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ASSIMILATION OF CHINESE FAMILIES
IN KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

by

Lily Shu-Hong Sun

A thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty in The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Master of Arts

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The adaptation of immigrants to the American way of life has not at all times operated with the same speed and effectiveness. Some immigrant groups have faced greater difficulties than others in achieving a status of equality and in assimilating into the society. Several different models have been proposed for studying the assimilation process. The research reported here on assimilation of the Chinese families in Kalamazoo was guided by Milton M. Gordon's theory of assimilation.¹ Hopefully, the research will contribute to the study of both the assimilation process in general and of Chinese immigrant assimilation into the American society in particular.

Gordon presents a multidimensional approach to assimilation. He distinguishes seven types or sub-processes. Each of these sub-processes may be thought of as constituting a particular stage or aspect of the assimilation process and may take place in varying degrees. Of his seven types of assimilation, three were focused upon in this study: cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, and identificational assimilation. The other four types of assimilation

¹Gordon, Milton M., Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

lation-- marital assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavior receptional assimilation, civic assimilation-- were not included in this study, because to study them would require studying the behavior and attitudes of members of the host society. According to Gordon's definition, cultural assimilation refers to the extent to which the minority group has absorbed the cultural patterns of the host society, for example, the language, dress, food habits, sport, art, and religion. Structural assimilation is the process by which the individuals in the minority group have become distributed in the social and occupational structure and have entered the political, social and cultural organizations of the dominant society. Identificational assimilation describes the development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society.

Gordon suggests that the three types of assimilation are related to each others. He asserts that cultural assimilation is likely to be the first type of assimilation to occur. Cultural assimilation does not necessarily lead to structural assimilation, however. Thus, Gordon shows that while black Americans have generally been culturally assimilated, they are still excluded from many of the social cliques and institutions of the society. He argues therefore that cultural assimilation of the minority group may take place without any of the other types of assimilation occurring, and that this situation may continue indefinitely. Gordon regards structural assimilation as the key process; once it occurs,

the other types of assimilation, including identificational assimilation, are likely to follow. Based on these assertion, it was predicted that (1) cultural assimilation occurs first for the Chinese families; (2) structural assimilation takes place after cultural assimilation has occurred for the Chinese families; and (3) identificational assimilation happens after structural assimilation has occurred for the Chinese families. These were the hypotheses tested in this study.

Despite the large number of studies relating to the Chinese immigrants in the United States, analysis of their assimilation process is meager. Most of the previous studies deal with the general backgrounds of the Chinese immigrants or a general descriptive study of their institutional lives. J. S. Tow (1923)¹ has given a description concerned with the living conditions, the morality and behavior, occupations, business and organizations of the early Chinese immigrants. He intended to increase the understanding between Americans and Chinese and to aid in the struggle for equal legal and social treatment. David Te-Chao Cheng (1948)² showed the change of cultural patterns of the Chinese people in Philadelphia. He measured the degree of acculturation of the Chinese community by examining the retention of Chinese traits, the adoption of American traits, and the

¹Tow J. S., The Real Chinese in America. New York: the Academy Press, 1923.

²Cheng, David Te-Chao, Acculturation of the Chinese in the United States: A Philadelphia Study. Foochow China: the Fukien Christian University Press, 1948.

mixing of Chinese and American patterns. He found that in family patterns and social customs, there was a substantial mixture of the two cultures. In religion, the old traits were still very dominant. He pointed out that the cultural traits which the Chinese in Philadelphia adopted from the American culture were more numerous than were those transmitted from the old world. More recently, Rose Hum Lee (1960)¹ 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 is hampered by some hindrances which include physical characteristics, a lower standard of living, social conflict between generations, and geographical isolation. S. W. Kung (1962)² has given a complete history of Chinese immigration in the United States. In his analysis, assimilation is a two-way process with Chinese American society. In addition, Chinese scholars and scientists have contributed to American progress and welfare. Kung found that the Chinese in the United States are on the whole satisfied with their present status. Calvin Lee (1965)³ has focused on Chinatowns in

¹Lee, Rose Hum, The Chinese in the United States of America. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.

²Kung, S. W., Chinese in American Life. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962.

³Lee, Calvin, Chinatown, U.S.A.. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965.

the United States. He noted that the problem of cultural conflict exists in each succeeding generation and suggests that the decline of Chinatowns is the result of assimilation.

Reviewing this literature on the Chinese immigrants in the United States, it is noted that they contain many good descriptions and suggestions about assimilation, but that few actual studies of the assimilation process have been made. This study is an empirical study designed to provide more understanding about Chinese immigrants in the United States.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Methodology

The subjects for this study were Chinese families living in Kalamazoo, a city located in the south-western part of Michigan in the United States. Kalamazoo, with a population of 85,555¹ is a middle-sized American city. The Kalamazoo metropolitan area includes Portage, Michigan, a city of 33,590.² Chinese families in Portage were also included in the survey. There are 144³ Chinese people living in the Kalamazoo area. Though several of these persons are students, only Chinese families residing in the area were included in this study. The reason is that the families mostly are permanent residents whereas many of the students are not.

The data for this study were gathered through interviews by the researcher with twenty Chinese families from October to December, 1972. Since no adequate listing of Chinese families could be obtained, initial names were obtained from a family with whom the researcher

¹Verway, David I., (Director), Michigan Statistical Abstract. Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1972. (1970' data) p. 16.

²loc. cit., p. 23.

³loc. cit., p. 53.

was acquainted. Subsequently names were obtained from the persons who were interviewed. In total, twenty-two Chinese families were identified in the area. Of these, two families were not interviewed because of scheduling problems.

Interviews were administered in the home of each family and lasted an average of one and one-half hours. Either the husband or wife of a family was the interviewee. Interviews were conducted mostly in Chinese by the researcher. Using their mother language increased cooperation and aided persons in answering difficult questions. In almost all cases interviewees were very cooperative.

The interview schedule was pretested on three Chinese families and certain changes were made. The final schedule consisted of two parts (a copy is included in the appendix). The first part was geared to collect general background data about the twenty Chinese families. The second part consisted of items on cultural assimilation, structural assimilation and identificational assimilation.

The Characteristics of the Respondents

Background data were collected on both the husband and wife in each of the twenty families. Of these forty individuals, thirty-six people came from Chinese societies, i.e., Taiwan, Hong Kong or Mainland China; two people came from Singapore; and two were white Americans who were married to Chinese. Most came to the United States as students, the majority pursuing an advanced education. The other people came here to flee from the communists, to work here, or to join their relatives. The data on the length of stay show that

twenty-six people have been in the United States over ten years, twelve people have been residents for one to ten years and only two have been here less than one years.

Most of the forty individuals were less than forty years old. Of the respondents, six people were between the ages of twenty and thirty, twenty three people between thirty and forty, while nine were between forty one and sixty, and only two were over sixty years old.

The education level of the forty individuals was high. Thirteen people have more than twenty one years of education, eighteen people have sixteen to twenty years and the other seven people have at least twelve years of education.

Of the twenty husbands in the Chinese families, eleven were employed by several Kalamazoo companies. The group included a statistician, a biochemist, a chemist and a physician. Three people were professors at Western Michigan University and Kalamazoo College. Four were students working for their Master's degrees at Western Michigan University. The other two people were operating restaurants. Of the twenty wives, half were working outside the home. One wife was a student, the other nine were housewives. The employed wives included a teacher, a librarian, and office manager and a computer programmer.

In summary, both the husbands and wives in the twenty Chinese families mostly were first generation immigrants, who came to the United States as students, and have been here several years. Also they tended to be young and well-educated with good occupations.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

In order to analyze the pattern of assimilation of the Chinese in Kalamazoo, this chapter will first describe the degree of cultural, structural and identificational assimilation. One measure of each type of assimilation will be isolated and related to the length of time the respondents had lived in the United States.¹ These relationships will be used to describe how each type of assimilation occurs over time and to suggest the temporal order of the three types of assimilation. The direct relationships among the indicators of the three types of assimilation will then be examined as a second way of approaching the relationships among the three types of assimilation.

Cultural Assimilation

The different cultural patterns can be studied in terms of the indices such as language patterns, celebration of festivals, family organization, and food habits. Food habits were used in the study as the indicator of cultural assimilation in the families.

Assimilation of the language patterns of the host society

¹In the twenty Chinese families in Kalamazoo, four families had stayed here less than 5 years, four families had stayed 6-10 years and twelve families had stayed here 11 years and over.

is an important part of cultural assimilation. It was found that the patterns were very similar. Most of the families did not have much trouble in using English, used Chinese or Chinese and English at home, and had some Chinese newspapers and magazines. Of the total, twenty-seven people had no trouble using English, ten people had a little trouble, and only three people had quite a bit of trouble. One third of the families spoke Chinese most of time at home; the rest of them sometimes spoke Chinese, sometimes English. All of the families had at least a few Chinese magazines or newspapers.

A second potential measure of cultural assimilation would be the celebration of Chinese festivals and American festivals. Here there were some differences from family to family. Nine families were found to celebrate some Chinese festivals. They usually had a big dinner party on Chinese New Year's Eve, and had some particular cake or food on other festivals, such as the Latern festival, Dragon Boat festival, or Moon cake festival.. The other eleven families seldom celebrated Chinese festivals. The responses to the question of celebration of American festivals showed that fifteen families celebrated some American festivals, three families celebrated only Christmas, and two did not celebrate any American festivals. On Christmas or Thanksgiving, the families usually had a party, decorated a Christmas tree, and prepared greeting cards or presents for their family members and friends, no matter whether they were Christians or not.

On family organization measures, including family size,

husband-wife relationships, the status of females, and parent-child relationships, the patterns were consistent with those of American families. Every family consisted of only parents and children which is the same as an American nuclear family. Most of the husbands and wives made decisions together. The respondents were asked, "If your family needed a car, who would decide what car your family was going to buy?". Nineteen families answered both husband and wife. In response to another question asking whether the wife should stay at home or not, most held that it is not necessary to stay at home if a wife did not have to take care of a small baby. Most of the parents expected their children to get higher education and better jobs, but as in the American family, their children had a lot of freedom to choose the way they want. Generally, most of the parents did not worry about their children's marriages and mate selection. Also many parents had already realized that a wise parent would not count on their children's support when they were old which is still an accepted attitude in the present Chinese societies.

There was considerable variation in food habits. Seven families reported eating Chinese food two or three times a day, nine families had one Chinese meal every day, and only four families prepared Chinese meals less often. Compared with the similarities of their language and family patterns mentioned above, the variations in food habits and celebration of festivals made these more usable measures of cultural assimilation. Of these two indicators, food habits were selected as the more reliable and valid because it

reflects the daily lives of the respondents.

The relationships between cultural assimilation of the families and the length of their stay in the United States are shown in Table I. As the table shows, all the families who had been in the United States 5 years or less ate Chinese meals two or three times a day, while most of the families who had stayed here over 5 years ate Chinese food once a day or less often. Thus, in about five years, the Chinese families changed from eating three Chinese meals per day to eating only one per day. Even after more than 10 years, however, most of the families still ate at least one Chinese meal per day. These data suggest that partial cultural assimilation of the Chinese families in Kalamazoo occurred after they had been in the United States about five years, but that their cultural assimilation was not completed even after they had stayed here more than ten years.

TABLE I

CHINESE FOOD HABITS AND THE LENGTH OF STAY IN THE UNITED STATES

Chinese Food Habits	Years of Stay in the U.S.			Total
	0-5 years	6-10 years	11 & over 11 years	
Two & three times a day	4	0	3	7
Once a day	0	3	6	9
Less often	0	1	3	4

Structural Assimilation

The degree of structural assimilation of the families can be described in terms of the nationality of their work associates and neighbors, their participation in recreational organizations or clubs, in labor unions or business associations, and the nationality of persons at the meetings or parties they usually attended and of their close friends. The nationality of their close friends was selected to be the main indicator of the process of structural assimilation.

Most of the Chinese families had contact primarily with Americans in everyday working and living. Data show half of the working members of the families had only American fellow workers, the other half had both Chinese and American fellow workers. The twenty families all lived in primarily American neighborhoods. Only seven of the families had one, two, or three Chinese families in their neighborhoods.

The other measures of structural assimilation would be their participation in recreational organizations and business associations. Most of the organizations in which the family members participated were composed predominantly of Americans. Of eight families who belonged to recreational organizations, six families were members of American groups including a dancing club, a tennis club and the Young Women's Christian Association; while the other two families belonged to The Chinese Student Association of Western Michigan

University. Of twenty three working members in the Chinese families, seven belonged to predominantly American professional associations such as the American Chemical Society and Medical Association, and none belonged to predominantly Chinese business or professional associations.

There was more variation among the Chinese families with respect to contact with Americans at meetings and parties and as close friends. Nine of the families usually attended meetings or parties primarily with Americans, another nine took part in some American meetings or parties, and two families usually attended only Chinese meetings and parties. When the respondents were asked the nationality of their close friends, the responses showed that half of the families had both Chinese and American close friends, and the other half had only Chinese close friends. Because the nationality of close friends refers to assimilation at the primary level which Gordon emphasized in his theory,¹ it was used as an indicator of structural assimilation.

The relationship between structural assimilation of the families and the length of their stay in the United States is shown in Table II. The data show that the Chinese families who had been in the United States 10 years or less primarily had Chinese close friends, while the Chinese families who had been here over 10 years mostly tended to have both Chinese and American close friends. It suggests that partial structural assimilation of the Chinese families occurred

¹Gordon, op. cit., p. 71.

after they had been here about ten years. But even after that period assimilation is partial, not total, as seen by the tendency of the long-time residents to have both Chinese and American close friends.

TABLE II

NATIONALITY OF CLOSE FRIENDS AND
THE LENGTH OF STAY IN THE UNITED STATES

Nationality of Close Friends	Years of Stay in the U.S.			Total
	0-5 years	6-10 years	11 & over 11 years	
Chinese	4	3	3	10
Chinese & American	0	1	9	10

Comparison of Table I and Table II suggests that structural assimilation on the primary group level tends to occur later than cultural assimilation. This relationship between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation also can be seen in the relationship between Chinese food habits and American close friends, shown in Table III. Only one of the seven families that ate Chinese food two or three times a day had American close friends compared with five of the nine families that ate Chinese food once a day and all of four the families that ate Chinese food less often. Thus, partial structural

assimilation was found in only one of the families that was least assimilated culturally, among about half of the families that were partially assimilated culturally, and among all of the families that were most assimilated culturally.

TABLE III

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
CHINESE FOOD HABITS AND NATIONALITY OF CLOSE FRIENDS

Nationality of Close Friends	Chinese Food Habits			Total
	Two & three times a day	Once a day	Less often	
Chinese	6	4	0	10
Chinese & American	1	5	4	10

Identificational Assimilation

Identificational assimilation of the Chinese families can be studied in terms of their attitudes towards being Chinese and their preferred identities for their children. The latter one was the indicator used in this study to measure the degree of identificational assimilation.

In the response to the question "Are you proud of being a Chinese?", twelve respondents said that they were very proud of being Chinese and the others said they were slightly proud of being Chinese. The respondents also were asked, "If your children were

born in the United States, would you consider them as American, Chinese-American, or Chinese?". Two parents considered their children to be Americans, ten parents identified their children as Chinese-American, and eight looked at their children as Chinese.

The relationship between identificational assimilation of the families and the length of their stay in the United States is shown in Table IV. The parents who had been in the United States 10 years or less mostly looked at their children as Chinese, while most of the parents who had been here over 10 years identified their children as Chinese-Americans. This suggests that partial identificational assimilation occurred after the Chinese families had been in the United States about ten years. This identificational assimilation was only partial since only a few respondents considered their children as American rather than as Chinese-American.

TABLE IV

ETHNIC IDENTITY OF CHILDREN AND
THE LENGTH OF STAY IN THE UNITED STATES

Ethnic Identity of Children	Years of Stay in the U.S.			Total
	0-5 years	6-10 years	11 & over 11 years	
Chinese	3	2	3	8
Chinese- American	1	1	8	10
American	0	1	1	2

Comparison of Table II and IV suggests that structural assimilation and identificational assimilation occurred at about the same time-- when the Chinese families had been in the United States about ten years.

Table V shows that relationship between structural assimilation and identificational assimilation. Seven of the ten families with only Chinese close friends identified their children as Chinese while only one of the ten families with some American close friends identified their children as Chinese. Though this table shows a close relationship between structural and identificational assimilation, it also indicates that partial structural assimilation is not a necessary prerequisite for partial identificational assimilation since three families who did not have American close friends identified their children as Chinese-Americans.

TABLE V
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
NATIONALITY OF CLOSE FRIENDS AND ETHNIC IDENTITY OF CHILDREN

Ethnic Identity of Children	Nationality of Close Friends		
	Chinese	Chinese & American	Total
Chinese	7	1	8
Chinese- American	3	7	10
American	0	2	2

Table VI shows the relationship between cultural assimilation and identificational assimilation. Six of the seven families who ate Chinese meals two or three times a day identified their children as Chinese, only two of the nine families who ate Chinese meal once a day considered their children as Chinese, and none of the families who ate Chinese meal less often identified their children as Chinese. This shows that there is a close relationship between cultural assimilation and identificational assimilation.

TABLE VI
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
CHINESE FOOD HABITS AND ETHNIC IDENTITY OF CHILDREN

Ethnic Identity of Children	Chinese Food Habits			Total
	Two & three times a day	Once a day	Less often	
Chinese	6	2	0	8
Chinese- American	1	6	3	10
American	0	1	1	2

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

In this study, the results indicate that cultural, structural, and identificational assimilation had occurred only partially in the twenty Chinese families in Kalamazoo. The data analysis on their food habits showed that most of the Chinese families had changed their food habits after their arrival in the United States. But this change tended to stop after they formed the habit of having American meals twice a day and a Chinese meal once a day. Thus, their cultural assimilation was not complete. Structural assimilation indicated by the change of the nationality of their close friends also was not complete. Most of the families who had been in the United States over ten years had both Chinese and American close friends, rather than all American close friends. Their identificational assimilation also occurred to some degree. The analysis of the parents' preferred identities for their children showed that most of the families changed from identifying their children as Chinese to considering their children as Chinese-Americans; only a few parents regarded their children as Americans. Thus, cultural, structural, and identificational assimilation of the Chinese families were only partial, not complete. This pattern of partial assimilation seems to be a normal pattern in American society, as can be seen in

the labels Italian-Americans, Japaness-Americans, or Mexian-Americans.

This study was designed to test the following hypotheses:

(1) cultural assimilation tends to occur first in the Chinese families after their arrival in the United States; (2) structural assimilation takes place after cultural assimilation; and (3) identificational assimilation happens after their structural assimilation.

The first hypothesis was supported by the findings of this study; partial cultural assimilation of the Chinese families was found to have occurred after they had stayed in the United States about five years. In the first five years, most of the Chinese families changed from having Chinese meals two or three times a day to having a Chinese meal once a day, while the change of the nationality of their close friends and the change of the parents' preferred identities for their children were not prominent.

The second hypothesis was supported since partial structural assimilation of the Chinese families was found to have occurred after they had stayed in the United States about ten years. In about ten years, the Chinese families started to change from having Chinese close friends to having both Chinese and American close friends. In addition, the close relationship between their partial cultural and partial structural assimilation also matched this hypothesis. According to this close relationship, it may be predicted that the Chinese families who had Chinese meals less than twice a day tended to change from having Chinese close friends to having both Chinese and American close friends. Thus, structural assimilation

took place after cultural assimilation in the Chinese families.

The results of this study were not consistent with the third hypothesis. The findings indicate that partial identificational assimilation was found to occur simultaneously with partial structural assimilation, rather than subsequent to it. These two types of assimilation were found to have occurred about the same time-- after the Chinese families had stayed in the United States about ten years. From the fact that some Chinese families who had all Chinese close friends identified their children as Chinese-Americans rather than Chinese, it may be concluded that partial identificational assimilation can happen even without partial structural assimilation. These new discoveries of the relationship between structural and identificational assimilation are worthy to notice and need to have further study.

For the future study on the assimilation of Chinese immigrants in the United States, the limitations in this study need to be discussed. There was insufficient variation in several possible indicators of cultural, structural, and identificational assimilation because of the small size and the homogeneity of the population studied. If a larger and more heterogeneous sample were studied, several indicators of each type of assimilation could be used and a more detailed analysis would be possible. A more complete study should include research on the host society which would permit analyses of martial, attitude receptional, behavior receptional, and civic assimilation.

Being a Chinese sociology student in the United States, the author hopes the results of this study will provide the American public with an analytic overview on the assimilation process of a current Chinese group, and have applicability to other immigrant groups which have similar characteristics. The author also hopes the results will give other students clues on how to study the assimilation process of minority groups in the United States.

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APPENDIX

FIRST PART

1. Place of birth (husband and wife)
 - Taiwan
 - Hong Kong
 - Mainland China
 - the U. S.
 - other foreign country
2. Which age group do you belong to? (husband and wife)
 - 20-30
 - 31-40
 - 41-50
 - 51-60
 - over 61
3. How long have you lived in the United States? (husband and wife)
 - under six months
 - six months-one year
 - 1-5 years
 - 6-10 years
 - over 10 years
4. Why did you come to the United States? (husband and wife)
 - study
 - work for others
 - work for yourself
 - Communists occupy mainland
 - stay with relatives
5. How many years of education do you have? (husband and wife)
 - under 9 years
 - 10-15 years
 - 16-20 years
 - 21-25 years
 - over 25 years
6. How many years have you been educated in the United States?
(husband and wife)
 - under 2 years
 - 2-5 years
 - 5-10 years
 - over 10 years

7. What is your occupation? (husband and wife)
8. How long have you stayed on your present job? (husband and wife)
under six months
six months-one year
1-5 years
over five years
9. How long have you been married?
under 1 year
1-5 years
5-10 years
10-20 years
over 20 years
10. Do you have children in your family?
yes
no
11. How many relatives do you have in the United States? (husband and wife)
none
1-2
3-4
4-5
over 5
12. How often do you meet your relatives?
daily
weekly
monthly
rarely
none
13. What is your plan during next ten years?
live in the U.S.
go back and stay in your homeland
other

SECOND PART

14. Do you use English in your family?
all the time
most of time
sometimes
not at all

15. Do you have any trouble in using English? (husband and wife)
no trouble
a little bit
rarely have trouble
can not speak English at all
16. How often does your family eat Chinese food?
none
less often
once a day
twice a day
three times a day
17. Does your family celebrate Chinese festivals?
none
only New Year
some festivals
all festivals
18. Does your family celebrate American festivals?
all festivals
some festivals
only Christmas
none
19. What newspapers or magazines do you and your family read?
all are English
most are English
some are English
none is English
20. Do you think women should stay at home?
strongly agree
agree
neutral
disagree
strongly disagree
21. Who in your family likes Chinese food best?
no one
husband
wife
children
everybody

22. If your family needs a car, who decides what car your family is going to buy?
husband
wife
husband and wife
23. Do you use demand feeding and lenient toilet training?
yes
no
24. Do you physically punish your children? (spanking)
never
rarely
occasionally
frequently
daily
25. Do you punish your children by depriving them of privilege? (sending to bed early, depriving their dessert, or taking away their allowance.)
never
rarely
occasionally
frequently
daily
26. If your children do something seriously wrong, who usually punishes them?
husband
wife
husband and wife
27. How much education do you expect your children to have?
grade school
high school
some college
Bachelor degree
beyond
28. Which careers do you think are best for your children?
blue collar
white collar
professional
the same career father went through
their own choice

29. When your children are older, will you worry about their marriages?
not at all
rarely
occasionally
frequently
worry a lot
30. Do you think there are problems for a Chinese in mixed marriages?
strongly agree
agree
neutral
disagree
strongly disagree
31. Would you mind if your sons or daughters married a white person?
yes
no
why?
32. Would you mind if your sons or daughters married a black person?
yes
no
why?
33. How much of the American way of life and American values can you accept?
all of them
most of them
some of them
a little bit
none
34. How difficult was it for you to get used to the American way of life in the United States?
no difficulty
slightly difficult
some difficulty
a great deal of difficulty
very difficult
35. How many Chinese traditions do you want to keep in your family?
none
a little bit
some of them
most of them
all of them

36. Are you a member of any church?
yes
no
37. (If yes) Are you the only one of your family to believe in religion?
yes
no
(If no) Do your family members all have the same religion?
yes
no
38. Were you a (R's religion) before you came in the United States?
yes
no
39. How often do you go to church?
How often do you pray?
How often do you read the Bible?
frequently
occasionally
rarely
none
40. Do you belong to some recreational organization or club?
yes
no
(If yes) Specify:
41. Do you belong to some labor unions or business associations ?
yes
no
(If yes) Specify:
42. The people you work with are
all Americans
most are Americans
some are Americans
none is American
43. How often do you meet the people you work with besides your office time?
daily
weekly
monthly
rarely
never

44. How many Chinese families live on your neighborhood?
none
one
two
three
over three
45. How often do you get together with your neighbors?
daily
frequently
occasionally
rarely
none
46. Considering all you family's friends and acquaintances, would you say most of my friends are
Chinese
Americans
Chinese and Americans
47. Considering your family's close friends, would you say?
most of my close friends are
Chinese
Americans
Chinese and Americans
others
48. How often do you see your close friends?
daily
frequently
occasionally
rarely
none
49. Would you say that your children associate or play with
mostly Chinese children
equally with Chinese and American children
mostly American children
others
50. The members of the meetings or parties you usually attend are
all Americans
most Americans
some Americans
none is American

51. The members in the church you usually attend are
some other Chinese
no other Chinese
52. Are you American citizens?
yes
no
If no, are you preparing to become an U.S. citizens?
yes
no
53. Are you a permanent resident of the United States?
yes
no
If no, are you preparing to become a permanent resident of U.S.
yes
no
54. If your children were born in the United States, should they consider themselves to be
Americans
Chinese
Chinese-Americans
other
55. Do you believe that some day white people will look upon you simply as an American without reference to your physical characteristics?
never
may be
probably
almost certain
definitively
56. Are you proud of being a Chinese?
very
slightly
no feeling
feel bad about it
57. Do you believe that your family will become?
completely Americanized
partly Americanized
remain completely Chinese

58. When you are with American people, do they consciously or unconsciously remind you that you are a Chinese?
- never
 - rarely
 - occasionally
 - frequently
 - always
59. Do you have any experience of discrimination in the U.S.
- none
 - been denied a job
 - been denied housing
 - been denied service at a hotel or a restaurant
 - other
60. Have you tried to bring about any improvements in Kalamazoo?
- yes
 - no
 - If yes, what?
61. Are you concerned about the Presidential election in the United States? Why?
- very strongly
 - strongly
 - slightly
 - very little
 - not at all
62. Are you concerned about the Vietnam war? Why?
- very strongly
 - strongly
 - slightly
 - very little
 - not at all