names and called to ask for a favor or simply to make friends. Usually the person who was called would provide help immediately before they became personally acquainted. The newcomers would be invited to the activities of the Chinese Association or other small Chinese groups. Thus, the basis for social activities and interactions was established for the newcomers.

As mentioned before, the Chinese Association promotes many activities including pot-luck dinners, picnics and Chi-

nese movies. Members have to pay for these activities. Some special-interest groups and activities draw members, too. The "Mar-jung Club" has 15 couples as members and meets once a month. One rule in this club requires that the winners must donate the money they win in this gambling game, to a fund for a dinner party or another club project. The "Investment Club" also has 15 couples as members who meet once every week. The shares in the investment fund is small, but in the meeting members can exchange their knowledge of business, stock markets and such. The Bible Study group is open to all interested persons, but because there are not many Christians here, meetings are irregular. One group of people, all Taiwanese, get together regularly. Twice a year, those families who have children taking Chinese lessons get together for a big party. One purpose of this party is to watch children perform something in Chinese, like a play, and to motivate children to learn Chinese. Another purpose is to show their gratitude to the teachers. These parents also get together regularly to manage all the necessities for the classes. It is worth noticing that the participants usually are parents and younger children; teenagers rarely show up in the activities. However, several teenagers participate in sports with their parents at these occasions.

There are 3 families who associate with Americans more than Chinese. One of the couples refer to themselves as

very Americanized. Two-thirds of their social life is with Americans; only one-third is with Chinese. Another two families have been in Kalamazoo a long time and their ages are far beyond the average age of 40 years for Chinese in Kalamazoo. They participated in the Chinese activities often before, but later found they preferred to associate with Americans in their peer group. Some families often get together because of their ages being similar. One family is famous for their hospitality; this couple gives a dinner party for all Chinese in Kalamazoo at least once a year. Guests are invited on three consecutive days. The very Americanized couple is interested in dancing; they have a dance party once a year for all interested Chinese.

Quite a few activities are going on in this ethnic group. There are so many indeed, that one couple claims it doesn't have much time to associate with their American friends, because almost every weekend is scheduled for Chinese activities.

During the gatherings, people speak mainly Mandarin, but occasionally Cantonese or Taiwanese is heard. Among the second generation, English is spoken more than Chinese. According to their parents, the teenage children associate almost exclusively with Americans because they have very few Chinese peers, since the majority of Chinese in Kalamazoo is around 40 years old. Younger children get more opportunities,

especially those who are taking Chinese lessons. And younger children always accompany their parents to the Chinese activities and meet other children there.

In Chinese kinship terminology, parents' female friends are always called "mother's sister" - equivalent to "aunt" in English; male friends are called "father's brother" or "uncle" in English. Friends are rarely categorized as "mother's brother" or "father's sister". Therefore, children in China call their parents' friends "Auntie Lee" or "Uncle Lee" if the last name is Lee, never "Mr. Lee", "Mrs. Lee" or "Miss Lee". Here, the second generation is taught to call their parents' Chinese friends "uncle - " or "auntie - "; and to call American friends as "Mrs. - " or "Mr. - ", without exception. One family has a very close American friend; their son likes him very much. After calling him "Mr. - " for many years, one day the boy called him "Uncle - " and did so ever since. He re-categorized this American into a more intimate, "Chinese" category. How the terminology influences the second generation in categorizing people in their human surroundings is an interesting point.

A variety of topics are discussed during the Chinese get-togethers, such as: where to shop, job hunting, children's education, buying or selling homes, problems in American society, or the situation in Taiwan or mainland China. Children's education is a popular topic since parents have great anxiety about their children's peer group, the possibility

of drug-related problems, and others. One father says that if his daughters asked for birth control pills he would offer them immediately. These topics and attitudes are far beyond the imagination of people of similar age in China.

Table 11  
Classification of Sample Families' Associates

Only Associate With Chinese . . . . .	8 (45%)
Associate Half With Chinese and Half With Americans .	7 (39%)
Only Associate With Americans . . . . .	3 (16%)

Table 12  
Representative Activities In Which Sample Families Participate

Activity	Number of Families
Chinese Association	18
Mar-jung Club	4
Investment Club	7
Chinese Lesson	8
Bible Study	2

### Daily Life

#### Food

Very consistently, the entire parental generation in these 18 families prefers Chinese food over American food. Most of the families have Chinese food for dinner and when they eat out they always choose Chinese restaurants, too. In only one family, in which both husband and wife are very busy with their work and activities, does this vary. The

wife refers to their daily food as very Americanized and simple because she doesn't have much time to prepare Chinese food. As opposed to dinner, the majority of the sample families have American food at lunch, because they have to eat out. Some informants try to avoid American food by going home for lunch every day, even if it means considerable inconvenience. One husband likes to take lunch to the office with him from home but because the cafeteria serves hot food for lunch and everybody eats over there, he feels uncomfortable not eating with his colleagues. So he has American food for lunch, too. All children who are going to school and have lunch there, have American food and enjoy it. According to their parents, some children prefer American food and parents have to take them out occasionally for hamburgers or pizza in order to satisfy them. Hamburgers and pizza seem to be the favorite American foods of these Chinese children, but the children's taste is hard to judge. Those who said they definitely liked American food were quite young. Older children and some young ones prefer Chinese food. One mother tries to scare her 11 year-old into believing that if he wants to have Chinese food for the rest of his life, he will have to marry a Chinese girl. This boy enjoys his mother's cooking and always shows great appreciation for it. One mother said that when her two children were young they preferred American food; they changed their tastes when they became 14 or 15



years old. In one family, frequently only the parents have a Chinese dinner and the children have a T.V. dinner and eat separately. Some adult children like Chinese food, but they never cook it; they only eat it when they come home.

Consistently again, all the families prepare American-style breakfasts for children and for adults too, if they eat breakfast at home, but nobody claims to enjoy American breakfasts very much. They do claim that American breakfasts are easy, fast and nutritious which is very good and convenient for the family. Some families make Chinese style breakfasts on weekends.

One of the most important reasons these families keep their Chinese eating habits is that Chinese food can be prepared with locally available ingredients. For the more exotic ingredients, there is an Oriental market in the Kalamazoo area, and 90% of the informants shop there. Besides this special food store, some families have necessary material sent from Taiwan or Hong-Kong or purchase it in Chinatown in Chicago. Two families even order food from San Francisco where Chinese food is cheap and varied. Those families have an agreement among themselves, that whoever goes to Chicago or Toronto will bring back Chinese groceries for the other families, too. The family running the Chinese restaurant has Chinese food for all their meals. The first chart will show the different tastes between parents and children and the second

chart will show the different food style in their daily meals.

Table 13  
Food Preferences

	Prefer American Food	Prefer Chinese Food	Total
Adult	0 (families)	18	18
Children	11	7	18
	Dinner	Lunch	Breakfast
American Food	1	12	17
Chinese Food	17	6	1
Total	18	18	18

### Clothing

In this aspect, all of the families are very westernized. Actually in China, clothing is also westernizing rapidly as Chinese increasingly give up the traditional clothing. One of the characteristics of Chinese clothing is its gracefulness, and delicate designs. According to the informants, they did wear Chinese clothing before they came to this country. They had to give it up because it is very hard to replace here, it takes a lot of time to take care of, and Chinese clothing is not as comfortable as western clothing. The design of Chinese clothing doesn't fit the lifestyle of this society. Today, the Chinese here treat Chinese clothes as a symbol

of Chinese identity. They wear it only on special occasions and on the Chinese New Year.

Even though they don't wear Chinese style clothing in their daily life, every member in every sample family owns at least a piece of Chinese clothing. In the potluck dinner held by the Chinese Association, more than half of the participants, adults and children, wore Chinese clothes. Most of it was sent by relatives in Taiwan or Hong Kong and are so spectacular and expensive that people wear them only on very formal occasions. In this aspect, all the families show a very consistent tendency. It is summarized in the following chart.

Table 14  
Clothing Preferences

	Yes	No
Wear Chinese Clothes Daily	0	18
Wear Chinese Clothes On Special Occasions	18	0
Own Chinese Clothes	18	0

#### Amusements

Besides reading Chinese novels, in 18 families only 2 typical Chinese games were mentioned when asked about their amusement. The 2 games are Chinese Chess and Mar-jung. Mar-jung has been mentioned before. It is so popular in both Chinese society and overseas Chinese communit-

ies that it can be considered an ethnic Chinese game. The characteristic of Mar-jung is similar to Domino, but it needs four persons for a group. In China, if a person is invited to dinner, it also means being invited for a Mar-jung game. How to get along with people can be learned from playing Mar-jung; and how to arrange the group is very important for a successful hostess or host. Mar-jung goes almost anywhere Chinese people go. Besides playing Mar-jung in the club, all families play Mar-jung often or occasionally when they get together with other friends. One family ascribes their lack of frequent associations with other Chinese families to the fact that they do not play Mar-jung. Only two teenagers in one family have developed an interest in Mar-jung.

Three families play Chinese Chess once in awhile. A game of Chinese Chess takes a long time to finish. Playing Chinese Chess requires patience, carefulness and clear thinking; not many people can play it well even in China. It is a game for persons of knowledge and, as opposed to Mar-jung, it is not a popular social game. Obviously this game is not popular in overseas Chinese communities either. Only in two families are children learning Chinese Chess from their parents. In one family, the wife makes Japanese flower arrangements as a hobby. She and her husband had been in Japan for 5 years before they came to the United States.

Besides Mar-jung, the most popular games in those families

are bridge and tennis. Five couples play bridge regularly, four couples play tennis regularly, and the other families play either one or both on occasion. Five families just started to learn cross-country skiing. To survive in Michigan better, they felt they should try some winter outdoor activities. Watching movies is also very popular in these families and once in awhile they can see a Chinese movie through the Chinese Association.

The majority of female informants mentioned that they read quite a few Chinese novels. When families go back to Taiwan or Hong Kong, usually they bring back some books, or their relatives send them by mail. Sometimes they can get Chinese novels from Chinatown. Those women then exchange the novels among themselves. Around seven wives say that their greatest enjoyment is staying at home and reading Chinese novels. Some families have more unusual amusements such as canoeing and fishing, which are not popular in most sample families. The following chart shows the more popular amusements.

Table 15  
Types of Amusements Within the Sample Families

Amusement	Number of Families
Mar-jung . . . . .	8
Reading Chinese Novels . . . . .	13
Chinese Chess . . . . .	3
Bridge . . . . .	5
Tennis . . . . .	4
Watching Movies . . . . .	8
Cross-Country Skiing . . . . .	5

Table 16  
Practice of Chinese-Style Amusements

Keeping Chinese-Style of Amusement . . . .	13 Families
Not Keeping Any Chinese-Style Amusement . .	5 "
Only Have Chinese-Style of Amusement . . .	0 "

### Newspapers and Magazines

Both newspapers and magazines offer up-to-date information and helpful hints on everyday problems. All the first generation informants are bi-lingual in English and Chinese and are able to get information through both languages. All 18 families subscribe to newspapers in English. Local daily newspapers are the principle source of up-to-date information. 15 families subscribe to Chinese newspapers which are from Chinatown in New York, Taiwan or Hong Kong. One family orders three different kinds of Chinese newspapers. 13 families read Chinese magazines which are ordered from New York's Chinatown, Taiwan, Hong Kong, or mainland China. Some magazines are for fun, some are the source of information on politics or economics. One family also reads a Japanese magazine as they also speak Japanese. Ten families order English magazines.

Some informants said that they read newspapers for the news, but that they enjoy literature or stories only in Chinese newspapers and magazines. Reading in English is an obligation; reading in Chinese is a relaxation. Some families

also tried to order Chinese folk tales for their children, but none of the children reads them on his/her own. Only the adults read them and then tell the stories to their children. The following chart shows the numbers of families ordering newspapers and magazines.

Table 17  
Newspaper and Magazine Preferences Within the Sample Families

	Families Ordering Each
Chinese Newspapers	15
Chinese Magazines	13
English Newspapers	18
English Magazines	10

#### Personal Names Used in the Family

"Names" here refers to the personal name, English or Chinese. According to the linguistic classification, English is a branch of the Indo-European language family; Chinese is a branch of the Indo-Chinese language family. The two languages have very different ways of pronunciation. It is very difficult to pronounce Chinese words properly with the English pronunciation, and vice-versa. For this reason, and for the sake of convenience, many Chinese use an English name of their preference or one that sounds similar to the Chinese name, to use in this country. Some Chinese simply pronounce the Chinese name in English. This will be referred to as "no English name."

Without exception, every member in every sample family

has his/her own Chinese name. Adults in six families don't have English names. In one family only the husband has no English name; in another family the wife doesn't have an English name. Only three families out of 18 use no English names for their children; those children use the names transformed from Chinese names in schools.

Table 18  
Sample Families Not Using English Names

No English Name	
Adult	6 Families + One Wife + One Husband
Children	3 Families

The use of names is similar to the use of language at home: there are differences between "parent to parent," "parents to children", and "children to children". In the majority of the sample families, Chinese names are used between parents. Children tend to call each other by English names if they use English names at school. Some parents do not like to confuse their children by using different names at school and at home, and therefore, only English names are used even though the children have Chinese names. The results are shown in the following chart.

Table 19  
Names Used Within Sample Families

	Use English Name	Use Chinese Names
Between Parents	4	14
Parents to Children	10	8
Children to Children	12	6



## Folklore

### Chinese Festival

Before examining the research results in this aspect, three main Chinese festivals will be introduced. Chinese life has been regulated by the lunar calendar for thousands of years. The Chinese New Year and all other festivals were dated according to the lunar calendar. Even though nowadays people in all Chinese areas are using solar calendars, every family still keeps a lunar calendar. The three main festivals are: Lantern Kites Festival on the 15th of January in the lunar calendar; the Dragon-Boat Festival on the 5th of May; and the Moon Festival, also called the Mid-Autumn Festival on the 15th of August.

In the Lantern Kites Festival in China, kites are made to resemble animals such as a goldfish, crab or dragon. Nowadays they are even made to resemble airplanes or boats, with built-in lanterns in various parts of the body. Lantern kites are displayed in the temples and played with by children at home. Many activities take place around the lantern kites. This festival is on the fifteenth of the first month in the lunar calendar - it is also called the "little new year", which is supposed to be the last day of the New Year vacation. The traditional food eaten on this day is Chinese dumplings which are round and symbolize the "getting together" of the whole family.

The Dragon-Boat Festival, also called the May Festival, is on the fifth day of the fifth month in the lunar calendar, in memorial of the death of Chu-Yuan, a statesman and poet of the fourth century B.C. His poems occupy a very important place in Chinese literature. He drowned himself when he lost the emperor's favor. The search for his body turned into the present-day Dragon-Boat Festival. People throw rice balls covered with a kind of long leaf, into the river to feed the hungry soul of Chu-Yuan. Since then, eating rice balls became a folk custom on this festival.

The Mid-Autumn Festival is on the fifteenth day of the eighth month in the lunar calendar which is the day of the full moon, also called the "Moon Festival". The full moon in China always symbolizes "getting together". Therefore, all members of a family have to go home for this day. After having a big dinner, the whole family has moon cake together in the yard, enjoying the moonlight. There are a variety of folkstories about this festival. The most popular version is that a thousand years ago a very beautiful queen stole the medicine of immortality from her husband-king. Immediately after she ate it she flew to the moon where she will live forever but will be very lonely. In China, (at least in Taiwan), the three days of this festival are holidays during which all schools, banks and governmental offices are closed.

Only three families in this research celebrate the Lantern Kites Festival. But they only celebrate it by making some Chinese dumplings for which they can get the materials from the Oriental Market or Chinatown. And these three families like Chinese dumplings very much. The Chinese Association also gives a party and prepares Chinese dumplings for the participants. The Association usually has the party during the weekend which is closest to the real festival date.

Only two families celebrate the Dragon-Boat Festival by making and eating Chinese rice balls. The materials for making the rice balls are difficult to get, especially the dry long leaf. It is also difficult to make the correct shape and cook it well. Generally, the reasons for not celebrating the two festivals are that those families do not follow the lunar calendar at home and it is very easy to miss the day; also they feel it is no fun to celebrate a festival with only a few people together, especially when children do not understand the meaning of the festival very well.

The Moon Festival is the most popular one in the local Chinese community. The Chinese Association holds the Moon Festival potluck dinner and orders moon cake from Chinatown in Chicago for the participants. Besides the Chinese Association's party, 12 families celebrate this festival either within the family or with their friends. Some families have their relatives send them moon cake from Taiwan, or they buy or

order it from any Chinatown. It is also easier to explain the story of the Moon Festival to their children because the "moon is there."

Even though not every family celebrates the Chinese festival, every family does celebrate Christmas, along with other Western festivals. Two families with older children have given up the celebration of some of the American festivals, but all the families celebrate Christmas for the children's sake. Some families celebrate Halloween, Thanksgiving and Easter for the children's sake also. They don't like their children to feel different from the others. The results are summarized in the following chart.

Table 20  
Festivals Observed By Sample Families

Festival	Yes	No
Lantern Kites Festival	3	15
Dragon-Boat Festival	2	16
Moon Festival	12	6
Christmas	18	0
Halloween	16	2

#### Chinese New Year

Without exception, all 18 families celebrate Chinese New Year. But they celebrate it differently here than in China. The Chinese New Year, like Christmas, is a special day for the family to get together. All 18 families celebrate the

Chinese New Year together with other Chinese friends, none celebrates it alone. The traditional New Year's food is not made here, for people here do not have the vacation people have in China.

Decades ago, when China was still an agricultural society, the Chinese New Year did not mean only New Year's Day - the first day of the first month in the lunar calendar - it meant a period from the beginning of December till the 15th of January. Chinese New Year is also called the Spring Festival, because the first month in the lunar calendar is the beginning of spring. December 8th in Northern China is the day people have to eat "December 8th porridge". The porridge is made of several ingredients, such as plums and nuts. After eating this peculiar porridge, the people start to prepare for the coming of the New Year. Nowadays, China is developing as an industrial society. The lifestyle is changing so that people cannot afford to spend as much time for the New Year. Hence, at least in Taiwan, the time period for the Chinese New Year has been shortened to one week. The customs which are being introduced here, are those practiced in Taiwan.

In Taiwanese schools, winter vacation is arranged to cover the Chinese New Year from the end of December of the lunar calendar until the Lantern Kites Festival is over. Officials and employees of private businesses get at least 5 days off from the day before New Year's Day. On the 15th of

December, small business owners have a formal dinner party for all their employees to show their gratitude toward them for the past year. They also give the employees at least an additional half of his/her monthly salary in a red envelope. In big businesses, the boss has to give bonuses to his employees before the Chinese New Year. After getting the extra money, people start to buy the necessities for the New Year. Traditionally, people would not use the kitchens until the 5th of January; it is the time for the housewives to rest. Therefore, right before the New Year people purchase everything needed to prepare enough food for at least a whole week for the family's needs and for guests.

By the last day of December, every family has to "clean up" the whole house, all the washing has to be done and all the broken things thrown away to signify not only a clean start for the next year, but also a clean house where all the evil spirits and bad luck have been swept out. On New Year's Eve, all members of the family away from home return if they can afford it, for a reunion with parents and to pay respect to senior relatives. During the New Year's Eve dinner, every family has its own special dish which usually has a specific name symbolizing fortune, long life, prosperity or something similarly positive.

After dinner the parents give the children money inside red envelopes to symbolize that the children are one

year older. In many families, the children are permitted to gamble with this money, and adults play Mar-jung. Many people sit up on New Year's Eve to wait for the arrival of the dawn of the first day. It is said that the longer you can sit up, the longer your parents' life will be. The whole family worships its ancestors at midnight.

On New Year's Day, everybody has to dress in completely new clothes. Everyone avoids expressions of anger or displeasure, as every word spoken should be in the nature of expressing good-will. When friends come to visit, the host and hostess always serve New Year's candies made especially for this occasion and fruits which have fortunate names. It is believed that eating them can bring people good fortune. People living in the same community always organize programs or activities like "dragon dancing" or "lion dancing" which are also reported to be the main activities during the Chinese New Year in Chinatown on the East and West coasts of the United States.

As opposed to the "great tradition" which is the legitimate tradition of a society like Confucianism in China, folk customs or oral literature can be seen as belonging to a people's "little tradition" which is not passed down to the next generation through schools or books but is transmitted informally within the family or an ethnic boundary. Without the context of ethnic boundary, people would not be much affected by their "little tradition."

The Chinese in Kalamazoo can celebrate their New Year only in the limited context of the nuclear family. This context does not allow them to observe fully all traditional customs; selected are those that can be observed relatively easily, such as eating special food, wearing Chinese clothing or new clothes. At this occasion some families also teach their children to show respect to their parents by making them fall on their knees and slightly hit their head on the floor after they received the red envelopes containing money. Compared with the ritual at home, very little is done here.

The following chart will summarize the families' activities regarding the Chinese New Year.

Table 21  
Celebration of Chinese New Year Within Sample Families

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Families Who Celebrate Chinese New Year . . . . .	18
Families Who Celebrate Chinese New Year With Chinese Friends .	15
Families Who Make Symbolic Food For New Year . . . . .	6
Families Who Give Children Money in Red Envelopes . . . . .	7

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#### Chinese Folkstories and Folksongs

Three families have never tried to tell children Chinese folkstories or teach them Chinese folksongs. Four families tried when the children were young but after they entered high school they forgot everything, and their parents gave it up. One family has done very little in this aspect, the



parents do not think it is important and feel the children get enough from school and books. One family brought a lot of folkstory books from Taiwan and told their children the tales. When the children were older, they started to argue about many points in the folkstories which are rather strange for this society, then the parents totally gave up telling them any more. In 12 families, parents have either ordered or bought many Chinese folkstory books and tapes of folksongs from Taiwan or Hong Kong. The children's grandparents send books, too. 10 families say that they have never passed up a chance to tell their children about Chinese culture. They do not know how much the children retain, but at least they have tried very hard and hopefully the folksongs and stories have become a part of the second generations' childhood culture. The following chart summarizes the parents' behavior in regard to Chinese oral traditions.

Table 22  
Parental Behavior in Regard to Chinese Oral Traditions

Parents Who Bought Chinese Folkstory Books and Tapes . . . . .	12
Parents Who Tried Very Hard To Tell Folkstories and Teach Folk Songs . . . . .	10
Parents Who Tried In the Beginning But Later Gave Up . . . . .	4
Parents Who Did Not Try . . . . .	3

#### Birthdays

Today, many Chinese still celebrate their lunar calendar

birthday even though on all official documents their birth-date is recorded in the Western calendar. Among our 18 families, all children celebrate their birthday according to the Western calendar, but in three families parents also celebrate the children's lunar calendar birthday because their grandparents send birthday cards and gifts on this date. Adults in 11 families still only celebrate their lunar calendar birthday. According to the informants, seven families celebrate both generation's birthdays based on the Western calendar because it is easier to remember and the children do not get confused.

Table 23  
Birthday Celebrations Based on Lunar and Western Calendars

	Lunar Calendar Birthday	Western Calendar Birthday
Adult	11	7
Children	0	18

Birthday celebrations are also different between the two generations. All 18 families give birthday parties for their children, because their American friends have birthday parties. Four families stopped giving birthday parties for their children after they entered high school. At their birthday parties, children have a birthday cake and gifts. The adults in 5 families do not celebrate their birthdays at all. Adults in the other 13 families usually celebrate

it with their own family. Besides receiving gifts, they celebrate by either eating out or making some special food at home. The traditional birthday food in China are noodles. The long shape of the noodles symbolizes "long life." Eleven families try to eat noodles whether they eat at home or not. If they eat at home, they make the noodles Chinese-style; if they eat out they order something like spaghetti instead. The family whose parents also live in Kalamazoo celebrate their parents' birthdays with all the traditional Chinese customs. Some parents tried to cook Chinese noodles for their children's birthday, but the children don't appreciate it. They prefer birthday cake and a party instead. Many families also have a birthday cake for adults and sometimes a birthday party. The following chart will separate the families into those who still keep some Chinese ways in celebrating their birthdays and those who are completely Americanized.

Table 24  
Celebration of the Birthday Within Sample Families

	Adult	Children
Still Keep Some Chinese Ways	11	0
Completely Americanized	2	18
Don't Celebrate Any Birthday	5	0

### Folk Customs

There is still a variety of other folk customs practiced in China. For example, today in Taiwan 95% of the families

still observe certain customs around pregnancy and childbirth, no matter what social class they are from. Especially after giving birth, 98% of the women in Taiwan still practice the custom "Tso-Yue-Tsu" which means that for one month the new mother stays home, keeps very warm, eats fresh and nutritious food, especially chicken, keeps away from cold water, engages in no sexual intercourse and does no hard work such as cooking or cleaning. The wife's mother-in-law will help her through the month.

Only three of our families observe some taboos when the wife is pregnant, such as not letting her do heavy work, not using scissors or a needle and not eating certain food. While the wife was pregnant, the mother of the wife or the husband was staying with them in these cases. Another 15 families do not have any taboos at all. According to the informants, this is because they do not believe in these taboos, and because they have to do everything for themselves in this country, hence they cannot care much about the taboos. "Tso-Yue-Tsu" was practiced by 10 families. One woman had her second child in China more than 25 years ago. She practiced "Tso-Yue-Tsu" because she was with the husband's family. But she did not do it after her other three children were born in this country. Nine women here had the experience of "Tso-Yue-Tsu" because their mothers or mothers-in-law came to help when they gave birth. Those who did not practice "Tso-Yue-Tsu" have consistently said that they were not

as lucky as the women in China who can get people to help them very easily. They believe that if they were in China, they would definitely do it.

Even though not every female informant had the chance to practice "Tso-Yue-Tsu", almost all 18 women ate quite a few chickens during the first month after they gave birth. Chicken is the traditional postpartum diet.

"Tso-Yue-Tsu" depends on the presence of a big family. With a change in the family organization towards smaller, nuclear families, customs like "Tso-Yue-Tsu" are observed less now. However, all our informants stated that they would like to help their daughter as much as possible during pregnancy and childbirth.

Table 25  
Folk Customs Practiced Within Sample Families

	Yes	No
Observe Taboo	3	15
Practice "Tso-Yue-Tsu"	10	8
Eat Traditional Food (Chicken)	18	0

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The data collected in this research were classified into four categories: ideology, social structure, daily life and folklore. These were used to outline some changes in the lifestyle of the sample population of Chinese in cultural contact circumstances. 85% of the sample families have American citizenship. 100% want their second generation to be highly educated, which corresponds to Hsu's statement that, as the "High value of education and desire for advancement is bred in the Chinese cultural roots, the transmission to American ways is relatively easy for many Chinese" (Hsu 1971:115). 75% of the second generation speak English at home; 50% of the parents have to communicate with their children in English. 75% of the parents will accept children marrying non-Chinese, even though 50% have negative attitudes towards this.

The parental generation is under the pressure of two different cultures. These people are still doing what they have to do for their parents according to the traditional Chinese way, but they do not expect the same from their children. 75% of informants are more or less supporting their parents financially and 95% will support their children at least until they get college degrees. But only 5% are expecting their children to support them in the future. The same tendency can be seen in the living

arrangements between generations. As to the traditional Chinese concept of filial piety, 60% of the informants consider it important for their children in general, but 90% no longer demand total obedience from their children, and 40% do not insist that children should be obligated to parents. 60% of the parental generation associate with American or non-Chinese in their social life, while almost 100% of the second generation associate with American and non-Chinese.

Daily life shows the most apparent changes. As to food habits, even though nobody in the parental generation prefers American food, 95% have American style breakfasts and 65% have American lunches. In the second generation, 61% prefer American food. Clothing, especially for the second generation, is completely Americanized. 75% of the families occasionally or regularly play Chinese games for amusement, but a larger variety of Western style recreations are used. 100% of the second generation read only English. Only 25% of the adults use their English names at home, compared with 75% in the second generation.

75% of the families celebrate Chinese festivals, but 100% celebrate Christmas. 100% celebrate Chinese New Year, but the content of the celebration is gradually simplified. 100% of the second generation celebrate their birthday in the American style. 80% of informants reported they had

to give up some folk customs because the environment made it impossible to perform them.

It is obvious that these Chinese are changing toward the dominant group, i.e., are acculturating. But, according to their responses in the interviews, these changes are rather "situational." This means the informants try to avoid changing themselves while adjusting to the different situations. This "unwillingness" to change their identity is expressed by 85% of the informants. For example, they speak English in the office, but speak Chinese at home. 85% of the families want their children to speak Chinese, too, because the context of the home does not necessarily require the change of language. The same thing happens in the aspect of food. The informants can enjoy American food for lunch in the office, but dinner has to be Chinese because then they are not in a situation that forces them to be "American" in order to be like the others.

In other words, they only change their behavior, and only if they are under pressure to do so. As mentioned before, the parental generation in this research is under the pressure of two cultures. Toward their parents they have to behave in the Chinese way, because the context between the informants and their parents is Chinese. But when they deal with their children, who grew up in a non-Chinese context, they have to change their expectations, however unwillingly. They are aware of these changes, are bothered by



them, and resent them, but regard them as unavoidable and uncontrollable. They may as well let them be.

As mentioned before, the Chinese in the Kalamazoo area do not live within an ethnic boundary; they own houses in several neighborhoods; and their income is far above the average in this country. Socio-economically speaking, they are middle to upper-middle class and function successfully as members of the dominant American society. Changes have occurred outwardly in so many aspects of their lifestyle, that it is not much different from middle class life in this society generally. But at the same time, we can see that they still hold on to their ethnic identity and express it frequently. They have American citizenship, but identify themselves as "100% Chinese." They want their children to learn Chinese and hope they will marry only Chinese. They mainly, or exclusively, associate with Chinese. They eat Chinese food, read Chinese magazines, play Chinese games with Chinese friends and celebrate Chinese New Year. One family refers to itself as very americanized, yet it plays a very prominent role in the Chinese activities. Apparently even this family tries to build up ethnic feelings and nuances whenever and wherever it can. What is the role of ethnic identity in the changing lives of this group?

It has been popularly assumed that ethnic identity and the retention of ethnic culture are positively correlated. Our research does not bear out this assumption. However,

before any conclusion is drawn, one of the ethnic minority studies is worth being introduced here.

A Mexican-American community located at the lower west side of the Mississippi River has been studied by T. Allen Caine in 1974. Caine argues that urban-industrial ethnic acculturation is best understood when an acculturating group is examined as a class unit. Ethnic groups are stratified in social classes like the dominant population. Consequently members of an ethnic group are subject to the same forms of social control and socio-economic limitations as non-ethnic groups in the same strata. Because of this, the "old culture" of an urban ethnic group rapidly undergoes transformation in a new cultural setting. Behavior and belief take on new aspects characteristic of the particular class-strata and, moreover, support the cultural themes of the dominant society. From these findings Caine gathered two hypotheses:

- 1) The culture of an ethnic group will be the same as of the non-ethnic group within the same community.
- 2) The lifestyle of an ethnic group will be the same as of the non-ethnic group within the same community.

Another factor in an acculturation process is ethnic identity. It is reasonable to assume that a group's ethnic identity does affect its lifestyle and culture, but if the above hypotheses are true, then the often assumed correlation between culture and ethnicity does not exist. Not

knowing what effects ethnic identity might have on a group's lifestyle and culture, therefore, Caine generated an exploratory hypothesis:

- 3) Ethnic identification will have no relationship with the degree of acculturation.

To test these hypotheses, a sample of forty-seven Mexican women with children were interviewed and compared to a sample of thirty-three Anglo women and children from different social classes. The result is that the hypotheses concerning lifestyle and culture proved to be true. In general, the two samples resembled each other closely in attitude and community-organizational activity. A breakdown of the samples into social network types did reveal differences which the bivariate sample comparisons did not: among others, it revealed the effects of ethnic identity. Caine thus demonstrated his hypothesis purporting the lack of a direct relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation. The sample group in the Kalamazoo area similarly shows the occurrence of the same phenomenon as in the Mexican-American study in respect to "ethnic identity."

Furthermore, Caine refers to ethnic identity as "ethnic consciousness" which is a personalized, deeper awareness of ethnicity which functions in such a way as to make this feeling a central motivating factor in one's life. The Chinese group in Kalamazoo also show this "ethnic consciousness" described by Caine.

The socio-economic status of this group is heading toward the middle to upper-middle class in American society. In other words, the upper-middle class in this country is its reference group. At the same time, it also takes its own ethnic group in the Kalamazoo area as its reference group, particularly in regard to social activities or interactions. Ethnic identity helps to establish a social network. The ethnic group also serves to solve problems caused by the bi-cultural or bi-ethnic situation, such as how to apply for citizenship, where to shop for ethnic food, how to motivate children to study Chinese, and so on.

The lack of a direct relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation is also confirmed by Lyman's description (1972) of the third generation of Japanese and Chinese immigrants in San Francisco. The second generation Chinese in San Francisco grew up with the idea to escape Chinatown by becoming professionals like engineers or pharmacists. They achieved middle-class status and moved out of the ethnic neighborhood. But their children, the third generation, are interested in returning to the ethnic neighborhood - to rebuild it, to participate in re-establishing both ties of community and ties of ethnicity. That is, in an age where everyone feels he ought to know his ethnic heritage, these third generation Chinese find they can not realize their ethnicity in a neighborhood where the majority belongs to the dominant ethnic group. The third generation benefitted

by the acceptance of Western ideas, the socio-economic well-being and acculturation of their parents, yet they feel estranged and alienated from white Americans.

This is a phenomenon which Marcus Lee Hansen called "third generation return." Hansen argued that what the second generation wishes to forget the third generation wishes to remember. He got the idea from studying Swedes in America. He noticed that the third generation of Swedish Americans founded Swedish historical societies. Swedish Americans began to go hunting for artifacts of their old world life. Hansen tried to explain this by arguing that the third generation is the recipient of a full-fledged American enculturation by virtue of having been born and raised in America, and thus being able to evaluate the American way of life critically. If Hansen is correct, then out of a general disillusionment with American society arose a new ethnic interest (Lyman 1972: 395).

However, a general disillusionment with the American way of life is not fully adequate to explain the Chinese ethnic identity in the United States; the position of the Chinese in the larger social system is another factor. According to Webster (1972:1) ethnic groups like the Chinese and Blacks, can be classified as being among the socially disadvantaged in America. Socially disadvantaged are described as persons or groups whose chances for the complete

maximization of their talents or potentials are limited by societal factors related to poverty or racial, caste, or class attitudes.

Valentine (1976:1-22) has also mentioned that the minority group, and their different parts (organizations) have to adjust within the contexts of social class and ethnic-racial categories in various ways. Social classes refers to a class order consisting of a working class, a bourgeoisie making up the middle classes, and an elite or upper-class. An ethnic-racial stratification consists of various culturally and historically distinct groupings commonly divided between dominant white and subordinate non-white people, or people of color, variously subdivided, and commonly classified in color-coded and graded categories. According to Valentine, it is assumed that members of dominant groupings perceived their interests as consistent with both the class order and the ethnic status quo of the traditional systems. Ruling classes and dominant ethnic groups practice class exploitation and ethnic-racial discrimination. Individuals and subgroupings within subordinate collectivities vary in their perceptions of their own interests, but many are quite aware that they are exploited and oppressed. Groups possessing the least power and property adapt to the system variously along with protesting and rebelling against the disadvantages imposed on them by the social order.

Harris (1971:433) says that minority is characteristic

of the state in which people with substantially different racial and cultural backgrounds are regularly incorporated into the stratification system. He divides minorities into "cultural minorities" such as Greeks, Italians and Jews in the United States, as opposed to "racial minorities" like Afro-Americans and other colored peoples. All minorities are said to differ from social classes in three ways:

- 1) Some of their cultural specialties derive from traditions associated with alien socio-cultural systems.
- 2) They are genetically distinguishable from the host population.
- 3) They are internally stratified in their own right analagous to the power structure of the host families.

Harris observes that many minorities are more or less endogamous, either by "choice" or by "imposition of the majority." Endogamy, he suggests, opposes "assimilation" and promotes "pluralism." It is assumed that the minorities' ruling aspiration is to be "included," through upward mobility, in the class-ethnic system. To secure a definite place in the larger system, small minorities always form their own associations and communities.

Barth (1969) also points out three basic strategies employed by minority groups pursuing participation in larger social systems. First, they may attempt to pass and become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group. Second, they may accept a "minority

status," accommodate to and seek to reduce their minority disabilities by encapsulating all cultural differences.

Third, they may choose to emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purpose.

According to these consequences of a minority's position in the social hierarchy and its racial position, we can say that ethnic identity is not only a feeling or sense of "peoplehood" (Gordon 1964), but that it is also forged by the dominant majority. As a highly educated minority group, the Chinese in the Kalamazoo area are deeply aware of the racial and cultural discrepancies between them and the dominant majority. If they had not immigrated to this society, given their socio-economic background, these Chinese would be the elite or upper class in China. In this country, they accept the minority status and accommodate themselves to the dominant cultural and social system to achieve a position in the dominant middle class, while on the other hand, they emphasize their ethnic identity and their racial and cultural difference. Thus, they feel that they are "different," yet definitely not "inferior." They realize that being highly educated is the only way for upward mobility into the elite and for achievement in the dominant society. They also realize that being members of their own associations and



strongly expressing their ethnic heritage in all aspects of their lives, offers them a definite place in the larger system. Thus, when a child told his mother, "I am an American," the mother replied, "Look at your own face, you are not an American, you are Chinese." Their houses are full of Chinese artifacts, particularly the living rooms, and people can tell "this is a Chinese home" right after entering the house. They don't live in an ethnic community, yet they try very hard to establish an environment which can provide their children with a feeling of ethnicity.

Rin Shien (1975), choosing a cultural psychological viewpoint, stresses that Chinese have a synthesizing mentality which allows them to remain Chinese while adapting to a foreign setting without too much stress or difficulty. Rin also defines Chinese as very "situation-oriented," which makes them seem practical and shrewd. They view every single event in a situation in relation to the whole, and to the ultimate goal. For the Chinese, grasping a total situation is of supreme importance. It makes them capable of adaptation to the most alien of circumstances. Overseas Chinese appear to manifest such characteristics. By looking around, seeking information and contacts, utilizing resources of any kind, they quickly find a way to adapt harmoniously to their completely new environment, without denying their ethnic identity or belittling their ethnic heritage. Successfully they play the roles of a double identity.

Thus, for example, being Chinese and holding American citizenship is not a contradiction to them. They are always Chinese; yet when their survival is threatened, they readily will adapt themselves to and identify with the social settings that allow them to better their situation.

The strive to maintain a double identity is also expressed in the parent's attitude toward their children's education. The Chinese do not present the American culture in negative terms to their children. Rather, they encourage children to learn everything American children learn, no matter how alien it is to Chinese (like sports, music, and games in school), and expect their children to do it even better than American children. In schools, Chinese pupils are reputed to be excellent, especially in Mathematics. Children are encouraged to celebrate American festivals, eat American food, and wear American clothes so that they would not feel "different" from other American children. Chinese parents insist that their children become highly educated to be fully accepted and integrated into a prosperous, high status group in the dominant society. However, at the same time, they cultivate in their children the awareness of being a Chinese. They send children to Chinese lessons, Chinese parties, and take them back to China as often as possible. For them, acceptance into American society does not mean that their ethnic identity should be denied. Parents insist that chil-

dren should function very well in both cultural settings; they are eclectic in what parts of the two cultures is passed on to their children so as to minimize cultural conflicts. High motivations and achievement orientation is prominent in both cultural value systems, and parents stress them in the socialization of their children.

As Rin says "the Chinese have a remarkable capacity to incorporate other cultural components into self and to formulate a double identity, all the while maintaining a deep sense of being Chinese." (Rin 1975:149). The Kalamazoo example fits this description.

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## APPENDIX A

### Content of Interviews

- A. IDEOLOGY
  - 1. Identification of nationality and culture
  - 2. The education of the second generation
  - 3. Language used in the family
  - 4. Marriage between Chinese and non-Chinese
  - 5. Religion
- B. SOCIAL STRUCTURE
  - 1. Financial relation between parents and children
  - 2. Living arrangements between generations
  - 3. Traditional Chinese "filial piety" in the family
  - 4. Authority of the role of father in the family
  - 5. Social life
- C. DAILY LIFE
  - 1. Food
  - 2. Clothing
  - 3. Amusement
  - 4. Newspapers and magazines
  - 5. Names of members used in the family (English or Chinese)
- D. FOLKLORE
  - 1. Chinese festival
  - 2. Chinese New Year
  - 3. Folkstory and folksong
  - 4. Birthdays
  - 5. Folk customs

APPENDIX B

Data Form  
For Basic Personal Information

1. Name: (Chinese) \_\_\_\_\_  
(English) \_\_\_\_\_
2. Name of Spouse: (Chinese) \_\_\_\_\_  
(English) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Place of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Date and Place of Marriage: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Number of Children: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Education: \_\_\_\_\_
8. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
10. Other: \_\_\_\_\_