

**SAY “YES, I DO” TO WHOM: A STUDY OF TAIWANESE
IMMIGRANTS’ ATTITUDES TOWARD DATING, MATE
SELECTION AND MARRIAGE**

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By

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ABSTRACT

Gordon (1964) in his theory of assimilation predicts that when a society is fully integrated, minority's distinct characteristics would wane and inter-group marriage will be common. Thereafter, inter-group marriage has been widely used as an indicator of race/ethnic relations. This study investigates the attitudes of Taiwanese immigrants, who reside in Burnaby, British Columbia, toward dating, mate selection and marriage, as a case study, for the understanding of the process of integration of minority groups residing in large ethnic communities in Canada.

The study begins with a discussion about the current debates based on the assimilationist and integrationist approach with an application of Gramsci's theory of "good sense" and "common sense". The empirical question of this study is whether intra-group marriage of ethnic minority is a contingent outcome of such ethnic group in areas of high ethnic density (i.e., ethnic communities), or it is a spontaneous outcome of their established ethnic solidarity based on the emergence of panethnicity due to social exclusion. An overview of the historical development of ethnic Chinese communities in Canada then follows for the purpose of illustrating the structural context these immigrants reside in. A detail demographic profile of the Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby is also included. An examination of the phenomenon, Asian panethnicity, as a by-product of the assimilationist approach, among first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants in Census Metropolitan Area of Vancouver is provided. Internal force from within group to pull the members of the Taiwanese community together, as well as the ethnic boundary they

draw, are discussed the in following chapter. Intergenerational and gender difference of the Taiwanese immigrants of this study are also investigated.

In summary, the results of the study indicate that intra-group marriage is more than a contingent outcome of a high level of immigrant population density in an ethnic community. Rather, marrying someone of the same race/ethnicity is more of a spontaneous outcome of ethnic solidarity in places where the emergence of Asian panethnicity has been observed. Patterns of Gramsci's "common sense" are found among immigrants who have passively rationalized their subordinate status; however, some patterns of "good sense" are also shown among immigrants with the capacity to become historically autonomous.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to all Taiwanese Canadian who have tried to contribute to the understanding of their community in Burnaby, British Columbia, as well as those who have an interest but could not participate due to any reason. Thank you for making a voice for your people and community.

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CHAPTER 1– A RACIALLY STRATIFIED CANADA

1.1 Introduction to the Study

Canada is one of the most popular Western countries for immigration. Canada's changing demographics, especially with an increasing number of non-European immigrants, has not only (re)shaped its social and geographical landscape, but also raised issues of race/ethnic relations. Issues of race/ethnic relations between the majority and minority are most prominent in areas where numbers of visible minorities are large; sometimes numbers large enough to turn them into the 'majority' by proportion. For example, Census Metropolitan Area (thereafter CMA) of Toronto, as one of the most racially diverse cities in Canada, has some communities where ethnic minorities outnumber those of European origins (Reitz & Lum, 2006). As a result, CMA of Toronto was said to be a racial "time-bomb" because "Chinese shopping malls in the suburbs had disturbed some local officials, causing an eruption of controversy." (Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 28) Class is another cause of racial/ethnic conflict. An example was the debate on the "monster houses" (i.e., big mansions) in Vancouver (Li, 1994). The debate was in fact related to class conflict and economic development, yet it was masked by issues of race/ethnicity (Li, 1994). Class conflict, in addition to racial/ethnic issues among those of different race/ethnicity, have thus become a concern for Canadian sociologists, as all of these issues can potentially affect the outcome of social integration in a multicultural context.

Reitz and Lum (2006, p. 29) indicate that the Canadian government policies are partly the cause of the tensions among different race/ethnic groups because they emphasize a "live and let live" cultural acceptance that is different from the American

multiculturalism, which “entitles minorities to make equity claims.” Since multiculturalism in Canada was originally designed to settle cultural conflicts between English and French Canadians, “when new groups began talking about equity, access, and discrimination, it became clear that these issues did not quite fall under the rubric of culture.” (Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 29) A rupture between multiculturalism and people’s everyday life in Canada is, therefore, found as tensions among different race/ethnic groups are clear in areas of large ethnic communities, such as CMA of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.

For Canadians in general, cultural differences are assumed to be tolerated as such differences are entitled to various race/ethnic groups in a multicultural context. However, “the cultural traits that characterize a group depend not only on how the group selects these traits as its identifying characteristics, but also on how the larger society responds to them.” (Zhou & Bankston, 1998, p. 11) In other words, whether a culture displayed by minorities is advantageous depends on the approval of the mainstream. The outcome of this integration process is the increasingly salient importance of race resulting from racial conflict, although the significance of race has been played down by the multiculturalism policy discourse due to its conflict of interest (Reitz & Lum, 2006).

The Canadian society is argued to shift from a vertical mosaic based on ethnicities (i.e., mainly the Charter groups) in Porter’s time to a racially stratified one due to a growing number of visible minorities who are either native-born or foreign-born (Frank, 2009). Although Porter’s vertical mosaic is still a useful reference, the Canadian society is also a mosaic of racial and visible minority groups (Frank, 2009). Frank (2009, p. 40) states, “this re-conceptualization of stratification within Canadian society not only

provides a framework with which to examine immigrant groups that represent both visible minorities and non-visible minorities, but it also allows for a comparison between Canadian-born and foreign-born visible minorities.” This is not to say ethnicities are no longer important, but the scope of what they imply has broadened. An equally important emphasis on one’s race allows room for the discussion of racism and racial exclusion. The re-conceptualization empowers all non-Caucasian races in Canada and encompasses a wide range of diverse ethnicities at present.

The question thus comes to whether race/ethnic relations between the majority (i.e., native-born and non-visible racial groups) and the minority (i.e., foreign-born and visible racial groups) can be measured; and if so, how?

A measurement can take place only when the expected outcome is clearly defined. The introduction of multiculturalism in Canada in the 1970s has encouraged visible minority groups to maintain and (re)produce their distinct ethnic cultures and identities, but at the same time they are expected to integrate into the Canadian mainstream (Blundell, 2003). Although multiculturalism removes the negative connotations of segregation and cultural boundaries, the notion of integration remains unchanged as it refers to immigrants’ matching identity and performance with the level of native-born white middle class (Blundell, 2003). This notion was found in retrospect in the 1960s with reference to Gordon’s (1964) book, *Assimilation in American life*. In the book, he wrote: “if there is anything in American life which can be described as an overall American culture which serves as a reference point for immigrants and their children, it can be best described, it seems to us, as the middle-class cultural patterns of, largely, white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins.” (as cited in Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 4) Gordon’s

statement has thus served as an example of the assimilationist perspective on how a ‘successful’ integration connotes immigrants’ becoming to the white Anglo-Saxon origins.

Currently in North America, general expectation for the integration of visible minority immigrants is prone to the assimilationist perspective: although immigrants can maintain their cultural heritage, they are expected to converge to the mean of the white middle class (Zhou & Lee, 2007). Zhou and Lee (2007, p. 198), in addition, argue it is naïve to believe that immigrants of the subsequent generations exercise “complete freedom to adopt whichever identities they wish and, more importantly, that others will accept the identities that they choose.” In sum, immigrants are not necessarily encouraged to maintain all of their cultural traits in the multicultural context; and, even if immigrants are willing to become fully assimilated into the mainstream society (i.e., completely renounce their cultural heritage), the degree of openness of the mainstream remains a question.

Integration thus becomes a dilemma in North America (Blundell, 2003; Li, 2003; Zhou & Lee, 2007). This dilemma is caused by the ambiguous definition of integration as it is both discussed from the assimilationist and multiculturalist perspective. On the one hand, the original culture owned by minorities “may be seen as hindering the adaptation of members of the ethnic group (the assimilationist perspective)”, on the other hand, it is argued to promote such adaptation (the multiculturalist perspective) (Zhou & Bankston, 1998, p. 11). In short, this dilemma was likely to be the result of the imbalanced power structure between the majority and the minority, which has encouraged visible minorities to converge to the mean of the white middle class (Gordon, 1964; Zhou & Lee, 2007).

The ambiguous definitions of multiculturalism and its related policies in Canada have also contributed to the power imbalance between the majority and the minority by empowering the mainstream majority and some of those who behave like one in certain situations.

Although the degrees of integration appear, more or less, to be an option for immigrants in a multicultural society, studies have shown that immigrants who attempt to behave like the mainstream white majority do not always enjoy positive returns. For example, Zhou & Bankston (1998, p. 6) have found that “regardless of national origin, the longer the U.S. residence the more maladaptive the outcomes, whether measured in terms of school performance, aspirations, or behaviour.” As a result, immigrants in a multicultural society, who are theoretically encouraged to maintain their distinct cultural heritage, are left with two options: “group members of racial minorities can either accept an inferior caste status and a sense of basic inferiority as part of their collective self-definition, or they can create a positive view of their heritage on the basis of cultural and racial distinction, thereby establishing a sense of collective dignity.” (Ogbu, 1974, as cited in Zhou & Bankston, 1998, p. 8)

It would be more difficult to detect whether a member of the racialized ethnic minority group feels inferior about oneself. However, a way to measure whether a group of visible minorities has established a sense of ethnic collectivity is how closely they would like to remain a member of their own race/ethnic group. And one of the means is through marriage.

1.1.1 Marriage as an Indicator of Race/Ethnic Relations

Although Gordon's one-way assimilationist approach has been challenged as the process of integration is found to vary, and mutual acceptance and recognition between the majority and minority groups are argued to be necessary (Alba & Nee, 1997; Heisler, 1992; Li, 2003; Zhou, 1997). Gordon's main contribution "was to set down a synthesis that elaborated a multidimensional concept of assimilation." (Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 23) His seven dimensions included: "cultural, structural, marital, identity, prejudice, discrimination, civic;" and they "provided a composite multidimensional index of assimilation that was useful as a guide in determining the extent of a group's assimilation according to both individual- and group- level criteria." (Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 24)

In Gordon's hypothesis, structural assimilation, which refers to immigrants' integration into the dominant majority group, would either stimulate or associate with all other dimensions (Alba & Nee, 2003). Ultimately, "this means that prejudice and discrimination would decline, if not disappear, that intermarriage would be common, and that the minority's separate identity would wane." (Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 24) Exceptions, however, were found in Zhou and Bankston's (1998) case study of a Vietnamese community in the U.S. as individuals' low levels of cultural assimilation (i.e., maintaining traditional Vietnamese values) could result in high levels of structural assimilation (i.e., school success). This was because the Vietnamese of the study were more likely to become culturally integrated into the lower sector of the American society rather than becoming part of the white middle class. The result of the type of integration was school failure and ultimately, social alienation of these unaccomplished visible minorities.

Despite some controversies, Gordon's hypothesis of marital integration is commonly understood as applicable. In academia, individuals' marital choice has been widely used as an indicator for predicting the closeness of social boundaries and race/ethnic relations in a multicultural society. Or, as Lee and Boyd (2008, p. 315) put it:

While we agree that different exogamous couples represent and imply different forms of marital and social integration, our perspective is that all forms of exogamy represent the crossing of racial and ethnic boundaries that are counter to traditional endogamy. In this sense, each is a significant indicator of marital blending and integration into a new and evolving multiracial and multiethnic North America.

1.1.2 Definition of Terms

The key terms that constantly appear in the following chapters require clarification as some of them are ordinary language to laymen but bear exploratory meaning to sociologists. In alphabetical order, they include:

Asian- Although this study was a case study of Taiwanese immigrants, it was argued that some of their values could be applied to other sub-Chinese groups, including migrants from China and Hong Kong (Gu, 2006). This was because the three subgroups shared a traditional Chinese culture, even though they had distinct historical, economic and political backgrounds (Gu, 2006). A few key features of Chinese culture include collectivism, filial piety and conformity to norms; and for some scholars, those cultures that also celebrate the same values, but are not Chinese, are defined as Asian (Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999). Examples include Korean, Japanese, Vietnamese, Singaporean,

Malaysian, Filipino and Indian (Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999; Min, 1999; Netting, 2006; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Since traditional Chinese cultural values were discussed in this study, and these values overlapped with the values of a number of Asian ethnic groups. The term Asian was used in places where a generalization of all ethnic groups that share similar cultural backgrounds could be applied.

Dating- This term is often used interchangeably with romantic relationship (see e.g., Mok, 1999, Wang, Kao & Joyner, 2006). In modern societies, especially Western Europe and North America, dating is romanticized as it connotes “intensity and idealization of a love relationship, in which the other is imbued with extraordinary virtue, beauty, etc..” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 529) Skipper and Nass (1966, p. 412) also believe “the general American view of dating is positive and optimistic.” According to Skipper and Nass (1966, p. 142), dating is a form of behaviour that is usually

Stereotyped as a romantic, exciting, interesting, and valuable experience in and of itself. Moreover, it is felt that it makes a salient contribution to the individual’s socialization into the adult roles of the society, eventual marriage, and establishment of home and family. Although it is recognized that dating may sometimes be problematic and filled with frustrations, the eventual rewards are thought to greatly outweigh momentary uncertainty.

Discrimination- As defined by Jary and Jary (2000, p. 159), this is the “process by which a member, or members, of a socially defined group is, or are, treated differently (especially unfairly) because of his/her/their membership of that group.” The study is not limited to discrimination in any forms. It is defined as long as the participants claim to have feelings of discrimination, or when patterns of such behaviours are found.

Inter-group dating/marriage- It is the opposite of intra-group dating/marriage. The term denotes members of different race/ethnic, and especially, cultural group (i.e., Taiwanese and Italian or Taiwanese and African). Some scholars use the term exogamy¹ to describe marriage outside a given social group. The term inter-group dating/marriage is chosen for its simplicity, and the term exogamy is used interchangeably.

Intra-group dating/marriage- The term intra-group refers to members of the same race/ethnic, and especially, cultural group. Intra-group dating means dating within the same race/ethnic/cultural group (i.e., Taiwanese and Taiwanese or Taiwanese and Chinese). Intra-group marriage means marrying within the same race/ethnic group. Some scholars use the term endogamy² to describe marriage within a given social group, such as class or ethnic affiliation (Jary & Jary, 2000), and others use the term intra-group marriage. In this study, the use of the term intra-group dating/marriage is chosen mainly for its ease of interpretation. However, the term endogamy is used interchangeably with the term intra-group marriage.

Mainstream- In this study, the Canadian mainstream refers to the Charter group: ethnic groups of English and French origins. Although studies have found that some non-charter ethnic groups have integrated very successfully with the Charter group, those of European origins still hold dominant status in Canada (Helmes-Hayes & Curtis, 1998).

¹ Winch (1958: 4) refers exogamy to “marriage outside the group and may also denote the existence of cultural sanctions.”

² Winch (1958: 4) defines endogamy as a “husband and wife come from the same group. Usually it carries the additional meaning that there are cultural sanctions against marrying outside one’s own group.”

Marriage- Although there are different types of marriage, such as polygamy and polyandry, the focus of this study is solely on monogamy- one husband and one wife. A heterosexual marriage, according to Jary and Jary (2000, p. 365), refers to “a socially acknowledged and sometimes legally ratified union between an adult male and an adult female.” It is also generally recognized that “within industrial societies personal choice is more prominent, with the idea of romantic love, or ‘affective individualism,’ having great influence.” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 365) However, as indicated earlier, sociologists look beyond love per se. Marriage is treated as an indicator of racial/ethnic relations in this study, and the discussion of love is kept to its minimum.

Mate Selection- The slight difference between dating and mate selection, in this study, is that the latter implies a stronger marital intention. Also, the term mate selection used in this study has an emphasis on the criteria of mating. This is because unlike biologists or psychologists, sociologists do not study ‘love’ in itself but for itself. In the 1950s, Winch (1955) coined “The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection.” The theory was also referred to the principles of mate-selection mainly among middle class Americans. This theory emphasized the difference between spouses in that each possessed characteristics that complemented one another. Love, in this regard, became an outcome of the gratification of persons’ needs that could be experienced at any stage of a relationship. The idea that love is conditional; that is, it only happens when a certain conditions are met, is also shown in the later work of other sociologists. For example, love, as indicated by Bourdieu (1976), has to be approved between socially compatible partners to be ‘happy’ and ‘successful’.

Panethnicity- Espiritu (1992, p. 9) defines panethnicity as an “unity forged primarily through the symbolic re-interpretation of a group’s common history, particularly when this history involves racial subjugation.” While panethnicity starts as an external interpretation given to the subordinate groups by the dominant one, gradually a sense of shared identity would emerge among the subordinate groups as they learn about their social position through the process of interaction (Espiritu, 1992). Different forms of racial subjugation include a process of institutionalization- the government’s efforts to “lump Asian Americans together in electoral politics, social service funding, and census classification, and through panethnic responses to anti-Asian violence from whites.” (Roth 2009, p. 928) As a result, the key to the formation of panethnicity is discrimination against the minority from the majority group, which is essential for the understanding of this concept.

Race/ethnicity- According to Jary and Jary (2000, p. 193), ethnicity is “a shared racial, linguistic, or national identity of a social group... [It] can incorporate several forms of collective identity, including cultural, religious, national and subcultural forms.”

Although race is a “scientifically discredited term previously used to describe biologically distinct groups of persons who were alleged to have characteristics of an unalterable nature,” the author decides to include this term along with ethnicity in the study due to two reasons (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 507). First, as a socially constructed term, the concept of race “still exerts a powerful influence” in people’s everyday life, “despite the discredited nature of the concept” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 507). Secondly, Frank (2009) has argued that the Canadian society has shifted from a vertical mosaic based on ethnicities (i.e., mainly the Charter groups) in Porter’s time to a racially stratified one due

to a growing number of visible minorities who are either native-born or foreign-born. This is not to say that ethnicities become less important but the re-conceptualization empowers all non-Caucasian races in Canada and encompasses a wide range of diverse ethnicities at present. Since the concept of race and ethnicity is often difficult to distinguish in today's multicultural society (Frank, 2009), the author has decided to use the term 'race/ethnicity' together.

1.2 Contemporary Findings and Debate

1.2.1 Family and Marriage in Contemporary Society

The understanding of marriage and family has changed significantly throughout history. Durkheim predicts that as a result of industrialization, the conjugal family would replace the old family forms as it is now based on free choice of individuals and "personal attachments rather than on shared family property or interests." (Lamanna, 2002, p. 51) And "this time the old familial communism has almost totally disappeared. Each one of the members of this new family keeps his individuality and his own activity." (Davy, 1925, p. 116, as cited in Lamanna, 2002, p. 51-2) The family connection on the child's marriage should also disappear as "the child has his own personality henceforth, his distinctive interests, his personal responsibility." (Durkheim, 1921, p. 2, as cited in Lamanna, 2002, p. 52)

Hence, the introduction of free choice of individuals and the emphasis on personal attachments in marriage and family followed by industrialization led to several different social trends. Ogburn (1953), for example, believes the modern families have lost their function first with an increased separation and divorce rate; secondly, with a loss of

authority between husband and wife and between parents and children when compared to traditional families. The importance of romantic love has also taken over from the importance of having an efficient and capable family, as the latter becomes a secondary consideration. Lastly, “conflict between the new conditions of family life and the old attitudes surviving from an earlier type of family life” is found in modern families (Ogburn, 1953, p. 78).

As a result of these changes, a new term, “serial monogamy”, which refers to the phenomenon of remarried couples in monogamous societies that permit remarriage, has been created (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 399). These structural and functional changes in marriage and family, or as indicated by Winch (1958, p. 69), “the transition from familism to individualism,” have created conflict between generations in many cultures, including industrialized societies such as the United States.

However, some scholars have found that the perception of a modern family’s lost functions may not be entirely true. The results of these studies indicate that a married individual’s connection with the family does not disappear. It only weakens, but the strength of this connection varies between genders and by marital status.

For instance, while examining the adage “A daughter is a daughter all of her life, but a son is a son ‘til he takes him a wife,” Merrill states the adage holds some truth in American society because “there is a tendency for couples to provide more assistance to the wife’s parents than to the husband’s parents. In addition, sons take less initiative in maintaining kin relationships.” (2011, p. 129) Merrill further indicates married children’s connection with their family persists: “The extent of contact between parents and adult children and the importance that adult children place on the relationship, even when

spouses and parents do not get along, suggest the resilience of intergenerational relationships and the family at a time in which the family is supposedly falling apart.” (2011, p. 129) In addition, the resilience of family ties is clear among the never married and divorced. Sarkisian and Gerstel (2008, p. 360) has found that both married men and women “have less intense intergenerational ties than the never married and the divorced... These differences hold even when... structural characteristics, including time demands, needs and resources, and demographic and extended family characteristics” are statistically controlled for.

These studies show that even in an industrial society, such as the United States, married children’s close intergenerational family connections still prevail, and their connection strengthens when the children are divorced, indicating a resurgent relationship between generations. The results thus indicate the need to take intergenerational relations into consideration while conducting studies on marriage and family.

Furthermore, in today’s society marriage necessarily leads to the formation of a family, but a family does not necessarily imply legally married couples within. Examples of family include common-law or cohabiting couples either of the opposite or same sex with or without children. The change is due to the contemporary definition of marriage, which refers to “a complex of customs centering upon the relationship between a sexually associating pair of adults within the family. Marriage defines the manner of establishing and terminating such a relationship, the normative behaviour and reciprocal obligations within it, and the locally accepted restrictions upon its personnel.” (Murdock, 1953, p. 65)

Family, on the other hand, is “a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction.” (Murdock, 1953, p. 65) Although a family is commonly understood as “a group of people, related by kinship or similar close ties, in which the adults assume responsibility for the care and upbringing of their natural or adopted children,” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 209) exceptions such as childless family or remarried couples with stepchildren are found. In today’s society, reproduction as a function the family is called into question, and shared physical residence between couples are sometimes unlikely in the age of globalization.

However, Durkheim’s prediction of personal attachments was correct. The growing emphasis on personal attachments in marriage has made dating a common scene prior to marriage (or after divorce) in contemporary North American society, or any society that has been influenced by Western culture (see e.g., Skipper & Nass, 1966). Winch (1958, p. 69) indicates “the greater the degree of individuation (or the less the degree of structuring of the marital roles) the more important it would be to have an opportunity to interact with a number of persons of the opposite sex before having to settle down on a single choice.” In the U.S., for example, dating has already become prevalent among adolescents in the early 1960s (Skipper & Nass, 1966).

Today, numerous articles, books, movies and songs are published or released focusing on dating and relationship themes (i.e., falling in love or breaking up). Some recent examples include the popular TV series episode “Sex and the City” released in different languages between 1998 and 2004 (Star, 1998), and more recently, one of the New York Times bestsellers, “He’s Just Not That Into You” (Behrendt & Tuccillo,

2009). Both of which were later filmed due to its popularity, reflecting the importance of dating and relationship issues for the general public.

Dating, according to Skipper and Nass (1966, p. 412), is a form of behaviour that is usually “stereotyped as a romantic, exciting, interesting, and valuable experience in and of itself... Because the general American view of dating is positive and optimistic, one often fails to appreciate some of the important problems inherent in different types of dating situations.” Minor problems in dating include heartbreaks and grief at manageable levels, but major problems encompass serious physical, mental and emotional abuse and violence.

Since nowadays dating does not necessarily lead to marriage, it can be broken down into four main categories of different functions: 1) dating is a form of recreation that provides a source of enjoyment; 2) dating is a form of socialization that assists individuals to “develop appropriate techniques of interaction” with the opposite sex; 3) dating is a means of status achievement for those who wish to seek for status and prestige, and 4) dating is a form of courtship during the process of mate selection for those whose goal is marriage (Skipper & Nass, 1966, p. 413).

However, not all ethnic groups agree upon the above functions of dating. In this study, Taiwanese parents, as an older generation, tended to see dating as part of the process of mate selection that ultimately led to marriage. As a result, dating can be problematic when the children’s primary motivation does not match that of his/her parent’s. Also, frustration may occur when a person who aims for marriage dates with someone who is looking for enjoyment.

Cultural difference on dating has been found in some recent studies. For instance, Kalmijn and van Tubergen (2010) have found that those who come from countries with a tradition to marry early are more likely to marry within their own group. A part of the reason for these people to avoid dating someone outside their own group may be their conflicting goals. Or, to put it bluntly, ‘it would not work’.

Despite some of the cultural difference among different race/ethnic groups, the majority of people today are raised and socialized in monogamous societies. Taiwanese immigrants of this study are no exception. It is expected that individuals who have been socialized in a monogamous society are generally aware of the normative behaviour and obligation that are thought to be followed as the societal norm.

1.2.2 Marital Patterns in North America

Since this study deals with intra- and inter-group dating and marriage, the results of studies of marriage along racial/ethnic lines are the primary focus. Currently, both Canada and the U.S. experience higher rates of inter-group marriage than the past. This is partly due to a large influx of Asian immigrants into North America in the last four decades (Min & Kim, 2009; Qian & Lichter, 2011). Lee and Boyd (2008) have found that Canada and the U.S. share two similar trends: 1) areas with higher density of Asian population experience higher rates of intra-group marriage (e.g., British Columbia in Canada); 2) different rates of inter-group marriage across different Asian ethnic groups are found in both countries (i.e., higher rates of exogamy among Japanese than Chinese). The results indicate two important factors for immigrants’ marital choice. First, the effect of social milieu on such choice is strong. Secondly, the growing complexity of

immigrants' ethnicities signifies a wider range of cultural difference among the racially homogenous groups (i.e., Mongolian).

In terms of dating, Levin, Taylor and Caudle (2007, p. 323) have found that “students who exhibited lower levels of ingroup bias, intergroup anxiety, and group identification before college were more likely to date members of other ethnic and racial groups during college.” The study shows that race/ethnicity plays a role in romantic relationships. Data on dating, however, are difficult to collect (Sprecher, Felmlee, Schmeeckle & Shu, 2006). This is because data on couples who had dated and their relationships later ended, or data on those who have explored the possibilities of dating yet never officially started are unlikely to be collected systematically (Sprecher et al., 2006). Since there is not many survey data of people's dating history, interview becomes an important means to understand the experiences of the target population. In this study, how Taiwanese immigrant children see their romantic relationships and the parents' attitudes toward their children's (potential) date were included.

1.2.2.1 Who marries whom

The lack of dating data has not discouraged sociologists from understanding how people decide with whom to marry. In the 1950s, Winch (1955) coined “The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection.” The theory was about the principles of mate-selection mainly among middle class Americans. This theory emphasized the differences between spouses in that each had characteristics that complemented one another; thus, making one attracted to the other.

Winch's theory, however, was challenged by a number of scholars (see e.g., Schellenberg, 1960) as it contradicted with the theory of homogamy. The theory of homogamy referred to that "persons tended to marry those with characteristics similar to their own." (Burgess & Wallin, 1943, p. 109) Although Burgess and Wallin (1943) indicated that both theories might be correct as some couple could be attracted to each other's similarities and others to each other's differences, they believed a prevailing tendency of either choice could be observed among couples. And they found the results of homogamy to be more significant. For example, engaged couples were found to share similar family background, religious affiliation, patterns of social participation (i.e., leisure activity), dating behaviour, and attitudes toward marriage (Burgess & Wallin, 1943).

Debates later arose on whether homogamous mate selection was "chiefly a residual effect of chance association and social position rather than an active ingredient of personal attraction." (Schellenberg, 1960, p. 158-9) A number of studies, however, confirmed that the results of similarities between married couples were more robust than complementarity, and married couples were less complementary than non-married ones (Schellenberg, 1960; Hobart & Lindholm, 1963). In short, later research findings concluded that the theory of homogamy offered a better explanation for mate selection than heterogamy in that *like marries like* (Kalmijn, 1998; Schwartz & Mare, 2005).

As a result, most contemporary studies on marriage are largely based on the assumption of *like marries like*. Gordon and his hypothesis of marital assimilation was clearly an example based on the theory of homogamy in the 1960s. For him, marital assimilation was unlikely to happen without structural assimilation. In other words,

minorities becoming like the dominant majority was the precondition for inter-group marriage to happen.

1.2.2.2 How 'like marries like' was determined? SES, culture and social structure

Currently, three main factors are found to affect people's marital choice significantly: 1) socio-economic class (SES), 2) culture, and 3) social structure, all of which contain interacting effects of age and gender. For example, interracial marriage is more likely for the younger generation (Lee & Boyd, 2008; Schwartz & Mare, 2005).

Immigrants' socio-economic status (SES) is often determined by their educational and income level in studies concerning their labour market performance in the host country (Li, 2000; 2001). Their SES further affects their marital choice as people are argued to be likely to marry those who are educationally homogamous with them. For example, Schwartz and Mare (2005, p. 621) have found that in the U.S., "as intermarriage declined at the extremes of the education distribution, intermarriage among those in the middle portion of the distribution increased." A more recent study further shows that

Compared with their less educated counterparts, highly educated minorities tend to have more opportunities for interracial contact in integrated schools, workplaces, and neighbourhoods. Upward mobility may also set highly educated Hispanics and Asians apart geographically from their less educated or immigrant counterparts, exacerbating the social distance between them and reducing the likelihood of racial endogamy.

Consequently, among the least educated, marriages between U.S.- and foreign-born Asian and Hispanic coethnics may have increased, whereas

rates of interracial marriage with Whites may have declined over recent decades (Qian & Lichter, 2011, p. 1068).

These results imply that inter-group marriage between whites and racial minorities still tend to happen among those minorities who converge to the mean of the mainstream society.

Some scholars interpret this type of racial exogamy based on the exchange theory. For example, Tzeng (2000) has found that some foreign-born first generation Asian women in Canada are more likely to marry exogamously. She thus concludes “the higher the educational attainment of individuals, the more desirable they are in the marriage market, thus increasing their chance to marry.” (Tzeng, 2000, p. 324) Kalmijn (1998) states women’s increasing SES resources have made them more attractive to men in the marriage pool because they can assist the husbands with their achievement and provide financial security for the family. As a demonstration of the exchange theory, Fu and Heaton (2000) have found that, in Hawaii, low racial status groups with high SES are more likely to marry high racial status groups who have low SES.

Rosenfeld (2008), however, argues that one’s SES has constantly played a role in the mate selection process as social life is always stratified in human history. For Rosenfeld (2008, p. 25), SES cannot be treated as the sole determinant in the mate selection process because

one of the reasons that the modernization theory of increasing educational endogamy in the US is so popular is that it is difficult to imagine how wives’ educational levels could have mattered as much 50 or 100 years ago when few married women worked. In order to understand the apparent

paradox of relatively flat educational endogamy during a period of rapidly increasing returns to education in the labour market, one must remember that spousal choice is a social and personal decision that goes far beyond income maximization.

Moreover, Rosenfeld (2005, p. 1319) argues that “the findings from complex models which have been used to endorse status-caste exchange theory are not robust... [But] other key predictions of the literature such as racial endogamy and educational homogamy are robust and statistically significant across a wide variety of models.” Rosenfeld (2005, p. 1319-20) further adds that ethnographic evidence has shown that exogamous couples are “formed along a basis of solidarity and affection and personal choice, not a basis of exchanges.” In short, the statement that inter-group marriage happens due to social exchange has been challenged by its limited validity.

The second factor that many use to explain intra-group marriage, or racial endogamy, is culture similarity. Cultural difference, on the other hand, is used to justify the unlikelihood of inter-group marriage, or racial exogamy. Culture as a factor influencing marital choice is meaningful in a multicultural context because, according to Gordon (1964), the white middle class with Protestant Anglo-Saxon origins are the reference group for American culture. Although Canada is said to be a multicultural society, it is very much like the United States in that the culture of the white middle class with Protestant Anglo-Saxon origins are the societal norm. This was why when the interviewees of this study talked about cultural difference, they constantly compared their Taiwanese culture with the culture of the white middle class English Canadians rather

than making a comparison with other race/ethnic groups in the 'multicultural' Canadian society. Detail discussion is provided in later chapters.

Kalmijn (1998, p. 396) states that since exogamy "often connects the social networks of the two spouses," it thus "applies to a range of outgroup members and not just to the immediate partners." Cultural value and its characteristics shape social relations within the network of subjects. In a yet-to-be-achieved multicultural society, the presentation of different cultures may inevitably create social boundaries among different race/ethnic groups. For example, Tzeng (2000) has found that the rates of exogamy among Canada's foreign-born first generation Asian immigrants did not increase between 1981 and 1991. Tzeng (2000, p. 334) thus concludes, "with a growing consciousness of multiculturalism in the Canadian society, many racial and ethnic minorities including Asians, are increasingly aware of their cultural and linguistic heritage as a positive component of personal identity and are anxious to remain culturally distinct."

Kalmijn and van Tubergen (2010) also indicate the importance of culture on marital choice as they find those who come from countries with a tradition to marry early, for instance, are more likely to choose intra-group marriage. In contrast, inter-group marriage is more likely among those who come from more globalized countries. For Kalmijn and van Tubergen (2010, p. 476), "this points to the role that parents and other family members traditionally had in the marriage choices of their offspring in their native countries."

Chinese are one of the ethnic groups showing a relatively stronger resistance against interracial dating and exogamy. Some scholars explain this as the occurrence of ethnic identity resurgence: the effects of one's race/ethnic identity on their mate selection

become stronger in the third or subsequent generations, despite of their length of residence in the host country (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992; Ting-Toomey, 1981). Intra-group marriage, or endogamy, is therefore argued to be partly a result of one's preference for having a spouse of similar cultural background (Kalmijn, 1998).

Some scholars, on the other hand, relate the high intra-group, or racial endogamy, rate of Asians with the effect of structural setting, which is also understood as the concept of marriage pool (see e.g., Qian & Lichter, 2011). The concept of marriage pool generally refers to the number of available male and female candidates who are at their suitable stage for marriage in a given area. In an immigrant country that promotes multiculturalism, however, the number of available male and female candidates of different race/ethnic background could have a more significant impact on one's choice than sex ratio per se. Since Lee and Boyd (2008) also suspect the lower rates of inter-group marriage among Asian Canadians than those of Asian Americans are due to higher levels of ethnic density in Canada, the effect of social structure (i.e., marriage pool) requires further elaboration.

1.2.3 Current Empirical Debate

The above literature generates a debate on the marital choice of visible minorities, especially those residing in ethnic communities with a high density of people sharing the same race/ethnic background.

On the one hand, some scholars contribute the likelihood of immigrants marrying endogamously to the homogeneity of the population group available in a given setting. For example, Qian and Lichter (2011) indicated that between 1980 and 2008, native-born

Asian women in the U.S. were five times more likely to marry Asian immigrants because it was when immigrants coming from Asia reached its peak. It is assumed that “the chances to marry endogamously are higher the more often one meets people within the group and the more often one interacts with group members on a day-to-day basis.” (Kalmijn, 1998, p. 402) Qian and Lichter (2011, p. 1081) further assert that “any evidence of a retreat from interracial marriage is mostly a reflection of changing marital market conditions rather than a reflection of changing mate selection choice.” In this regard, intra-group marriage or endogamy is often associated with the homogamous composition of population.

Some scholars, on the other hand, claim the effects of ethnic identity on intra-group marriage, or endogamy (see e.g., Uskul, Lalonde & Cheng, 2007). For these scholars, some Asians, such as the Chinese, tend to look for someone of their own race/ethnicity in the subsequent generations, indicating an inconsistent relationship between structural and marital assimilation. The importance of culture could be affected by levels of education as inter-group marriage of some race/ethnic groups is associated with one’s education; however, the relationship is not linear.

Furthermore, Zhou and Bankston (1998) argue that immigrants’ degree of closeness with their own race/ethnic group determines the number of “available and suitable” marital candidates they can find. This statement stands true despite immigrants’ length of residence in the host country because an ethnic community setting, according to Zhou and Bankston (1998, p. 13), can be “perceived simply as consisting of various sets of social ties among members of an ethnic group. Members in any group... is a matter of degree; individuals may belong to social groups to varying extents.” In other words, the

perceived size of marriage pool varies among immigrants depending on their social relation with those of the same race/ethnic background. The closer one is with his/her own race/ethnic group, the more likely one values the importance of marrying endogamously. Therefore, the more likely the marriage pool is to be restricted in a multicultural country.

For the assimilationist, high rates of intra-group marriage indicate a failure of cultural assimilation of the minority groups. For the multiculturalist, however, immigrants' maintenance of their cultural heritage promotes their adaptation in the host country. As a result of being at a relatively disadvantaged social position, Asian immigrants' low rate of inter-group marriage could be an outcome of their established sense of collectivity. Thereby, the emergence of Asian panethnicity (Espiritu, 1992; Lee & Boyd, 2008).

As Asian population in Canada is more highly concentrated than those in the U.S. (Lee & Boyd, 2008), and some racial/ethnic minorities are likely to experience residential segregation in both Canada and the U.S. (Fong, 1996), how race/ethnic relations between the mainstream majority and immigrant minorities are like is thus the concern of this study. Today, the development of various ethnic communities has extended into the suburban areas of both Canada and the U.S. (Chen, 1992; Fong, 1994; Li, 1998; Ling, 2004; Reitz & Lum, 2006). An examination of the ethnic community where the group being studied is located and their race/ethnic relations within is thus crucial.

In sum, the current debate can be summarized into the following question:

Whether intra-group marriage of ethnic minority is a contingent outcome of such ethnic group in areas of high ethnic density (i.e., ethnic communities), or it is a spontaneous outcome of their established ethnic solidarity based on the emergence of

panethnicity due to social exclusion. The aim of this study is to contribute more empirical evidence to the debate by examining the Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby as a case study. Since inquiry for intra-group marriage explains trends of inter-group marriage as well, the author wishes to contribute to the understanding of immigrants' social integration in Canada.

1.3 Theoretical Discussion

1.3.1 The Assimilationist Approach

“A Theory of Social Integration” was an article published by Peter Blau (1960). This theory and Gordon's theory of assimilation (1964) illustrated how visible minority immigrants were expected to behave by the general public in North America in the 1960s. Blau (1960, p. 545) summarized his theory of social integration as “persons interested in becoming integrated members of a group were under pressure to impress the other members that they would make attractive associates, but the resulting competition for popularity gave rise to defensive tactics that blocked social integration.” Gordon (1964), on the other hand, was more specific about the race/ethnicity of different groups. The reference group, according to Gordon (1964), would be middle class whites with Anglo-Saxon origin. Others who wished to become like the reference group would have to learn the values and mimic the behaviours of the dominant group, but social acceptance was not guaranteed even if they did so (Gordon, 1964).

The above theories had two points in common: first, the more disadvantaged, or the minority groups, were expected to impress the members of the more advantaged, or the majority group by adopting their values and behaviours. Thus, the process of social

interaction was prone to a one-way approach. Secondly, members of the more advantaged group were not obligated to accept those who wanted to become part of them. And this was rationalized by the natural reaction of human when competitions were involved (Blau, 1960).

The assimilationist approach has worked as a dominant ideology in North America. Scholars have found that despite supports for multiculturalism in Canada, Canadians in general desire for immigrants to assimilate into the dominant society (Reitz & Sklar, 1997; Cardozo & Musto, 1997). This theoretical perspective inevitably influences later studies that explain issues of social integration and race/ethnic relations. For example, Weiss (1970) has found that both native- and foreign-born Chinese-American females label Chinese-American males as dating inept because they appear to be immature and clumsy at dating scenes as compared to Caucasian males. Caucasian males, on the other hand, are more confident and familiar with the dating procedures since they know better dating places (Weiss, 1970). This commonly recognized “dating procedures” (i.e., fine dining and romantic talk) in North America, as discussed earlier in this chapter, have been seen as the normalized way of dating (i.e., how it should be done to impress a girl). And this, again, celebrates the culture of middle class whites.

Another study indicates that due to the pressure of the traditional Korean conjugal norms (i.e., fulfillment of filial piety), many Korean immigrant men have to consider marrying Korean women in Korea (Min, 1999). This is because Korean immigrant women in the United States are more likely to refuse to play the traditional conjugal roles, which reduces the chance of Korean immigrant men to find an intra-group spouse (Min, 1999).

Both examples reflect the subordinate status of Asian culture in North America. Asian men not only are perceived to be clumsy at dating scenes, but also their traditional values and norms are what some women would avoid. As a result, dating or marrying a person from the superior culture with highly recognized values becomes a rational choice, which implies people do what they believe would bring the best outcome (Jary & Jary, 2000).

The exchange theory is also used to explain race/ethnic relations in the assimilationist context. This theory overlaps with the rational choice theory to some degree as human interactions are based on forms of exchange of assets, which are considered beneficial or advantageous by individuals. For example, women's increasing SES have made them more attractive to men in the marriage pool because of the financial security they can provide (Kalmijn, 1998). Thus, in Canada, visible minority women with higher SES are more likely to attract men of the majority group, who generally perform better than visible minority men economically (Tzeng, 2000). A similar situation is also found in Hawaii, where low racial status groups with high SES are more likely to marry high racial status groups who have low SES (Fu & Heaton, 2000).

The above studies show that those who believe relationships between different race/ethnic groups contain forms of exchange are also influenced by the theoretical perspective of rational choice in that the best outcome, usually norm-guided, would be chosen (Jary & Jary, 2000). At the same time, the assimilationist approach plays a part in the norm-guided rational choice process of mate selection, as the majority group of European origins is socially, politically and economically more advantageous than the

minority group of non-European origins. Therefore, the norm-guided exchange process as a rational choice mutually confirms the advantageous status of the majority group.

However, the theoretical perspectives of rational choice and exchange have been criticized for their limitation of interpreting “irrational” human actions (i.e., moral reasoning). For example, the exchange theory does not provide sufficient support for why marriage between the least educated visible minorities has increased over recent decades (Qian & Lichter, 2011), as neither side possesses much valuable assets for an exchange. As a result, corresponding theories for explaining the response of visible minorities towards the majority in an assimilationist context are introduced. The theories for illustrating the reaction of visible minorities who feel being threatened by losing their cultural heritage due to the one-way approach of the assimilation theory, and the reaction of those that are not accepted socially by the majority, include the cultural retention perspective (see e.g., Higgins, Zheng, Liu & Sun, 2002; Lalonde, Hynie, Pannu & Tatla, 2004; Uskul, Lalonde & Cheng, 2007) and the “cultural community model” (Ling, 2004).

Some scholars state that inter-group marriage is more unlikely among recent immigrants because it jeopardizes the maintenance of their cultural heritage (Uskul, Lalonde & Cheng, 2007). For instance, filial piety, as one of the most important values in the Confucian doctrine, is shared among Korean, Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants (Lin & Liu, 1999; Min, 1998; Tran, 1998; Wong, 1998). Scholars have argued that those who wish to maintain the cultural heritage would avoid inter-group marriage in order to reduce tensions in the family as the culture of minorities do not match with the mainstream one (Min, 1998; Tran, 1998; Wong, 1998). Their argument shows that the cultural retention view of explaining individuals’ marital choice could not been examined

outside the context of the one-way assimilationist approach. In other words, the concept of cultural retention would not exist without the concept of cultural conformity.

The “cultural community model” is a theoretical model coined by Ling (2004). The model defines a conceptual community. According to Ling, a cultural community is a community without clear physical boundaries. It is “defined by the common cultural practices and beliefs of its members,” who have “preserved their cultural heritage and achieved ethnic solidarity without a recognizable physical community.” (Ling, 2004, p. 12) The absence of physical boundaries of this community is due to that “once an ethnic group has economically integrated itself into the larger society, mutual aid matters less; this explains why physical ethnic settlements are soon enough abandoned.” (Ling, 2004, p. 14) As a result, “only when an integrated ethnic group makes a deliberate effort to preserve its ethnic identity can a cultural community emerge.” (Ling, 2004, p. 235) And the reason why this deliberate effort would be made is because of fear of losing one’s ethnic identity, as such loss would not guarantee social acceptance by the majority (Ling, 2004). Zhou and Lee (2007, p. 198) support the findings by stating that the assumption that immigrants of the subsequent generations exercise “complete freedom to adopt whichever identities they wish and, more importantly, that others would accept the identities that they choose” is naïve.

Reitz and Sklar (1997, p. 268) state that multiculturalism works as “a belief that immigrants pay in social marginality for the privilege of maintaining distinctive ethnic attachments is one way of asserting this assimilationist culture.” And often time, this kind of social marginalization is masked by the belief that immigrants have stronger desire to maintain their cultural heritage (i.e., individual choice); thus, are more difficult to

integrate. Ultimately, as a marginalized group, immigrants also become the object to be blamed on.

1.3.2 The Integrationist Approach

Although most Canadians agree multiculturalism is the symbol of their identity, many also believe that the ethnic and cultural diversity multiculturalism proposes makes the society less cohesive and fragments it (Cardozo & Musto, 1997). The focus on how cultural diversity harms the cohesion of the society has been argued to be a form of “covert racism”, which is produced through the reformulation of the discourse of racial inferiority to cultural deficiency of immigrants (Zong, 1997; 2007). Covert racism refers to any discriminative act or expression that is difficult to detect by conventional measures (Zong, 2007). An example is immigrants’ use of non-official languages in public, which has been stated as the “most notoriously annoying ethnic behaviour.” (Reitz & Sklar, 1997, p. 236)

Scholars thus argue for an approach for achieving true social unity in a multicultural context (see e.g., Zong, 2007). Hence, the integrationist approach. Hiebert and Ley (2003, p. 17) state “the terms assimilation and integration are often portrayed as opposites, the first signifying the expectation that immigrants cast off their previous cultures and adapt to their new society, while the second is seen to imply a two-way adjustment process whereby immigrants and the host society together create a new culture.” Although some have questioned the effectiveness of the outcome of this approach as different cultures may still fuse into one, the key to this approach is the acceptance of the “development of parallel, relatively autonomous, social groups, that are, and will continue to be, different

from one another in important ways.” (Hiebert & Ley, 2003, p. 17) And Canada will have “a ‘culture’ distinguished by its diversity.” (Hiebert & Ley 2003, p. 17) The integrationist approach, thus, departs from the assimilationist approach by mutually including integration and the maintenance of distinct cultural heritage (Zhou & Lee, 2007).

1.3.3 A Theoretical Framework

Social theory often contradicts “‘the reasons that people give for doing things’ and is, therefore, a critique of these reasons and the social arrangements that people construct in the name of these reasons.” (Turner, 2013, p. 706) The construction of these reasons is a process of interaction between structure (i.e., institutional rule) and agency (i.e., practical consciousness) (Turner, 2013). In the everyday life, however, the distinction between structure and agency is not always clear. Ritzer and Goodman’s (2004, p. 378-9) illustration of how structure and agency interweave shows,

While agency generally refers to micro-level, individual human actors, it also can refer to (macro) collectivities that act... If we accept such collectivities as agents, we cannot equate agency and micro-level phenomena. In addition, while structure usually refers to large-scale social structures, it also can refer to micro structures such as those involved in human interaction... Thus, both agency and structure can refer to either micro-level or macro-level phenomena or to both.

As a result, “agency and structure cannot be conceived of apart from one another; they are two sides of the same coin... All social action involves structure, and all structure

involves social action. Agency and structure are inextricably interwoven in ongoing human activity or practice.” (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004, p. 380)

The reasons and the process of reasoning of human agents are often based on conventions, which are constructed by institutional rulings (i.e., discourse) and can be taken granted for (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008). This, according to Gramsci, is a form of “common sense” (Forgacs, 1988). Common sense is constituted by various conceptions imposed and absorbed passively from outside, or from the past, and are accepted and lived uncritically... Many elements in popular common sense contribute to people’s subordination by making situations of inequality and oppression appear to them as natural and unchangeable... It contains elements of truth as well as elements of misrepresentation- and it is upon these contradictions that leverage may be obtained in a struggle of political hegemonies (Forgacs, 1988, p. 421).

Common sense rationalizes inequality and oppression so they appear natural for human agents through the “process by which a given conception of the world exerts an influence over others.” (Forgacs, 1988, p. 324) Many conceptions, however, may be fragmented, episodic, incoherent and uncritical. They are “products of the historical process” that make human agent incapable of reaching “historical autonomy” (Forgacs, 1988, p. 326). For example, the reformulation of the discourse of racial inferiority to cultural deficiency imposed on immigrants by the European’s belief in their racial superiority that can be traced back to the age of colonialism (Li, 1998; Zong, 1997; 2007) demonstrate the construction of common sense that still has an influence in today’s

society. The practice of this ideology is a form of human agents acting as “walking anachronism” (Forgacs, 1988, p. 326).

However, Giddens argues that “humans have the capacity for agency, and hence, they could change the very nature of social organization.” (Turner, 2013, p. 706). Gramsci believes the capacity of human agency in the manner of advocating human agents’ awareness of “good sense” that is already presented within their “common sense” (Forgacs, 1988, p. 323). The emergence of good sense, as a “form of thought superior to common sense,” is to be practiced by criticizing one’s “own conception of the world... to make it a coherent unity and to raise it to the level reached by the most advanced thought in the world.” (Forgacs, 1988, p. 326-31) In contemporary society, the most advanced thought of multiculturalism and integration is the acceptance of the “development of parallel, relatively autonomous, social groups, that are, and will continue to be, different from one another in important ways.” (Hiebert & Ley, 2003, p. 17) And Canada will have “a ‘culture’ distinguished by its diversity,” not a coercive one in dominance (Hiebert & Ley, 2003, p. 17). This study, therefore, aims at understanding *how the dynamic interaction process between “good sense” and “common sense” of a social group with their own conception of the world and the common sense they have adopted from the other social group at power in their habituated experiential reality can be demonstrated* (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008; Forgacs, 1988; Smith, 2005).

A case study is believed to suit the purpose of the study because it is the type of study for “a single instance of a phenomenon as an exemplar or paradigm case of a general phenomenon” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 58). Thus, case study is developmental. A case study also makes it possible to examine the social setting itself, on which complex social

relations are based, as an object of the study (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). As an insider of the Taiwanese community in Burnaby, the author had an easy access to the community during the time of the study. The author's role as an insider further gave her the privilege to share community gossip. Beitin (2012, p. 247) indicate that people "automatically enter discourse and social interchange" when they start to gossip. The application of institutional ethnography (IE) as a method of inquiry for this case study allows the author to examine human agents' "objective (rational) position and subjective (nonrational) position in the (collective) social hierarchy." (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008; Smith, 2005) As a method of inquiry fashioned to understand these complex social relations, IE can illustrate the dynamic interaction of human agents' potentially developed good sense, and passively adopted common sense, in their everyday reality and consciousness.

1.4 Research Design

The study is a case study of Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby, B.C. by using both survey questionnaire and interview data (see Chapter Two for detail). A case study of a particular ethnic minority group in Canada makes it possible to uncover more pieces of the puzzle of their integration process in the marital dimension, including their attitudes toward dating and mate selection. A case study also makes it possible to examine the social setting itself, on which complex social relations are based, as an object of the study (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). In this study, first and 1.5 generation³ Taiwanese immigrants'

³ The age divide is somewhat controversial as Lee and Boyd (2008) classify the 1.5 generation by those who came between the age of 0 and 12. The 1996 and 2001 census also categorize immigrants' year of immigration into ages between 0 and 4, and 5 and 12 (Statistics Canada, 1999; 2006). However, the most updated 2006 census cut the

attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage are examined. Taiwanese immigrants who reside in the City of Burnaby, British Columbia are chosen because it is one of the areas known to have a large Taiwanese community in Census Metropolitan Area of Vancouver (see Chapter Two).

1.5 generation immigrants, who were foreign born and immigrated before the age of fourteen, inclusively, is a unique group as they migrated to the country of destination before they reached puberty. They are assumed to experience extensive degrees of socialization in both country of origin and destination.

The endogamous percentages of both 1.5 generation male and female immigrants, for example, are found to be lower than the first generation and higher than the second or subsequent generations with a higher percentage of male (65.6) marrying endogamously than female (55.2) in the U.S. (Lee & Boyd, 2008). In the same study, 1.5 generation Asian Canadians also appear to share the same pattern as those in the U.S., but male (75.6) and female (70.9) Asian Canadians show a closer gap in the percentage difference for endogamy.

The author believes an examination of how first and 1.5 generation immigrants' attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage are related to (or modified by) their lives in the racially/ethnically stratified Canadian society contributes to the understanding of Canada's race/ethnic relations and issues of social integration. The purpose of this study is particularly meaningful for understanding Canada's growing visible minority population and numbers of ethnic communities.

categorical age at 14, inclusively (Statistics Canada, 2010; 2011). The author thus decides to use the most updated age divide in this study.

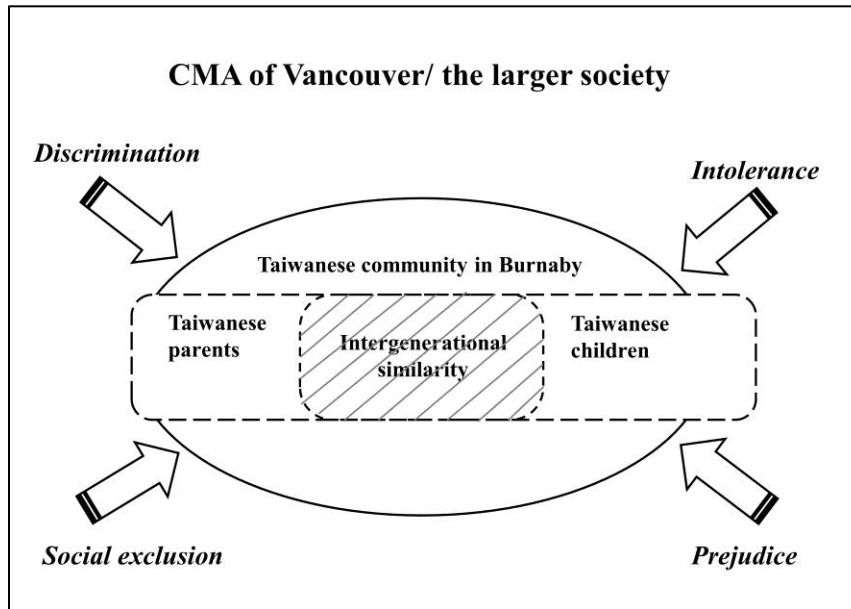
1.5 Summary of Chapters

A discussion on the author's role during the data collection process should be provided before moving into the summary section. This study examined Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby as a case study partly because of the author's role as an insider. According to Griffith (1998, p. 363), the debate on whether being an insider or outsider would be more advantageous for qualitative studies "depends on the recognition of different knowledge embedded in both the researchers' biography and the social relations of power and privilege in which the researcher is located." Insiders are argued to have easier access to the community of study and have "more complete knowledge" than outsiders (Griffith, 1998, p. 363). Merton (1972) "criticizes the insider claim of privilege because it limits the work of the sociologist to those groups of which he/she is a member." (as cited in Griffith, 1998, p. 363) However, since "the extensive and tacit knowledge the insider brings to her research means a different understanding of the relevance of the group," (Griffith, 1998, p. 364) "we no longer ask whether it is the insider or the outsider who has monopolistic or privileged access to social truth; instead we begin to consider their distinctive and interactive roles in the process of truth seeking." (Merton, 1972, p. 36, as cited in Griffith, 1998, p. 364) The author's role as an insider gave her easy access to the Taiwanese community in Burnaby and the data collection process became less difficult. As a result, 443 useful survey questionnaires were collected in four months with 239 parent and 204 child version (see Chapter Two).

The analytical framework of this study is presented in figure 1.1 as it summarises all chapters. The bar that explains 1.5 generation immigrant children's action was longer because they were found to be more socially integrated with a higher level of interaction

with the larger society than their parents. Yet the two generation cohorts shared some amount of similarities (see Chapter Seven).

Figure 1.1. Analytical Framework of the Study.



Chapter Two of this study included an analysis of ethnic-Chinese immigrants, especially Taiwanese, in CMA of Vancouver, British Columbia. A detail description of the data, including the data collection process for both quantitative and qualitative data, was also included.

Zhou and Bankston (1998, p. 18) asserted, “since individual behaviour and mental states result from living in certain types of social settings, one cannot adequately interpret individual responses to survey or interview questions without understanding the setting and considering how a particular setting produces particular responses.” This study thus began with an historical analysis on the ethnic Chinese communities in North America, especially British Columbia. In Chapter Three, an overview on ethnic Chinese and their

communities in the North American history was introduced for the purpose of demonstrating the changing relationships between ethnic Chinese and the majority. The overview was divided into three time periods. The first time period was the period before WWII, when Chinese experienced the most severe discriminative treatment in British Columbia. The second period was the period after WWII. The last period was the period between 1980s and present, when Asian became the largest immigrant group in North America with a growing inter-ethnic diversity. Examples included ethnic Chinese coming from Taiwan, Hong Kong and China who shared different social and political life experiences in Asia. An examination of the structure of the community (re)created and maintained by the Taiwanese immigrants in the past fifteen years was also introduced with data gathered from the 1997 Chinese Phone Book & Business Guide/ B.C. and 2010 Chinese Phone Directory/ B.C.

The purpose of Chapter Four was to provide a demographic profile of the Taiwanese immigrants of this study. This chapter elaborated on some of these immigrants' post-migration experiences living in the Taiwanese community in Burnaby, as well as their process of integration by using the interview data collected.

"Asian panethnicity", a concept coined by Espiritu (1992), had been applied as a possible perspective while explaining the marital choice of minority groups by scholars (Lee & Boyd, 2008), had constituted the analysis of the experiences of visible minorities in Chapter Five. The purpose was to understand whether the phenomenon of Asian panethnicity appeared among Asians in CMA of Vancouver by examining immigrants' choice of inter-group marriage. As Lee and Boyd (2008, p. 315) indicated, "some observers believed that Asian inter-ethnic marriage signified Asian pan-ethnicity, as

various Asian ethnic groups reacted to common racialized experience in a White dominant society by creating new bonds of solidarity and common identity as Asians,” an empirical examination would contribute to the understanding of race/ethnic relations between the majority and minority in CMA of Vancouver.

Asian immigrants’ commonly racialized experience of discrimination and social exclusion was found to work as an external force to increase their preference for intra-group marriage (i.e., marrying the same race/ethnicity). The relationship dynamics within the group were discussed in Chapter Six. The aim of Chapter Six was to understand how these immigrants’ preference for intra-group dating, mate selection and marriage was bound up with “ethnicity”, as it was a term “served as a shorthand for a group’s distinctive cultural and social-organizational traits.” (Zhou & Bankston, 1998, p. 5) In this chapter, the reader would find that the “unintended consequence of our individual conduct is the reproduction of the very rules that both enable and constrain our actions;” furthermore, “in reproducing the rules, we are at the same time reproducing the broader social systems in which these rules are embedded and in which our action takes place.” (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 760)

Chapter Seven provided an examination on Taiwanese immigrants’ attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage and their differences between genders and across generations. Some example questions included what were found to be supported by the traditional Taiwanese culture, and what were modified or fused into the mainstream in a monogamous social context. The results indicated that although intergenerational difference was found and immigrant children, as expected, were more socially integrated

than their parents, these children did not differ substantially from their parents in terms of some of the traditional cultural values they shared.

Lastly, Chapter Eight summarized all key findings of the study. The limitation of the study was discussed. Some suggestions for policy implication and future studies were made. The author believes that discussions about issues of intra- and inter-group dating, mate selection and marriage of different social groups remain a topic worth exploring as the results reflect on the process of integration of everyone in a multicultural society.

CHAPTER 2– RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction to Immigrants in CMA of Vancouver

Vancouver was among the top three largest Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) in Canada, the two others being Toronto and Montreal. Its “land area is 2,882.55 square kilometers with a population density of 802.5 persons per square kilometer.” (Statistics Canada, 2012) The City of Burnaby, which was chosen as the research site of this study, belonged to one of its eighteen subdivisions⁴ including all cities, district municipalities and regional district electoral area (Statistics Canada, 2012). See Figure 2.1 for detail.

According to the 2001 Census Codebook (Statistics Canada, 2006, p. 7), a CMA was “formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centred on a large urban area... The census population count of the urban core was at least 100,000... To be included in the CMA, other adjacent municipalities must have a high degree of integration with the central urban area.” As shown in figure 2.2, the City of Burnaby “occupied 38 square miles (98.6 square kilometers) and was located at the geographic centre of Metro Vancouver.” Its geographical location had made it an ideal place for immigrants to settle partly due to travel convenience (City of Burnaby, 2012). According to the Metro Vancouver 2006 Census Bulletin #6 (Metro Vancouver, 2008), the City of Vancouver,

⁴ All subdivisions ranked in descending numbers of population are: Vancouver (CY), Surrey (CY), Burnaby (CY), Richmond (CY), Coquitlam (CY), Langley (DM), Delta (DM), North Vancouver (DM), Maple Ridge (DM), New Westminster (CY), Port Coquitlam (CY), North Vancouver (CY), West Vancouver (DM), Port Moody (CY), Langley (CY), White Rock (CY), Pitt Meadows (CY) and Greater Vancouver A (RDA). Note that CY means City, DM is District Municipality, and RDA refers to Regional District Electoral Area (Statistics Canada, 2012).

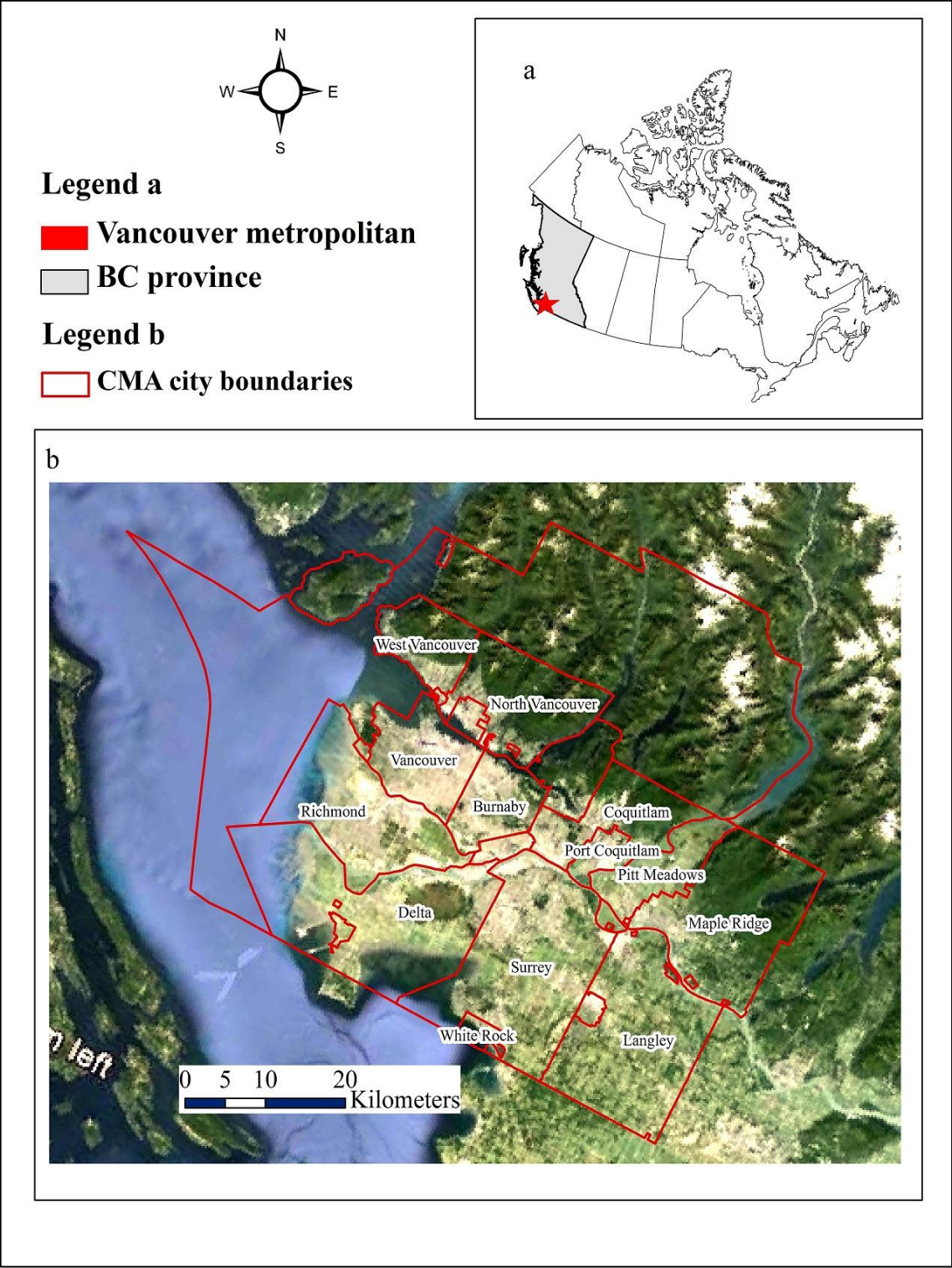
Surrey, Burnaby, Richmond and Coquitlam had the largest percentage of recent immigrants, 74% in total, between 1996 and 2006. These cities were thus the top five popular cities for immigrants to settle within CMA of Vancouver. Furthermore, according to the Metro Vancouver 2011 National Household Survey- Bulletin #6 (Metro Vancouver, 2013), Burnaby had recently become the second largest Metro Vancouver Municipality for foreign- born residents. The percentage of foreign-born residents among all residents in the top three Metro Vancouver Municipalities were: Richmond (60%), Burnaby (50%) and the City of Vancouver (44%) (Metro Vancouver, 2013).

The three CMAs, Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, in Canada had constantly shown structural effects on immigrants' lives because these areas encompassed some numbers of ethnic enclave communities formed by its various visible minority groups. Given its large numbers of Chinese population, Vancouver, for example, was especially known as the "Saltwater City" at one point in Canadian history (Yee, 2006). This was a term used by former Chinese labour workers who resided in Vancouver to "differentiate it from the older mainland city of New Westminster on the freshwater Fraser River" (Yee, 2006, p. 1).

Some situations of immigrants residing in the CMAs were found to be different from immigrants elsewhere. The differences were largely due to the high density of immigrants of the same race/ethnicity in large CMAs (i.e., ethnic enclaves). For example, visible minority immigrants who worked in an enclave setting earned less than those who worked in a non-enclave setting. Also, the stronger the level of their social ties with those of the same race/ethnic background (i.e., the more friends of their own race/ethnicity), the lower the level of their earning (Li, 2008). In regards to marriage, immigrants who

resided in CMAs were found to be less likely to choose a spouse of different race/ethnic background (Lee & Boyd, 2008). Due to some of these uniqueness about CMAs, the effects of residence in CMAs on immigrants, as well as how the landscape of CMAs were shaped by the social/economic activities performed by immigrants required scholars' attention.

Figure 2.1. Map of Census Metropolitan Area of Vancouver, British Columbia.



2.2 Taiwanese Immigrants in CMA of Vancouver

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2005) indicated that among the 189,700 residents of CMA of Vancouver who came to Canada between 1996 and 2001, those coming from China accounted for 20% (34,440), followed by Taiwan with 13% (22,110), and 9% (15,680) from Hong Kong (see Table 2.1). According to the same source, CMA of Vancouver appeared to be the primary choice among Taiwanese immigrants: “Of the 60,500 Taiwan-born individuals who immigrated after 1985 and were living in Canada in 2001, 42,000 or 69% were living in Vancouver. Vancouver is also home to a large share of recent immigrants from Hong Kong and China.” CMA of Vancouver thus acquired its uniqueness with this large composition of recent and very recent ethnic Chinese immigrants.

The statistical information was important because the majority of the Taiwanese immigrants of this study came to Canada between early 1990s and 2000s (see Table 4.1 in Chapter Four for detail). The majority of them thus had immigrated to Canada during the time when Taiwanese immigrants ranked as the second largest immigrant groups in CMA of Vancouver (see Table 2.1). According to more recent data, Taiwan ranked as the sixth largest country (40,725 in number, 4.5% of total immigrants) for immigrants to Metro Vancouver in 2011 (Metro Vancouver, 2013). Among all the places where immigrants came from, China ranked as the first largest country (159,200; 17.4%) and Hong Kong ranked as the fourth (72,230; 7.9%) (Metro Vancouver, 2013).

In addition, immigrants from Taiwan between 2002 and 2011 had experienced the least change in percentage (95%) while those from China and Hong Kong combined had experienced the highest percentage of decrease in immigrant population between the same years (82%, see Table 2.2). According to the information released by the Government of British Columbia (B.C. Stats, 2012), immigrants from Japan to B.C. was the only East Asia⁵ immigrant group showing a population percentage increase in the past decade.

All the information indicated that Taiwanese immigrants had indeed played a role in shaping the landscape of CMA of Vancouver in recent Canadian history. Although studies focused on Taiwanese immigrants were found (see Chen, 1992; Chen, 2002; Chiang, 2008; Gu, 2006; Tseng, 1995), these studies, as noticed by Wong (2004), were primarily conducted in the U.S. and Australia, leaving their situation in Canada the most understudied. It was, therefore, the author's wish to examine this particular immigrant group, in terms of their dating, mate selection decision and marital choice, as these would uncover more pieces of the puzzle of the social integration process of visible minorities in a Canadian CMA.

⁵ Some key features of Chinese culture, such as collectivism, filial piety and conformity to norms, are shared among various Asian ethnic groups. For some scholars, those cultures that also celebrate the same values, but are not Chinese, are defined as Asian in general (Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999). Some examples are Korean, Japanese, Vietnamese, Singaporean, Malaysian, Filipino and Indian (Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999; Min, 1999; Netting, 2006; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Table 2.1. Top Five Countries of Birth of Immigrants- By Period of Immigration, Census Metropolitan Area of Vancouver, 2001.

| Ranking | Country | Population | Percentage |
|--|--|------------|------------|
| Immigrated before 1986 | | | |
| 1 | United Kingdom | 59,640 | 19% |
| 2 | <i>People's Republic of China (P.R.C.)</i> | 30,870 | 10% |
| 3 | India | 27,830 | 9% |
| 4 | <i>Hong Kong</i> | 21,360 | 7% |
| 5 | Germany | 15,280 | 5% |
| Total of immigrants from P.R.C. and Hong Kong | | 52,230 | 17% |
| Total of top five countries | | 154,980 | 50% |
| Total of all countries | | 321,810 | 100% |
| Immigrated 1986-1995 | | | |
| 1 | <i>Hong Kong</i> | 48,950 | 20% |
| 2 | <i>People's Republic of China (P.R.C.)</i> | 36,460 | 15% |
| 3 | India | 24,300 | 10% |
| 4 | <i>Taiwan</i> | 19,570 | 8% |
| 5 | Philippines | 18,190 | 7% |
| Total of immigrants from Hong Kong, P.R.C. and Taiwan | | 104,980 | 43% |
| Total of top five countries | | 147,470 | 60% |
| Total of all countries | | 247,130 | 100% |
| Immigrated 1996-2001 | | | |
| 1 | <i>People's Republic of China (P.R.C.)</i> | 34,440 | 20% |
| 2 | <i>Taiwan</i> | 22,110 | 13% |
| 3 | India | 15,700 | 9% |
| 4 | <i>Hong Kong</i> | 15,680 | 9% |
| 5 | Philippines | 14,330 | 8% |
| Total immigrants from P.R.C., Taiwan and Hong Kong | | 72,230 | 42% |
| Total of top five countries | | 102,260 | 59% |
| Total of all countries | | 169,620 | 100% |
| Source: The Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2005). | | | |

Table 2.2. East Asia Immigrants to B.C. - By Selected Country of Birth, 2002-2011.

| Country | Immigrants (Persons) | | Change in % |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----------|-------------|
| | 2002-2006 | 2007-2011 | |
| Taiwan | 9,047 | 8,583 | .95 |
| China & Hong Kong | 56,278 | 46,195 | .82 |
| South Korea | 12,290 | 11,340 | .92 |
| Japan | 2,492 | 2,973 | 1.19 |

Source: B.C. Stats- Fact Sheet (2012).

2.3 Research Design and Methodology

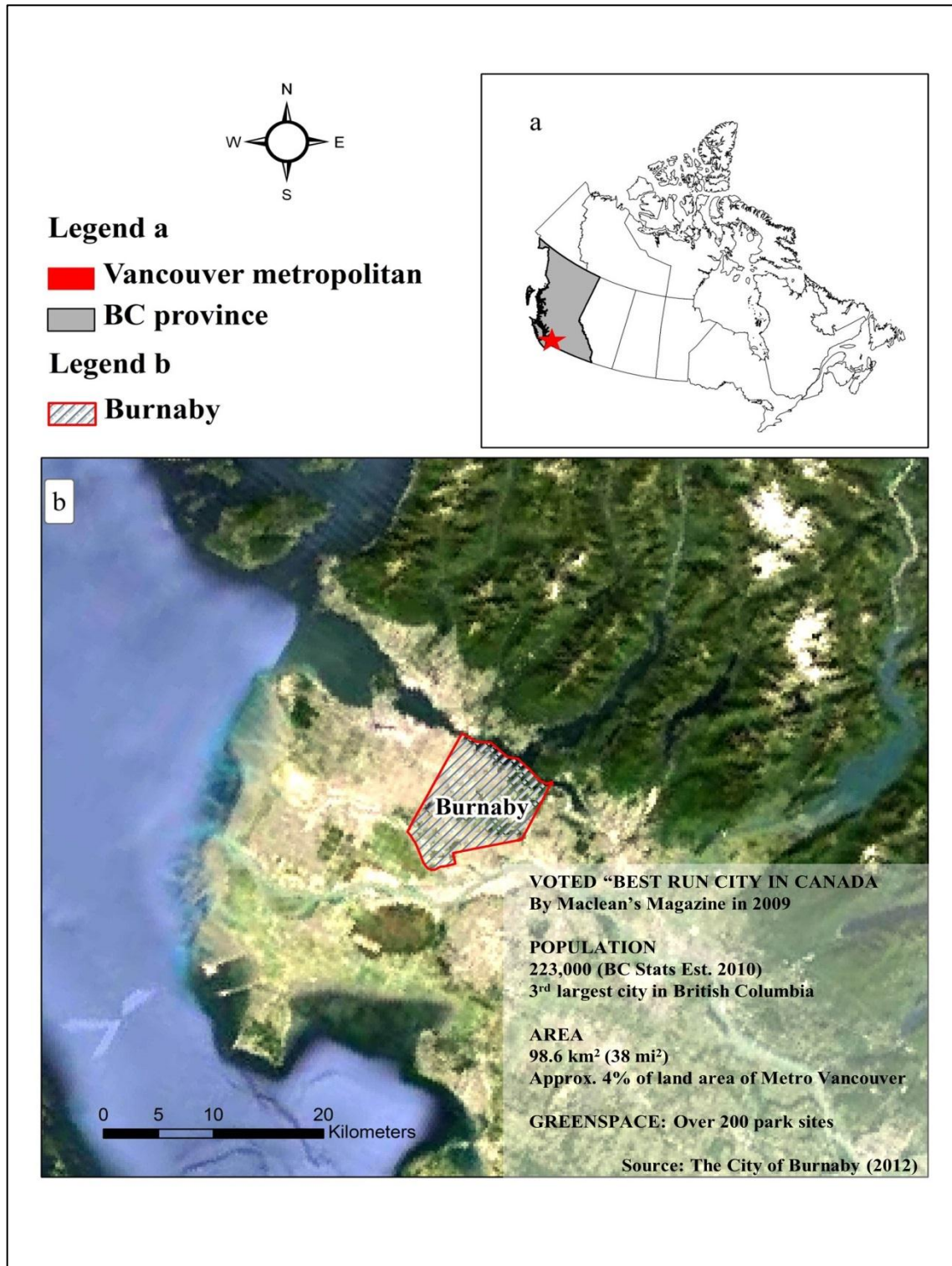
The survey data of this study included Taiwanese immigrants of all immigration class (i.e., family, business and skilled/professional). Taiwanese immigrants resided in the City of Burnaby (see Figure 2.1 and 2.2) were selected as a case study⁶ for a number of reasons. First, the key of doing a case study is to create a developmental research model that could offer possible directions for future research. The Taiwanese immigrants of this study were treated as an exemplar case of the integration process of minority groups in ethnic enclave communities within an assimilationist context. In terms of technical limitations, as both quantitative and qualitative research methods were applied in this study, it was unrealistic for the author to distribute survey questionnaires and conduct in-depth interviews among Taiwanese immigrants all across CMA of Vancouver. In

⁶ A case study is “the study of a single instance of a phenomenon as an exemplar or paradigm case of a general phenomenon” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 58).

addition, Burnaby was not only where the author's network⁷ was, but also it was one of the three cities, Vancouver, Burnaby and Richmond, in CMA of Vancouver that was popular for ethnic immigrants to settle between 1996 and 2006 (Metro Vancouver, 2008). It was an ideal area for immigrants to settle partly because it was located at the geographic centre of Metro Vancouver (see Figure 2.2), which made travelling among other large ethnic Chinese communities in CMA of Vancouver (i.e., Richmond) easy (City of Burnaby, 2012). Moreover, the City of Burnaby had a higher number of Taiwanese immigrants selected by birthplace (8,630, 20% sample data) than the City of Richmond (7,330, 20% sample data) according to the 2006 Census released by Statistics Canada (2010), even though Richmond appeared to have a higher number of ethnic Chinese immigrants. In short, the characteristics of this city in addition to the strength of the author's network all made Burnaby an appropriate research site.

⁷ The data collection of the parent immigrants started from the author's parents' network in Burnaby. We immigrated to Canada in 1995 and have moved to Burnaby in 1996 and lived there since. My parents have developed their network in the Taiwanese community in Burnaby for the past 18 years. Aside from the author's personal network, some of the friends of the author's parents had also helped the author with the data collection of the child immigrants through the network of their children.

Figure 2.2. Map of City of Burnaby, British Columbia.



2.3.1 Quantitative Data and Method

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were included in this study. Two quantitative datasets were used: the Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002, Analytical File, derived from the 2001 census as a post-censal survey distributed by Statistics Canada (University of Toronto- Data Library Service, 2005); and a self-designed survey questionnaire of both parent and child version (see Appendix 1a and 1b), distributed by the author among Taiwanese immigrants in the City of Burnaby.

The Ethnic Diversity Survey 2002, Analytical File, was included as it contained information regarding immigrants' network ties, the race/ethnic background of their spouse, and their past experience of discrimination, which were key variables for this study yet lacking in the survey questionnaires distributed by the author. The self-designed survey questionnaire not only served the purpose of establishing a demographic profile of the target group, but also contained information that was ethnic-specific (see Appendix 1a and 1b for detail). As Taiwanese were sometimes included in the 'Chinese' and/or 'Other East and Southeast Asian' category in a number of Canadian national survey, self-designed survey questionnaires to be distributed exclusively among Taiwanese was required as they were the ethnic group being focused in this study.

The parent version survey questionnaires were distributed among first generation Taiwanese immigrants who either had child(ren) that immigrated with them or were childless. The child version survey questionnaires were distributed among Taiwanese immigrants who came with their parent(s) and were not independent immigrants. Both

versions of survey questionnaires were distributed and collected through the snowball sampling method between October, 2010 and January, 2011. A total of 445 survey questionnaires were distributed and 443 useful ones were collected with 239 parent and 204 child version. The snowball sampling method is a method of “selecting a sample by starting with a small selected group of respondents and asking these for further contacts.” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 560) Although it has its limitations (i.e., non-random), it has been perceived as an ideal data collection method when sensitive topics are involved (Jary & Jary, 2000). During the data collection process, the author found some respondents considered the questions regarding relationships and pre-marital sex sensitive. For example, two mothers had refused to answer some of the questions and be audio-taped. Despite these difficulties, the snowball sampling method had successfully increased the number of useful survey questionnaires being collected for this study. The data collection process stopped when the distribution of the survey questionnaires reached the limit of the author’s and respondents’ network. Such limit was determined when the author encountered a number of respondents who reported that they had been asked to do the same survey questionnaire (Prell, 2012).

2.3.2 Qualitative Data and Method

A case study that focused on the examination of the social setting where a particular group was situated in and how their complex social relations were based made it possible to uncover pieces of the puzzle of how structure (i.e., social setting) and agency (i.e., subjects) functioned (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). For the purpose of understanding the social integration of Asian immigrants in large CMAs, first and 1.5 generation Taiwanese

immigrants who resided in the City of Burnaby, B.C. were chosen as a case study. The purpose of applying the qualitative method⁸ was to examine the dynamics of social relations in the integration process that would have been less visible in the quantitative data.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews that allowed more room for the author to explore what the interviewees said during the interviews were conducted between February and October, 2011, followed by the distribution of the survey questionnaires. The majority of the interviews were completed between February and May, except for the last interview, which was done in October because the author had to wait for the interviewee to have her best time available. The recruitment of interviewees was also done by using the snowball sampling method, which enabled rapport and trust to be established between the author and the interviewees (Chiang, 2008).

The interview questions were also divided into parent and child version (see Appendix 2a and 2b). A total of seven Taiwanese families were interviewed, among which seven parents, four fathers and three mothers, and eight children, four sons and four daughters, were interviewed. All parents and children, even from the same family, were interviewed individually to ensure privacy. The author interviewed a family with twins- a son and a daughter- for the purpose of more specific comparison of gender difference in the nurturing process (see Chapter Seven). In the end, a total of fifteen interviewees were included in the data (see Appendix 5 for interviewees' profile).

⁸ According to Firestone (1987), qualitative methods could enable multiple socially constructed realities and make them visible and understandable to readers.

There has been a controversy about the number of cases of qualitative research should contain (Sandelowski 1996). According to Sandelowski (1996),

In contrast to analysts using a variable-oriented approach, whose focus on any one case is narrowed to key variables, analysts using a case-oriented approach always have more to attend to in each case. The case-oriented approach is especially useful for showing how the same set of factors, varying in the same way, can interact differently and have different consequences in different cases, or how different sets of varying factors in different cases can interact to produce common outcomes in these cases (p. 526).

Thus, the claim that qualitative findings are not generalizable is a false charge as Sandelowski (1996) states the method provides a spectrum of generalization that differs from the one in conventional scientific inquiry. Additionally, Firestone (1987) has demonstrated how two studies using qualitative and quantitative methodologies to study the same problem could present complementary results. In sum, the author believes less attention should be paid on the number of cases when it comes to qualitative research, but more on the thickness and richness of the data that complements and supports the findings.

All interviewees signed a consent form (see Appendix 3a for parent and 3b for child) before the interview began for it to be audio-taped. After the interviews were transcribed verbatim, all interviewees had a chance to review, add and delete information on their transcript and signed the consent form for transcript data release (see Appendix 4). No formal follow-up interviews (i.e., audio-taped) were made. However, the author was able

to clarify the questions that arose during data transcription with each interviewee during the return visit when the interviewees signed their consent form for transcript data release. Hand-written notes of their responses were made during this return visit.

All Taiwanese immigrant children being interviewed were adults (over 19 year-old), who had already passed the legal age for marriage in Canada⁹; thus, they were all assumed to be suitable candidates for marriage. None of these immigrant children were married or had been married, but most had dated either before or during the interview. Their unmarried status was treated as an advantage as Burgess and Wallin (1943) stated potential influence of interaction in marriage could be possible if traits were measured after marriage. These interviewees thus were able to present attitudes and values adopted prior to marriage.

Moreover, all of the immigrant children being interviewed were 1.5 generation immigrants who came before the age of 14, inclusively. This was a special group because first, for every immigrant family that came with young children, there would be 1.5 generation immigrants. As Canada continues to receive immigrant families with young children, the number of this generation cohort will also continue to grow. This group has spent a portion of their life time socializing in their homeland, and the other portion of their time in Canada adopting the skills and values required for becoming 'Canadian'. Most of these 1.5 generation immigrants, who came under the age of 14, were unlikely to have any dating experience before they immigrated to Canada. They were thus subjected

⁹ The minimum age for marriage in Canada is 14 years old as it is indicated in Bill C-22 that "someone who is more than five years older than a 14- or 15-year-old may marry that young person where such a marriage is permitted under provincial or territorial solemnization of marriage laws." (MacKay, 2007)

to the Canadian dating milieu and marriage market conditions, which were found to be important factors for mate selection and marital choice (Qian & Lichter, 2011).

According to Lee and Boyd (2008), 1.5 generation Chinese immigrants in Canada had slightly lower rates of inter-group marriage (i.e., marrying someone of different race/ethnicity) than those in the U.S. Moreover, this group in both Canada and the U.S. had higher rates of inter-group marriage than the first generation and lower rates of inter-group marriage than the native-born. The results thus “underlined the need by researchers to decompose the foreign-born by age at arrival when studying the social integration of immigrants.” (Lee & Boyd, 2008, p. 326-7) The child version survey questionnaires indicated above were distributed to immigrant children of all generations to ensure the data encompassed as many respondents as possible.

While the author was conducting the in-depth interview, field notes¹⁰, in addition, were taken. The analysis of the author’s interview data and field notes, made between October, 2010 and October, 2011, was done by applying the method of inquiry, Institutional Ethnography (IE) (Smith, 2005). Institutional Ethnography examined people’s experience to discover its presence and institution in their lives, and to explicate that institution beyond the local of the everyday experiences (Smith, 2005). What this

¹⁰ Field notes were made during “unstructured observation”, which “was used to understand and interpret cultural behaviour. It was based within the interpretist/constructivist paradigm that acknowledged the importance of context and the coconstruction of knowledge between researcher and ‘researched’.” (Mulhall, 2003, p. 306). The author understood that her practices in the field, including how she wrote notes and presented herself as a member of the Taiwanese community, were fashioned by her sociological training and her social role. Thus, the field notes being drafted (i.e., what to omit and not) had “boundaries” (Mulhall, 2003).

method of inquiry implied was that “the very term ‘institutional ethnography’ explicitly coupled an emphasis on structures of power (‘institutions’) with the microlevel practices that made up everyday life (‘ethnography’).” (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 588) It provided with a perspective that particularly focused on participants’ (i.e., subjects) experience, especially the institutional ones (Smith, 2005).

This was important especially for the analysis of the ethnic boundary of Taiwanese community in Burnaby (see Chapter Six for detail) because this “invisible” institutional structure was based upon the fellow members’ lived experience, their values, perceptions, evaluations and judgements. The lived experience was “shaped, structured, known socially,” and were examined as “the social organization of experience.” (Griffith, 1998, p. 369) Griffith (1998, p. 369) further explained that “we acted in relation to others, we spoke with others, we listened to others. Individually, we acted with others to produce social groups... The focus of inquiry was this process of concerting individually to make the social.” The application of IE as a method of inquiry for interview data analysis also allowed the relations among subjects to be shown because when people made an attempt to describe others, they “automatically entered discourse and social interchange.” (Beitin, 2012, p. 247) And IE was “designed to explicate social relations and how these relations come to govern those individuals involved.” (Walby, 2007, p. 1013) See Chapter Six for more detailed discussion.

The final qualitative data used for this study was the information derived from the 1997 Chinese Phone Book & Business Guide/ B.C. and 2010 Chinese Phone Directory/ B.C. for the purpose of presenting the social context of the Taiwanese community in Burnaby between the past decades (see Chapter Three). According to Hollstein (2011, p.

405), the idea of “contextuality” in the qualitative approach referred to that “one can only understand the meaning of an action and/or an act of expression with reference to the context of this action or expression.” Therefore, if culturally institutionalized attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage has a ‘meaning’ for Taiwanese immigrants, such meaning could only exist within a certain context (Hollstein, 2011). Chapter Three served the purpose of setting up the historical social context of CMA of Vancouver.

CHAPTER 3– THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC CHINESE COMMUNITIES IN CANADA

3.1 Introduction

Zhou and Bankston (1998, p. 18) asserted, “since individual behaviour and mental states result from living in certain types of social settings, one cannot adequately interpret individual responses to survey or interview questions without understanding the setting and considering how a particular setting produces particular responses.” The study of the subjects cannot be done independently from the social setting they are situated in. Therefore, the aim of this chapter was to elaborate and illustrate on the historical development of ethnic communities in CMA of Vancouver.

Studies on individuals’ marital choice were often associated with ‘preference’ and ‘opportunity’ (Kalmijn, 1998). Some argued that the attempt to maintain one’s cultural heritage by intra-group marriage, for example, was related with ‘preference’ (Kalmijn, 1998; Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2010). ‘Opportunity’ for marriage, on the other hand, depended on structural factors such as residential segregation, available candidates in the marriage market, and the population size of a race/ethnic group (Kalmijn, 1998).

An example of residential segregation was an enclave community, where its residents had highly homogenous background, and held shared experience of social exclusion. The structural effect on marital choice, as indicated by Kalmijn (1998, p. 401), was that “while residential segregation in urban areas hampered opportunities to intermarry directly...it also reduced exogamy by intensifying feelings of group solidarity.” If marital choice reflected race/ethnic relations among different groups, that is, whether members of

different groups accepted one another as social equals (Kalmijn, 1998, p. 396), those whose survival relied heavily on the enclave economy due to social exclusion at the workplace would be more likely to choose intra-group marriage.

An analysis on the structural context (i.e., community) in which the Taiwanese immigrants of this study were situated would be a prelude to later analysis on their marital choice as residents of CMA of Vancouver, especially in the city of Burnaby. If these immigrants did not rely on enclave businesses for their living, yet still preferred intra-group marriage, then they could be seen as distinct from the conventional view that those who relied on enclave businesses also preferred intra-group marriage (see e.g., Furtado & Trejo, 2012).

This chapter started with an historical overview on ethnic Chinese and their communities in North American for the purpose of demonstrating the changing relationship between ethnic Chinese and the majority. This overview was divided into three time periods. The first time period was the one before WWII, when Chinese experienced the most severe discriminative treatment in British Columbia. The second period would be after WWII. A number of important immigration policy changes, such as the introduction of the Points System, were made during this period in both Canada and the U.S.. The last period was the time between 1980s and present, when Asians became the largest immigrant group in North America with a growing inter-ethnic diversity.

Examples included ethnic Chinese coming from Taiwan, Hong Kong and China who shared different social and political living experiences¹¹ in Asia.

An examination of the structure of the community (re)created and maintained by the Taiwanese immigrants in the last time period was then followed with data gathered from the 1997 Chinese Phone Book & Business Guide/ B.C. and 2010 Chinese Phone Directory/ B.C. as a case study. The results indicated that this Taiwanese group did not rely heavily on enclave economy and a potential “cultural community” could have been developed (Ling, 2004).

3.2 Chinese in North America before World War II

Historically, the development of Chinese communities in North America was constrained and restricted by anti-Chinese immigration laws and policies (Fong, 1994; Li, 1998; Ng, 1999; Yee, 2006). The following two examples demonstrated the discriminative treatment experienced by Chinese immigrants in Canada, especially in British Columbia before WWII.

3.2.1 Paul Yee on the Saltwater City (2006)

The name “Saltwater City” was given to Vancouver by earlier Chinese immigrants to “differentiate it from the older mainland city of New Westminster on the freshwater Fraser River.” (Yee, 2006, p. 1) Currently, both terms “Wen-go-wa” in Cantonese (Yee,

¹¹ Taiwan was once ruled by Japan (before WWII) and then dominated by the KMT until present. Hong Kong was once ruled by the Great Britain (until 1997) and then returned to China. China has remained as a communist country after WWII.

2006, p. 1) and “Wen-ge-hua” in Mandarin have replaced the old name to match with the English pronunciation of Vancouver.

According to Yee, the history of Chinese immigrants in Canada had long existed before the establishment of the City of Vancouver in 1886. Chinese immigrants at the time were not recognized as Canadian citizens and worked at low-pay economic positions aggregated largely for mining and the building of the national railway. Most of the Chinese came from the southeast coast of China for the pursuit of new opportunities. They were, however, generally being discriminated against in Canada because of their race/ethnicity, language, culture and religion. They were largely male workers who were either single/never married or married but separated from their families partly because they could not afford to pay the head tax for bringing their families to Canada. Aside from the financial hardship, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 also prohibited these Chinese immigrants’ families to enter Canada (Li, 1998). This large number of male workers was also regionally segregated. Thus, they inevitably formed a Chinatown where they lived in large numbers. Discrimination, rather than cultural preference, contributed to the appearance of Chinatown in Vancouver, although culture also played a role.

Chinatown in Vancouver developed in a fast speed as Yee (2006, p. 17) described: “Chinatown thrived because Saltwater City thrived. Vancouver’s harbour, industries, and rail yards drew labourers, merchants, and families to the west. The growing city needed Chinese workers, and its transportation network moved Chinese goods throughout the province.” However, as the development of the city continued to grow, racial hostility against Chinese began: “Vancouver’s growth surged after 1885 when discharged railway workers drifted into the region... Vancouver’s newspapers warned that the Chinese

presence in the city's business section would lower property values and urged that the Chinese be kept out of the city.” (Yee, 2006, p. 18)

Discriminative policies and attitudes had further jeopardized all Chinese business sectors. The Chinese laundries, for example, were asked to stay in the designated zone within Chinatown in 1893. However, since the law was difficult to enforce due to many of the city's established Chinese laundry businesses outside of the area, the city hall “enlarged the laundry zone to let white-owned steam laundries open downtown and extended municipal control of washing practices.” (Yee, 2006, p. 18) Aside from issues of race, this action further exacerbated class competition between the white majority and Chinese workers in Vancouver. The hardship of Chinese laundryman was ubiquitous in North America; similar situations of Chinese laundryman, who had limited economic capital to compete with their white counterparts, were also found in Chicago in the early 1900s (Siu, 1987, as cited in Chen, 1992: 104).

An outcome resulting from the beginning of WWII was that it “forced young Chinese Canadians to make tough decisions despite racism to participate in Canada's war effort.” (Yee, 2006, p. 110) Yee (2006, p. 110) recorded a Chinese dental student's refusal to participate by saying “I am not even a Canadian... We have no rights in British Columbia. We cannot practise law, we cannot open a drugstore, we cannot teach in school, we cannot work in the post office, and we have no rights.”

However, those Chinese volunteers who joined the army and participated in the war produced “an unprecedented positive public image in press.” (Yee, 2006, p. 114) After WWII ended, public opinion in Canada “swung over to the side of the Chinese Canadians. The 1923 Exclusion Act was repealed in May 1947, but only dependents of

Canadian citizens were allowed. In the spring 1947 session of the British Columbia legislature, the Elections Act was amended to give the vote to Chinese Canadians.” (Yee, 2006, p. 114) Although the inclusion of Chinese as Canadian was only restricted to dependents of Canadian citizens, the level of racial discrimination against Chinese from the mainstream had slightly reduced after WWII.

3.2.2 Peter S. Li on *The Chinese in Canada* 2nd Edition (1998)

Discrimination experienced by the Chinese prior to WWII was also evident to Li (1998). In this book, Li criticized the “narrowly defined theoretical framework that focused on how ethnic immigrants’ language and culture impeded their assimilation” as he argues, “one cannot fully understand a minority in the absence of the majority. In this sense, the majority and the minority are defined and produced by the relationships between them, not by their primordial cultures.” (Li, 1998, p. xii)

For example, some stated the Chinese immigrants who came to North America prior to WWII had a sojourner orientation, which made them unwilling to assimilate into the North American mainstream. As they remained unattached, they were perceived to lack family values (Yee, 2006). Li (1998) argued this happened because of a couple reasons: the immigration act that caused an imbalanced sex ratio and the discrimination faced by Chinese that prevented them from bringing their families. As Li (1998, p. 70) states, “although it is theoretically possible that some Chinese married members of other ethnic groups, inter-ethnic marriages were rare even in the absence of a miscegenation law, because of social hostility towards marriages between Chinese men and white women.” Furthermore, “there were social costs that tended to discourage the Chinese from

bringing their families. Hostilities and discrimination often led to abuses and attacks.”

(Li, 1998, p. 64)

For Li, racial hostility toward Chinese began when British Columbia started experiencing economic hardship. Chinese immigrants became economic competitors who were willing to work at low-pay jobs and were only sojourners that would not assimilate to the mainstream. The public view of Chinese as sojourners who were not patriotic and did not belong to the host country was also documented in the U.S. history (Chen, 1992). The Europeans’ belief in their racial superiority, “understood as a part of the ideological construction of colonialism,” has increased the level of “anti-Orientalism,” especially in British Columbia where the Chinese concentrated as early as 1900. (Li, 1998, p. 31) Anti-Orientalism, for example, was reflected on the head tax, which was raised to \$100 in 1900 and \$500 in 1903 for all Chinese who wished to enter Canada at the time. Institutional racism, defined as involving “social institutions that give a sustained meaning to superficial features of ‘race’ and use ‘race’ as the justification for disqualifying subordinate members of society from equal participation” (Li, 1998, p. 37) against Chinese had thus marked the Canadian history.

According to Li, “institutional racism disrupted the life of the Chinese in Canada in many ways, but perhaps the most serious impact was economic;” in order to avoid the increasingly difficult competition with both white workers and white capital, “many Chinese retreated into the ethnic business sector, largely the service industry.” (Li, 1998, p. 48) As a result, the working class was segregated by racial divisions. Race, as pointed by Ward (1980, as cited in Li, 1998, p. 50), “was the basis of major cleavages in British Columbia between 1870 and 1939.” Li (1998, p. 53) further indicates,

In many ways, the low-cost services delivered by the Chinese in the laundry and restaurant businesses were similar to the services they once provided to Canadian households as domestic servants; both types of service were seen as women's work, undesirable to male white workers because of the poor pay and low social standing associated with them. The Canadian evidence also suggests that the Chinese were tolerated as long as they were confined to subservient labour and the ethnic sector. Once they competed with white workers and employers in the open market, anti-Chinese sentiment rose and intensified, especially in poor economic times.

As the Chinese population in Canada continued to grow, the geographic boundaries of Chinatown in all Canadian cities expanded, and more Chinese services were opened outside of Chinatown to attract white customers (Li, 1998; Yee, 2006). Thus, various Chinese communities formed outside the City of Vancouver.

3.3 Ethnic Chinese in North America after World War II

Canada's Chinese population started to grow after "the restrictive immigration policy was repealed and Chinese became eligible for admission under limited categories" between the late 1940s and early 1950s (Li, 1998, p. 89). After the Canadian government changed its immigration requirements by broadening the categories of admission in 1962, the characteristics of Chinese immigrants switched from those with low levels of education to those with high levels of education, skills, and those who hold large amount of economic capitals (Li, 1998).

Moreover, after the introduction of the Points System in 1967, many immigrants were “urban dwellers from Hong Kong and Taiwan, in contrast to the earlier immigrants from mainland rural backgrounds.” (Li, 1998, p. 96) Similarly in the U.S., “when the Naturalization and Immigration Act repealed the discriminatory quota of 105 Chinese per year and extended the ceiling to 20,000 for each independent country,” the population of Chinese immigrants grew rapidly (Chen, 1992, p. 6). Chen (1992, p. 6-7) further stated that

By the end of the 1960s the American Chinese population in major urban communities had separated into two groups: the old immigrants, or Chinatown Chinese, who remained tied to the ethnic sub-economy and its institutions; and the “non-Chinatown Chinese”, who entered the professions, universities, and neighbourhoods of white North America.

Generally speaking, the numbers of Chinese immigrants in North America increased due to the repeal of racially discriminative laws and policies with varying ethnicities. The introduction of new immigration policies, such as the Points System in 1967, had further changed the characteristics of these ethnic Chinese immigrants.

As a result, the earlier settlers and newcomers shared different experiences in North America. Their culture clashes and settlement patterns had driven scholars’ attention. Ng in his book, *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-80* (1999, p. 4-5), for example, examined “several generations of Chinese immigrants and their Canadian-born descendants- over the meaning of being Chinese in Canada... on identity and ethnicity that emerged in the 1970s.” Ng categorized Chinese immigrants into different cohorts: the early migrants who were mostly single males; the new immigrants who mostly came to study in the

postwar period; the Canadian-born Chinese, and the wave of immigrants who were better off that came after 1970s.

On the one hand, the growing complexity of identity politics for different ethnic Chinese groups started in 1980 since it was the first decade of the enforcement of multiculturalism in Canada. On the other hand, the changing state relations in Asia have also contributed to the complexity of identity politics among these seemingly homogenous ethnic Chinese groups, such as Mainland Chinese and Taiwanese.

Ng believed the large influx of ethnic minority immigrants to Canada since the 1960s was only partly a result of legislative changes. The reasons of this mass migration “must be found in places like Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Africa, and various parts of Southeast Asia and Latin America, where various combinations of political uncertainties, economic problems, ethnic/racial tensions” had all influenced immigrants’ decision to migrate to the Western world (Ng, 1999, p. 121). For example, Gu (2006) indicated that those Taiwanese who immigrated to the U.S., Canada and Australia after WWII were partly motivated by two reasons. First, political instabilities inside Taiwan caused by the KMT’s¹² colonization of Taiwan, as well as the serious ethnic tensions that arose between the Mainlanders who followed the KMT and the local Taiwanese. Secondly, many Taiwanese felt uncertain about their future under the military threat of China (Gu, 2006).

Ng had found that the new wave of immigrants shared different patterns while joining the earlier settlers in Vancouver: “whereas those from Mainland China tended to join the traditional Chinatown associations, the new immigrants seem to have expanded the

¹² Kuomintang, which is the Party in dominating power currently and throughout the Taiwanese history.

inventory of ethnic organizations by developing new nexuses of their own.” (Ng, 1999, p. 123) An example was the “United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society” (SUCCESS) in B.C., which was established in 1973 by young professional immigrants who had come from Hong Kong since the late 1960s. This organization, as Ng argued, had a type of consciousness that was different from the earlier settlers because “their identity construction lacked the historical dimension of early Chinese settlement in Canada.” (Ng, 1999, p. 125) However, the identity discourse used by the Canadian mainstream has constructed and suppressed all Chinese sub-ethnic groups into a “pan-Chinese” ethnicity, despite their characteristics, language, ethnic background, class and past history in Canada (Ng, 1999).

Ng believed the continuing influx of ethnic Chinese immigrants would further contribute to the changing cultural and geographical landscapes in North America with their pluralistic backgrounds. Current examples included the increased selection for the Chinese press with “the appearance of *Sing Tao* (1983) and *Ming Po* (1993), both of Hong Kong background, as well as the *World Journal* (1991) favoured by the immigrants from Taiwan.” (Ng, 1999, p. 137) In addition, a growing variety of ethnic goods and services (i.e., T&T Supermarket) of better qualities were made available to various Chinese communities. In conclusion, Ng (1999, p. 138) emphasized that

Even though the recent Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China may appear to be all ‘Chinese’ in their physical appearance, their dissimilar pre-migration experiences, their lack of a common language, and their different trajectories of entry and settlement

have led to the formation of culturally distinct and largely separate communities.

Ng's analysis on the varying identities of ethnic Chinese set a foundation of the need to distinguish Taiwanese from other ethnic Chinese immigrants while studying recent immigrants in Canada because first of all, in contrast to Chinese immigrants from mainland China, Taiwanese immigrants shared a shorter history in North America. This ethnic group did not appear before WWII because prior to that time Taiwan remained as a colony of Japan. It was not until after WWII the KMT established Taiwan as a nation. Taiwan's development of industry and technology then started rapidly especially after the 1970s (Gu, 2006). Hence, Taiwanese were able to study in or immigrate to North America in great numbers as many could receive financial support from the Taiwanese government to study abroad. According to Tseng (1995), over half of the total population of Taiwanese immigrants in the 1980 U.S. census came to the U.S. between 1975 and 1980. The term 'Taiwanese American' thus began to appear in public arenas and academic works in the U.S. in the late 1990s (Gu, 2006).

3.4 Ethnic Chinese in North America from the 1980s Onwards

Changes of ethnic Chinese in North America occurred after the 1980s. The first was their changing settlement pattern. Since 1960s, instead of staying in the old Chinatowns, many ethnic Chinese, especially immigrants, established their communities in middle-class white neighbourhoods, entered universities and became professionals.

In Canada, recent ethnic Chinese immigrants were more likely to settle in large Census Metropolitan Areas (Lee & Boyd, 2008). Yet those in the U.S. settled in cities

that were not necessarily in the most populated and affluent states. Gu (2006, p. 117) had found an uneven geographic distribution of Taiwanese Americans: “slightly more than half of this group (52.8%) lived in California while the remainder were scattered throughout the United States, with no more than six percent residing in a single state.”

Secondly, some had realized that the homogeneity of ethnic Chinese groups were often the result of the image of “pan-Chinese” ethnicity in North America (Ng, 1999). Their inter-group differences were in fact prominent in some ways. For example, they had different associations with different political ideologies (Ng, 1999).

Studies on recent ethnic Chinese immigrants in North America thus began to focus and elaborate on their different ethnic background in later years. A number of scholars presented their studies on more recently developed ethnic Chinese communities based on their distinct ethnicities. In the U.S., for example, Chen (1992) examined one hundred Taiwanese households that were segregated by class in Queens, New York. A more recent study of Ling (2004) showed the emerging cultural community of Chinese professionals that was significantly different from the old Chinatown in St. Louis, Missouri. In Canada, Reitz and Lum (2006) demonstrated the changing and conflicting intergroup relations of all ethnic immigrants settling in CMA of Toronto. Further examples included Manohar’s (2008) study on the dating attitudes of second generation ethnic Indian Patels, and Waters’ (2002) study on the “astronaut” households of ethnic Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In general, more attention was paid to the inter-group and intra-group heterogeneity among recent Asian immigrants in North America.

3.4.1 New Ethnic Chinese Communities in North America

3.4.1.1 Hsiang-shui Chen on Chinatown No More (1992)

Chen's (1992) study was based on data gathered from one hundred Taiwanese households in Queens, New York between 1984 and 1987. These immigrants who were educated with higher economic status tended not to settle in the old Chinatown but "scatter and mix with other ethnic groups- Koreans, Latin Americans, Indians, Greeks, and others." (Chen, 1992, p. ix) Aside from class distinction between the earlier settlers and newcomers for their settlement preference, the other reason was ethnic difference: these immigrants from Taiwan did not share the same language with the earlier settlers in Chinatown.

Moreover, the results of Chen's study indicated that conflict not only happened between the white majority and ethnic Chinese minority as some Taiwanese immigrants were pushed into the ethnic business sectors in order to avoid competition with whites, but intra-group conflict was also found. Heterogeneous characteristics among these Taiwanese were identified: "Although the immigrants may think of themselves as all Chinese on some occasions, individual occupation and economic status usually lead them to avoid contact with, or even to deprecate, people who are seen as 'inferior' or 'superior' to them." Chen (1992, p. 42) As an example, Chen stated that although many Taiwanese immigrants settle in Queens, New York, very limited interclass contact between the professionals and working class was found. According to Chen (1992, p. 90), "they show a strong tendency toward intra-class as opposed to interclass contact... Some small

business owners maintain their relationships with members of the working class as well as with professionals, but each group would seek help primarily from its own class.”

Class differences not only affected the relationship between members of this group, but it also showed an impact on how they preserved their cultural heritage. For example, Chen found these immigrants’ patterns of holiday celebration were related with their work schedules and class. Small business owners were able to take some days off for Chinese New Year as they could decide for their hours of operation. The working class, especially those that worked in the enclaves thus also get time off. Yet since professionals that worked in American firms did not get holidays for this celebration, they had less chance to do so (not that they did not want to do so). This finding, as a result, challenged the conventional view that the lower class was being more “traditional” and the middle/upper class being more “non-traditional”.

Chen’s observation provided insights into the intra-class differences among Taiwanese immigrants, and how their class also affected their ways of cultural heritage maintenance. The following study provided by Ling (2004) elaborated on how Chinese professionals preserved their cultural heritage and contributed to the formation of cultural community in St. Louis, Missouri.

3.4.1.2 Huping Ling on Chinese St. Louis (2004)

The differences between the old Chinatown and new ethnic Chinese communities in the suburb, according to Ling (2004, p. 11), were whether such community was physically isolated and homogenous. The old Chinatown was seen as “urban ghettos or enclaves consisting of mainly Chinese immigrants,” whereas the new ethnic Chinese

communities were heterogeneous with others of different race/ethnicities coexisting in the neighbourhoods. Ling stated since the mid-1960s, ethnic Chinese communities were made of immigrants of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds that were “no longer homogenous and strongly urban; rather, the Chinese are mixing with other ethnic groups and are increasingly suburban.” (Ling, 2004, p. 11) The question about the forms of social space was thus raised as Ling (2004, p. 11) argued, “the social space of a community is not necessarily confined by its physical space and can extend beyond the physical boundaries of the settlement.”

Based on the changing physical and social landscape of ethnic Chinese communities, Ling established a “cultural community model” to define those new communities that were significantly different from the old Chinatown. According to Ling, a cultural community was a community without specific physical boundaries. It was “defined by the common cultural practices and beliefs of its members,” who had “preserved their cultural heritage and achieved ethnic solidarity without a recognizable physical community.” (Ling, 2004, p. 12) Examples included language schools, religious institutions and cultural agencies.

The cultural community model served for the understanding of the kind of ethnic Chinese community in which its members were more likely to have integrated into the mainstream workforce; thus did not need to depend on enclave economy. Or, as Ling illustrated, “once an ethnic group had economically integrated itself into the larger society, mutual aid mattered less; this explained why physical ethnic settlements were soon enough abandoned.” (Ling, 2004, p. 14) The unilinear social and economic integration “caused an ethnic population to disperse... Integration had historically led to

assimilation of different ethnic groups into the larger or 'white' society, and even to the disappearance of ethnicity." (Ling, 2004, p. 235) As a result, "only when an integrated ethnic group made a deliberate effort to preserve its ethnic identity could a cultural community emerge." (Ling, 2004, p. 235)

While examining the Chinese in St. Louis, Ling had found the "social and economic integration [of immigrants] dismantled the ethnic enclave and helped forge a cultural community. Therefore, the more integrated a minority group is, the more likely it is that a cultural community will emerge among its members." (Ling, 2004, p. 235) She explained, the effort to preserve one's cultural and ethnic background came from fear that resulted from the unilinear process of integration: "Fearing that it could lose its ethnic identity... the ethnic group may strive to create a community to preserve that identity." (Ling, 2004, p. 235)

If, however, the formation of a cultural community was driven by fear of the minority groups during the unilinear process of integration, it was suspected that new immigrants feared less about losing their ethnic identity than their more integrated counterparts. This could especially be the case for those holding large amounts of economic capital since daily survival would not be their primary concern (i.e., seeking a job in the mainstream economic market is not an immediate need).

Fear came from people's experiences of encountering negative or unpleasant consequences. If a minority group feared about losing their culture and identity, it potentially had to do with the negative consequence that followed. And part of the reason was because social acceptance was not guaranteed to minority groups even if they mimicked the behaviours of the dominant majority group (Gordon, 1964). An example

could be found in Gu's (2006) study on Taiwanese Americans in Chicago. Gu (2006, p. 229) indicated that some lifestyle differences "prevented Taiwanese Americans from 'melting into' the majority culture... No matter how hard they strived to maintain rapport in the workplace, obstacles hinder their efforts to establish informal connections with co-workers." These Taiwanese Americans thus created an ethnic boundary between "we" and "they", and "by keeping other racial or ethnic groups out of their own social circle, [they] obtained a feeling of solidarity and comfort." (Gu, 2006, p. 245)

Zhou and Lee (2007, p. 198) further elaborated on this process by stating that "identity formation is a dialectical process that involves both internal and external opinions and processes, involving both what *you* think your identity is and what *they* think it is." In other words, the presence of a cultural community was due to various degrees of social exclusion of its members by the white majority. These people thus feared to lose their own cultural heritage and ethnic identity because those worked as protective shelters for them. The presence of this Chinese cultural community in St. Louis "reflects the social advancement of ethnic minority groups in a society that integrates them to some extent but continues to 'class' them and racialize them." (Ling, 2004, p. 236)

The maintenance of any ethnic community, moreover, had not been a smooth process. Controversies arose along its presence and sustainability. Reitz and Lum's (2006) study demonstrated the reaction of the white majority towards various ethnic Chinese communities in CMA of Toronto. The study revealed the tension between the majority and minority groups resulting from the latter's effort of establishing communities of their own.

3.4.1.3 Jeffrey G. Reitz and Janet M. Lum on Immigration and Diversity in a Changing Canadian City (2006)

Toronto, as “Canada’s largest metropolis and one of the North America’s most heterogeneous cities,” had 44 percent of foreign born among its total population in 2001 (Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 15). As a result, those of British origin have become one ‘minority’ group among others in terms of its population size. For example, in 2001 those claimed to have Asian origin was 24.6 percent and those with European origin was 21.9 percent. However, most of the race/ethnic groups declined in relative terms instead of absolute numbers; in other words, “the growth of new groups reduced the relative size of the older groups.” (Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 17) Toronto, as a result, had become one of the most racially diverse cities in Canada with various ethnic communities mixing together.

According to the authors, Toronto had four Chinatowns with other small and dispersed ethnic Chinese communities. Immigrants and their descendants had “stimulated the development of large shopping malls with restaurants, grocery stores, cinemas, book and music stores, medical clinics, dentists, pharmacies, and other establishments catering to the Chinese community.” (Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 25) In addition to “numerous ethnic theatres...newspapers, video outlets... Community-based foreign-language educational programs and community and religious institutions” were also established (Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 27). In short, old Chinatowns and well developed cultural communities could be found in Toronto.

The development of these ethnic Chinese communities thus raised tensions between Chinese and the majority group. Since multiculturalism in Canada emphasized on a “live and let live” cultural acceptance without offering an equitable guidance about its practice

(Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 29); Chinese businesses and its impact on the surrounding environment in the suburbs of Toronto, for example, had caused a great controversy. As a result, the debate of whether multiculturalism had maintained the power and privilege of the Charter groups and marginalized visible minorities is still unsettled in contemporary Canadian society.

After these introductions of different cities in North America, one became curious about what an ethnic Chinese community in CMA of Vancouver, as one of Canada's largest metropolises, would look like today. The last section of this chapter provided an analysis on the Taiwanese community in Burnaby between 1997 and 2010. It was also where all participants of this study resided at the time of the survey and interview.

3.5 The Case of Taiwanese Community in Burnaby, B.C. between 1997 and 2010

The City of Burnaby is a suburb in CMA of Vancouver. It was one of the top five popular cities of CMA of Vancouver for immigrants to settle according to the Metro Vancouver 2006 Census Bulletin #6 (Metro Vancouver, 2008). Like many contemporary ethnic communities in the suburb indicated earlier, Burnaby has a mixed population of different race/ethnic groups. It was ranked as the third largest city in B.C. according to its population in 2010 (City of Burnaby, 2012).

According to the 2006 Census released by Statistics Canada (2010), the total Taiwanese immigrants resided in the City of Burnaby selected by birthplace was 8,630 (20% sample data); and those who self-claimed to have Taiwanese origin were 2,175 (20% sample data). The Taiwanese immigrant population is thus much lower than the Chinese as the total Chinese immigrants resided in Burnaby selected by birthplace was

21,465 (20% sample data); and those who self-claimed to have Chinese origin were 62,300 (20% sample data). The longer history of Chinese in Vancouver may have contributed to the large number of population who claimed to have Chinese origin.

The results of table 3.1 and 3.2 showed a pattern of Taiwanese businesses and services development in Burnaby. According to the 1997 Chinese Phone Book & Business Guide/ B.C., Taiwanese in Burnaby did not overly concentrate in low-cost and labour-dominating sectors in 1997 (see Table 3.1). For example, there was only one Taiwanese restaurant out of all thirty-five businesses and services in total.

Taiwanese beverage shops, in addition, provided a social space for its members to maintain their shared cultural heritage. ‘Hanging out’ in a beverage shop was a Taiwanese style leisure activity, especially for the younger generation. A pattern of regular visits to beverage shops with friends was found among three 1.5 generation Taiwanese interviewees in this study. Other ethnic specific leisure activity businesses, such as Taiwanese videotape rental store and karaoke, were also shown on table 3.1.

The presence of Taiwanese association, immigration consultant/fund, language school and Chinese medical clinic also demonstrated this group’s effort of maintaining their cultural heritage. Some Taiwanese businesses and services targeted on upper-middle and middle class customers in particular. Examples included shops for Taiwanese marble and tea. The relatively large number of religious institutions indicated the importance of religion for these Taiwanese as “immigrant religious institutions often offer a wide array of formal and informal social services facilitating the material, social and psychological adjustment of their members.” (Chen, 2002, p. 218)

The 1997 data indicated the types of business and service in Burnaby, which were either owned by Taiwanese or specifically provided to Taiwanese in Taiwanese language, were small in number but diverse in terms of variety. Rather than staying confined to low-pay and labour-dominating sectors, a few Taiwanese businessmen also targeted on customers from the middle and upper-middle class.

Table 3.1. Taiwanese Businesses and Services* in Burnaby, B.C., 1997.

| Type of Business/Service | Quantity | Type of Business/Service | Quantity |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|
| Association | 1 | Karaoke | 2 |
| Auto-dealer | 1 | Language school | 1 |
| Beverage shop | 3 | Marble dealer | 1 |
| Cable TV | 1 | Music school | 1 |
| Chinese medical clinic | 1 | Optician | 1 |
| Contractor | 3 | Realtor | 1 |
| Dentist | 1 | Religious institution | 7 |
| Electric appliance repair | 1 | Restaurant | 1 |
| Family physician | 1 | Supermarket | 1 |
| Fortune teller | 1 | Tea dealer | 1 |
| Gift shop | 1 | Videotape rental | 1 |
| Immigration consultant/fund | 2 | Total: | 35 |

*These were businesses owned by Taiwanese or included services specifically provided to Taiwanese in Taiwanese language.

Source: Tabulated according to the 1997 Chinese Phone Book & Business Guide/ B.C.

The results of table 3.2 indicated an expansion of the types of Taiwanese businesses and services in Burnaby in 2010. Many types of businesses and services that were not found in 1997 were found in 2010, such as Taiwanese bank, beauty and computer training schools. This expansion also increased the number of Taiwanese businesses and services that concentrated in low-cost and labour-dominating sectors, indicating a

growing intra-group class difference. For example, there were more Taiwanese dentists and family physicians in 2010, but there were also more fast food/restaurant businesses.

Taiwanese style leisure activities, reflected by the number of beverage shops and karaoke, for example, were still found. The presence of bookstores and increased number of shopping places further demonstrated the group's effort of cultural heritage maintenance. If a cultural community was "defined by the common cultural practices and beliefs of its members," who had "preserved their cultural heritage and achieved ethnic solidarity," (Ling, 2004, p. 12) and established a community that shared a significantly different outlook from the old Chinatown, a Taiwanese community could be argued to be defined as such.

Table 3.2. Taiwanese Businesses and Services* in Burnaby, B.C., 2010.

| Type of Business/Service | Quantity | Type of Business/Service | Quantity |
|--------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|
| Accountant | 1 | Driving school | 1 |
| Association | 1 | Family physician | 3 |
| Auto-body | 2 | Fast food/Restaurant | 14 |
| Auto-dealer | 1 | Health equipment | 1 |
| Auto-upholstery | 1 | Health food | 1 |
| Bank | 1 | Immigration consultant/fund | 1 |
| Beauty salon | 3 | Karaoke | 2 |
| Beauty school | 1 | Language school | 1 |
| Beverage shop | 4 | Marble dealer | 1 |
| Bookstore | 2 | Market mall | 1 |
| Boutique | 1 | Optician | 1 |
| Building material | 1 | Religious institution | 7 |
| Cable TV | 1 | Supermarket | 1 |
| Chinese medical clinic | 1 | Tea shop | 1 |
| Computer dealer | 2 | Trading company | 1 |
| Computer school | 1 | Travel agency | 2 |
| Dentist | 4 | Total: | 67 |

*These were businesses owned by Taiwanese or included services specifically provided to Taiwanese in Taiwanese language.

Source: Tabulated according to the 2010 Chinese Phone Directory/ B.C.

3.6 Conclusion

An overview of earlier literature indicated that the formation of an ethnic community was the result of discrimination and/or social exclusion. An ethnic community, or what

Ling (2004) defined as a “cultural community”, could still form even among minorities who had been highly integrated.

Some key points should be indicated based on earlier studies. First, a pattern of growing differences among ethnic Chinese immigrants due to social, political and economic causes were found (Ng, 1999). Secondly, a seemingly homogenous ethnic community could in fact be heterogeneous. Factors such as class difference also applied to a community established of members of the same race/ethnic background (Chen, 1992). Last but not least, Ling (2004) stated a possibility that the more socially and/or economically integrated a minority group was, the more likely it was that a cultural community could emerge among them due to ‘fear’ of losing their cultural heritage resulting from discrimination and/or social exclusion from the mainstream.

However, whether recent immigrants feared less about losing their cultural heritage and ethnic identity than their more integrated counterparts remained as a question. The reason was because the likelihood for the former group to encounter discrimination and/or social exclusion was expected to be higher.

Furthermore, the examination of the numbers of Taiwanese businesses/services in Burnaby suggested that these immigrants did not rely heavily on ethnic economy. This was evident based on an imbalance of number of Taiwanese businesses/services developed and the size of their population (see Chapter Two for an estimated Taiwanese immigrant population). For example, according to the 2006 Census (Statistics Canada, 2010), the number of Taiwanese immigrants selected by birthplace was already 8,630 (excluding unselected respondents). However, table 3.2 indicated that there were only 14 Taiwanese fast food places and restaurants combined in 2010. It was thus suspected that

Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby relied on investing in ethnic economy. As a result, the hypothesis that these Taiwanese immigrants fitted into the conventional view that those who relied on enclave economy were more likely to choose intra-group marriage was challenged. In other words, economic needs for survival (i.e., participating in ethnic economy) were unlikely to be the primary reason for these immigrants to choose intra-group marriage if that was what they preferred.

The next question to be asked, in turn, was what other factors were likely to contribute to these immigrants' preference of intra- and/or inter-group marriage. As Ling (2004) mentioned earlier that the more socially and/or economically integrated a minority group was, the more likely it was that a cultural community could emerge among them due to 'fear' resulting from social exclusion. It would thus be meaningful to discover whether recent immigrants feared about losing their cultural heritage and ethnic identity, and the level of discrimination and/or social exclusion experienced by these immigrants. In order to answer these questions, the author started with a demographic profile introducing the background and characteristics of the first and 1.5 generation Taiwanese immigrants of this study (Chapter Four). Then the focus turned to a discussion of Asian immigrants' experiences of discrimination and the likelihood of the formation of Asian panethnicity in CMA of Vancouver (Chapter Five).

CHAPTER 4– A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TAIWANESE IN BURNABY

4.1 Introduction

Taiwanese immigrants shared a shorter history in North America in contrast to other ethnic Chinese immigrants from mainland China. This ethnic group did not appear in great numbers in North America until the 1970s (Gu, 2006). The term ‘Taiwanese American’ only began to appear in public arenas and academic works in the U.S. in the late 1990s (Gu, 2006). Some researchers had noticed about this relatively recent immigrant group in North America and encouraged more discussions about them. Examples included Chen’s (1992) study on inter-class relations among Taiwanese immigrants in New York, Tseng’s (1995) study on the ethnic business development of Taiwanese in Los Angeles, and Gu’s (2006) study on their transnational experience as immigrants in the United States.

Examples of Canadian studies on Taiwanese immigrants regarding their business development (Wong, 2004) and family structures (Chiang, 2008) were also found. However, as Wong (2004) indicated, studies on Taiwanese immigrants were primarily conducted in the U.S. and Australia, leaving their situation in Canada the most understudied. The purpose of this chapter was thus to provide a demographic profile of the Taiwanese immigrants of this study. In addition, some of their post-migration experiences living in the Taiwanese community in Burnaby and the process of integration were also illustrated by using the qualitative interview data collected.

4.2 Background and Characteristics of Taiwanese in Burnaby, B.C.

Many ethnic Chinese immigrants who came to Canada after the introduction of the Points System in 1967 were urban dwellers with higher levels of human and economic capital (Li, 1998). They were either entrepreneurs or skilled/professional workers. A brief background information about the Taiwanese respondents of this study, including their immigration type and the structure of their social ties were included in this chapter.

4.2.1 Taiwanese Immigrant Parents

A total of 239 useful survey questionnaires of the parent version were collected in this study. These respondents were likely to contribute to the cultural heritage maintenance of the Taiwanese community in Burnaby (presented in the previous chapter) because the majority of these immigrants came to Canada between the early 1990s and 2000s (see Table 4.1). The majority of them had thus immigrated to Canada for over a decade.

Table 4.1. Percentage Distribution of Taiwanese Immigrants in Burnaby by Year of Immigration (N= 234).

| Year of Immigration | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| 0-4 years | 18 | 7.7 |
| 5-9 years | 47 | 20.1 |
| 10-14 years | 64 | 27.4 |
| 15-19 years | 76 | 32.5 |
| 20 years+ | 29 | 12.4 |
| Total | 234 | 100.0 |

Table 4.2 indicated that slightly over half of the respondents were business class immigrants (58.4%) and about 33.3% of them were skilled and/or professionals workers.

Table 4.2. Percentage Distribution of Taiwanese Immigrants in Burnaby by Type of Immigration (N= 231).

| Type of Immigration | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Family | 19 | 8.2 |
| Business | 135 | 58.4 |
| Skilled workers and/or professionals | 77 | 33.3 |
| Total | 231 | 100.0 |

4.2.2 Occupation

Table 4.3 showed the business investment and/or employment status of these Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby when the survey questionnaire was distributed. Note that the ‘housewife’ category shared the largest percentage of the data (about 32%) partly because the data contained more female (161) than male respondents (77) with one missing response (N= 239). Many Taiwanese women were in this occupation category due to that “similar to China and other Asian societies, patrilineality is the primary organizing principle of Taiwanese life.” (Gu, 2006, p. 121) In general, Taiwanese women were socially expected to be virtuous wives and good mothers after marriage according to the Confucian doctrine. The Confucian doctrine also taught them to be obedient, adaptive and reticent (Gu, 2006). Taiwanese immigrants brought these cultural values to Canada and both newcomers and earlier settlers maintained and (re)produced their cultural values through social interaction. For example, when Mr. K thought about his family’s first visit to Canada he stated,

Some friends came earlier than us... They introduced their friends to us.

My wife is adaptive so she made many friends. They took her out for fun,
for grocery shopping, and exchanged cooking skills and recipes with her.

Speaking of cooking skills, Mr. K further went:

After immigrating to Canada, many wives have more time [to learn cooking]... [They] often exchange about cooking skills. Everyone learns more from one another.

Since being a good cook was part of the social expectation for a virtuous wife and good mother, this kind of social learning among these immigrant women was a process of how the Chinese cultural values could be maintained and (re)produced.

In the case of Mr. K's wife, moreover, the process of in-group (i.e., Taiwanese and Taiwanese) integration was shown in the process of exchanging cooking skills and recipes among women. More recent Taiwanese immigrant women learned about where to buy groceries and what could be modified in the recipes from those who had already settled in Canada as some of the produce available in Canada varied from those in Asia.

In addition, the interview data indicated the process of how new Taiwanese immigrants integrated into the Taiwanese community through their social network. Mrs. L, who was also a housewife, shared her experience when she first came to Canada:

My friend's sister-in-law lives in Vancouver... We came to visit her and she showed us around, and she introduced the immigration agency to us.

The connection between newcomers and earlier settlers revealed one of the processes of cultural heritage maintenance.

The results of table 4.3 further showed that about 16% of these Taiwanese immigrants invested business in Canada, and about 14% of them invested business both in Canada and Taiwan. A total of about 19% of them were employed in Canada and at the same time made business investments either in Canada or Taiwan, or in both places. This

number had left the majority of this group unemployed in Canada. However, since many of them made business investments, few¹³ consciously claimed to be unemployed (1.3%).

As many had claimed to make business investments in Canada, their investment pattern thus did not correspond with the number of Taiwanese businesses and services shown in the previous chapter. The results indicated that many might have invested in the mainstream economy rather than in the ethnic enclave economy.

It was also notable that a number of these Taiwanese immigrants still had business in Taiwan. This connection made return migration an option for both immigrant parents and their children. Chiang (2008) had found that, starting in late 1970s, some Chinese immigrants coming from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan to Canada migrate in a circulatory manner rather than permanently. Ley and Kobayashi (2005) also argued that migration movement is better described as continuous in this transnational era. They found a pattern of “strategic” migration movement between Canada and Hong Kong among immigrants from Hong Kong in that these immigrants migrated to Hong Kong for economic reasons and migrated to Canada for concerns of their quality of life in a continuous manner (Ley & Kobayashi, 2005).

The pattern of return migration was also observed in this study. The potential return migrants could further include the young Taiwanese Canadian generation for economic reasons as was indicated in Ley and Kobayashi’s (2005) study on immigrants from Hong Kong. Some Taiwanese parents, for example, encouraged their child to move back to

¹³ Multiple responses were encouraged in the survey questionnaire.

Taiwan when the child did not show interest in staying in Canada. For example, when Mr. Q mentioned about the future plan of his son, he stated,

A few months ago [my son] told me he wants to work in Canada for a few years first. After he gets promoted to the management level he wants to move back to Taiwan and try to work there. I said OK... We can let him do business there since he is working towards that goal now. I told him if you want to go back to Taiwan in the future I will invest money for you. Don't worry.

It was noteworthy that staying in Canada did not appear to be an attractive option for Mr. Q's son even when he had an opportunity to reach the management level at work.

While Mr. Q's son, Mr. T, who immigrated to Canada at the age of 7 and was working at a Canadian firm at the time of the interview, explained about the reason why he thought going back to Taiwan was a better option, he stated,

It is more difficult to find jobs here [fewer opportunities], so I want to go back to see if I can find anything better... I also want to go back to find a girlfriend, which is more important.

Mr. T's experience indicated that career planning of some Taiwanese Canadians was related with their marital choice, which all contributed to their likelihood of return migration. Further discussion about immigrants' life course experience and their marital choice are included in later chapters.

Table 4.3. Percentage Distribution of Business Investment and Employment Status among First Generation Taiwanese Immigrant Parents in Burnaby (N= 229).

| Types of Business Investment and/or Employment Status | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Investing business in Canada only | 36 | 15.7 |
| Investing business in Taiwan only | 12 | 5.2 |
| Investing business in both Canada and Taiwan | 31 | 13.5 |
| Investing business in Canada and other place(s) | 3 | 1.3 |
| Investing business in Canada, Taiwan and other place(s) | 1 | .4 |
| Employed in Canada | 16 | 7.0 |
| Investing business in Canada and employed in Canada | 20 | 8.7 |
| Investing business in Taiwan and employed in Canada | 3 | 1.3 |
| Investing business in both Canada and Taiwan and employed in Canada | 4 | 1.7 |
| Unemployed | 3 | 1.3 |
| Housewife | 73 | 31.9 |
| Retired | 27 | 11.8 |
| Total | 229 | 100.0 |

4.2.3 Language

Shared language(s), Mandarin and Taiwanese, among Taiwanese immigrants was an essential medium for the establishment and maintenance of their cultural heritage and community. The types of language, either official or non-official, immigrants used with their friends were often interpreted as an indicator for the race/ethnic background of their friends in the social network. The more friends of the same race/ethnicity immigrants had, the more likely they were to use their own language(s) with them. While assimilationist assumed immigrants' complete assimilation resulted in losing their ethnic

distinctiveness such as their mother language(s), Zhou and Lee (2007) argued that even when immigrants were fully integrated into the host country, they did not necessarily lose their own language(s). And this was because integration and cultural heritage maintenance needed not be mutually exclusive (Zhou & Lee, 2007).

The results of table 4.4 indicated that about 49% of first generation Taiwanese immigrant parents only spoke their mother language(s) with their friends. It was thus likely that their friends were exclusively Taiwanese. A slightly lower percentage of them (45%) spoke both official and non-official languages with their friends, indicating a possible social network of friends of mixed race/ethnicity. Only about 6% of this first generation group spoke English and/or French with their friends only.

Table 4.4. Percentage Distribution of Types of Language Used with Friends among Taiwanese Immigrants in Burnaby (N= 208).

| Types of language used | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| Official language(s) only | 12 | 5.8 |
| Non-official language(s) only | 102 | 49.0 |
| Both official and non-official languages | 94 | 45.2 |
| Total | 208 | 100.0 |

4.2.4 Immigration Type, Occupation and Language

The relationship between the business investment/employment status of these first generation Taiwanese immigrant parents and the types of language they used in their social network was tested (table not shown). The results of the chi-square test indicated a weak but significant relationship (chi-square with four degrees of freedom= 7.931, $p=.094$, $N= 198$). This meant the occupation these immigrants had was somewhat weakly

associated with the race/ethnic background of their friends ($p < .10$). Two possibilities were interpreted: 1) some of these first generation immigrant parents were either investing in or working in the enclave business sector; 2) these immigrants were still more likely to be friends with those who spoke the same language even when they worked in a mainstream firm.

The chi-square test (table not shown) on the relationship between the types of language used by these immigrants with friends and their immigration type, on the other hand, showed insignificant results (chi-square with four degrees of freedom = 1.823, $p = .768$, $N = 202$). Based on the results, there was no sufficient evidence to conclude that these immigrants' immigration type (i.e., family, business, skilled/professional) was associated with their friends' race/ethnic background.

4.2.5 Taiwanese Immigrant Children

A total of 204 useful survey questionnaires of the child version were collected in this study. Some of the respondents of this group were the children of the first generation immigrant parent respondents presented above; some were not. However, none of these child respondents came to Canada as independent immigrants. In order to define the 'child generation' of this study, the author ensured that all of the respondents using the child version of the survey questionnaire immigrated to Canada with their parents.

Table 4.5 showed the generational status of the Taiwanese immigrant children of this study. According to their age of entry, about half of this group was classified as 1.5 generation (51%), about 48% was first generation, and only about 2% was native-born. The relatively recent generational status of these Taiwanese Canadians was largely due to

their time of entry to Canada. Table 2.1 in Chapter Two showed that Taiwanese immigrants did not start to come in great numbers to CMA of Vancouver until the late 1980s. As a result, many of the younger generation were unlikely to be born in Canada.

Table 4.5. Percentage Distribution of Generational Status of Taiwanese Immigrant Children in Burnaby (N= 201).

| Generation status | Frequency | Percent |
|------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Native-born | 3 | 1.5 |
| 1.5 Generation* | 102 | 50.7 |
| 1 st Generation** | 96 | 47.8 |
| Total | 201 | 100.0 |

*Entered Canada between 0 and 14 years old, inclusively.

**Entered Canada at 15 years old or more, inclusively.

The majority of the child respondents were adults that fell between the ages of 20 and 34 (see Table 4.6). Their age range, an emphasis on educational achievement in traditional Chinese value (Zhou & Bankston, 1998), and a general pattern of high educational achievement among Taiwanese immigrant adults (Tseng, 1995) that were likely to be passed onto the next generation all contributed to the explanation of why a relatively large proportion of them were still students (about 35 %, see Table 4.7).

The results of table 4.7 further showed that for those who were employed, about 44% of them worked in the mainstream workforce and about 13% worked in ethnic enclave work setting. Tseng (1995, p. 54) had also observed that Taiwanese in Los Angeles had “chosen business locations as well as opportunity beyond the initial enclave economy” because of their high level of human and economic capital, and inter-ethnic difference and potential conflict that pushed them away from the old Chinatown.

Since it was generally accepted that structurally integrated immigrants (i.e., ability to speak English and/or French with recognized credentials) were more likely to work in non-enclave settings (Li, 2008), it was estimated that close to 80% (percentage of students and employees who worked in the mainstream workforce combined) of these Taiwanese Canadians could be defined as socially and/or economically integrated.

In addition, the results of table 4.8 showed that about 17% of this group only spoke official language(s) with their friends, and a similar percentage of this group did not use official language(s) with their friends at all (about 16%). The majority, about 68% of them, spoke both official and non-official languages with their friends, indicating a likelihood of mixed race/ethnic background of their friends.

These results showed that even when many of these respondents grew up in Canada and worked in the mainstream economy, most of them still used their mother tongue and made friends with those who were of the same race/ethnicity. The results thus coincided with Zhou and Lee's (2007) assertion that integration and cultural heritage maintenance needed not be mutually exclusive. This assertion was also demonstrated by Ms. P, who came to Canada at the age of 5 and was working in a Canadian firm at the time of the interview when she expressed her view on choosing her future spouse,

As for me probably in-group will be better... And just because you feel more comfortable with them somehow... [Dating and marriage are the] Same thing I guess. Like I guess dating if it works out will lead to marriage. So in-group will be better.

When the author asked her how she would like her wedding to be, she replied,

I tried all different types of wedding and the buffet, so I was like oh forget it the lineup is too long. Or the, like the Kirin [a Chinese restaurant] style, like ten courses. And the three-course, the white person's wedding. Like I like them combined. The two. 'Cause I like the Chinese food but I like the stuff that goes after the wedding. 'Cause Chinese wedding usually you just eat and you go home... But my friend, she is Chinese; her wedding was at a hotel. It has three courses. It was like white food. And then afterwards they got a DJ. There's dancing. There's like open bar. I thought that was fun. Yeah. But I don't like the food as much as the ten-course Kirin dinner. Thus I would combine the two if possible.

Ms. P's statement indicated a process of integration- when she emphasized that she wanted the Western and Chinese style of wedding combined- with a conscious action of cultural heritage maintenance.

Table 4.6. Percentage Distribution of Age of Taiwanese Immigrant Children in Burnaby (N= 203).

| Age | Frequency | Percent |
|-------|-----------|---------|
| 15-19 | 5 | 2.5 |
| 20-24 | 44 | 21.7 |
| 25-29 | 74 | 36.5 |
| 30-34 | 56 | 27.6 |
| 35-39 | 17 | 8.4 |
| 40-44 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 45+ | 3 | 1.5 |
| Total | 203 | 100.0 |

Table 4.7. Percentage Distribution of Age and Workplace Setting of Taiwanese Immigrant Children in Burnaby (N= 158).

| Age | Workplace Setting | | | | Total (%) |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|
| | Mainstream (%) | Ethnic Enclave (%) | Student (%) | Unemployed (%) | |
| 15-19 | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 5 (3.2) | 0 (0) | 5(3.2) |
| 20-24 | 4 (2.5) | 1 (0.6) | 35 (22.2) | 2 (1.3) | 42 (26.6) |
| 25-29 | 36 (22.8) | 5 (3.2) | 13 (8.2) | 6 (3.8) | 60 (38) |
| 30-34 | 23 (14.6) | 8 (5.1) | 2 (1.3) | 3 (1.9) | 36 (22.8) |
| 35-39 | 4 (2.5) | 4 (2.5) | 0 (0) | 1 (0.6) | 9 (5.7) |
| 40-44 | 1 (0.6) | 1 (0.6) | 0 (0) | 1 (0.6) | 3 (1.9) |
| 45+ | 1 (0.6) | 1 (0.6) | 0 (0) | 1 (0.6) | 3 (1.9) |
| Total | 69 (43.7) | 20 (12.7) | 55 (34.8) | 14 (8.9) | 158 (100) |

Table 4.8. Percentage Distribution of Types of Language Used with Friends among Taiwanese Immigrant Children in Burnaby (N= 194).

| Types of language used | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| Official language(s) only | 32 | 16.5 |
| Non-official language(s) only | 30 | 15.5 |
| Both official and non-official languages | 132 | 68.0 |
| Total | 194 | 100.0 |

As expected, the results of the chi-square test (table not shown) on the relationship between the types of language used by these Taiwanese immigrant children with their friends and their workplace settings (i.e., mainstream or ethnic enclave) were statistically significant (chi-square with four degrees of freedom= 25.760, $p = .000$, $N = 151$). This represented a strong association between the race/ethnic background of the friends this young generation had and their employment type.

4.3 Conclusion

According to Ling (2004, p. 13-4), the cultural community model could be applied to places where the economic survival of its members did not need to depend on ethnic enclave economy (see Chapter Three), and where there were not enough of its members to “constitute a large physical ethnic concentration, but there were enough that social communities can form, with or without physical boundaries.” The Taiwanese community in Burnaby thus met the criteria due to three reasons: first, a limited number of Taiwanese businesses and/or services were found between 1997 and 2010. Secondly, young immigrant children had a high level of school enrolment rate (social integration) and a high level of economic participation in the mainstream economy (economic integration). And lastly, this group was relatively small in population size as compared to other ethnic Chinese groups. These results indicated that the Taiwanese community in Burnaby could be more closely described as a cultural community rather than an ethnic enclave.

Furthermore, the key for members of a minority group to form a strong sense of ethnic solidarity, as stated by Ling (2004), was discrimination and/or social exclusion from the majority. It was only when the minorities were not able to create a sense of belonging to the host society and were not fully accepted by the majority would they retreat to their own race/ethnic group. The purpose of the next chapter was thus to examine whether immigrants had experienced discrimination and/or social exclusion. If so, how would the experience create an impact on immigrants’ dating and marital choice, which was treated as an indicator for the social integration among different race/ethnic groups in Canada.

CHAPTER 5– ASIAN PANETHNICITY IN CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA OF VANCOUVER

5.1 Asian Panethnicity of First and 1.5 Generation Asian Immigrants in CMA of Vancouver

“Asian panethnicity” was a concept coined by Espiritu (1992) that had been discussed by scholars while examining the marital choice of minority groups (Lee & Boyd, 2008). The key factor for the formation of this type panethnicity was institutional discrimination, which worked as an external force to consolidate the objects within. As summarized by Roth (2009, p. 928), “Espiritu (1992) revealed how Asian panethnicity in the U.S. was institutionalized through government efforts to lump Asian Americans together in electoral politics, social service funding, and census classification, and through panethnic responses to anti-Asian violence from whites.”

According to Espiritu (1992), anti-Asian sentiment, violence and anti-immigrant mood in the American history were important elements for Asian panethnicity to be formed. The key to the formation of panethnicity is discrimination against the minority from the majority group, which is essential for the understanding of this concept. Thus, different forms of discrimination, the author argued, provided another possible explanation for the marital choice of the non-native-born/immigrant as this group was most likely to experience discrimination due to language barrier and unfamiliarity of the dominant culture in the host country.

As immigrants, especially the first generation could be more closely tied to their own culture that discouraged marriage with other race/ethnic group (Lee & Fernandez, 1998),

they could, at the same time, also tend to choose to marry someone of the same race/ethnicity in order to avoid unpleasant feelings of discrimination/exclusion. In other words, the attempt of immigrants to maintain their cultural heritage through marrying those of their own race/ethnicity could not be the sole reason for intra-group marriage (i.e., marriage within own race/ethnicity). Ethnic solidarity via marriage as a result of external exclusion could also be possible.

This assumption had been addressed by some scholars as Lee and Boyd (2008, p. 315) indicated that “some observers believed that Asian inter-ethnic marriage signified Asian pan-ethnicity, as various Asian ethnic groups reacted to common racialized experience in a White dominant society by creating new bonds of solidarity and common identity as Asians.” Although some others, on the other hand, suspected that “sufficient differences between various Asian ethnic groups led most Asian groups to prefer to identify with specific ethnicities rather than an over-arching pan-Asian ethnicity.” (Kibria, 2002, as cited in Lee & Boyd, 2008, p. 315) The concept of Asian panethnicity was recognized as studies had been done with the application of it (see e.g., Lee & Boyd, 2008).

As scholars had suspected whether the phenomenon of Asian panethnicity could also be observed in Canada and expected possible evidence to emerge (Lee & Boyd, 2008), the aim of this chapter was to examine this phenomenon by applying the concept of Asian panethnicity to Asian immigrants in CMA of Vancouver. Thus, the hypothesis of this chapter was immigrants’ past experience of discrimination had an impact on their marital choice. They would tend to prefer intra-group marriage, as a protective mechanism, if they have experienced discrimination from the mainstream majority.

Possible confounders, such as their sense of ethnic belonging and friends of the same race/ethnicity were also discussed in this chapter.

5.2 Data and Method

The Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) 2002 Analytical File¹⁴ contained detail information about the race/ethnic background of immigrants' spouse, respondents' past experience of discrimination, and their network ties. As a post-censal survey of the 2001 Census, the EDS 2002 included "persons aged 15 years or over living in private households in the 10 provinces. The population does not include persons living in collective dwellings, persons living on Indian reserves, persons declaring an Aboriginal origin or identity in the 2001 Census, or persons living in Northern and remote areas." (Statistics Canada, 2003) The survey had a total of 41,695 unweighted cases, which represented 23,092,643 weighted cases for the target population.

The examination of whether the choice of intra-group marriage of first and 1.5 generation Asia¹⁵ immigrants resided in CMA of Vancouver was influenced by their past experience of discrimination, controlling for the effects of their education and income, was performed in the following sequence:

The first step was to determine the demographics of this group, and then demonstrate these immigrants' marital choice (i.e., intra- or inter-group). The results of table 5.1

¹⁴ The proposal of this chapter was approved in August 2012 and the author was granted access to the Saskatchewan Research Data Centre (SKY-RDC) for using the analytical file.

¹⁵ The original plan was to include Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby only because they were the target group of this study. This, however, was not practical for subsequent statistical analysis due to limited number of Taiwanese respondents in the survey.

indicated that the total weighted cases¹⁶ for all first and 1.5 generation married Asian immigrants resided in CMA of Vancouver were 267,077 with a distribution of 157,843 (59.1%) respondents from East Asia, 58,739 (22%) from Southeast Asia, and 50,495 (18.9%) from South Asia.

Among this immigrant population, the majority of them (249,138 or 93.3%), belonged to the first generation that were born outside of Canada and arrived in Canada at the age of 15, inclusively, or older (Statistics Canada, 2003). A total of 11,208 (4.2%) weighted cases belonged to the 1.5 generation, which referred to those who were born outside of Canada and arrived in Canada before the age of 14, inclusively; and 6,731 (2.5%) were either first or 1.5 generation due to unknown age of arrival in Canada. Note in table 5.1 the 1.5 generation immigrants were combined with those of unknown age of arrival in Canada due to low cell counts of the latter.

Immigrants' marital type was dummy coded into "the same region of birth=0" (intra-group, including all spouses with Asian origin) and "different region of birth=1" (inter-group, including all spouses with non-Asian origin). The results (table not shown) indicated that 18,260 (6.9%) first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants had inter-group marriage (i.e., a spouse of non-Asian origin), and as many as 246,557 (93.1%) of them chose intra-group marriage (i.e., a spouse of Asian origin). The results thus showed that these first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants were highly likely to marry someone of the same race/ethnic origin. However, since all models were weighted in the analysis, the imbalanced distribution was less likely to create a statistical issue.

¹⁶ Due to issues of confidentiality, unweighted cases on the analytical file accessible at the Research Data Centre were not releasable (Statistics Canada, 2012).

The second step was to create a new variable for first and 1.5 generation married Asian immigrants' various past experience of discrimination as the EDS had a number of questions about such experience of respondents based on their race/ethnicity, culture, skin colour, language, accent and/or religion. Since these variables¹⁷ were either categorical or ordinal, the method of PRINQUAL¹⁸ was used prior to the application of Principal Component Analysis (PCA). As a method of data reduction, PCA was applied for the purpose of reducing a number of correlated variables (i.e., selected variables relating with immigrants' past experience of racial/ethnic discrimination) to fewer principal components. (UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group 2013). In the end, two components, "RDT" (i.e., "reasons for discriminative treatment") and "FDT" (i.e., "frequency of discriminative treatment") were extracted judging by the loadings above 0.55 (Comrey & Lee, 1992). These variables were made for the purpose of examining the effect of first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants' past experience of discrimination on their marital choice.

In the third step, binominal logistic regression models (see below for results) were used to test for the effects of variables as well as possible confounders. In this study, the effects of education and income on immigrants' marital choice were examined separately at first. The reason was due to inconsistent findings on the effects of individuals' income

¹⁷ Due to issues of confidentiality, again, detail description of variables on the analytical file were only available to researchers who had granted access to the centre.

¹⁸ PRINQUAL is able to transform categorical variables by optimally scoring and transform "ordinal variables monotonically by scoring the ordered categories so that order is weakly preserved (adjacent categories can be merged) and the covariance matrix is optimized." (SAS, 2013)

status on their marital choice. In line with the principle of rational choice, Fu and Heaton (2000), for example, had found that low racial status group with high SES were more likely to marry high racial status group with low SES for an exchange. Rosenfeld (2005), however, argued rational choice theory for favourable exchange through marriages was controversial as his findings showed inconsistent results. He concluded that only statistically significant effects of educational homogamy were consistently found (also see Schwartz & Mare, 2005 for similar findings).

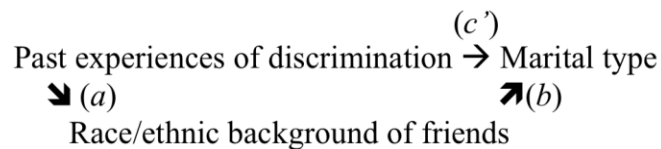
Although Canada is still understood as the “vertical mosaic” with power and resources controlled by the ethnic groups of British and European origins today, “some non-charter ethnic groups have more successfully integrated into the occupational structure than was the case three decades ago” (Helmke-Hayes & Curtis, 1998, p. 16). Since some Asian immigrants had more successfully integrated with higher income levels than others (Li, 2012), it could be possible that immigrants’ levels of economic integration affected their marital integration because of their class-determined social network.

Given the circumstance that the market value of immigrants’ educational credential for their economic return varies and is yet to be solved today (Li, 2004; 2008), the combination of income and education to make it into a socio-economic status category in the case of immigrants in Canada is not the most ideal. In other words, due to that immigrants’ educational levels do not necessarily offer them comparable levels of economic return in Canada; the author believed a combination of the two variables might be less meaningful. Thus, the author decided to first test the effects of education and

income separately, and then put the two variables in the last model together to compare the changes in the parameters.

The final step of the examination of Asian panethnicity among these immigrants in CMA of Vancouver was a test for confounders. Marriage is an indicator for both social and personal relation (Rosenfeld, 2008). An individual's past experiences with those of other race/ethnicity affects how one chooses a spouse (Lu, 2011). The assumption of this chapter was that immigrants past experience of discrimination could be correlated with the number of their friends of the same race/ethnicity; thus, their marital choice.

The equation of mediation effect was $ab = (c - c')$. For the assumption, indirect paths ab equalled the sum of total effect c , not controlling for the independent variable, minus c' , the effect of the former path(s) after adding the mediator variable (Preacher & Hayes, 2004).



In order to test for mediation effects of immigrants' past experiences of discrimination and the race/ethnic background of their friends, a well-developed macro for SPSS called "PROCESS", created by Hayes (2012), was applied. The advantage of this macro, as compared to using programs like Structural Equation Modeling by LISREL, was "the ease by which it allows the data analyst to specify a model and estimate the various effects mediated and moderated in software they already understand

and use regularly.” (Hayes, 2012, p. 24) This advantage was the biggest attraction since the author did not have to spend additional cost on technical tasks.

A disadvantage about this macro, however, was that the dependent variable needed to be continuous or binary. No procedures were built in for categorical mediators or multi-categorical outcomes (Hayes, 2012). Except for the exclusion of sex (i.e., categorical data), this limitation did not pose an issue for this study because the dependent variable was dummied coded into intra-group and inter-group marriage, and all independent variables were either interval or ordinal. The author believed the exclusion of sex should not have much impact on the outcome as the concern of the chapter was the effect of discrimination on immigrants in general.

Another limitation of the analysis was that the first generation Asian immigrants of this chapter included whoever came after the age of 15, inclusively, which could inevitably encompass the older generation who were married abroad before immigration. As those who married abroad before immigration had limited relevance with the prediction of social integration via marriage, some sampling bias was inevitable (Hwang & Saenz, 1990). The EDS was a secondary data. It was unlikely to know the exact numbers of respondents who married abroad at the time of the survey, and to exclude them from the analysis due to the nature of the data, this limitation remained unsolved (Hwang & Saenz, 1990). However, the results created by the EDS were still valued as the data provided useful information that suited the purpose of this chapter, particularly regarding issues of race/ethnicity in CMA of Vancouver.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Background Description

Table 5.1 contained the percentage distribution of immigrants of different generation and place of birth¹⁹. The results indicated a great percentage of the respondents (about 59%) were from East Asia, including China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan. About 22% of the sample population was from Southeast Asia, such as Malaysia, Philippines and Singapore, and about 19% were from South Asia, including India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka and so on.

The majority of the sample population were first generation immigrants (about 93%). The characteristics of this sample population and its large percentage distribution of East Asia immigrants worked well as supporting data as the main focus of this study was on first and 1.5 generation Taiwanese immigrants.

Table 5.1. Immigrants' Background by Place of Birth and Generation Status*.

| Region | Generation Status | | Total |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------|
| | First | 1.5 + Unknown** | |
| East Asia | 148,847 | 8,996 | 157,843 |
| % within place of birth | 94.3 | 5.7 | 100 |
| % within generation | 59.7 | 50.1 | 59.1 |
| % of total | 55.7 | 3.4 | 59.1 |
| Southeast Asia | 54,002 | 4,737 | 58,739 |

¹⁹ Espiritu (1992, p. 9) defines panethnicity as an “unity forged primarily through the symbolic re-interpretation of a group’s common history, particularly when this history involves racial subjugation.” Since visible minorities generally share a history of racial subjugation in Canada, the inclusion of all Asian ethnic groups should not interfere with the analysis of Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|--------|---------|
| % within place of birth | 91.9 | 8.1 | 100 |
| % within generation | 21.7 | 26.4 | 22 |
| % of total | 20.2 | 1.8 | 22 |
| South Asia | 46,289 | 4,206 | 50,495 |
| % within place of birth | 91.7 | 8.3 | 100 |
| % within generation | 18.6 | 23.4 | 18.9 |
| % of total | 17.3 | 1.6 | 18.9 |
| Total | 249,138 | 17,939 | 267,077 |
| % within place of birth | 93.3 | 6.7 | 100 |
| % within generation | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| % of total | 93.3 | 6.7 | 100 |

*All results were weighted.

**1.5 generation immigrants were combined with those of unknown age of arrival in Canada due to issues of confidentiality with low cell counts of the latter.

5.3.2 Binominal Logistic Regression Models²⁰

The purpose of testing the following regression models was twofold. First, the models tested how the variables derived from the above literature review affected the marital choice of first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants in CMA of Vancouver. Secondly, the results demonstrated potential confounders of how the odds ratios and levels of significance change by removing variables out of the model one by one.

For example, model 1 in table 5.2 indicated that the race/ethnic composition of network ties, that is, race/ethnic background of friends, was the only factor contributing significantly to these first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants' marital choice. Those immigrants who did not have many friends of the same race/ethnicity were about twice

²⁰ For all regression models, "500 replicate weights or 'bootstrap weights' were used for estimating sample variance needed for tests of significance." (Li, 2008, p. 296)

likely to choose inter-group marriage (i.e., marrying someone of different race/ethnicity). The goodness-of-fit of model 1 was .08 ($>.05$), indicating a good model fit.

Although immigrants' network ties still worked as a significant factors affecting immigrants' marital choice in model 2, 5 and 6, the goodness-of-fit tests showed that the removal of education or immigrants' past experiences of discrimination had made the models unfit (all $<.05$).

On the other hand, model 1 in table 5.3 indicated an effect of these immigrants' network ties on their marital choice (odds ratio= 1.69*) with a lower significance level when education was replaced by income. The results of models 1 to 6, however, showed the importance of income on model fit as only when income was kept in the model would the results of the goodness-of-fit test be $>.05$.

Moreover, model 4 in table 5.3 indicated the removal of the variable of immigrants' network ties (i.e., friends' ethnicity) resulted in a change of the significance level of income (odd ratio= 2.40*). This meant that the higher the levels of immigrants' income, the more likely they were married to someone of different race/ethnicity. The results thus indicated that the race/ethnic background of immigrants' friends might be producing intervening effects in the models.

Lastly, all models in table 5.4 showed the effects of both immigrants' educational and income levels together. When these two variables were introduced to the models together, the removal of other variables would not make the models unfit. The results indicated the importance of education and income on immigrants' marital choice, although they were not statistically significant. And again, the race/ethnic background of these immigrants' friends was the only factor making a statistically significant impact in all models.

In sum, the results of table 5.2 to 5.4 indicated that except for immigrants' sense of ethnic belonging, all other variables either have an impact on the results of models' goodness-of-fit, or its odds ratio and level of significance. Mok's (1999) study on interracial dating could offer some explanation for the weak effect of immigrants' sense of ethnic belonging on their romantic relationship. According to Mok (1999), Asian Americans' likelihood of dating whites was more affected by their levels of acculturation than their levels of ethnic identity claimed. In other words, when it came to interracial dating for Asian Americans, "the degree to which the dominant White culture was seen as the reference group might be more important than lack of identification with one's own ethnic group." (Mok, 1999, p. 115)

Further investigation is required for the examination of whether Mok's (1999) finding is applicable among the first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants of CMA of Vancouver. But the results of the regression models suggested effects of confounders. In order to take a closer look at the relations among the variables, a research method, conditional process modeling (Hayes, 2012) was introduced.

Table 5.2. Test for Intervening Factors Influencing the Outcome of Immigrants' Marital Choice- *Education*.

| Variables | Model (Weighted N) | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | 1 (233,879) | 2 (234,870) | 3 (241,256) | 4 (240,158) | 5 (233,879) | 6 (233,879) |
| Education | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | .84 | | .82 | .76 | .84 | .86 |
| SE | .22 | | .21 | .19 | .22 | .22 |
| Ethnic belonging | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | .89 | .88 | | .86 | .89 | .89 |
| SE | .18 | .17 | | .17 | .18 | .18 |
| Friends' ethnicity | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.99** | 1.98** | 2.03** | | 1.99** | 2.00** |
| SE | .46 | .43 | .47 | | .46 | .46 |
| RDT⁺ | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.03 | 1.03 | 1.02 | 1.03 | | 1.03 |
| SE | .31 | .30 | .29 | .30 | | .20 |
| FDT⁺ | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.16 | 1.12 | 1.16 | 1.15 | 1.16 | |
| SE | .37 | .34 | .37 | .36 | .32 | |
| Prob > F | .08 | .03 | .05 | .72 | .04 | .04 |

⁺Principal component reduced from a selection of respondents' past experiences of discrimination.

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.3. Test for Intervening Factors Influencing the Outcome of Immigrants' Marital Choice- *Income*.

| Variables | Model (Weighted N) | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | 1 (180,654) | 2 (234,870) | 3 (184,139) | 4 (182,746) | 5 (180,654) | 6 (180,654) |
| Income | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 2.19 | | 2.20 | 2.40* | 2.18 | 2.21 |
| SE | 1.25 | | 1.20 | 1.26 | 1.23 | 1.26 |
| Ethnic belonging | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | .88 | .88 | | .85 | .90 | .87 |
| SE | .19 | .17 | | .18 | .20 | .19 |
| Friends' ethnicity | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.69* | 1.98** | 1.71* | | 1.69* | 1.69** |
| SE | .49 | .43 | .51 | | .48 | .49 |
| RDT⁺ | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.18 | 1.03 | 1.15 | 1.19 | | 1.14 |
| SE | .45 | .30 | .44 | .44 | | .23 |
| FDT⁺ | | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.26 | 1.12 | 1.26 | 1.26 | 1.24 | |
| SE | .52 | .34 | .52 | .50 | .39 | |
| Prob > F | .28 | .03 | .18 | .29 | .17 | .21 |

⁺Principal component reduced from a selection of respondents' past experiences of discrimination.

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.4. Test for Intervening Factors Influencing the Outcome of Immigrants' Marital Choice- *Education and Income*.

| Variables | Model (Weighted N) | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | 1 (180,654) | 2 (184,139) | 3 (182,746) | 4 (180,654) | 5 (180,654) |
| Education | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.08 | 1.07 | .99 | 1.08 | 1.10 |
| SE | .35 | .34 | .29 | .34 | .35 |
| Income | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 2.21 | 2.23 | 2.40 | 2.20 | 2.23 |
| SE | 1.30 | 1.26 | 1.29 | 1.27 | 1.31 |
| Ethnic belonging | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | .88 | | .85 | .90 | .88 |
| SE | .19 | | .18 | .20 | .19 |
| Friends' ethnicity | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.70* | 1.73* | | 1.70* | 1.72* |
| SE | .51 | .53 | | .50 | .51 |
| RDT⁺ | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.18 | 1.16 | 1.19 | | 1.15 |
| SE | .42 | .43 | .43 | | .25 |
| FDT⁺ | | | | | |
| Odds ratio | 1.25 | 1.25 | 1.26 | 1.23 | |
| SE | .51 | .52 | .50 | .40 | |
| Prob > F | .43 | .31 | .44 | .29 | .36 |

⁺Principal component reduced from a selection of respondents' past experiences of discrimination.

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

5.3.3 Conditional Process Modeling²¹

The SPSS macro, “PROCESS”, was applied to probe relations among the variables in the models. Since Hayes (2012) has stated that the more recent approach focuses on the integrated methods, or what he termed the “conditional process modeling”, for examining moderated mediation and mediated moderation, it is believed this type of modelling is suitable for interpreting confounders and its effects on immigrants’ marital choice.

Again, the main assumption of the chapter was that immigrants’ past experience of discrimination affected their marital choice. The results of conditional process models were also shown to demonstrate the effects of the race/ethnicity of immigrants’ friends and their sense of ethnic belonging.

The results of figure 5.1 and table 5.5 showed interactions between immigrants’ sense of ethnic belonging and the race/ethnicity of their friends that were not identified in the previous regression models. The direct effect of immigrants’ sense of ethnic belonging (see path c'_1 in Figure 5.1 and Table 5.5) was positively related to the odds of having an intra-group marriage. That is, the stronger one’s sense of ethnic belonging was, the more likely he/she would marry someone of the same race/ethnicity. This sense of ethnic belonging also showed a positive indirect effect on one’s marital choice that that was statistically significant (see path a_1b_1 in Figure 5.1 and Table 5.5).

The results of figure 5.2 and table 5.6 further indicated a relationship between the frequency of immigrants’ experience of discrimination in the past (FDT) and the

²¹ See Hayes’ (2012) “PROCESS: A versatile computational tool for observed variable mediation, moderation, and conditional process modeling.” Retrieved from <http://www.afhayes.com/public/process2012.pdf> for detail.

race/ethnicity of their friends (see path a_1 in Figure 5.2 and Table 5.6). Although the result was not as significantly strong ($p < .10$), FDT was found to be negatively associated with the race/ethnic background of these immigrants' friends. In other words, the more friends of the same race/ethnicity those first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants who lived in CMA of Vancouver had, the less likely they recalled experiencing discrimination frequently. This finding coincided with the statement that the process of cultural heritage maintenance, such as making friends of one's own race/ethnicity, may not always hinder the adaptation of minorities but could work as a shelter and promote such adaptation (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Figure 5.3 and table 5.7 demonstrated the direct and indirect effects of immigrants' education on their marital choice. A positive association was found between education and immigrants' sense of ethnic belonging (see path a_1 in Figure 5.3 and Table 5.7). This meant the higher the educational level of these immigrants, the weaker the sense of ethnic belonging.

Although relatively weak, a positive association was also found between education and the frequency of immigrants' experience of discrimination in the past (see path a_3 in Figure 5.3 and Table 5.7). The result indicated immigrants with higher educational levels felt being discriminated against more frequently.

Moreover, immigrants' sense of ethnic belonging was negatively associated with how often they felt being discriminated against in the past (see path a_6 in Figure 5.3 and Table 5.7). This result showed the weaker the sense of ethnic belonging of these first and 1.5 generation immigrants, the less likely they were to recall the frequency of being discriminated against.

Finally, figure 5.4 and table 5.8 demonstrated the direct and indirect effects of immigrants' income on their marital choice. A positive association was found between immigrants' income and their sense of ethnic belonging (see path a_1 in Figure 5.4 and Table 5.8), and a positive association was found between immigrants' income and the race/ethnicity of their friends (see path a_4 in Figure 5.4 and Table 5.8). These results indicated higher levels of income were associated with higher levels of sense of ethnic belonging and fewer numbers of friends of the same race/ethnicity. The sense of ethnic belonging of these first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants in CMA of Vancouver thus did not necessarily show a linear relationship with the race/ethnic background of the friends they made in this model.

The result of path a_7 in figure 5.4 and table 5.8 indicated a positive association, meaning one's sense of ethnic belonging might not affect the number of friends of different race/ethnicity they had. However, whether quantity of friends predicted quality of friendship remained questionable.

As expected, the stronger the sense of ethnic belonging Asian immigrants had, the more likely they were to choose intra-group marriage with those of the same race/ethnic origin (see path b_1 in Figure 5.4 and Table 5.8).

A weak and negative association was found between reasons for immigrants' experience of discrimination in the past (RDT) and their marital choice ($p < .10$). The result indicated those who were more likely to recall discriminative experience due to their ethnicity/culture and/or race/skin colour, rather than language accent, were also more likely to choose intra-group marriage.

The results of conditional process models revealed interactions among variables that were not identified in the previous regression models. They had proved the hypothesis valid by demonstrating how past experience of discrimination- given it frequency or reason- could more or less cause an impact on the marital choice of first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants in CMA of Vancouver.

Figure 5.1. Direct and Indirect Effects⁺ of Sense of Ethnic Belonging on Marital Choice.

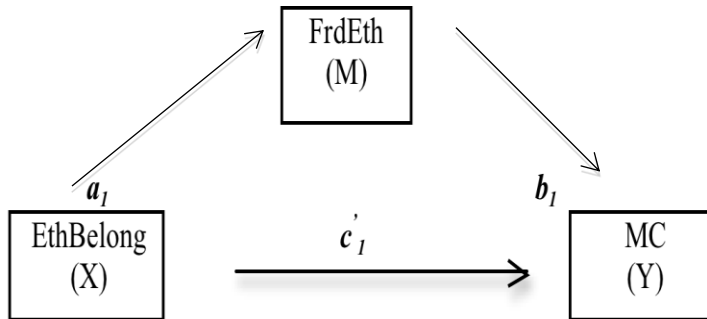


Table 5.5. Direct and Indirect Effects⁺ of Sense of Ethnic Belonging on Marital Choice.

| Path | Coefficients (Standard errors in parentheses) | Indirect effect of X on Y [#] | | | | |
|--------|---|--|--------|---------|----------|----------|
| | | Indirect path | Effect | Boot SE | BootLLCI | BootULCI |
| a_1 | .4735***(.0156) | a_1b_1 | .0535 | .0117 | .0324 | .0786 |
| b_1 | .1130***(.0157) | | | | | |
| c_1 | .2002***(.0056) | | | | | |
| c'_1 | .1467***(.0091) | | | | | |

⁺ All coefficients were unstandardized.

[#]Significance tested by bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

Figure 5.2. Direct and Indirect Effects⁺ of Past Experience of Discrimination on Marital Choice.

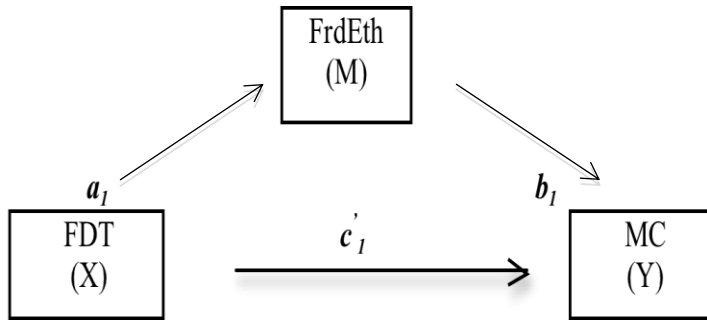


Table 5.6. Direct and Indirect Effects⁺ of Past Experience of Discrimination on Marital Choice.

| Path | Coefficients (Standard errors in parentheses) | Indirect effect of X on Y [#] | | | | |
|--------|---|--|----------|---------|----------|----------|
| | | Indirect path | Effect | Boot SE | BootLLCI | BootULCI |
| a_1 | -75.0385*(46.8191) | a_1b_1 | -23.8094 | 16.4608 | -63.3404 | 3.1741 |
| b_1 | .3173***(.0110) | | | | | |
| c_1 | -28.3109 (18.7630) | | | | | |
| c'_1 | -4.5015 (11.5023) | | | | | |

⁺ All coefficients were unstandardized.

[#]Significance tested by bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

Figure 5.3. Direct and Indirect Effects of Education on Marital Choice.

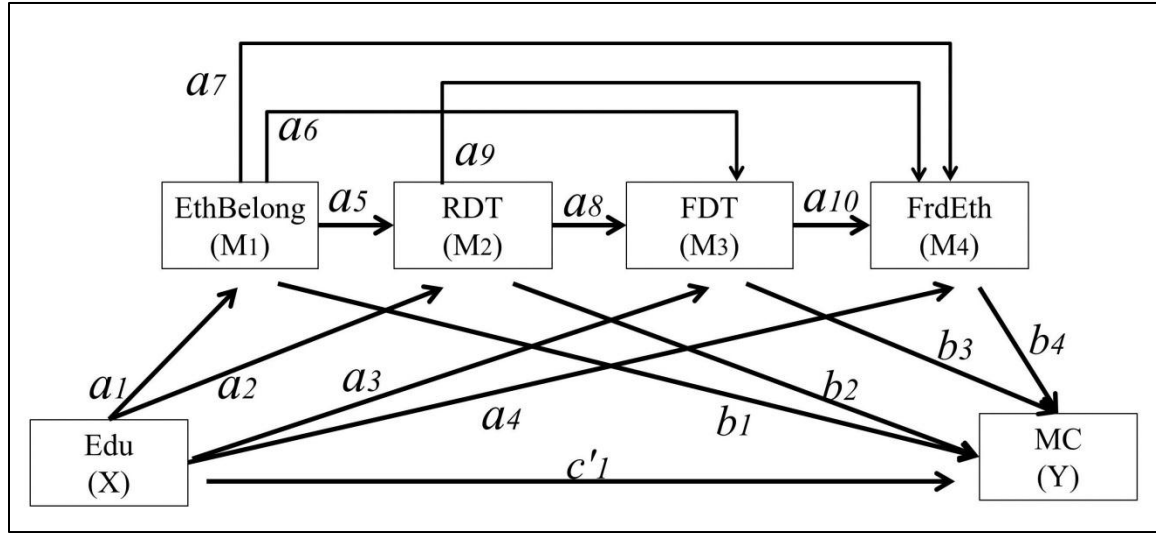


Table 5.7. Direct and Indirect Effects⁺ of Education on Marital Choice.

| Path | Coefficients (Standard errors in parentheses) | Indirect effect of X on Y [#] | | | | |
|----------|---|--|--------|---------|----------|----------|
| | | Indirect path | Effect | Boot SE | BootLLCI | BootULCI |
| a_1 | 1.1528***(.0783) | <i>Total</i> | 0.1947 | .0235 | .1500 | .2421 |
| a_2 | -.0001 (.0001) | a_1b_1 | .1345 | .0238 | .0893 | .1832 |
| a_3 | .0001*(.0001) | $a_1a_7b_4$ | .0537 | .0141 | .0289 | .0836 |
| a_4 | .0608 (.0557) | $a_1a_5a_8b_3$ | .0000 | .0001 | .0000 | .0005 |
| a_5 | .0000 (.0000) | $a_1a_5a_8a_{10}b_4$ | .0000 | .0000 | .0000 | .0002 |
| a_6 | -.0001**(.0000) | | | | | |
| a_7 | .4443***(.0320) | | | | | |
| a_8 | -.0445 (.0720) | | | | | |
| a_9 | -36.6128 (34.2653) | | | | | |
| a_{10} | -39.0869 (28.7152) | | | | | |
| b_1 | .1167***(.0167) | | | | | |
| b_2 | -9.7935 (10.6960) | | | | | |
| b_3 | -13.4609 (9.3338) | | | | | |
| b_4 | .1049**(.0280) | | | | | |
| c_1 | .2765***(.0159) | | | | | |
| c'_1 | .0818**(.0220) | | | | | |

⁺ All coefficients were unstandardized.

[#]Significance tested by bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals. Only statistically significant interactions included.

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

Figure 5.4. Direct and Indirect Effects of Income on Marital Choice.

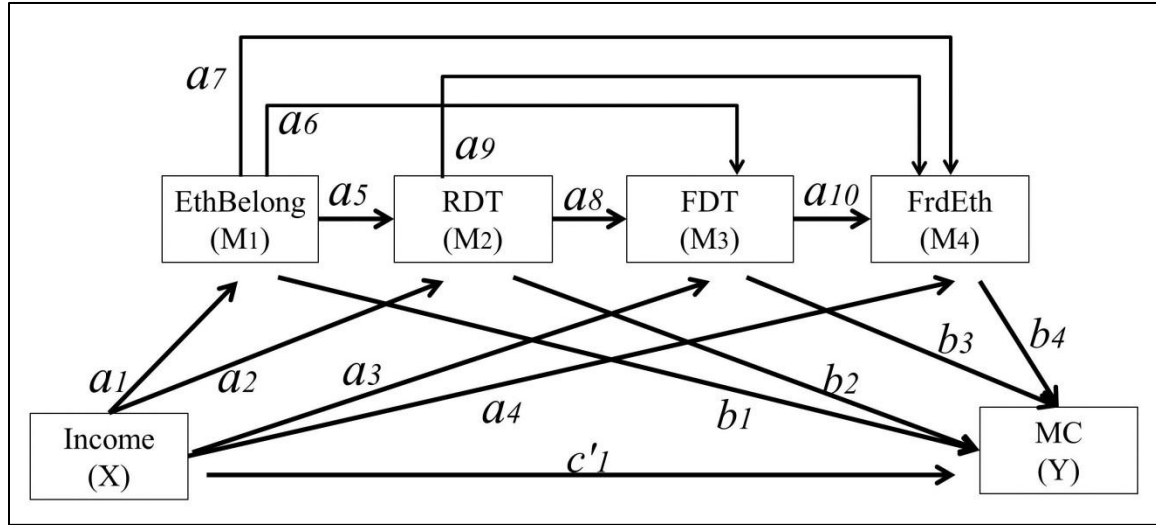


Table 5.8. Direct and Indirect Effects⁺ of Income on Marital Choice.

| Path | Coefficients (Standard errors in parentheses) | Indirect effect of X on Y [#] | | | | |
|----------|---|--|--------|---------|----------|----------|
| | | Indirect path | Effect | Boot SE | BootLLCI | BootULCI |
| a_1 | 2.6080***(.1886) | <i>Total</i> | .5151 | .0602 | .4070 | .6451 |
| a_2 | -.0001 (.0002) | a_1b_1 | .3343 | .0568 | .2288 | .4551 |
| a_3 | -.0001 (.0002) | $a_1a_7b_4$ | .1159 | .0342 | .0594 | .1975 |
| a_4 | .5327***(.1193) | $a_1a_5a_{10}b_4$ | .0000 | .0001 | .0000 | .0004 |
| a_5 | .0000 (.0001) | a_4b_4 | .0633 | .0193 | .0322 | .1062 |
| a_6 | .0000 (.0000) | | | | | |
| a_7 | .3739***(.0482) | | | | | |
| a_8 | -.0712 (.0742) | | | | | |
| a_9 | -29.6032 (35.1948) | | | | | |
| a_{10} | -10.3098 (31.6840) | | | | | |
| b_1 | .1282***(.0180) | | | | | |
| b_2 | -16.9093* (8.8567) | | | | | |
| b_3 | -11.4649 (9.7274) | | | | | |
| b_4 | .1188***(.0344) | | | | | |
| c_1 | .6087***(.0423) | | | | | |
| c'_1 | .0936 (.0599) | | | | | |

⁺ All coefficients were unstandardized.

[#]Significance tested by bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals. Only statistically significant interactions included.

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

5.4 Past Experiences of Discrimination of Taiwanese in Burnaby

In-depth interview data also showed the influence of immigrants' past experience of unpleasant relationships with those of other race/ethnicity in their later life. When Mr. T, aged 24, who immigrated to Canada at the age of 7 and was working in a Canadian firm at the time of the interview, explained about the reason why he thought going back to Taiwan was a better option, he stated,

It is more difficult to find jobs here [fewer opportunities], so I want to go back to see if I can find anything better... I also want to go back to find a girlfriend, which is more important.

Although Mr. T did not make a clear connection between his teenage experience and his unwillingness to stay in Canada and marry non-Asian, he did mention about the racist verbal abuse he had experienced when he was in high school.

It was a little like racism. Sometimes they [the classmates] made jokes about Chinese...like Chinese were this and that... Sometimes they scolded Chinese.

The experience of Mr. T contributed to the understanding of how a socially (i.e., came at young age) and economically (i.e., worked in a Canadian firm) integrated Taiwanese Canadian would believe going back to his homeland was a better option. His statement could be an example of a connection between some Taiwanese Canadians' career and marriage plan in their homeland.

Mr. T's experience was not an isolate case. Mr. S, aged 29, an integrated 1.5 generation immigrant who came at the age of 10 and was working at a Canadian firm at

the time of the interview, also shared his experience of being physically bullied by Caucasians when he was in elementary school. He also mentioned about how Caucasians mimicked the way he spoke and his mother tongue when he was in high school.

Statistical outcomes presented earlier showed that immigrants' past experience of discrimination affected the number of friends of the same race/ethnicity they had. It was thus possible that Mr. S's past experience and the race/ethnic background of his friends further affected his view on inter-group marriage:

I have never thought about chasing Caucasian girls because there is not many Caucasians in my network circle... I still feel a gap [between Caucasians and Taiwanese] because first of all, I do not watch foreign shows, and secondly I rarely watch foreign news. These have made conversation difficult. And in terms of communication, I really feel some jokes are only funny when told in Mandarin and/or Taiwanese. You cannot express the same stuff in English... because foreign jokes are in fact different from Chinese jokes... Even though I can communicate in English, many things are still different.

Similarly, Mr. T and Mr. S's statement indicated some 1.5 generation Taiwanese immigrants of this study who recalled discriminative experience in the past showed a lower level of preference for inter-group marriage with those of different race/ethnicity.

5.5 Conclusion

The results indicated a possibility of the formation of Asian panethnicity in CMA of Vancouver due to discrimination experienced by Asian immigrants. For example, this was reflected on the above finding that the more friends of the same race/ethnicity those

first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants who lived in CMA of Vancouver had, the less likely they recalled experiencing discrimination frequently. A similar statement was also made by Mr. J, aged 22 at the time of the interview and came at the age of 10. Mr. J recalled how discriminative activities against Asians were unlikely in his high school because there were more Asians than Caucasians. The formation of Asian panethnicity appeared to work as a protective mechanism for the social integration of recent immigrants in this regard.

If multiculturalism was an ideology that “socially constructed cultural identities but did little to recognize and remedy inequalities based on race,” (Bannerji, 2000, as cited in Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 30) the true “crossing of racial and ethnic boundaries” through marital blending would be unlikely (Lee & Boyd, 2008, p. 315). And the choice of intra-group marriage would not only be a means of cultural heritage maintenance, but also immigrants’ act to establish a sense of collectivity in order to reject one’s inferior status or avoid feelings of social exclusion. In other words, explanations for some immigrants’ resistance to integrate via inter-group marriage could go beyond the cultural retention view.

As a vicious circle, an outcome of this type of ethnic solidarity, as explained by Sanders (2002, p. 333-4), was that “groups that were socially defined as racial minorities were especially slow to assimilate because of greater resistance by the dominant group.” Similarly, Zhou and Lee (2007, p. 198) had argued that the assumption that immigrants of the subsequent generations exercised “complete freedom to adopt whichever identities they wished and, more importantly, that others would accept the identities that they chose” was naïve.

The studies indicated a possibility of a seemingly slow integration process among racial minorities; however, little explanation was given to describe this mechanism in detail. In Canada, layman assumed that cultural difference had been generally accepted as such difference was entitled to various race/ethnic groups in a multiculturalist context. But some studies had found an imbalanced relationship between the majority and the minority groups as it was not only the minority group that could decide on the cultural traits they wished to maintain, but their decision would also be judged and evaluated by the majority (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). In other words, whether a culture displayed by minorities was advantageous depended on the approval of the mainstream. The outcome of this integration process was the increasingly salient importance of race resulted from racial conflict, although the significance of race had been played down by the multiculturalism policy discourse due to its conflict of interest.

An examination of how the larger society's discriminative response to Asian immigrants contributed to the formation of Asian panethnicity had been discussed in this chapter. The question for the following chapter, in turn, would be how racial/ethnic minorities residing in areas of a substantial number of minorities of the same race/ethnicity, while at the same time, living in a social context that celebrates white dominance, identify themselves. The purpose of Chapter Six was to examine how racial minorities identified with group members and maintained their ethnic boundary by exploring the case of Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby.

CHAPTER 6– THE SOCIAL BOUNDARY OF THE TAIWANESE IN BURNABY

6.1 Ethnic Boundary- Taiwanese Community in Burnaby

As evident in the previous chapter, a shared experience of discrimination united first and 1.5 generation Asian immigrants in CMA of Vancouver by marrying those within group. However, some scholars suspected that different types of Asian inter-ethnic marriages, such as Korean and Chinese or Vietnamese and Filipino, might not all be explained “by a perspective that assumed a common racialized experience in North America leading to reactive ethnicity and pan-Asian consciousness and identity.” (Lee & Boyd, 2008, p. 315) Other than external oppression, what made different marital types possible might be pressure coming from within; that is, ethnic boundary created by members of the same race/ethnic groups. It is possible that the stronger the ethnic boundary, the more likely its members would consider intra-group dating or marriage.

The formation of an ethnic boundary was a way of “signalling membership and exclusion” for group identity (Barth, 1998, p. 15). According to Barth (1998, p. 15), the “ethnic boundary canalized social life- it entailed a frequently quite complex organization of behaviour and social relations.” As a result,

The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implied a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement... On the other hand, a dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implied recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a

restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest. (Barth, 1998, p. 15)

Barth's definition of ethnic boundary was a social, rather than territorial one. Yet ethnic boundaries appeared in different forms. Light (1972, as cited in Sanders, 2002, p. 335), for example, stated that "demand for goods and services in an ethnic community was a form of ethnic boundary because the consumer tastes of the group could best be understood and met by in-group members." (See Chapter Three for an examination of types of ethnic business in the Taiwanese community) On the other hand, Sanders (2002, p. 327) defined ethnic boundaries as "patterns of social interaction that gave rise to, and subsequently reinforced, in-group members' self-identification and outsiders' confirmation of group distinctions." Hence, ethnic boundaries were created by individuals of different ethnic identities, cultural and moral evaluation, judgement, or even types of consumption. All of which were further reinforced by interactions among group members that appeared distinguishable in the eyes of outsiders.

Gossip was one form of social interactions among group members to define ethnic boundaries and maintain the unity of a group (Gluckman, 1963). Gossip, as twofold means to maintain the unity of a group, denoted its way of social control that originated from the "religious control of morals", in which "people reported, suspected, laughed at, and condemned the peccadilloes of others." (West, 1945, p. 162, as cited in Gluckman, 1963, p. 308) Gossip in the process of informal communication was also found to enhance the quality of relationship among group members as well as group cohesion (Kurland & Pelled, 2000). Gluckman (1963, p. 308) further indicated that the values of a community were maintained by "gossiping and scandalizing both within cliques and in

general.” It was generally acknowledged that most members of any group had been engaged in gossiping for some part of their lives, “and talking about one another was what helped maintain them as a group.” (Gluckman, 1963, p. 308)

In addition, gossip defined ethnic boundaries because members could only gossip properly when they “knew not only about the present membership, but also about their forbears.” (Gluckman, 1963, p. 309) In other words, the act of gossiping (sub) consciously excluded those without shared knowledge, or even history.

Gossip, on the other hand, was also argued to be “a device intended to forward and protect individual interests” (Paine, 1967, p. 278) that could sometimes result in the (re)establishment of cliques among members within the same ethnic boundary. According to Paine (1967), gossipers’ self-interests were observed in the content of the gossip. Gossipers, however, have “rival interests” and they regulated “their gossip to forward and protect their individual interests.” (Paine, 1967, p. 280) It was these rival or conflict of interests that created various cliques among the seemingly homogenous cultural group as a whole. This was why Sanders (2002, p. 328) claimed that

The situational and subjective aspects of ethnic identity meant that researchers who wished to understand how ethnicity emerged as an important factor in a range of social processes must do more than identify key cultural and behavioural components of groups. Researchers must also investigate patterns of interaction that linked groups.

Paine’s statement reminded researchers about the potential conflicting views in gossip among group members, although their gossip was also what united them. Shi (2005, p. 70) supported this statement by indicating that the Chinese diaspora identity, for example,

was not “as internally coherent as diaspora members would like to imagine it to be... Tensions existed over class, gender, religion, ideology, and different life experiences.” It was thus possible that the heterogeneity of an ethnic group could contribute to the members’ varying attitudes toward dating and marriage.

In short, gossip could be used as a means to maintain the unity of an ethnic group and its boundary, but possible cliques could also be created with respect to members’ varying views, such as their attitudes toward intra- and inter-group romantic relationships. By treating Taiwanese immigrants’ attitudes toward intra- and inter-group dating and/or marital relationships as an indicator, the author wished to show how an invisible form of social institution (i.e., gossip) had an impact on the everyday life of parents. In addition, an analysis on how a visible form of social institution (i.e., school) affected the process of self-identification (thus ethnic boundary) of the 1.5 generation children was demonstrated. Their cultural values as well as intergenerational difference were also introduced in this chapter.

6.2 Data and Method

The aim of this chapter was to provide an analysis on how an ethnic boundary could be established by examining the case of Taiwanese in Burnaby. The study particularly focused on the perspectives of first generation parents and 1.5 generation children because it was believed that unlike those in the U.S., the 1.5 generation immigrants in Canada were understudied (Lee & Boyd, 2008). The unique immigrant experience of the 1.5 generation (i.e., came before the age of 14), had made them different from the first generation and the native-born minorities. They acquired what Barth (1998, p. 15) stated as the “criteria for determining membership” for group identity due to their cross-cultural

experience. They were assumed to be more flexible for adjustment than the first generation and less puzzled about their bicultural identity than the native-born minorities in a multiculturalist country (Lalonde, Hynie, Pannu & Tatla, 2004). Unlike the native-born minorities, the 1.5 generation had experienced some degrees of socialization in their home country. They were thus assumed to be more understanding of their parents' values.

Institutional ethnography, or IE, (Smith, 2005) was used as a method of inquiry for the analysis of this chapter because it provided with a perspective that particularly focused on participants' (i.e., subjects) experience, especially the institutional ones. This is important for the analysis of ethnic boundary because it relied on the fellow members' perception, evaluation and judgement socialized through different institutions. And the established social values were reinforced through social interactions among the members of the Taiwanese community.

What this method of inquiry implied was that "the very term 'institutional ethnography' explicitly coupled an emphasis on structures of power ('institutions') with the microlevel practices that made up everyday life ('ethnography')." (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 588) According to Walby (2007, p. 1008), "institutional ethnography (IE) was a method of inquiry that problematized social relations at the local site of lived experience and examined how textual sequences coordinated consciousness and ruling relations." The lived experience was "shaped, structured, known socially," and were examined as "the social organization of experience." (Griffith, 1998, p. 369) Griffith (1998, p. 369) explained that "we acted in relation to others, we spoke with others, we

listened to others. Individually, we acted with others to produce social groups... The focus of inquiry was this process of concerting individually to make the social.”

The uniqueness about IE as a method of inquiry was that it preserved people’s presence as subjects, rather than transforming them into objects (Walby, 2007). This allowed focus on “the standpoint of the subjects” and their “inter-individual relations”(Walby, 2007); in other words, this inquiry let the interview data *speak*.

Since the focus of this chapter was on the process of which Taiwanese immigrants drew their ethnic boundary, and how it affected them in return, the application of IE as a method of inquiry was believed to be useful as it explicated “the linkages between the individual in relations with other individuals.” (Walby, 2007, p. 1011) When using IE, the “individual per se” became less important; and “the individual’s location in the relations of ruling” (i.e., discourse as a form of governance) was the key (Walby, 2007, p. 1012-3). When people made an attempt to describe others, they “automatically entered discourse and social interchange.” (Beitin, 2012, p. 247) And IE was “designed to explicate social relations and how these relations came to govern those individuals involved.” (Walby, 2007, p. 1013)

The limitation of IE was that “data analysis in institutional ethnography remained underdeveloped and virtually indistinguishable from purportedly objectivist methods.” (Walby, 2007, p. 1023) However, Smith (2005, p. 143, as cited in Walby, 2007, p. 1023) proposed that in IE, “an interview transcript was not reinterpreted from an outsider theoretical frame but was ‘reassembled’ to locate an organization of knowledge in which the experiences of the interviewee were ‘embedded but not wholly visible’.” She further suggested that “if in the experiential account the institutional ethnographer heard an

implicit account of social organization and ruling relations, then she or he was on the right track.” (Smith, 2005, p. 143, as cited in Walby, 2007, p. 1022)

Some techniques used to demonstrate how people’s lived experiences were organized by processes that “extended outside the scope of the everyday world and were not discoverable within it” included observation and interview (Smith, 1987, p. 152, as cited in Walby, 2007, p. 1009), as well as “the researcher’s reflection on her own experience.” (DeVault & McCoy, 2012) Hence, the author spent nine months (between February and October 2011) on data collection, transcription and field notes taking. In-depth interviews were conducted through the snowball sampling method. This sampling method was thought to be the most appropriate one because not everyone was willing to share their attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage with the author during the study. The method allowed the author to start investigating these sensitive topics through her personal contact (Jary & Jary, 2000).

The author’s insider status (i.e., a member of the Taiwanese community in Burnaby) allowed her easier access to the community being studied. This was key in ethnography because “gaining entrance to the society being studied heightens the investigator’s awareness and understanding of it.” Fong (1994, p. 11) In-depth interviews were conducted with a total of fifteen participants, including four fathers, three mothers, four sons and four daughters. The sex of parents was uneven because there was a family with heterosexual twins (a mother with a boy and a girl). The number and selection of interview participants were believed to be sufficient as the current concern in qualitative research was about including “as many perspectives as possible on a topic,” and these

could be done by “relying on multiple roles.” (Beitin, 2012, p. 249) See Appendix 5 for participants’ varying social roles for detail.

Lastly, the bottom-up approach, both children to parents in a familial context and subjects’ experience to the social institution in a structural context, was applied in this chapter with the use of IE as it enabled the demonstration of relations of ruling between subjects and institutions. The analysis started from immigrant children’s high school experiences, then to the parents’ relationships with one another and their gossip²² in the Taiwanese community.

6.3 The Relations of Ruling: High School, Ethnic Boundary and Taiwanese Immigrant Children’s Attitudes toward Dating and Marriage

When doing Institutional Ethnography (IE), the key was to keep institution in mind (DeVault & McCoy, 2012). Institution, according to Jary and Jary (2000, p. 306), referred to “an established order comprising rule-bound and standardized behaviour patterns... Social institution referred to arrangements involving large numbers of people whose behaviour was guided by norms and roles.” Since the term ‘institution’ could be ambiguous and was “widely acknowledged to be used in a variety of ways,” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 306) there was a need to specify that the type of institution the author focused on in this section for the analysis of children’s attitudes was high school.

²² Gossip had emerged as a powerful institution at work among parents mainly because over half of the parent interview participants of this study were not physically working at any firm or organization (see Appendix 5). The data thus revealed that the focus of the type of relations of ruling should be their standpoint as a member of the Taiwanese community.

Relations of ruling (see Figure 6.1 below) appeared in various forms; including administration, management and media, as well as in the scientific and cultural discourses (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008). However, the key to keep in mind, according to Appelrouth and Edles (2008, p. 588), was that at the micro-level, “everyday practices at the level of the individual that collective, hierarchical patterns of social structure were experienced, shaped, and reaffirmed.” In other words, relations of ruling could not be identified without examining collective behavioural patterns of individuals, or what Griffith (1998, p. 369) described as the “process of concerting individually to make the social.” An attempt to illustrate these behavioural patterns was made in the following analysis.

6.3.1 High School in Burnaby

Burnaby was the top five popular cities for immigrants to settle in CMA of Vancouver and it had been receiving great numbers of Asian immigrants in the past years (see Chapter Two for detail). An impact of this large influx of Asian immigrants was their becoming of ‘majority’ in many places, including high schools. A similar situation where Asian became the ‘majority’ in terms of proportions was found in the CMA of Toronto (Reitz & Lum, 2006).

Attending a high school with great numbers of Asian, especially Chinese, Taiwanese and Hong Kongers, had an impact on immigrant children’s choice of potential date/spouse in their later lives as many of them met or wished to meet their date/spouse through friends’ introduction. According to the results of the survey data collected by the author, “through friends” was concurred as the best way of meeting a date/spouse (chosen 169 times by immigrant children when multiple responses were allowed, table not shown). The effects of their Taiwanese friend circle established in high school were

elaborated by Mr. S, who came in 1993 and was not married but dating someone intra-group at the time of the interview.

Our school had too many Asian... I have never thought about chasing Caucasian girls because there is not many Caucasians in my network circle... You know I grew up with Asian. My conversation topics often don't match those of Caucasians' so I feel it's difficult for me to date another race/ethnicity.

When asked how he usually met his date, Mr. S responded "[high school] friends' introduction."

However, the reliance on friends' introduction to meet potential date/spouse could sometimes produce negative effect. For example, when one lost contact with his/her Taiwanese friends from high school and did not have a chance to meet Taiwanese in other social settings, difficulties for this person to find a date/spouse in the Taiwanese community could occur if intra-group romantic relationship was preferred. Mr. T, who came in 1995 and was single at the time of the interview, stated,

I want to find [Taiwanese] but have never met any... No chance...
Because my church doesn't have many Taiwanese... We [my friends and I] all graduated and did not have much chance to get in touch with one another.

However, having many friends of the same race/ethnicity in high school was important for these children. For them, having many Asian at the same school meant less chance of getting bullied or experiencing discrimination. According to Mr. T, who came at the age of 7, the reason he felt he did not experience much bully (though not none) in

high school was because “at that time I often hung out with either Taiwanese or Hong Kongers.” Similarly, when asked whether he had being bullied or experienced discrimination in high school, Mr. J, who came at the age of 10, replied negative, and he believed it was because there were many Chinese at school. The data indicated that these participants contributed their “bully-less” experiences to having a great number of Asian friends at school, rather than, for instance, good race/ethnic relations at school. It was thus argued that their experiences confirmed with the formation of Asian panethnicity in CMA of Vancouver (see Chapter Five).

However, having Asian as the ‘majority’ in high schools did not necessarily mean group homogeneity. Immigrants’ length of residence in Canada, as Gordon (1964) predicted, had an impact on their behaviour and self-claimed identity.

Ms. H, who immigrated to Canada at the age of 11, indicated about 80 to 90% of her friends was Taiwanese immigrants. She mentioned she would not really be friends with those of Taiwanese/Chinese origin who were either native-born or had immigrated to Canada at a very young age. The reason was because she felt they did not want to know or be close with her. Ms. H’s experience was not unique as it corresponded with that of Ms. R’s. As an immigrant who came at the age of 14, Ms. R indicated that her friend circle was small and was made up of mostly Taiwanese and Hong Kongers. She also felt alienated from those of Taiwanese/Chinese origin who were either native-born or came to Canada at an early age because they did not have much in common, such as conversation topics.

Ms. H and Ms. R’s statements worked as examples of how group heterogeneity could arise due to immigrants’ varying length of residence in Canada even among those defined

within the same generation (1.5 generation). Two participants- Ms. N, who came at the age of 2.5, and Ms. P, who came at the age of 2- also stated they did not have friends who came at an older age since those people “tended to hang out with the same people that spoke their language ‘cause they felt more comfortable that way” (Ms. N); or as Ms. P felt, “I guess they just have more in common with other people who just came to Canada.” The 1.5 generation immigrants who came to Canada at a relatively younger age were not close to those of other race, especially those of the European origin at school, either. Instead, they had established their own group that was illustrated in the following statement of Ms. N and Ms. P.

Ms. N: ‘Because there are all Asian at my school. I have a few white friends but the school is all mainly like Asian people... My close friends are all [English-speaking] Asian for some reason... Like sometimes when I am talking about something they [Caucasians] don’t understand. Like ‘oh my parents are so strict’ or something... I don’t know it just turns out that all my close friends are all Asian.

Ms. P: Actually we don’t really have many white people. Ha. They don’t have very many so they stay together, too. So there’s like different groups... There’s like the people from Hong Kong, they stayed, and Asians, but are either born here or lived here for like a long time. They were a group, and the white people.

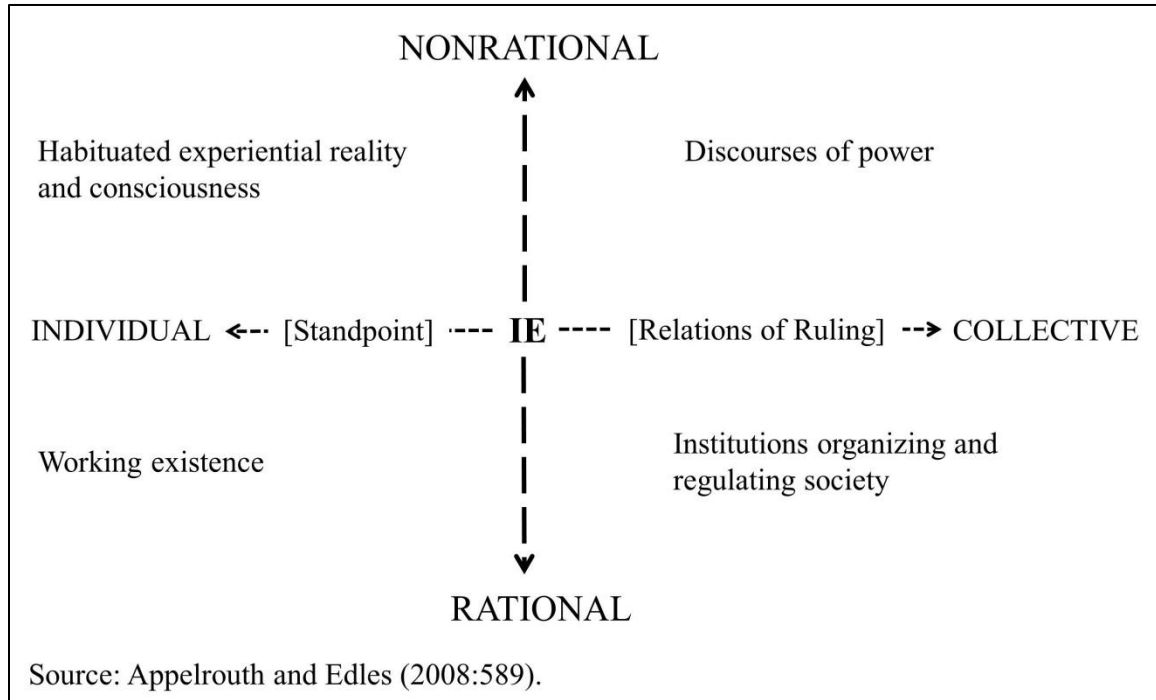
The interview data indicated that by attending to a high school full of Asians, not all immigrant children would necessarily become friends with whites. Although the English and French Charter groups could still be the reference point at the structural level (i.e., everyday manner) as ‘successful’ integration connoted immigrants’ incorporation to the

mainstream (Gordon, 1964), some of these immigrant children formed their own subgroups. The data indicated that when those more integrated immigrant children were situated in this kind of school milieu, they ended up forming subgroups of their own- with a 'new' Asian identity and characteristics that were different from the newcomers. The data showed in this particular school milieu, Asian immigrant children's matching behaviour with those of "the middle-class cultural patterns of, largely, white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins" (Gordon, 1964, as cited in Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 4) might not always be the key for them to consider themselves socially integrated with the whites. And this was because they had noticed whites formed their own groups, too.

6.3.2 Applying Smith's Concepts of Institutional Ethnography

Appelrouth and Edles (2008, p. 589) demonstrated Smith's concepts of standpoint and relations of ruling with IE in the following model:

Figure 6.1. Concepts of Standpoint and Relations of Ruling by Dorothy Smith.



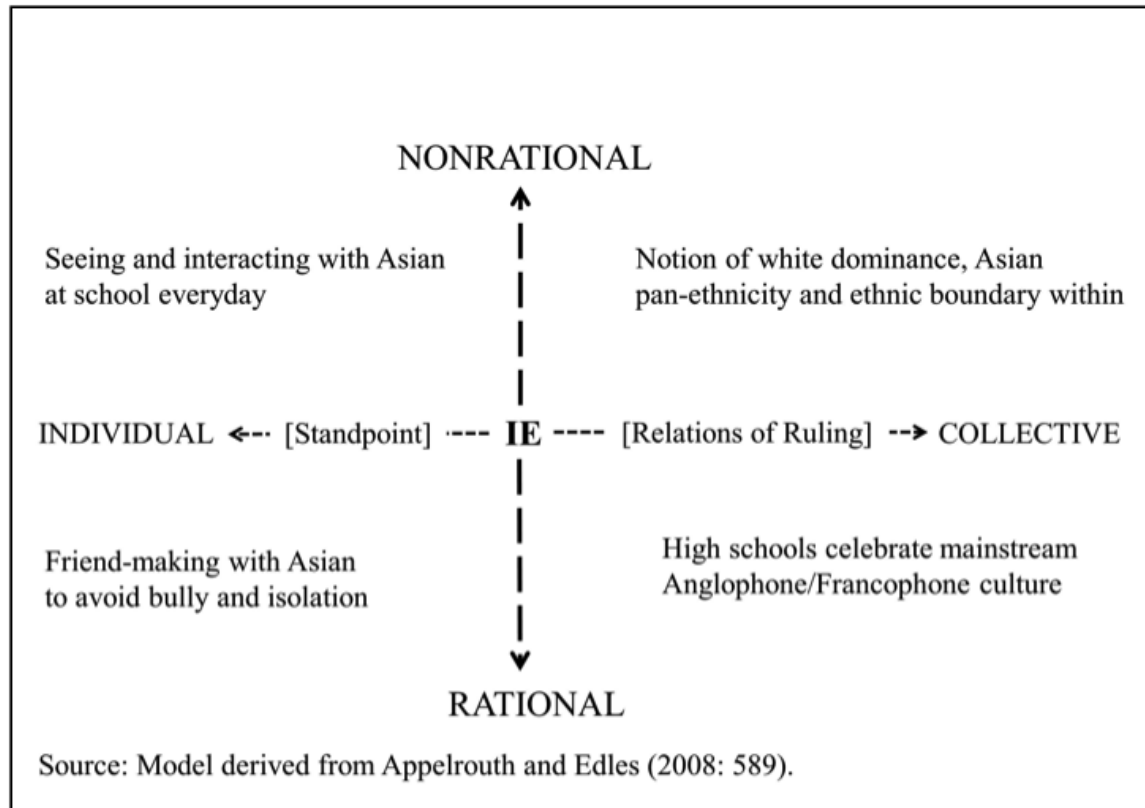
IE was a method of inquiry fashioned to understand complex social relations. In figure 6.1, Smith's "dual rational and nonrational approach to action and individual and collective approach to order" were shown (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 589). According to the authors (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 589), Smith's "'standpoint' referred both to our objective (rational) position and subjective (nonrational) position in the (collective) social hierarchy, and to our unique biographical (individual) situation."

When applying Smith's concepts to the Taiwanese immigrant children's high school experiences, they could be illustrated by the model below (see Figure 6.2). The daily experience of seeing many Asians, especially those of Taiwanese/Chinese origin, at school was these immigrant children's "habituated experiential reality and consciousness" (see Figure 6.1). It was an individual standpoint made from the

“subjective (nonrational) position in the (collective social hierarchy).” (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 589) As for their “working existence” (see Figure 6.1), some immigrants stated that they made friends with Asian so they had less chance of being bullied/discriminated. When these individuals acted collectively, the notion of Asian pan-ethnicity was formed. The notion of white dominance was created as a discourse of power with the aid of the high schools celebrating Anglophone/Francophone culture²³ and collaborating as “institutions organizing and regulating society” (see Figure 6.1 and 6.2). As a result, a complex social relation that contributed to these immigrant children’s understanding of the social world while living in an area with substantial numbers of racial/ethnic minorities was observed.

²³ Reitz and Lum (2006, p. 29) stated that the Canadian government policies were partly the cause of tensions among different race/ethnic groups because it emphasized on a “live and let live” cultural acceptance that was different from the American multiculturalism, which “entitled minorities to make equity claims.” Since multiculturalism in Canada was originally designed to settle cultural conflicts between English and French Canadians, “when new groups began talking about equity, access, and discrimination, it became clear that these issues did not quite fall under the rubric of culture.” (Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 29)

Figure 6.2. Concepts of Standpoint and Relations of Ruling- The Case of Taiwanese Children in High School.



As complex and ambiguous as the concept of ethnic boundary- it could either be a group with shared perception, evaluation and judgement, or according to Sanders (2002, p. 327), as “patterns of social interaction that gave rise to, and subsequently reinforced, in-group members’ self-identification and outsiders’ confirmation of group distinctions.” The results of these intertwined individual and collective actions were not only the formation of Asian pan-ethnicity, but also various ethnic boundaries within this large Asian group at school as heterogeneity was found among immigrant students. Their differences could potentially denote different types of inter- or intra-group dating and/or marital choice in the future.

Last but not least, these immigrants' experiences indicated that the large Asian group formed among high school students could possibly be a response to their shared racialized experience that potentially led to a collective Asian consciousness and identity. Other supporting evidence could also be found in Chapter Five.

6.4 The Relations of Ruling: Gossip, Ethnic Boundary and Taiwanese Immigrant Parents' Attitudes toward Children's Choice of Dating and Marriage

Immigrants required assistance when they first landed to a new country. Assistance on housing was a priority and was one thing that newcomers needed urgently at the early stage of immigration. The author's interview data showed that newcomers could often receive sufficient assistance and support from other members of the Taiwanese community. For example, six out of seven parent participants of this study stated they had rented a Taiwanese owned house or apartment when they first moved to Burnaby. The Taiwanese community had thus constantly played the role as a shelter in this regard as all of the participants immigrated in different years (see Appendix 5). Mrs. L, moreover, indicated that she was able to buy her current house in Burnaby with the help of a Taiwanese real estate agent who was the son of her previous landlord:

The previous owner of this house I bought was Italian... [When I saw this house] I asked him how much he was selling for, he said he could not tell... He asked us to find an agent... I lived on Rupert Street at the time. The landlord was Taiwanese and his son was a real estate agent... His son helped us negotiated the deal.

While challenging Gordon' theory of assimilation (1964), Alba and Nee (2003) argued for positive (rather than hindering) roles of racial/ethnic groups during the

integration process. According to them, there were “important non-economic ways in which the ethnic group could contribute to the well-being of its members, such as through the solidarity and support provided by co-ethnics with whom one shared a diffuse sense of a common heritage.” (Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 5-6) The initial step of assistance in settlement had enlarged the Taiwanese network in Burnaby, which in turn established a network of information exchange, including gossip. It was these complex and sophisticated social interactions for the ethnic boundary to be drawn.

6.4.1 Gossip among Parents- The “Invisible” Ethnic Boundary

According to Beitin (2012, p. 247), people “automatically entered discourse and social interchange” when they started to gossip. Gossip, as a form of informal communication, was less likely to be done without people (physically) interacting with one another. In other words, for gossip to be spread, the Taiwanese parents had to have the opportunities to gather together from time to time. Mr. K, aged 59, who was married and immigrated to Canada in 2005, was aware of this:

Here people have time, so they have time to gossip. So many things, even a small thing, spread around fast. No secret. The Chinese network here has no secret. Like who has a daughter-in-law, whose daughter-in-law got into fights with whose son... Everyone here knows. These news spread very fast because people are free. So they gossip.

Another female participant²⁴ who was not listed on Appendix 5 because she refused to be audio-taped, yet agreed to share some of her comments, also indicated the

²⁴ A participant’s migration experience selected from the author’s field notes.

Taiwanese circle in Burnaby was small. She mentioned that people usually did not have as many friends here as they had in Taiwan. People could talk about a variety of things in Taiwan, but here the focus was often about children. This was partly because many were retired and had less chance to interact with other race/ethnic groups. She believed Taiwanese immigrants had a more closed life here.

Children's date and/or spouse had appeared to be a popular topic to gossip about among these Taiwanese parents. Their attitudes, values, even sentiment, toward intra- and inter-group dating and/or marriage were observed when they made their comments about what they had heard of. An "invisible" ethnic boundary, established by shared values, norms, language and intensive exchange of information, was shown in the following examples:

Mrs. L (aged 60, married): When some Asian date Caucasian... I feel they feel proud when people look at them... I feel Caucasians are not good because they follow their feelings. If the two get along, they become together very fast. If their relationship goes bad, they end it. A relationship starts and ends fast. [I developed] this concept based on what my friend told me. Her relative's child went to UBC and dated a Caucasian boy she met in class. I heard the boy is wealthy. His family's got an island or something. My friend's relative is also a doctor. Once the boy went visit in Taiwan, the [girl's] mother was very serious about it. She booked one of the most expensive hotels for the boy. I think Caucasians from the upper class also have their norms, perhaps they tend to exclude Asians. I don't know. At the end the girl was not accepted by the boy's family so they ended.

Mrs. Z (aged 49, married): Parents are selfish. If it's my daughter, I'd want the son-in-law to integrate into my culture. If it's my son, I'd want the daughter-in-law to integrate. We will see who is tougher... I know some who married Caucasians... Their values are different. Like... we have our family morals, but Caucasians think differently. We care about the respect for parents, elders and mentors, but they don't. They ask for respect, despite age... This is something totally different... I have to listen to you as an elder? Every time my daughter gets into an argument with me, or my son gets into an argument with me, I ask them, who am I? Who am I? [They say] Mother. Then I ask, should the mother listen to you or you listen to your mother?

The Taiwanese parents of this study had generally heard of others discouraging inter-group dating and/or marriage. For example, Mr. O, aged 49, married, stated,

In the Asian circle, I feel they [the parents] hope... hope the child can find someone of the same race/ethnicity to marry with. But it's not absolute [not every parent is like this].

The only exception for parental support for inter-group marriage being found was when members were not fully accepted by the Taiwanese community. For instance, when Mr. K, aged 59, married, mentioned about his son's ex-girlfriend's sister marrying Caucasian, he went,

[She] married a local, Caucasian... His values are more open, because the girl is vivacious, and fat... Chinese parents usually cannot accept someone [son/daughter-in-law] fat... [She is] very fat, really fat. So this is OK for Caucasians. Not a big deal. [She is] fat even comparing to Caucasians.

They got married last year and had a baby... Two fat people being together... Both love to eat.

Although parental preferences were stated, there was not enough evidence showing that Taiwanese children in Burnaby married interracially due to social rejection from their own group. However, the situation where ethnic members tended to reach out for other race/ethnic groups when they were rejected by their own race/ethnic group was found by Zhou and Bankston (1998). In their study, the Vietnamese children who were thought to be delinquent by the Vietnamese community were those who showed lack of respect for parents and elders. These children often ended up integrating with other groups of racial minorities of the lower class to seek for recognition (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Whether such reaction to rejection could be applied to the discussion of immigrants' marital choice required further investigation.

6.4.2 Gossip among Parents- The "Fluid" Ethnic Boundary

Socially constructed ethnic boundaries could change as they could be (re)defined by patterns of social interactions (Sanders, 2002). As people's interest change, their patterns of interaction change, so does the ethnic boundary being defined. During the nine-month data collection period, the author had observed some value change among parents. Gossip, again, played a role in the value changing process. Some parents had become more acceptable for inter-group relationships while others maintained their preference. The following examples demonstrated the process of this gradual change:

Mr. O (aged 49, married): In my experience interacting with my co-workers... [I found] they have this kind of expectation and hope [for intra-group marriage of their children]. But it is not a must... If they run into the kind of situation [where their

children choose inter-group marriage], I feel they... I find no one treats this issue with strong objection.

Mrs. M (aged 55, married): Better not [be inter-group marriage] because... if your child married Caucasian you totally cannot communicate. Your cultural background is different. Everything is differently. It's true. But... I know a mother whose son married Caucasian. Her daughter married Caucasian, too... Her grandchildren have a Caucasian face but they treat their grandmother very nice. You cannot imagine. You think they are Caucasians but they are actually her grandson and granddaughter. They get along well. They are different.

Mrs. L (aged 60, married): I would admire... I have a friend with three children. Three daughters. They all married to someone of different race/ethnicity. Two were Caucasians, but I am not sure if they were British. I heard that her children have good families. They are happy. So if it was my friend I would admire their choice. But if it's my own children, I feel it's best that their spouse to be of the same race/ethnicity. This is the most expected.

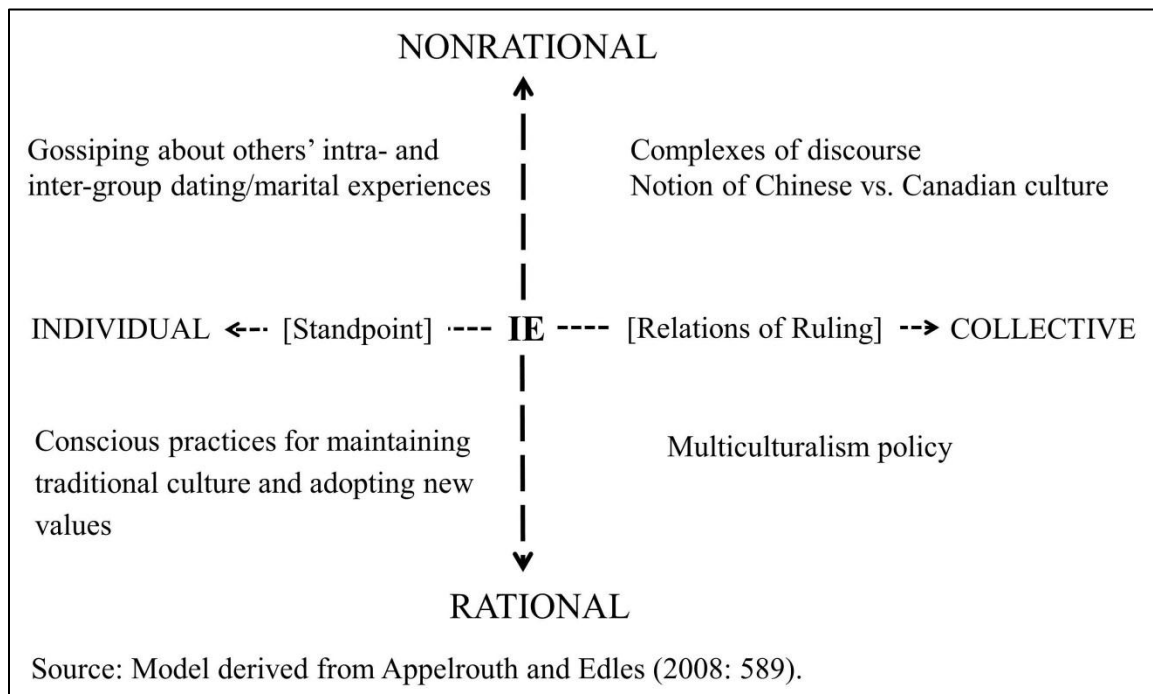
Mr. Q (aged 54, married): Personally I would not want to find someone of different race/ethnicity. I don't have that kind of thoughts... [But] my children can, since I feel we have lived in Canada for... We came in 1995... I can [accept]. Our mindset [has changed]. I would oppose against it before. I feel it is good now. But my bottom-line is we should respect our religion. We should find someone of the same religion because conflicts arise due to different religious beliefs.

The data indicated that gossip characterized an ethnic boundary among the Taiwanese immigrants of this study in which shared perception, evaluation, judgement, value, even

sentiments were commonly and mutually recognized (Barth, 1998). Paradoxically, gossip also diminished the strength of ethnic solidarity, in terms of their acceptance for inter-group marital choice, by gradually changing immigrants' perceptions and understandings of race/ethnic relations. Thus, making the invisible ethnic boundary fluid.

These complex relationships were summarized by applying Smith's concepts in figure 6.3. The gossip they heard about other people's children's dating/marital experiences had contributed to their decision either on maintaining their traditional culture or adopting new values at different point of time. However, it was not clear whether their acceptance for inter-group dating/marriage moved in a linear direction in this multiculturalist society.

Figure 6.3. Concepts of Standpoint and Relations of Ruling- Gossipy Taiwanese Immigrant Parents.



6.5 Conclusion

Institutional ethnography examined people's experience to discover its presence and institution in their lives, and to explicate that institution beyond the local of the everyday experiences (Smith, 2005). By applying IE as a method of inquiry, truncated information released by participants were put together as participants were treated as informants knowledgeable about lives within their own ethnic community (DeVault & McCoy, 2012). These participants were what DeVault and McCoy (2012, p. 386) considered as "people living particular lives."

Whether gossip worked as a mechanism for members of the Taiwanese community to maintain their traditional culture or adopt to multicultural values (i.e., inter-group marriage), the gossipers' personal interest and belief were observed in the content of the gossip (Paine, 1967). Some of the parents' belief about value difference between Westerners and Chinese were in fact supported by scholars. For example, by comparing love and marriage in eleven cultures, Levine, Sato, Hashimoto and Verma (1995, p. 554) had found that

Love tended to receive greatest importance in the Western and Westernized nations and least importance in the underdeveloped Eastern nations. These differences were stronger and clearer for decisions regarding the establishment of a marriage than for the maintenance and dissolution of a marriage... Individualists cultures, as opposed to collective cultures, assigned much greater importance to love in marriage decisions.

Other discussion about how participants (sub) consciously marked the difference between cultures, defined cultural and ethnic boundaries could be found in Shi's (2005) work. The results of this study coincided with the results of these earlier studies and continued to find one's ethnic identity and cultural belief play an effective role in their social relations.

Both the interview data and the author's field notes indicated that Taiwanese immigrant parents of this study generally preferred their children to date someone of the same race/ethnicity. This preference was based on their subconscious connection between dating and marriage. Marriage to them was potentially an inevitable outcome of the dating process. Similar findings of such parental attitudes were found in the work of Weiss (1970) as the author had demonstrated attitudinal differences in terms of dating and marriage between generations. Since some of the earlier studies were far from recent, the question, then, would be whether generational gap in terms of attitudinal difference remains strong in contemporary society?

This question had led to a need to elaborate on the intergenerational, as well as intra-group, differences between the Taiwanese immigrant parents and children on their attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage. In addition, a discussion on how these parents and children were connected by the commonly recognized form of institution, culture²⁵; and how mate selection decision and marital choice among individuals were arranged by culture, were included in the following chapter.

²⁵ Culture was argued to be a type of social institution involving large numbers of people whose actions and behaviours were guided by learned norms and roles (Jary & Jary, 2000).

CHAPTER 7– PATTERNS OF INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TAIWANESE IMMIGRANT PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN BURNABY

7.1 The Case of Taiwanese Immigrants in Burnaby- Intergenerational Comparison

Intergenerational gap, sometimes conflict, had been observed among Asian immigrant families in North American. Value difference in terms of mate selection decision and marital choice were often found (Ikels, 1985; Lin & Liu, 1999; Manohar, 2008). This difference often came from children's failure of fulfilling parents' cultural expectation due to their varying degrees of integration into the host society (Ikels, 1985; Lin & Liu, 1999). For example, inter-group relationships (i.e., dating or marrying someone of different race/ethnicity) were found to be rejected by some Asian immigrant parents because it was culturally unacceptable, especially when intimate behaviours could be involved (Manohar, 2008; Netting, 2006).

In addition, gender-bias on moral suppression when it came to issues of intimacy and/or affection prevailed among Asian immigrant families (Manohar, 2008; Netting, 2006). For instance, Huang and Uba (1992) had found that Caucasian students tended to be more likely to be engaged in premarital sex than Chinese students. Cultural expectation of Chinese immigrant parents, which was often in conflict with the expectation of the North American mainstream, could create problems for immigrant children's mate selection process in some cases. For example, Chinese-American males were labelled "sexually inept" by both native- and foreign-born Chinese-American

females because those males appeared to be more immature and clumsy at the dating scenes as compared to Caucasian males (Weiss, 1970).

These findings indicated an impact of parental attitudes (and nurturing process) on children's dating, mate selection and marital choice. Had Taiwanese immigrant parents in Burnaby affected their children the same way? Would children who lived in this Taiwanese community adapted to traditional Chinese culture or Canadian values more? What kind of cultural value was adopted and what was converted? By using mate selection decision and marital choice as an indicator, the purpose of this chapter was to compare between first and 1.5 generation Taiwanese immigrants, and examine how the process of their integration into the mainstream society had changed their intergenerational relationship.

However, since the majority of the survey data was not collected from parent and child of the same family²⁶, this intergenerational comparison was done by the Mann-Whitney U test. This method was chosen because the two groups were independent of each other, the data was not normally distributed and the dependent variables were either ordinal or interval (Laerd Statistics, 2013). Thus, the results of this comparison should not be applied to any particular Taiwanese family in Burnaby but the two generation cohorts in general.

²⁶ The parent version survey questionnaires were distributed among first generation Taiwanese immigrants who either had child(ren) that immigrated with them or were childless. The child version survey questionnaires were distributed among Taiwanese immigrants who came with their parent(s) and were not independent immigrants.

7.2 Different Parental Attitudes

7.2.1 By Sex of Children

The survey questionnaire for parents encompassed questions regarding Taiwanese immigrant parents' attitudes toward the mate selection decision of their children (see Appendix 1a). In order to test whether parents held different attitudes for sons and daughters, the Mann-Whitney U Tests were done (Laerd Statistics, 2013).

Eight questions were selected for this comparison of different parental attitudes. They were "What is your level of acceptance for cohabitation or a common-law relationship for your *son*?" "What is your level of acceptance for cohabitation or a common-law relationship for your *daughter*?" "How important do you think it is for your *son* to take your advice when choosing a date?" "How important do you think it is for your *daughter* to take your advice when choosing a date?" "How important do you think it is for your *son* to take your advice when choosing a spouse?" "How important do you think it is for your *daughter* to take your advice when choosing a spouse?" "What is your level of acceptance for pre-marital sex of your *son*?", and "What is your level of acceptance for pre-marital sex of your *daughter*?"

The results of table 7.1²⁷ indicated that Taiwanese immigrant parents held different attitudes for sons and daughters. Parents, for example, had higher levels of acceptance for

²⁷ Note that since the parents were asked to answer their attitudes toward the above issues multiple times based on the child's sex, the data for this analysis was entered in a way that made the sample size appeared larger than the actual number of respondents. Although this should not affect the results, the author chose not to list the number of counts for table 7.1 in order to eliminate confusion. However, the sample size for table 7.2 and 7.3 corresponded to the actual number of respondents in the sample.

cohabitation or a common-law²⁸ relationship for their sons. Taiwanese immigrant parents were also less acceptable for daughters to have pre-marital sex. The idea of opposition to pre-marital sex, especially for women, in Chinese cultural norms was likely to be the reason for this attitudinal difference (Cui, Li & Gao, 2001).

Furthermore, the results showed that parents generally thought it was more important for daughters to take their advice while choosing a date and/or spouse, although their attitudes also demonstrated their belief in the importance for sons to take their advice while choosing a date (see Table 7.1). The results indicated that these parents showed less attitudinal difference based on children's sex when it came to children's decision for choosing a spouse ($p = .082^*$). Generally, the results indicated these parents were likely to allow sons more freedom when it came to dating and marriage.

²⁸ A common-law relationship here referred to “a person who is not your spouse, with whom you are living in a conjugal relationship, and to whom at least one of the following situations applies. He or she: a) has been living with you in a conjugal relationship for at least 12 continuous months; b) is the parent of your child by birth or adoption; or c) has custody and control of your child (or had custody and control immediately before the child turned 19 years of age) and your child is wholly dependent on that person for support.” (Canada Revenue Agency, 2013) However, since the majority of the respondents of this study were not married and had no children, some of the situations were not applicable.

Table 7.1. Parental Attitudes toward Children's Mate Selection Decision- By Children's Sex.

| | Cohabitation/ common-law | Pre-marital sex | Take parental advice for choosing date | Take parental advice for choosing spouse |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---|---|
| <i>Mann-Whitney U</i> | 16,530.500 | 17,739.000 | 18,395.500 | 19,844.500 |
| <i>Mean rank</i> | | | | |
| Male | 228.20 | 223.59 | 194.49 | 200.89 |
| Female | 182.60 | 188.89 | 226.66 | 220.27 |
| <i>Sum of ranks</i> | | | | |
| Male | 50,432.50 | 49,638.00 | 43,371.50 | 44,597.50 |
| Female | 35,058.50 | 36,267.00 | 44,199.50 | 43,392.50 |
| <i>Z</i> | -4.057 | -3.097 | -2.939 | -1.741 |
| <i>Sig. (2-Tailed)</i> | .000*** | .002** | .003** | .082* |

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

7.2.2 By Sex of Parents

A further examination of whether parental attitudes toward children's mate selection decision were affected by the sex of parents was provided on table 7.2. Twelve questions were selected from the parent version survey questionnaire to reflect attitudes of fathers and mothers. They were "How important do you think it is for your child's date/mate to share the same ethnic identity with you?"; "What is your level of acceptance if your child's date/mate does not share the same ethnic identity with you."; "How important do you think it is for your child's date/mate to speak your mother tongue?"; "How important do you think it is for your *son* to take your advice when choosing a date?"; "How important do you think it is for your *daughter* to take your advice when choosing a date?"; "How important do you think it is for your *son* to take your advice when choosing a spouse?"; "How important do you think it is for your *daughter* to take your advice when choosing a spouse?"; "What is your level of acceptance for cohabitation or a common-law relationship for your *son*?"; "What is your level of acceptance for

cohabitation or a common-law relationship for your *daughter*?”; “What is your level of acceptance for pre-marital sex of your *son*?”; “What is your level of acceptance for pre-marital sex of your *daughter*?”, and “How long do you think is the appropriate length of time for dating before your child enters marriage or a common-law relationship?”.

The statistically insignificant results of table 7.2 indicated that Taiwanese immigrant fathers and mothers held similar attitudes toward most of the issues, except for the choice of cohabitation and/or a common-law relationship of their children and their attitudes toward pre-marital sex.

These results showed that more immigrant fathers had higher levels of acceptance for sons to choose cohabitation and/or a common-law relationship than mothers ($p = .007^{**}$). Although fathers were more likely to accept their daughter’s decision to choose cohabitation and/or a common-law relationship than mothers, this parental attitude difference was weaker ($p = .046^{**}$). Moreover, fathers had higher levels of acceptance for sons to experience pre-marital sex than mothers ($p = .016^{**}$). However, fathers and mothers did not show significantly different levels of acceptance for daughters to experience pre-marital sex ($p = .117$). In other words, gender difference prevailed when these parents were raising their children.

In sum, although Taiwanese immigrant fathers had higher levels of acceptance for their children’s choice on cohabitation and/or a common-law relationship than mothers, who appeared to be more conservative, these parents still held different attitudes for sons and daughters. Traditional Chinese value, such as lower levels of acceptance for pre-marital sex of women, was found as sons were generally more tolerated than daughters

for their participation in cohabitation, a common-law relationship and/or pre-marital sex by both fathers and mothers (Cui, Li & Gao, 2001).

Table 7.2. Parental Attitudes toward Children's Mate Selection Decision- By Parents' Sex.

| | Children's mate the same ethnicity | If children's mate not the same ethnicity | Children's mate speaks your mother tongue | Take advice when son choosing a date | Take advice when daughter choosing a date |
|------------------------|--|---|--|--|--|
| <i>Mann-Whitney U</i> | 5,793.500 | 5,799.000 | 5,709.500 | 5,159.000 | 3,764.000 |
| <i>N</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 76 | 76 | 77 | 71 | 60 |
| Female | 158 | 156 | 157 | 151 | 134 |
| Total | 234 | 232 | 234 | 222 | 194 |
| <i>Mean rank</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 120.27 | 118.20 | 113.15 | 108.66 | 93.23 |
| Female | 116.17 | 115.67 | 119.63 | 112.83 | 99.41 |
| <i>Sum of ranks</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 9,140.50 | 8,983.00 | 8,712.50 | 7,715.00 | 5,594.00 |
| Female | 18,354.50 | 18,045.00 | 18,782.50 | 17,038.00 | 13,321.00 |
| <i>Z</i> | -.470 | -.298 | -.754 | -.494 | -.762 |
| <i>Sig. (2-Tailed)</i> | .638 | .766 | .451 | .621 | .446 |
| | Take advice when son choosing a spouse | Take advice when daughter choosing a spouse | Cohabitation/common- law for son | Cohabitation/common- law for daughter | |
| <i>Mann-Whitney U</i> | 5,025.500 | 3,550.500 | 4,149.500 | 3,224.500 | |
| <i>N</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 71 | 60 | 71 | 59 | |
| Female | 150 | 137 | 149 | 132 | |
| Total | 221 | 197 | 220 | 191 | |
| <i>Mean rank</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 106.78 | 89.68 | 126.56 | 107.35 | |
| Female | 113.00 | 103.08 | 102.85 | 90.93 | |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| <i>Sum of ranks</i> | | | | |
| Male | 7,581.50 | 5,380.50 | 8,985.50 | 6,333.50 |
| Female | 16,949.50 | 14,122.50 | 15,324.50 | 12,002.50 |
| Z | -.718 | -1.619 | -2.707 | -1.995 |
| Sig. (2-Tailed) | .472 | .105 | .007** | .046** |
| | Pre-marital sex for son | Pre-marital sex for daughter | Ideal dating length | |
| <i>Mann-Whitney U</i> | 4,316.500 | 3,297.500 | 4,173.000 | |
| <i>N</i> | | | | |
| Male | 71 | 57 | 61 | |
| Female | 150 | 134 | 141 | |
| Total | 221 | 191 | 202 | |
| <i>Mean rank</i> | | | | |
| Male | 125.20 | 105.15 | 103.59 | |
| Female | 104.28 | 92.11 | 100.60 | |
| <i>Sum of ranks</i> | | | | |
| Male | 8,889.50 | 5,993.50 | 6,319.00 | |
| Female | 15,641.50 | 12,342.50 | 14,184.00 | |
| Z | -2.403 | -1.570 | -.439 | |
| Sig. (2-Tailed) | .016** | .117 | .660 | |

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

7.3 Effects of Different Parental Attitudes on Children

How the children were affected by these different parental attitudes toward their dating and mate selection decisions became the next empirical question. Eight questions were selected for the comparison of difference between sons and daughters: “How important do you think it is for your date/mate to share the same ethnic identity with you?”; “What is your level of acceptance if your date/mate does not share the same ethnic identity with you?”; “How important do you think it is for your date/mate to speak your mother tongue?”; “How important do you think it is for you to take your parent(s)’s advice when choosing a date?”; “How important do you think it is for you to take your parent(s)’s advice when choosing a spouse?”; “What is your level of acceptance for cohabitation or a common-law relationship?”; “What is your level of acceptance for pre-marital sex?”, and “How long do you think is the appropriate length of time for dating before you enter marriage or a common-law relationship?”.

The results of table 7.3 indicated no statistically significant difference between sons’ and daughters’ attitudes toward the issues their parents were concerned about, although parents held different attitudes toward children’s mate selection decisions based on their sex. For example, sons and daughters showed no significantly different attitudes toward their levels of acceptance for pre-marital sex; neither did they show any significant difference on their levels of acceptance for cohabitation and common-law relationships.

In sum, these results suggested patterns of intergenerational difference between Taiwanese immigrant parents and children, some intra-group difference in the parent cohort, but no intra-group difference in the child cohort.

Table 7.3. Children's Attitudes toward Their Mate Selection Decision- By Children's Sex.

| | Mate the same ethnicity | If mate not the same ethnicity | Mate speaks the same mother tongue | Take parents' advice when you choose a date | Take parents' advice when you choose a spouse |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Mann-Whitney U</i> | 4,454.500 | 4,090.500 | 4,400.500 | 4,665.500 | 4,554.500 |
| <i>N</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 |
| Female | 93 | 91 | 93 | 93 | 93 |
| Total | 194 | 192 | 194 | 194 | 194 |
| <i>Mean rank</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 95.10 | 91.50 | 100.43 | 97.81 | 98.91 |
| Female | 100.10 | 102.05 | 94.32 | 97.17 | 95.97 |
| <i>Sum of ranks</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 9605.50 | 9241.50 | 10,143.50 | 9878.50 | 9989.50 |
| Female | 9309.50 | 9286.50 | 8,771.50 | 9036.50 | 8925.50 |
| <i>Z</i> | -.640 | -1.409 | -.787 | -.086 | -.392 |
| <i>Sig. (2-Tailed)</i> | .522 | .159 | .431 | .932 | .695 |
| | | | | | |
| | Cohabitation/ common-law for your | Pre-marital sex for you | Ideal dating length | | |
| <i>Mann-Whitney U</i> | 4,422.000 | 4,122.000 | 3,987.500 | | |
| <i>N</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 101 | 99 | 93 | | |
| Female | 89 | 92 | 86 | | |
| Total | 190 | 191 | 179 | | |
| <i>Mean rank</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 96.22 | 100.36 | 90.12 | | |
| Female | 94.69 | 91.30 | 89.87 | | |
| <i>Sum of ranks</i> | | | | | |
| Male | 9,718.00 | 9,936.00 | 8,381.50 | | |
| Female | 8,427.00 | 8,400.00 | 7,728.50 | | |

| | | | |
|---|-------|--------|-------|
| Z | -.203 | -1.189 | -.043 |
| Sig. (2-Tailed) | .839 | .234 | .966 |
| * $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$ | | | |

7.4 Intergenerational Gap: Pre-marital Sex and Common-law Relationships

7.4.1 *Pre-marital Sex: Parents' View*

Not only the survey data revealed intergenerational difference in cultural values between the parent and child's generation²⁹, but the interview data of this study also demonstrated how some immigrant parents disagreed with a 'passionate' relationship involving intimate behaviours. Oftentimes, passionate and intimate relationships were race-specific in the mind of these immigrant parents.

For example, when Mrs. L, aged 60, married, was asked about her feelings for inter-group (i.e., interracial) couples, such as Caucasian males/females and Asian females/males, she replied:

When I see those girls [dating interracially] and they look conceited, I am thinking how stupid they are... Caucasians are... they be with you when the feeling is right and they break up with you when the feeling is not right. I feel love should not be this fast. I mean, it takes time and has to be worked out slowly. [It is important to] Observe.

Intimate behaviour in a passionate relationship, moreover, was clearly opposed by Mr. Q, aged 54, married, when he talked about an inter-group couple he knew from the church:

²⁹ About half of the children group was classified as 1.5 generation (51%), 48% were first generation, and only 1.5% was native-born.

I have seen Caucasian and Chinese influencing each other... I notice the Caucasian becomes more like Chinese, and the Chinese becomes more like Caucasian, like they are pulling each other... but some lines cannot be crossed. We teach them some lessons, and tell them guidelines, hoping they do not do anything forbidden... [Like] No sex before marriage... Holding hands is western style, it's OK... [But] dating should be in a safe and healthy environment... Pre-marital sex is absolutely forbidden... and some people are not happy about this rule.

Mr. K, aged 59, married, who was not as religious as Mr. Q, also showed opposition against pre-marital sex:

I feel now is not like my time when people treated it [pre-marital sex] so seriously... They think it is no big deal. This is a transition of concept/moral value. It is different. I feel I do not totally agree with this, but I am not extremely opposing against it, either. This has to do with my own value. I grew up in a rural area, and it has to do with my conservative value.

These statements showed that Taiwanese parents did not find pre-marital sex acceptable. The likelihood of pre-marital sex accompanied passionate relationships appeared to be what some of these parents had difficulties to accept while watching their children adopting Western values and integrating into the Canadian society.

7.4.2 Pre-marital Sex: Children's View

The interview data gathered from the Taiwanese immigrant children, on the other hand, indicated that most respondents of this generation disagreed with the parents' view

on pre-marital sex. Although the parents did not agree with the idea of pre-marital sex and were stricter with daughters on this issue, the results of the interview data showed that not necessarily all daughters adopt the value of their parents.

Ms. H, aged 22, single, the daughter of the family with twins, stated how her parents treated her brother and her differently, especially on issues of pre-marital sex:

I feel they must mind [who my date/spouse is]... and I must bring him back to show them... They treat male and female with different standard... Cohabitation is impossible for me to do, so a common-law relationship is impossible to happen, either. Pre-marital sex? They tell my brother it is OK as long as 'accidents' are avoided, but I cannot do it... [However] I feel I think differently from my parents. I feel pre-marital sex is a must.

Ms. H's statement coincided with Netting's (2006, p. 133) finding that while Indo-Canadian parents did not agree with the idea of premarital sex, "they looked the other way as long as boys were 'careful' (sexually) and 'kept it quiet'... However, parents were absolutely opposed to their daughters having any relationship which might possibly become sexual."

Ms. R, aged 20, single but was dating at the time of the interview, also noticed her conflicting view with her parents:

[Our] views are different. I feel my parents believe this [sex] can only happen after marriage. But I feel if the two are mature enough, it is OK... Of course you cannot do it just for fun... My guess is they [parents] are against this [sex]... Of course I feel this [sex] can only happen after I graduate from university.

Although conflicting views were found, it did not mean some parts of traditional Chinese values were not successfully passed onto the child's generation. But the children did not oppose against the idea of pre-marital sex as strongly. For example, Although Ms. P, aged 29, single, showed similar view with her mother regarding issues of pre-marital sex, she put it in a somewhat hesitated tone:

[Pre-marital sex] Probably not... I don't know. It's probably more of a for marriage kind of thing. Ha... I don't know. Just traditional values I guess... I just feel something like that is for marriage.

Mr. T, aged 24, single, also added his opposition against pre-marital, but his reason was based on his religious belief, rather than traditional Chinese value:

I grew up in a Christian family. Christians do not cohabit. They are against this idea. I am influenced by this, too. I do not want to cohabit; neither do I want to have a common-law relationship... The Bible says one cannot have sex before marriage. Sex only happens after marriage. It's God's Law.

7.4.3 Common-law Relationship: Parents' View

The idea of common-law relationships was something that could not be easily understood by Taiwanese immigrant parents (and some immigrant children) because such law did not exist in Taiwan. Some parents had never heard of it before this study. They thus had more doubts in it and were unlikely to agree with it.

When Mr. O, aged 49, married, was asked about his opinion on common-law relationships, he stated,

Of course Taiwan and Canada are different societies... if they [Canada] treat cohabitated/common-law couples as married couples... There is no such thing in Taiwan. This means cohabitation is generally not as common there [in Taiwan] than it is in Canada.

This unfamiliarity about the idea of common-law relationships had made one respondent, Mrs. M, aged 55, married, questioned the author back during the interview: “What is common-law? ... Is it legal? I have never heard of it.”

On the other hand, those who were more familiar with the idea of common-law relationships were against it. For example, Mr. K, aged 59, married, shared a story he had heard of about a situation once happened to a Taiwanese widow:

It is important to protect oneself... There was a case before... A mother with a couple of children rented out her basement to a Caucasian man. The Caucasian was very friendly. He helped shovelled the snow and mowed the lawn. So she invited him to join for a cup coffee or meal sometimes. They had also taken pictures together... After a year, she thought since he was being a good tenant and paid his rent on time, she stopped signing the official lease with him... He paid in cash... Then when the Caucasian man moved out he requested for half [of her wealth and property]... The widow did not expect this coming so she did not do anything to protect herself. She did not know he would do it... Then the court decided she should give half of her wealth and property to him.

The spread of this story among Taiwanese immigrants added to Mr. K's distrust about the idea of common-law relationships as well as inter-group relationships in general. He further stated,

[I] do not really understand the Canadian law; neither do I understand their value... So I keep on emphasizing the need to protect oneself. Yet don't hurt others... Though one does not need to exclude other people, one should not trust easily at the beginning. There are all kinds of people in the society. You have to know how to protect yourself.

Some other parents showed concern about common-law relationships from the cultural perspective. For example, Mrs. L, aged 60, married, shared her view on common-law relationships with the concern of being 'different':

I feel I am conservative. My children grew up to the societal norm and they were able to fit in. Don't be too 'special'... Like what I told you, I am very traditional. If others use that model [a traditional wedding] to tell the world [about their unity], then we should follow that way.

The interview data indicated that these parents generally disagreed with the idea of common-law relationships. They suspected it to be risky, especially when the relationship was interracial, and saw it as 'unconventional'.

7.4.4 Common-law Relationship: Children's View

Similarly, neither had some 1.5 generation immigrant children heard of the idea of common-law relationships. When Mr. Y, aged 20, single, was asked about his opinion on common-law relationships, he replied, "Common-law? Sorry. What does that mean?" In addition, Mr. S (29 year-old, single but was dating at the time of the interview), Mr. J (22

year-old, single, never dated) and Ms. H (22 years-old, single) all had no clue about what a common-law relationship was before the interview. Most of them did not appear to agree much with that idea after the author had explained it to them.

The results of the interview, however, indicated that except for religious reasons (Mr. T's statement above), those who were more familiar with the idea of common-law relationships showed certain levels of acceptance, although some might not want it for themselves. For example, Ms. N, aged 19, single but was dating at the time of the interview, shared her view on common-law relationships:

At first when I was younger I thought it was a horrible idea... I think it was a horrible idea at first.

When asked about why she thought it was a horrible idea, she explained,

‘Cause my parents said it was a horrible idea. That’s how I thought before. But then... I don’t know I am kind of in-between because some people say like how would you know you can stand that person? ‘Cause when you are dating someone you don’t really know how they are at home, or how their habits... Like obviously you can date for a really long time then you would know, but then at first you wouldn’t know how you would function. You wouldn’t know how it feels like if you were to marry that person. But then like if you really love that person then you would work around it. You would try to figure out ways to like overcome if you have problems. So I wouldn’t mind but yeah...

However, when asked if she would try it, she said,

Oh I would mind [common-law]. I personally would mind. Like you could say that's your wife but not legally married. I wouldn't want that. Even though it's just a paper saying you are married, but...

Similarly, even though Ms. P, aged 29, single, stated that she probably would not try it herself, she also somewhat agreed with the idea of having a common-law relationship:

Well, there's two ways to look at it. It's good to kind of see how well you guys fit into each other's lives first before actually getting married. But then I am not sure. Like if you guys start living together and it doesn't work out, then I think that would suck, too.

In addition, the concept of a common-law relationship was in conflict with what some participants recognized as a marriage, which was ceremonial and culturally-specific. For example, a formal and 'conventional' (i.e., Taiwanese) wedding ceremony was so important for Ms. R, aged 20, single but was dating at the time of the interview, as she stated,

People of different race/ethnicity would have different wedding ceremonies... Interracial couples would need two wedding ceremonies as they are too different... because that is a ritual, a proof for the two to prove that we will spend... like the rest of our life together... If [the wedding ceremony] is not done right, I would not feel it is a wedding.

She thus showed hesitation about the idea of having a common-law relationship since most part of the rituals and/or ceremonies were eliminated. Ms. N, aged 19, single but was dating at the time of the interview, also shared a similar thought,

If you are married, if you have a wedding then you know that they want to be with you forever, but just moving in together is not permanent. Anything could happen. You don't feel that safeness... If you got married it's harder to get out of the relationship. If you are just like moving in together it's really easy to just break it off.

The results indicated that these immigrant children had higher levels of acceptance for a common-law relationship, although they did not appear to be strongly supportive or show much willingness to try. Unlike their parents, none of these children stated an inter-group common-law relationship would be riskier than an intra-group one. Instead, they were worried about the failure of a relationship in general. The 1.5 generation immigrant children of this study evidently held values that were different from their parents, although their difference was not in sharp contrast.

7.5 Conclusion

In summary, Taiwanese immigrant parents of this study held different attitudes toward sons and daughters' mate selection and marital decisions. They were more likely to oppose against inter-group (i.e., interracial) relationships because some believed in the connection between intimate behaviours and Western style romantic relationship, which was often related with the Canadian value. And intimate behaviours, such as pre-marital sex, were what the parents of this study found difficult to accept.

This finding was also evident in Higgins, Zheng, Liu and Sun's study (2002) as they found the fundamental difference between Chinese and Western attitudes toward romantic relationship is the Chinese suppression towards one's expression of passionate love and sex versus the Westerners' openness towards one's emotional expression.

Levine, Sato, Hashimoto and Verma (1995, p. 554) also supported the view that “love tended to receive greatest importance in the Western and Westernized nations and least important in the underdeveloped Eastern nations.” In addition, they found that the differences between Western and Eastern cultures were great when the people were making their marital decision, in which the people from Western culture were more likely to make the decision based on love.

According to some Taiwanese parents, a Chinese style relationship would be ‘safer’ because it emphasized on long-term observation, rather than chemistry. This might be based on the Chinese view that showing affection in public would be inappropriate (Wong, 1998). Sexual satisfaction in a romantic relationship was either not considered as a priority or suppressed among Chinese. On the other hand, the Western view emphasized on individual will, emotional satisfaction and well-being in a romantic relationship. According to Pimentel (2000), although Chinese couples also mentioned about the importance of love in their marriage, the meaning of love for Chinese tended to be related with respect or support, instead of more passionate expressions for Westerners. The studies provided explanations for why some Taiwanese parents believed a Chinese style relationship would be ‘safer’.

The 1.5 generation immigrant children of this study, however, adopted their parents’ values partially. A blurred distinction between the Western and Chinese view towards how a romantic relationship was ought to work was found in the interview data of these immigrant children. For example, Ms. R, aged 20, single but was dating at the time of the interview, stated how she felt premarital sex was OK but could only happen after she graduated from university. Premarital sex, in her view, could happen as long as the two

loved each other. This, however, was not the only condition and the threshold she set for herself was when she graduated from university.

In this study, intergenerational difference was found yet no intense conflict between parents and children was observed. Similar to the values of the immigrant children of this study, Huang and Uba (1992) had found that in the U.S., over 60% of the Chinese college students, including one-third foreign-born, in their study approved premarital sexual intercourse when in love. The results of both earlier and current studies had demonstrated that intergenerational difference in terms of attitudes toward premarital sex continued to be an issue among immigrant families in North America.

Furthermore, the results of this chapter indicated that although immigrant parents were likely to nurture sons and daughters differently, the children generally held similar attitudes toward the same issues as no statistically significant difference was found between males and females (see Table 7.3).

Although survey data was able to show that these children were somewhat homogenous in terms of values, their ways of reasoning were only observable through in-depth interview. For example, as some children believed a common-law relationship was risky as it might fail once the two started living together, others questioned about its appropriateness due to religiosity. The parents, on the other hand, also had different ways of reasoning. Unlike the children, the parents of this study thought common-law relationships, especially the inter-group ones, were risky and unconventional, which, in their mind, referred to the Taiwanese societal norm that they adopted back in the homeland. However, none of the children specifically mentioned about the Taiwanese

societal norm for the same discussion. The process of integration of these immigrant children into the mainstream society was thus observed.

CHAPTER 8- DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary of the Study

The author's role as an insider allowed her access to the Taiwanese community in Burnaby. This insider role was not limited to the author's racial/ethnic history, gender or sexuality, but also her biography, "research practices, and the relation between the researcher and the community she studied." (Griffith, 1998, p. 367) The rapport between the author and some of her participants has been established for years. The author's experience living in the Taiwanese community in Burnaby and her "privileged access to particular kinds of knowledge" (Merton, 1972, p. 12, as cited in Griffith, 1998, p. 363) had allowed her access to information that was less likely to be available to outsiders, such as gossip. This advantage gave the author insight about the happenings within the Taiwanese community and shaped her knowledge of this particular community.

This study began with an introduction of ethnic Chinese immigrants in CMA of Vancouver. The number of Taiwanese immigrants in British Columbia remained high and constant between 2002 and 2011 as compared to those from China and Hong Kong combined (see Chapter Two). For example, out of all the cities in CMA of Vancouver, the City of Burnaby had a higher number of Taiwanese immigrants selected by birthplace (8,630, 20% sample data) than the City of Richmond (7,330, 20% sample data) according to the 2006 Census released by Statistics Canada (2010), even though Richmond appeared to have a higher density of ethnic Chinese immigrants. Based on these reasons, Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby were chosen to be examined as a case study for the investigation of the integration process of minority groups.

According to Zhou and Bankston (1998, p. 18), “since individual behaviour and mental states result from living in certain types of social settings, one cannot adequately interpret individual responses to survey or interview questions without understanding the setting and considering how a particular setting produces particular responses.” Therefore, Chapter Three started with a historical analysis of the changing social settings in North America, including a discussion on the ethnic Chinese communities in British Columbia. The landscape of ethnic Chinese communities changed along with the introduction of the Points System, which attracted a large influx of Asian immigrants of high socio-economic status.

As a result, the first and 1.5 generation Taiwanese immigrants of this study were found to be more integrated in relative terms than earlier immigrants due to their high socio-economic status. These immigrants were found to be less likely to rely heavily on ethnic businesses. Therefore, the conventional view that those immigrants who relied on enclave economy were more likely to choose intra-group marriage was challenged. In other words, economic needs for survival were unlikely to be the primary reason for these immigrants to choose intra-group marriage, as preferred by a great number of them.

Chapter Four contained a demographic profile of Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby. The results indicated that over 45% of them claimed to have some kind of investment in Canada, Taiwan or other places. About 32% of them were housewives, meaning they were more likely to be supported by the husband. Since only one copy of parent version survey questionnaire was distributed to each family, housewives were independent of other occupational categories (see Chapter Four for detail). This meant that at least 30% of the Taiwanese families in the study were able to survive on one household income.

Furthermore, over 40% of the Taiwanese immigrant children of the study worked in mainstream economy, about 35% were students, and only about 13% of them worked in ethnic enclave economy. The results indicated that due to financial stability of the parent generation, and high levels of economic and social integration of the children, the view that recent immigrants tended to depend on enclave economy was not the most suitable to describe to the first and 1.5 generation Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby.

However, less dependence on enclave businesses did not mean these immigrants had completely integrated into the mainstream society. Instead, Ling's (2004) cultural community model was argued to be applicable to these Taiwanese immigrants. According to Ling (2004, p. 13-4), the cultural community model could be applied to places where the economic survival of its members did not need to depend on ethnic enclave businesses, and where there were not enough of its members to "constitute a large physical ethnic concentration, but there were enough that social communities can form, with or without physical boundaries." The key to the formation of a cultural community, as stated by Ling (2004), was discrimination and/or social exclusion from the majority. It was only when members of the minority group were not able to create a sense of belonging to the host society, and were not fully accepted by the majority, would they retreat to their own race/ethnic group.

The purpose of Chapter Five was thus to examine whether ethnic minorities in CMA of Vancouver had shared experience of discrimination and/or social exclusion by using their marital choice as an indicator. Instead of the cultural community model, "Asian panethnicity", a concept coined by Espiritu (1992), was used by scholars while interpreting the marital choice of minority groups (see e.g., Lee & Boyd, 2008). The two

concepts were similar in that both focused on the ethnic solidarity and collaboration of ethnic minorities due to discrimination from the majority. As Espiritu (1992) stated, anti-Asian sentiment, violence and anti-immigrant mood in the American history were important elements for Asian panethnicity to be formed. The difference between Ling's (2004) cultural community model and Espiritu's (1992) Asian panethnicity was that the former was more likely to be applied to successfully integrated ethnic minority groups of limited population size, whereas the latter encompassed all Asians that had been lumped together by institutions, such as social service funding and census classification, and they consolidated "through panethnic responses to anti-Asian violence from whites." (Roth, 2009, p. 928). However, the similarity of the two concepts was discrimination against the minority from the majority group, which is essential to the understanding of both concepts.

The results of Chapter Five indicated a possibility of the formation of Asian panethnicity in CMA of Vancouver due to discrimination experienced by Asian immigrants in the past. The results were supported by the participants' response. The formation of Asian panethnicity not only worked as immigrants' response to anti-Asian sentiment in Canada, but it also operated as a protective mechanism for the social integration of immigrants in a hostile host country.

Chapter Six provided an elaboration of how ethnic minorities internalized their identity and drew their ethnic boundary in the context of a growing complexity of immigrants' ethnicities that signifies a wider range of cultural differences among the racially homogenous groups (i.e., Mongolian). The assumption was the stronger the ethnic boundary, the more likely the members of an ethnic group would consider intra-

group dating or marriage. The assumption was based on that ethnic boundary was a way of “signalling membership and exclusion” for group identity (Barth, 1998, p. 15). By applying institutional ethnography as a method of inquiry, the presence of institution in people’s lives was found (Smith, 2005).

The results indicated that by attending to high schools with a large number Asian, especially ethnic-Chinese, the children ended up forming groups of their own- with a ‘new’ Asian identity and characteristics that were different from the newcomers. As an effect of Asian panethnicity, the “reference point”, in this particular school milieu, might not always be “the middle-class cultural patterns of, largely, white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins” (Gordon, 1964, as cited in Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 4) for some Asian immigrants to consider themselves integrated. However, further investigation is required for the definition of reference point in today’s evolving multicultural society.

The author’s role as an insider, in addition, gave her the privilege to share community gossip. According to Beitin (2012, p. 247), people “automatically entered discourse and social interchange” when they started to gossip. An “invisible” ethnic boundary of the Taiwanese community, established by shared values, norms, language and intensive exchange of information, was observed (see Chapter Six for detail).

However, Taiwanese parents and children living in the same community with a visible (but not unchangeable) ethnic boundary did not mean they shared the same attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage. Chapter Seven provided an analysis on intergenerational and gender difference of these attitudes. In sum, Taiwanese immigrant parents of this study held different attitudes toward sons and daughters’ mate selection and marital decisions. They were more likely to oppose against inter-group (i.e.,

interracial) and common-law relationship. However, no intense conflict caused by attitudinal differences between the first generation immigrant parents and 1.5 generation immigrant children was observed.

8.2 Conclusion, Discussion and Policy Implication

The theoretical framework of this study was a demonstration of the dynamic interaction process between the “good sense” and “common sense” of human agents in their habituated experience and consciousness. Good sense, according to Forgacs (1988), exists within common sense. But it requires critical reflection of human agents to make it unitary and coherent. Gramsci believes that “everyone is a philosopher” so the creation of good sense is about “renovating and making ‘critical’ an already existing activity.” (Forgacs, 1988, p. 332) In order to become historically autonomous, individuals are encouraged to “work out consciously and critically one’s own conception of the world” and “take an active part in the creation of the history of the world... refusing to accept passively and supinely from outside the moulding of one’s personality.” (Forgacs, 1988, p. 325)

Common sense, on the other hand, is the rationalizing of inequality and oppression so they appear natural for human agents through the “process by which a given conception of the world exerts an influence over others.” (Forgacs, 1988, p. 324) An example would be the assimilationist approach, which encompassed the reformulation of the discourse of racial inferiority to cultural deficiency imposed on immigrants by the European’s belief in their racial superiority that can be traced back to the age of colonialism (Li, 1998; Zong, 1997; 2007). Some examples of the coexistence and dynamic interaction of good sense and common sense were presented in the following interview data. Interestingly,

the development of good sense is not necessarily showing a positive correlation with the younger generation. That is, the younger generation may sometimes be more likely to have passively subordinated to the conception of the dominant group.

Mr. O, aged 49, who came to Canada in 2007, stated his view on Canada's multiculturalism and issues of integration as followed:

There would certainly be some conflict of interest in the process of integration. No types of integration are given. But you need to have a shared value, which many people agree upon. It is impossible to have all people agree 100% upon something, but human beings will move towards the same direction if the values being held are what many people believe in... Basically we agree Canada is a country of immigrants... Everyone should learn to coexist, integrate and thrive together... There will be many challenges, but they are inevitable during the integration process. Again, shared values are not given... Racism exists, but... it is too passive to see us as the subordinate group... Together we support this country.

Mr. Y, aged 20, who was a student, held a different view on multiculturalism and issues of integration in Canada. When he mentioned about the experience of friend-making in CMA of Vancouver he stated, "In Vancouver setting where you have Asian and Asian, which I hate." He explained,

I hate the Asian population in Vancouver who do not make an effort to learn about Canada or integrate into Canada. They carry what they have back in Asian and do not try to integrate. This embarrasses myself. I don't think they care to try. I can feel by the way they talk.

The interview data above demonstrated two separate examples of the integrationist and assimilationist approach. The two concepts clash and modify in the everyday life of immigrants. A sharp contrast and intra-group difference in terms of values and attitudes toward their lives in Canada were found among the Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby. The common sense immigrants adopted from the dominant group had made some individuals become submissive and subordinate to their inferior status. Thus, they have continued on celebrating racial superiority of the Europeans and covert racism at their own expense. The common sense being adopted worked so powerfully that human agents would act uncritically in this regard, given the condition that even when immigrants adopted the identities according to the expectation of the majority, social acceptance are not guaranteed (Gordon, 1964; Zhou & Lee, 2007).

Empirically, the results of the study indicate that intra-group marriage is more than a contingent outcome of a high level of immigrant population density in an ethnic community. Rather, marrying someone of the same race/ethnicity is more of a spontaneous outcome of ethnic solidarity in places where the emergence of Asian panethnicity has been observed.

In this study, the author argues the statement that “any evidence of a retreat from interracial marriage is mostly a reflection of changing marital market conditions rather than a reflection of changing mate selection choice” (Qian & Lichter, 2011, p. 1081) is somewhat limited. The statement overlooks the varying race/ethnic relations among different groups and even within the same group that are constantly changing. More importantly, the statement undermines human agents’ capability of making “good sense” or critical judgement to become historically autonomous.

Moreover, this study challenges the conventional view, based on the assumption of economic determinism, that the chance of immigrants marrying within their race/ethnic group is higher if dependence on ethnic enclave economy is required. Many of the Taiwanese immigrants of the study, who preferred intra-group marriage, depended on the mainstream economy by investing in Canadian businesses. Reitz and Sklar (1997, p. 238) state that “an enclave economy is often the core of institutionally complete ethnic communities and provides fertile soil for many types of ethnic attachment.” Thus, the absence of a complete Taiwanese enclave economy represents lower physical levels of ethnic attachment. Although it could still be possible that some immigrants who depend on ethnic enclave economy are more likely to marry within their race/ethnic group, economic dependence should not be treated as the primary factor in all cases. Other social factors should be taken into consideration while examining immigrants’ intra-group marital choice.

Last but not least, this study challenges the cultural retention view by arguing that instead of maintaining their cultural heritage, immigrants who tend to date or marry with those of their own race/ethnic group may be making an attempt to establish a sense of collectivity in order to reject their inferior status or feelings of being socially excluded. This is not to deny the effects of culture as Chinese cultural values were found to contribute to the formation of the Taiwanese community in Burnaby, and shared cultural values were discovered between generations and genders. However, the choice of intra-group dating or marriage is not solely determined by immigrants’ wish to maintain their cultural heritage.

According to Giddens, “social theory is by its nature social criticism. Social theory often contradicts ‘the reasons that people give for doing things’ and is, therefore, a critique of these reasons and the social arrangements that people construct in the name of these reasons.” (Turner, 2013, p. 706) The study not only finds that the preference for cultural similarity, which many participants believe is the reason for intra-group dating/marriage, is not the only factor contributing to a romantic relationship, but also the study uncovers the commonly shared illusion, as illustrated below, of believing people can meet their date or spouse ‘randomly’ and fall ‘freely’ for.

Mr. Y (aged 20, single): And I met a lot of new people, you know. That’s just a fact. I love meeting new friends. And it doesn’t matter like why I meet them or why I want to meet them, you know. It doesn’t matter if I wanna meet a new friend, if I wanna meet this girl ‘cause she is attractive. She might be potentially a girlfriend or hookup or whatever, or... you know, I don’t care. If you are nice, I like you, I wanna know you, I wanna meet you. And that goes beyond anything. It could be a friendship. Great. If it’s more, great. If it’s not, fine. I am cool with it. Right?

8.2.1 Policy Implication

In a true multicultural society, the process of integration ought to occur “not just through changes in one group that make it more like another, but also through changes in two (or more) groups that shrink the differences between them.” (Alba & Nee, 2003, p. 25) The integrationist approach advocates acceptance of the “development of parallel, relatively autonomous, social groups, that are, and will continue to be, different from one another in important ways.” (Hiebert & Ley, 2003, p. 17) And Canada will have “a ‘culture’ distinguished by its diversity.” (Hiebert & Ley, 2003, p. 17)

However, the results of this study showed that some participants had developed fragmented knowledge of other race/ethnic groups based on the unpleasant experience they or their friends had encountered. The results indicated clear patterns of distrust and social barrier between the majority and minority groups in Burnaby. In addition, the reason some parents favoured intra-group dating/marriage for their children was due to their fear of the children being hurt (see Chapter Six for detail), rather than a wish for cultural heritage maintenance.

During the time of the study, two 1.5 generation immigrant children had emigrated back to Asia, and another one is soon to leave because they did not feel they could achieve higher in Canada. It is certainly a loss of human resource for Canada as a whole since these children were educated in Canada. The rise of some Asian countries, in terms of economic development, indeed plays a role. However, feelings of alienation and discrimination from the mainstream society were a sentiment the author had noted while doing the data collection.

The literature indicates that tensions among different race/ethnic groups have been observed all over North America at different stages of a relationship. For example, Mok (1999, p. 114) has found that “ethnic affiliation- any affinity for Asian American culture as opposed to mainstream White culture” are predictors of intra-group dating among Asian Americans. Wang, Kao and Joyner (2006, p. 435) have stated that “adolescents who are involved in interracial relationships are more likely to terminate their relationships than their counterparts involved in intraracial relationships even after we adjust for individual, relationship and social network factors.” Also, “adolescents involved in interracial romance are less likely to reveal their relationships to their

families, to the public eye and less likely to meet their partners' parents.” (Wang, Kao & Joyner, 2006, p. 435)

Moreover, cohabitation and whether it leads to marriage vary among different race/ethnic groups. Guzzo's (2009, p. 199) study shows that the chance for some cohabitated interracial visible minorities to become officially married is low, although definite plans to marry were the reason they started to live together. In other words, the race/ethnic relations among some social groups may have become closer (i.e., cohabitation), but barriers have not diminished completely. Qian and Lichter (2011) have also added that some interracial couples are more likely to cohabit than marry because cohabitation bears weaker social sanction than marriage.

Bystydzienski (2011) has found that interracially married couples still experience hostility and discrimination from their family and peers in today's society. In addition, interracially married couples are generally more likely to divorce with some race/ethnic groups being exposed to higher risks than others. For instance, Zhang and Hook (2009, p. 104) have found that “racial or ethnic differences appeared in the risk of divorce or separation.” However, some visible minority groups (i.e., Black) are more at risk than others (i.e., Asian). Fu and Wolfinger's (2011) more recent study continues to find interracial marriages more likely to dissolve. Fu and Wolfinger (2011, p. 1096) conclude that while “intermarriage may indicate more porous group boundaries, the greater instability of these marriages suggests that these boundaries remain resilient.” Zhang and Hook (2009) also claim that the instability of interracially married couples may reflect distrust between different race/ethnic groups, or racism.

All of the current findings suggest a rupture between multiculturalism and people's everyday life in North America. In Canada, Reitz and Lum (2006, p. 29) believe that the government policies are partly the cause of tensions among different race/ethnic groups because they emphasize on a "live and let live" cultural acceptance. Since multiculturalism in Canada was originally designed to settle cultural conflicts between English and French Canadians, "when new groups began talking about equity, access, and discrimination, it became clear that these issues did not quite fall under the rubric of culture." (Reitz & Lum, 2006, p. 29)

Critiques of multiculturalism policies, as well as contemporary social research findings, all point to the need of redefining the meaning of multiculturalism in legislative terms, and truly practice it, in this immigrant country with a growing complexity of immigrants' race/ethnic background. A higher level of cultural acceptance and mutual cultural learning should be encouraged, and multiculturalism policies must be implemented for a more successful outcome of social integration.

In the case of Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby, the author predicts that as long as patterns of discrimination and social exclusion persist, the community will sustain and continue to function as a protective shelter for new, and perhaps more established, immigrants. It is only when all race/ethnic groups work together to eliminate prejudice about their differences would the time for a true multicultural society arrive.

8.3 Limitation of the Study and Suggestion for Future Studies

Some may argue that first and 1.5 generation Taiwanese immigrants' preference for intra-group dating/marriage is due to their short length of residence in the host country. Although it is true that immigrants' length of residence in the host country affects their

marital choice, it is not the only factor. Not only that immigrants' length of residence in the host country and their degrees of integration are not always showing a positive correlation, but also the assumption neglects factors other than time that hinder the process of integration of members of the society. For example, the types of community visible minorities live in and its historical development are sometimes overlooked. Figure 8.1 was a picture taken by the author in a public shopping mall in Burnaby in July, 2012. It shows that in today's Canadian society, issues of race/ethnic relations between the majority and minority are still prominent in areas where numbers of visible minorities are large. Scholars should pay close attention to whether a retreat of racial harmony is appearing in certain areas.

Some may also question about the timeliness of using the Ethnic Diversity Survey as it was derived from the 2001 Census. This, however, is not believed to be a major concern because issues of racism and distrust between the majority and minority groups are constantly found in recent studies. The main purpose of using the Ethnic Diversity Survey was to examine whether the phenomenon of Asian panethnicity could also be observed in one of the largest Census Metropolitan Areas in Canada (Lee & Boyd, 2008) since the survey contained data required for this study .

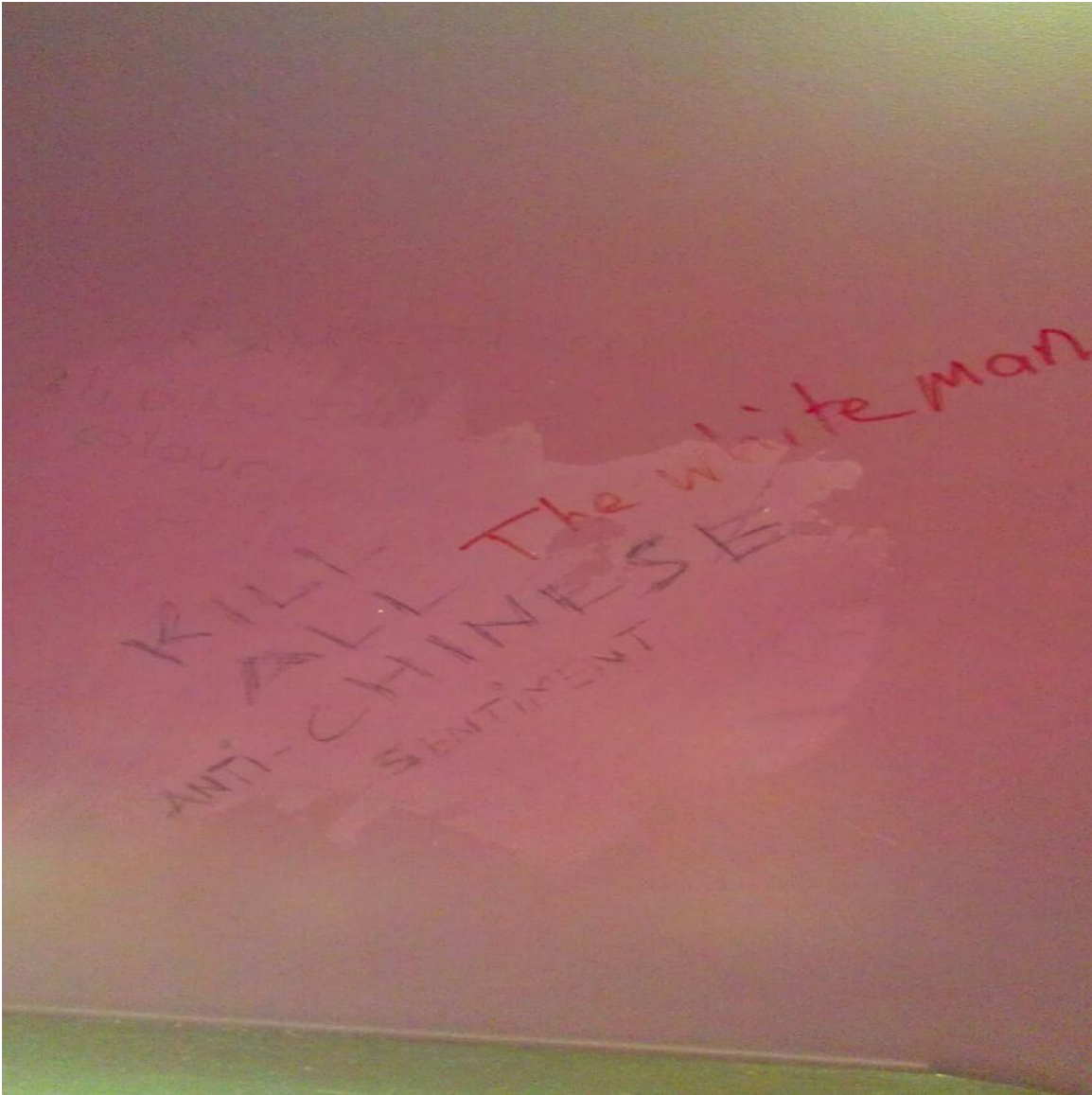
The discussion about immigrant children's experiences in high school was inspired by themes emerged out of the interview data. All 1.5 generation immigrant children (sub) consciously related their dating and marital attitudes with their friend-making experiences in high school. By treating the participants as experienced subjects and let the data 'speak', the author wishes to provide additional reference for researchers who are

interested in doing longitudinal studies on issues of immigrants' dating and marital choice in a multicultural context.

The author also wishes this case study would contribute to further studies on the debate of whether different inter-ethnic marriages among Asian immigrants (i.e., Taiwanese and Korean) in Canada “can all be explained by a perspective that assumes a common racialized experience.” (Lee & Boyd, 2008, p. 315) The study has proved that shared racialized experience could be found among first and 1.5 generation Taiwanese immigrants in Burnaby. Further investigation on similar experiences of other Asian groups should be pursued.

Finally, future studies comparing visible minorities of the subsequent generations growing up in ethnic communities, such as the Taiwanese community in Burnaby, and white-dominated communities, would help the understanding of subtle difference of the integration process among different, or even the same, race/ethnic groups. Given Canada's multicultural context, discussions about intra- and inter-group dating, mate selection and marriage and its related issues remain a topic worth exploring as the results reflect on the process of integration of all individuals in the society.

Figure 8.1. Conflict between the Majority and Minority in People's Everyday Life.



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APPENDIX 1A- INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE: GENERAL SURVEY- PARENT

Dear Sir/Madam:

My name is Pei Hua Lu. I am a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. I am conducting this study for my Ph.D. degree. The purpose of this study is to understand the different attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage between generations and genders among recent Taiwanese immigrants in Canada. I would like to hear and learn about your opinions on this topic. I sincerely invite you to participate in this study.

The purpose of this study is to first build a demographic profile of the Taiwanese community in Burnaby. Therefore, I would like to invite you to fill out some basic information at the end of this letter, and you can email or mail this letter back voluntarily, or if you wish, I can pick it up at your convenience by arrangement. The completion of this short survey questionnaire implies your informed consent to participate in this study for the part of the building of the demographic profile, but does not automatically involve you in the interviews that follow; selections will be made according to the information stated. If your information indicates the number of children you have and their age, you and your (first) child will be invited to further participate in this study by agreeing to a face-to-face interview. Please note that I will only invite a child who is at least 19 years of age or above to participate. If you agree to participate, I will also ask your child who is at least 19 years of age or above to fill out a similar short survey questionnaire based on his or her willingness (See Appendix B: Invitation to Participate- Questionnaire Survey-

Child). The interview will last between 45 and 60 minutes for each parent and child, but I can also adjust the duration of the interview upon your request. It will also be audio-taped, that is, with your permission, to allow me to ensure that I have recorded your answers properly. The questions will be related to you and your child's attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage. A sample of interview questions (Appendix C: Sample Interview Questions) will be provided to you and your child if all of you agree to participate in the interview.

There is no risk for you and/or your child to participate in this study. This short survey, interview data and consent forms will be stored separately in a locked filing cabinet in my supervisor's office for a minimum of five years. The master list will also be stored separately and it will be destroyed beyond recovery once the data collection is complete and it will no longer be required. When the researcher decides to destroy the data after a minimum of five years, all data will be destroyed beyond recovery. All information stated from you and/or your child will be held in strict confidentiality. I will not identify you and/or your child in any report or study that result from the survey and interview under any condition. I will only use pseudonyms for identification of the interview participants. Although it is possible that short anonymous quotes may be directly cited in the report or study, overall findings will likely be reported in group forms and general patterns. The results of this study will be reported in my Ph.D. dissertation and possibly future presentations and publications such as anticipated conference presentations, conference proceedings, and scholarly journal article or book publications. In any future presentations or publications, only aggregate survey data will be used and reported. Identifications of participants will never be possible.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You and/or your child may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any time. You and/or your child may withdraw from this study at any time without any penalty. You and/or your child may not personally benefit as a result of participating in this study, but your contribution to my understanding of the different attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage between generations and genders among recent Taiwanese immigrants in Canada will be greatly appreciated.

If you are interested in learning more about this study, please feel free to contact Pei Hua Lu at (306) 966-5812 or via email at amanda.lu@usask.ca. This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board in June 2010. Any questions regarding you and/or your child's rights as participants may be addressed to the committee through the Research Ethics Office at (306) 966-2084 or via email at ethics.office@usask.ca.

Survey Questionnaire- Parent(s)

問卷調查- 家長

1) Gender: Male ____ Female ____

一) 性別：男 ____ 女 ____

2) Year of birth: _____

二) 出生年: _____

3) Which year did you come to Canada? _____

三) 您哪一年來到加拿大? _____

4) How often do you go back to Taiwan?

四) 您多常回台灣?

At least once every few months ____ At least once every year ____

至少幾個月一次 ____ 至少一年一次 ____

At least once every few years ____ Never ____

至少幾年一次 ____ 從不 ____

5) Marital status:

五) 婚姻狀況:

*Married ____ *Common-law ____ Separated ____ Divorced ____ Widowed ____

*結婚 ____ *同居結婚 ____ 分居 ____ 離婚 ____ 喪偶 ____

**Single/Never Married ____

** 單身/未婚 ____

*If you answered married or in a common-law relationship, do you currently live with your spouse?

*若您回答結婚或同居結婚，請問您現在與您的伴侶同住嗎？

Yes ____ No ____

是 ____ 否 ____

** Please skip question 6 if you answered “single/never married”.

** 若您回答單身/未婚，請略過第六題。

6) What is your spouse’s race/ethnicity (e.g., Caucasian or Korea)? _____

六) 請問您的伴侶的種族或種族淵源為？（例：可答白種人或韓國人）_____

7) Do you have any children? Yes ____ *No ____

七) 您有子女嗎？有 ____ *沒有 ____

*Please skip question 8, 9, 10 and 11 if you answered “no”.

*若您回答“沒有”，請略過第八，九，十題。

8) How many children do you have? _____

八) 您有幾位子女？_____

9) How old are your children (or only child) now?

九) 您的子女現在 (各為) 幾歲? _____

10) How old were your children (or only child) when they (he/she) came to Canada?

十) 您的子女移民到加拿大時 (各為) 幾歲?

Born in Canada _____

出生於加拿大 _____

11) Does (do) your child(ren) still live in Burnaby?

十一) 您的子女還住在本拿比嗎?

Yes ____ No ____

是 ____ 否 ____

12) Which area of Burnaby do you live in?

十二) 您本拿比住哪一區?

North Burnaby ____ East Burnaby ____ South Burnaby ____ West Burnaby ____

北本拿比 ____ 東本拿比 ____ 南本拿比 ____ 西本拿比 ____

13) Do you live in a(n):

十三) 您住在:

House ____ Apartment ____ Basement Apartment ____ Town Home ____

獨棟房屋 ____ 公寓 ____ 地下室 ____ 都市屋 ____

Bachelor Apartment ____ Penthouse ____ Loft ____ Duplex ____

單身公寓 ____ 頂層公寓 ____ 樓中樓 ____ 分開的聯式房屋 ____

Semi-detached ____ Triplex ____ Studio ____ Other (please specify) _____

連結的聯式房屋 ____ 三層聯式房屋 ____ 工作室 ____ 其他（請舉列） _____

14) What type of immigrant were you?

十四) 您是哪一種移民?

Investor ____ Entrepreneurs ____ Self-employed ____ Skilled ____ Family ____

投資 ____ 企業 ____ 自雇 ____ 技術 ____ 依親 ____

Other (please specify) _____

其他（請舉列） _____

15) What is your working/employment status?

十五) 您現在的工作狀況（可複選）?

Investing: in Canada only ____ in Taiwan only ____ in both Canada and Taiwan ____ other country(ies) _____

投資： 限加拿大 ____ 限台灣 ____ 台灣與加拿大 ____ 他國 ____

Managing businesses: in Canada only ____ in Taiwan only ____ in both Canada and Taiwan ____ other country(ies) ____

經商：限加拿大 ____ 限台灣 ____ 台灣與加拿大 ____ 他國 ____

Self-employed: in Canada only ____ in Taiwan only ____ in both Canada and Taiwan ____ other country(ies) ____

自雇：限加拿大 ____ 限台灣 ____ 台灣與加拿大 ____ 他國 ____

Employed in (please specify company name and occupational title)

受雇於（請細列公司與職位名稱）

Housewife ____

家庭主婦 ____

Unemployed ____

待業 ____

Student ____

學生 ____

Retired ____

退休 _____

Other (please specify) _____

其他（請舉列）_____

16) What language(s) do you use most often?

十六) 您經常使用的語言？

a) At home:

a) 在家裡：

English only ____ French only ____ English and French only ____

限英語 ____ 限法語 ____ 限英語和法語 ____

Non-official language(s) only (please specify) _____

限非官方語言（請舉列）_____

Non-official and official language(s) (please specify) _____

非官方語言和官方語言都有（請舉列）_____

b) At work:

b) 工作場合：

English only ____ French only ____ English and French only ____

限英語 ____ 限法語 ____ 限英語和法語 ____

Non-official language(s) only (please specify) _____

限非官方語言（請舉列）_____

Non-official and official language(s) (please specify) _____

非官方語言和官方語言都有（請舉列）_____

c) With friends:

c) 朋友間：

English only ____ French only ____ English and French only ____

限英語 ____ 限法語 ____ 限英語和法語 ____

Non-official language(s) only (please specify) _____

限非官方語言（請舉列）_____

Non-official and official language(s) (please specify) _____

非官方語言和官方語言都有（請舉列）_____

17) What is your education?

十七) 您的最高學歷？

No schooling or elementary school ____ Junior high school ____ Senior high school ____

小學或不曾入學 ____ 國中 ____ 高中 ____

Some college or university ____ College diploma ____ University degree ____

專科或大學肄業 ____ 專科畢業 ____ 大學畢業 ____

Professional degree (e.g., medicine or law), master's or doctoral degree ____

專業執照（例：醫學或法律），碩士或博士學位 ____

18) Where did you finish your education? In Canada ____ In Taiwan ____

十八) 您的最高學歷在哪裡取得？ 加拿大 ____ 台灣 ____

Other (please specify) _____

其他（請舉列） _____

19) What is your average annual household income OR personal income if you are not married nor in a common-law relationship (in Canadian dollars)?

十九) 請問您的家庭年收入（若您未婚請勾打個人年收入）約為（單位為加元）？

Below 20,000 ____ 20,001 to 40,000 ____

兩萬元以下 ____ 兩萬零一元至四萬 ____

40,001 to 60,000 ____ 60,001 to 80,000 ____

四萬零一元至六萬 ____ 六萬零一元至八萬 ____

80,001 to 100,000 ____ More than 100,001 ____

八萬零一元至十萬 ____ 十萬零一元以上 ____

20) How would you define your ethnic identity?

二十) 您如何定義您的種族身分?

Canadian ____ Taiwanese-Canadian ____ Chinese-Canadian ____ Asian-Canadian ____

加拿大人 ____ 加籍台灣人 ____ 加籍中國人 ____ 加籍亞洲人 ____

Other (please specify) _____

其他 (請舉列) _____

21) How important do you think it is for your child's date/mate to share the same ethnic identity with you (please circle)?

二十一) 您認為您子女的婚姻或交往對象與您的種族身分相同有多重要 (請打圈)?

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

5- 非常重要 4- 重要 3- 還好 2- 不重要 1- 非常不重要

22) Please circle your level of acceptance if your child's date/mate does not share the same ethnic identity with you?

二十二) 若您的子女的婚姻或交往對象和您的種族身分不同, 您的接受程度有多高 (請打圈)?

5- Highly acceptable 4- Acceptable 3- Average 2- Not acceptable 1- Not acceptable at all

5- 非常能接受 4- 能接受 3- 還好 2- 不能接受 1- 非常不能接受

23) How important do you think it is for your child's date/mate to speak your mother tongue?

二十三) 您認為您子女的婚姻或交往對象和你講同一種母語有多重要?

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

5- 非常重要 4- 重要 3- 還好 2- 不重要 1- 非常不重要

24) Please check ALL items that you think are considered as 'good' places or ways for your child to meet a date/mate:

二十四) 請勾選所有你認為您子女可以認識婚姻或交往對象的優良場所或管道:

School ____ Learning class (e.g., swimming lesson) ____ Bookstore ____ Library ____

學校 ____ 補習班 (例: 游泳課) ____ 書店 ____ 圖書館 ____

Common interest club (e.g., golf club or chess club) ____ Workplace ____ Church ____

同好俱樂部 (例: 高爾夫或圍棋俱樂部) ____ 工作場合 ____ 教堂 ____

Temple ____ Restaurant ____ Grocery store ____ Neighbourhood ____

寺廟 ____ 餐廳 ____ 雜貨店 ____ 鄰里 ____

Shopping mall ____ Sports bar ____ Pub ____ Karaoke ____ Night club ____

購物場 _____ 運動酒吧 _____ 一般酒吧 _____ 卡拉OK _____ 夜店 _____

Internet _____ Other (please specify) _____

網路 _____ 其他（請舉列） _____

Through classmates _____ Through friends _____ Through relatives _____

藉由同學介紹 _____ 藉由朋友介紹 _____ 藉由親戚介紹 _____

Through parents _____ Other (please specify) _____

藉由家長介紹 _____ 其他（請舉列） _____

****Please use your imagination if you did not have a son or daughter****

若您並無兒子或女兒，請以您的理想狀況作答

25) Please rank (e.g., 1, 2, 3...) the importance of your preference when your *son* is choosing a date:

二十五) 請依序排列您認為你的兒子在選約會對象的重要度（例：一，二，三...）：

Race _____ Ethnicity _____ Age (older) _____ Age (younger) _____

種族 _____ 種族淵源 _____ 年紀（較大） _____ 年紀（較小） _____

Appearance (e.g., dress and style) _____ Physical attribute (e.g., hot and tall) _____

整體外貌（例：衣著打扮） _____ 臉孔身材（例：美麗高挑） _____

Family background ____ Education ____ Income ____ Occupation ____

家庭背景____ 教育程度____ 收入____ 職業____

Compatibility ____ Personality ____ Religion ____ 'Chemistry' ____

適合度____ 個性____ 宗教 ____ “火花”____

Other (please specify)

其他（請舉列）_____

26) Please rank (e.g., 1, 2, 3...) the importance of your preference when your *daughter* is choosing a date:

二十六) 請依序排列您認為你的女兒在選約會對象的重要度（例：一，二，三...）：

Race ____ Ethnicity ____ Age (older) ____ Age (younger) ____

種族____ 種族淵源____ 年紀（較大）____ 年紀（較小）____

Appearance (e.g., dress and style) ____ Physical attribute (e.g., hot and tall) ____

整體外貌（例：衣著打扮）____ 臉孔身材（例：英俊雄偉）____

Family background ____ Education ____ Income ____ Occupation ____

家庭背景____ 教育程度____ 收入____ 職業____

Compatibility ____ Personality ____ Religion ____ ‘Chemistry’ ____

適合度____ 個性____ 宗教____ “火花”____

Other (please specify)

其他（請舉列）_____

27) Please rank (e.g., 1, 2, 3...) the importance of your preference when you son is
choosing a spouse:

二十七) 請依序排列您認為你的兒子在選結婚對象的重要度（例：一，二，
三...）：

Race ____ Ethnicity ____ Age (older) ____ Age (younger) ____

種族____ 種族淵源____ 年紀（較大）____ 年紀（較小）____

Appearance (e.g., dress and style) ____ Physical attribute (e.g., hot and tall) ____

整體外貌（例：衣著打扮）____ 臉孔身材（例：美麗高挑）____

Family background ____ Education ____ Income ____ Occupation ____

家庭背景____ 教育程度____ 收入____ 職業____

Compatibility ____ Personality ____ Religion ____ ‘Chemistry’ ____

適合度____ 個性____ 宗教____ “火花”____

Other (please specify)

其他（請舉列）_____

28) Please rank (e.g., 1, 2, 3...) the importance of your preference when you *daughter* is choosing a spouse:

二十八）請依序排列您認為你的女兒在選結婚對象的重要度（例：一，二，三...）：

Race ____ Ethnicity ____ Age (older) ____ Age (younger) ____

種族____ 種族淵源____ 年紀（較大）____ 年紀（較小）____

Appearance (e.g., dress and style) ____ Physical attribute (e.g., hot and tall) ____

整體外貌（例：衣著打扮）____ 臉孔身材（例：英俊雄偉）____

Family background ____ Education ____ Income ____ Occupation ____

家庭背景____ 教育程度____ 收入____ 職業____

Compatibility ____ Personality ____ Religion ____ ‘Chemistry’ ____

適合度____ 個性____ 宗教____ “火花”____

Other (please specify)

其他（請舉列）_____

29) Do you think your child should date for marriage ONLY?

二十九) 您認為您的子女應該以結婚為目標才約會嗎?

Yes ____ No ____ Do not know ____

是____ 否____ 不知道 ____

30) What is your level of acceptance for cohabitation or common-law relationship for your *son*?

三十) 您對您兒子同居或選擇同居結婚的接受程度為?

5- Highly acceptable 4- Acceptable 3- Average 2- Not acceptable

5- 非常能接受 4- 能接受 3- 還好 2- 不能接受

1- Not acceptable at all

1- 非常不能接受

31) What is your level of acceptance for cohabitation or common-law relationship for your *daughter*?

三十一) 您對您女兒同居或選擇同居結婚的接受程度為?

5- Highly acceptable 4- Acceptable 3- Average 2- Not acceptable 1- Not acceptable at all

5- 非常能接受 4- 能接受 3- 還好 2- 不能接受 1- 非常不能接受

32) How important do you think it is for your *son* to take your advice when choosing a date?

三十二) 您認為您的兒子在選擇約會對象時聽取您的意見有多重要？

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

5- 非常重要 4- 重要 3- 還好 2- 不重要 1- 非常不重要

33) How important do you think it is for your *daughter* to take your advice when choosing a date?

三十三) 您認為您的女兒在選擇約會對象時聽取您的意見有多重要？

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

5- 非常重要 4- 重要 3- 還好 2- 不重要 1- 非常不重要

34) How important do you think it is for your *son* to take your advice when choosing a spouse?

三十四) 您認為您的兒子在選擇結婚對象時聽取您的意見有多重要？

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

5- 非常重要 4- 重要 3- 還好 2- 不重要 1- 非常不重要

35) How important do you think it is for your *daughter* to take your advice when choosing a spouse?

三十五) 您認為您的女兒在選擇結婚對象時聽取您的意見有多重要？

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

5- 非常重要 4- 重要 3- 還好 2- 不重要 1- 非常不重要

36) How long do you think is the appropriate length of time for dating before your child enters marriage or a common-law relationship?

三十六) 您認為理想中您的子女應該與他(們)的對象交往多久才進入婚姻?

37) What is your level of acceptance for pre-marital sex of your *son*?

三十七) 您對您兒子發生婚前性行為的接受程度為?

5- Highly acceptable 4- Acceptable 3- Average 2- Not acceptable 1- Not acceptable at all

5- 非常能接受 4- 能接受 3- 還好 2- 不能接受 1- 非常不能接受

38) What is your level of acceptance for pre-marital sex of your *daughter*?

三十八) 您對您女兒發生婚前性行為的接受程度為?

5- Highly acceptable 4- Acceptable 3- Average 2- Not acceptable 1- Not acceptable at all

5- 非常能接受 4- 能接受 3- 還好 2- 不能接受 1- 非常不能接受

Additional comments (optional):

其他建議(自由回答):

Thank you very much for your interest and co-operation!

非常感謝您寶貴的時間與意見！

APPENDIX 1B- INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE: GENERAL SURVEY- CHILD

Dear Sir/Madam:

My name is Pei Hua Lu. I am a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. I am conducting this study for my Ph.D. degree. The purpose of this study is to understand the different attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage between generations and genders among recent Taiwanese immigrants in Canada. I would like to hear and learn about your opinions on this topic. I sincerely invite you to participate in this study.

The purpose of this study is to first build a demographic profile of the Taiwanese community in Burnaby. Therefore, I would like to invite you to fill out some basic information at the end of this letter, and you can email or mail this letter back voluntarily, or if you wish, I can pick it up at your convenience by arrangement. The completion of this short survey questionnaire implies your informed consent to participate in this study for the part of the building of the demographic profile, but does not automatically involve you in the interviews that follow; selections will be made according to the information stated. If your information indicates that you are at least 19 years of age or above you may be invited to further participate in this study by agreeing to a face-to-face interview. If you agree to participate, I will ask you to fill out a short survey questionnaire based on your willingness. The interview will last between 45 and 60 minutes for each parent and child, but I can also adjust the duration of the interview upon your request. It will also be audio-taped, that is, with your permission, to allow me to ensure that I have recorded

your answers properly. The questions will be related to your attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage. A sample of interview questions (Appendix C: Sample Interview Questions) will be provided to you if all of you agree to participate in the interview.

There is no risk for you to participate in this study. This short survey, interview data and consent forms will be stored separately in a locked filing cabinet in my supervisor's office for a minimum of five years. The master list will also be stored separately and it will be destroyed beyond recovery once the data collection is complete and it will no longer be required. When the researcher decides to destroy the data after a minimum of five years, all data will be destroyed beyond recovery. All information stated from you will be held in strict confidentiality. I will not identify you in any report or study that result from the survey and interview under any condition. I will only use pseudonyms for identification of the interview participants. Although it is possible that short anonymous quotes may be directly cited in the report or study, overall findings will likely be reported in group forms and general patterns. The results of this study will be reported in my Ph.D. dissertation and possibly future presentations and publications such as anticipated conference presentations, conference proceedings, and scholarly journal article or book publications. In any future presentations or publications, only aggregate survey data will be used and reported. Identifications of participants will never be possible.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose not to answer any question or to stop the interview at any time. You may withdraw from this study at any time without any penalty. You may not personally benefit as a result of participating in this study, but your contribution to my understanding of the different attitudes toward

dating, mate selection and marriage between generations and genders among recent Taiwanese immigrants in Canada will be greatly appreciated.

If you are interested in learning more about this study, please feel free to contact Pei Hua Lu at (306) 966-5812 or via email at amanda.lu@usask.ca. This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board in June 2010. Any questions regarding you and/or your child's rights as participants may be addressed to the committee through the Research Ethics Office at (306) 966-2084 or via email at ethics.office@usask.ca.

Survey Questionnaire - Child

1) Gender: Male ____ Female ____

2) Year of birth: _____

3) Which year did you come to Canada? _____

4) How often do you go back to Taiwan?

At least once every few months ____ At least once every year ____

At least once every few years ____ Never ____ Other (please specify) _____

5) Marital status:

*Married ____ *Common-law ____ Separated ____ Divorced ____ Widowed ____

**Single/Never Married ____

*If you answered married or in a common-law relationship, do you currently live with your spouse?

Yes ____ No ____

** Please skip question 6 if you answered “single/never married”.

6) What is your spouse’s race/ethnicity (e.g., Caucasian or Korea)? _____

7) Do you have any children? Yes ____ *No ____

*Please skip question 8, 9, 10 and 11 if you answered “no”.

8) How many children do you have? _____

9) How old are your children (or only child) now?

10) How old were your children (or only child) when they (he/she) came to Canada?

Born in Canada _____

11) Does (do) your child(ren) still live in Burnaby?

Yes ____ No ____

12) Which area of Burnaby do you live in?

North Burnaby ____ East Burnaby ____ South Burnaby ____ West Burnaby ____

13) Do you live in a(n):

House ____ Apartment ____ Basement Apartment ____ Town Home ____

Bachelor Apartment ____ Loft ____ Duplex ____ Studio ____

Semi-detached ____ Penthouse ____ Triplex ____ Other (please specify) ____

14) What type of immigrant were you?

Investor ____ Entrepreneurs ____ Self-employed ____ Skilled ____ Family ____

Other (please specify) _____

15) What is your working/employment status?

Investing: in Canada only ____ in Taiwan only ____ in both Canada and Taiwan ____

Managing businesses: in Canada only ____ in Taiwan only ____ in both Canada and Taiwan ____

Self-employed: in Canada only ____ in Taiwan only ____ in both Canada and Taiwan ____

Employed in (please specify company name and occupational title)

Unemployed ____

Student ____

Retired ____

Other (please specify) ____

16) What language(s) do you use most often?

a) At home:

English only ____ French only ____ English and French only ____

Non-official language(s) only (please specify) _____

Non-official and official language(s) (please specify) _____

b) At work/school:

English only ____ French only ____ English and French only ____

Non-official language(s) only (please specify) _____

Non-official and official language(s) (please specify) _____

c) With friends:

English only ____ French only ____ English and French only ____

Non-official language(s) only (please specify) _____

Non-official and official language(s) (please specify) _____

17) What is your education?

No schooling or elementary school ____ High school diploma ____

Some college or university ____ College diploma ____ University degree ____

Professional degree (e.g., medical or law), master's or doctoral degree ____

18) Where did you finish your education? In Canada ____ In Taiwan ____

Other (please specify) _____

19) What is your average annual household income OR personal income if you are not married nor in a common-law relationship (in Canadian dollars)?

Below 20,000 ____ 20,001 to 40,000 ____ 40,001 to 60,000 ____ 60,001 to 80,000 ____

80,001 to 100,000 ____ More than 100,001 ____

20) How would you define your ethnic identity?

Canadian ____ Taiwanese-Canadian ____ Chinese-Canadian ____ Asian-Canadian ____

Other (please specify) _____

21) How important do you think it is for your date/mate to share the same ethnic identity with you (please circle)?

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

22) Please circle your level of acceptance if your date/mate does not share the same ethnic identity with you?

5- Highly acceptable 4- Acceptable 3- Average 2- Not acceptable 1- Not acceptable at all

23) How important do you think it is for your date/mate to speak your mother tongue?

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

24) Please check ALL items that you think are considered as 'good' places or ways for you to meet a date/mate:

School ____ Learning class (e.g., swimming lesson) ____ Bookstore ____ Library ____

Common interest club (e.g., golf club or chess club) ____ Workplace ____ Church ____

Temple ____ Restaurant ____ Grocery store ____ Neighbourhood ____ Shopping mall
____ Sports bar ____ Pub ____ Karaoke ____ Night club ____ Internet ____

Through classmates ____ Through friends ____ Through relatives ____

Through parents ____ Other (please specify) _____

25) Please rank (e.g., 1-most important followed by 2 and 3...) the importance of your preference when choosing a date (note: you do not need to check all boxes):

Race (i.e., Caucasian) ____ Ethnicity (i.e., Spanish or Taiwanese) ____

Age (older than you) ____ Age (younger than you) ____

Appearance (e.g., dress and style) ____ Physical attribute (e.g., hot and tall) ____

Family background ____ Education ____ Income ____ Occupation ____

Compatibility ____ Personality ____ Religion ____ 'Chemistry' ____

Other (please specify) _____

26) Please rank (e.g., 1-most important followed by 2 and 3...) the importance of your preference when choosing a spouse (note: you do not need to check all boxes):

Race (i.e., Caucasian) ____ Ethnicity (i.e., Spanish or Taiwanese) ____

Age (older than you) ____ Age (younger than you) ____

Appearance (e.g., dress and style) ____ Physical attribute (e.g., hot and tall) ____

Family background ____ Education ____ Income ____ Occupation ____

Compatibility ____ Personality ____ Religion ____ 'Chemistry' ____

Other (please specify) _____

27) Do you think you should date for marriage ONLY?

Yes ____ No ____ Do not know ____

28) What is your level of acceptance for cohabitation or common-law relationship?

5- Highly acceptable 4- Acceptable 3- Average 2- Not acceptable 1- Not acceptable
at all

29) How important do you think it is for you to take your parent(s)'s advice when
choosing a date?

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

30) How important do you think it is for you to take your parent(s)'s advice when
choosing a spouse?

5- Very important 4- Important 3- OK 2- Not important 1- Not important at all

31) How long do you think is the appropriate length of time for dating before you enter
marriage or a common-law relationship?

32) What is your level of acceptance for pre-marital sex?

5- Highly acceptable 4- Acceptable 3- Average 2- Not acceptable 1- Not acceptable
at all

Additional comments (optional):

Thank you very much for your interest and co-operation!

APPENDIX 2A- SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS- PARENT

Parent(s):

A brief talk about the differences between living in Taiwan and in Canada.

Please share how you and your spouse met and your dating experience.

Would you describe the type of person that you would consider as a 'suitable' date or mate for your child?

What would you say are the ideal ways for your child to meet his/her date or mate?

Would you say that you have different expectations with what your spouse has for the child's date and/or future husband/wife?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on in-group dating and in-group marriage with me?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on interracial dating and interracial marriage with me?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on cohabitation and common-law relationship?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on separation and divorce-endogamous vs. exogamous relationship- with me?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on endogamous vs. exogamous same-sex marriage with me?

APPENDIX 2B- SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS- CHILD

Child:

A brief talk about the experience of studying/working in Canada (e.g., What type of school you went to or the company you work at? Mainstream? Location? Proportion of students/coworkers of difference race/ethnic background?).

A brief talk about the experience of mate seeking (or chasing) in Canada.

If you would not mind sharing, what would you say are the ways that you or your friends most often meet your date or mate? (Online dating?) Anything that you feel very special about?

Would you describe the type of person that you would consider as a 'suitable' date or mate? Qualities (e.g., education, looks...etc.)?

Would you mind sharing some of your dating process (e.g., usually have meals together)?

Is there any difference between dating people of different race/ethnicity that you know of?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on in-group dating and in-group marriage?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on interracial dating and interracial marriage?

Would you share your ideas or opinions cohabitation and common-law, in-group and out-group?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on separation and divorce, in-group and out-group?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on pre-marital sex?

Would you say that you have different expectations for your date and/or future husband/wife with your parents?

Would you share your ideas or opinions on same-sex marriage, in-group and out-group?

APPENDIX 3A- LETTER OF CONSENT FOR PARTICIPANT PARENT

You are invited to participate in this study titled “Attitudes toward Dating, Mate Selection and Marriage- A Study of Intergenerational Differences of Taiwanese Business Immigrants in Burnaby, B.C.”. Please read this consent form thoroughly and carefully, and feel free to address any questions you might have. I will adhere to the following statements to protect the rights and interests of everyone taking part in this study.

The purpose of the study is to explore your attitudes of dating, mate selection and marriage mainly toward your child; however, your general attitudes toward such issues that you may not necessarily apply to your child are also welcome. Your opinions will help me understand recent Taiwanese business immigrants’ attitudes toward issues of dating, mate selection and marriage in terms of generational and gender differences.

Interviews will be conducted as a part of this study. The interview will be scheduled according to your convenience and will last for 45 to 60 minutes with your consent, but flexible adjustments are also negotiable. The interview will be audio-taped with your permission to ensure that your opinions are recorded accurately. The participation is voluntary. You may only choose to answer questions that you are comfortable with. The researcher, Pei Hua Lu, will use different terms or words or omit any notes of what has been discussed based on your will. You may request to stop the interview or recording, or turn off the recording device during an interview at any time. You may withdraw from this study at any time for any reason without any penalty. If you withdraw from this study at any time, all of the data that you have provided will be destroyed beyond recovery.

After the interviews are completed, the audio-tapes will be transcribed into narrative version of transcripts. You will be able to check the transcriptions to clarify, add or delete any information in your own terms or words to fully express your opinions. The transcriptions will be used as data for later interpretation for this study by the researcher, Pei Hua Lu, with your consent. You will be asked to sign a transcript/data release form (see Appendix F: Transcript/Data Release Form). You will be provided with a copy of your contribution to this study before the final draft and you will also receive a copy of this study after it is completed. The results of this study will be used for my Ph.D. dissertation, and anticipated conference presentations, conference proceedings, and scholarly journal article or book publications. In any future presentations or publications, only aggregate survey data will be used and reported. Identifications of participants will never be possible.

The audio-tapes will be used by the researcher, Pei Hua Lu, only. Data storage is the responsibility of the researcher's supervisor, Dr. Li Zong. The student researcher, Pei Hua Lu, is identified as the party responsible for data storage. The complete questionnaire survey and data (including field notes, transcripts, tapes and documents) and consent forms will be separately retained and securely stored in a locked filing cabinet in my supervisor's office in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, for a minimum of five years after the completion of this study. The master list will also be stored separately but it will be destroyed beyond recovery once the data collection is complete and it will no longer be required. If the researcher decides to destroy the data after a minimum of five years followed by the completion of this study, all data will be destroyed beyond recovery.

There are no risks for you to participate in this study. Your contributions will remain confidential. Pseudonyms will be used in this study, and your personal or identifying information will not be released by any means in any future presentations or publications. You may not personally benefit as a result of participating in this study, but your contribution to my understanding of the different attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage between generations and genders among recent Taiwanese immigrants in Canada will be greatly appreciated.

This study has been reviewed and approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board on May 31, 2010. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the researcher, Pei Hua Lu, at (306) 966-5812 or via email at amanda.lu@usask.ca, or the committee through the Research Ethics Office at (306) 966-2084 or via email at ethics.office@usask.ca. For more information about this study, you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Dr. Li Zong, or me. Our contact information is listed as follow:

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I, _____, have read, understood, and agreed to participate in the above study as explained to me. I have been provided with an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered accordingly with satisfaction. I consent to participate in this study described above and I understand I may withdraw this consent at any time without any penalty. I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

APPENDIX 3B- LETTER OF CONSENT FOR PARTICIPANT CHILD

You are invited to participate in this study titled “Attitudes toward Dating, Mate Selection and Marriage- A Study of Intergenerational Differences of Taiwanese Business Immigrants in Burnaby, B.C.”. Please read this consent form thoroughly and carefully, and feel free to address any questions you might have. I will adhere to the following statements to protect the rights and interests of everyone taking part in this study.

The purpose of the study is to explore your attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage. Your opinions will help me understand recent Taiwanese business immigrants’ attitudes toward issues of dating, mate selection and marriage in terms of generational and gender differences.

Interviews will be conducted as a part of this study. The interview will be scheduled according to your convenience and will last for 45 to 60 minutes with your consent, but flexible adjustments are also negotiable. The interview will be audio-taped with your permission to ensure that your opinions are recorded accurately. The participation is voluntary. You may only choose to answer questions that you are comfortable with. The researcher, Pei Hua Lu, will use different terms or words or omit any notes of what has been discussed based on your will. You may request to stop the interview or recording, or turn off the recording device during an interview at any time. You may withdraw from this study at any time for any reason without any penalty. If you withdraw from this study at any time, all of the data that you have provided will be destroyed beyond recovery.

After the interviews are completed, the audio-tapes will be transcribed into narrative version of transcripts. You will be able to check the transcriptions to clarify, add or delete any information in your own terms or words to fully express your opinions. The transcriptions will be used as data for later interpretation for this study by the researcher, Pei Hua Lu, with your consent. You will be asked to sign a transcript/data release form (see Appendix F: Transcript/Data Release Form). You will be provided with a copy of your contribution to this study before the final draft and you will also receive a copy of this study after it is completed. The results of this study will be used for my Ph.D. dissertation, and anticipated conference presentations, conference proceedings, and scholarly journal article or book publications. In any future presentations or publications, only aggregate survey data will be used and reported. Identifications of participants will never be possible.

The audio-tapes will be used by the researcher, Pei Hua Lu, only. Data storage is the responsibility of the researcher's supervisor, Dr. Li Zong. The student researcher, Pei Hua Lu, is identified as the party responsible for data storage. The complete questionnaire survey and data (including field notes, transcripts, tapes and documents) and consent forms will be separately retained and securely stored in a locked filing cabinet in my supervisor's office in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, for a minimum of five years after the completion of this study. The master list will also be stored separately but it will be destroyed beyond recovery once the data collection is complete and it will no longer be required. If the researcher decides to destroy the data after a minimum of five years followed by the completion of this study, all data will be destroyed beyond recovery.

There are no risks for you to participate in this study. Your contributions will remain confidential. Pseudonyms will be used in this study, and your personal or identifying information will not be released by any means in any future presentations or publications. You may not personally benefit as a result of participating in this study, but your contribution to my understanding of the different attitudes toward dating, mate selection and marriage between generations and genders among recent Taiwanese immigrants in Canada will be greatly appreciated.

This study has been reviewed and approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board on May 31, 2010. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the researcher, Pei Hua Lu, at (306) 966-5812 or via email at amanda.lu@usask.ca, or the committee through the Research Ethics Office at (306) 966-2084 or via email at ethics.office@usask.ca. For more information about this study, you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Dr. Li Zong, or me. Our contact information is listed as follow:

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I, _____, have read, understood, and agreed to participate in the above study as explained to me. I have been provided with an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered accordingly with satisfaction. I consent to participate in this study described above and I understand I may withdraw this consent at any time without any penalty. I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

APPENDIX 4- TRANSCRIPT/DATA RELEASE FORM

I, _____, have read my transcripts and agree to release them. I have had the opportunity to read the transcripts to clarify, add or delete information so it will accurately represent my words. The procedure and its possible risks have been explained to me by the researcher, Pei Hua Lu, and I understand them. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw from this study at any time without any penalty. I understand that my direct words may be quoted or paraphrased in the writing of the data, and if so, the researcher will share with me the draft of my participation in the study for my approval. Although the data from this study may be published, and/or presented at seminars and/or conferences, my identity will be kept completely confidential in the writing through pseudonyms. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to the researcher, Pei Hua Lu, to be used in the manner as described in the consent form. I have received a copy of this transcript/data release form for my own records.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

APPENDIX 5- DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES

| | Age | Immigration type | Year of immigration | Marital status | Occupation |
|---------------|-----|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| Father | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Mr. C | 66 | Investor | 1993 | Married | Retired |
| Mr. K | 59 | Investor | 2005 | Married | Investor |
| Mr. O | 49 | Investor | 2007 | Married | Manager |
| Mr. Q | 54 | Skilled | 1995 | Married | Pastor |
| Mother | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Mrs. L | 60 | Entrepreneur | 1987 | Married | Housewife |
| Mrs. M | 55 | Entrepreneur | 1994 | Married | Stylist |
| Mrs. Z | 49 | Investor | 1999 | Married | Housewife |
| | Age | Education | Year of immigration | Marital status | Occupation |
| Son | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Mr. J | 22 | University | 1999 | Single | Designer |
| Mr. S | 29 | College | 1993 | Single | Technician |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|------------|------|--------|------------|
| Mr. T | 24 | University | 1995 | Single | Sales |
| Mr. Y | 20 | University | 2003 | Single | Student |
| Daughter | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Ms. H | 22 | University | 1999 | Single | Student |
| Ms. N | 19 | University | 1994 | Single | Student |
| Ms. P | 29 | Master's | 1987 | Single | Accountant |
| Ms. R | 20 | University | 2005 | Single | Student |