COHESION AND COMPETITION
FAMILY STRUCTURE IN ELEVEN CHINESE HOUSEHOLDS
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ABSTRACT

The subject of this dissertation is the form of the Chinese family in eleven Vancouver households. Using a theoretical model of the "traditional" family, this research is concerned with the differentiation of roles in the domestic unit and how this is affected by the political and economic needs of the household. It is a view of Chinese family life expressed by children, and is concerned with how "traditional" family structure persists in these Chinese homes.

Participant-observation, interviews, and a questionnaire were used to gain these insights. The research lasted for several months and was extended to include supplemented data from almost fifty Chinese families. A control group of non-Chinese respondents also completed the questionnaire. Nonetheless the dissertation as a whole is dependent upon data from the eleven households.

It is the high degree of loyalty, co-operation, and cohesion in these families which is perhaps their most salient feature. This is related to the organization of the family store which all possess, the
persistence of "traditional" differentiation of roles, and the agreement on high values of achievement. It is also related to the elusive but undeniable cultural identity of these households -- one which continues to affect family structure.

In many respects these households approximate the "traditional" model, but one of its salient characteristics is lacking. There is no continuity of economic roles for children in these families, and this is highly significant for sons in particular. While at present there is family stability, the future will inevitably bring alterations in family structure as children assume economic roles outside the family: this is a radical departure from the "traditional" Chinese family.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation intends to explore some of the general problems of acculturation and assimilation by focusing on one aspect of potential change in the Vancouver Chinese community -- the structure of the family.

The Chinese family has always been of some interest to social scientists. Much of this interest has been due to the strong and deep-rooted identity of the family with Chinese personality, values, and Chinese society. The family is typically characterized as a kinship structure governed by the two principles of patriliney and generation, and supported by the values of filial piety, ancestor worship, and submission to authority. These are seen reflected in the family by the preference for sons over daughters, generational precedence, and acute differentiation between the sexes. The Chinese family is often described as the basic unit of identity and action in Chinese society. Rose Hum Lee's comments on the literature are apt:

The Chinese family is said, redundantly and monotonously, to be the basic unalterable unit of Chinese society, possessing superhuman
ability to withstand social change, westernization wars and other crises, with a tenacity that symbolizes indestructible China. ... The study of scientific data on the Chinese family is a recent development, and the paucity of accurate knowledge has contributed to and reinforced the misconception current in the literature about this institution.  

A useful distinction in critiques of the pertinent literature in this field, and also of particular relevance in this dissertation is one made by Freedman. Referring to the widely held view that the family was the basic unit of Chinese society, Freedman points out that behind the confusion found in many such descriptions lies a failure "to distinguish between the family as a specific social group on the one hand and kinship on the other". Although kinship was an important factor in the political, economic, and religious conduct of members of the Chinese society, the institution of the family was of a different order. Clearly the Chinese state relied on the family as the first unit of social control, but as Freedman explains, confining one's attention to the family as a domestic unit -- concerned with the affairs of the hearth, children, and marriage -- one easily ignores the whole range of wider institutions in Chinese society without which the family can in fact have little meaning. The issue here is simply that a distinction must be made between the family as a domestic unit and the wider network of kinship relations,
and that dropping a perpendicular line from the pinnacle of the political system in the Chinese state to the network of family relationships is not only a futile but an illogical procedure. There can be no simplistic or reductionist approach to the Chinese family and its meaning in the Chinese state. The distinction between the family and its realm of domestic life and that of kinship and its much wider implications must be maintained. One could perhaps best paraphrase Freedman's remarks by observing that the family in Chinese society fulfilled the functions that families fulfill in other cultures: it provided the basic consanguineal membership unit upon which the remainder of the social organization rested. It is this basic domestic unit with which this dissertation is concerned.

The Chinese overseas have not been neglected by social scientists. The bulk of this literature, however, is concerned with overseas Chinese communities in South East Asia, where in fact most immigrant Chinese are found. It is only Freedman's *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore* that deals with the persistence of "traditional" Chinese values concerning family life. His interest is the process of acculturation in Singapore and how it affects two major areas of Chinese family life -- the rituals of marriage and death. Thus, although Freedman provides data on the persistence of "traditional"
criteria of role differentiation in the family, he prefers to trace these as they are reflected in the wider patterns of change, in the specific *rites de passage* of marriage and death, and in social and legal definitions of these institutions. Like others who have an interest in the institution of the Chinese family, he does not deal intensively with the actual system of family relationships, but with the basic configurations of the family as they are reflected by the persistence of "traditional" observances in the society.

Studies of the Chinese family in North America often take the same approach. There are both wide-ranging and intensive investigations of Chinese ghettos -- "Chinatowns" -- and the patterns of immigration, economic organization, and "traditional" ritual and religious observances found within the boundaries of such communities. Nowhere, however, is the family dealt with as a unit, and studied as an entity related to, but structurally separate from, these broad patterns of the Chinese community. This does not mean that the work of Lee, Kung and others does not provide insight into the family by tracing the wider patterns of Chinese-American life: clearly such research often indicates how family structure is found or reflected in wider forms of social organization.

It is the intention of this study to provide
some data on one of the most crucial and yet most neglected aspects of the Chinese in North America -- the form of the basic family unit, and how this form is retained in an alien culture. This basic family unit will be defined here as the household. There are several reasons for this, the first being dictated by frequent references in the pertinent literature on "traditional" China to the importance of the basic household group. Marion J. Levy, whose analysis of the "traditional" family provides the framework for this data, remarks that the family is the chief structural unit of his study and "is used to denote the smallest kinship unit on a membership basis which is treated as a unit for generalized purposes by other parts of the society and by other parts of the kinship structure". Freedman's definition of the household apart from the wider kinship network appears a logical extension of Levy's obvious reference to a spatial entity. Freedman's definition is:

A group of people living under one roof and co-operating economically at least to the extent of sharing in the provision of food.

Bohannan emphasizes the need to distinguish between the kinship network, the biological or nuclear family, and the household group in kinship studies. His remarks are of great relevance in this dissertation, where the household group is the real object of study.
Bohannan states:

The two functions of the family ... are the regulation of sex and provision of new members of the community ... The functions of the household are somewhat different -- again, the distinction ... must be maintained, even when the two may contain the same people, or be based on the same ... relationships ... The function associated with the acquisition of domestic rights is the provision of an institution -- the domestic institution -- which forms a basis for division of labor required to fulfill the material and spiritual needs of members.

The household usually functions as the unit that fulfills the specific needs of the human organism: the provision of food and shelter. It is ... moreover, the household that assumes almost everywhere the responsibility for bringing up the children, and implanting in them the values, ideas, and techniques of the culture. The household is, in short, the primary institution of education ... and most importantly,... can assume any function; it can be the basic political unit, the religious congregation ... The household is well-nigh universal, and everywhere it bears the greatest load -- one might even say that it is the residual unit ... The household, divorced from family considerations, is an inadequately studied institution. It may well be that a classification of societies on the basis of how many and which functions are carried out by the household, and the moral dimensions given to basic family relationships that lie behind each would provide a sensible scale for the complexity of society. (emphases mine.)

Bohannan's description of the household is highly pertinent, for it is the socializing functions of these families and their effect on, and contribution to, family structure which is of some concern here. Also, the economic aspects of the domestic unit are of great importance.
There are also very good empirical as well as theoretical reasons for concentrating on the household group as being the family in this research. The data concerning family relationships is sensitive, and the confidence and co-operation of the Chinese families who provide this data were of great importance. Recent publicity and open harassment of Chinese citizens with regard to their immigrant status makes many Chinese reluctant to discuss their kinship relations beyond the immediate family or the domestic group of the household. Anticipating this kind of hesitance, and wishing to avoid probing sensitive areas of Chinese life, I decided to concern myself only with the members of the household group, and not raise issues and questions leading beyond the relationships within this unit. This approach has clearly limited many of the highly interesting issues that might have been considered, but it has proved by far the most productive and satisfying one both for these families and for myself: much of the success of this research I would attribute to averting these potentially problematic areas. Also, the implications of Freedman's and Bohannan's remarks indicate that sacrificing range of inquiry to depth of investigation is justified by the theoretical relevance of studying the household group.

The data for this dissertation comes primarily from a group of eleven Vancouver Chinese families. An
outline of the relations of these households is in Appendix A. Pseudonyms are used to ensure the anonymity of all those who helped to make this research possible. These eleven families have the following characteristics in common: all except two fathers were born in China, all of them are owners of small business enterprises, and all have teenage children; it was with the latter that I had most contact and from whom most of this data was drawn. All except two of the mothers are Canadian-born Chinese. Finally, all of these families with two exceptions have their businesses outside Chinatown, and all live in non-Chinese or "English" suburban areas of Vancouver.

The data was supplemented with information from a wider selection of families by means of a questionnaire submitted to forty-seven Chinese young people: these were of various ages and socio-economic backgrounds. Another group of twenty-four non-Chinese young people also completed the questionnaire. (See Appendix B and C.)

Some of the eleven families were more closely observed than others: five of these were studied by participant-observation over a period of four months. In these families both formal interviews and a questionnaire were used to elicit more precise information from teenagers. The remaining six families were not studied closely but all the teenage children of each family completed
questionnaires, and formal interviews were conducted with most respondents. The wider sample of forty-seven young people were not interviewed at all, but simply completed a seven page questionnaire. This questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix B of this dissertation. It should be made clear at the outset that information from the questionnaire can only be viewed as suggestive: the reasons for this have to do with the nature of the questionnaire itself and the character of the data which was sought, and are fully explicated in Appendix C. The questionnaire data is referred to, however, throughout the body of this dissertation to supplement the main source of information -- the children of the eleven Chinese families. When reference is made to this material the identity of respondents will be designated by the following terms: the "Y" group -- twenty young teenagers contacted through a branch of the YWCA located in Chinatown, the "CVC" group -- seventeen university students who are members of the Chinese Varsity Club, and the "COSA" group -- thirteen members of the Chinese Overseas Students Association enrolled at the University. It is the first two of these three groups which will be mentioned most frequently, as the major concern of this study is the Chinese-Canadian family. The control group of twenty-four non-Chinese students who completed the questionnaire are called the "English", for this is the term commonly used by Chinese young people
describing occidental Canadians.

There were very few problems in gaining "entrée" into the eleven families which form the nucleus of this research. In most cases contact was made without any introduction, and members of the family were approached in the family store. There was only one case in which the initial co-operation and good-will of these Chinese families did not continue until the end of the research. Problems in gathering data usually centered around the language difficulties of parents — particularly fathers born in China — and the fact that few mothers, and no fathers, were available for conversations and interviews because of their work in the family store. Because of these two obstacles, the data is gathered almost solely from the young people of each family.

In addition, the nature of this study and the intimate character of much of the required data often intensified the apprehensions of many young people. Beyond voicing quite typical teenage "rebellious" criticisms of their parents' ideas and expectations, those of the younger generation often did not wish to extend and clarify their remarks to openly criticize their parents. This was particularly true of children's descriptions of the process of decision-making in these families, and the role of their mother and father in this process. Questionnaire
data from children of the eleven families often elucidated some of the ambiguity of their interview responses concerning the sources of authority and responsibility in their families: the problem is essentially a cultural one, and one which receives some attention from Lang in her research on the Chinese. Her comments are relevant here in indicating the persistent hesitance of many Chinese to be critical of those to whom they have deep filial commitments:

Few women among our informants boasted of their ascendancy in the family. A domineering wife is un-Chinese ... and one had to question them closely to discover that in fact they had made decisions without consulting their husbands or that their husbands "always agreed" with their proposals.¹⁴

In the questionnaire the students were asked whether they had ever disapproved of their parents' behaviour ... But to admit to strangers that one's father is wrong is unfilial to the highest degree.¹⁵

These comments on the reticence of Chinese respondents to divulge the intimate details of family decision-making are noted here because they illustrate one of the general problems of this research: the almost consistent reluctance and difficulty of Chinese children to evaluate not only the actions of their parents but also their own actions. This difficulty is closely connected with the structure of these families as well as the "cultural" value of filial piety: it is also closely tied to one of the basic
questions of this research, which is how the family and family membership is viewed by Chinese young people.

The guiding principles in both eliciting and organizing data are found in the model of the "traditional" Chinese family provided by Marion J. Levy in *The Family Revolution in Modern China*. The full explication of Levy's model and how it was used appears in Chapter II. However, the character of this study was also determined by the fact that data was not gathered evenly from the eleven families. One household in particular was most co-operative and provided more data than any other. It was in the Chiu family that I had the most productive, continuous, and enjoyable contacts, and the most rewarding insights; hence it is this household which receives most attention.

Most important, the traits which emerged from the Chiu family were also reflected and found in other families, and it is because of the "model" value of this household and its relation to the "traditional" family that it is given special attention in Chapter III. The remaining chapters present the problems and issues raised by this close scrutiny of the Chiu family, and how they are related to the "traditional" model in Levy's analysis. The concluding chapter indicates the significance of these issues and how they might indicate further lines of research on the Chinese family.
These remarks have indicated the limitations of this study, limitations which are dictated both by the character of the data and the methods by which it was obtained. The observations in this dissertation concerning Chinese family structure might indicate further lines of research in this area. It must be clearly stated, however, that these observations are very specific: they are based on the view of the family held by the children of these Chinese households.

The theoretical orientation of this dissertation can now be presented. It is found in Levy's description of the "traditional" family. It was Levy's analysis which provided the framework for both interviews and the questionnaire, and also aided in organizing this data in a meaningful way.
CHAPTER II

THE "TRADITIONAL" CHINESE FAMILY

LEVY'S MODEL

Ideally the "traditional" Chinese family was a patriarchal household including parents, their sons, their unmarried daughters, their sons' wives and children, the sons of their sons, and the wives and children of their grandsons. This was the classic "joint family" in which the division of property or inheritance between sons was delayed in order to maintain a large, strong family unit. In fact, however, the ideal situation was achieved by only a small group within Chinese society -- the gentry -- for despite the persistence of strong family values, most families suffered economic conditions and mortality rates which made the smaller famille souche, or stem family, more prevalent. This type consisted of parents, one son and his family of procreation. It had wide occurrence in China: it stood mid-way between the ideal pattern on the one hand and the simple conjugal unit on the other. The distinction between ideal and actual family organization is made clearly by Levy, but the fact that few Chinese families were of the "joint" type -- the "true Chinese style" of family life -- did not prevent them from
subscribing to the values found in that ideal family type. The unique characteristics of the ideal family shaped attitudes, roles and relationships within all Chinese families. Taking this distinction into account, Levy describes his analysis as a "general picture of the results of the institutionalized patterns which make up the social structure" (p. 48).

Levy further describes his approach as "organizational". He argues that the Chinese family is not most fruitfully analyzed as an ego-centric network of kinship relations, but as the fundamental membership unit of the wider society. (p. 5.) The organization of the family was in fact consistent with that of the social system as a whole, hence the often observed phenomenon of "nepotism" in Chinese society. Using a structure-function conceptual framework, Levy seeks to delineate the universal and generalized requirements met by any kinship structure in order to maintain its existence. These he specifies as five subsystems of allocation: (1) role differentiation -- the allocation of roles within the family, (2) solidarity -- the distribution of relationships, (3) economic allocation -- the distribution of scarce resources, (4) political allocation -- the distribution of power and responsibility, and (5) the allocation of integration and expression -- the distribution of the methods and techniques of socialization and the types and limits of reactions within the
family. Each of these phenomena has a complex character individually each must be seen as a variable defining the family structure, while organizationally each is a subsystem in itself functioning in order to satisfy specific needs of this structure. Each also has a corresponding subsystem in the general social system. It is the congruence of the kinship subsystems with the processes of allocation in the larger society which is of particular interest to Levy. His analysis rests on the assumption that ideally the family could not suffer internal disorganization; first, because of this congruence of family and social system, and second, because of the interdependence and complementarity of the five subsystems within the family. The family could be threatened only by influences generated outside the two systems. The new variable which eventually posed this threat in China was the modern industrial revolution.

Levy gives most attention to one of the five subsystems in the family — that of role differentiation. The remaining four subsystems clearly give expression to role differentiation and illustrate continuities between the family and Chinese society, but the allocation of roles based on differences of age, sex, generation, and economic and political position emerges as the basis of family structure. As Levy observes:
Although the primary basis of a given structuralization of role differentiation might be political, the phenomena involved cannot be understood solely in terms of the political variable. Thus [although] differentiation may be to a marked degree interdependent with one or more of the other four substructures, it is never a dependent variable of one or of any combination of them. Role differentiation may therefore be said to furnish a method of coping with the distribution of individuals among the total number of positions of whatever sort in the structure under consideration ... and the fact that there must also be some differentiation among individuals due to the fact that they are by no means homogenous (p. 9).

In view of these remarks about role differentiation, some alterations of perspective rather than of analysis seem necessary in order to use Levy's model to full advantage.

The use of Levy's model rests on three features of the "traditional" family which are most significant for this research: (1) the process of role differentiation and its effect on the other subsystems, (2) the allocation of power and responsibility, and (3) the expression of role differentiation and the structural requisites of the "traditional" family in the system of family relationships. It is with these features that Levy deals most closely terming the subsystem of integration and expression a "residual" category. Each of the remaining four subsystems is seen both as a defining
variable in the process of differentiating roles, and as a phenomenon having structural components in its respective allocation. Thus the factor termed "economic" is a determining variable in allocating roles within the family, for one's productive capacity is clearly of importance in such allocation. Simultaneously, there exists within the family an economic subsystem which is in part the product of role differentiation, but has a set of values, and behaviour patterns centred about the allocation of scarce resources in the family.

In the following pages four of Levy's subsystems will be dealt with: role differentiation, economic allocation, political allocation, and solidarity. The fifth subsystem of Integration and Expression will not be treated separately, as it is the remaining four subsystems which are of greatest concern here. The previously mentioned alterations in perspective will be explained at the end of this discussion of "traditional" family structure.

**Role Differentiation**

Role differentiation in kinship structure may be defined as the distribution of persons among the various positions and activities distinguished in the kinship structure and hence the differential arrangement of the members of the structure (p. 8).

In the "traditional" family role differentiation
was on the basis of age, sex, generation, and economic and political position (p. 10). From early infancy to old age both males and females progressed through rigidly defined, absolute age categories. These stages were more rigorously imposed on men than on women, but whereas men finally attained a measure of independence when they became husbands and fathers, women were usually in positions of subordination until they became mothers-in-law. Absolute age categories designated the appropriate duties, responsibilities and privileges of positions in the family structure, and the kinship terms which corresponded to these categories were often extended to persons outside the family. Differences of relative age were of particular importance among siblings, where they designated leadership, privilege, and responsibility. Older siblings typically married earlier than their juniors and were held responsible for the conduct of the younger group. Females of any age were subordinate to their brothers due to strong sexual distinctions.

Sexual and generational distinctions were the most significant determinants of role allocation. The strong premium on providing male children to ensure family continuity gave women a crucial functional position in the family, but the roles of women were defined almost exclusively by this biological function. Only when their
sexual roles became enhanced by generational precedence did the power of women increase substantially. Generally this sharp focus on generational precedence was on males, and with the ideals of filial piety, attention to posterity, and ancestor worship, ensured a place of veneration and respect for the patriarchal head of the family. This position was typically associated with considerable political and economic power, and thus all the criteria in the process of role differentiation converged to make the chia-chang — head of the household — a figure of great importance, the focal point of the family structure.

Economic Allocation

Levy defines economic allocation as: "the distribution of goods and services making up the income of the units of the structure, and of goods and effort making up the output of the units of the structure" (p. 161). Economic roles in the family were defined according to the requisites of the structure of production on the one hand and that of consumption on the other.

The process of economic allocation corresponded to the economic patterns of the wider society and also to the criteria in allocating of political power and responsibility. In an agricultural economy the self-sufficient family was typically the unit of production, distribution, and consumption, and economic contacts outside the family
were ideally at a minimum.\textsuperscript{19} Primary responsibility in production fell to the \textit{chia-chang}, and usually family income was pooled under his control. Economic roles were almost entirely based on particularistic criteria in both production and consumption, but those in production were most clearly defined, women being confined to household work except when it was imperative they contribute to the labour force. Women's roles were institutionalized as subordinate and dependent in the economic subsystem.

There were, however, exceptions to these general rules according to the economic level enjoyed by the family, and, to a lesser degree, the stage in the life cycle of the family. Women in gentry families often had considerable executive powers over large and complex households, while peasant wives usually had a variety of outside contacts of an economic nature. Gentry families also exhibited more diffusion of economic powers because of the possibility of individual retention of income. In all cases the termination of the productive capacity of the \textit{chia-chang} might endanger his position as supreme executive; but in fact this occurred most among the peasantry, where manual labour was the index of such capacity, and least among the gentry, where administrative rather than physical skills underlay the \textit{chia-chang}'s economic power.
Production, consumption, and the division of labour corresponded to the line of political cleavage dictated by differences in age, sex, and generation. Because of their major role as producers, men enjoyed a privileged position over females. The major figure in the production unit was the chia-chang, although the distribution of income within the household usually lay within the province of the feminine head of the household. Levy's comments on the power of the chia-chang point out the inherent strains of his position:

... although the economic control of the chia-chang was a powerful means of containing strains within the family unit, to the degree that it was used it increased the possibility of disruption by any factor providing the possibility of an alternative source of income on universalistic grounds (p. 231).

**Political Allocation**

The "traditional" allocation of power and responsibility contributed greatly to family stability and continuity. Levy defines power as "the ability to exercise authority and control over the actions of others", and responsibility as "the accountability to other individuals or groups for his or others' actions" (p. 28). He further clarifies these by analyzing them in terms of the locus, definition, and procedure of such power and/or responsibility (p. 30). The pinnacle of both power and
responsibility was the **chia-chang**. Men were the "institutionally authorized source of all authority" (p. 160), and the patriarch not only had complete autocratic power over his family, but ultimate responsibility for its members to both the ancestors and to the wider society. Legitimate power thus rested almost solely in the hands of the **chia-chang**, whereas in the structure below him responsibility tended to exceed authority (p. 160).

In the "traditional" family political pyramid, responsibility was from the bottom up and power from the top down ... (p. 160)

... the greatest responsibility fell to the male rather than to the female side of the family ... and responsibility was owed by the younger to the older generation ... power thus being distributed in reverse of this ... (p. 234)

Because of the functionally diffuse nature of such power ... fear ... and force, did not characterize the interrelations of all persons between whom there were obligations of obedience. The inculcation of the value of filial piety ... laid the basis for fear, but it also laid a more positive basis of compliance on the part of family members ... the filial were objects of praise (p. 243).

In short, the structure was a well integrated one in which each member knew his appropriate role and played it according to the values of filial piety: fathers ruled sons, older males had precedence over younger males, and females were subordinate to the authority of all males. Although there was a potential imbalance due to the
supreme authority of the chia-chang, stability was maintained by several factors: the values associated with the role of chia-chang motivated him to use his power in family interests, although he could not be compelled to do this (p. 160). Also, the family was the major influence upon the lives of its members, and this minimized the opportunity for conflicting loyalties to arise. Lastly, despite the harsh treatment sons often received from their fathers, the clearly institutionalized succession to positions of political authority, and the lack of alternate economic roles outside the family sustained their subordination until they established their own families of procreation.

Solidarity

Role differentiation and political and economic allocation come into clear focus in the subsystem of solidarity. Solidarity is defined by Levy as:

The distribution of relationships among the members of the kinship structure according to the content, strength, and intensity of the relationship ... By the term content is made the definition of the type of relation which is to exist and the members between whom it is to exist ... By strength ... the relative precedence taken by this relationship over others ... of its general sort, and ... other obligations in the larger social sphere ... By intensity we mean the state of mutual affect involved in the relationship ... which is subject to major planes of variation ... the type of affect
... and the degree of affective involvement of the relationship (p. 15).

Solidarity may be described as giving the family its relative stability by institutionalizing the content, strength, and intensity of all relationships within the structure. These prescriptions were designed to satisfy the structural requirements of the unit. Not all family relationships are crucial or even relevant in this research, but several should be expanded.

The father-son relationship was the most crucial one in the "traditional" family. It was rigidly institutionalized to retain the values of filial piety, ancestor worship, generational precedence and submission to authority: it was, in fact, the basis of family continuity. Because sons were prepared for adult male status by their fathers, the relations between the two males were the greatest source of security to sons. Despite the strain of subordinate-superordinate relations of such magnitude, it was undoubtedly the strongest bond sons could share with any family member -- including their wives. It was also a relationship of high intensity, although this usually took the form of great avoidance and respect. Combined with primogeniture and equal distribution of inheritance it was the focal point of family stability, and also insured the provision of structural links from
the ancestors to future generations of sons. Levy describes father-son solidarity in the following way:

... it had to be such that its extreme strength and intensity could combine with a structure which placed the emphasis not on the interests of any one individual ... but upon the family group as a whole. Respect is the best affect suited to such purposes. It permits a high intensity in the relationship and forges a strong positive bond between the individuals ... but it does not commit them to any primacy of concern for any individual's personal interests, as would be the case with a bond based on love. Respect ... is more easily preserved and fostered by avoidance than by intimacy (p. 173).

Since a high premium was placed on maintaining as many generations as possible within one household, brother-brother relations were also of importance. Potential conflicts over the division of property were avoided by institutionalizing the distribution of wealth upon the request of sons. Similar means of releasing inherent tensions and conflicts in those relationships of greatest structural importance were found throughout the family structure. 21

The relations between women were of a different sort. Not defined as structurally important, they were often characterized by strong affective bonds of intimacy and affection. Most women enjoyed these relations with the females of their household until they entered the home of their husband and the domain of their mother-in-law.
However, bonds between mothers and daughters were strong, and after marriage many daughters maintained contacts with their mothers, and sometimes with their sisters.

Levy summarizes the subsystem of solidarity:

The marked distinction drawn by the institutional structure of the "traditional" Chinese family between the strength of a solidarity and its positive or negative emotional intensity is a striking feature ... and generally the institutional pattern sacrificed personal feelings to the preservation of the family unit ... Everywhere in the family structure there was a strong preference for those solidarities upon which the continued stable existence of the family depended (p. 207).

The relations between husband and wife illustrate the principles of solidarity and the demands of the family structure upon the individual. It was a union entered primarily for the production of children and the choice of either spouse was not therefore a significant factor. In the home of her husband, a new wife occupied a position of extremely low status with respect to both her parents-in-law and other family members. Both husband wife had unprecedented loyalty and duty to the husband's parents -- the wife particularly to her mother-in-law -- and this put great strains and strictures on their own relationship. With maturity the situation was altered. As spouses shared the responsibilities of parenthood and assumed greater control over the household, the solidarity of
their relationship grew. As the most important function of the family was fulfilled — the provision of male heirs — an aging husband and wife were freed from the constraints imposed upon them by the character of the family structure.

* * * * * * * *

The data in this research will be analyzed with the following reorganization of the analytic categories provided by Levy. The subsystem of role differentiation will be of most concern, and is one of the underlying themes of this dissertation. However, because the allocation of power and responsibility was so crucial to "traditional" family structure, the process of role differentiation as it is shown in political allocation will be the major focus of attention. Three of the "traditional" criteria in allocating roles — age, sex, and generation — will be considered as variables affecting this allocation. Levy's fourth subsystem of economic allocation will be identified as the subsystem of the economic enterprise which each family possesses, and its effect on role differentiation and political allocation will be dealt with. The system of family relationships — the subsystem of solidarity in Levy's terminology — will be examined to see how role differentiation, political
allocation, and the economic subsystem of the family store affect these relationships. To restate the intention of the dissertation in another way: the major interest is the process of political allocation, the basis on which this is made, and how solidarity is related to this allocation. The following diagram perhaps more clearly illustrates the theoretical approach to the data.

Two general hypotheses drawn from Levy provide guides in this research, and should be considered as the framework for the remainder of this presentation:

(1) Unless structural prerequisites are met, a structure will not continue as a stable and continuous unit (p. 6).

(2) Structures in which the locus of power is at variance with that of responsibility are inherently unstable and subject to discontinuity (p. 29).
The economic base of the "traditional" family was important in determining its character. Family relationships were coterminous with economic relationships because the family functioned as a unit of both production and consumption, and these relationships were intensified by the system of political precedences. Levy's brief analysis of the "transitional" family illustrates the unparalleled effect that technological change and alternate economic roles had on family function and structure (p. 367). With this in mind, one has to assume many changes in Chinese family structure will have taken place in these Vancouver families. The family can no longer be a completely self-sufficient economic unit in industrialized society, and is subject to universalistic criteria in both economic and other spheres. It is expected, therefore, that participation by wage labour in a modern economy has altered political allocation and the structure of solidarity which "traditionally" reinforced the differentiation of roles suitable in an agricultural peasant economy. Correspondingly, one would assume, the chia-chang is no longer the focus of economic production as he was "traditionally". New sources of power and responsibility may be found, with perhaps new personnel occupying positions of "traditional" importance. Levy's comments on the "traditional" and "transitional" families are pertinent here:
family members engaged in non-household production produce an income in terms of generalized purchasing power ... When this happens the core of the "traditional" family economic substructure is destroyed. The self sufficiency of the family unit both as regards production and consumption is removed ... The element of stability involved in the "traditional" family by virtue of the fact that its members by and large followed the same occupational roles as their predecessors does not exist for the "transitional" family. This is of great importance, for it removes the functional basis for family continuity of more than one generation. The old economic structure ... required and fostered such continuity (p. 321).

In my study, the presence of a business enterprise in which family members participate to some degree replicates the features of the "traditional" economic subsystem. Whether or not this is indeed a useful approach is discussed in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Another crucial aspect of the "traditional" family was the emphasis on the father-son relationship. The imbalance of power and responsibility, mutual interdependence of the two males, and the exclusive positive solidarity of this relationship are striking features of the Chinese family. The fine line between economic and political dependence of sons upon fathers, and a commitment based on the value of filial piety apart from this subordination, is unclear even in Levy's close analysis; my research probes at some of the complexities of this bond and its relation to family stability and continuity.
The role of women in the Chinese family is a complex study in itself. Although institutionally defined as subordinate members of the structure, women often did assume considerable power and responsibility within their household domain in administering the needs of food, shelter, and clothing for their families. Clearly the husband-wife relationship was not pivotal in the family structure, but to assume passive subjugation on the part of all Chinese wives because of institutional prescriptions seems an over-simplification. The roles of women is not a central issue here, but the roles of mothers in particular will receive separate attention. Because their roles were almost exclusively defined as subordinate in the "traditional" family, not to give them some particular emphasis would overlook one of the most interesting aspects of the overseas Chinese family as it is represented by these eleven families. Aside from this theoretical justification, both the character of the data and the fact that the researcher was a woman makes a good deal of this analysis biased in favour of a female point of view.

Lastly, it is obvious that the subsystem of solidarity in Levy's model is closely related both to the economic basis of the family and to the "traditional" systems of role differentiation and political allocation. Since fundamental changes in family structure are expected,
new sources of stability and continuity might well be found which are neither expressed nor rooted in family relationships. Solidarity as the "distribution of relationships" (p. 15) is therefore a concept that needs to be redefined, for it is anticipated that no longer will family structure depend on the rigid institutionalization of relationships. It is necessary to make a distinction between family relationships as illustrating the process of solidarity as Levy utilizes the concept, and these relationships as contributing to the cohesion and unity of the family while not being the major source of this solidarity. Thus a shift is made from defining solidarity as a system of relationships to defining it as cohesion or stability in the family. Using solidarity to mean cohesion -- considered apart from the definition of family relationships per se -- permits greater freedom in seeking the sources of such cohesion, both within and outside the family. Chapter VI will explore some of the possibilities of extending definitions of "solidarity" in these Chinese families.

In summary, Levy's analysis of the "traditional" family provides a guiding framework for this research, but it must be noted that there is no attempt here to draw precise parallels between these Chinese families and Levy's "traditional" model. The problems approach here are dictated by the available data, which is from the
young people of these households. They describe how roles are differentiated with respect to "traditional" criteria and the demands of the business enterprise, how this differentiation is related to political allocation, and how they view the system of family relationships. With this focus, data on methods of socialization or "integration" and "traditional" customs and rituals which persist in family life will be included only when they figure significantly in this description of family structure.

Having outlined the theoretical orientation of this study and how it is used to organize data, the Chiu household can be described. It was in this household that I had the longest and most intimate contacts, and although it is unique in some respect among this group of Chinese families, the Chiu family illustrates most clearly the major characteristics of the entire group.
CHAPTER III

THE CHIU FAMILY

The Chiu family corresponds to Levy's definition of a "stem" family. Paternal grandparents, their only son, and his wife and six children live in one household. The history of the family in Vancouver began in the second decade of this century when the grandfather came from China with his younger brother, and began to sell fruits and vegetables on a cart through the streets of the city. After establishing two produce stores in suburban areas in co-partnership with his brother, Grandfather Chiu was later joined by his son. Visits to China were made periodically, and finally in the early 1950's the grandmother, her daughter-in-law and the five children came to Vancouver. The family still lives in the home then established, a frame house located two blocks from the family store, which is managed and controlled by the grandfather. In the living room hang the portraits of paternal great grandparents, framed by scrolls bearing Chinese proverbs and descriptions of these ancestors.

The Chiu children range in age from eleven to twenty-one years. The three eldest siblings are in
post-highschool training; the two girls attend university, and the oldest son is in Grade XIII at an adult education centre. Although they have all taken lessons at Chinese school, they cannot write Chinese. Cantonese is, however, the language of the home, although the children commonly address one another in English. No English is spoken by either of the older women, and neither of the senior males are fluent in the language.

Age, Sex, and Generation in Role Differentiation

The only recognized consanguineal kin in Vancouver are the grand-uncle and his family. Formal kinship terms are often applied to this group, but there are many persons outside the consanguineal kin who may have these terms extended to them. These are described as "friends" or "kinds of relatives" and provide part of the wide and varied social network of relations which the Chius enjoy. English or Chinese names are usually used in addressing most persons, however, and siblings typically use formal kinship terms only when speaking to a member of their father's or grandfather's generation.

Relative age differences affect relations between siblings. The two older boys have special responsibilities for the conduct of their youngest brother. The eldest son receives the full impact of this:
If they the two younger brothers don't get good marks, don't go to university, or don't do things that they are expected to I'll be blamed. And if I don't do the right things it will be worse, because I'm supposed to be an example to them. (Larry)

There is, therefore, negative responsibility among male siblings. They are blamed for the misconduct of their juniors rather than praised for their good behaviour. They usually see parents' viewing them as "poor" examples rather than as models of virtur to Peter in particular, and they attribute this to the fact that:

Girls go out of the family -- more is expected of us because we are boys. (Larry)

Although no such negative responsibility is made explicit for daughters, all older children are impressed with their responsibility for the conduct of their juniors. Older children also enjoy certain controls over those who are younger, and in addition have certain privileges in the family -- such as driving the family car. But sons are expected to, and do, carry out a greater measure of control over their younger brothers than do daughters. They are often frustrated in this due to the "spoiled nature" of the youngest boy -- Peter.

Sometimes he doesn't have enough respect for us because we are older. He might not pay attention at all sometimes. He is more spoiled than we ever were -- he is the youngest and wasn't born in China like we were. (Larry)
Relative age differences are an important aspect of the political position of sons, for, despite the rather negative quality of this responsibility, such influence they possess is one of the few instances of political influence being delegated to them.\textsuperscript{25}

Sexual distinctions are complex in differentiating roles. The most overt form of sexual segregation is the serving of a special egg soup to the males of the family. This does not occur regularly, but when it does the soup is explicitly denied females. Boys also enjoy greater freedom than their sisters in their social activities and are subject to less rigorous supervision in dating.\textsuperscript{26} But with regard to educational opportunities, and family decision-making sexual differences are not as clearly defined: often in these areas daughters are on an equal footing with sons. The Chiu girls in fact have rather a favoured position in the family, for in the one area which is most approved by their elders -- scholastic achievement -- they have excelled their brothers.

Generational differences are the most important factor in allocating roles. All older persons receive great attention and respect, but the apex of this recognition rests with the paternal grandfather who is the "head of the family". His son and daughter-in-law both have subordinate power and responsibility. The
position of grandfather Chiu results from the congruence of "traditional" values of precedence, a strong personality, his economic role in the business, and the common aspirations for success held by the family. Some of these were pointed out by Joanne:

Of course we have to respect him because you are always supposed to respect the elders. But he is a very strong man, and is the head of the business too. If anyone argues with him much he says he will stop giving the person any more money -- or he says he will take back the presents he bought them. And he is the one who pays for my university fees.

Generational precedence thus has a great effect on the entire family, limits to some degree the political roles of parents, and has resulted in acute resentment in the sibling group. This precedence is, in addition, extended to the grand-uncle. It is expected that the grandfather's death will entitle the grand-uncle to a major executive role both in the business and also in some aspects of family life.

My father would be the head of the things in the family probably, but he would have to go to my grand-uncle probably for the big things. He wouldn't have the store -- I think it belongs to my grandfather and my grand-uncle. (Harry)

It is not expected, furthermore, that their father will ever achieve the kind of precedence his father now enjoys -- unless the deaths of the two patriarchs are concurrent:
He will always pay attention to my grandfather -- or my grand-uncle -- He would not be a good son if he didn't -- he wouldn't rebel against them. (Larry)

However, despite the supremacy of the grandfather, there is no lack of respect for parents evident among the Chiu children. The matters of day-to-day discipline are still the province of parents: undue noisiness or failure to exhibit the correct etiquette are occasions for the authority of either parents to be exercised.

The Allocation of Power and Responsibility

Political allocation in kinship structures has been defined ... as the distribution of power over and responsibility for the actions of the various members.27

In the Chiu family the allocation of power and responsibility was described in the following way:

My grandfather is the boss of our family and he always gets his own way. It has always been like that -- as long as I can remember. When we were little we had a puppy, and when it made my mother trip my grandfather made us get rid of it. No one wanted to, but we did it anyway. Same thing when Mary had the drive-in job. He locked her in her room so she couldn't go back -- he didn't think a job like that was nice for a girl. She quit the job the next day. (Joanne)

The locus of power and responsibility here corresponds closely to that of Levy's model because there
exists virtually no discontinuity to affect its relative stability. The "traditional" values giving grandfather Chiu political precedence are enhanced by his superordinate economic position. He has almost absolute power over the members of the family in the two areas considered most important -- the conduct and education of the children. He is also the prime bearer of responsibility, in the eyes of the family, for the actions of the children, although in fact his power appears to outweight his responsibility.28

This authority is both diffuse and autocratic and is usually never questioned: if it is, there is very little that can move the patriarch when he makes a decision.

It was difficult for sons to predict any alteration in the political balance within the family.

Probably if there was just my father and something had happened they would expect me -- the eldest son -- to do something, to take over somehow for a while. But that is a silly question really, because they never ask us for our opinion about anything, and probably never will. (Larry)

The only responsibility I have is keeping my clothes clean and doing my paper route -- I won't have any rights to be listened to until I go to UBC and show them I'm smarter and more mature. (Harry)

I can't see when I would be treated as an adult I'd have to be much older -- and look at my father, he still pays attention to my grandfather. -- In this family I'm almost like a second-class citizen -- at least that is the way my grandfather acts. If I was anyone else I'd sure hate to be in my shoes. (Larry)
Sons feel they are consistently denied a contribution to family decision-making, and that they lack autonomy in defining many of their short and long-term goals: both the hours they keep and their professional choices are supervised closely by their elders. Although Levy describes allocating responsibility without a measure of power as "not practically effective", this is the situation existing among the Chiu brothers. The range of their responsibility is wide and varied, and they are clearly accountable to their elders for their own actions and many of those of their juniors; in addition, they are the major focus for the ambitions of their elders. This is perhaps the most crucial aspect of the balance of power and responsibility between older and younger generations, and the balance rests on the potential achievement and success of sons:

All they care about sometimes is what other people think -- they want us to be successful -- partially because it would be nice for the whole family -- It depends a lot on us. Sometimes I think that is all my mother and grandfather think about. (Larry)

The position of these sons is similar to that of "traditional" sons insofar as they must satisfy the expectations of their elders in order to assume some measure of power. Sons do not have the severe training period of their "traditional" counterparts, but they do
have to "prove themselves" before parents recognize them as full adults. The proof consists of scholastic achievement leading to a professional career. This situation produces resentment and frustration in sons because they do not progress through well-marked stages in assuming political influence (their subordination will last as long as their education does) and because they are subject to universalistic criteria in their achievement and are competing with their school-mates and relatives in their endeavours. They feel their situation more acutely because only by achieving professional status will they satisfy the expectations of their elders.

Although the daughters face the same dilemma in kind, their position is somewhat less demanding. This is partially due to their scholastic successes. As Larry noted:

The girls have an easier time — my parents sometimes even listen to them more than us. They have the brains in the family — and they do pretty good at school. That pleases my mother and grandfather.

And as Joanne expressed it:

Of course the boys are supposed to get higher grades — because they are supposed to be more important and have education more than we are. So our parents don't mind if we get low marks. But we don't have as much trouble as they do, I guess, with studying.
Although the daughters are not criticized as much as their brothers, they are not delegated any more powers than sons, and often have fewer freedoms than their brothers. They recognize, moreover, that ideally sons should be the focus of family achievement and prestige.

The attitudes of the daughters toward their future roles are mixed. While their relations with their parents are defined in affectionate rather than in dutiful terms, they strongly feel the influence and power of their grandfather. They are committed to a professional career by both their own ambitions and those of their mother, and yet the image of an independent "professional" woman does not correspond to their present subordination to the authority of the patriarch. Their economic dependence on their grandfather in order to attain these goals is a source of conflict and resentment among them as well as their brothers.

The Chiu girls find difficulty in separating their identity from that of the family and the wishes of their grandfather. Yet their sense of potential independence is strong, and although they cannot conceive of "breaking away" from the family, they are quite militant about their hopes for the future.

The family would have to do something really unreasonable before we could leave home --
and even if we did, we would feel very guilty. We can't really leave until we are married -- you aren't really supposed to, you know, -- and look at Larry, he is a boy, and even he couldn't move away when he really wanted to. (Mary)

We listen to our grandfather now, but when we get married I'm not going to always listen to my husband or my sons -- the way you are supposed to in China. -- If we didn't get married it wouldn't be so good. Chinese people think it is funny if you don't. If you are professional it is better -- they think that isn't so bad. But it would still be hard. (Joanne)

But trying to predict their future roles as wives and mothers is still difficult, and many traditional values persist:

Leaving your own family is very different -- you feel like a stranger in your new family. You might live with your in-laws too. That would depend on the boy -- if he was loyal to his parents he would probably stay home -- But that doesn't seem to be a good ideal now. (Mary)

I think a lot of Chinese women work in the store or somewhere because they want to get away from their in-laws -- their mother-in-law. (Joanne)

There might be some reason for this ambivalence, for although parents stress education before marriage for all children, the eldest daughter was at one time the object of some abortive marital overtures. These were conducted by her mother, and not condoned by her father. As Harry commented:
My mother wants the girls to have rich well-educated husbands, and when they finish university -- if they haven't found them she'll do something about it I bet.

Older females have quite different roles, and face none of the ambivalence of daughters. Both have limited contacts outside the house and their lack of the English language confines these contacts to Chinese relatives and friends. There is little apparent conflict between the two women, and the process of sharing a household is quite an even and uneventful one. They agree about most of the basic issues of life concerning children, although the grandmother tends to be more conservative about their conduct than does her daughter-in-law. There are no indications, however, that the stereotype of the all-powerful mother-in-law is or ever was approximated. The grandmother closely conforms to the "traditional" political female role by her subordination to her husband and her reinforcement of his decisions. She maintains "traditional" customs and values by her Buddhist ritualism and dietary proscriptions, and appears to symbolize some of the more picturesque and less threatening aspects of "old China" to the Chiu siblings.

A more dynamic and resourceful role is played by the mother, who has -- as her children describe her --
a "very strong personality". Without question she is the strongest figure below the patriarch. She is the major source of discipline, is solely concerned with household matters and the welfare of the family, and has assumed considerable power over decision-making in household expenditures, family activities, and the conduct of children. Her ambitions for all her children are high and she is the most effective source of influence in encouraging achievement. In all these respects she is the pivotal point of family life, for although she does not question the patriarch's authority, she influences all those areas over which he has ultimate power:

Our mother is the most ambitious person in our family and she has always nagged us about university and being professional. (Joanne)

Now she says "you should go to university" instead of "you must", like she used to. Maybe she is worried now that we won't make it, since we all have trouble with English in school. She really worries about Larry, because he is the eldest, and she wants him to be something. (Mary)

She says quite a bit about everything, but when she comes up against my grandfather she is all talk and no action. She can't get far with him. (Larry)

The Effect of the Economic Enterprise upon Family Structure

Grandfather Chiu's major productive role is the economic basis of political allocation. The extension
of this economic precedence to the grand-uncle effectively limits both the political and economic power of his son, the father of the Chiu children. The identity of economic power with political precedence is very clear in the eyes of the younger generation:

The one who is boss is the one who makes the money — and that is my grandfather. Everyone has to listen to him. (Harry)

I admire him in the business — he is pretty smart — but I don't admire the way he treats us in the family — he is a tyrant. (Larry)

Our father did not do much to set up the business, he really came after it was started by my grandfather and grand-uncle. He isn't the boss in our family the way my grandfather is. (Mary)

The political structure of the family takes on particular significance in the family store — the seat of patriarchal authority — where economic and family relationships are almost completely blended. Both boys and girls have worked in the store since their early teens, although the former began two years earlier than their sisters. Attitudes toward family employment are negative and often resentful, although hours of work have decreased as studies demanded more attention. At present the three eldest siblings often contribute labour to the store on a part-time basis, while the second eldest son spends most afternoons and weekends in
the store. There is usually no direct payment for this labour, wages being turned over to their mother, who in turn places most of these earnings in insurance bonds. These comments indicate children's views:

If your family said they were offering you a job and could pay you for it it would be different, but they don't do that -- they just order you to work -- and that's it. (Larry)

It is very boring working there -- but it wouldn't be so bad if my grandfather wasn't there all the time. He can be very cranky. (Joanne)

I don't like clerking there -- but you can't slack off in your business. You couldn't get away with it for long in our store, although in some ways I guess it is easier than working for strangers. (Harry)

The division of labour in the store favours daughters, who are spared arduous work and often assume bookkeeping or accounting duties. Sons, however, often work long and tiring hours both clerking and going manual labour. In addition, daughters receive a small allowance from their grandfather, while sons do not receive this. But there is a consensus, that the store is really not the right place for girls, and that because they do not have alternative sources of steady income, such as paper routes they deserve some additional pocket money. As Harry said:

They don't work as hard as we do -- but our parents don't like them working there.
muck — it doesn’t look too good, and maybe they are mostly worried about the older men who work there. I don’t think anyone would like my mother to work there if she could speak English even. I know I wouldn’t. If it was a different place it wouldn’t be so bad perhaps.

Despite the fact that hostility about working is often expressed in terms of not receiving adequate payment directly for this labour, sons contribute regularly to the family from outside sources of income. The eldest son continues to give most of his summer earnings from another store to his mother, and the second son often gives both his mother and grandmother portions of his paper route money. Daughters are not expected to do this, and when Joanne first worked for one her cousins outside the family store she retained her income for some of her university expenses. Daughters do not feel committed to redirect their outside income into the family, while sons do this voluntarily and without complaint. This strong filial and/or economic obligation felt by sons is a primary aspect of their family roles, and illustrates one of the major differences between sons and daughters. The blending of filial and economic obligations in such pooling of income is testified by the difficulty sons have in expressing the reasons for their behaviour:

I don’t know why Harry and I do it — it just seems the right thing to do. My parents have put a lot of money from the
store into insurance policies for us. I know I'll never get any of it -- but they have six kids -- and that is a lot, you know. It seems crazy to give them money and then complain about not having any -- and the store and everything -- I don't know. (Larry)

Non-family employment has been encouraged for daughters, but not for sons. Rebellion against patriarchal authority and the lack of wages prompted the eldest son to work in a friend's grocery store, but this was the first indication of obligations to work "for the family" being altered. On the other hand, what is "suitable" employment for a daughter is strictly supervised as the quotation from Joanne on page 40 illustrates. This outside employment taken by the eldest daughter precipitated a family crisis, only averted when she quit the job and the grandfather again asserted his authority.

Although strong obligations exist for sons to help in the store, they are not being prepared for future positions in the business. Sons admit they have learned a great deal from this work experience, but have no expectations of assuming any control of the business enterprise. This is a major difference from the situation of sons in the "traditional" family:

The last thing in the world they would want me to do is to stay in the business -- they want me to have an education. My mother has always said to us -- "Look at
your father, you want to do better than that — you don't want to have to work as hard as he does".

They don't give us anything that is responsible to do in the store -- and we could do things sometimes. Maybe because they just don't like us to. But sometimes I think my father just doesn't trust me much -- or he would let me do more. (Harry)

"Traditional Sources" of Solidarity in the Chiu Family

In the "traditional" family, solidarity rested on the prescription of the strength, intensity and content of family relationships, the focal point of this solidarity being the bond between father and son. In the Chiu family the basis of political allocation and family continuity does not rest on the succession of sons to positions of authority in the production unit of the store. Because of this, the subsystem of solidarity differs from that of the "traditional" model in one important respect -- the father-son relationship no longer functions as the basis for the maintenance of family continuity.\(^2\) The relationship remains, however, an important aspect of family structure, although it is now relevant because of factors outside the family structure which are esteemed by the family. One of these new factors is the goal of achievement and success held by all family members.
The Father-son bond

The father-son relationship is characterized by respect and submission to the authority of the older male. Generational precedence dictates that sons heed their father, but the relationship does not take precedence over others. In fact, for reasons that would never be found in the "traditional" family, the sons consider it an unsatisfactory one by "western" standards:

My father is really too soft with us -- it is my mother or grandfather who is really hard on us. Mostly though, I miss my father not spending more time with me when I was a kid. He has always been at the store. When I have sons it isn't going to be like that. (Larry)

While the relationship between sons and their father is not high in either strength or intensity, the relationship between them and their grandfather is of a different order. Here the "traditional" model is closely approximated. The boys both fear and dislike their grandfather and consistently avoid open confrontation with him. It is upon him that they focus their general resentment of the generational precedence found in the family. This resentment is made more intense due to the fact that it is the patriarch who provides the funds for their education, but who also is one of the major barriers in assuming any independent political influence
as they approach manhood. Because the relationship is the source of potential future security for sons -- via a professional career -- but is also the focus for friction and tension because of their subordinate position, the grandfather - grandson relationship resembles that of the "traditional" chia-chang and his sons. The important difference is that, unlike "traditional" sons, the Chiu boys do not anticipate assuming any of the waning political authority of their grandfather: their political influence will have to be expressed outside the family structure, perhaps within their future families of procreation.

Brother-brother relations

The relations between brothers are not of high precedence as they were in the "traditional" family. Brothers spend little time together, and the bonds which link them are based on common problems with school work and the recognition that they are the means through which parents wish to realize family ambitions. Nevertheless, the potential of this bond is seen:

We all seem to be "loners" in our family. Harry and I never do anything together, and we have different friends. But you would always turn to a brother in the future -- say if you needed money -- and he would help you when perhaps no one else would. Brothers are good to have in that way. (Larry)
We have my grandfather in common — and that is something. And they expect more of us because we are boys too. (Harry)

Sister-sister relations

Relationships with the least precedence but the highest intensity of intimacy and affection occur between daughters. Although they are in close daily contact with their mother and she is a close observer of their activities, daughters tend to share many confidences among themselves. This is particularly true of the two eldest girls who have similarities of age, university subjects, and "dating" problems. But adherence to "traditional" values can be crucial when describing and identifying bonds between sisters. As the eldest daughter remarked:

Joanne and I are closer in age, but she doesn't like a lot of the things I do -- like Chinese movies and Chinese opera. She thinks it is old-fashioned and doesn't like it. But Lynn likes them, and she goes with me sometimes on Sunday. We are closer in some ways because we don't think so much about clothes and having everything in the latest fashion like Alice does -- I guess we are more Chinese than she is in that way. (Mary)

Husband-wife relations

The bond between the Chiu mother and father was difficult to gauge. It is not one of high precedence
of strength, and is not the major source of family stability and continuity. It is relevant to stability insofar as the husband-wife relationship presents a common front of generational precedence and parental authority to the children of the Chiu family.

New Sources of Solidarity

The subsystem of solidarity as it is defined by Levy does not account for the stability of the Chiu family. But clearly the system of role differentiation, its expression in allocating power and responsibility, and the economic base of family life are interrelated, and this has a total impact on the character of family relations. The real source of stability and unity -- aside from those features found also in the "traditional" family -- is the family consensus about values which are important to family identity. The most significant of these is a high level of achievement-motivation. In the eyes of their elders the Chiu siblings can do no better than achieve status in one of the classic professions of law or medicine, or alternately, some branch of the pure or applied sciences. Children are therefore discouraged from entering the occupational level of the older Chiu males, and a high premium is placed on scholastic success. Elders are also highly aware of outside opinion concerning the image of the family, but their most
immediate source of opinion is the family of the grand-uncle. The older children of this man -- the "grand-cousins" -- are all well-established professionals. They serve as models for the Chiu teenagers and the constant references to them as successful members of the extended family produce much resentment among their younger cousins.

Our cousins are all successful -- and our parents want us to do as well as they have. (Harry)

Sometimes I kind of despise them -- they look down on me and think I'm nothing. Chinese people don't care if you are only nineteen, they just think that if your father is a grocer and you haven't done anything much yet then you are no good. My cousins are like that sometimes, but actually, you know, one of them isn't really so smart. He had to be tutored all the way through medicine -- my grand-uncle spent thousands getting him through. (Larry)

Our parents think that higher education is the most important thing. It is all right for people to have ambition for you, but if they don't care what you want to do it can be awful. (Mary)

Success is all my mother and grandmother ever think about -- and you can only be a success if you go into law or medicine. My cousins are in medicine. (Joanne)

These teenagers are acutely aware of the expectations of their elders and they see professionalization as the only way of "being successful". Their sensitivity often results in grave doubts about their ability and gloomy speculations about whether they will
achieve these goals:

I want to be a lawyer more than anything else, but I just don't think I'm smart enough to do it. Anyway, all the brains in our family are in my grandfather, and I think we get all the intelligence from the other side — my grandmother. (Larry)

I don't think my grandmother is very bright, though I like her a lot. She always gets lost downtown. My father is sometimes like her, slow in his habits and that. (Harry)

Parents can see when you are short or tall or ugly or fat, but they sure can't see it or admit it if you happen to be stupid, all of us aren't going to make it through university, but they will never stop believing we can do it. (Larry)

Adherence to these values of achievement is an integral part of family structure. This is partly because they are strongly economically motivated, and are associated with approval both from the family and the community: the socio-economic position of the Chiu family obviously also has a strong effect on encouraging achievement in children. But these values are particularly important because they are buttressed and intensified by "traditional" criteria of role differentiation allocating power and responsibility. The means of attaining these goals are related to the continuity of many features of the "traditional" family structure: generational precedence, and subordination and economic dependency of the younger generation. Much of the resentment expressed by the
Chiu children is because they recognize this situation: they do not approve of the high precedence of generational position, and although they share many of the ambitions of their elders they resent these ambitions and values precisely because they are consistently expressed in terms of "traditional" political allocation. Both their resentment and ambivalence is further heightened by the recognition that they must tolerate subordinate positions in the family in order to satisfy their own ambitions as well as the expectations of their elders. The result is often great misunderstanding and distrust between younger and older generations. Common values and common aspirations are sacrificed to the maintenance of some of the crucial aspects of the "traditional" structure.

The only thing I really care about is going on in my education, but my parents don't seem to understand that. They keep worrying about it. It bugs you when they keep telling you how dumb you are -- and they still expect you to be a success -- I guess they do it because they want it for our good, but it sure is hard sometimes. (Larry)

Concluding Remarks on the Chiu Family

The structure of the Chiu family resembles the "traditional" family in the following respect: the sources of greatest strength are also those of the greatest stress and strain. Although "traditional" values, economic dependence of children, and common goals units
the family, the expression of these through the system of political allocation creates great friction and potential disruption to family stability. The focus of this disruption lies in the subordination of sons until they assume professional and independent roles, although this is also the case for daughters; but this is intensified for sons because they lack opportunities to assert political influence at the present time, and see no future opportunity for this within the family structure as it is presently constituted. Because family relations are often indistinguishable from economic relations and political subordination, children usually have difficulty in separating the bonds of affection and kinship from those of duty and obligation. The positive value of being a filial son or daughter often is blurred or distorted against the constant assertion of the authority of the patriarch. This is accentuated by the lack of explicit knowledge about their future duties and obligations to the family:

I don't know what they will expect of us when we are working. It is hard to say. We boys will be expected to do more if our parents needed help than the girls. And I [the oldest son] will have to do the most, I guess. (Larry)

The boys will do the most, but girls should do something for parents if they want them to. My mother says she would like us to give a little every month -- that seems all right (Mary)
The eldest son faced the dilemma of separating his strong ambivalent feelings toward the family when he decided he could no longer work in the store for his grandfather or be dependent financially on the older man:

I'm tired of him telling me everything and not having any independence. Something in this family has got to give, and it is about time it did. I'm going to move out and take a job at a friend's store to pay for my fees. Sure it will upset them, but it has got to happen sometime -- they have to see what is wrong. (Larry)

Several months later after these plans had been abandoned and he had taken work in this store, but remained living at home, Larry again reflected on his situation:

After all, you know, education is better than working. I don't really want to work full time and leave my schooling now. I don't think it was my grandfather or anyone in the family that changed my mind -- I did talk to one of my friends a lot -- it was mostly my own selfishness that made my stay -- it is easier this way -- at least for now.

This incident illustrates the central issue of the Chiu family structure and the problems it poses when children wish to "break with" the family; for although their complaints against political allocation are sincere, they assume less importance when children must make decisions against the institutionalized loci of power and responsibility. More important perhaps, they face
the problem of financing their own education, and this, combined with the family disapproval and disappointment which would follow any decisions to move from the household strongly mitigates their rebellious wishes to leave the family. The fine line between filial piety, self-interest, and family loyalty is therefore not clear: and the Chiu siblings continue to support the family structure by accepting financial aid in order to attain the professional goals which have been defined by their elders. In doing so, they maintain features of the family which are like those of the "traditional" family, but which rest on the achievement of children apart from the family production unit, and hence cannot perpetuate the family structure for more than one generation. This situation might be altered if the sons did enter the family business, but my data indicates that this is highly unlikely. 37

To relate these observations of the Chiu family to the issues anticipated in Chapter II, the following seems clear:

(1) The persistence of "traditional" criteria is most evident in generational precedence, giving the family patriarch high power and responsibility. Role differentiation by the "traditional" criteria of age and sex also occurs but differences of age are much more
important than those of sex in the de facto position of siblings. Children recognize that sons are entitled to more privileges than daughters, but there is little actual favouritism.

(2) The production unit of the family enterprise affects political allocation in the family, and reinforces the grandfather's position, just as the "traditional" chia-chang's authority was reinforced. The organization of the business enterprise and the values associated with its place in the society are also of prime importance in shaping the motivations and behaviour of family members -- particularly with regard to defining future goals.

(3) Values not derived wholly from family structure per se are instrumental in maintaining family stability: these are values of achievement. Most important, these reinforce "traditional" features of the family and will continue to do so, particularly for sons while they are in a dependent and subordinate position.38

(4) The roles of females are significantly different from those of the "traditional" family. Daughters generally have a status equal to that of their brothers, particularly with respect to educational opportunities. The role of the mother is important in
family structure. She is a strong figure, and although she reinforces the authority of her father-in-law, she also wields independent power and responsibility over the children as the major disciplinarian and socializing agent. Her authoritarian influence is felt strongly by her children, for it is with her they have the most contact. However, it is Grandfather Chiu who is singled out for most resentment by the Chiu siblings. It appears that while the patriarch retains the ultimate authority, Mrs. Chiu is the representative of this authority in the household. She is effective in sustaining the grandfather's authority and also the family values of achievement.

(5) This family is different in many respects from the "traditional" model, but like the latter it is the unit of both production and consumption and with one goal in mind -- the provision of economic roles for its younger generation. The major difference in this analogy is that while this function of the "traditional" family was the basis of its continuity, in the Chiu household it can only remain a source of stability for one generation. At present, however, the two hypotheses previously suggested could be applied to the Chiu household, for because the loci of power and responsibility are not at variance, and because structural requirements are being
met, family stability is now being ensured.

Role differentiation based on the criteria of age, sex, and generation is important in the Chiu household. The following chapter will examine the persistence of these "traditional" features in the remaining ten households of this study.
CHAPTER IV

"TRADITIONAL" CRITERIA OF AGE, SEX, AND GENERATION

Role differentiation based on the criteria of age, sex, and generation is of importance in all kinship structures. The relevance of these criteria to the stability and continuity of the "traditional" family is evident throughout Levy's analysis. Age differences were defined in sibling relations, sexual differences were pronounced, and generational precedence was the basis of economic and political allocation. In the Chiu family these features were replicated to some degree, making it correspond closely to the "traditional" model in some fundamental ways. However, several factors separate the Chius from the other families. Only one of the interviewed group and seven of the thirty-six city families in the questionnaire responses had grandparents living in the household; in addition, none of these grandparents had any control in the family business. Hence it is fathers and not grandfathers who are the senior males in most of the households studied, and this has important effects on political allocation. Second, all but two of the mothers in the other families interviewed were Chinese Canadians, and only twelve of
the questionnaire families did not have Chinese Canadian mothers. The position of these mothers is therefore different, for unlike Mrs. Chiu, they are likely to be more fluent in English and hence able to take part in the family business. They are also likely to have more varied and extensive contacts outside the household, freeing them from the confines of the household and its responsibilities. With these two differences in mind, let us now turn to these "traditional" criteria of role differentiation and examine how they operate in the remaining families in Vancouver.

**Kinship and Language**

Some features of the Chiu family were found in all the remaining households, although these were not as pronounced as they were among the Chius. Differences of age, sex, and generation differentiated roles in all families, and although most children do not speak Chinese fluently, the majority can cite the correct or appropriate kinship terms indicating relative age differences in the family. Only two families frequently use these terms in the home, and these were also aware of the extension of these to non-family members outside the household. One of these, the Leongs, had immigrated within the last eight years, and spoke only Cantonese in the home: they had also given the two young Canadian-born sons first
names which in Chinese signify "new tide" and "new family", to indicate that a "new start" was being made in Canada. The second family, the Engs, is one in which five of the six children had been educated in Hong Kong for nine years, living with a paternal aunt: the Eng children often addressed one another as "older brother" or "older sister" in Cantonese.

All of these families except one speak Cantonese -- the exception speaks Shanghainese -- and although parents typically address one another in Cantonese, children often use English personal names and speak English among themselves. Two families speak virtually no Chinese when all family members are present, although the parents may converse in it when alone; these two families' fathers are China-born, and usually prefer to speak Cantonese to their wives. In such households conversations are a mixture of Cantonese and English, with the former spoken by the older generation, the latter by the younger.

Relative Age Differences

The lack of kinship terms signifying absolute and relative age differences corresponds to the lack of prescribed or defined stages in the lives of children. There are no stages having the rigorous discipline of
the *yu-nien* period in the "traditional" family. Assuming additional duties in the household or business is a gradual process and occurs as parents wish children to "do more" for the family. Sexual differences tend to keep daughters in the house more, but the demands of the store may bring all children into the family business. In most cases there is an extension of children's dependency upon the family because of their continuing education. But there is no evidence that full adulthood -- or the status of a "finished person"\(^{41}\) -- will be withheld until children marry. In the questionnaire most children expected parents to treat them as adults "when we show it" rather than at any specific age or occasion. The only instance of marriage being cited as the occasion for this recognition was in the "Y" group. It is worth noting, however, that the "CUC students responded in highly antagonistic terms, and many indicated that their parents were in fact reluctant to grant them full independence and maturity. Considering the ages of the two groups, it might be suggested that only with increasing age is the withdrawal of full responsibility for children by parents recognized by Chinese young people, and that in fact parents are less flexible in this area than children assume.

Relative age terms are not used in most families, but the differences of age are still important
among siblings. Some of the most obvious effects of this are that older children begin to work earlier in the family store, leave high school earlier, work earlier, or marry earlier (although there was no instance of this in these families): in all these cases older children assume more political influence in the family.

Aside from these clear-cut differences of age, however, older children usually have a special relationship to their juniors. Older siblings are given some measure of control over their younger brothers and sisters — regardless of their sex. This is not always seen as negative responsibility for the actions of these children, but cases of this occurred more among Chinese respondents than among the "English" in the questionnaire. Some older children saw power over their juniors becoming less important with maturity, although differences of only two years often means older siblings can exercise authority even when their juniors are in their late teens. Among the Eng family this political precedence of older children is reinforced by using kinship terms in addressing the two oldest siblings. In families which do not use these terms this control is still in matters of dating, general behaviour, and small issues of discipline in the home. Even among those who protest strongly that they are not "Chinafied" — a term used
to designate recently arrived Chinese in Vancouver -- the precedence of older siblings is found. After one Canadian-born teenager asserted that her family was very "westernized", she commented about her eldest sister:

We always listen to Peggy, she is older and more sensible -- even if she is only a few years older. (Jane Yip)

A young law student attributed much of his interest in jurisprudence to his early "protector" role over his juniors, one which was encouraged by his parents:

My parents always told me I had to take care of them because I was the eldest. Now they think I will be able to do it better because of the law degree. That kind of thinking has affected me a lot. I want to be in a strong position to help if I need to. (Gary Fong)

The differences of relative age are observed by another eldest brother:

Susan -- the next after me -- and I have more power than the others because we are older -- and we have always been told that we should have some controls. Anyway if you want to have rights in a family, you have to take responsibilities too. So we take care of the little ones. (Fred Eng)

A young Chinese-Canadian matron indicated the persistence of relative age differences among her family of seven by quietly pointing to her youngest child listening attentively to her older sister:
That is what I mean by respect for the older ones. It is a very good thing. They don't always do it. Walter the youngest, didn't pay attention to the eldest girl the other day. When I told him to he looked up at me and said -- "Mother, have you never heard of freedom of speech?" It was funny, but also serious. He was sent to his room for the rest of the afternoon. The younger should always listen to the older. (Mrs. Yee)

Differences of age often place the eldest child of either sex in a special relationship to his parents, most often to the mother. This is intensified when mothers work and more domestic responsibilities are delegated to children -- particularly to their eldest daughters. In the Eng family, where this occurs the eldest son said:

Susan really "plays mother" since my mother works all the time at the store. She makes the dinner and takes care of the younger ones, although not so much this year, since she came to UBC. (Fred)

And as Susan noted:

Sometimes I am surprised Fred isn't listened to more, the eldest brother is always important and they even call him the Chinese name "dai-go" 大哥. I guess they do listen to me around the house more -- because I'm something like the mother when she isn't there.

The bond between eldest children and mothers is strengthened if a common problem is shared. In one family a drinking father caused a mother and her eldest son to share
confidences:

I talk to my mother a lot — I mean she talks to me. She sometimes has troubles with my father so she talks to me about it. She listens to me more than to my younger brother. (Gary Fong)

This same son, by influencing his mother over a period of time, convinced his parents to sell their home in an industrial area of Vancouver and to move to a "better" district:

They don't usually do what I say, but that time they did — and everyone wanted to move from there anyway — especially my mother. My mother sometimes tells me she likes to know what I think because I have education.

In one case where a widowed mother was left with three teenage daughters and a family grocery store, the eldest child — a secretary — often acts as an arbitrator in family discussions and conflicts between her two sisters and her mother. She also has a crucial role in making decisions about some important financial matters:

My mother sometimes doesn't understand what the two younger ones want to do, you know, why they want to do certain things. So I explain some of them to her, and that we aren't in China any more -- things are different. She is still pretty modern, but I help sometimes anyway. Also, when my father died she wanted to sell the store right away, but I convinced her to keep it until she was sure what she wanted to do. It is hard work, but it has given her
something to do since my father died. She's trying to sell it now, but it has been good to keep it going. (Francis Cheng)

There was only one mother who did not speak English, and her eldest child and only daughter is of great help to her in understanding the language (especially the remarks and queries of this researcher). Lucy remarked on this:

I guess I sort of, well, help her. She doesn't understand English very well, you know.

In the same household live two of the father's brothers' sons, and one of these -- a man in his early twenties -- was held in respect and awe by his three young cousins and his teenage brother. The explanation for this is the difference of relative age:

Rudy is the oldest and so we pay attention to him. We should. The boys [ages five and six] always do as he says. To be rude to him would be very cheeky and bad.43 (Lucy)

Older children do not always wholly agree with their added power and responsibility. One older daughter said:

Being the oldest is not always so good. The younger ones don't have anything to worry about -- you get it all. (Susan)

This dissatisfaction was heightened in the Eng family
where the youngest child born in Canada, and not educated in Hong Kong, was often a source of friction. Her eldest brother, Fred, said:

She doesn't know how to adapt herself to the fifth sister's demands. She doesn't seem to know that the youngest is supposed to compromise with the older ones. If she knew these things like the rest of us there would not be the arguments and trouble.

In summary, differences of relative age appear to play an important part in sibling relations, and also in defining power and responsibility of eldest children vis-a-vis their parents. The questionnaire data supported the anticipation that these differences would be more strongly marked in Chinese than in "English" families. Chinese respondents both subscribed to "traditional" values and saw them being implemented in their families. The "Y" group exhibited the strongest awareness of this. It might also be noted that many Chinese-Canadian mothers do not use personal names of their children when recounting incidents in the household. These mothers often speak of their children as "the eldest boy", "the youngest girl", or "the fifth child". This might indicate that while "traditional" kinship terms are not used, children are seen by their parents in terms of relative age.
Daughters versus Sons: Sexual Differentiation

The "traditional" Chinese structure was not notable for any specifically unique formulation of sex differentiation, though it might be valid to observe that few societies have been quite so consistent and careful in their observations of these matters on such a large scale. 44

All except three of these families have both sons and daughters, but because these three only have daughters, some of this data concerning sexual differentiation is biased toward a female point of view. Daughters are very hesitant to discuss the "traditional" preference for male children, and how this is manifested in their own families. As one girl said:

"Chinafied" people always think boys are more important, but nobody in our family is like that. Both sexes are equal. If we had brothers they would be treated just like us. (Ellen Yip)

On the other hand, as her older sister pointed out:

When someone Chinese has a baby, my dad always gives them something. A friend of ours had a girl and he gave them a buggy and ten dollars. But, you know, he said to them that if it had been a boy he would have given them fifty dollars and a lot more presents. Chinese people really like sons, for look what my father would have done. (Jane)

An observer from another family commented about this same father:
Mr. Yip told my dad he would like to have a son, but that his wife won't have any more kids. She is happy with things as they are. (Joanne Chiu)

In the Chong family, the father had brought to Vancouver two sons from a previous marriage in China. These young men worked in the family store, and did not live with his wife and three daughters. No one wished to discuss why Mr. Chong had wanted these sons with him. His wife never mentioned their existence, but said about the age-old preference for sons:

In old China they believed that -- that boys are better than girls. But we don't believe in those old ideas, not my generation.

There is more candour and less reticence in discussing this in the Leong family. May Leong's comments are apt:

One friend just has another girl. That makes four. It is too bad to have as many children as that, and no boys. Her husband is very sad. Too bad.

My other friend, she has five daughters. Every day she cries, it is too bad. She wants a boy.

In addition, the questionnaire data indicates that "traditional" values about male precedence are held by many Chinese. None of the "English" think boys are more important than girls, but a minority of Chinese
think they are, the strongest assertion of this comes from the "Y" group. With regard to actual favouritism in the family, half of the Chinese saw this in their own families and only one-tenth of the "English". This evidence may suggest that "traditional" views of sexual differentiation may well occur more in immigrant families occupying a lower position on the socio-economic scale. This is also indicated by the responses of the Leong young people about the roles of daughters and sons in the family:

People want a son to be dependent upon, because girls belong to the other family -- her husband's family. (Rudy)

When you raise a daughter she isn't yours any more -- she goes out -- [of the family]. (Lucy)

Despite the evidence of many "traditional" values about the place of females, actual behaviour indicates that daughters usually have an equal position, and sometimes enjoy a favoured place because of the combination of age and sexual differences. One older brother remarked about his younger and only sister:

Judy has an easier time of it than we boys do. She is the only girl and the youngest. She never had as many lickings as we did. And my father really likes her. She is babied a lot, I think, we all do it -- but is only a few years younger than I am. (Gary Fong)
The eldest sister of the two young Leong boys sagely commented on her position:

If there were as many boys as girls my mother would probably like the boys best. But I am the only girl, and my mother likes me best in lots of ways. She is not as strict with me, but I was a pretty good little girl in Hong Kong, before we came here. We were alone there, just my mother and I. (Lucy)

Daughters generally appear to receive equal treatment from their parents. In two cases where fathers had only daughters they were openly indulgent with them:

Daddy likes us to have music and dancing lessons — he is very good to us. I guess he spends a lot of money on us. (Louise Chong)

My dad is very generous with everyone, but specially with us. When we said we wanted to have this party for our friends he offered to give us anything we wanted for it — even to buy thirty pounds of spareribs if we wanted him to. (Jane Yip)

An expression that often arises concerning daughters is "good girl". Daughters are closely supervised when they arrive at the "dating" age, and what constitutes a "good girl" often creates family tensions:

My father would disown us if we married "English" boys — and he doesn't want us to go out with them either. (Susan Eng)

He doesn't like us going out with other boys — "English" — but it is worse with the Japanese. He wants us to marry our own race. (Mary Chong)
Sometimes my mother is so worried about my sister going out with non-Chinese guys that she starts talking about marrying her off through some "matchmaker" she knows downtown -- maybe she'll do it someday, who knows? (Gary Fong)

Although daughters are more closely supervised than their brothers, similar difficulties occur when the issue of sons "marrying out" arises. One boy remarked about his younger brother:

He is pretty popular with the girls -- my mother likes the Irish girl he goes around with, but she says it would be wrong to marry her. She can't talk to her like she would a Chinese girl, and she misses that. She thinks that Chinese girls are really nicer, not so "loose" I guess, and that Jim could never get away with them what he does with other girls. (Gary Fong)

And a Chinese-Canadian mother said to her two sons:

If you did that [marry a non-Chinese] I wouldn't put you out of the family. But it would be very hard. It isn't the right thing to do. I would be disappointed, even if your father wouldn't -- I can't help it if he is not so worried about it as I am. I couldn't treat you the same, it just wouldn't be the same. (Mrs. Yee)

Daughters do not have subordinate roles in these families, nor do they face the prospect of a strict and powerful mother-in-law when they marry. In addition, they share equal educational opportunities with their brothers and in all except four families they were
planning to have professional careers. In two of these families daughters were not good students, and hence the decision to discontinue their education was in fact made for them. However, in one family parents have explicit reservations about higher education for women, and these sentiments are evident in other families also. As one older brother said:

Judy isn't good at school, but even if she was my parents don't think education is very important for girls -- they just get married. (Gary Fong)

Parents are also more thoughtful about education for daughters than they appear to be for sons. The mother in the Leong family was ambitious for both her small sons, but less concerned about a professional role for her daughter. Said Lucy, who was a fine student:

She would really like me to be a secretary and work in a bank -- something like that. But she says they will help me in the first year of university if I want to go, and if I'm a good girl. I think probably it is more important for the boys anyway.

In at least one family a mother had experienced a difficult childhood because she was the only daughter in a family of sons; this resulted in her striving for a close association with her own daughter. At the same time, however, her mother still retains some "traditional" views about the role of women. Her son
Since my mother was the only girl, she had a hard time. When my grandmother was dying she told her she was sorry she had not treated her better, because she was better than the sons in the family. My mother would like to be closer to my sister because of that. But I don't think she is. She wants my sister to get married -- she thinks she doesn't need to go to UBC, she'll marry out of the family anyway, while boys bring someone in -- they widen the family's scope. (Gary Fong)

And Susan Eng, in observing her expectations of her future husband, clearly still defined her role according to some features of the "traditional" political framework:

I would like him to be smarter than I am -- to have better judgment and perhaps more sense -- if he didn't he couldn't be the boss -- the way he should be in the family. Men should be stronger than their wives -- or how can they respect them?

Data from these families indicating daughters have egalitarian positions in the family despite these "traditional" values which are expressed is corroborated by the questionnaire data. Chinese respondents were egalitarian about an equal role for females in family decision-making and in educational opportunities; they also considered that ability rather than differences of sex should be the determining criteria in allocating funds for higher education. The majority also saw that females had these opportunities in their families, the highest
proportion of negative responses occurring in the "CVC" group. On the other hand, the Chinese were equally divided on whether or not sons received greater importance than daughters in their families, and these responses stood in sharp contrast to those of the "English" who saw no preferential treatment being given sons.

Responses most closely corresponding to "traditional" family values came from the "Y" group. One-fifth of them were not in favour of females having equal voice in the family, and were also more in favour of giving males precedence. One-half of them said that sons "do more" for the family and this was the reason for precedence. Only one-fifth of the "CVC" thought sons were more important for this reason.

The "English" responses in two areas seem significant. They were higher proportionately than Chinese in giving education for males more importance, and also fewer of them reported females having an equal voice in their families. The latter datum might be because "English" respondents have higher standards of egalitarian decision-making than do the Chinese, and do not see the females in their family measuring up to these expectations. The former result -- an "English" assertion of male precedence in educational opportunities -- perhaps is only explainable by the following: Chinese young
people are strongly motivated to succeed and this tendency may be highly diffuse among the younger generation — regardless of sex: on the other hand the "English" tend to take these motivations for granted, and from a position of relative economic security may not need to emphasize success as strongly. On the other hand the data might simply indicate that "English" are less egalitarian than the Chinese with respect to education for females.47

Generational Precedence in Differentiating Roles

The criterion of generation was vital in allocating power and responsibility in the "traditional" family, for the only possible source of political power was on generational lines.48 For the Chius, generational precedence, in combination with other factors, was instrumental in shaping family structure, but nowhere else in these families is this precedence as strongly asserted and reinforced. Part of this can be accounted for by the lack of grandparents in all but a few households (one in the nuclear group of families, and seven among the questionnaire group). There is a consensus, moreover, that if grandparents were in the household, family structure would be altered substantially. But grandparents typically had little influence over the actions of their grandchildren, although many children thought those of the alternate generation were entitled to some
influence. The changes that might occur are described by this matron:

I was brought up very strict -- in the old way, with all the old customs. If my mother was alive and lived with us, it would be different. Perhaps even hard on all of us. The kids would have to learn to not argue with her -- for she would be older -- and expect their respect. (Mrs. Yee)

Even when grandparents live in Vancouver, most children did not have regular or close contacts with them. Often this was due to language barriers. One mother who spoke several dialects and who encouraged her children to attend Chinese school said:

Mary's Chinese is so poor -- her inflection is all wrong. Her grandparents used to criticize her all the time -- all our relatives did. Now she won't speak Chinese around them at all, she is too embarrassed. (Mrs. Chong)

These differences of language occur not only between grandparents and children, but also between parents, and their friends, and the younger generation. One son who speaks both Chinese and English generalizes about the lack of understanding arising from language differences:

My father and some of his friends think we should be more Chinese. They -- the older people in Chinatown -- have a name for us, you know. They call us "Siwash" because we don't even know our own language -- (Gary Fong)
Grandparents appear to have little actual influence even when they live in the same household. They are still given respect although their advise might not be heeded. A cousin of the Leong family said about his grandfather:

We give him our attention and then try to show where he is wrong.

And the granddaughter supported this:

We always listen to my grandparents -- but unless my father or mother finds something wrong in their own ideas they don't usually do as they say. (Lucy)

In this family the grandfather is a retired agricultural worker in his early seventies. The mother of the family works, and he has taken on the responsibility of daily caring for the two small sons of the family. He is considered "old-fashioned" by his grandchildren, and it is his wife who has the most effect on family affairs:

Sometimes if we listen to him or not depends on if he is nice or cranky that day. My father usually listen to him because he is his father. My grandmother is more modern and sensible. She doesn't tell old stories about China all the time -- and she isn't superstitious like my grandfather. (Lucy)

But Grandfather Leong's role is not wholly honorific in the household, and in some matters his approval and judgment would be effective in directing the actions of his two oldest grandsons whose parents remain in
Sometimes we don't pay too much attention to him — but he doesn't like modern girls, he doesn't approve of them but my grandmother does. So if I brought home someone that I would like to marry and he didn't like her, I wouldn't marry her probably, because he wouldn't approve. (Rudy)

Although values of generational precedence are held by all respondents, relations with grandparents are often determined by geographical proximity as well as by "traditional" respect and veneration. These comments from a brother and sister summarize the views of most young people:

They live in Victoria — and we aren't close to them because we hardly see them. They don't have much to do with us. (Susan)

Our grandparents don't meddle with our family — partially I know because they had an argument with my father a few years ago — but anyway we aren't their children, so they can't tell us what to do — that's the job of parents. (Fred)

The questionnaire data with regard to generational precedence of grandparents and how this is viewed by young people is problematic because of what appears to be a misunderstanding of the question pertaining to this aspect of family life. 49

The locus of generational precedence in these families is the father. Fathers are usually
viewed as both the rightful and actual loci of power and responsibility, and although these may not be defined as rigidly as they were in the "traditional" family, fathers are still described as the "head of the household". A typical statement is the following:

Our mother I guess is the boss about visiting people and things like that. But when big decisions have to be made, it is my father that makes them, although my mother always talks a lot. (Louise Chong)

Fathers are often, however, remote figures in the household, and it is usually mothers who deal with the day-to-day decisions of family life:

Our mother was always around more. My father was kind of a remote figure who used to come home at ten o'clock at night and leave early again in the morning for the store. We didn't used to see him much when I was little. (Gary Fong)

Moreover, the authority of fathers is often described in terms that appear congruent with the position of the chia-chang in Levy's model. This is particularly true of daughters when discussing their fathers. As Susan Eng said:

Men are the pillars of the family -- and they have to work hard for the family -- so they should be boss. If my father didn't do things, no one else would -- things are his responsibility because he is the father and the boss of the family.
Sometimes a father's precedence is illustrated by adherence to certain Chinese customs or traditions, or by his wife preparing special Chinese dinners for him. This occurred regularly in several families.

When we were younger the three of us every morning used to have to greet our parents formally in Chinese -- "good morning mother", "good morning father". We stopped doing it a few years ago, when we were all in high school. Also, for a long time we used to take tea to them every New Year's morning as a special sign of respect. We don't do it now. (Gary Fong)

My mother makes a special Chinese dinner for my father late every night when he comes from the store, after she has made dinner for the rest of us. I've told her she shouldn't -- it is too much work -- but she still does. My father expects it too.

Whenever my father is out we eat Western food, because we all like it. But if he is home we have to have Chinese food. My mother likes Western food, but she would never dare cook it if he was there, he wouldn't like it. (Susan Eng)

In some families the father's links with "old China ways" separate him from his children, for they tend to see him as "old-fashioned". If the mothers are Chinese-Canadian and several years younger than their husbands this tendency is reinforced, and the influence of the fathers may be affected. When all the children are females the situation can become quite pronounced, although father still hold the symbolic or ultimate authority in the family. The following remarks are from
daughters in such families:

Before my father died we didn't know any of his friends in Chinatown -- there was no reason to. The Chinese here are usually from the country and we are city people [Shanghai]. We have nothing in common with them -- the kind of people he knew. (Francis Cheng)

Neither of them [parents] like me to date "English" boys, but my father is worse -- he is more old-fashioned than my mother -- he was born in China. (Mary Chong)

Daddy is a smart man and is good to us -- really generous -- but sometimes he is funny and almost superstitious -- like those old men down in Chinatown -- they are like that. (Peggy Yip)

The fact that one man had a wife in China caused his eldest son to temper feelings of respect for his father with some traces of moral condemnation:

None of the others [a brother and sister] know about it, and I would never tell them. I don't understand how my father feels about it and I never talk to him about it. It just seems wrong to me. How can you be married and have a family legally here if you are already married in another country? For a long time I used to think I was illegitimate. (Gary Fong)

The data concerning the roles of fathers is limited because children are not usually quick to point out that fathers do not have the balance of power in the family. However, from the composite picture of these families -- through both interviews and
questionnaires -- general observations about fathers' roles can be made. Two factors mitigate their absolute precedence or complete authority in the family: (1) they are not in close contact with their children because of long hours in the business, and (2) their wives often mediate between some of their "old-fashioned" ideas and those of the younger generation. Thus mothers often take on some of their husbands' power, a feature of their roles which does not appear in high relief in Levy's analysis, although it might well have occurred in "traditional" China. On the other hand, the role of fathers in the production unit is still a major part of his power and responsibility, as the next chapter will illustrate.

Questionnaire data tends to support at least the generational precedence most fathers enjoy. The majority of both the "CVC" and the "English" asserted that fathers should be the "boss", and specified that they did in fact have this role in their families. However, there was a different assertion of authority in the "Y" group, where mothers were reported to occupy positions of power. This high incidence of maternal power was concurrent in the "Y" group with a relatively high percentage who thought females should not have this power. There was, therefore, in this crucial area of political authority a high negative correlation between what the "Y" group thought should be the structure of
political power and what in fact was the structure of this power: in abstracto the "Y" group did not approve of an equal voice for females, but at the same time they cited that the authority of mothers should be equally important as that of both parents, and nearly as important as that of fathers. Very few in fact reported the dominance of fathers in their families. This data -- incomplete as it is -- suggests that mothers enjoy more political precedence in families of lower socio-economic status. However, the age of respondents could be a significant variable, for the "Y" group were several years younger than the "GVC", and perhaps are more under their mothers' influence.51

It must also be noted that adherence to values of male dominance in family decision-making and the actuality of this in the family are not essentially "Chinese" features. This is indicated by the fact that the "English" overwhelmingly supported a strong authoritarian position for fathers. It is also highly likely that most children tend to see their fathers as the "boss": but the questionnaire data is still significant in that in all groups except the the "Y", mothers were next in importance to fathers: there were almost no cases among the Chinese where both parents were cited as the source of power in the family.
Lastly, the often remote position of fathers vis-a-vis their children is borne out by Chinese respondents consistently bifurcating their emotions between their parents — fathers receiving respect, dislike and fear, and mothers receiving affection and/or respect. The "English" did not do this, and only one-sixth of them expressed feelings of respect and fear for their fathers. This might indicate that in many Chinese families fathers still retain some of the "traditional" aura of the Chia-chang's position; they appear to have relationships of negative intensity with their children, a contrast to those which children have with their mothers.

In concluding this chapter on the persistence of "traditional" criteria of role differentiation the following statements can be made:

(1) Relative age differences are important in delegating power and responsibility to older siblings as they were in Chiu household, but nowhere are the strict absolute age categories of the "traditional" family replicated. Children do, however, remain subordinate members of the family structure until they have completed their education. They appear not to be recognized as ch'eng-jen
or "finished persons" until they reach these positions of economic independence and maturity: this indicates some vestiges of an absolute age category.

(2) Sexual differences are still recognized and expressed in terms which are "traditional". Daughters are however equal members of family structure in most cases. There is little evidence that daughters anticipate the "three dependencies", san-ts'ung, of the "traditional" female to be replicated in their own lives. There exists a general recognition by all children that sons are expected to "do more" for the family in the future than are daughters.

(3) Generational precedence is still important in these families, but it is parents rather than grandparents who now have this. More important, fathers are the pinnacle of family authority, although other factors affect this ideal ultimate power and responsibility. On the other
hand, data indicates that the role of father is buttressed by his major productive role in the family business -- a subject which will receive more close attention in Chapter V.
CHAPTER V

THE EFFECT OF THE ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE
ON FAMILY STRUCTURE

The two general hypotheses formulated by Levy and stated earlier in this dissertation are pertinent when discussing the economic aspects of these Chinese families. These are:

(1) Unless structural prerequisites are met, a structure will not continue as a stable and continuous unit.

(3) Structures in which the locus of power is at variance with that of responsibility are inherently unstable and subject to discontinuity.

The central paradox in these Chinese families under discussion is that although many of the characteristics of the "traditional" family are approximated, they are reinforced by an economic basis which will destroy after one generation family structure as it is presently constituted. This paradox rests essentially on the position of children -- particularly sons -- who are being prepared for economic roles outside the family store: this situation is radically different from that of the "traditional" family. The structure of these families encourages sons to attain these separate
independent economic roles.

Family structure is not dictated solely by the economic variable: as Levy points out, simple dependency among variables in the family is not found in either the family or in the larger social system. In the "traditional" family several elements took definite precedence over the economic content of various family roles, although the structure of economic roles buttressed the criteria of age, sex, and generation. Yet the economic basis of the family was of great importance, for it provided the source of continuity and stability in the family, particularly for sons:

The element of stability in the "traditional" family by virtue of the fact that its members by and large followed the same occupational roles -- does not exist for the "transitional" family. This is of great importance, for it removes the functional basis for family continuity of more than one generation. The old economic structure required and fostered such continuity.

The presence of a business enterprise in these families appears to have some special relevance in view of these remarks from Levy. It is anticipated that some of the conditions requisite to the structure of the "traditional" family will be approximated when family members participate in a production unit: specifically, these conditions are the blending of family and economic
relations, and the reinforcement of the senior male's position because of his major productive role. This chapter will deal with the effect of the business enterprise upon family structure in three major areas:

(1) the organization of the business enterprise as a production unit and how this organization affects the allocation of power and responsibility in the family.

(2) the way in which the business enterprise links the family with the structure of occupational roles in the wider society.

(3) the patterns of production and consumption and their relationship to family structure and the "traditional" criteria of role differentiation.

All except two families in this group are retail produce and grocery stores, the exceptions are an import retail store and a large wholesale produce firm, both of which are located in Chinatown. Only two of the households live adjoining the store building; most families reside some distance from their businesses. The majority of stores have been established by fathers and are owned and managed by them. Only one involves two senior males of the extended family, and in this case the older brother -- the father of the Yip family -- has the major control of the enterprise. Six mothers participate in their family business, four of these on a daily basis. All children have had some contact with the store, but
most do not now regularly work there. One business was founded by a grandfather, but in no family does a grandfather retain a role in the business enterprise.

Among the Chinese answering the questionnaire, one-half of the families own stores, and of these only one-third of the children work in the store: one-third of mothers were reported to work in the store. More precise information from the questionnaire on the conditions of employment is not available, but since most stores do not demand specific skills from employees it is likely that family members often participate in the store on a part-time basis. This participation is supported by children from the ten families who indicated on the questionnaire that their mothers did not "work" in the store, when in fact these mothers often worked when it was necessary. The questionnaire is valuable in this instance in pointing out the blending of economic and family relations: participation in the store is often not viewed as formal employment, but simply as an extension of family relationships.

Organization of the Business Enterprise: Its Effects on Family Structure

Despite the fact that mothers and children are often integral parts of the production unit, fathers remain the "head of the business". A typical description
of the position of father is:

He is the head of the family because he is the one that supports us. (Mary Chong)

It might be expected that the authority of fathers would be greater if fathers have close and continuous contact with family members as they work in the store. There are only four families in which the entire family cooperates without non-family employees. In these, like the other families, the authority of fathers is not cited as the major reason children dislike store employment. A minority of these children, and those of the questionnaire group, like to work in the store, but complaints usually concern the lack of time for recreation, the boredom of clerking, and the customers they did not like.

I worked in the store every noon and after school every day all the time I was in high school. I had to do it to help my parents and I guess I didn't complain much. But I couldn't join things at school because I could never go to meetings. I never had time to make friends -- perhaps that is why I don't have any now. (Francis Cheng)

The store is in the Italian district in the east end -- and I don't like those people much. They are rude and ignorant and difficult to handle sometimes-- they are like the Chinese people. (Gary Fong)

I don't like those funny people down there in the West End, especially the women. My father has a uniform he likes me to wear, but I wouldn't wear it -- it is so ugly. I would rather get dirty. (Mary Chong)
People think they can treat you any way in a little store. They can't blow up in the big one because they are afraid to -- so they can do it in small stores. (George Wong)

Children are not coerced into working in the store in most families, it is usually seen as an extension of family relations into an economic framework:

It is just implied that being part of the family that you will help in the store. It is natural -- who else would do it? (Fred Eng)

Aside from the four families who operate the business almost entirely with family labour (two of these do have an occasional part-time employee on busy days, usually non-Chinese), most businesses employ either kin or non-kin employees. The numbers of non-kin employees grow with the size of the business, and correspondingly there are fewer obligations for children to work in the store. The larger the enterprise, the more clearly family and economic relations are separated. The eldest son of the Lums, owners of a large wholesale produce firm said:

I've been very lucky to have the business to work in in the summers. I can earn enough for my fees -- or to buy a car. Every summer I have a job right away -- I don't have to go and look around for one like other guys do. And I don't have to work there -- it is just convenient. (Bob Lum)
Unlike most sons, Bob Lum works with many employees and does not see his father when he works in the firm. In other families the intimate contacts between fathers and children in small stores can produce tension over the conditions of employment, or the management of the enterprise. Both sons and daughters usually had some experience in the store when they reached their early teens. As they matured they expressed complaints about wages (or the lack of them), the management of the business, or the fact that family unity was being disrupted by the demands of the store. The latter is a source of great friction in the Eng family. As Fred reported:

The reason they sent us away to Hong Kong when we were little was so my mother could help in the store -- to get it off the ground. When it was better, they brought us back, and I thought things were going to be different, but they weren't. My mother still worked there, and wasn't home much. I didn't think it was very good for the family, so we three oldest ones told my father that she should be home where she belonged. He didn't punish us or anything, he said he was disappointed -- that he thought he was being a good parent -- and doing all he could. He's been pretty indifferent since then to us -- I never talk to him. I don't think he is typical of Chinese fathers though.

Another son thought that the business could be run more successfully. Gary Fong said:
I don't mind working for the store -- because my parents pay for my fees every year -- but for years my father has been operating at a deficit, and I can't understand why. He has two hundred and fifty dollars a day come into the store every day in business -- and yet he only nets an income of about $9,000.00 a year. I can't understand why this happens when he buys second rate produce so he won't have to compete with the big stores and can save money -- he has a higher mark-up than they do. No matter what I say he won't listen -- he would never listen to what I say in important things -- like the business.

Disagreements over the demands of the business did not usually take such a serious form: if they occurred they typically concern the wages children should receive. Most received these directly or agreed to having them put aside for university expenses and fees. Although two sons who had worked in the business for seven years had accumulated close to $10,000. between them, most children do not have this kind of pocket money under their control. Most think employment outside the store would be more lucrative -- even if they had to work harder. The retorts to such complaints by children are illustrated by these remarks of Mrs. Yee:

But you forget we pay for all your clothes, food, and this house and the car. We give you everything you have -- and that is a lot, isn't it?

This was echoed by some children:

I didn't expect to be paid for working in the store -- but I was. I thought that
since parents provide everything for you, they wouldn't need to pay you. (Fred Eng)

All children have worked some time in the family store, although sons usually are expected to work more than daughters. Participation varied, however, with the size and success of the business and with its geographic relation to the home. One exception is the store adjoining the small living area of the Chongs, a widowed mother and her three daughters. It is a cooperative endeavour, with a buzzer signalling the arrival of a customer and resulting in one of the family members hurrying off to the unattended store. The Chongs perhaps illustrate the most complete blending of family and economic relationships, for the pool of family labour is the sole means of keeping the business enterprise intact, and although the intrusion of customers upon the leisure time of the family is resented, it has become a necessary and accepted aspect of both the family and economic organization.

Most stores make demands on the family, but no other had as close identification as this of the two systems. Sons and daughters bicycle, walk, or motor to the store on weekday afternoons or week-ends, and if there is a margin of profit daughters are always spared store employment. Mr. Chong's two China-born sons work in the store regularly, but his three daughters seldom
go there. The father in the Yip household has never stressed store employment for his three girls, although Jane worked there part-time while waiting to enter nursing training. For both sons and daughters hours of work decrease as they progress in their education:

My dad doesn't like us working in the store -- he doesn't need us anyways since my uncle and other people work there. (Peggy Yip)

Since we've been at University he doesn't expect as much from us -- but still we go on the weekends if he wants us to. (George Wong)

All children feel that the work experience in the store and the over-all effect of the business has formed their attitudes toward future economic success and toward the value of money. Store employment is a "natural" feature of many families, and has a great impact on the values and behaviour of children:

I sure learned a lot about the value of money -- and also how to treat people from working there -- even if I didn't like it. (Jean Cheng)

I wouldn't want to go into my own business -- it is too hard. But you learn a lot from working in a store. (George Wong)

My father says that having your own business is not such a good idea -- it is too much work. The only thing that would make me do it is if I had really good connections -- so I would be successful and get lots of money. (Louise Chong)
We are all thrifty -- real penny-pinchers -- and it is from the store -- seeing our parents and from working there -- it makes you realize what things cost. (Fred Eng)

Questionnaire data supported these remarks of children with respect to the organization of the store and attitudes toward it. Only one-third of this group of Chinese young people work in family stores. Most receive monetary payment for their labour, but whether this is direct or indirect is not specified. An overwhelming majority do not wish to enter the family business on a permanent basis, nor do their parents anticipate this. This datum raises a significant feature of these Chinese families: despite the strong relationship between the family enterprise and family structure, the business does not appear to have any inter-generational continuity.

The Position of the Business in the Occupational Structure of Society: Its Effects

Children are usually brought under the control of parents in the store at an early age, and are subordinated to the authority of their fathers in the business. However, none of these ten families wants children to continue the business, and none are preparing them for future positions there. Although parents -- more specifically fathers -- might sometimes express hopes that sons would carry on the business enterprise,
funds are still provided for higher education, and usually children are strongly encouraged to seek some form of training past the high school level. In most families there is no discussion about the future of the business: it is understood that it remains the province of the father and will continue to be so. As Fred Eng said:

We volunteered really to work there — although I guess it was expected. After all, it is important to know something of your father's vocation. But he doesn't expect us to carry it on.

One mother expressed a general wish that her children's poor scholastic performance in high school would not prevent them from continuing their education past high school, and then commented:

We have always wanted them in the store because we needed them. But neither their father or I would like them to do that in the future — but they aren't very good at school. The store has been good for them, I think, they have learned a lot about how a business is run -- if worse comes to worst they could always be clerks. (Mrs. Yee)

However sons were expected in most families to have future alternate sources of income. This is true in even the large wholesale firm where sons assume executive-managerial positions in the future: both boys were planning to enter some branch of the medical profession. In two other families, however, sons had not completely dismissed
the possibility that they might be called upon to assume a major role in the business if a crisis arose. A boy in first year Arts said:

I think if the business was going to go to me it would depend on the course I took at UBC. If I was in commerce it would be more likely me. The way things are now -- after my argument with him [the father] he threatened to sell out all his stock in the business and let things slide. He has always said he has expanded the business for us but it is more himself, I think, he is pretty ambitious. And he never talks about any of us handling it. If anything happened to him my mother would take over -- she knows as much as he does. (Fred Eng)

The expectations of most sons are expressed by Gary Fong:

The business ends with me -- and my parents are glad of it. They don't expect either my brother or me to carry it on -- we don't want to either -- we are all glad of that.

Negative attitudes to the business are consistently found. These focus on the demands of the store on the time and energy of the family, but they are also closely tied to the position of the small grocery store on the socio-economic scale of Canadian society, and to the fact that children recognize that the small entrepreneur is forced to struggle for his livelihood. The wives and children of these Chinese businessmen often see the family store in negative terms. As one mother said of the business:
I'd do anything to get out of this life -- it is just too hard. Long hours every day of the week. It is too much. (Mrs. Wong)

A son from another family remarked about his mother:

She says once we are all out of the house and married that she hopes she can retire -- then she'll never set foot in another store. She hates it sometimes. (Gary Fong)

And as Mary Chong said:

I think my dad is a pretty smart man -- but the store is the only thing people of his generation can do. Lots of them are just small grocers. None of us would want to be in that kind of business -- it takes too much time. (Francis Yip)

This negative appraisal of the store means not only that sons are prepared for economic roles outside the business, but also that both parents strongly encourage their children to "do better" because of the arduous work that small scale entrepreneurial activity involves. There is a very definite and clear statement of children moving away from such activity, both for their own economic careers and those of their prospective spouses. Sons are encouraged to pursue professional careers, and daughters are enabled to emancipate themselves from the "traditional" definition of women's roles. In addition, many daughters view negatively marrying men
of their father's socio-economic status, and are encouraged in this by their parents. As Peggy Ching remarks:

Our parents wouldn't want us to marry grocers -- but I guess my mum more than my dad really. They want us to do better, they know how hard a grocery store is -- how much work and everything.

The Move Away from Chinatown: Its Effect on the Family

All of these business enterprises except two are located outside the Chinatown business area, and all the eleven families also live outside this area. In some sense these families are therefore isolated from the potential Chinese clientele of the downtown community, and in most cases have lived in "English" neighborhoods. Their contacts with family and Chinese friends must therefore be found beyond the confines of day-to-day business activity and the perimeters of their neighborhoods, for they are part of the "English" community by the geographical position of both their business and home in a non-Chinese area. They are part of this community because of the special services which they provide their "English" clientele. In the majority of cases these businesses are maintained by long business hours, sometimes extending from eight in the morning until midnight in the evening. The "Chinese green grocer" is a familiar sight in Vancouver, and it is general knowledge that
it is because these stores remain open for business long after their competitors have closed that they are viable economic enterprises.

The close identity of a Chinese immigrant group with a specific occupation is examined by Siu in his remarks on the isolation of the Chinese Laundryman. Siu suggests that the laundry business is highly valued by the Chinese "sojourner" in America because it is a means not only to provide services of high utility to the wider society, but also to allow the entrepreneur to maintain his "cultural heritage" in the business by employing only Chinese and extending employment on a kinship basis. This is particularly important to the "sojourner" Chinese entrepreneur because he is working and saving in order to return to his homeland. Clearly Siu’s data is not of comparative value here, for these Chinese fathers do not, it appears, entertain any ideas of returning to China. They established businesses and homes in Vancouver for the quite explicit purpose of raising families and having a successful and secure economic future -- something which most of them appear to now possess. That they did not intend to return to China appears borne out by their efforts to provide their families with as high a standard of living and security here as possible, and, more important, to provide their children with funds for future professional training. The factors of class
and racial identity cannot be overlooked in understanding the position of these Chinese fathers when they viewed the possible social and economic alternatives in an "English" society. There were clearly very few avenues for independent entrepreneurial activity open to them, for most were relatively uneducated and untrained immigrants when they arrived in Canada. But there are choices for their children, and from these alternatives most fathers have strongly endorsed professional or at least technical training for their children, seeing this as a means of ensuring more perfect competition for them in an alien setting. It is perhaps quite significant that despite the fact that these fathers appear to have inheritable wealth which could be the basis of family continuity, they have encouraged children to establish their careers apart from the economic subsystem of the store. The achievement goals which are so high in these families are clearly not solely based on a high premium on economic success, but on the social prestige and the security implied by such success.

The analysis of choice in human action is no easy task. There are, however, in discussions with these Chinese young people, indications that the move away from Chinatown was motivated primarily by economic considerations. If one defines, for instance, a value as a goal weighted for action, he cannot argue that these Chinese
fathers did not put a high value on autonomy and entrepreneurial achievement when they established their stores in suburban areas. Much data has been accumulated concerning the ways and means by which any untrained immigrant community seeks to provide special and productive services or goods to the wider society, and these Chinese fathers clearly have much in common with these other groups. The suggestion that the move away from Chinatown was dictated largely by economic values based on survival in a society in which few alternatives were open to the new Chinese immigrant worker is supported by evidence that although these fathers operate their enterprises in relative isolation in an "English" area, most of them have not terminated their social and cultural contacts with that community, and in fact have many friends or acquaintances in the downtown area. In addition, children usually have strong views concerning economic success for a Chinese entrepreneur in Vancouver; reasons why one would leave Chinatown, and the perseverance and diligence necessary to maintain a small business in this age of the supermarket are recognized by them. These comments indicate the general feelings of these young people:

My father says that if you stay in Chinatown you will never get anywhere — but he also says it is still important to know people there if you are in business. (Mary Chong)

If you depend on the Chinese people to help you in business you won't get anywhere.
They don't help each other like the Jews do -- they just use each other. (Peggy Yip)

Chinese are quite mercenary -- and they like to squeeze every bit of work out of you that they can. I don't like working for them. My Dad didn't either. (Gary Pong)

Chinese exploit you -- if you have any guts a guy wouldn't work for them -- he would work for English people. (Fred Eng)

Associations with other entrepreneurs within Chinatown are a necessity for at least one father, but most children do not view business relations with Chinese favourably:

My father goes to the Eng clan meetings, but he isn't very enthusiastic. He goes because he is a businessman in Chinatown. It is like a ghetto there. You have to know the rest of them to do well sometimes. Now a lot of them join together because it is harder to keep a business going alone. (Fred Eng)

Despite their geographic isolation from Chinatown, fathers still form the sole link with Chinese activities that most families possess. In several families these cultural ties intensify generational differences:

My father knows a lot of old men down in Chinatown -- but they are his friends and we don't know them. They are all pretty old and don't see things the way we do. (Jane Yip)

We just never knew my father's Chinese friends -- none of us had anything in common with them. And neither did my mother. (Francis Cheng)

But although fathers are often viewed as
"old-fashioned" and not all families encourage Chinese school for their children, many parents are eager to establish close contacts with other Chinese young people when marriage is in view. Sometimes the severance of community ties as a sacrifice to the interests of the business are viewed rather regretfully by mothers. Mrs. Wong commented:

Living over here away from Chinatown has been good in some ways -- the business is over here -- it is a nice neighborhood -- but the kids don't know enough about the Chinese ways. You lose a lot when you don't live near Chinatown -- and have so far to go to get there. Now I make sure the kids get over to some of the important things going on there.

The move away from Chinatown is indicative of a wish to "do better", and in placing their children in middle class "English" neighborhoods parents have made socialization into "western" values more rapid. One of the most important of these values is that of economic or professional achievement, and there is no doubt that the status as a racial minority has intensified these goals in several households. On the other hand, as children continue their education the need "to meet other Chinese" is recognized, and parents -- particularly mothers -- take pains to provide the appropriate social and racial context from which children should ultimately pick a mate. There is therefore a noticeable shift in parents'
concern when children approach marrying age, and the previous stress on economic and professional achievement is somewhat tempered by a re-affirmation of their racial and cultural identity.

Production and Consumption in the Family

The role of father and mother in the store

In many respects these fathers resemble the "traditional" chia-chang in their enjoyment of the greatest power and responsibility because of their major productive role in the family business. They are not only responsible for family income but also can command human resources from the family to sustain the business enterprise; in addition, their authority in the business setting is unqualified. Despite the fact that a number of wives work with their husbands in the store and often contribute special talents such as bookkeeping or a diplomatic sense with some customers, the domain of the business enterprise remains unquestionably under the control of fathers.

My mother is often right about things in the store that my father doesn't seem to think about — like being nice to regular customers, or watching out for bad cheques and poor risks on credit. She is a great help to him, but although she warns him about lots of things, he never does what says — even when after he says it's too bad he didn't. (Gary Fong, emphases mine)
When a major decision such as separating the household from the business proper is to be made, it was Mr. Wong and not his wife who had the greatest authority. Said the latter:

> When he wanted to move I didn't -- but here we are, way up here, and it takes a long time to drive down to the store. But he wanted it, so we did it.

Nevertheless, mothers are usually indispensable to the business and typically devote their time and labour to it. There is no strict enforcement of the "traditional" division of labour based on household and non-household work in these families, and the smaller the enterprise the more closely the role of help-mate in the business and that of wife and mother are related.

> I don't know what my father would do without my mother in the business. She is right there all the time -- and is a great help. She's good at organizing things. (Peggy Yip)

> She's a good business woman and because of her the store became successful. Also she knows English better than my father does. He's very near-sighted too, and she helps him that way too, because she has very good eyes. He needs her in the business. (Gary Pong)

Most children see their mother's contribution to the business as an extension of her family role. But in at least one family, the Engs, children had voiced their disapproval of their mother working: they felt her role as a mother suffered because of the demands
Our family isn't typical of other Chinese families -- my mother is a business woman and hasn't been home much. She is at the store a lot. She thinks that being a mother is being a slave, working all the time. It is too bad -- our family has been affected by it.

The only other household in which feelings against a mother working were expressed is the Leong family, consisting of paternal grandparents, their son and his wife, and the two sons of their other son who remains in China. These feelings were not, however, related to the presence of the mother in the business, for during the course of this research Lei Yik's shares in a small cafe were given over to the original owners of the building from whom he leased the cafe. He thereupon took employment as a cook in a large downtown hotel. His wife, May, had never worked with him in the cafe because of her lack of English, and recently took a job in a packing house. Her eldest nephew Rudy sums up the feelings of the family:

In China there is a custom that women should not leave the house, but here everybody works. My uncle minds that May works but she wants to. She would like him to have a cafe again perhaps. But it is not good for a mother to leave her family, if my grandfather was not here to take care of Doug and Dick, May could not work.
In this household, and in others, the major productive role remains the province of the father: this is, of course, accentuated because the business enterprise continues to be strongly identified with the father's position. Although many mothers have crucial roles in the business enterprise, this identity of the store with the father is important in reinforcing his political position.

The central paradox of production and consumption in family structure

In order to see the role of father more clearly, Levy's comments on the role of production and political allocation should be briefly reviewed.

In the "traditional" family, with the increasing maturity of ... sons the discrepancy between the generations as regards physical performance diminished or even vanished, and as the father aged, the balance turned in the other direction. The change was true to a lesser degree of the executive functions, but it obtained there too.... It is important that the executive function of the father also fell off and assumed a symbolic or honorific role rather than a primarily effective one.

In the "traditional" Chinese family this meant that while respect for the senior male was retained he did not continue to exercise his political precedence as effectively while his sons assumed more economic and political responsibility in the family: this was of
course more pronounced among the peasantry, where such power was based on physical rather than executive skills. The situation in these modern Chinese families is quite different for a number of reasons: first, fathers are not preparing to relinquish any of their powers to their maturing sons; second, in most cases they are providing alternative economic roles for their sons in order not to do this; and third, because of this situation the future roles of sons do not seem likely to be tied to the economic or political framework of the family. In short, the powers that fathers wield are more inviolate than they were "traditionally".

The productive roles of fathers here are a combination of both manual labour and executive or managerial duties. Only diachronic data will indicate how the termination of one or both of these aspects of the father's role will affect his power and authority in the family, and, as a corollary of this, that of his sons. In one case where Lei Yik Leong has ceased to be self-employed, there is no apparent alteration in his authority; and in truth one would not expect such a change considering the strong value placed on filial piety in this family. Also, Lei Yik Leong's entrepreneurial activity had been of quite short duration and had not involved his wife or his own children. In other families, fathers are expected to continue operating the business independently
in the indefinite future. Also, one cannot ignore the fact that there is little opportunity for most fathers to alter their economic position. But the major functions of the production unit will have been met when children complete their education and occupy independent economic roles. It is only when this has been accomplished that fathers speculate about changing their economic roles. As Jane Ching commented:

The business is pretty successful, I guess, although my dad works awfully hard. Sometimes he says he would like to retire when we finish university, because it is hard and takes long hours. I don't know if he means that or not. He does talk about the possibility of working for someone else.

The productive roles of fathers as they are now constituted will not suffer any major changes until children have achieved a measure of independence and economic self sufficiency. The production unit -- and the continuing economic position of father as the head of it -- is expected to continue until there no longer exist needs of the younger generation that must be met. The patterns of production and consumption seem largely dictated by generational differences: that is, the older generation produces for the needs of the younger. This does not mean there is not a high degree of cooperation between them in the production unit, nor that children absorb the bulk of family income. But it does mean that the most important purpose and raison d'être
of the family enterprise is the education and training of the young. This is, in fact, not unlike the situation of the "traditional" family, for there too it was the economic future of sons that was important in family continuity. But in these families the "traditional" preparation of sons for economic roles has been extended to female children. The major difference is that all these roles are defined apart from the family business enterprise -- a difference which clearly has important effects on the future of family structure.

These families are similar to the "traditional" family insofar as the patterns of production tend to consolidate and reinforce family relationships. The control of fathers in the production unit is unwavering, and children usually have close contact with the store throughout their growing years. In some cases economic and family relationships are blended almost beyond recognition. The analogy breaks down however because the family business is not the focus of inter-generational dependence and continuity. Although many features of the "traditional" family are maintained and indeed sustain the business enterprise and the character of its organization, alternate sources of income for children will ultimately be realized: these roles are rigorously defined as separate from the family business.
Although the production unit necessitates human resources from the household and reinforces many of the features of political precedence, the co-operation of both generations in this enterprise is sustained by the expectations that children will be emancipated from this economic subsystem of the family. In Levy's analysis, the most explosive aspect of the subsystem of economic allocation in its relation to political allocation was that if alternate sources of income were possible for children family structure would disintegrate. In these families this potentially disruptive force is now one of the basis of family stability. This is primarily because achievement for children is strongly encouraged by parents. Much of the "traditional" family character persists in strong family loyalties and the blending of family and economic relations through participation in the business: these are also buttressed by the age and generational precedences previously dealt with. Family stability is thus ensured until the goals of achievement are reached, but it will in all probability undergo great change when sons and daughters take these new roles. Finally, the negative view of small-scale entrepreneurial activity, symbolized by the family business, intensifies the values of success and achievement. This negative appraisal of economic activity reflects the low status of the merchant class in
"traditional" China, and is also clearly related to the minority status of these Chinese entrepreneurs, which, combined with their racial and social isolation in "English" areas, heightens the ambitions of these households.

This future liberation from the family economic and political structure is particularly significant for sons. Because they will not gradually absorb the declining de facto precedence of their fathers they are in a far less predictable position than were "traditional" sons. In all likelihood they will have to establish their positions of power and responsibility completely apart from their families of origin. Although they will, it appears, not be subordinate to their father's wishes when they establish their own families -- unlike "traditional" sons -- they also will not have assumed recognized and predictable roles within the present family structure. Their future roles will be defined apart from the economic structure of their families of origin, and because the political implications of economic roles seem so crucial here it is highly speculative what positions sons will occupy vis-a-vis their families and particularly their fathers. A study of Chinese professionals who come from similar backgrounds would indicate how sons accommodate economic autonomy and economic roles based on universalistic criteria with the deeply rooted
obligations of family membership. In these families it seems highly likely that fathers will retain some of their authority which is now based on their role in the business: in all cases the business is the recognized basis of a father's position, and while it now exists for the family, it is not seen as being the property of children in any sense whatsoever. At the same time, fathers will not, it seems, enjoy great power and/or responsibility in the future, for their productive roles will become increasingly less important as children assume new economic roles.

Patterns of production and consumption beyond the household

This research did not set out to investigate behaviour outside the domestic group of the individual household, but data indicates that patterns of production and consumption are typically confined to this group. In this very special sense these families can be seen as self-sufficient economic units. There are indications, however, that kinship ties beyond the household are often avenues for economic activity: there is a tendency to extend economic relations on the basis of kinship ties. But in three families business involvements with kin are viewed with apprehension and suspicion, and there is a general view that economic and consanguineal relations beyond the household can create friction, strain, and
tension in family relations. As Gary Fong remarked:

My father used to be in business with his brother -- but finally he saw that my uncle was no good. He was robbing my father, and finally we caught him trying to take away many cartons of cigarettes from the store. Money was always missing too. My father finally split up with him -- and my mother was very glad. I think that business with relatives can be bad.

These feelings are duplicated by Rudy Leong:

Working for relations causes trouble. You have to be right all the time, and can't do anything wrong. It is not worth it. My uncle who owns a cafe wants me to work there full time, but I'm not interested. It is not enough money, and the best a waiter can get is $1.75 per hour. If I finish electronics and apprentice I can get much more than that -- and I can work for myself.

And Fred Eng:

The first time I worked outside our own store I worked for my uncle at his restaurant. My mother encouraged me to do that. It was all right, I guess, and knowing how to speak Chinese was good to work there. I felt sort of secure working for Chinese too. But I soon saw that Chinese exploit each other, and I always was underpaid at all the Chinese restaurants I worked at. I learned my lesson -- now I just work for English people.

There is a consensus that working for Chinese is often not advisable: yet one mother had arranged for her daughter to begin her business career with a Chinese real estate firm, and for very explicit reasons:
I want Martha to learn and use more of the language — there she can do that. And we know these people well. She will be more at home there, and it will do her good to speak Chinese and be with Chinese people. (Mrs. Chu)

Production and consumption tend to be on generational lines: like the Chiu household it is children who as students are usually the major consumers of income. There are exceptions to this, however. In the Chong family the mother continued her high school education in evening classes and has entered university. In several others there are suggestions that some of family income is allotted to family members who remain in China: only the Leong family made specific references to this allocation of resources, however.

The Leong household is unique among this group of eleven families because it has been formed for less than eight years in Vancouver. Also it does not now have a production unit in which family members can participate since the cafe was turned over to its original owners. Therefore there is more diffusion of economic roles than in any other family. Moreover, those who make up the household are not just members of the nuclear family. There is a pooling of income among the Leongs that is much like that of the "traditional" family. The grandfather, now retired at the age of seventy, was a farm labourer in the Delta area for forty years; the
grandmother continues this arduous work during most of the year. When asked if she would like to stop work and devote her time to the small back garden as her husband does, she replied:

No -- not stop work. If no work, no money. We need the money.

In this family the patterns of production are more diffuse than in others, and children do not emerge as clearly as the major consumers of income. Although there are ambitions for all five of the young people in the household, the patterns of consumption are dictated by the needs of cousins and paternal kindred in China. Said Lucy Leong:

Before we came here my father would send money to my mother in Hong Kong -- to take care of us. Now it is different, we are together. Things are better and we can have parties at New Years. But some of our family still are there -- in China -- and my grandmother misses those other grandchildren very much. We always send them money.

Unlike other families where grandparents are not part of the household group, the Leongs give more attention to the potential needs of grandparents. As Rudy remarked:

It is always natural to give to the older people -- they have worked hard. They are old. We are younger and stronger.

Yet in one fundamental respect this family does not
differ from the others: for here too the younger generation is encouraged to "do better".

In speculating about the nature of future patterns of consumption and production, most children are unclear about the expectations of their families and to what degree they will be required to contribute to the income of their parents. Most families do not discuss such matters, but the character of many responses indicates that usually the separation of family and economic obligations is difficult to make:

I guess our parents expect to be taken care of -- but some parents think that is all children are for. They aren't like that I'm sure of that. (Peggy Yip)

It is all right to have parents expect something of you when you can help them, but if they remind you all the time it can be bad. A lot of Chinese people are like that. I don't know much about what my parents think about that. (Susan Eng)

Our father didn't plan to depend on his kids. He will always be able to take care of himself. But we would all help if he needed it, but I doubt he will. (Fred Eng)

My parents never talk about what they expect in the future, but after all they've done we would do something for them. But they never say anything. (George Wong)

Although my data is scanty, on the role of grandfathers, a brief note should be made about it. The only two -- Grandfather Chiu and Grandfather Leong --
occupy radically different roles in their respective families: the former is the pinnacle of family power and responsibility, while the latter's political role is honorific. Some parallels might be drawn between the economic roles the two men have occupied and their effect on their present political position. There is no doubt that the identity of Grandfather Chiu with the business enterprise is crucial to his position in the family, and that with the diminishing financial contribution of Grandfather Leong his political role has correspondingly diminished. The real test of the differences and similarities between the positions of the two men could only be accomplished by reconstructing the history of each family, but there are also parallels between these two situations and those of the gentry and peasant families in the "traditional" model. When political influence rests on executive rather than merely physical skills, retention of a position of influence is not as difficult. That economic unproductivity is a painful and frustrating experience for Grandfather Leong is testified by these remarks voiced during one of his frequent reminiscences:

When I was a young man I could eat four or six bowls of rice -- and work all day -- hard work. Before I retire I lifted big sacks -- a hundred pounds -- on my back. Now I'm no good, can't work, too old. Old people are no good -- can't work.
Summary of the Effects of the Economic Enterprise

The presence of a small business in which family members have participated replicates some of the features of the "traditional" model: the organization of the production unit and the co-operation it necessitates from family members both maintains the strong identification of father with the major production role, and also strengthens and reinforces some of the "traditional" unity of the family by asserting the continuity of generational precedence based on economic and political precedence. Working in the store gives maturing children some measure of family and economic responsibility — although this is not explicitly stated nor recognized as such — and often accentuates the differences of age between siblings.

However, despite what importance the presence and organization of a production unit appears to have for family structure, the business enterprise is not the basis for continuity in these families. Family aspirations, hopes and goals go far beyond it because of adherence to values of achievement in professional life. While the store provides the framework for the reinforcement of the authority of fathers, and allows some feature of the "traditional" model to persist, it is for the most part a means to an end. This end is the provision
of a livelihood for children apart from the store, and this value exists so strongly as to economically "enfranchise" daughters as well as sons. It is highly likely that this value on achievement, having germinated from the original struggle of entrepreneurial fathers, has been heightened and made more clear by the geographical and relative social isolation of most families -- because of the location of the business enterprise -- in "English" communities. Another aspect of the "traditional" family illustrated is the dependence of children; because of participation in the business they find difficulty in separating family and economic relations and interests, and in addition, rely on their parents for support during their student years.

The patterns of production and consumption are now more on generational rather than sexual lines, as they were in the "traditional" family. This intensifies the power and the responsibility of parents -- particularly fathers -- who usually provide the means for children to attain these professional goals. However, unlike the "old China" family, these modern households will not continue with the business enterprise as the basis of their continuity -- for it is strongly identified both with the position and the person of the father. It is precisely the separation of the potential economic base of family structure from continuity of that
structure that is of such great interest in these families. In the future family structure can only alter, for the system of political precedence now buttressed by the economic subsystem of the business has no future continuity with this subsystem which will be meaningful to children. This is not, however, to say that the system of political precedence will not continue, but that one of the major sources of its present strength will no longer be effective when children emerge as independent economic agents in professional capacities.

Returning to the two hypotheses at the beginning of this chapter; the data on these families appears to indicate that:

(1) Although the economic subsystem -- the production unit of the store -- cannot be viewed as the major determinant of family structure, it is undeniably an important aspect of that constellation of factors which buttress many features of the "traditional" family.

(2) The most important of these are the generational precedence of fathers and a strong commitment to the family, heightened by the blending of economic and family relations, and the fact that children are dependent parts of family structure until they attain professionalization.

(3) Professionalization and the values which sustain this preference is one of the major aspects of these families, and can be traced from some of the original economic motivations of fathers to the present high aspirations of children.
(4) It seems clear that although the store contributes to maintaining the system of political power and responsibility, and although these families are at present relatively stable structures, the separation of political position from economic productive roles will probably have serious repercussions for the position of both fathers and sons.

(5) On the other hand, there is also some evidence that "traditional" values of generational precedence and filial piety are not tied to any one factor in family structure, and will continue to persist even after sons have achieved independent economic roles.

This last suggestion is a provocative one. In order to see some of the other sources of stability in these families, let us now turn to the question of solidarity and how this can be viewed in these Chinese households.
CHAPTER VI

SOLIDARITY

This chapter explores the sources of solidarity in the families under study. Solidarity will be seen (1) as resting on the system of family relationships defined in the "traditional" family, (a) as cohesion in the family resting on a re-definition of family relationships, and (3) as resting on adherence to common economic and social goals and values by family members.

"Traditional" Sources of Solidarity

The solidarity of the traditional family rested on the congruence of age, sex, and generational criteria in the person of the chia-chiang. The system of family relationships was defined to reinforce both his position and that of sons who were to succeed him. Solidarity is defined by Levy as:

The distribution of relationships among the members of the kinship structure according to the content, strength, and intensity of the relationship.64

The Father-son bond

As the last chapter illustrated, sons are no
longer being prepared to inherit their father's economic roles, and thus are freed from the absolute authority and subordination of the "traditional" bond between the two males. Also, unlike the Chiu family, there is not a family patriarch like grandfather Chiu in any other family, and this seems to limit the degree to which the traditional precedence of a senior male is approximated. However, despite the fact that sons do not have the harsh discipline of the "traditional" yu-nien period, they are still subordinate members of the production unit during their maturing years, and are often supported by their fathers during their higher education. Thus some of the features of "traditional" dependence and subordination are duplicated as sons fulfill obligations to the family; but the end result of these obligations will be independent roles outside the family economic enterprise, and this will undoubtedly have an impact on family structure in the future. At present it is still a relationship of importance because of the "traditional" value placed upon it, and because through their sons many fathers wish to realize family ambitions of success and achievement. However, the bond does not take precedence over others in any family. This appears true in the Chong family, where the two Chinese-born sons of Mr. Chong are not part of the domestic unit, although they work in the family store. It is not clear if these sons
are to inherit the business, but daughters receive more family income, and also have more intimate ties with their father. Said Louise Chong:

Our father would like us to be something because it doesn't look like our step-brothers are ever going to get anywhere. They don't seem to have any ambition.

In most cases the intensity and strength of relations between fathers and sons is difficult to gauge. Respect and attention is given fathers in the "big things" of family life, but despite the co-operation of fathers and sons in the business, there is not usually close communication between them. Communication also appears to decrease as children mature and work less in the store. One youth asserted that his father did not have much interest in any of his children: as an eldest son he felt this lack acutely:

My father isn't typical of Chinese fathers --- he just doesn't seem to care about us much. He never communicates to us except when he bitches to my mother and then she tells us what he says. He isn't appreciative of our help in the store either --- not like most Chinese fathers. (Fred Eng)

The control which fathers exercise over their sons and the respect that usually accompanies it sometimes wanes when sons discover another marriage in China, or face the problems that a drinking father might pose:
We don't pay attention to him as much as we used to. Jim gets told off when he comes in late, but it doesn't do any good. I sometimes think we have lost a lot of respect for him -- he drinks a lot, you know. (Gary Fong)

Fathers who speak little English, and who can only encourage their sons in their education but not participate in this process, often do not share many of the experiences of the younger males:

My father and we boys don't do much together -- he's always busy. He tells us to get an education and to read books, but he doesn't know what we do -- and he doesn't really care -- it is just a meal-ticket to him I think. (Gary Fong)

The respect of sons for fathers sometimes rests on the success and integrity of the former in business. This is most evident in the Lum family, where the eldest son works every summer in his father's large wholesale firm:

My father came here on his own and started that business forty years ago. He is a good business man and I respect him a lot for that. We don't do much together, I guess, but we do some things -- like pick out a new car together -- and it was the make he wanted. But he isn't the boss in the family -- no one is. (Bob Lum)

This son, unlike many others, did share some activities with his father. But this comradeship usually occurs only when the business does not absorb
most of the time and energy of family members, and when
fathers can enjoy leisure time with their families. The
two small sons of the Leong family often take afternoon
trips with their father, but other fathers had been
"too busy" to do this with all their sons when they were
younger. The feelings of several sons are expressed by
Larry Chiu, the eldest son of the family:

My father has never spent any time with
me -- and I sure have missed it. He is
always working at the store -- When I
have some sons it sure isn't going to be
like that.

The questionnaire data supported the hypothesis
that fathers are often viewed with some negative inten-
sity by both sons and daughters. Almost consistently
fathers are viewed with respect, fear or dislike: this
is similar to the feelings found in the "traditional"
father-son bond. It is suggested here that many of these
feelings are dictated by the demands of the economic
enterprise and the framework it places on the father-son
bond, and are related to the major economic role of
father, buttressed by values of generational precedence.

Brother-brother

The family no longer needs to maintain strong
relations between brothers because of two factors:
(1) the lack of economic continuity in the family
structure, and, related to this, (2) the undesirability and impossibility of maintaining a large family within one household. Relations between brothers are now based on common interests and problems, as they were among the Chiu brothers. Questionnaire data indicates that generational differences are of importance in uniting siblings in the "Y" group -- regardless of the sex of the respondents or their siblings. More importantly, brothers are more often described as the closest siblings by Chinese, and reasons for this often take a "traditional" flavour: for example, "girls marry out of the family" and "girls are at home more".

In two families sons are drawn together partially because of "traditional" values. In one case this takes the form of ambivalence about the equality of women and how marriage should be viewed; in the other, sons had rebelled against their father to assert the importance of the unity of the family over the success of the business enterprise:

Nothing really makes Jim and I very close -- he is now older and doesn't pay attention to me as much as he used to. Ideally we should all think we are superior to women I suppose -- but we believe in equality and that women are at least as good as men. Of course Chinese women you can't have much sympathy for because they don't do anything except gossip and play "majon" most of the time. I still think, though, that some of the old values are good -- Jim and I are
both interested in sex -- and I'm pretty sure that a wife and mother for your children isn't necessarily what you want from a good sexual partner. What you look for in a wife isn't what you might want in other ways. (Gary Fong)

We don't communicate much -- that is one of the downfalls of our family. We are both easy-going -- but I don't think our family is normal that way either, for we should really be closer. But when we had the revolution we were agreed that our mother should not be working but be at home -- the way it should be, the way a real Chinese family would have it. Both our parents were shocked and disappointed at what we said -- they said they were doing their best. My brother and I were together there. (Fred Eng)

Husband-wife

My data on the husband-wife relationship is fragmentary, but the following observations can be made from information gathered both from children and a few mothers. Although not subordinate to their husbands, as wives were in Levy's "traditional" model, these wives appear to defer the larger decisions in family life to their husbands. In addition, although they often have "more modern" ideas than their spouses, they typically uphold their husbands' position in decisions about education, dating, and the social activities of their children. Most marriages were not of the "arranged" type, and most couples enjoyed neo-local residence. However, some of the early experiences of marriage created problems for a new wife. One Chinese Canadian
mother recounted aspects of her marital history:

When I married my husband I had to come from my parents' home in Victoria. It was very difficult for me here, because I had only known Chinese people. I had lived in Victoria's Chinatown and spoke little English. When I first lived in the house we sold a few years ago, I couldn't even speak to the neighbours and was too shy and unsure to be friends with anyone. It was very hard for me. It was almost as if I had come from another country — and Victoria is just across the water, part of Canada. And of course I was married with all the Chinese customs — even a new one I didn't know of — I had to step over a low fire when I entered the house of the reception. That was a custom of my husband's clan that I didn't know about — I remember I thought it was pretty funny. Then, when I had the first baby I couldn't stay with my older sister, because my husband's family was upset — it was bad luck not to be with his kin — so I had to stay with his sister — I didn't like it, but I did it — it was just one of the things you have to do when you are told to. (Mrs. Yee)

In at least two families, sons and daughters saw some of the features of the "old China" marriage illustrated by their parents' behaviour; fathers are often seen as having traditional views of women:

My father would treat my mother like a slave if she let him. (Gary Fong)

My father expects a lot of my mother — he doesn't think women should say as much as men. (Fred Eng)

Relations between females

Relations between females are as high in
intimacy and affection as they were in the "traditional" family. In the three families with no sons, the bonds between females were clearly important to the character of the family. It seems that the presence of a Canadian-born mother and several teenage daughters can be crucial to the direction of some family decision-making — particularly if the father of the family is viewed as "old-fashioned" by his daughters. In one family the encouragement from their mother to continue their education, and the co-operation among daughters in managing the household while the mother worked, greatly intensifies the bonds of affection, loyalty, and respect among females. Relations between mothers and their daughters are usually characterized by a good deal of affection and some indulgence: and in most cases this was coupled with a strong desire for daughters to have professional or business training — something only one of the mothers possessed.

New Sources and a Re-definition of Family Solidarity

There are two major problems that must be mentioned in the gathering of data about family solidarity in these Chinese families. One of these is the simple fact that beyond the first protestations of children about the injustices they suffer from their parents, very few young people were eager to discuss
family relations per se or to evaluate them. The second problem relates to this insofar as many children often quoted the "traditional" definition of family relations in describing their own families, and some clearly have an "ideal" picture of Chinese family life and are reticent to point out where their own families depart from this ideal.

Taking these problems into account, one general observation about the new sources of solidarity in these families can be made. Although many features of the "traditional" family are sustained by the presence of a production unit and values inherent in the family structure a good portion of the cohesion found here rests on bonds of affection and/or loyalty which children can only explain by a statement like:

We just belong to the family, and I guess that is all it is. (Mary Chong)

But although this response indicates the feelings of many children, there exists a general state of dissatisfaction among them that their families are not as "closely knit" as they should be. This was most pronounced in the Chiu family. To the question "Do you consider your family closely knit", children replied:

The grandfather seems to be on one side, the family on the other. No knitted relationships except for financial reasons. (Joanne)
There is no mutual trust. (Larry).

There are no family get togethers, no enjoyment such as solving problems together, or going on vacations together. Everyone goes his own way, and not much in common. (Mary)

This negative appraisal of the family does not appear in such high relief in other families, but there are many negative and dissatisfied appraisals of family "closeness". In answer to the same question others replied:

No, everybody is fairly independent
(Bob Lum)

No, the children lack respect for each other and for the parents. No one confides in each other, especially in the mother and daughter relationship. Parents say we are "too much trouble" for them. Each one tries for himself and not for anyone else in the family — except for father who earns the money. (Mary Chong)

It is just the framework that is close — traditionally you are supposed to listen and be close — that is why we are not leaving. But still we don't listen all the time. It would be hard anyways.

If I left — and sometimes I would like to, I guess — my father says no one would talk to me, and I wouldn't belong any more to my family. Most of my relatives are on my father's side and they would disown me. (Susan Eng)

Our family isn't exactly close knit, but not far apart either. My older sister does not respect my parents too much — she thinks they are too easy on all of us really. My younger sister is spoilt. My mother has edgy nerves and yells at almost anything.
My father is a bystander on the arguments of my mother and one of us girls, or all three. Mother picks on father. Aside from all the arguing and fighting we all get along together peacefully and lovingly. (Louise Chong)

How indicative these questionnaire responses of the children from these ten families are of the actual situation in these families is questionable. But one aspect of all these responses was clear throughout this research: children have a conception of what a family should be like, and this conception is a combination of some of the features both of the "traditional" family and of the "Western" family. "Traditional" features are particularly clear in discussing respect for parents, which all children define as being highly important. In combination with this, is often a strong implication that the Chinese family has a "closeness" and solidarity which is quite different from that of "English" families. Said Francis Yip:

In Chinese families people always help each other, they would never let one of their own family get hurt -- or not help him. You English people aren't like that -- I think Chinese care more about the family than you do.

In one case the "ideal" concept of the Chinese family dictated the questionnaire response of a young man who had spent many hours discussing the problems
his family faced. To the question on family unity he replied:

Yes, the family is quite close knit, joint effort in carrying out the family business is important. Also, the family itself, that is the concept of the family is a more influential and stabilizing factor in the Chinese character.® (Gary Fong)

From all the data on family relations and evaluations of the family it seems clear that there is a value on the family held by children which is not implied in family organization and not wholly inferred from this organization. That is, apart from the effect of the production unit, "traditional" role differentiation, and persistent Chinese values of the family, there appears to be a new cultural definition of the family separate from its organization. This is also indicated in the questionnaire data in which respondents gave priorities to factors which they thought should unite a family. All groups placed high priority on affection, but co-operation rated equally high in both the "Y" and "CVC" groups: and although the "English" also gave co-operation precedence, they favoured respect as the most important factor. The lowest priority in the "CVC group and the "English" was given to "daily living", while "common values" occupied this position in the "Y" group. Inconclusive as it is, this data suggests that
there is a somewhat higher value placed upon co-operation by Chinese children than by English children: whether in fact this reflects a higher co-operative spirit in Chinese families is another question entirely, and one which unfortunately the questionnaire data cannot answer. Most important, however, is the tendency of Chinese children to have high expectations of family life and of the unity and cohesion of family structure -- a view of the family which contrasts sharply to that found in children of the "traditional" family. It appears that at least some of the new sources of cohesion in the Chinese family rest not on the structural features of the family but on a new definition of its meaning.

Clearly, family relationships as they were defined in the "traditional" family are no longer the institutionalized basis of family structure. Family relations, however, do continue to sustain many of the features of Levy's model: values about the respect and loyalty to the family and its members are maintained, but without the prescription of relations between specific members. In addition, new definitions of family relations and of the character of the family have been superimposed on many "traditional" values. In order to adjust Levy's definition of solidarity and its meaning in family structure to this data, one might turn to that of Cousins. He defines solidarity as:
the relative preponderance of favourable over hostile affects, and a similar balance of moral respect ... among the coparticipants in the ... group acting out the system.72

It is the balance of affection, respect, and loyalty and the values associated with a more "western" definition of the family that is a major source of cohesion in these Chinese households.

New Sources of Solidarity: Goals of Success and Achievement

In the introduction there was an anticipation that adherence to values outside family structure might be one of the sources of cohesion and stability in these families. The most significant of these appears to be the goal of achievement, stressed for children in all households. Solidarity thus takes the meaning of cohesion in the family, and can be seen to rest not on the distribution of family relationships nor on the over-all balance of affect in the family, but on common aspirations, goals, and agreement on the means of attaining these goals.

In the Chiu family these goals of achievement were a source of solidarity, but also caused much disagreement and tension because of their connection with the system of political precedence. This is not found to the same degree in other families. However,
all except three of those with school age children are encouraging them to pursue higher education at university, and in all households the hopes for children are high. As Dick Yee said:

My mother says it is important to have some skill or training, because it gives you financial security. The government could confiscate your money and everything you have; if you have a skill you can start all over again.

These goals are usually a source of cohesion rather than strain, but the Chong family is an exception to this, and for interesting reasons. The mother had resumed her education through night school and correspondence, and had finally entered first year Arts at the university. This is the only instance of a parent absorbing family income in order to attain the approved professional goals, and in this household this had caused some resentment among the children. As Mrs. Chong commented:

I got tired of housework, and I don't have to work in the store regularly, so I wanted to go back and finish my schooling. Without my husband I wouldn't be here -- he hasn't been keen all the time, but he has made it possible. Without his encouragement I wouldn't be doing it. The girls don't like it much -- they wanted a new car, and Mary wanted a new school wardrobe. They needed things, but Daddy instead bought me a little car and helped me with the fees. The girls have made a bit of a fuss, they say they have to go without.
The Chong daughters considered that the move was not economically advisable because their mother could not "handle" the university curriculum:

My mother really isn't bright enough to get through out there, but maybe she will make it. She has to work really hard, though, and she's anemic and gets tired easily. She's got short nerves too, so how is she going to be a teacher? (Louise)

We didn't get any new clothes -- or the car Daddy promised us -- We have to get along with the old one for another year: my mother's fees took the money. (Mary)

Some parents consider certain occupations more suitable than others, but in no case are they forcing their opinions upon their children. The latter are in a wide range of courses including Asian studies, Commerce, Law, teaching, and Nursing. But all agreed that the professions of doctor and lawyer were usually what their parents considered "best". All also agreed that education and professional status are highly valued by the Chinese community as a whole. These remarks of Peggy and Jane Yip indicate these views:

"Chinafied" people think that being a doctor or a lawyer is all there is if you go to university. That is all they think is good. Our parents say we can do what we like best -- whatever we like doing. (Peggy)

Education seems important to Chinese people. The girl who works in our store, for instance, she is only in grade eight and she hasn't been here long from China. She is pretty rude to some of the older people
there because she says she is in school and she expects them to be impressed. She doesn't seem to know that everyone here in Canada goes to grade eight. That is the way a lot of Chinese people seem to think. (Jane)

In some cases children recognize the origin of their parents' high value on professionalization, but are not as articulate about this as the Chong girls:

If you are a Chinese you don't get anywhere — you don't know what it is like. My father wants to go to UBC because he says that is the only way a Chinese person can get anywhere. I would like to go into design, but my parents think I should go to University first -- to get some kind of degree. And I've tried to get summer jobs or part time one in the winter -- I never get one at any of the department stores. I bet it is because I am Chinese. That's what I mean -- you have to have some education. (Mary)

I'd like to go into ballet and modern dancing for a career. And I'm pretty good, I think, according to my teacher. But what is there for a Chinese dancer? How many productions of Flower Drum Song is there a year? Not very many, you know that. If I wasn't Chinese it would be better -- I know you aren't supposed to say it, but sometimes I wish I wasn't. I guess I'll probably go to university and take something like psychology, or be a psychiatrist. I'd like to understand people. That is interesting. Or maybe social work, but someone said they don't earn much money. (Louise)

More often the definition of these goals is not in terms of racial identity: goals do not indicate the ambitions of parents, but simply point out the necessity of having some "training". In several
households neither parent openly encourages children to
go to university, but they have nevertheless expressed
wishes that their children "do better" than they have.
A typical comment comes from Gary Fong:

Neither of them is particularly ambitious, they have always said it is up to us if we
want more than they have. But my father
would still like to have a prominent Fong
in the family since most of our relatives
haven't got anywhere. And my mother says
all the time that she can't believe she
has two sons at UBC -- she never thought it
would happen to her. Also, my dad thinks
that being a lawyer is about the best thing
that can happen to me -- and my mother tells
both Jim and I that we must be very good in
our professions -- I know she says that
because we are Chinese, and need them.

In addition, this young man was not planning to use his
law degree to establish a practice, but wishes to go
into teacher's training when he has completed law.

I want the degree to know how to handle the
law and take care of myself if I need to, but
I won't practice. I'd like to go into
education -- I really want to be a teacher
more, but I like the law.

For daughters having a professional career is also the
source of potential security and independence:

If you are single you have a hard time with
Chinese people -- if you are a professional
it isn't so bad -- they think all professional
people are fine.

In the Leong family there is consensus that
both the paternal cousins and three younger children in the household should have special training, but a university education is not necessarily the means to this end. Rudy described his feelings as follows:

My uncle and grandfather want me to be able to earn money, but my uncle is more modern -- he encourages me more. Both of them think learning a trade is important -- I would like to go to university, but I can't now. Too much money. Someday I'll be an electrician, when I finish the apprenticeship. Then I can help Wayne if he wants to go.

And from Wayne:

University isn't what I will do probably. I like electronics, like Rudy. Or to be a mechanic. That is a good job. Any trade is good.

In the Eng family, however, the stress of achievement and economic success in the family, and the definition of professional goals for children are seen as disruptive factors in the household. Common values unite the sibling group and bonds of affection exist between children and their mother, but the eldest son sees great disunity in the family resulting from concern about "getting ahead":

We've always been told to do well at school -- we used to get $10 for the A's we had, but my father isn't interested in what we do. He just wants us to have degrees -- he thinks of it as a label. He is like a lot of
Chinese who think that professions are good — no matter what they are. And my uncle, he's the same; he keeps telling me that being a journalist -- that is what I'd like -- is not very realistic when you are Chinese. Chinese sometimes now just seem to have lost interest in the family. All they do is work hard, go home, sleep, and then go back to work. The business has spoiled our family. Sometimes I don't think people even know my parents have kids -- we don't do anything together, they are always working at the store.

This family is not typical of this group, for most children do not feel the impingement of the business enterprise upon family unity as strongly.

In at least two families the goals of achievement were intensified by open discrimination. When these families had moved to upper-middle class suburban neighborhoods petitions had been circulated trying to prohibit their entry into these areas. It is the daughters of these families, the Chings and the Chongs, who expressed the previous views about racial identity acting as an impediment to economic opportunity: also it appears family unity has been strengthened by isolation in an "English" neighborhood.73 One comment indicates the views of three daughters:

It shows that people around here didn't want us here -- I guess they didn't know what kind of Chinese people we were. Nothing has happened since we moved here though. We never say anything to a
couple of the people who started the petition, we know who they were. (Jane Yip)

On the other hand, both groups of daughters had many non-Chinese friends, and it is only within the last two years that they made social contacts with more Chinese young people:

We grew up with the kids around here and always played with them. Now we meet more Chinese than ever before because we meet them at the Teen Club and other places where Chinese kids go. (Ellen Yip)

These two families indicate the combination of open discrimination and social isolation of the family can have a strong impact on the values and ideas of both parents and children. In at least these two cases these factors had produced a high degree of racial self-consciousness in one family, and strong professional motives in the other. In these cases both class and racial factors affect the goals of achievement and success.

New Sources of Solidarity: "Traditional" Features of the Family and their Effects

In several families not being "Chinafied" is seen as a virtue. This strong "Western" identity is particularly pronounced in three families, two of these being the Yip and the Chong households. Daughters
made these remarks, which in both families indicate that not "being Chinese" can be a source of family cohesion and unity:

The worst crime among those Chinafied people is disrespect for your elders. We don't believe that in our family. You should love your parents, not be afraid of them. In the old type of Chinese families here they only remember the things you don't do -- not the things you do do. They only remember when you leave home or something like that, not when you do something good for them. (Peggy Yip)

"Chinafied" families don't see things the way we do -- they are very old-fashioned -- for instance they put things on the graves of dead people in the cemetery -- food and things. They can only do that in one place now I think in Vancouver. Those are really old China ways -- not very sensible. (Ellen Yip)

They have a lot of old ideas -- we don't have much in common with them -- and we don't know much about their customs -- our parents don't follow them. (Mary Chong)

Those fellows in the COSA at UBC -- they are like that sometimes. Sort of "Chinafied" and old-fashioned -- we call them "China-boys". They aren't like us -- we are just different. (Jane Yip)

In the Fong family the eldest son, Gary, criticized another family because they were too "narrow": the household is closely knit and there are few outside contacts:

The Wongs are very strict. Mrs. Wong even phoned my mother and said she didn't want
George to drive around with Jim — because she thinks Jim isn't a very good driver. They are both at university this year. Also, my mother says they are not easy to be friends with because they only care for the family and nothing else — she says you can't be friends with them.

On the other hand, despite children's negative views of "old China" ways, mothers encourage their children to have social contacts with young Chinese people and to participate in some Chinatown activities when possible. As one mother said:

When we took the kids to a Chinese restaurant a while ago, I couldn't help being ashamed. They couldn't speak Chinese, and didn't even know how to use chop-sticks properly. We live far away from downtown and they haven't grown up the way I did, with Chinese people. Now I make a special effort to get them over to Chinatown — those are their people and they should know about what goes on there. (Mrs. Yee)

This remark is echoed by a daughter of another family and accurately sums up some of the feelings of several children:

I don't have much in common with those old people down in Chinatown, but I go there sometimes. It is my place to go, isn't it? After all, I'm Chinese, not English. (Mary Chong)

Language as a source of solidarity

Most children do not speak Cantonese fluently, and in some families this creates problems of
communication — mostly with fathers. Reactions to speaking Cantonese ranged from open hostility and resentment to bemused reflections on the barrier that language posed between members of the family:

I don't speak any Chinese at all — my mum and Dad do, but they speak English to us. Chinese isn't really our language any more. When one of those COSA "China-boys" says hello to me in Chinese I get really mad. I don't answer them any more. They don't think we are very Chinese — because we can't speak it more. (Peggy Yip)

No, I can't speak it well — but I know a lot of words. I wish I did sometimes. For instance, when I get married it is going to be really embarrassing. I won't be able to thank my grandparents and my relatives properly — because they don't speak English and my Chinese is so bad. (Louise Chong)

Only one girl — Susan Eng, educated in Hong Kong — is wholly positive about the language and its importance to the family and to the individual:

The most important thing I could give my children is the Chinese language — if there is no language there is something between you when you try and tell your children something about China.

Differences of language between parents and children do tend to intensify inter-generational conflict: the gulf widens if one parent speaks little English and chides his children about their Cantonese. Most of these fathers have long abandoned encouraging
their children to speak Chinese — although most families had insisted on attendance at Chinese school. The cleavage based on language differences between generations is recognized by Larry, one of the sons of the Chiu household, and illustrates the views of many young people:

It is hard to talk to my mother sometimes — there are no words in Chinese for what I want to say — and if there are, I don't seem to think of them — or know them.

The oldest cousin in the Leong family remarking about the same phenomenon carried the differences past language and touched on the most pertinent differences of general knowledge and orientation:

It is good to listen to the older people, but we learn modern things. They only know one, but we know both ways.

There is no specific information on language differences from the questionnaire, but data indicates that areas of inter-generational conflict are identical for Chinese and "English": these are cited by respondents as education, conduct, and "dating". However, Chinese were usually more articulate in specifying what "old-fashioned" means to them: unlike the "English" they describe this in some detail and also specify parents as corresponding to their definition of "old-fashioned" more often than do the "English". Both Chinese and
"English" saw differences of generation as the most important factor making siblings a cohesive group; but whereas the Chinese give almost equal second priority to "respect for parents", "being more modern" than parents", and "having more education" than parents, the "English" thought that respect for parents was exclusively high in importance in consolidating the sibling group. This data perhaps indicates that Chinese young people are more acutely aware of the differences of language, culture, and custom between generations than are the "English".

Summary of Sources of Solidarity

As one would expect, the sources of solidarity in Levy's "traditional" model are not found in these families, nor does the questionnaire data indicate their persistence in the wider sample. However, this does not mean that the system of family relations does not aid in uniting the family. The reason for this is the over-all balance of positive affect of family relationships, particularly between mothers and children. Without the institutionalized prescription of family relations, these families usually have a high degree of affection and loyalty which contributes to family stability. Accompanying this departure from family solidarity resting on the definition of family relationships is a
quite positive statement from many children about what a family **should** be. The most interesting aspect of this is that although children are quick to criticize many aspects of family life, they are also quick to assert their loyalty to the family. The problem of separating the real affective involvement of children in family relations from the characteristic deep-seated sense of family identity and obligation is difficult, and in fact the distinction appears somewhat artificial. Again, although the organization of the production unit is indisputably important in forming family relations in this group of families, it appears to be a major factor in this. The most important sources of cohesion or solidarity seem to be a high degree of commitment to the family on the one hand and a consensus about the values of achievement on the other. These two are by no means mutually exclusive, and in fact are closely connected. It is precisely the strong impact of the family -- and more specifically the views of parents -- that has increased the ambitions of children and also intensified their dependency on and commitment to the family. The high aspirations of all these families is one of their most striking features, and there can be no doubt that economic, class, and racial factors combine to make these children particularly keen to achieve professional careers.
The attitudes of many children indicate that correspondence to the "old China" type of family is a negative value. In fact, the complaint that parents are "old-fashioned" illustrates that this can be a typical source of frustration and discontent; these complaints are not, however, as forceful or as meaningful as those expressed by the children of the Chiu household. Not speaking their own language — predominantly Cantonese here — intensifies much of the breach between generations, but also co-exists with many wistful wishes by children that they could share more with those of the older generation. These indications of ambivalence about "traditional" Chinese values and customs belie one of the paradoxes of these families: children hold many ideas unlike those of their parents and balk under the assertion of "old China" ideas, yet they are deeply committed to a family ideal and, unlike their "English" counterparts, find it difficult and often impossible to break away from the family. The combination of a less strictly enforced version of "traditional" filial piety, the isolation of families in "English" areas, and the important value of professionalism keeps family unity high and stabilizes a structure that might otherwise at present be prey to disruptive forces.
CHAPTER VII

THE ROLE OF MOTHER

This chapter on the role of mother is best described as "residual", for like Levy's chapter dealing with the subsystem of Integration and Expression it restates the preceding data with a specific focus in mind. The role of mother, however, is by no means a minor aspect of the structure of these families. It in fact encompasses many of the factors with which Levy deals under Integration and Expression -- most particularly the educational and socializing aspects of family life, which are here an important aspect of the role of mother. Levy's comments on education or socialization in the traditional family are the following:

The content of family education consisted of the inculcation of knowledge of the values, habits, and techniques of the family and of the society and motivations to conformity with the institutionalized family patterns.74

It has been pointed out that many of these values are now combined with new ones in these families, and the suggestion of this chapter is that the role of mother is vitally connected to the relationship between the
integrative aspects of socialization and the stability of family structure.

Several factors lend weight to the contention that the role of mother deserves special attention. These include the subordinate and dependent position of women in the "traditional" family; the growing attention given the role of mother in contemporary family research in North America; and most important, the fact that in at least these families mothers appear to be crucial in sustaining family structure. These last few pages will therefore delineate the political position of mothers and how various aspects of family life illustrate their peculiar contribution to family structure.

The Economic Role of Mother

In all but three of these ten families mothers are participants in the family business. In two of these exceptions mothers are employed outside the family -- one as a travel agent for a prominent airline, the other as a packing house worker. Only one mother is a full-time housewife. The majority of these women therefore assume considerable responsibility in contributing to the family income, although the business is strongly identified with the authority and position of father. A mother can also bring special talents to the business:
The business may not be very important to us sometimes, but it is to our dad -- and to my mother. She is the one that really keeps things going there. (Ellen Yip)

My mother is important in the business -- and if anything happened to my dad she would run it. (Fred Eng)

My father would treat my mother like a slave if she would let him, but she is better in the business than he is and he knows it. He is dependent on her. If it wasn't for her the store would have gone bankrupt a long time ago. She is always saving money on the side so she can help him out of some scrape when he gets in one. That happens quite often. (Gary Fong)

In most families the participation of the mother in the production unit is viewed as a necessary feature of family life. In the Eng family, however, the three eldest siblings had registered a strong complaint: to them the family's unity was suffering because of their mother's work in the store. And in the Leong household the eldest cousin is ambivalent about the "economic enfranchisement" of Chinese women in Canada.

We three oldest in the family finally told our parents that we didn't like working in the store -- but especially that we didn't like my mother working. I guess then you could say we had a "revolution". We all three stopped working there for quite a while -- we do it only occasionally now. But my other brother still does, all the time. I would never let my wife work. We missed having our mother around, and I would want my wife to be as good as two mothers to my kids. (Fred Eng)
In China there is the old custom that women should not leave the house — May would not be able to work if my grandfather wasn't here to take care of the boys. Otherwise it is not good for mothers to work and not be home with their children and families. (Rudy Leong)

In some families mothers not only have an important role in the business and were in control of household expenditures, but also have independent shares in either the business or in stocks, or have an income from the store which is considered apart from family resources. For example, in the Fong family it is the mother who gives sons money for university fees, and the eldest son stresses that while his father supports the family, his mother is specifically responsible for this expenditure. In two other households, it is mothers who are instrumental in allocating resources to satisfy the needs of their families of daughters.

In summary, it appears mothers typically have equal powers in decision-making over general economic expenditures as well as over purely household expenditures. In the questionnaire data the pronounced tendency of lower-class immigrant mothers having more general economic authority than other mothers corresponds to Komarovsky's conclusion that more autonomy exists among lower class than middle class mothers. On the other hand, however, the "Y" group does not report that
mothers enjoy control over household expenditures: this is opposite to the general implications of Komarovsky's conclusion. It is conceivable that the "Y" mothers, while enjoying some control over the general distribution of family income, do not have special and defined rights over household expenditures. This might produce more emphatic claims to such rights, a speculation which is born out by the fact that "Y" mothers are reported to "say" more than those of other groups.

The Role of Mother in Family Solidarity

Mothers typically have the most intimate and continuous contacts with their children in most families. This is often accentuated in these families because the demands of the business may restrict contacts between fathers and their children outside the store. In several families the bonds between both daughters and sons with their mothers are of high intensity. Eldest children of either sex are also often consulted by their mothers on minor issues of family decision-making, and in many cases they assume many of their mother's household duties because she works in the family store. Children usually explain these closer bonds with their mother by referring to the fact that she is "easier to talk to" than their father: the more specific reason often
quoted is that fathers are "more old fashioned" than mothers. In addition, questionnaire data indicates that all children have more affectionate feelings for their mother than for their father, and this is most pronounced among Chinese respondents.

As agents of socialization mothers enjoy a strategic position. While not holding all the views of their spouses, they still tend to reinforce those "traditional" values which are most important in family life: for instance, respect for the elders, control of older over younger siblings, and participation in some aspects of Chinese community life. Mothers can also be sources of influence with regard to the goals of achievement. All of them encourage their children in scholastic endeavour, but this is most evident in the "Y" group. The general correlation between ambitious sons and a supportive as well as authoritarian mother is one which has received some attention in family research. Both Goode and Strodtbeck submit data which illustrates that the position of mothers in encouraging and directing their sons' ambitions is of great significance. In these Chinese families where sons are not succeeding to their fathers' economic position, and where the family agrees on high values of economic success, the socializing role of mother with respect to the future of their sons is crucial. Although fathers retain the
major authoritarian role, it appears mothers exert considerable influence on the motivations of their children, particularly those of their sons: furthermore they are often made more effective in this because they share more intimate relations with their children than do fathers.

The Political Role of Mother in a Changing Structure

Although Levy is not concerned with the role of mother per se in the subsystem of Integration and Expression, it is clear that the role of mother is intimately connected with this aspect of the Chinese family structure. The mothers in these families fulfill many of the functions, moreover, of the "traditional" mother: they are the major sources of discipline and affection for children, they are the means by which "traditional" values about Chinese family life are inculcated, and they defer many of the larger issues of family decision-making to their spouses. On the other hand, changes in the form of the family have altered the position of mother. The economic base of family continuity has been changed; fathers are often separated from their Canadian-born children by language and cultural differences; and sexual differentiation with respect to economic opportunities is at a minimum. In these areas it is often mothers who are vital in
maintaining family equilibrium: they often continue
to be the source of daily discipline for their children
in the absence of working fathers, they usually bridge
with relative success the inter-generational gap
between their spouses and their children, and they
encourage all their children to "be successful". The
role of mother is vital to the functioning of the family
by providing a means of retaining many strains within
the structure that are potential sources of disruption
and instability.

In some respects, therefore, mothers form
pivotal points in family structure. A mother may support
her husband's authority based on "traditional" criteria
of generational and sexual precedence, yet counter many
of her spouse's "old-fashioned" ideas with those from
her own Chinese-Canadian background. Similarly, while
she encourages her children to depart from many "tradi-
tional" customs and values, she also re-affirms the
necessity of respect for the elders, of the importance
of the family, and of "marrying your own people".
Chinese mothers are vigilant observers of their families.
As a friend of the Leong family aptly remarked about
the mother of the household, May:

May is the most important person in the
the family -- maybe she is even the boss.
It is her family. (emphasis his)
The Political Role of Mother: "Traditional" vs. "Modern" Image

Rudy Leong:

In China there is an old saying -- "When the hair is long the mouth is too big". That means women usually say too much.

Susan Eng:

In Hong Kong I remember my aunt telling me about what Chinese women were supposed to be like. A Chinese woman is always subordinate to a man: when she is young it is her father, when she is older it is her husband, and when she is very old it is her son.

The Chinese mothers in these families do not occupy subordinate or dependent roles in the family structure. Although fathers are usually cited as being the "head of the household", mothers in all cases contribute actively and often decisively to family decision-making. The distinction drawn by Goode between day-to-day initiative and direction, and the right of negative authority -- that is preventing others from doing what they wish -- clarifies the political role of mothers. Fathers represent the supreme disciplinary force in most families and have greater power and responsibility than do mothers: but it is the daily contacts of the latter with their children that ensure their political influence. Children are often reluctant,
however, to explicate the full dimension of a mother's influence. Lucy Leong's hesitant appraisal is typical of most responses:

My mother sort of leads my father -- not telling him what to do exactly -- just sort of leading him.

The grandmother in the Leong household is described in similar terms by one of her grandsons:

She usually steers my grandfather in her direction. She is more modern than he is -- and more sensible.

The two women of this household clearly have a major part in family decisions, although the "traditional" authority of both the father and grandfather is maintained. Rudy, the oldest cousin, commented:

The women have too much to say in this family -- it should be the man that says the most -- he works the hardest and has no choice. But even in China if a man has a problem he should really tell his wife, she might be able to help. In this family sometimes May and my grandmother talk about things that aren't too important, but both of them have more common sense than my uncle or my grandfather -- so they often get their way.

The Leong family is not unique in this respect and many other references to mothers being "more sensible" than fathers occur. Questionnaire data indicates that although most Chinese -- the exceptions
were again in the "Y" group -- thought fathers should be listened to most, mothers often in fact occupy this position. The tendency of mothers to assume more power than fathers is most evident in the "Y" group, and, as has been previously noted, this is accompanied by a lack of confidence in an equal voice for females.

Mothers in most families have a special position vis-a-vis their children because of the complex of factors already noted. The role of arbitrator or mediator is probably one not played uniquely by these Chinese mothers: but in several families mothers provided a liaison between their husbands and their children, and sometimes aided in bridging the gap of language, custom and age. Says Fred Eng:

My father doesn't talk to us much -- I hardly see him. He nags at my mother about things he wants us to do and then she tells us what he says -- that is how we communicate.

And Gary Fong:

I can talk to my mother -- she listens, even if she doesn't do what I say. My father is ignorant and stubborn and won't speak English unless he has to. Sometimes talking to him is just impossible. He never really listens anyway.

In many families the presence of a mother provides the opportunity for an exchange of opinion which otherwise might be lacking.
Research on the family and marriage has indicated the importance of the roles of mothers and of wives not only in the household, but also as the links between the nuclear family and the wider kinship network. The studies of an East London burrough by Willmott and Young point out the persistence of the bonds between the "mum" and her married daughter. The result of this is the basic family relationship being a tryadic rather than a dyadic one, being composed of a husband, wife, and the wife's "mum". This continuing identification of the wife and mother with her own family of origin is further explored by Komarovsky.

In an attempt to place sex roles in their structural context and to trace the loci of cultural contradictions in the role of the North American female, Komarovsky concludes that she is subject to a specific dependency on her family of origin which creates a functional discontinuity in her married life, and results in many of the problems besetting North American marriage. She continues that this dependency can be correlated with the lack of privacy and strong supervision daughters undergo during their maturing years -- a facet of their development which contrasts sharply with that of their male siblings. This data on the role of North American females is of interest here because it may point to one of the possible avenues of
change in the roles of Chinese women in North America. At first glance the roles of the East London burrough daughters and that of the "traditional" Chinese female are quite different, but it is perhaps only by considering data such as Willmott, Young, and Komarovsky present that some of the complexities of the contemporary Chinese woman's role can be understood. In light of this data, the bonds between females in these families seem to indicate that at least some of the features of the East London situation could be replicated. Daughters in the Chinese family might well be the loci of future kinship relations -- a radical departure from the or "three dependencies" quoted by Susan Eng -- and that the reason for this would be not the institutionalized regulation of relationships in the family, but the close and intimate bonds between females which are now so clearly an important feature of these families.

The mothers in these families do in fact occupy a position similar to this by virtue of their Canadian birth and their network of kinship relations in Canada -- something most fathers do not appear to possess. In the majority of families mothers are usually the link between the household unit and the wider network of kin, however it is defined. Mothers initiate visits, gift-giving, and the distribution of "lei chee" on traditional
holidays. Mothers therefore enjoy greater freedom and mobility than did their "traditional" counterparts by often constituting the major kinship frame of reference for the family. There is only one instance in these families of a mother being forced to subordinate her wishes to those of her husband's family and clan; the remainder of this data indicates that the role of mother with respect to the wider kinship network is potentially a productive line of further research on the Chinese family.

It is obvious that the world view of mothers is vital to the direction and content of family decision-making. Blood and Wolfe describe North American marriage as having a balance of power which is not determined by the assignment of authority to one sex but by the interplay of dynamic forces which affect the marriage from within and without. They stipulate some of these as the occupation, income, and education of husbands, and the degree of satisfaction with which a wife views her social, economic, and emotional situation. These considerations seem important in viewing the role of these Chinese mothers and in their contribution to the family structure. These mothers are helpers to their husbands and co-partners in the production unit, often working long hours in the store and building much of their life around the business. They also
provide much of the impetus for their children to "better themselves" by constant encouragement and by restating the family values of achievement. While they cannot alter the economic position of their spouses, and remain indispensable to the continuity of the family's economic structure they take pains to provide for change in the future of their sons and daughters.

Summary

The roles of these Chinese mothers reflect the sources of strain, tension, and cohesion in family structure. Mothers are crucial in maintaining equilibrium in the family and in sustaining the cohesion of the family unit. They do this by maintaining the "traditional" values which give predictability, order, and stability to the family structure -- generational precedence, filial piety, and strong family identity. Like "traditional" mothers they also place their hopes in the future of their children, and it is by their commitment to the provision of the future economic roles of their children that they emerge as important aspects of family structure.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In the introduction the limitations of this study on Chinese family structure were clearly drawn. Despite the obvious problems in viewing family structure primarily from only one point of view -- that of children -- three of the major characteristics of the "traditional" Chinese family have been investigated. These are the system of role differentiation, the economic subsystem, and the allocation of power and responsibility. The intention of this study was to explore the process of role differentiation as it is evidenced in political allocation, and how the subsystem of the production unit -- the family business enterprise -- affects these two phenomena. In order to give these observations some meaningful context two hypotheses were suggested, not to be viewed as testable propositions, but as directional guides for this research. These were:

(1) Unless structural prerequisites are met, a structure will not continue as a stable and continuous unit.

(2) Structures in which the locus of power is at variance with that of responsibility are inherently unstable and subject to discontinuity.
With these in mind, the data from these Vancouver Chinese families was organized around the categories suggested by Levy in his analysis of the "traditional" family. The concern here has been the structure of these families, and how this structure is maintained in an alien setting. Since political allocation was of such crucial importance in the "traditional" family, it is this subsystem and the means by which it is sustained which forms the major interest. This dissertation has not been concerned with the process of decision-making per se in these families, but with the general features of family organization as they affect this process and as they compare to the features of the "traditional" family structure.

These families have been viewed as household units, and the observations of family behaviour have been confined to this domestic group. In retrospect this approach appears to have some utility. Many of the characteristics of these families are intimately connected with the domestic unit seen apart from wider kinship relations. Three of the most important of these are: (1) the persistence of "traditional" patterns of role differentiation, (2) the strong identity of family and economic relations in the family store, and (3) the goals of achievement and upward mobility which have a
consensus in every household. These three aspects are important in understanding family structure, for all of them relate to the allocation of power and responsibility and to the stability of the structure as a whole.

**Role Differentiation**

The means by which roles are differentiated in these families is a major source of their stability, and often closely resembles differentiation in the "traditional" model. The two most important of the original criteria are those of age and generation. Sexual distinctions now often receive positive evaluation from children but do not affect the de facto political position of daughters.

Relative age differences are significant among siblings, giving additional power and responsibility to older children regardless of sexual differences and often placing the eldest child in a special relationship to one or both of his parents. Such children can enjoy a measure of political power and responsibility because of their intermediary position between the older generation and their younger siblings. All children are, however, under the authority of their parents -- particularly their fathers in the store -- and while not experiencing the harsh training of the "traditional"
yu-nien period, are strongly aware of the power parents wield because of generational precedence.

With the added responsibility of oldest children come sexual distinctions which often place children in positions of power and responsibility with respect to the parent of their own sex. But generally the most noticeable sexual distinction is that implicit in the position of sons who are expected to "do more" for the family than are daughters. Sons have greater powers over their younger male siblings than daughters, and also have vague but recognizable expectations that in the future they will be expected to fulfill certain filial obligations toward their parents.

However, the pronounced sexual differentiation of the "traditional" family is not found here. Although there is sometimes a view of females as "immature males who will never grow up", daughters are not subordinate in family structure. Roles among children are now differentiated with regard to economic, social, and educational opportunities on the basis of ability and aptitude: although children may occupy dependent and subordinate positions while they complete their education, they do so on an egalitarian basis.

It is generational precedence which is one of the most important features of these families, and
like the "traditional" situation it is a major source of stability in family structure. These children are socialized into having high respect for their fathers, and the combination of these feelings and the major productive role of a father give him great power and responsibility. Chinese fathers are typically seen as the ultimate and unquestionable source of authority, and this is reinforced by their identity with the family economic enterprise. In this respect Lang's comments about the Chinese family in China during the 1930's are pertinent:

The father's authority in the family often seems to be greatly dependent on the weight of his work and advice in the family enterprise ... on his contribution to the family income.89

In summary, it is clear that role differentiation closely resembles many aspects of the same phenomenon in the "traditional" family. Only research of both more depth and scope would indicate if this is true of most Chinese families having a China-born father. From this data it appears that this feature of family life is one that is deeply entrenched in and closely connected with those Chinese family values and beliefs which are not easily disturbed in an alien environment.
The Effects of the Business Enterprise

Initially these families seemed particularly suitable for a study such as this because they possessed an economic enterprise which could approximate, to some degree, the demands of the economic subsystem of the "traditional" family. The presence of a business enterprise headed by the father in these families does not mean that the economic or production unit and the family are one and the same phenomenon. Although one or two families indicate that the blending of family and economic relations is made much easier by the geographical contiguity of household and store, most families do not live as near their business enterprise.

On the other hand, it is clear that the pool of family labour in the store, the identity of the father with the major productive role, and the negative appraisal of the small business are all crucial in forming family relations, attitudes, and values. It may be that the structure of these families might be similar without the presence of a business enterprise which makes these indelible imprints on family life, and in fact there is some evidence to indicate this in one family. But there is also no doubt that having a business enterprise in which some family members participate, (1) heightens generational precedence and
the authority of fathers, (2) increases the wish to "do better" among both children and parents, and, (3) aids in providing future economic roles for children while intensifying the precedence of fathers who will not pass on their economic position to sons.

It is the last of these which is most clearly connected to the stability of family structure at present, although this situation is inevitably subject to change. Like sons in "transitional" China, these sons do not expect to inherit economic position and power from their fathers. This is not because these are not available to them, but because new independent roles for sons are desired. The value of achievement and its relation to the present economic subsystem -- the business enterprise -- is one of the major keys to the stability of family structure.

Solidarity

Solidarity no longer rests on the definition of family relationships. Relations between members are generally intimate and without the proscriptions of the "traditional" family. However, if solidarity is viewed as cohesion, there are several sources of solidarity in these households. On the other hand one of the features of these families reflect "traditional"
solidarity -- the relation most children have with their fathers. These are usually characterized by feelings of respect and/or fear, while those with mothers are more often those of affection, intimacy, and warmth. Data such as this indicates that in some fundamental ways these fathers occupy positions vis-a-vis their children similar to that of the chia-chang: the father is a more remote authoritarian figure than is the mother. This is true despite the fact that children have often spent much time with their father in the production unit -- where egalitarian as well as authoritarian patterns could be sustained: it is perhaps significant that the latter rather than the former is the most frequent pattern. The predominance of generational precedence and lack of intimacy in father child relations is also noted by Lang in commenting on the reactions of students to the content of family relationships:

Love was much more frequent toward the mother than toward the father -- especially with the boys -- whereas the father enjoyed more respect.91

In these families the system of family relationships is usually confined to the household unit: the two notable exceptions to this system being coterminous with the nuclear family are the Chiu and Leong households, where paternal grandparents are included. Generally even grandparents who lived nearby
do not have much effect on or communication with their families. This was also indicated by Lang:

Seldom do grandparents play a decisive part in children's lives if the children's parents are alive.92

It is clear that the source of cohesion or solidarity in these families is not one set of factors. It rests on the persistence of traditional values about family life which are now tempered with what appears to be a cultural ideal of the family held by children. It rests on the co-operation necessitated by the organization of labour in the family business enterprise and often on the sacrifice and diligence which such labour demands. It is also clearly related to the values of achievement and success which are held in each family and which, specifically, demand that children "do better" than their elders in the occupational hierarchy of the society. This value of achievement has been heightened in some cases by racial and social isolation and discrimination; but in all families it is perhaps the key to understanding them for it is by no means a new feature of Chinese family structure. Hsu's comments on the Chinese family are pertinent here.

As Hsu points out, although a father and his son are socially part of each other, that is, insofar
as the actions of one cannot be excluded from the identity of the other and inasmuch as the success and continuity of the family depended on the strong precedence of males, the relationship was one of mutual interdependence and security. However, it must also be noted that the obligations of the two males were not centered merely on devotion to the ancestors or to the line of posterity following them. It was also a strongly individualistic motivation which, while deeply rooted in the pervasive influence of the kinship structure, also had great significance for the individual because it was the sole means of acquiring a position in Chinese society. Not only did sons have duties to their fathers, but this was strongly reciprocated by fathers: both males knew the investment in the kinship structure was a heavy one because of their relationship. As Hsu remarks:

> Within the socially approved framework and under the impetus to glorify his ancestors the individual exhibits a strong drive toward success.

He continues that the structure of the family allowed for a strong competitive feeling among peers:

> While authority only applies to a relationship which involves two generation levels ... both sexes ... or widely different ages ... it does not apply to relationships which involve related persons of the same
sex and same generational level (for example, brothers).... Among these groups equality in large measure prevails. And between those whose relation with one another is marked by equality, there is bound to be competition.95

Thus the strong drive for achievement, for more wealth, for larger family homes, for more "advantageous" graveyards, and for a host of other factors heightening prestige both of the living and of the dead96 was a major reason for the cohesion of the clan and of the joint household to suffer. Moreover, this often occurred, despite the theoretically strong paternal authority, the worship of remote ancestors, and the strong family-unity ideal which ideally would contribute to strong clan organizations.

Hsu's comments throw some light on the position of sons in the families I have studied and on family structure. The strong mutual identity of father and son is not the same, but essentially many of the characteristics of the "traditional" situation are retained. The most important of these are the strong competitive spirit which is shared by sons and fathers, and the fact that through this relationship the ambitions of both can be fulfilled. Although family obligations are not as clearly defined for these sons as they were for those of "old China", they are typically confined
to the system of relations in the household. Moreover a son does not have obligations either to ancestors or to future family members. His major duty is to fulfill the expectations of his parents as an assiduous and conscientious worker -- in the store when he is needed there, but more important, in his academic and professional career. The dependent position of sons with their subordination to fathers during their student years is analogous to that of "traditional" sons. However, the major difference is that because of the discontinuity of economic roles in the family production unit sons do not expect to assume any of their father's precedence. Their future roles will be defined apart from the present economic subsystem of the family.

Hsu's comments point out the unique position of these Chinese sons:

No success will ever be complete unless the individual has first attained his or her right place in the family organization.

Because of the strength of generational precedence and the fact that this is congruent with the father's major productive role -- one strongly identified with the business enterprise -- these sons appear to have no avenue to provide them with economic and/or political power in the family. In this respect, sons occupy a potentially disruptive position, for while they are
aware that they are in some sense considered "more important" than daughters, they do not anticipate taking future responsibilities, vis-a-vis their families of origin, which are substantially different from those of their sisters. They face something of a political vacuum with respect to future mature and responsible roles in their present families. Now, however, the position of most sons is a source of cohesion and stability, and there are few indications that sons (or daughters) will rebel against parental authority. They are too deeply committed to family loyalties and obligations on the one hand, and the goals of achievement and success on the other.

Factors which maintain cohesion or solidarity are thus derived in part from the dependence and loyalty of children and in part from adherence to goals of achievement. The loci of power and responsibility are congruent, therefore, for parents usually supply the means to satisfy these goals, and although their authority may be a source of irritation and complaint, it is seldom questioned to the point of children breaking contacts with the family. Although not as clearly defined as they were "traditionally", the structural requirements of the family are being met, and the presence of an economic production unit sustains aspects of role differentiation that might otherwise
not be retained with such rigour. In addition, there is an added dimension to solidarity or cohesion in these families which does not rest on any of the features of the "traditional" model. It is clear that not only do family relationships unify and consolidate the household unit in an over-all balance of positive affect, but also that most children share a cultural value of the family which is quite different from the esprit de corps of the "traditional" model, one which often heightens their loyalty and sense of duty to the family. This seems present in all families, but racial and social isolation in "English" communities has intensified solidarity in several households and has helped to retain a unique "Chinese" identity, even in this is not founded on "old China" values of family life.

There are also disruptive forces in these families which could threaten solidarity and stability. The most typical of these is the cultural and generational differences between children and their fathers in particular -- differences often accentuated by language barriers. There is also a difference of opinion between children and parents concerning "marrying out" of the Chinese community. Generally, however, the negative aspects of solidarity are outweighed by strong feelings of loyalty and affection
expressed by children. Many of the Western values which could threaten family structure are blended with the values of achievement and success, and thus buttress family stability. In the last analysis, a consensus that the Chinese family is different from the "English" family may be a major source of cohesion in these households: it appears as important a feature of family structure and stability as adherence to goals of achievement, co-operation in the store, and "traditional" generational precedence.

The Roles of Females

"Traditionally" not the focal point of stability or strength in family structure, females are now emancipated from subordinate and inferior roles. They participate in the distribution of family income on an equal basis with their brothers, and are, on the whole, treated equally. The position of daughters is in fact highly interesting: unlike sons, they do not face discontinuity in succeeding to economic or political positions in the family. Daughters do not expect increasing power or responsibility to devolve upon them, and hence are spared the dilemma which many sons seem to face. On the other hand, they have to resolve the "traditional" view of females and their future economic and social emancipation and this is not an
easy task. Daughters also have warm and intimate relations with each other, but most important, with their mothers. Because of these strong bonds, the future roles of daughters should provide interesting material on the scope and nature of Chinese kinship, for there are indications that they -- rather than their brothers -- will be the major links in the kinship network. At present, daughters, like sons, can increase family prestige through attaining professional careers. They are also expected to marry young men of appropriately high status -- again contributing to family and individual prestige.

The mothers of these households are closely tied to those aspects of the "traditional" family which stabilize family structure. All except two are Chinese Canadian and occupy a special position between their China-born husbands and their children: they are therefore sources of cohesion in several potentially disruptive areas. Mothers assist in maintaining the locus of power and responsibility and hence help to retain family stability; yet they are also part of those fundamental changes in values and attitudes which are occurring within the structure. Further research on the role of mother, her ties with the network of kin,
and her participation in decision-making is essential to make these observations more precise.

* * * * * * * *

Hsu has condensed the structure of the "traditional" family into five basic elements: the father-son identification, estrangement between the sexes, the "big family" ideal, education for old age, and ancestor worship. Two of these are retained in these households and contribute to family stability -- the father-son identification and education for old age. These are now related to values of achievement which have deepened children's identification with the family and strengthened family solidarity. However, "education for old age" has now departed from making children conform to ancestral tradition to preparing them for responsible economic roles apart from the present economic base of the family. Children are educated in order to assume competitive roles with their peers, and, as in "old China", this preparation reinforces their dependence on the family. In this respect there are parallels to Levy's "transitional" family structure. As Levy comments:

Obedience is coming to be primarily oriented to the preservation of the
young from harm and the preparation ... for mature roles in the society ... rather than to the reinforcement of the position of the older generation.100

This is particularly true in these families where the continuing identification of fathers with the family store -- concurrent with increasing economic independence of sons and daughters -- will undercut some of his authority in the future. How, however, the loci of power and responsibility contribute to family stability, and this stability is further buttressed by the system of role differentiation, the presence of a production unit, and the common values of achievement. The persistence of filial loyalty and the congruence of family and individual interest in attaining economic success are also crucial to this stability. Family structure allows for the expression of strong individualism and a competitive spirit while making these positive rather than negative aspects of family cohesion. It is the retention of these "traditional" features in order to maintain an equal and competitive position in an alien society which is the most significant characteristic of these Chinese families.
NOTES

* The quotations included here are used to corroborate and illustrate actual behaviour in these families. In some individual cases unavoidable paraphrasing or attempts to render accurately the substance of conversations have blurred the distinctions between ideals, suppositions, and actual reporting of activity by informants. However, in the collation and analysis of data these distinctions were retained and given their full importance.


4 Ibid., p. 327.

5 Ibid., p. 326.

6 This term is used by Levy in his description of the classic "joint" family in prerevolutionary China, and will be used throughout this dissertation to refer to that family type. See Chapter II.


10 During the research one father, Lei Yik Leong, discontinued his co-management of a restaurant. Also, there are two quite large business enterprises -- one retail import store, and one wholesale produce firm.

11 I was kindly provided with a letter of introduction from the Chinese Benevolent Association in Vancouver through Mr. Roy Mah of the Chinese Publicity Bureau. This letter was helpful in explaining my purpose to the grandparents in the Chiu and Leong households, but because most parents spoke some English it was not necessary as an explanatory device in most cases. Also, by the time I received this letter I had made contact with all the families used in the fathering of this data.

12 In the Cheng family, when the three daughters were asked to complete questionnaires, they refused, and it was made clear that they no longer wished to participate in this research. These girls were particularly
reticent to talk about the family, and constantly were embarrassed or indifferent when I raised questions about their deceased father and other matters concerning him.

13 Canadian-born mothers in the Chong, Cheng, Yee, and Chu households provided some data although they were not interviewed intensively. Mrs. Leong often conversed with me through the help of her daughter Lucy.


15 Ibid., p. 305.

16 Ibid., p. 2. The remaining footnotes in this chapter concerning the "traditional" family refer to Levy's text, for the most part.

17 Ibid., p. 59. This is also corroborated by Olga Lang in *Chinese Family and Society*, p. 140; "The joint family is not and never was the 'normal' type of Chinese family".


19 There was, of course, great variation from this "ideal" pattern according to the economic level of the family in "traditional" China.

20 This was especially the case during the "yu-nien" period for sons in the "traditional" family. The term referred primarily to the inexperience and lack of maturity of those who were in this category.

21 This was true of all members of the pyramidal family structure, with the exception of the young wife who had virtually no one beneath her in the political hierarchy. Age, sex, and generation differences gave most persons a position of relative power over someone in the kinship structure.

22 Three out of the five families closely observed had only daughters in the household unit. Also, daughters initially tended to be more talkative than sons -- a natural outcome perhaps of my being a woman.
23 The grand-uncle -- this the term of reference used by the Chiu children -- has two families: one of these is a group of older children now all professional people in Vancouver, and the other is a group of very small pre-school age children. The grand-uncle was a widower for a number of years before remarrying a Chinese woman from South East Asia -- the mother of his youngest offspring. It is worth noting that there is reportedly considerable friction and tension between the grand-uncle and his first family of children. The older children bear resentment toward their father because they anticipate that all his property will now be distributed among their half-siblings. This is all reported by the Chiu children.

24 Some of these terms should be noted. They include the following:

- older man (paternal side) - baksun 伯叔
- older man (not related) - bakgon 伯公
- cousin (mother's side) - tong gee 姨姐
- old generation (father's side) - gon 公

25 There is no evidence among the Chius or any other family of the youngest sons having a position of special importance in family structure. Peter Chiu enjoys much indulgence and affection, but does not enjoy any political precedence which would undermine that of his older siblings -- of either six.

26 This is probably the case in most families, for aside from what appears to be more supervision of daughters, parents also have the opportunity to inspect potential suitors of their female children -- a privilege denied them in the case of sons who do not have to bring home their "dates". I was present when Joanne was called upon by a young Chinese man. The entire family congregated and showed a marked interest in this event.


28 The power of grandfather Chiu emerges in highest relief: his responsibility is shared more by the parents of the Chiu children than is his power.

Initially the Chiu girls attributed their academic aspirations to the "nagging" of their mother. Over the period of several months however they began more and more to identify these goals with their own, and explicitly stated that they could not imagine not continuing their education and that the influence of their grandfather -- through their mother -- was one of their major complaints, not the actual goals themselves.

This is one of the "grand-cousins", a medical doctor in the city. He is also called "uncle" on occasion.


The sons wished to have their future families "different" from those of their origin, but have difficulty defining their roles both in these future families and vis-a-vis their parents.

During the research Lynn Chiu became very disturbed about her school work and refused to attend school. School authorities finally came to the conclusion that despite her above average grades Lynn was attempting work that was exceptionally difficult for her. They suggested she transfer to a less academic program in order to avoid any further emotional turmoil.

A typical comment from the Chius indicates this self-awareness:

Nobody else has a family like ours. I bet none of the other Chinese you talk to are like us. We're really old-fashioned -- especially our parents, and our grandfather.

This refers to a young lawyer who is a customer at the store and who has considerable influence over Larry. He could be seen as the model for Larry who wishes to be a successful lawyer. He counselled Larry to remain in school and live at home when he had decided to break with the family.

Even Harry, the second son, who is not a good student is still expected to enter a trade rather than to continue the business. This is a sensitive area, for Harry realizes his parents would like him to be a "professional".
38 The sexual distinction is important insofar as sons are aware that more is expected of them than of daughters. Sons therefore experience more frustration, for they have latent expectations of assuming some political influence in the family, something daughters do not expect and do not seek.

39 Questionnaires completed by the Chius indicate they think their mother should have an important role in family decision-making, and also reported that she has influence over distribution of resources, children's conduct, and all household matters. (Question No. 66)

40 Two of these are the terms for oldest sister and older brother:

oldest sister - dai jeh 大姊
older brother - gor 哥

41 "Ch'eng-jen" 成人
Levy, op. cit., p. 212.

42 In the Eng household formal kinship terms signifying oldest son and oldest daughter were used by their aunt in Hong Kong and still are used by their parents on occasion. More frequently Susan and Fred Eng are addressed by their juniors in the following way: (translations are literal)

Susan - dai ga djieh - biggest eldest sister in the house
Fred - dai gohr - biggest elder brother

43 Rudy is not only the eldest young male in the household, but also the oldest son of his own sibling group. His two younger sisters remain in mainland China. He is therefore accustomed to the role of "older brother" and takes this very seriously, as do his younger brothers and cousins.

44 Levy, op. cit., p. 156.

45 "Marrying out" usually signifies marrying anyone who is not Chinese. This is the only instance of a specific racial group being mentioned, although clearly racial identity is of importance. "English" people are usually referred to explicitly as the group children should not marry.
Two of these daughters work in business -- one as a secretary, and the other as a receptionist. The first, the eldest daughter of the Cheng family, graduated from high school when her father died, and this negated her chances to further her education, although this had always been encouraged. The second daughter -- the eldest in the Chu family -- had never wanted to go to university, but has a boyfriend who is planning a career in dentistry.

See Appendix C for another interpretation of this data.

Levy, op. cit., p. 141.

See Appendix C for further information on this portion of the questionnaire. It is almost wholly useless because of the poor phrasing of the question and the consequent misreading by respondents.

Most of these children do not know which decisions are made by which parent in many crucial areas of family life.

This data is in Appendix C.

Levy, op. cit., p. 211.

Ibid., p. 231.

An exception to this has already been noted in footnote No. 9. Details on p. 119.

Louise's remarks -- although they are from a female -- indicate the general response of children. Also, Louise would like to be an independent professional rather than an employee.

P.C.P. Siu, "The Isolation of the Chinese Laundryman," p. 438. Siu's comments are also corroborated by Barnett in his article on kinship and Cantonese economic adaptation: "there is a tendency for Chinese immigrants to go into small commercial enterprises." p. 40.


It is one of the major flaws of this dissertation that so little data on the process of decision-making in the store and in the household is available.

60 Mr. Leong's nephews had worked in the cafe on a part-time basis, but worked more in a downtown restaurant of a neighbour who might also have been a relative. This was never clear.

61 The business is usually described as "the store rather than as "our store", and the close identity of the father with the business always emerges in strong relief.

62 Refer to footnote 60. Further information on this is not available because of the limitations of this research. Barnett's suggestions would be fruitful lines of further research. See Bibliography for article reference.

63 The authority of fathers might well continue -- as a large part of their influence is derived from the "cultural" values of generational precedence. But on the other hand the negative view of the business and the lack of participation of fathers in the future economic roles of their sons will mitigate much of this authority.

64 Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

65 In no case does the father have the ultimate power and responsibility of grandfather Chiu. This does not mean they do not have the major authority in the family, however.

66 The "big things" remain unfortunately rather vague in many cases. The questionnaire responses of the children of the eleven families indicate what these might be generally. See Appendix C.

67 Fred Eng -- educated in Hong Kong -- has a very ideal picture of the Chinese family. It was precisely this ideal view, also reflected by his younger siblings, which caused a major breach in family unity.

68 The expression "closest in the family" is fraught with problems, and this has to be considered in interpreting this data. (See Appendix B and C)

69 One of the features of these families which became increasingly clear is that stability on family structure can ultimately only be attributed to the value put on family solidarity hence the difficulty of many children to make critical evaluations of the family, to separate
loyalty from obligation. The "traditional" values on age and generation are of great importance here.

70 This is Gary Fong who described his father as "almost an alcoholic". He also has another wife in China.

71 This is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of these families and illustrates that in fact family unity or cohesion may rest on values which are not necessarily part of family organization.


73 These two households were alike in having only daughters, residence in an upper middle class "English" area, open discrimination when they moved to this area, and a very high level of aspiration and self conscious ambition.

74 Ibid., p. 248.

75 This is an area in which there is incomplete data. More data on the process of decision-making would make these observations more precise.


77 Wayne Leong often does the family washing, but it was Lucy who told me this, not Wayne. In most households there is clear cut division of labour on the basis of sex, and men do not appear to help with the household chores.

78 For further remarks see Appendix C.


80 The locus of discipline is still the father, particularly as he supervises his children in the store. But mothers often have to dispense discipline to both boys and girls when they are teenagers because fathers are not at home the majority of the time.

81 Goode, op. cit., p. 145.

82 Komarovsky, op. cit., p. 126.
83 Komarovsky, op. cit., p. 127.

84 This is Mrs. Yee. Note her comments on p. 147.

85 Mrs. Yip is a good example of this. She grew up as an orphan, and found it difficult to understand her husband's interest in his family and usually expressed amusement or scorn at the interference from grandparents that some families suffered.


87 Ibid., p. 88.

88 Hsu, Under the Ancestor's Shadow, p. 271.

89 Lang, Chinese Family and Society, p. 230.

90 Actually there are two families where this appears to be the case. In the Leong household the father's authority -- at least ideally -- is intact despite the fact that he was in business for himself for only a few years. In the Yee household the father had had the grocery store for only years, yet he was the "head of the household".

91 Lang, op. cit., p. 248.

92 Ibid., p. 251.

93 Hsu, op. cit., p. 148.

94 Ibid., p. 260.

95 Ibid., p. 243.

96 Ibid., p. 443.

97 Ibid., p. 254.

98 The only indications of this occurring were in the Chiu and Eng families. Neither of these "revolutions", as Fred Eng describes his own situation, resulted in children breaking from the family or moving from the home.

99 Hsu, op. cit., p. 239.

100 Levy, The Family, p. 373.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Articles


APPENDIX A

The following diagrams represent the eleven interviewed families. Asterisks indicate those most closely interviewed. Broken lines indicate the household unit where this is not clear.

* The Chius

1. Mary, 21
2. Larry, 20
3. Alice, 19
4. Harry, 17
5. Lynn, 16
6. Peter, 11

The Lums
\[ \Delta = \Theta \]

1. Bob, 19
2. Frank, 17

The Chengs
\[ \Delta = \Theta \]

1. Francis, 22
2. Jean, 18
3. Joan, 14

* The Fongs

1. Gary, 22
2. Jim, 19
3. Judy, 16
### The Chus

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1. Martha, 18
2. Paul, 15
3. Arthur, 13
4. Janet, 12
5. Bill, 11
6. Fran, 7
7. Mary, 4

### The Engs

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1. Frank, 20
2. Susan, 19
3. Pat, 17
4. Elaine, 14
5. Linda, 11
6. Joyce, 9

### The Yees

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1. Dick, 19
2. Jack, 17
3. Ann, 16

### The Wongs

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1. George, 18
2. Sharon, 16
3. Bill, 11

### *The Yips*

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1. Peggy, 21
2. Jane, 19
3. Ellen, 16
*The Leongs

1. Lei Yik
2. May
3. Rudy, 23
4. Wayne, 15
5. Lucy, 14
6. Doug, 5
7. Dick, 4

*The Chongs

1. Mary, 17
2. Louise, 15
3. Diane, 11
APPENDIX B

Questionnaire Data

General Information

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Role Differentiation

Relative Age Differences

33. Do you think older children should have controls over their juniors?

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34. Does this happen in your family?

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41. Are older children blamed for misconduct by younger children?

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42. Give an instance of how they are blamed, and the misconduct involved.

All Chinese groups — "look after younger, and expected to", "is blamed when younger is hurt", "is a model for younger".

English — "late nights" or "prevent misconduct".

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Sexual Differences

20. Do you think education is more important for boys than for girls?

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21. If there are limited funds for education, how would it be decided who would receive them?

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31. Do you think females should have as much to say as males?

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Give a reason for your answer

Positive responses

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Negative responses
not stable 2 1
conflict with father 1

32. Do females have an equal voice in your family?
yes 18 12 9 16 14
no 1 3 1 6 2
omitted 1 1 1 2

35. Should being male give one more importance in the family than being female?
yes 15 2 3 1 13
no 1 3 1 6 2
omitted 1 1 1 2

36. Does this occur in your family?
yes 7 6 2 3 8
no 12 7 8 19 6
omitted 1 3 1 2

37. If boys do have more importance what is the reason?
do more 8 3 3 2
more important 1 3 1 3
girls marry out 1 3 1 7
omitted 10 10 5 20 6

Generational Differences

24. What is most important in determining who is "boss" -- who is listened to most, whose decisions have most weight -- in the family?

age 4 5 3 4 8
sex 1 1
generation 1 4 3 11 1
money earned 2 2 3 1
"sense" 6 3 3 3
father 1
omitted 6 3 3 2

25. Which of these should be the determining factor?

age 2 7 1 2 2
sex
generation 1 2 3 10
money earned 1 2
"sense" 2 1 3 2 10
omitted 15 6 4 8 4
26. Should grandparents be able to affect the decisions of parents?

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27. Do grandparents do this in your family?

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28. Name some situations in which this occurs.

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39. What does the expression "old-fashioned" mean to you?

"Y" - "pre-1919", "out-of-date", "what grandparents thought", "not enough freedom".

"CVC" - "tradition and superstition", "not much", "ridiculous ancient customs".

"COSA" - "customs that are not practical", "a conservative way of life, but good".

"English" - "my two spinster aunts", "Victorian morals", "conservative - my grandmother".

"household" - "trouble when you want to go out with a boy who isn't Chinese", "silly ideas".

40. Is there anyone in your family who corresponds to this definition?

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<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please specify who this is

"Y" - a wide range of persons - mothers, fathers, both parents, brothers, whole family. 7 omitted

"CVC" - parents or grandparents. 8 omitted

"COSA" - a wider range of persons than any other group. 5 omitted
"English" - wide range of persons. 10 omitted

"household" - fathers or grandfathers were reported, one mother. 10 omitted

**Economic Allocation and Organization**

7. What is your father's occupation?
- entrepreneur  8  9  5  2  16
- employee  5  3  1  10
- professional  3  1  6
- managerial  2  5  4
- retired  2  5  .2
- omitted  4

8. If he has a business of his own,
   (a) what kind is it?
   - merchant  8  9  5  2  16
   (b) how long has he been in this business?
   - years (average) 20 15 18  9  15
   - omitted 15  5  7  22
   (c) do any of the children work there?
   - yes 3  3  2
   - no 4  9  2  1  3
   - omitted 1  1  1  2
   (d) does your mother work there?
   - yes 1  4  1  1  7
   - no 7  7  1  1  7
   - omitted 1  3  3  2
   (e) do any relatives work there?
   - yes 3  4  2  8
   - no 5  7  3  1  3
   - omitted 1  5
   (f) do any non-relatives work there?
   - yes 6  7  3  1  8
   - no 1  2  2  3
   - omitted 1
   (g) if you work in the store, do you receive a wage of salary?
   - yes 5  5  3  1  11
   - no 1  4
   - omitted 2  2  1  3
   (h) do you like working in the store?
   - yes 2  1  2  1  5
   - no 3  6  2  7
   - omitted 3  3  1  1  4
(i) if not, what is the reason?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>reason</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dislike working for family</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not enough money</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislike clerking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;time&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. How many years has your father been in his present occupation? (See question 8(B)).

*10. Who do you think should bring in the most money in a family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>family member</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Who brings in the most money in your family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>family member</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Who should receive the most money from parents?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gender</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boys</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equal</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oldest</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;depends&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Who receives the most money in your family from parents?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gender</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boys</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equal</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Which parent do you think should have the most authority in spending money?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parent</th>
<th>frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15. Which person has this authority in your family?
- mother: 5
- father: 8
- both parents: 2
- grandparents: 1
- "depends": 1
- omitted: 4

16. Should a wife have control over household money?
- yes: 18
- no: 1
- sometimes: 2
- equal: 2
- omitted: 3

17. Does your mother have this control?
- yes: 11
- no: 5
- sometimes: 2
- equal: 2
- omitted: 3

*18. If your family has a business do they expect you to go into it at some time in the future?
- yes: 2
- no: 10
- don't know: 3
- omitted: 3

19. What is your feeling about No. 18?
- don't care: 5
- want to: 2
- don't want to: 10
- omitted: 3

Political Allocation

29. Who should be listened to most in a family?
- mother: 7
- father: 4
- grandparent: 2
- "most sense": 1

(Chiu)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>&quot;Y&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;CVC&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;COSA&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who is listened to most in your family?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both parents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When should children be treated as adults by their parents?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when leave school</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age 18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when show it&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>leave home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When do you think your parents consider children adults?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leave school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20-21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when show it&quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leave home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Solidarity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>&quot;Y&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;CVC&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;COSA&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which is the closest group in the family?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brothers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisters</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>equal</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just one child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
46. Why do you think this is the case? (no alternatives posed).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Y&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;CVC&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;COSA&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>age differences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>favouritism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebellion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common interests</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls at home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls not sensible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time together</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just two children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or no brothers)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47. What do the children in your family have most in common? List in order of importance. (Highest number indicates highest priority).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Y&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;CVC&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;COSA&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>younger generation</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more modern than</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebellion vs. parents</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect for parents</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more education than</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents have</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48. For which person do you have most respect?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Y&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;CVC&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;COSA&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother &amp; father</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>most affection?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother &amp; father</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>most dislike?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>father</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
grandmother
mother & father
grandparents

most fear?
mother 3 2 1 1
father 11 8 2 8 5
grandfather
grandmother
mother & father
grandparents
omitted 3 2 1 2 1

49. What should keep a family together and co-operative in the same dwelling? List in order of importance.
(Highest number indicates highest priority).
affection 12.5 9 8.2 18 10.3
cooperation 12.5 10.3 4.2 15.5 10.5
respect 7.66 9.5 6 17 8.33
problem solving 5.2 5.5 6 12.3 7.1
same values 4.4 4.3 3.1 9.6 4.5
daily living 6.2 4 2.1 6.6 7.6
omitted 6 4 1 5 2

50. Do you consider your family a closely knit one?
Explain why.
yes 7 7 4 14 4
no 2 5 1 6 11
omitted 11 4 11 4 1

Reasons for positive responses:
respect 1 2 3
affection 1 1 2 8 1
co-operation 1 1 2 2
values 1 1 1
dependency 1
"westernized" 1

Reasons for negative responses:
values/interests 2 1 4 2
money arguments 2
differences of generation 2 1 2
age differences 1
children have greater ambitions than parents 2
no activities together 3
no affection 
family too large 1

22. Have your parents encouraged you to go past high school in your education?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Y&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;CVC&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;COSA&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

23. Who has encouraged you the most?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;no one&quot;</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. If there are disagreements what are they usually about?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>finances</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boys' conduct</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls' conduct</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>values</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional questions were asked of twelve "household" children, and eleven "English" respondents. There were eight females in the first and four in the second group.

51. With whom are you closest in your family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no one &quot;uncle&quot;, other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52. Why do you think this is so?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>age, interests, problems</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confidence possible with mother</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temperament</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
53. Who do you spend the most time with?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother &amp; father</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myself, no one</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54. What do you usually do with this person?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>just talk</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go to school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go to Chinese movies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55. Which of his children is your father closest to?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eldest son</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eldest daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sons</td>
<td>1 (Leong)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youngest child (regardless of sex)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56. Which of her children is your mother closest to?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eldest son</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eldest daughter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughters</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>youngest child</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57. What do you think are the reasons for Nos. 55 and 56?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>same sex, interests</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>favouritism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother can talk to me more than others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58. If you had a problem who would you talk to first in the family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>&quot;Household&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;English&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no one</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both parents</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
59. What do you think is the most important function of a family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bringing up children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-operation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affection</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

60. Do you think your family fulfills this function?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Why not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>have friends instead</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't get along</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>differences of generation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no discussions or talking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61. About how many hours a week do you spend doing things for enjoyment with your family? (Average number of hours).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>siblings</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friends</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no time spent with anyone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62. About how many times a month does your family do something together?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>twice</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not definite</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none at all</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63. What kind of things do you do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>movies, dinner, drives</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visiting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

64. Who usually organizes these activities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizer</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;no one&quot; &quot;no activities&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
65. Do you enjoy them?
usually 2 3
sometimes 3 1
always 2
never 5 7
omitted

66. If you have a family of your own, would you like it to be like yours?
yes 1 5
no 10 2
"in a way" 1 2
omitted

Why not?
too much concern with money 1
too many kids 1 (Eng)
not enough talking or closeness 6
there is no mother 1 (Eng)
not planning to have a family 1 (Eng)
too restricted 1 (Chiu) 1

67. Who makes the most decisions about the following?
where to spend a holiday
mother 6 4
father 3 5
both 3 2

what children should do
mother 10 2
father 1 5
both 1 3
omitted

what education children should have
mother 5 1
father 3 6
both 2 3
neither "children" 1 1
omitted

who pays for education
mother 1 1
father 7 7
both 1 2
grandfather 1 (Chiu)
omitted 2 1
how much money to spend on a
car, home, etc.
mother  7  1
father   3  7
both    2  2

how much to spend on household
things (small items)
mother  11  7
father   2  2
both    2  2
omitted  1

how much to spend on presents to
relatives or friends
mother  10  7
father   2  2
both    2  2
omitted  2

68. Who is the most important person in your family to you?
mother  5  3
father   3  5
sister  2
brother
myself
no one  1  1
all     1
omitted

69. Explain the reason for No. 68.
siblings - same age, problems, interests  2
mothers - spends the money, can talk to her  4  2
father - supports us, deserves respect  3  5
don't know  1  1
other    3
omitted  2

Notes on questions

Quotation marks indicate answers given by respondents but not posed as alternatives on the questionnaire.

No. 3. If one or both parents were born in China or South East Asia this is indicated by the category "China".
No. 5. These figures represent the incidence of parents and grandparents in the household. There were too many omissions to make the "English" responses meaningful.

No. 31. This kind of question in which an explanation was asked for usually had many omissions. As in other similar questions this accounts for the lack of correspondence of responses.

No. 27. "Yes" in this question includes "sometimes".

No. 8. "Merchant" was a term used by the "COSA" and is used here to indicate for all groups the following occupations — grocer, fruit farm owner, cafe and hotel proprietor, poultry farmer, laundry manager.

No. 10. "Other" here indicates "brothers", "all", and "grandfather". The two latter responses came from the Chius.

No. 18. The responses here do not correspond to the number of families which were reported to have businesses. The question was obviously misunderstood by many. Respondents may well have answered in evaluative terms — something which seems to have occurred in other questions as well. If they did, this may in itself be significant: the business would not be a future avenue for them.

No. 19. One of the "want to's" in the "Y" group did not have a business in his family.

No. 47. The one "other" was the response of Fred Eng who gave "being overseas away from parents for several years" the highest priority.

No. 23. The two "other" responses from the interviewed children reported one uncle and one teacher giving the greatest encouragement.

No. 67. "Who pays for education" may easily have been misunderstood in this question to mean this literally rather than who makes the decisions about payment of fees etc.
The data from the questionnaire is supplemental to that obtained from the group of eleven families. The questionnaire was devised and used after most of this data had been obtained; it was this information from children and the way it fitted into Levy's model of the "traditional" family which dictated its form. It is a wide-ranging and hence incomplete statement of family life in forty-seven Chinese households. A small group of "English" university students provided data about twenty-four non-Chinese families.

The groups represented in the previous pages are not equal numerically. Nor are they distributed in equal proportions sexually. They also cannot be viewed as representative samples of Chinese young people of these different age groups, socio-economic, and cultural backgrounds. However, there are obvious differences among the groups, and these seem to account for the difference in responses.

The "Y" group is twenty young teenagers between the ages of twelve and fifteen who were contacted through the Pender branch of the Y.W.C.A. All of them live in Chinatown. The "CVC" group is composed of sixteen university students contacted through the Chinese Varsity Club. Most were in their second or third year of university. The "COSA" group is a haphazard sample of Chinese overseas students on the U.B.C. campus. They were contacted through the Chinese Overseas Students' Association. The "English" or non-Chinese who completed the questionnaire were students in two Anthropology courses. They had a wide range of backgrounds, and most were in third or fourth year of university. Sixteen of the original children from the eleven households -- not all those interviewed -- also completed the questionnaire.

Clearly, from this outline of the five groups of respondents, there are few controlled variables in the questionnaire data. The questionnaire was explained in order to make it as meaningful as possible, but despite this there was some misunderstanding by respondents and often gross indifference among the "English" -- testified by the number of omissions by that group. The phrasing of many questions and the general nature of numerous questions left a good deal to individual idiosyncrasy and
interpretation. The questionnaire is appended to this dissertation in order to make a more complete statement of this research. It is not considered a strong point in this research, and can only indicate very general tendencies in these families.

With remarks in mind, the reader might refer to the sample of interview questions in Appendix D, for it was around Levy's subsystems that questions were organized in both interviews and in the questionnaire, with of course, the necessary additions to them as the research progressed.

In all the data from the questionnaire there were indications of a continuum of responses, with the "Y" group replying in the most "traditional" terms in both evaluative and descriptive questions, and the "CVC", "COSA", and "English" following in that order. The "household" group was similar to the "Y" in most respects. The continuum breaks down repeatedly and is only a suggestion of the general direction of responses. That the "COSA" were often less "traditional" than the "Y" might be accounted for by the fact that most of these students come from middle or upper middle class Hong Kong families: the value on co-operation and economic organization on a kinship basis may therefore be less -- although many did have business enterprises.

Role Differentiation

The important exception to the continuum here was the "English" giving lowest importance to egalitarian educational opportunities, and favouring education for boys. The Chinese appear to have more diffuse notions of equality in this area. On the other hand, the "English" appear to define an "equal voice" for females more rigorously than the Chinese. The criteria of age and generation were important in all groups in delegating authority -- although differences of generation per se were not as clearly pointed out by Chinese as might have been expected. In fact, the number of responses indicating "more sense" as an important criterion shows that actual political influence relies more on personal attributes than on "traditional" precedences. The questions on the role of grandparents was poorly worded and hence almost consistently misunderstood it appears. But again the highest number of positive responses favouring this interference came from the "Y" group and the lowest from the "English".
Economic Allocation

Only those responses indicating the presence of a business are meaningful to this analysis, and these correspond closely to those from the interviewed families. One difference is that a high proportion of Chinese indicated they are paid for work in the store. This seems relevant for the "household" group in interviews often did not see their pocket money as actual wages. In the allocation of resources the "COSA" departed from the continuum by giving equal distribution rights to boys and girls. They were similar to the "household" in this, and contrasted to the other three groups who all favoured boys. The number of "don't care" responses of the "Y", "CVC", "COSA" in question No. 19 do not tally with the negative responses of the interviewed children. However, these are outweighed by negative responses in all groups except the "COSA". In talking to members of the "COSA" it was clear that their Canadian university training was expected to put them in a professional class in Hong Kong: these students thought the question concerning future roles in their father's business was rather a strange one. Some could however, possibly do this, for their fathers had chemical plants and such large firms in Hong Kong, rather than small stores.

Political Allocation

The tendency of the "Y" group to single out mothers for political authority has already been mentioned. The authority of fathers is more strongly valued by the "English" than the Chinese, who are more diffuse in granting this authority. This departure from the continuum may in fact indicate a greater preponderance of authoritarian values in the Chinese households. In the actual reporting of who has the most "say", Chinese respondents indicated that fathers occupied an important position; this was less pronounced in the "COSA", and proportionately the "English" reported a higher incidence of both parents sharing this power. In the household group -- where during interviews the authority of fathers emerged strongly -- only one-half of them gave it high value. In addition in this group, mothers are reported as being "listened to" a great deal, and this corroborates data from the interviews. Questions No. 64 and No. 67 also support this, indicating that mothers enjoy greater powers than fathers in many family decisions: fathers in Chinese households retain authority over payment for education -- but again this question is fraught with problems. See Appendix B. Authority is, however, more
diffuse among the "English", and the influence of mothers does not -- on the whole -- emerge as strongly. Chinese mothers appear to have a major role in family decision-making.

Solidarity

The affective bonds reported to exist between sisters supports interview data. This is further corroborated by questions No. 51, 52, 53, 54, and 68. The bonds between mothers and children -- especially the youngest child -- are also testified by the responses to questions No. 56, 57, and 58. With respect to inter-generational differences, the "Y", "CVO", "Household", and "English" all register more differences between parents and children than do the "COSA": the latter also reports the least incidence of rebellion as uniting siblings -- and this might point out the greater homogeneity of values and the greater correlation between actual and ideal behaviour in these Chinese Hong Kong families. The "COSA" also do not bifurcate their emotions between two parents as other groups do: they have a more diffuse statement of respect for both parents or the whole family.

Mothers are again prominent in Chinese households -- especially Chinese Canadian homes, although this is true to a lesser degree of the "English". The "COSA" is less marked in this. Because of the number of omissions, question No. 49 concerning family values is not very useful, but it does point out the high value on co-operation among all Chinese, although again, the "COSA" does give a high priority to respect. In general the number of omissions in these questions concerning solidarity illustrates the sensitivity and hesitance of respondents. It might also point out the difficulty they have in separating feelings of obligation, respect, and affection. The "household" group were, however, more candid than any other in this -- perhaps this is a positive comment about the utility of interview sessions before submitting a questionnaire to respondents -- and their responses in question No. 50 might point out their unique qualities within the group of Canadian Chinese. Finally, although the goals of achievement are not probed by the questionnaire the general response indicates that mothers are important in encouraging further education for children. This is particularly pronounced among the "Y" group, and among the "English" there is more sharing of this influence by both parents than among the Chinese.
APPENDIX D

Sample Interview Questions

Role Differentiation

When were you first working in the family store?
What did these duties involve?
When were you given more or less to do?

What do you do around the house?
When did these duties begin?

Incidence of Relative Age Differences

When were you allowed or encouraged to "boss" younger children?
What can you do when you "boss" in some way?
Do they pay attention?
Which child -- brother, sister -- does your father/mother rely on most?
Which son/daughter receives most attention in the family?
How does this happen?

Generational Differences

Who is the oldest member of your family? Where does he live?
Do you get along with him or her?
When do you see your grandparents?
Who do you like best of your grandparents?
When do your parents and grandparents differ/agree?
When not?

Sexual Differences

Do you think girls work as hard as boys? Why? How?
Do you think your grandparents favour anyone in the family? Parents?

Production and Consumption

Where do you like to work, in the store, with relatives?
Do you like your mother to work? Does your father?
Who does the least in the family to help it "get ahead"? Why?
Political and Solidarity

Who has the most responsibility in the family? Why?
Who makes the most decisions? What do others say?
Who wins arguments?
Does it matter if you marry someone less well educated than you? Why?
Would you marry someone from Hong Kong?
What does "being good" mean in your family? For girls? For boys?
Which parent are you closest to? Why?
What do your parents want you to be? Why?
What do you want?