

WHY WAIT TILL MARRIAGE? SEXUAL DECISION MAKING AMONG EURO-
CANADIAN AND CHINESE CANADIAN YOUNG ADULTS

by

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Abstract

Premarital sexual behaviours are more common among Euro Canadian young adults than Chinese young adults. While researchers acknowledge the significant role of culture in explaining the sexual differences between ethnic groups, few have examined how culture shapes the sexual behaviours of Chinese and Euro Canadian young adults. Based on the symbolic interaction framework, this study examines whether Euro-Canadian and Chinese young adults are socialized to engage in sexual behaviour for different reasons. In particular, the reasons of interest are positive affection, physical pleasure, peer pressure and partner pressure. Religion and the virtue of filial piety are hypothesized to discourage premarital sex. This study also looks at the effects of acculturation on the levels of sexual involvement. This is an exploratory study, and quantitative data were collected from university students residing in Greater Vancouver via an online survey. In contrast with previous findings, ethnicity did not predict the different levels of premarital sexual involvement observed in the university respondents. Rather, this study revealed that the respondents' levels of sexual involvement were related to the reasons why they engage, or not engage, in sex. A limitation of the study was the small sample size and its potentially non-representative nature. One of the strengths of the present study is the use of a theoretical framework as the basis of the research.

Preface

This study was reviewed by the University of British Columbia's full Behavioural Research Ethics Board and was approved as Minimal Risk study. The UBC BREB Number for this study is H10-01529. This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Q. Wong.

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Introduction

Popular culture, whether movies, television, the media, or recent literature, might give the impression that sexual promiscuity among young, unmarried people is now common place. We know, however, that not all young adults are having sexual relations with their dating partners. In other words, sexual activity varies, with prevalence rates higher in some groups than in others. Researchers have found, for example, a higher prevalence of premarital sex among Euro-Canadian young adults than Chinese Canadian young adults (Meston, Trapnell, & Gorzalka, 1996). Although there is a growing acceptance of premarital sex among Chinese young adults, they are still more conservative in their sexual behaviours and attitudes than their Western counterparts (Zhang, Gao, Dong, Tan, & Wu, 2002; Higgins, Zheng, & Sun, 2002; Tang, & Zuo, 2000; Tang, Lai, & Chung, 1997).

In light of the findings on sexual differences between young adults of Chinese and North American background, researchers have begun to examine the reasons behind young adults decision to engage in sexual activity (Tang, Bensman, Young, & Hatfield, 2011). Understanding the reasons why young adults have sex before marriage is important for emotional well-being. Sex before marriage can cause emotional repercussions when decisions violate one's values (Oswalt, Cameron, & Koob, 2005). Since fundamental values differ by culture, it may be that greater sexual promiscuity is more disruptive of emotional well-being for some groups than for others. In part, that is a key question of the current research.

Young adults' sexual decision-making processes are guided by sexual scripts (Gecas, & Libby, 1976). The concept of sexual scripts is rooted in the symbolic interactionism framework (Gagnon, & Simon, 1973; Burr, Leigh, Day, & Constantine, 1979; Simon, & Gagnon, 1986). Sexual scripts outline what sex signifies and how members of a culture are expected to behave

sexually. Each culture has its own set of norms, values, and beliefs regarding sex (DeLamater, 1989). Through agents of socialization including partners, peers, and parents, young individuals learn the sexual scripts of their culture. Sexual scripts are one of the cultural mechanisms underlying group differences in sexual behaviours.

In recent years, the topic of acculturation has been receiving increasing attention in the realm of sex research. The phenomenon of acculturation occurs when sustained contact of two distinct cultures leads to psychological, behavioral, and attitudinal changes among members of either or both cultural groups (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936; Berry, 1980). Researchers investigated whether there were changes in sexual behaviors and attitudes among Chinese young adults after their immigration to North America (Brotto, Chik, Ryder, Gorzalka, & Brooke, 2005). They found that acculturation effects did not completely override the traditional values retained by Chinese Canadians. Chinese young adults who immigrated to Canada continued to adhere to traditional Chinese cultural expectations in terms of their sexual behaviours and attitudes.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine whether or not Euro-Canadian and Chinese Canadian university students differ in premarital sexual activity, and in the reasons they provide for engaging, or not engaging, in sexual behaviour. The reasons being examined are found in today's sexual scripts: love, physical pleasure, peer pressure and partner pressure. I also explore whether filial piety imposes cultural constraints on premarital sexual behaviors among Chinese Canadians. Filial piety refers to feelings of reverence and respect for a person's parents and elderly family members (Zhang & Bond, 1998). Filial piety means conducting oneself in a fashion that respects and honours one's parents, that ensures their ideals and values are obeyed and valorized. Filial piety is one of the most dominant codes of conduct guiding social

behaviours in Chinese culture. The taboo on premarital sex still persists among the older generation of Chinese people (Xu, Xie, Liu, Xia, & Liu, 2007). Therefore, I hypothesize that there will be a positive association between filial piety belief and sexual abstinence before marriage among Chinese young adults. Additionally, I will examine whether Chinese young adults who are highly acculturated to the Western culture will endorse different reasons to engage in premarital sex than less acculturated Chinese young adults.

Literature Review

Philosophical traditions and social conduct are intertwined in China. Taoism and Confucianism are the most prevalent philosophical traditions in China (Fam, Waller, & Erdogan, 2004). The beliefs of Taoism and Confucianism are deeply embedded in the Chinese culture, and have significant impact on the Chinese people's sexual life (Huang, & Grove, 2012; Van Gulik, 1996; Ruan, 1991). A description of these two philosophical traditions promotes the understanding of Chinese sexual beliefs and traditions.

Taoism is a series of philosophical teachings, which focus on life itself and seeking for inner peace. Taoism teaches men sexual methods to prolong life and achieve physical immortality (Van Gulik, 1996; Ruan, 1991). The principle of Yin and Yang is the foundation of Taoist sexual teachings. Yin and Yang are two opposing but complementary forces that need to be kept in harmonious balance, as their balance sustains and reflects the stability of nature. "Yin" signifies the negative aspect and represents the feminine. "Yang" signifies the positive aspect and represents the masculine. The Yin-Yang doctrine implies a positive view toward sex because the harmonious balance of yin and yang forces can be achieved through heterosexual sex.

Taoists believe engaging in sexual intercourse is a way for men to pursue longevity. According to Taoism, a man's semen, which is known as the yang essence represents his

essential life energy (Bodde, 1985; Ruan, 1991; Van Gulik, 1996). To intensify the man's life energy and thereby achieve longevity, the man absorbs the woman's yin essence during her orgasm to supplement his yang essence. The man's yang essence also enriches the woman's yin essence. The man is supposed to practice the retention of semen to avoid the loss of his yang essence. Taoists emphasize the limited supply of semen in men. Therefore, the man should only emit semen when he and his wife are trying to conceive. Taoists often refer to the sexual act as combat. The man wins the combat by restraining ejaculation, while simultaneously absorbing the yin essence from the female opponent. To ensure an abundant supply of yin essence, Taoists suggest the man seek young women virgins and numerous women partners. Male masturbation is regarded as detrimental to health because it leads to a total disappearance of the yang essence.

During the Han dynasty (207 BCE – 220 CE), most Chinese authorities and leaders accepted the moral principles of Confucianism. Although the Chinese authorities embraced Taoism, they recognized Confucianism as the state ideology (Ruan, 1991; Van Gulik, 1996). Confucianism is a philosophical system developed from the political and moral teachings of Confucius. Many Chinese have internalized Confucian values regarding sexual behaviour. Confucianism places importance on behaviours that maintain the order of society. Confucianism is influenced by the Yin-Yang doctrine and considers the sexual act between a man and a woman as natural. Confucians view sex as an act to achieve biological immortality. They believe a deceased man achieves biological immortality through the survival of his male descendants (Bodde, 1985). On the other hand, Taoists practice sex with the desire to be physically immortal (Van Gulik, 1996). Confucians approve sex when it is intended for procreation and continuation of the patriarchal lineage.

Confucianism teaches the significance of harmony in the family. Confucianism stresses that permissive sexual morality threatens family life (Gulik, 1996). It considers family to be the fundamental unit of the society. Confucians are against any sexual relation outside of marriage to protect the family's stability. Confucianism also dictates gender roles in the family. Women are expected to take a subservient role to their husbands. Confucians assess women based on their abilities to satisfy their husbands sexually, to nurture the children, and to manage the household. Overall, Confucianism reinforces an inferior status for women. It views sex within marriage for procreation purposes as the only normal and tolerable sexual behaviour.

Throughout the first 4,000 years of China's recorded history, sex was only practiced to help men gain physical or biological immortality, while women's emotional and sexual needs were disregarded (Ruan, 1991; Bodde, 1985). Masculine gender ideology was promoted. Thus, it would not be unfair to say that only Chinese men had positive sexual attitudes during the early periods of ancient China.

Sexuality in the People's Republic of China

Sex became a taboo subject in China during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. During this countrywide social-political movement, Mao Zedong, Chairman of People's Republic of China motivated and led the young people of China to overthrow the Chinese bourgeois society (Langley, 2008). The young Chinese revolutionaries were fully engaged in the class struggle, and considered romantic love and sex as forms of bourgeois decadence. The Chinese regarded sex as an irrelevant activity in life (Pan, 2006). The traditional procreative purpose for sex was emphasized during the Cultural Revolution.

China experienced unintended changes in its sexual traditions after the Cultural Revolution. These changes were a consequence of government-led initiatives. One of these

initiatives was the implementation of the one-child policy in 1981. Contraception was promoted to enforce the one-child family policy. The use of contraception led to less anxiety about unplanned pregnancies (Pan, 2006). Although procreation is the primary reason to have sex, love and pleasure have also become reasons for married couples to engage in a sexual relationship (Pan, 1993; Zhang, Li, Li, & Beck, 1999; Pan, 2006). Chinese urban youth began to have exposure to the Western culture as the Chinese government adopted the open door policy

Liberal attitudes toward sex in China have increased since the implementation of the one-child policy in 1981 (Pan, 2005; Tian, 1999). The tolerance of premarital sex increased as contraception gained social acceptance. One of these initiatives was the adoption of the open door policy to promote foreign trade and economic growth in the late 1970s. As China established economic ties with Western countries, Chinese urban youth were exposed to Western beliefs and popular culture (Higgins, Zheng, Liu, & Sun, 2002; Tian, 1999; Burton, 1988). These beliefs included those related to love and sexual behaviour. Ultimately, the lack of mutual affection was incorporated into the 1980 marriage law as the only ground for divorce. Love becomes the decisive factor for evaluating marriage in the legal sense (Pan 2006; Palmer, 1995).

The debate over whether China is experiencing a sexual revolution has yet to be settled. The shift in sexual attitudes suggests China is going through a sexual revolution (Zhao, 2005). Fewer Chinese viewed sex as a private matter and were against society getting involved in people's sex lives in 1989 (40%) than in 1984 (20%). The acceptance for sex before marriage also grew from 41% in 1984 to 55% in 1989 (Pan, 1993). However, a closer examination of responses revealed Chinese sexual behaviour and attitude are still deeply embedded in the traditional culture. Chinese still receive great pressure from their family and the society to

remain abstinent before marriage. While Chinese youth accept others engaging in premarital sex, they personally endorse traditional values (Higgins, & Sun, 2007; Zhang et al., 2004).

Chinese young adults engage in premarital sex predominantly with their future spouse. The prevalence of premarital sex rose across cohorts. While less than 15% of either men or women who turned age 20 between 1955 and 1964 had premarital sex, 30% of women and 45% of men in the 1995-2000 cohort had premarital sex (Pan, 1993). However, the majority of the sexual relations occur with a fiancé for all cohorts, especially among women. China's double standards allow men to have sex with casual partners or commercial sex workers. Among the Chinese respondents who reported having had premarital sex, 89.2% of premarital sex was with the future spouse, 8.9% was between boyfriend and girlfriend, and only 1.9% was with someone else (Pan, 1993). Higgins, Zheng, and Sun (2002) conducted a study on British undergraduate students from an England college and Chinese undergraduates from three Beijing universities regarding their attitudes toward sexual behaviour. The majority of Chinese respondents believed that a couple who have had premarital sex must marry each other, whereas a only few British college students held this view (Higgins, Zheng, & Sun, 2002). British respondents were more willing than Chinese participants to marry their boyfriend or girlfriend who had premarital sex with a past partner. Chinese young adults are more likely than their British counterparts to view individuals as undesirable marriage partners if they had sexual experience in previous relationships.

Chinese are showing more tolerant attitudes toward sex before marriage since the implementation of the open-door policy in 1970s. They are becoming more concerned about individual freedom and private life as there are more cultural exchanges between China and the West. However, Chinese behaviours are still bounded by traditional values which condemn

premarital sexual relationships. Sex before marriage is not common among Chinese. Even among those who are having premarital sex, they limit their experience to their anticipated marital partner (Zhang et al., 2004).

Sexuality in Chinese Canadians

Chinese cultural traditions continue to exert influence on sexual attitudes and behaviours among the Chinese in North America. In an undergraduate sample from a Western Canadian university, Asian Canadian respondents (approximately 70% ethnic Chinese; 30% other East and Southeast Asians) were more conservative in their sexual behaviours than non-Asian Canadian respondents. Significant differences were found between Asian and non-Asian Canadians in light petting behaviours, heavy petting behaviours, oral sex, and intercourse (Meston, Trapnell, & Gorzalka, 1996). Sixty-five percent of Asian men compared to 80% of non-Asian men, and 64% of Asian women compared to 86% of non-Asian women had engaged in deep kissing. Fifty-four percent of Asian men compared to 79% of non-Asian men, and 49% of Asian women compared to 82% of non-Asian women had stroked and petted their partner's genitals. Thirty-eight percent of Asian men compared to 50% of non-Asian men, and 30% of Asian women compared to 64% of non-Asian women had engaged in oral sex with partner (mutual oral-genital stimulation). Thirty-five percent of Asian men compared to 63% of non-Asian men, and 36% of Asian women compared to 69% of non-Asian women had engaged in intercourse (male superior position) (Meston, Trapnell, & Gorzalka, 1996). Substantial ethnic differences were also seen in intrapersonal sexual behaviour (frequency of fantasies, masturbation, and ideal frequency of intercourse), and sociosexual behaviour (number of lifetime sexual partners, number of sexual partners in the past year, predicted number of sexual partners, and lifetime number of one-night stands) (McLaughlin, Chen, Greenberger, & Biermeier, 1997; Huang, & Uba, 1992).

Chinese are less likely to engage in sexual intercourse than non-Chinese, whether they are residing in China or Western country. Instead, Chinese are more likely to engage in other intimate sexual acts, such as light petting, heavy petting and oral sex. For example, while only about 35% of Asian Canadian young adults had engaged in intercourse, 59% of Asian women and 66% of Asian men had kissed partner's sensitive (nongenital) areas of body (Meston, Trapnell, & Gorzalka, 1996). Forty-seven percent of Asian women and 56% of Asian men had their genital caressed by their sexual partner. Thirty-seven percent of Asian women and 42% of Asian men had orally stimulated their partner's genital (Meston et al., 1996). Although non-Chinese Canadians are more likely to engage in any type of intimate sexual acts than Chinese, the data reveals Chinese are sexually involved to some extent.

Acculturation

Chinese youth are more influenced by the Western culture as they become more acculturated (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936; Berry, 1980). Acculturation refers to the process of change in values, attitudes, behaviours, and cultural identity, which results from continuous contact with individuals of another cultural group.

Acculturation involves affiliation to the heritage culture and/ or to the mainstream dominant culture (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936; Berry, 1980). The heritage culture refers to the culture of birth or upbringing, whereas the mainstream culture refers to the predominant cultural environment of the new country. In the current study, heritage culture refers to Chinese culture and mainstream culture refers to the predominant Western culture in Canadian society.

There are two approaches to acculturation: the unidimensional model and a bidimensional approach. The unidimensional approach assumes that as acculturation takes

place, the individual adopts cultural traits of the mainstream society, and forgoes the heritage culture at the same time (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Because the unidimensional model is only measured by the aggregate amount of contact the individual has with the dominant culture, it has been criticized for not fully capturing the acculturation process. Length of residency as an unidimensional measure does not predict the effects of acculturation on Asian women and men's sexuality (Brotto, Woo, & Ryder, 2007; Brotto, Chik, Ryder, Gorzalka, & Brooke, 2005; Meston, Trapnell, & Gorzalka, 1996). On the other hand, the bidimensional model looks at adopting mainstream culture and maintaining one's heritage culture separately (Berry, 1980; Redfield et al., 1936). Studies uphold the bidimensional model by which the extent to which a person becomes immersed in the mainstream cultural group and adopts its cultural traits is independent of the extent to which a person retains his or her heritage cultural identity (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Berry, 1980). The current study draws on the bidimensional model of acculturation because it examines both heritage and mainstream culture.

Identification with mainstream and heritage culture leads to different sexual behaviors. In a first and second year undergraduate sample from a large Canadian university (49.6% Euro-Canadian, 42.4% Chinese or Taiwanese, 8% other East Asian), Asian women who integrated into the mainstream Canadian culture were significantly more likely to have experienced a broader range of sexual activities (Brotto, Chik, Ryder, Gorzalka, & Brooke, 2005). In Meston and Ahrold's (2010) undergraduate sample from an American Southwestern university (67% Euro-American, 16% Hispanic, 12% East Asian, 5% South Asian), East and South Asian women with higher levels of acculturation to mainstream Canadian society were also significantly more likely to engage in sexual caressing at a younger age. On the other hand, East and South Asian women who continued to maintain strong heritage ties were significantly older when their first

caress and first sexual activity occurred. Asian women with higher levels of heritage acculturation had significantly less experience in masturbation and oral sex (Meston, & Ahrold, 2010). However, neither mainstream nor heritage acculturation significantly predicted sexual experience in East and South Asian men. Only heritage acculturation significantly predicted late initiation of sexual activity and intercourse among Asian men (Meston, & Ahrold, 2010).

Acculturation has similar influences on attitudes as on behaviors in which mainstream acculturation contributes to liberalism and heritage acculturation leads to conservatism. Heritage acculturation was a significant predictor for conservative attitude toward casual sex and gender role traditionality among Asian college students (Ahrold, & Meston, 2010). Mainstream acculturation significantly predicted liberal attitudes toward homosexuality and casual sex. In Asian women, mainstream acculturation was significantly associated with liberal attitudes toward homosexuality, casual sex, and gender role traditionality, whereas heritage acculturation was significantly associated with conservative attitudes toward casual sex and gender role traditionality. In Asian men, mainstream acculturation was significantly correlated with liberal attitudes toward casual sex, while heritage acculturation was significantly correlated with conservative attitudes toward homosexuality and casual sex.

Some attitudes are more resistant to acculturation effects than others. An interaction effect exists between heritage and mainstream acculturation in Asian women in predicting attitudes toward extramarital sex (Ahrold, & Meston, 2010). In other words, the association between heritage acculturation and conservative attitudes toward extramarital sex was stronger at lower levels of acculturation to Western mainstream culture than higher levels of mainstream acculturation. Similarly, heritage acculturation and mainstream acculturation were interactive predictors of DSFI (Derogatis Sexual Function Inventory) sexual attitudes (Brotto, Chik, Ryder,

Gorzalka, & Brooke, 2005). The DSFI assesses liberal attitudes toward extramarital sex, homosexuality, masturbation, multiple sexual partners, oral sex, pornography, premarital sex, prudery, sex roles, sexual variations, and sexual immorality. The effects of westernization on these sexual attitudes are weak when Asian women retain their traditional cultural values. Accommodating the Western culture alone is not enough to shape these sexual attitudes in Asian women (Brotto et al., 2005). Asian women's sexual attitudes are only liberalized when they undergo a process of assimilation by which they give up cultural traits of their culture of origin and adopt those of the mainstream culture. In comparison to sexual behaviors, sexual attitudes appear to be more impervious to change. However, casual behaviors are exceptions (Meston, & Ahrold, 2010). Only when Asian women are assimilated do they have more sexual partners in the past year and one-time sexual encounters.

Mainstream acculturation has a direct bearing on the personality disposition of sex guilt in women. In a sample of 242 undergraduate women at a large Canadian university (43% Caucasian, 48% Chinese, 9% other East Asian), Asian women had significantly higher levels of sex guilt than Caucasian women (Woo, Brotto, & Gorzalka, 2011). However, as Asian women became more acculturated to the mainstream western culture, they showed significantly lower levels of sex guilt. While Asian women felt less guilt about having sex, their sexual desire increased slightly significantly as they became westernized. Sex guilt explains why there is a relation between sexual desire and mainstream acculturation. Sex guilt was significantly related to lack of sexual desire in East Asian women. Mainstream acculturation had significant indirect effects on sexual desire through sexual guilt (Woo et al., 2011). Therefore, sex guilt is a mediating variable between mainstream acculturation and sexual desire.

Contrary to the Asian-Canadian female group, the men's level of affiliation with Chinese culture has no impact on their present sexuality (Brotto, Woo, & Ryder, 2007). Regardless of whether the Asian-Canadian men relinquish the values of their heritage culture, men who are becoming acculturated to the mainstream culture adopt more liberal sexual attitudes. The minimal impact of Chinese culture on men's sexuality may be due to the sexual double standard in China. Specifically, China allows greater sexual freedom to men than to women (Brotto et al., 2007).

Chinese students in North America are more tolerant of coercive sexual behavior and rape myths than their non-Chinese counterparts. Chinese college students in North America are more likely than Euro-American students to accept rape myths because they hold views such as women hold responsibility for preventing rape, victims precipitate rape, and rape is perpetrated by strangers (Kennedy, & Gorzalka, 2002; Lee, Pomeroy, Yoo, & Rheinboldt, 2005). Asian-Canadian men are also more likely to support rape myths than women, and this sex difference is consistent across other ethnic groups. However, an increased length of residency is associated with a change in sexual coercive attitudes among the Asian-Canadians. The longer the Asian men and women live in Canada, the less likely they are to accept rape myths and sexual harassment (Kennedy, & Gorzalka, 2002).

In addition to sexuality, acculturation has an effect on other traditional Chinese values. The effect of acculturation on traditional values was assessed by comparing youths living in Hong Kong, first-generation and second-generation Chinese living in the West, and youths living in United States and Australia (Feldman, & Mont-Reynaud, 1992). Among the four groups, Hong Kong youth adhere to Chinese traditional values the most, while American and Australian youth adhere to the values the least. Examples of the traditional values are practicing rites and

rituals, believing in the superiority of one's cultural group, repaying favours, adult children living with aging parents, and unmarried children living with parents. With the exception of values related to family living arrangement, there are only moderate differences in adherence to traditional values between first and second generation Chinese. Specifically, first generation Chinese are more likely than second generation Chinese to believe adult children should live with aging parents and unmarried children should live with parents. A difference is also noted between second-generation Chinese and Western youths. Although second generation Chinese are raised in a Western country, they are more likely than Western youth to endorse the values of living with and taking care of one's parents (Feldman, & Mont-Reynaud, 1992).

Sexual Decision-Making among Young Adults in North America

Motivations for sex are important predictors of people engaging in sex. To shed light on the difference in the level of sexual involvement between Chinese and non-Chinese, the factors pertinent to their decision to engage in sex will be compared.

Sex usually involves some planning and thought, even though it often is an act of passion. Christopher and Cate (1984) examined the factors pertinent to Americans' decision to become sexually involved with their partner. College participants identified four factors that affected their decision to engage in sex before marriage. The factors were Positive Affection/Communication, Arousal/Receptivity, Obligation/Pressure, and Circumstantial.

The Positive Affection/Communication factor referred to the quality and intimacy of the relationship. Positive Affection/ Communication was the most important factor in young adults' decisions to have premarital sex (Christopher, & Cate, 1984). Individuals' decisions to have sex was more strongly motivated by their need for intimacy in a relationship than by partner and peer pressure (Cooper, Powers, & Shapiro, 1998).

Affection does not have equal weight in men's and women's decision to engage in premarital sex. Women were more likely than men to view love and commitment as primary reasons to become sexually involved with a partner (Christopher, & Cate, 1984). Men, on the other hand, were more likely to expect sex with someone to whom they were physically attracted but not with whom they were emotionally involved (Cohen & Shotland, 1996). Love was regarded as the most important reason for having sex by 45% of female college students, as compared to 21% of male college students (Whitley, 1988). In a sample of 249 private university students in the Midwestern United States, emotional involvement was considered as a prerequisite for engaging in sex by 85% of young women, and only by 40% of young men (Carroll, Volk, & Hyde, 1985). These data are consistent with other findings showing that expression of emotional closeness and being in love were more salient in women's decisions to have sex than in men's (Patrick, Maggs, & Abar, 2007; Leigh, 1989; Schulz, Bohrnstedt, Borgatta, & Evans, 1977). Similar sex differences were found for participants who were sexually inexperienced. The sexually inexperienced participants were asked to indicate the factors which would be important in their decisions to engage in sex with a partner for the first time. The sexually inexperienced women attached greater importance to love as reasons to have sex than men did (Christopher & Cate, 1985).

In addition to affection, physical pleasure is another commonly endorsed reason to have sex among young adults. The Arousal/ Receptivity factor referred to the psychological and physiological response to sexual desire and stimulation. While women endorsed love as a reason for sex more often than did men, men showed more acceptance of having sex for physical reasons than women (Christopher, & Cate, 1984; Eyre, & Millstein, 1999). Lust or pleasure was cited as a reason for engaging in sex by 38% of male college students, as compared to 10% of

their college women counterparts (Whitley, 1988). This sex difference is supported by other studies which showed reasons such as physical pleasure or relief of sexual tension as more important in men's decision to have sex than in women's (Patrick et al., 2007; Meston & Buss, 2007; Leigh, 1989; Carroll et al., 1985).

Men's arousal not only increases their motivation to obtain sexual gratification, but it also affects their decision making. Young men who experienced high levels of sexual arousal were more willing than unaroused men to engage in morally questionable behaviours to increase their likelihood of procuring sex (Ariely, & Loewenstein, 2006). An example of these morally questionable behaviours was persuading their partner to drink more alcohol to increase chances of having sex. Men who were sexually aroused were also more willing to practice unsafe sexual practices, such as not using a condom than those who were not sexually aroused. Sexual arousal seems to narrow the focus of sexual motivation. Sexual gratification becomes the ultimate motive, in which other considerations such as protecting oneself from unplanned pregnancy or sexually transmitted disease are neglected (Cooper et al., 1998).

The need for intimacy and physical pleasure are individual factors affecting one's decision to engage in sex. Sexual decision is also influenced by others. Sex occurs in the context of dyadic interaction. The consideration of one's partner is often part of the sexual decision making process. For instance, some individuals may have sex to gain partner approval. Others may feel obligated to gratify a partner's desire. Besides partner pressure, peer pressure is another dyadic factor relevant to decision making. An individual may receive pressure from peers to have sex. The Obligation/ Pressure factor referred to young adults' motives to please or appease partner and to impress peers (Cooper et al., 1998; Christopher, & Cate, 1984).

Partners may differ in their decision to have sex. Conflict may arise when one partner desires to have sex, while the other does not. The person who does not want sex may resolve the conflict by complying with his/ her partner's desire for sex. Both men and women consent to unwanted sexual activity. However, it is more likely for men to be the sexually coercive partner and women to be the compliant partner (Sprecher, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova, & Levitakaya, 1994; Muehlenhard, & Cook, 1988). In a sample of 177 students in a private Eastern university, fifty-six percent of men reported using coercive strategies such as threatening to end relationship and lying to obtain sex, as compared with 14% of women. In contrast, 74% of the university women reported engaging in sex as a result of the coercive strategies their partner used, as compared with 44% of university men (Poppen, & Segal, 1988). Young women reported receiving messages of sexual pressure from their partner more often than did men. Women were more likely to respond to these messages by giving in to unwanted sexual activity (Morgan, & Zurbriggen, 2007; Eyre, & Millstein, 1999). Fifty percent of college women and 26% of men reported consenting to unwanted sexual activity with their dating partners at least once during a 2-week period (O'Sullivan, & Allgeier, 1998).

The two most common reasons for engaging in unwanted sex are enticement and altruism. Both undergraduate men (79%) and women (78%) reported they engaged in unwanted petting or intercourse because their partner sexually enticed them, such as taking off clothes or touching them (Muehlenhard, & Cook, 1988). Another frequently cited reason for unwanted petting or intercourse was due to the concern for the welfare of one's partner. More women (62%) than men (54%) indicated they had complied to satisfy a partner's needs or to prevent a partner from feeling rejected. College women were also more likely than college men to comply with unwanted sex to maintain the relationship (Muehlenhard, & Cook, 1988). In general,

women consented to unwanted sex to please their partner and to promote intimacy in the relationship (Impett, & Peplau, 2002; O' Sullivan, & Allgeier, 1998; Shotland, & Hunter, 1995).

Another form of pressure to engage in sex is exerted by one's peer group. Young adults' sexual experience is related to how common premarital sex is among their friends (Sack, Keller, & Hinkle, 1984). Having an additional sexually experienced friend increased the odds of college men and women having premarital sex by about 12% (Schulz, Bohrnstedt, Borgatta, & Evans, 1977). Adolescents are subject to peer influence as well. Students aged 11- 12 years who perceived sexual activity to be prevalent among peers were more likely to have had premarital intercourse or to have the intention to initiate such behaviour (Kinsman, Romer, Furstenberg, & Schwarz, 1998). Perceived peer norms are a strong predictor of premarital sexual behavior for adolescents and young adults.

The influence of peer group on young adults' sexual attitudes and behaviours varies across gender groups. College women's sexual attitudes were strongly correlated with the attitudes they believed their peers held. College men's sexual attitudes, on the other hand, were related to the perceived attitudes of parents (Daugherty, & Burger, 1984). In addition to attitudes, women's sexual behaviours were more susceptible to peer and social influence. College women's sexual behaviours were more consistent with the expectations of their peers than college men's actions (Mirande, 1968). Women whose close friends approved of premarital sex had an increased likelihood of having had premarital intercourse (Sack et al., 1984). In comparison with men with no sexual experience, women who were virgins were more likely to have reference groups which discouraged or disapproved of premarital sex (Mirande, 1968). Men, whether they were sexually experienced or inexperienced, tended to affiliate with peer

groups that encouraged or approved of premarital sex (Mirande, 1968). Women tended to conform to the sexual norms of their peer groups.

Not all studies agreed with the findings that women are more prone to peer influences than men. Teevan's (1972) study showed that men in college were more likely than women to report a similar incidence of premarital sexual activity as compared to their friends. This sex difference was related to men's stronger peer orientation. Undergraduate men (26.6%) were significantly more likely than women (4.9%) to cite displaying sexual prowess and increasing social status as reasons to engage in casual sex (Regan, & Dreyer, 1999). Schulz, Bohrnstedt, Borgatta, and Evans (1977), on the other hand, did not find gender differences in peer influences on sexual behavior. Existing studies have led to conflicting views on how the effects of peer norms on sexuality differ by gender.

The Circumstantial factor involves external situations that have an effect on young adults' sexual decision-making processes. The consumption of alcohol is an example of external situations (Christopher, & Cate, 1984). Alcohol and drug use were associated with sexual initiation and spontaneous sexual behaviours among young adults. Men and women were as likely to engage in unwanted petting or intercourse due to being intoxicated (Muehlenhard, & Cook, 1988; Mott & Haurin, 1988; Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2002). A positive association between alcohol consumption and premarital sex was also found for Chinese young adults (Lin et al., 2005).

Religion

Religion is an important agent of sexual socialization. Each religion has its own sexual ethics (DeLamater, 1989). The most predominant religions in Canada are Roman Catholic and Protestant (Statistics Canada, 2001). The religions in China are Buddhism and Taoism (Ruan,

1991). One common teaching in the major religions in Canada and China is that sex is for the purposes of procreation only (DeLamater, 1989; Bodde, 1985).

Young adults' religiosity is related to their premarital sexual activity. Regular religious service attendance is negatively associated with premarital sexual experience and permissive sexual attitudes among young adults (Pehring, Cheever, German, & Philpot, 1998; Thornton & Camburn, 1989; Herold & Goodman, 1981; Libby, Gray, & White, 1978; Davidson & Leslie, 1977). The negative relationship between religiosity and premarital sexual involvement holds when one's religiosity is measured differently (Mahoney, 1980; Clayton, 1972; Schulz et al., 1977). For instance, Mahoney (1980) measured religiosity by having participants rate the intensity of their religious beliefs on a 21-point scale. A high score on the scale indicated high religiosity. Sexually experienced young adults had a lower level of religiosity than those with no sexual experience. Similarly, Daugherty, and Burger (1984) proposed the need to consider participants' devoutness. Their findings showed the perceived attitude of the church had no significant effect on the majority of young adults' sexual behaviors and attitudes. They suggested the church might only influence the sexual attitudes or behavior of highly religious individuals.

Religiosity has an indirect effect on one's premarital sexual behavior in addition to its direct effect. Schulz et al. (1977) revealed young adults with the most conventional religious beliefs were more likely to perceive their friends as sexually inexperienced. Those who tended to view their friends as sexually inexperienced in turn were less likely to engage in premarital sex. Conventional religiosity was found to affect sexual involvement indirectly through its effect on perceived sexual behaviour of friends. Jensen, Newell, and Holman's (1990) analysis also suggested the effects of church attendance on premarital sexual activity were mediated by one's sexual beliefs. Highly religious young adults are influenced by their religious values in their

preferences for friends (Sack et al., 1984). They also are influenced by religious dogma in forming their own conservative sexual beliefs and standards (Christopher, 2001). Young adults' conservative sexual beliefs and friends' abstinent behaviors subsequently inhibit their own premarital sexual involvement.

Religiosity can be categorized into three subtypes: intrinsic religiosity, spirituality, and fundamentalism. Intrinsic religiosity, spirituality, and fundamentalism all significantly predicted sexual attitudes in Asians (Ahrold, & Meston, 2010). Intrinsic religiosity connotes a personal view of the influence a religion has on one's daily life. Spirituality refers to the individual's connection with the divine being or force. Both intrinsic religiosity and spirituality cannot be solely measured by religious participations or rituals. Fundamentalism is the affirmation of religious authority as absolute adherence to a set of basic principles.

Ethnic and gender differences exist in the effects of religiosity on sexual attitudes (Ahrold, & Meston, 2010). Intrinsic religiosity significantly predicted conservative attitudes toward homosexuality, casual sex, gender role traditionality in sexual relationships, and extramarital sex in Euro-American women and Asian women. Among Euro-American women, fundamentalism was a significant predictor of conservative attitudes toward homosexuality, casual sex, and gender role traditionality. Among Asian women, fundamentalism significantly predicted conservative attitudes toward homosexuality and gender role traditionality. Only Asian women were significantly more likely to have liberal attitudes toward homosexuality and casual sex when high levels of spirituality were reported. In both Euro-American and Asian men, fundamentalism was a significant predictor of conservative attitudes toward homosexuality and gender role traditionality (Ahrold, & Meston, 2010). While fundamentalism also significantly predicted conservative attitudes toward casual sex in Asian men, intrinsic religiosity

significantly predicted conservative attitudes toward casual sex in Euro-American men.

Religiosity measures were less likely to significantly predict sexual attitudes in men than in women.

Filial Piety

Chinese family values are well embedded in the Chinese culture. Confucianism considers family as the fundamental unit of society. One of the most important reasons for delaying sexual activity for young Asian Americans was not to upset family (Cochran, Mays, & Leung, 1991). Filial piety is proposed as a factor pertinent to Chinese's sexual decision making. Filial piety, a prominent value in the Chinese culture, governs the attitude and behavior toward parent-child relationship. Filial piety prescribes how children should treat and take care of their parents. Filial piety requires children to care, respect, and be obedient and loyal to their parents. Children should support their parents, protect family honour, and fulfill family responsibilities. In Confucianism, filial piety is one of the virtues to be followed above all else. Filial piety is valued and practiced in contemporary Chinese society (Leung, Wong, Wong, & McBride-Chang, 2009; Ho, 1994).

Filial piety remains a central value for today's Chinese young adults. Young adults (82%) in Hong Kong gave money to their parents on a regular basis, no matter whether the parents needed financial help or not (Chow, 2001). Over two-thirds of Chinese respondents expected to provide financial assistance for their parents' medical treatment. Chinese young adults also regarded their parents' marriage advice as very important or somewhat important. About half of the Chinese respondents reported they had done something to make their parents felt happy and honored. When compared to Europeans in New Zealand, New Zealand Chinese were significantly more likely to feel obligated to financially support and obey their parents (Ng,

Loong, Liu, & Weatherall, 2000). The doctrine of filial piety continues to regulate Chinese children's behaviors and attitudes toward their parents.

Filial piety consists of two dimensions: reciprocity and authoritarianism (Yeh, 2003; Yeh, & Bedford, 2003). Reciprocal and authoritarian filial piety are mutually dependent and exist together at the same time. Reciprocal filial piety is rooted in two Confucian principles: the principle of reciprocity and the principle of favouring the intimate. The principle of reciprocity means children should honour their ancestors, and respect and repay their parents. Children owe their parents for all the nurturance and support they have provided. Children are expected to provide care to parents out of thankfulness for parents' effort in raising them. The principle of favouring the intimate means children should show greater care to parents because parents are their closest people in life. Family cohesion promotes a sense of family obligation among children. Reciprocal filial piety requires children to take care of their parents emotionally by respecting and loving them. It also requires children to take care of their parents physically and financially by supporting them when they are old, and memorializing them when they are dead.

Authoritarian filial piety is based on the Confucian principle of respecting the superior. Parents occupy the highest positions in the hierarchy of the family (Yeh, 2003; Yeh, & Bedford, 2003). Authoritarian filial piety also demands children to sacrifice their own needs to obey their parents' wishes. Authoritarian filial piety expects children to glorify parents by carrying on the family descent line and protecting parents' reputation. Children must repress their own desires to avoid disgracing their family's name. Authoritarian filial piety is associated with attitudes toward having premarital sex, having extramarital relations and being a homosexual. Actions such as engaging in premarital sex are a disgrace to Chinese family. Therefore, Chinese might refrain from these actions to not disappoint or bring shame to family.

Ethnicity

Sexual decision-making among Asian young adults has not been extensively examined. Chinese college students ranked development of love (55%), physical pleasure (21%), and raising a family (6.5%) as the top three purposes to engage in sexual intercourse. Love was the most common reason among both sexes. However, Chinese women (72%) were more likely than men (53%) to choose love as an important factor in their decision to have sex. Men (30%), on the other hand, attached greater importance to physical pleasure than women (13%) (Liu, Ng, Zhou, & Haeberle, 1997). This finding on gender differences coincides with studies on Euro-Americans (Christopher & Cate, 1984; Carroll et al., 1985; Leigh, 1989; Eyre & Millstein, 1999).

Little is known about the differences between Asians and Whites in the influences of partners and/ or peers on sexual behaviour. Only one study reported findings related to the ethnic differences in consenting to unwanted sex. Except for African American, Asian American women and other ethnic groups were as likely to engage in unwanted sex due to pressure from partner or the feeling of obligation. Nearly one-half to two-thirds of Asian American, Euro-American and Latino women consented to unwanted sex with their partner. On the contrary, all of the African American women reported they had engaged in unwanted sex (Impett, & Peplau, 2002). Contradictory findings were found for the ethnic differences in the resistance to peer pressure. In Orrell-Valente, Valente, and Halpern-Felsher's (2005) study, White and Latino youths, but not Asian youths, were more likely to intend to or have had sex if they believed more of their peers had engaged in premarital sex. Wong et al. (2009), however, noted a significant positive relationship between perceived peer norms and Asian youths' own premarital sexual experiences. Specifically, Asian youths were more likely to have engaged in premarital sex if they perceived one-half or more of their friends to be sexually active. Asian youths were also

more likely to be sexually active if they did not have the self-confidence to overcome peer pressure to engage in sex. Asian young male adults tended to expect their female peers to have a low level of sexual experience when compared to their White, Black, and Latino counterparts. Although Asian young adults might be susceptible to influences of their peers' sexual norms, they were more likely to believe that a conservative sexual norm existed among their women peers (Ward, 2002).

Theoretical Foundation

Symbolic interactionism centers on the meanings people assign to the situation and action (Burr et al., 1979). Societies are comprised of cultures, which contain symbols, meanings and values. Cultural symbols are shared signs and signs are indications that convey meanings. Individuals learn to interpret symbols unique to their culture. Cultural symbols, such as language, influence people's interaction patterns and decision-making process. Symbolic interactionists understand the significance of an action or situation by examining how cultural symbols are shared among actors in a society and how people and environment interact to construct meanings.

Symbolic interactionists assume individuals define the meanings of the context and action (White, & Klein, 2002). The meanings that the actors assign to the context explain the problems they perceive and the solutions they adapt. Cultural symbols and values influence how actors attach meanings to the context and action (Christopher, 2001). No body parts, behaviors, objects, and phenomena are sexual in nature. Sexual meanings can be attributed to anything in a particular social context (Gagnon, & Simon, 1973). A massage or black lingerie may evoke desire and stimulate arousal. However, such responses to a sexualized stimulus are learned cultural behaviors, not innate behaviors. The ways individuals perceive and act toward other

individuals, objects, and phenomena are based on the meanings individuals attach to them (Gagnon, & Simon, 1973). Chinese and Euro-Canadians have distinct cultural backgrounds and share different values regarding sex. It is reasonable to believe Chinese and Euro-Canadians ascribe varied meanings to sex and make different sexual decisions.

Social Institutions

Symbolic interactionism proposes society precedes the individual. Society precedes humans because the society they live in is already there before they are born (Burr et al., 1979). Humans learn the symbols by interacting with others (Chibucos, Leite, & Weis, 2005). The symbolic interaction perspective views sexual behaviors as being influenced and restricted by societal norms and cultural values (LaRossa, & Reitzes, 1993). Each social institution contains its own established set of values, norms, and roles (DeLamater, 1989). An institution is a social mechanism that sustains social order and governs the behaviours of a group of individuals. An institution influences an individual insofar as the individual is a member of the institution, plays a certain role, or has contact with other members of that institution. Marriage, family, religion, and education are institutions that attempt to regulate sexuality in contemporary societies (DeLamater, 1989).

Basic institutions of society exert control over sexual expression. The components of an institution taken together enable an institution to exercise control over sexual expression (DeLamater, 1989). A social institution has a set of beliefs concerning the purposes of sex. This set of sexual beliefs is the foundation for sexual norms and standards. The sexual norms and standards identify who is eligible for sexual activity and what constitutes proper sexual behaviour. Another component of an institution is its structure. Three features of an institution are particularly pertinent to the control it has over sexual expression. The first feature important

to institutional control is the central authority of the institution. The second significant feature is the reliance people have on that institution. The third is the established formal roles occupied by members of that institution. Both the sexual beliefs and structural features of an institution contribute to its social influence on sexuality (DeLamater, 1989).

Sexual Script

Symbolic interactionism suggests sexual behavior is scripted. Sexual script delineates what is sexual in a given cultural context and how social actors should behave sexually (Gagnon, & Simon, 1973; Simon, & Gagnon, 1986; Longmore, 1998). Sexual scripts are constructed at cultural, interpersonal and intrapersonal levels.

Cultural scenarios are blueprints for sexual behaviors (Simon, & Gagnon, 1986; Simon, & Gagnon, 1987). They can be found in social surroundings—such as in movies and song lyrics. Cultural scenarios define appropriate sexual conduct and give instructions on when, where, and how to engage in such an act. They identify the requirements and actions assigned for particular roles. They also specify how the actor and his or her partner are supposed to feel. Thus, cultural scenarios allow the actor to anticipate and interpret his or her partner's response (Simon, & Gagnon, 1986).

Cultural scenarios convey the socially acceptable norms for members of the institutions. The sanctioning systems of the institution further pressure the individuals to conform to the norms (DeLamater, 1989). Members of the institution are rewarded for acting in accordance with social standards and are punished for violating them. The extent to which an individual follows a particular scenario is also influenced by the number of sexual opportunities available. Opportunities for sexual activity are based on the availability of appropriate partners and the level of freedom an individual has. A member of a highly regulated institution has less autonomy

to act out a particular cultural scenario than does a person in a loosely regulated institution (DeLamater, 1989).

Scenarios are seldom fully reflected in actual behaviours, albeit they are instructional guides for sexual behaviours. An individual develops sexual standards and preferences in the process of socialization (Simon & Gagnon, 1986). As an individual learns what is expected from cultural scenarios, he or she develops a standard of acceptable sexual behavior and preferences for a partner. An individual needs to negotiate between sexual desires and social conventions. The way an individual responds to an immediate sexual encounter involves fitting all the elements (cultural scenarios, social expectations, sexual desires, and the opportunities available) together (DeLamater, 1989).

When the actor interacts with real partners in concrete situations, the actor uses interpersonal scripts to adjust his or her own roles and performances accordingly (Gagnon, & Simon, 1973). Interpersonal scripting is when the actor implements context-specific behavior by altering or improvising on the cultural scenarios. The actors rehearse the interpersonal scripts and sexual scenarios in their minds. Intrapsychic scripting allows individuals to mentally rehearse the scripts while considering their own desires, wishes and fantasies (Gagnon, & Simon, 1973). Such scripts generate sexual arousal and perseverance in the activity.

Sexual scripts reflect the values embedded in various social institutions, such as religion, courtship, and peer group. Four familiar codes of sexual conduct in today's western society included the traditional-religious, romantic, recreational, and utilitarian-predatory (Gecas, & Libby, 1976). The traditional-religious script condemns sex outside of marriage, especially for women. Procreation is emphasized as the primary purpose of sex. Although the traditional-

religious script has become less widespread, it is influential insofar as some individuals still consider sex as a moral issue and are guilt-stricken for their own sexual transgressions.

The romantic script highlights the importance of affection in a sexual relationship (Gecas, & Libby, 1976). Love is the necessary precondition for sex and sex reinforces the intimate connection between the lovers. Love gives meaning to sexual behavior. The romantic code generates a sexual interaction script, which details lovers as the qualified participants, passion as the essential emotional state, romance as the appropriate rhetoric, and unprompted expression of love as the situational condition. Young adult women are more socialized to follow the romantic code than young adult men.

In contrast to the romantic script, the recreational code disassociates sex from love. The recreational philosophy is related to the so-called sexual revolution of the 1960s in North America when sexual restrictions were relaxed (Gecas, & Libby, 1976). Dominant moral standards in Canada gradually changed in the late 1960s when women were no longer expected to remain sexually abstinent until their marriage (Hobart, 1972). The recreational orientation focuses on sex as a fun and pleasurable activity. Physical pleasure justifies sex (Gecas, & Libby, 1976). This code breaks the constraints that romance, marriage, and religion place on sexual life.

The utilitarian-predatory script views sex as a means to achieve nonsexual rewards (Gecas, & Libby, 1976). These rewards include, but are not limited to, approval, prestige, power or money. People may engage in sex to please their partner or to gain their partner's approval (Cooper, Powers, & Shapiro, 1998). Some young men may have sex to demonstrate their sexual prowess and in so doing gain prestige and status within their male peer groups. They feel proud of their sexual prowess because it is the proof of their manhood.

Peer groups serve as an important socializing agent in the development of sexual behavior among young adults (Christopher, 2001). Socializing agencies are institutions that influence sexual values and behaviours. The degree of influence an agent has on an individual varies over the life's course. As adolescents enter young adulthood and attend college, their reference group shifts from being parent-oriented to being more peer-oriented (DeLamater, 1989; Walsh, Ferrell, & Tolone, 1976). Of the young adults who have a parent-oriented reference group, they tend to be less sexually experienced and less permissive in sexual attitudes than those who have become estranged from their parents (Teevan, 1972).

Individuals choose peers they identify with to be their reference groups (Christopher, 2001). Young adult peers share their sexual views and experiences in discussions. In these peer discussions, sexual roles are constructed and meanings are given to different aspects of the roles. Peer groups create norms and expectations once peers agree on the appropriateness of different sexual behaviours. Young adults use the peer-derived norms and expectations as guidelines when enacting their sexual roles.

Conformity to peer group norms and expectations is important in explaining premarital sexual behavior and attitudes among young adults. College students who are sexually experienced are more likely to associate with peer groups that encourage and/or approve of premarital sexual intercourse (Mirande, 1968). In contrast, students who have never had sexual intercourse are more likely to associate with reference groups that discourage and/or disapprove of premarital sex. Young adults' sexual experiences resemble those of their friends. Young adults who believe their friends to have lots of sexual experience tend to be sexually experienced (Teevan, 1972). Those who perceive their friends to have little sexual experience are more likely to be a virgin. Similarly, young adults' own permissive sexual attitudes are positively related to

their perceived permissive sexual attitudes of peers. Perceived sexual experience of friends also influences the number or type of sexual partners a young adult chooses. Young adults are more likely to engage in unprotected sex with a casual partner if they believe their peers have sexual risk attitudes and behavior (Winslow, Franzini, & Hwang, 1992). Young adults' sexual behaviors and attitudes are closely related to their peer groups' norms and expectations.

Socialization and Acculturation

Sexual socialization is the process whereby individuals internalize the sexual script of their culture. Socialization is a key concept in the symbolic interactionist framework. Through the process of sexual socialization, people learn how to associate certain meanings to sexual activities within the group to which they belong (Longmore, 1998). People are socialized into the norms and value systems of the society and subculture through social interaction (DeLamater, 1989).

Socialization is a lifelong process. When people migrate to a new culture, they adopt the values, attitudes, and behaviors of the dominant culture (Berry, 2007). This “resocialization” process is called acculturation. An individual does not necessarily relinquish one's cultural identity during the acculturation process. Acculturation processes allow individuals to be socialized into the host culture while preserving certain aspects of their culture of origin. The bidimensional model of acculturation allows researchers to examine the relative importance of heritage culture and mainstream culture for each person.

Purpose of Study

I explore the sexual scripts of Chinese and Euro-Canadian young adults through the examination of factors that encourage and discourage their sexual involvement. There are various levels of sexual involvement. Each level of involvement in sexual behaviors is

associated with different activities and different meanings. Socially constructed sexual scripts guide individuals' interpretation of and behavior in a sexual situation. The reasons an individual decides to engage in sexual activity are based on the sexual scripts he or she endorses. This thesis will scrutinize four reasons why young adults decide to have premarital sex: positive affection, physical pleasure, partner pressure, and peer pressure. Positive affection and physical pleasure are derived from the romantic and recreational scripts, respectively. Partner pressure and peer pressure stem from the utilitarian-predatory script. This thesis will also look into the traditional-religious script by investigating the influence of religiosity on the level of sexual involvement. Filial piety is a dominant script in the Chinese culture. The extent to which filial piety has an impact on the level of sexual involvement among Chinese and Euro Canadian young adults will be examined. Lastly, acculturation effects will be analyzed to determine whether continuous firsthand contact with the western culture changes the level of sexual involvement among Chinese young adults.

This thesis has two purposes. First, to test past findings on the differences between Euro and Chinese Canadian young adults in their level of sexual involvement. Second, to extend past research by identifying the factors that contribute to these sexual differences between Euro and Chinese Canadian young adults.

Method

Sample

The target population of this thesis was young adults of European descent or Chinese descent. Past research defined young adulthood as ages 19 to 24 (Ozer, & Irwin, 2009). The sample of this thesis consisted of 19-24 years old, never married, heterosexual students, and

either of European descent or Chinese descent residing in Vancouver, B. C. People of Chinese descent included those from Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

Data were collected from a convenience sample of undergraduate students in Vancouver, B. C. Undergraduates were the target sample of this thesis because more than two-thirds of Canadian youths have entered college or university by their early 20s (Lambert, Zeman, Allen, & Bussière, 2009). Past studies also demonstrated the appropriateness of using a student sample to examine sexual behaviours among Euro-Canadian and Asian young adults (Meston, Trapnell, & Gorzalka, 1996; Huang, & Uba, 1992).

Based on Tabachnick and Fidell's (1989, 2007) and Green's (1991) recommendations for testing overall correlation and individual predictors, the rule $N \geq 50 + 8m$ (where m is the number of IVs) was used to calculate sample size. This rule of thumb assumes a medium-size relationship between the IVs and the DV, type I errors/ $\alpha = .05$ and type II errors/ $\beta = .20$. This thesis had 7 individual predictors. Sample size was calculated separately for Euro Canadian and Chinese Canadian group. The proposed sample size was 200 participants (50 women Euro Canadians, 50 men Euro Canadians, 50 women Chinese Canadians, and 50 men Chinese Canadians).

Participants who volunteered to complete the survey were undergraduate students the from University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, British Columbia Institute of Technology and Langara College. The data collection period took place from September 2010 to January 2011. Course instructors from University of British Columbia (UBC) were contacted through email and were asked to send the survey URL link to their students' email address. Requests to distribute the survey link were sent to instructors who were teaching classes in the Faculty of Arts. Student clubs at UBC were also

contacted and were asked to distribute the URL of the survey. Recruiting flyers were also posted around University of British Columbia's Vancouver campus, Simon Fraser University, Kwantlen Polytechnic University, British Columbia Institute of Technology and Langara College. In addition, recruiting advertisements were posted on the Vancouver section of Craigslist.com.

A secure online survey was created at FluidSurveys; thereby a product of Chide.it Inc, with headquarters in Ottawa, Canada. FluidSurvey will not sell or share any collected data. The author created a custom URL <http://fluidsurvey.com/s/sex> for participants to access the survey and provide their responses. The URL was activated after human ethics application was approved. Participation was anonymous and voluntary. Students' choice of whether to participate or not was guaranteed not to be disclosed.

The online survey took approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. Students were assured of confidentiality. Participants are not identifiable in any reports because collected data cannot be traceable to a specific respondent. The IP (Internet Protocol) address collection facility was turned off to avoid storing respondents' online addresses to ensure anonymity. Only the researcher has access to the data and the members of the researcher's committee will only review the aggregated data. The collected data are solely used for the purpose of the study and any publications that may result from the study. The responses collected in FluidSurveys were deleted and the account on FluidSurveys was cancelled when the study was completed.

Measures

Participants were asked about their age, sex, sexual orientation, education, ethnic background, cultural identification, relationship status, and living arrangement.

Religiosity was measured by participants' subjective view. Participants were asked, "How religious are you?" and were given the following response categories: *not at all*, *slightly*, *fairly*, *very*, and *extremely*.

The level of sexual involvement was the dependent variable. The level of sexual involvement was measured with the short versions of Heterosexual Behavior Assessment - I and II (Bentler, 1968a; Bentler, 1968b) (see Appendix A). Heterosexual Behavior Assessment - I was created for men and Heterosexual Behavior Assessment - II was created for women. Bentler (1968a) originally created a list of 56 items and administered them to 175 college men. The scale was also cross-validated on another sample of 108 college men. The 56 items formed a unidimensional continuum. The final version of the measure consisted of 21 items, which had high factor loadings on the underlying dimension and covered the range of sexual behaviour. Ten items were selected from the 21 items to develop the shorter version (Bentler, 1968a; Bentler, 1968b). Similar procedures were used to create the female form. The items for the female form were chosen to correspond with the items selected for the male form. Kuder-Richardson reliability (K-R 20) was only computed for the male form. The 10-item Heterosexual Behavior Assessment demonstrated high internal consistency (K-R 20 = .897). The product-moment correlations of the 10-item scale with the 21-item scale is .979, showing a high correspondence between the short and long scale (Bentler, 1968a; Bentler, 1968b).

The 10-item Heterosexual Behaviour Assessment was reduced to eight items in this thesis survey. The item "kissing nipples of female breasts, by male" was excluded because the description might be too detailed for some respondents, causing them to feel embarrassed (Bentler, 1968a; Bentler, 1968b). "Manual manipulation of male genitals" was omitted because this act was covered in a preceding item "mutual manual manipulation of genitals". "Sexual

intercourse (ventral-ventral)” and “sexual intercourse (ventral-dorsal)” were combined into one item “sexual intercourse” because the specifics on sex position are not relevant in this thesis. A new item “hugging” was added to the scale because there was only one light petting behaviour (kissing) in the short version of Heterosexual Behavior Assessments. Hugging is less intimate and sexual in nature than kissing.

Participants were presented with seven sexual behaviours and asked “Have you engaged in the following behaviours?” The Heterosexual Behavior Assessment is a Guttman scale (Bentler, 1968a; Bentler, 1968b). The items were scored dichotomously (yes or no). It produced a single index, wherein scoring 7 meant the respondent engaged in all seven behaviours. Items were arranged in an order so they were progressively more difficult to agree with. Individuals who indicated yes to a particular item usually indicated yes to all or most items of lower rank-order. In other words, if a respondent had engaged in more advanced sexual behaviour (e.g., sexual intercourse), he/ she would also have experienced less advanced behaviour (e.g., kissing on the lips). The item at the bottom of the scale hierarchy was “hugging”. The item at the top of the scale hierarchy was “mutual oral-genital stimulation”.

Prior sexual experience was measured by the number of sexual partners. For the behaviours the participants had experienced, participants were asked to report the number of partners with whom they had engaged in it. There were four questions. The first question was “how many partners have you hugged and/ or kissed?” Hugging and kissing were grouped into one question because they were light petting behaviours. The second was “with how many partners have you engaged in caressing behaviours (breasts and/ or genitals touching)?” Breasts and genitals touching were grouped together because they were categorized as heavy petting behaviours. The third was “with how many partners have you had sexual intercourse?” The last

question was “with how many partners have you engaged in oral sex?” The behaviours “having your genitals orally stimulated”, “oral stimulation of partner’s genitals”, and “mutual oral-genital stimulation” were all categorized under oral sex. Respondents were only directed to questions concerning the behaviour they had experienced in. If the respondent indicated he or she had only engaged in kissing in the previous section, he or she would only see the question “how many partners have you hugged and/ or kissed?”

Acculturation was measured with the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) (see Appendix A). The VIA is a bidimensional scale measuring heritage and mainstream acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Item content was derived from items suggested by Berry (1998) and Suinn (1987). The instrument was revised to better capture the construct of acculturation and become applicable for a broader range of ethnocultural groups. This version was tested with three different samples of Chinese, non-Chinese East Asian, and non-English speaking (not including East Asian) undergraduates. Reliability analysis and Principal-components factor analysis were subsequently performed, and a total of 20 items were used for the final version of the VIA.

The VIA consisted of a Heritage subscale and a Mainstream subscale. Both the Heritage subscale and the Mainstream subscale assessed 10 domains, including traditions, marriage, social activities, comfort level with friends, entertainment, behaviour, practices, values, humour and friends (Ryder et al., 2000). Each subscale was composed of an item from every domain. Items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. A high score on the Mainstream dimension indicated greater identification with the Western mainstream culture. A high score on the Heritage dimension indicated greater identification with heritage of origin. Examples from the Heritage subscale are “I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage

culture” and “I enjoy entertainment (e.g., movies, music) from my heritage culture”. Examples from the Mainstream subscale are “I would be willing to marry a North American person” and “I enjoy North America entertainment (e.g., movies, music)”.

Reliability of the VIA was tested in cross-cultural samples. Both Heritage and Mainstream subscale showed high internal consistency reliability in the Chinese, East Asian, and miscellaneous samples (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .91, .92, \text{ and } .91$ respectively for the Heritage dimension and Cronbach’s $\alpha = .89, .85, \text{ and } .87$ respectively for the Mainstream dimension) (Ryder et al., 2000). A meta-analysis examined the reliability of the VIA and two other acculturation instruments with 51 samples using reliability generalization techniques (Huynh, Howell, & Benet-Martínez, 2009). The VIA achieved acceptable internal consistency reliability in the meta-analysis (Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.83$ for both Heritage and Mainstream dimension). The meta-analysis also found a relationship between reliability scores and ethnic composition of the sample. Both subscales of the VIA generated higher reliability estimates when there were more participants of Chinese descent.

The validity of the VIA was assessed across the Chinese, East Asian, and miscellaneous samples. Concurrent validity was demonstrated where Heritage and Mainstream dimensions significantly correlated with the key third variables in all three samples (Ryder et al., 2000). The concurrent validity indicators were percentage of time lived in a Western, English-speaking country, percentage of time educated in a Western, English-speaking country, generational status, respondents’ intention to return to country of origin, status of English as a first or second language, Western identification in a unidimensional approach, and mean SL-ASIA score (assessment of unidimensional acculturation). An exception was the insignificant relation found between the Heritage subscale and Western identification in the East Asian sample. Overall,

concurrent validity was good ranging from $-.57$ to $-.60$ for the Heritage subscale and from $.51$ to $.60$ for the Mainstream subscale. High factorial validity was found after a principal-components analysis with promax rotation was performed on two Chinese groups, one East Asian group, and one miscellaneous group (Ryder et al., 2000).

The factors Positive Affection/Communication, Arousal, Obligation/ Pressure, and Circumstantial have been found to be influential in young adults' sexual decision-making process. The Circumstantial factor was not examined in this thesis because it was not clearly defined and had low psychometric properties (Christopher, & Cate, 1984).

The Sex Motive scale was developed to examine the motivations behind young adults' decision to have sex. The Sex Motive scale is based on the functional perspective (Cooper, Shapiro, & Powers, 1998). The functional perspective views the key to knowing the meaning of an action is to recognize the goal that the action serves. The identification of the underlying purposes can lead to a better understanding of the causes, correlates, and outcomes of the action.

This thesis survey used the Sex Motive scale to examine Chinese Canadians' and Euro Canadians' reasons to have sex. Items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from never to always (Cooper et al., 1998) (see Appendix B). Positive Affection/ Communication was measured with the 5-item Intimacy subscale. The items were "to be more intimate with partner", "expressed love", "to make emotional connection", "closer to partner", and "to feel emotionally closer". Arousal was measured with the 5-item Enhancement subscale of the Sex Motive scale. The items were "felt horny", "to feel good", "for excitement", "for thrill of it", and "to satisfy sexual needs". Obligation was assessed with Partner Approval subscale. Three items in the Partner Approval subscale were used "feared partner won't love you if didn't have sex", "partner will get angry at you if didn't have sex", and "worried partner will break up with you if didn't

have sex”. The item from the original Partner Approval subscale “worry partner won’t want you if don’t have sex” was omitted because its meaning was covered in the item “worried partner will break up with you if didn’t have sex”. Peer pressure was assessed with Peer Approval subscale. Four items that were used in the Peer Approval subscale were “people will think less of you if you didn’t have sex”, “peers will make fun of you if you didn’t have sex”, “because friends were having sex”, and “had sex so peers won’t put you down” (Cooper et al., 1998). The item from the original Peer Approval subscale “worry people will talk about you if don’t have sex” was excluded in the thesis survey because the wording of the item is vague. It is not clear to the respondent because the item does not indicate whether people will talk about the respondent positively or negatively if he or she does not sex.

A typology of sex motives was derived from various motivational theories. Motives were conceptualized along two dimensions (Cooper et al., 1998). The first dimension (positive reinforcement – negative reinforcement) involved whether the motive of the behaviour was to pursue pleasurable experiences or to avoid disagreeable ones. The second dimension (self – social) involved whether the behaviour was motivated to pursue outcomes related to internal experiences (e.g. self-esteem or emotions) or related to another person or a group (e.g. partner or peers). Combining these two dimensions yielded four categories of sex motive. Appetitive self-focused motives focused on increasing physical or emotional pleasure. Aversive self-focused motives focused on reducing negative emotional experiences or dealing with threats to self-esteem. Appetitive social motives involved building intimacy with others. Aversive social motives focused on gaining another’s approval.

The development of Sex Motive scale involved obtaining an item pool and assessing psychometric properties. First, an open-ended format was used to ask participants why they

decided to have sex (Cooper et al., 1998). An initial pool of 58 items was generated from participants' open ended responses, past studies on sex motives, and published scales measuring drinking, smoking, and eating motives. A refined version of 29 items was derived using principal-components analyses with oblique rotation. Six factors with eigenvalues greater than one resulted. Each item loads sufficiently at .38 or above on its primary factor. The six factors were enhancement, intimacy, coping, self-affirmation, partner approval, and peer approval.

The Sex Motive scale is an internally consistent and valid scale. Reliability of the Sex Motive scale was tested with a sample of college students and a community sample of adolescents and young adults (Cooper et al., 1998). Each motive scales, enhancement, intimacy, partner approval, and peer approval yielded high internal consistencies across sex groups in the college sample (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89, .90, .90$, and $.86$, respectively for men and Cronbach's $\alpha = .89, .89, .90$, and $.87$, respectively for women). Internal consistency reliability for each scale (enhancement, intimacy, partner approval, and peer approval) was also good in the community sample (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87, .90, .84$, and $.87$, respectively). Sex motive subscales demonstrated invariance across sex, European American and African American racial groups, and age (under age 21 and over age 21). Sex motive scale had adequate divergent and concurrent validity with 10 other conceptually related measures of sexual motivations and emotions. Furthermore, this scale predicted risky sexual behaviours better than related measures (Cooper et al., 1998).

Filial piety is a central value in the Chinese culture. This thesis examined authoritarian filial piety, which concerns parental influence on young adults' behaviours. Authoritarian filial piety was measured with the short version Filial Piety Scale (FPS) (Yeh, 2003). The short version 16-item FPS was developed from the original 52-item FPS. Items were derived from Confucian classics on filial piety. The scale examined both reciprocal and authoritarian filial

piety. The authoritarian subscale in the short form FPS had face validity because the items appeared to measure authoritarian filial piety. High internal reliability was also noted (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$). Participants scoring above the mean (12.8) were classified as high in authoritarian filial piety. Those scoring below the mean were classified as low on authoritarian filial piety (Yeh, 2003; Yeh, & Bedford, 2003).

Authoritarian filial piety is related to attitudes toward social convention, such as having premarital sex. Authoritarian filial piety involved sacrificing personal wishes in order to comply with parents' wishes. It also required one to maintain parents' reputation. Authoritarian filial piety was measured using the authoritarian subscale from the short-form Filial Piety Scale (FPS) (Yeh, 2003) (see Appendix A). This subscale contained 8 items on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from extremely important to extremely unimportant. Examples from this subscale are "take my parents' suggestions even when I do not agree with them" and "disregard promises to friends in order to obey my parents."

Two items in the authoritarian subscale were omitted (Yeh, 2003). The item "have at least one son for the succession of the family name" has become less applicable to today's Chinese young adults. The strictly enforced one-child policy in urban China has made it more difficult for Chinese family to have at least one son (Deutsch, 2006). Chinese who are bound by this policy begin to express no sex preference for their only child. Deutsch (2006) reported 60% of his university respondents had no sex preference. One-fourth (28%) of those who had a preference even wanted a girl. Hoy (1999) found similar results in her Beijing women sample. About two-thirds of the participants showed no sex preference for their children. Twenty percent of participants preferred a boy, and 15% preferred a girl.

Another excluded item from the authoritarian subscale is “live with my parents (or parents-in-law) when married” (Yeh, 2003). Although co-residence between adult children and their parents is common in China, it has slowly declined over the past years. The percentage of adult children living with their father dropped from 68% in 1990 to 60% in 2000 and with their mother from 73% in 1990 to 67% in 2000 (Yi, & Wang, 2003). Living with one’s parents does not necessarily signify the act of filial piety. Fulfilling filial duties, providing care and giving financial support to ageing parents are not the only reasons why today’s Chinese married children live with their parents. Married children also live with parents when they cannot afford their own place, need financial aid, or require housework and childcare assistance from their parents (Logan, & Bian, 1999). The decision to co-reside reflects the needs of both married children and the parents (Chen, 2005).

Results

Participants’ characteristics

A total of 209 undergraduate students (90 men, 119 women) in Vancouver, B. C. volunteered to participate in this study. The students were enrolled during the fall semester in 2010 (September-December) or the beginning of the spring semester in 2011 (January). Data from nine participants were omitted from further analyses because the data were incomplete (1 participant), or the participants did not meet the criteria: they identified themselves as gay, etc., (6 participants) or were not of European or Chinese descent (2 participants). One respondent who identified himself as gay also exceeded the maximum age of 24. Final analyses were performed on 200 participants (85 men, 115 women).

The sample was composed of 53% Euro-Canadians and 47% Chinese. Participants of European descent identified mainly as English (54) or other cultures in descending frequency:

Ukrainian (n=7), German (n=6), Irish (n=6), French (n=5), Italian (n=5), Scottish (n=4), and other (n=19). Among the respondents who selected “other-specify” as their response, fifteen stated they identified with the Canadian culture the most. Four respondents who chose “other-specify” as their response indicated Bulgarian, Norwegian, Polish, and Russian as the culture they most identified with. The fifteen participants who responded “other-specify” will be categorized into the Euro-Canadian group in the multivariate analysis. Chinese participants were consisted of those from Hong Kong (n=57), Mainland China (n=26), and Taiwan (n=11).

Participants ranged from 19 to 24 years old with a mean age of 21.8 for men and 21.4 for women. The age difference between men and women was not significant, $t(198) = 2.23$, $p > 0.05$. The mean age of participants by ethnicity was 21.6 years old for both Euro-Canadians and Chinese. Chi-square statistical tests showed no significant interaction between gender and ethnicity $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = .07$, $p = .79$. Demographic data are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Demographic variables in Euro-Canadian and Chinese participants

Table 2.1		
Demographic Variables in Euro-Canadian and Chinese Participants		
Variable	Euro-Canadian	Chinese
	(n = 106)	(n = 94)
Mean age in years (SD)	21.6 (1.6)	21.6 (1.6)
Gender (%)		
Male	54	46
Female	52	48
School (%)		
University of British Columbia	96	93
Simon Fraser University	1	3
Kwantlen Polytechnic University	0	2
British Columbia Institute of Technology	3	1
Other (Langara College)	0	1
Relationship status (%)		
Casually dating	50	36
Seriously dating	46	55
Engaged	2	1
Never had a partner	2	8
Living arrangement		
Self	21	23
Parents	17	61
Relatives	8	12
Partner	10	4
Friends	24	0
Roommate	20	0

Data Analysis

More often than not, engaging in sexual intercourse with a boyfriend or girlfriend is more than just a spur-of-the-moment action. It involves decision-making. According to symbolic interactionism framework, people make sexual decisions based on their cultural norms or sexual scripts.

Past research reported that Euro-Canadians had more sexual experiences than Chinese. To provide insights into why such ethnic differences exist in sexual behaviour, Western and Chinese sexual scripts were examined. Sexual scripts in Western culture lead young people to have premarital sex for reasons including positive affection, physical pleasure, peer pressure and/or partner pressure. On the other hand, Chinese sexual scripts are hypothesized to reflect the traditional value of filial piety. The extent to which filial piety and Confucian ethics permeate every aspect of life is unique to the Chinese culture. This thesis explores whether sexual scripts explain the differences in sexual behaviour between Euro-Canadian and Chinese university students.

Hypothesis 1a: Euro-Canadian male university students report higher levels of sexual involvement (BHA-I) than Chinese male university students.

Hypothesis 1b: Euro-Canadian female university students report higher levels of sexual involvement (BHA-II) than Chinese female university students.

Rationale: To replicate previous finding with the measures used in this study.

Measures: Independent variables: Gender and Ethnicity; Dependent variable: Sexual involvement (Bentler's Heterosexual Assessment I & II)

Analysis: Independent samples t-test

Result:

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare the means of level of sexual involvement between Euro-Canadian and Chinese university students. The results of both male and female analyses supported hypothesis 1a and 1b (Table 2.2). Euro-Canadian male university students had significantly higher level of premarital sexual involvement ($M = 6.89$, $SD = 1.68$) than their Chinese counterparts ($M = 5.13$, $SD = 2.33$); $t(68) = 3.94$, $p = .000$. Similarly, Euro-Canadian female university students had significantly higher level of premarital sexual involvement ($M = 6.13$, $SD = 2.15$) than Chinese female students ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 2.34$); $t(113) = 3.57$, $p = .001$.

Hypothesis 2a: The reasons why students choose to have sex and their levels of sexual involvement are correlated. Specifically, students who strongly endorse physical pleasure, and respond to peer and partner pressure have higher levels of sexual involvement.

Hypothesis 2b: In the Western culture, having sex for pleasure is a popular sexual script. Other sexual scripts found in the Western culture include conformity to peer pressure and partner pressure. It is hypothesized that these sexual scripts (positive affection, physical pleasure, peer pressure and partner pressure) have a weaker influence on the levels of sexual involvement among Chinese students than Euro Canadian students.

Rationale: The symbolic interactionism theory views that every culture has its own scripts on sexual behaviour. As suggested in the popular Western saying “making love”, romantic love is an important element in a sexual relationship. In addition to romantic love, the sexual script in the

Western culture stresses the importance of “feeling good” when having sex. Other scripts in the Western culture guide young adults to be sexually active to gain approval from their peers or partner. Based on the Symbolic interactionism theory, it is hypothesized that Chinese students do not follow these Western scripts (physical pleasure, peer pressure and partner pressure).

Measures: Independent variables: Ethnicity and Sexual Motive scale; Dependent variable: Sexual involvement (Bentler’s Heterosexual Assessment I & II)

Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression

Result:

Although 85 male university students responded to this study, only 64 cases were analyzed. Automatic listwise deletion was performed to handle missing data on variable positive affection, physical pleasure, peer pressure and partner pressure. Hierarchical multiple regression was carried out to investigate two associations. First, to explore whether male students who have sex to show love, enjoy physical pleasure, and to submit to peer and partner pressure have higher levels of sexual involvement. Second, to explore whether the relationship between reasons to have sex (i.e., positive affection, physical pleasure, peer pressure, and partner pressure) and levels of sexual involvement is unique to Euro Canadian male students.

Preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure the assumptions of normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, and multicollinearity were not violated (See Appendix). While the Variance Inflation Factors were less than 10 for physical pleasure, peer pressure, partner pressure and Chinese, the Tolerance values for all variables were more than .10. Both the VIF and Tolerance indicated that multicollinearity was unlikely to be an issue.

In the first stage of hierarchical multiple regression, five predictors were entered: love reason, pleasure reason, peer reason, partner reason and filial piety. This model was statistically significant $F(5,58) = 5.831, p < .001$ and explained 34% of variance in men's levels of sexual involvement. The result was contrary to hypothesis 2a (Table 3). Endorsing love, physical pleasure, peer pressure, and partner pressure as reasons to have sex did not significantly predict men's levels of sexual involvement. After adding religiosity, relationship status, and Chinese in Step 2, the total variance explained by the model as a whole was 58% ($F(8,55) = 9.655, p < .001$). The introduction of these three variables accounted for an additional 25% variance in men's levels of sexual involvement, after controlling for reasons of love, pleasure, peer pressure, partner pressure and filial piety. Hypothesis 2b was also rejected at the 5% significance level (Table 3). There was no significant difference in the effects of positive affection, physical pleasure, peer pressure and partner pressure between Euro-Canadian and Chinese male students' levels of sexual involvement.

Due to listwise deletion of missing data, 76 cases were analyzed even though 115 female students took part in this study. Hierarchical multiple regression was performed to examine whether women's reasons for having sex (i.e., physical pleasure, peer and partner pressure) predict their levels of sexual involvement. I also examined whether these reasons were more likely to affect Euro Canadian women's levels of sexual involvement than Chinese women's. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure the assumptions of hierarchical multiple regression were met. Like the analysis for the male sample, love, physical pleasure, peer pressure, partner pressure and filial piety were entered as predictors in the first step of hierarchical multiple regression for the female sample. This model was statistically significant $F(5,70) = 9.581, p < .001$ and explained 41% of variance in women's levels of sexual

involvement. The result failed to reject hypothesis 2a completely (Table 4). Female students who engaged in sex to enjoy physical pleasure had significantly higher levels of sexual involvement ($\beta = .32, p < .01$). However, contrary to hypothesis 2a, female students who had sex due to partner pressure had lower levels of sexual involvement ($\beta = -.264, p < .05$).

Hypothesis 3: Degree of Acculturation is associated with sexual involvement.

Rationale: The extents to which the Chinese students identify with the mainstream culture (mainstream acculturation) and maintain connection with their heritage culture (heritage acculturation) have an effect on their levels of sexual involvement.

Measures: Independent variables: Mainstream and heritage dimension of acculturation (Vancouver Index of Acculturation); Dependent variable: Sexual involvement (Bentler's Heterosexual Assessment I & II)

Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression

Result:

Mainstream and heritage acculturation were added in model 3 to predict levels of sexual involvement among male students. With the addition of mainstream and heritage acculturation in model 3, the total variance explained by the model as a whole was 67% ($F(10,53) = 10.641, p < .001$). The introduction of these three variables explained additional 8.3% variance in men's levels of sexual involvement, after controlling for love reason, pleasure reason, peer reason, partner reason, filial piety, religiosity and relationship status.

The results failed to reject hypothesis 3 completely. Although heritage acculturation was not significantly related to male respondents' sexual involvement, men who were more acculturated to the mainstream culture had higher levels of sexual involvement ($\beta = .42, p < .01$)

(Table 2.3). In contrast, both heritage and mainstream acculturation had no significant influence on female students' levels of sexual involvement (Table 2.4).

Hypothesis 4: Higher levels of filial piety are related to lower levels of sexual involvement.

Rationale: This is a test of traditional non-European cultural script. Filial Piety is a fundamental Chinese script which condemns acts that bring shame on family. Premarital sex has traditionally been a taboo in the Chinese culture. Therefore, I hypothesize that students who hold onto filial piety strongly have lower levels of sexual involvement.

Measures: Independent variables: Filial Piety Scale; Dependent variable: Sexual involvement (Bentler's Heterosexual Assessment I & II)

Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression

Result:

Filial Piety was entered in the first model with other sexual scripts. Male students who strongly adhered to the filial piety scripts were significantly less involved in premarital sex ($\beta = -.55, p < .001$) (Table 2.3). On the other hand, the script of filial piety had no significant effect on female students' level of sexual involvement (Table 2.4).

Hypothesis 5: Greater Religiosity is related to lower levels of sexual involvement.

Rationale: This is a test of the independent effect of religion on sexual behaviors.

Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression

Result:

As indicated in model 2 of both male and female regression analyses, highly religious men ($\beta = -.429, p < .001$) and women ($\beta = -.501, p < .001$) had significantly lower levels of

sexual involvement than those who were less religious. When the acculturation variable was added in model 3, religiosity continued to be significantly and negatively correlated with men's ($\beta = -.468, p < .001$) and women's ($\beta = -.474, p < .001$) levels of sexual involvement.

Table 2.2. Levels of sexual involvement between Euro-Canadian and Chinese Canadian

	Mean BHA	Probability
Male Euro-Canadian	6.8913	.000
Male Chinese Canadian	5.1282	
Female Euro-Canadian	6.1333	.001
Female Chinese Canadian	4.6364	

Note: Female and male BHA are scaled differently and cannot be compared

Table 2.3. Independent variables regression coefficients (Beta) for male sexual involvement (N=85)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Love reason	-.178	-.156	-.199*	-.214*
Pleasure reason	-.069	-.137	-.119	-.106
Peer reason	-.027	-.033	-.084	-.095
Partner reason	.097	.184	.128	.107
Filial piety	-.550***	-.489**	.053	.094
Religiosity		-.429***	-.468***	-.478***
Relationship status		-.204*	-.143	-.132
Chinese		-.014	-.302	-.373
Heritage acculturation			-.238	-.279
Mainstream acculturation			.416**	.407**
Living arrangement				.095
Rsq	.578	.764	.817	.821
df	5,58	8,55	10,53	11,52

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 2.4. Independent variables regression coefficients (Beta) for female sexual involvement (N=115)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Love reason	-.113	-.030	-.006	-.012
Pleasure reason	.322**	.080	.070	.085
Peer reason	.198	.183	.264*	.265*
Partner reason	-.264*	-.220*	-.213*	-.205*
Filial piety	-.177	-.279*	-.126	-.106
Religiosity		-.501***	-.474***	-.455***
Relationship status		-.088	-.090	-.085
Chinese		.025	-.166	-.129
Heritage acculturation			-.214	-.238*
Mainstream acculturation			-.062	-.078
Living arrangement				.121
Rsq	.406	.617	.638	.648
df	5,70	8,67	10,65	11,64

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Discussion

Differences in sexual behaviour between European descendents and Chinese have been extensively documented. These behaviour differences are the outcomes of cultural manifestations. Residing in the new country alone does not change people's sexual behaviours if they do not adopt the values of the new mainstream culture and/or still hold on to their heritage cultural values. Although researchers acknowledge the pervasive role of culture in sexuality, little attention has been given to how culture influences sexual behaviours. Therefore, this thesis attempted to use symbolic interaction theory to uncover the underlying mechanisms leading to the cultural differences in sexual behaviours.

To establish the basis for this thesis, I examined whether there were differences in the level of sexual involvement between Euro-Canadian and Chinese university students. Consistent with the thesis hypotheses, Euro-Canadian male and female students were more likely to advance to more intimate forms of sexual contact with their dating or engaged partner than Chinese men and women, respectively. This finding is congruent with previous research which found that Chinese had more conservative sexual behaviours than European Canadians and Americans (Meston, & Ahrold, 2010; Meston, Trapnell, & Gorzalka, 1996).

This thesis hypothesized that Euro-Canadian and Chinese young adults followed their own cultural scripts on sexual behaviour, and as a result, had different level of sexual involvements. Today, the sexual scripts in the western culture commonly accept young adults to engage in premarital sex for reasons including positive affection and physical pleasure. Other western sexual scripts justify premarital sex when young adults engage in it to respond to pressure from their peers or partner. On the contrary, sexual scripts that permit premarital sex are less prominent in Chinese culture. Sex outside of marriage is a condemned conduct in

Chinese' dominant script Confucianism. The virtue of filial piety in Confucianism restrains Chinese from engaging in premarital sex as it brings shame to their family.

This study examined the influence of today's western sexual scripts by looking at the reasons why young adults had premarital sex: positive affection, physical pleasure, peer pressure, and partner pressure. The results of this study indicated that the reasons why university men engaged in premarital sex had no bearing on their levels of sexual involvement. Furthermore, their reasons did not predict the differences in sexual involvement between Euro-Canadian and Chinese male students.

On the other hand, female university students who cited physical pleasure as their reason to have premarital sex were significantly more likely to have higher levels of sexual involvement. Another reason that had a significant effect on women's sexual involvement was the pressure to have sex from their partner. However, the findings suggested that, contrary to the hypothesis, women who yielded to their partner's pressure to have sex had significantly lower levels of sexual involvement. In order to understand this unexpected association between women's sexual compliance and their low levels of sexual involvement, researchers should first examine whether this is a spurious correlation. A possible confounding variable is the acceptance of traditional sexual scripts. In congruence with traditional sexual scripts, women were more likely than men to comply with their committed partner's desire to have sex even when they did not want to (O' Sullivan & Allgeier, 1998; Shotland & Hunter, 1995). At the same time, traditional cultural scripts guided women to be more sexually conservative or to appear as sexually conservative to avoid negative sanctions such as being labelled derogatorily (Masters, Casey, Wells, & Morrison, 2012).

In addition to western sexual scripts, this study also examined Confucianism, the Chinese cultural script which governs all human behaviours. Specifically, this study looked at whether the practice of filial piety, the core virtue of Confucian ethics, was related to conservative sexual behaviours. The results showed that the virtue of filial piety was significantly associated with lower level of sexual involvement for men only. However, the influence of acculturation predicted men's level of sexual involvement above and beyond the effect of filial piety. Specifically, filial piety did not have a significant impact on sexual involvement when male respondents were acculturated to the mainstream culture.

Religion was the most prevalent sexual script for the participants in this study. It was beyond the scope of this study to compare the effects of various religion traditions on sexuality. Instead, this study was interested in how religious participants thought of themselves. For both male and female university students, high religiosity was significantly associated with lower levels of sexual involvement. This finding supported past research on the influence of religion deterring premarital sex (Pehring, Cheever, German, & Philpot, 1998; Thornton & Camburn, 1989; Herold & Goodman, 1981; Libby, Gray, & White, 1978; Davidson & Leslie, 1977).

An interesting finding was revealed from the hierarchical multiple regression analysis when examining the unique contribution of Chinese ethnicity. After controlling for the effects of the western scripts (positive affection, pleasure, peer and partner pressure) and Chinese script (filial piety), significant differences in sexual involvement were not found between Euro-Canadian and Chinese students. Chinese ethnicity did not have an effect above and beyond the effects of sexual scripts.

In addition to Chinese ethnicity, identification with either the Chinese culture or western culture did not predict the level of sexual involvement among female students. This study did

not replicate previous research findings, as it did not observe the relationship between acculturation effects and women's sexual involvement. However, past results on the effects of acculturation on women's sexuality have been mixed. Brotto et al. (2005) found that Asian women who were highly acculturated to the mainstream culture experienced significantly more sexual behaviors, whereas Meston and Ahrold (2010) found that heritage acculturation was the only significant predictor negatively correlated with the experience in masturbation and oral sex.

On the other hand, past studies did not find a significant impact of acculturation on Asian men's sexual behaviors (Meston & Ahrold, 2010). Brotto et al. (2005) only noted the significant positive effect of mainstream acculturation on body image, sexual knowledge, liberal attitudes, and fantasies among Asian men (Brotto et al, 2005). Men with greater mainstream acculturation were also significantly less likely to have sexual dysfunction. Yet, this study showed that male students who identified with the mainstream culture were significantly more likely to engage in a wider range of sexual behaviors.

The processes of acculturation are complex. One potential reason this study did not observe similar acculturation effects reported in past research was the use of a summative Likert scale for sexual experience. Heterosexual Behavior Assessment was used to measure the levels of sexual involvement in this study. This scale produced a single index, which indicated the number and type(s) of sexual behavior the respondent engaged in before. However, acculturation might have different effects on different types of sexual behavior. For example, masturbation and oral sex were the only behaviors influenced by heritage acculturation in Meston and Ahrold's (2010) research. Therefore, the single index produced by the Heterosexual Behavior Assessment might not capture how acculturation shaped each sexual behavior.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study faced several limitations that may affect the findings. First, Chinese respondents might be less inclined to share details about their sexual behaviors (Tang, Lai, Phil, & Chung, 1997). The topic of sex has been a taboo in the Chinese culture. With the lack of open discussion about sex at home and school, Chinese are socialized to view sex as a private matter (Zhang, Li, Shah, Baldwin, & Stanton, 2007; Zhang, Li, & Shah, 2007). To address respondents' privacy concerns over their sexual behaviors, they were assured of complete anonymity and confidentiality.

Second, the present study only measured self-perceived religiousness. The questionnaire did not identify the specific religion respondents belonged to. According to the 2001 Census of Canada, the majority of Canadians of Chinese origin (56%) was not affiliated with any religion. However, among the religious Chinese Canadians, 14% reported they were Buddhist, 14% reported were Catholic, and 9 % were Protestant or members of other Christian denomination. Because not all Chinese were Buddhist, we were not able to conclude whether religious Chinese respondents remained abstinent for western or Chinese beliefs.

Third, the sample size in the current study might be too small to detect significant associations from the data. Although 85 male university students participated in this study, only 40 men of European descent and 24 men of Chinese descent disclosed their reasons to have sex. Similarly, there were 115 female participants in this study; yet, only 44 women of European descent and 32 women of Chinese descent revealed their reasons to have sex. Due to the small sample size, caution must be applied, as the findings might not be transferable to overall Euro-Canadian and Chinese Canadian university students.

Fourth, the measure Heterosexual Behavior Assessment that was used to assess the dependent variable levels of sexual involvement had different versions for men and women. Specifically, items in the male version “Touching partner's breasts” and “Having your genitals orally stimulated” were replaced with “Breasts touched by partner” and “Oral stimulation of partner's genitals” in the female version. Given the male and female students filled in different versions of Heterosexual Behavior Assessment in this study, I was not able to explore the gender differences in the levels of sexual involvement. Therefore, future research might explore gender differences in the relationship between adherence to cultural scripts and sexual involvement.

Another limitation posed by the Heterosexual Behavior Assessment was the use of the Guttman scaling. In this Guttman scale, sexual intercourse was ranked before the oral sex items. Therefore, the single index of 5 would mean the participant had engaged in sexual intercourse but not oral sex. A score of 6 would mean the participant had engaged in both sexual intercourse and oral sex. However, little is known whether it is common for Chinese young adults to engage in sexual intercourse before any oral sex activities. In fact, in a study at a Southwestern university, more Asian undergraduates reported having had oral sex than sexual intercourse (Meston & Ahrold, 2010). Since it was not clear whether the use of the Guttman scaling was appropriate for the Chinese sample, this study treated the Heterosexual Behavior Assessment as a summative Likert scale. Notwithstanding these limitations, the current study contributes to the existing literature by showing that sexual involvement was associated with some of the sexual scripts embedded in our culture.

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Appendices

Appendix A Consent Form and Questionnaire

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Consent Form

More than pleasure: Factors important to sexual decision-making among Euro-Canadian and Chinese-Canadian young adults

Principal Investigator: Dr. James Ponzetti
Department of Sociology
University of British Columbia

Co-Investigator(s): Queenie Wong
University of British Columbia

This research is part of a thesis for a Master of Arts degree in Family Studies.

Purpose:

The purpose of this research is to find factors affecting how sexually involved Euro-Canadian and Chinese-Canadian young adults are before marriage. Sexual involvement ranges from hugging to mutual oral sex.

You are eligible to take part because you are a 19-24 year old, never married, heterosexual university student in Vancouver, B. C, and are either of European or Asian descent.

Procedures:

You will be asked to complete an online survey that will take approximately 15-20 minutes. Questions are mainly multiple-choice with a few fill-in-the blank.

Potential Risks

There is little or no risk in completing this survey. If some questions concern information that you may not be comfortable answering, you are free to skip these items.

Potential Benefits:

This study provides an opportunity for you to contemplate why and when to engage in sex.

Confidentiality:

This online survey is available at FluidSurveys. FluidSurveys will not sell or share any collected data. The FluidSurveys account created for the study is password protected. Responses will be deleted and the account will be cancelled once the data collection ends.

No identifying information such as name, email address or IP (Internet Protocol) address will be collected. Only Dr. James Ponzetti and Queenie Wong will have access to the data. The data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in Dr. Ponzetti's office. Your responses will be used solely for the purpose of the study and corresponding publications.

Contact for information:

If you would like to know about the research findings or have any questions, you may contact Dr. James Ponzetti or Queenie Wong.

Contact for concerns about the rights of research subjects:

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 604-822-8598 or if long distance e-mail to RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or toll free 1-877-822-8598.

Consent:

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time with no consequences. Clicking on the "agree" button below indicates you:

- have read the above information and
- voluntarily consent to participate

If you do not wish to participate in the research study, please decline participation by clicking on the "disagree" button.

- Agree
- Disagree

Sexual Decision Making

Please answer all questions as openly and honestly as possible. Thank you for your participation in our research!

Section A: Demographics

1) What is your age?

2) What is your sex?

☐ Female

☐ Male

3) What is your sexual orientation?

☐ Heterosexual

☐ Gay or Lesbian

☐ Bisexual

4) Are you attending a post-secondary institution in Vancouver, B. C. ?

☐ Yes

☐ No

4a) What school do you attend? (Only students attending post-secondary institution in Vancouver, B. C. will see this question).

☐ University of British Columbia

☐ Simon Fraser University

☐ Kwantlen Polytechnic University

☐ British Columbia Institute of Technology

☐ Other, please specify: _____

5) What is your ethnic background?

☐ European descent

☐ Asian descent

☐ Other, please specify: _____

6a) What culture do you identify with most? (Only respondents of European descent will see this question.)

- ☐ English
- ☐ Scottish
- ☐ Irish
- ☐ German
- ☐ French
- ☐ Dutch (Netherlands)
- ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ Italian
- ☐ Other, please specify: _____

6a) What culture do you identify with most? (Only respondents of Asian descent will see this question.)

- ☐ Mainland Chinese
- ☐ Taiwanese
- ☐ Hong Kong
- ☐ East Indian
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Other, please specify: _____

7) How would you describe your relationship status with your current or most recent partner?
(Check one)

- ☐ Casually dating
- ☐ Seriously dating
- ☐ Engaged
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Never had a partner

8) Who do you currently live with?

- ☐ Self
- ☐ Parent(s)
- ☐ Relatives other than parents (e.g. grandparents or siblings)
- ☐ Partner
- ☐ Friends
- ☐ Other, please specify: _____

9) How religious are you?

- ☐ 1 Not at all
- ☐ 2 Slightly
- ☐ 3 Fairly
- ☐ 4 Very
- ☐ 5 Extremely

Section B: Sexual involvement

10) Check the behaviour(s) you have experienced with your current/ most recent partner: (male version)

- ☐ Hugging
- ☐ Kissing on the lips
- ☐ Touching partner's breasts
- ☐ Touching each other's genital
- ☐ Sexual intercourse
- ☐ Having your genital orally stimulated
- ☐ Oral stimulation of partner's genital
- ☐ Mutual oral-genital stimulation
- ☐ None of the above

10) Check the behaviour(s) you have experienced with your current/ most recent partner: (female version)

- ☐ Hugging
- ☐ Kissing on the lips
- ☐ Breasts touched by partner
- ☐ Touching each other's genital
- ☐ Sexual intercourse
- ☐ Oral stimulation of partner's genital
- ☐ Having your genital orally stimulated
- ☐ Mutual oral-genital stimulation
- ☐ None of the above

10a) How many partners have you hugged and/ or kissed?

(Only respondents who have hugged and/ or kissed their partner will see this question.)

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2-3
- ☐ 4-5
- ☐ 6 or more

10b) With how many partners have you engaged in caressing behaviours (breasts and/ or genital touching)?

(Only respondents who will see this question.)

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2-3
- ☐ 4-5
- ☐ 6 or more

10c) With how many partners have you had sexual intercourse?

(Only respondents who have had sexual intercourse will see this question.)

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2-3
- ☐ 4-5
- ☐ 6 or more

10d) With how many partners have you engaged in oral sex?

(Only respondents who have engaged in oral sex will see this question.)

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2-3
- ☐ 4-5
- ☐ 6 or more

(Respondents who have had sexual intercourse will see this page).

Section C: Reasons to have sex

The following reasons may, or may not, have been important in your decision to engage in sexual intercourse. Please rate each statement on how important it was in your decision to have sex with your current or most recent partner. A "1" indicates that this was not important at all. A "5" indicates that this was extremely important.

	Not at all important				Extremely important
	1	2	3	4	5
1) Felt horny	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2) To feel good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3) For excitement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4) For thrill of it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5) To satisfy sexual needs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6) To be more intimate with partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7) Expressed love	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8) To make emotional connection	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9) Closer to partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10) To feel emotionally closer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11) Feared partner won't love you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12) Partner will get angry at you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13) Worried partner will break up with you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14) Peers will think less of you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15) Peers will make fun of you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16) Because friends were having sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17) Had sex so peers won't put you down	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section C: Reasons to have sex (For respondents who have never engaged in sex).

The following reasons might, or might not, be important in your decision to engage in sexual intercourse. Please rate each statement on how important you expect them to be in your decision to have sex with your ideal partner. A "1" indicates that this would not be important at all. A "5" indicates that this would be extremely important.

	Not at all important				Extremely important
	1	2	3	4	5
1) Feel horny	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2) To feel good	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3) For excitement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4) For thrill of it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5) Satisfy sexual needs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6) More intimate with partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7) Express love	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8) Make emotional connection	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9) Closer to partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10) Feel emotionally closer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11) Fear partner won't love you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12) Partner gets angry at you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13) Worry partner will break up with you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14) Peers will think less of you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15) Peers will make fun of you if didn't have sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16) Because friends are having sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17) Have sex so peers won't put you down	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section D: Acculturation

This section examines your level of acculturation. Many of these statements will refer to your heritage culture, meaning the culture that has influenced you most (other than Canadian culture). It may be the culture of your birth, the culture in which you have been raised, or another culture that forms part of your background. If there are several such cultures, pick the one that has influenced you most (e.g. Irish, Chinese, Mexican, East Indian). A "1" indicates you strongly disagree with the statement. A "5" indicates you strongly agree with the statement.

Your heritage culture (other than Canadian) is: _____

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1) I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2) I often participate in mainstream Canadian cultural traditions.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3) I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4) I would be willing to marry an Euro Canadian person.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5) I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6) I enjoy social activities with typical Canadian people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7) I am comfortable interacting with people of the same heritage culture as myself.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8) I am comfortable interacting with typical Canadian people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9) I enjoy entertainment from my heritage culture (e.g. movies, music).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10) I enjoy Canadian entertainment (e.g. movies, music).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 11) I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12) I often behave in ways that are “typically Canadian”. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13) It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14) It is important for me to maintain or develop Canadian cultural practices. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15) I believe in the values of my heritage culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16) I believe in mainstream Canadian values. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17) I enjoy the jokes and humor of my heritage culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18) I enjoy Euro-Canadian jokes and humor. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19) I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19) I am interested in having Euro-Canadian friends. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Section E: Filial Piety

The statements below describe the ways people treat their parents. Please rate the following in terms of their importance to you. If there is a difference between how you interact with your father and with your mother, please choose the parent who has more influence on you as the main target to answer the items. A "1" indicates that this is not important at all. A "5" indicates that this is extremely important.

	Not at all important				Extremely important
	1	2	3	4	5
1) Take my parents' suggestions even when I do not agree with them.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2) Let my income be handled by my parents before marriage.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3) Disregard promises to friends in order to obey my parents.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4) Give up my aspirations to meet my parents' expectations.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5) Do whatever my parents ask right away.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6) Avoid getting married to someone my parents dislike.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix B Descriptive and Correlations for Female University Students (N=115)

		Sexual Involvement	Chinese	Love reason	Pleasure reason	Partner reason	Peer reason	Heritage Acculturation	Mainstream Acculturation	Filial Piety	Religiosity	Relationship Status	Living Arrangement	School
Sexual Involvement	Pearson Correlation	1												
	Sig. (2-tailed)													
	N	115												
Chinese	Pearson Correlation	-.318**	1											
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001												
	N	115	115											
Love reason	Pearson Correlation	-.100	.111	1										
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.391	.342											
	N	76	76	76										
Pleasure reason	Pearson Correlation	.503**	-.265*	-.008	1									
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.020	.942										
	N	76	76	76	76									
Partner reason	Pearson Correlation	-.313**	.249*	.154	-.040	1								
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.030	.185	.732									
	N	76	76	76	76	76								
Peer reason	Pearson Correlation	.327**	-.269*	.305**	.502**	.244*	1							
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.019	.007	.000	.033								
	N	76	76	76	76	76	76							
Heritage Acculturation	Pearson Correlation	-.592**	.c	-.077	-.540**	.530**	-.574**	1						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	0.000	.674	.001	.002	.001							
	N	55	55	32	32	32	32	55						
Mainstream Acculturation	Pearson Correlation	.480**	.c	-.049	.607**	-.426*	.481**	-.808**	1					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	0.000	.792	.000	.015	.005	.000						
	N	55	55	32	32	32	32	55	55					
Filial Piety	Pearson Correlation	-.483**	.766**	.020	-.396**	.382**	-.376**	.814**	-.708**	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.861	.000	.001	.001	.000	.000					
	N	115	115	76	76	76	76	55	55	115				
Religiosity	Pearson Correlation	-.574**	-.043	.183	-.405**	.008	-.101	.177	-.178	.014	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.650	.114	.000	.947	.384	.195	.195	.878				
	N	115	115	76	76	76	76	55	55	115	115			
Relationship Status	Pearson Correlation	-.343**	.248**	-.043	-.172	.288*	-.206	.337*	-.251	.336**	.106	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.008	.712	.137	.012	.074	.012	.065	.000	.261			
	N	115	115	76	76	76	76	55	55	115	115	115		
Living Arrangement	Pearson Correlation	.317**	-.538**	.004	.144	-.188	.204	-.045	-.025	-.466**	-.062	-.215*	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.974	.216	.104	.077	.746	.854	.000	.514	.021		
	N	115	115	76	76	76	76	55	55	115	115	115	115	
School	Pearson Correlation	-.014	.141	-.060	.029	.311**	.010	.120	-.136	.179	.000	.310**	-.170	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.882	.134	.604	.800	.006	.933	.382	.323	.056	1.000	.001	.069	
	N	115	115	76	76	76	76	55	55	115	115	115	115	115
Mean		5.4174	.4783	18.6184	18.1053	6.4342	7.5395	3.8891	3.4745	12.7652	2.4	1.84	2.84	1.130
Std. Deviation		2.35820	.50171	1.99310	4.68637	2.59402	3.81030	1.03739	1.07328	5.84047	1.227	.961	1.604	.6000
N		115	76	76	76	76	76	55	55	115	115	115	115	115

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

c. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

Appendix C Descriptive and Correlations for Male University Students (N=85)

		Sexual Involvement	Chinese	Love reason	Pleasure reason	Partner reason	Peer reason	Heritage Acculturation	Mainstream Acculturation	Filial Piety	Religiosity	Relationship Status	Living Arrangement	School
Sexual Involvement	Pearson Correlation	1												
	Sig. (2-tailed)													
	N	85												
Chinese	Pearson Correlation	-.406**	1											
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000												
	N	85	85											
Love reason	Pearson Correlation	-.188	.178	1										
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.137	.160											
	N	64	64	64										
Pleasure reason	Pearson Correlation	-.046	-.014	-.109	1									
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.716	.915	.391										
	N	64	64	64	64									
Partner reason	Pearson Correlation	.041	.159	.062	-.201	1								
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.749	.210	.624	.112									
	N	64	64	64	64	64								
Peer reason	Pearson Correlation	.064	-.206	.046	.227	.059	1							
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.614	.103	.720	.071	.643								
	N	64	64	64	64	64	64							
Heritage Acculturation	Pearson Correlation	-.554**	. ^c	-.322	-.059	-.212	-.104	1						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	0.000	.124	.786	.320	.630							
	N	39	39	24	24	24	24	39						
Mainstream Acculturation	Pearson Correlation	.579**	. ^c	.193	-.070	.119	.162	-.720**	1					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	0.000	.367	.746	.580	.450	.000						
	N	39	39	24	24	24	24	39	39					
Filial Piety	Pearson Correlation	-.538**	.784**	.040	-.052	.104	-.199	.912**	-.676**	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.752	.681	.413	.115	.000	.000					
	N	85	85	64	64	64	64	39	39	85				
Religiosity	Pearson Correlation	-.517**	.030	.036	-.075	.066	-.060	.153	-.041	.111	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.788	.776	.555	.602	.637	.352	.805	.312				
	N	85	85	64	64	64	64	39	39	85	85			
Relationship Status	Pearson Correlation	-.260*	.029	.093	-.293*	.382**	.006	.057	-.219	.084	.256*	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.016	.792	.465	.019	.002	.965	.732	.180	.444	.018			
	N	85	85	64	64	64	64	39	39	85	85	85		
Living Arrangement	Pearson Correlation	.217*	-.425**	.074	-.023	.088	.220	-.183	.083	-.374**	.060	.002	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.046	.000	.561	.859	.488	.081	.265	.614	.000	.584	.987		
	N	85	85	64	64	64	64	39	39	85	85	85	85	
School	Pearson Correlation	.104	-.104	-.086	-.293*	-.080	-.210	.038	0.000	-.061	-.092	-.029	-.156	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.345	.346	.499	.019	.528	.095	.817	1.000	.576	.405	.793	.153	
	N	85	85	64	64	64	64	39	39	85	85	85	85	85
Mean		6.0824	.4588	17.2656	23.7969	4.6406	9.5469	3.8256	3.5000	11.8941	2.32	1.54	2.80	1.106
Std. Deviation		2.17787	.50126	5.78515	2.67961	2.37959	3.34251	1.07084	1.13067	5.96822	1.293	.733	1.744	.4885
N		85	85	64	64	64	64	39	39	85	85	85	85	85

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

c. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

Appendix D Independent Samples T-Test for Female University Students

Group Statistics					
	Ethnic	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Sexual Involvement	Female Euro-Canadians	60	6.1333	2.15081	.27767
	Female Chinese	55	4.6364	2.34413	.31608

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Sexual Involvement	Equal variances assumed	1.051	.307	3.572	113	.001	1.49697	.41914	.66657	2.32736
	Equal variances not assumed			3.558	109.706	.001	1.49697	.42072	.66317	2.33077

Appendix E Independent Samples T-Test for Male University Students

Group Statistics					
	Ethnic	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Sexual Involvement	Male Euro-Canadians	46	6.8913	1.67635	.24716
	Male Chinese	39	5.1282	2.33034	.37315

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Sexual Involvement	Equal variances assumed	5.527	.021	4.045	83	.000	1.76310	.43587	.89616	2.63004
	Equal variances not assumed			3.939	67.660	.000	1.76310	.44759	.86987	2.65633