

Intergroup Romance and the Bicultural Identities of Second Generation Asian Canadians

Richard N. Lalonde

Faculty of Health & Glendon College

York University, Toronto

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Outline for today's talk

- Studying biculturals
- Cultural influences in Asian biculturals
- Norms of endogamy & exogamy
 - Study 1: The preference for traditional attributes (endogamy) in a mate
 - Study 2: Chinese Canadians & interracial dating (exogamy)
 - Study 3: South Asian Canadians & interracial dating (exogamy)
- Situational specificity of biculturalism

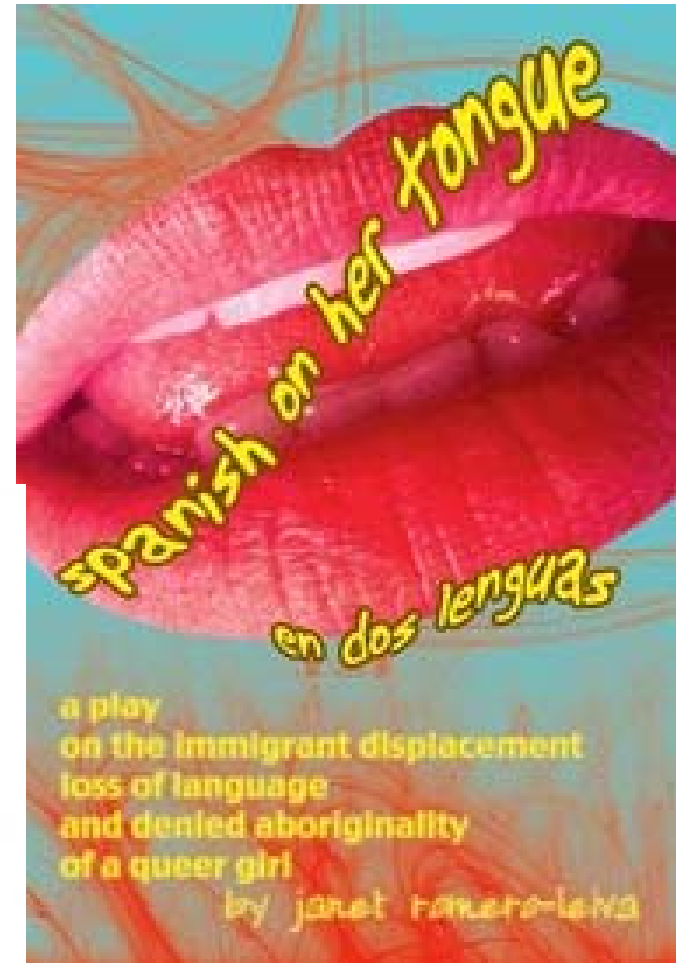
- 2006: Four million second-generation immigrants in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008)
 - Most from East or South Asian countries
- Being bicultural
 - Identification with two cultures—heritage and mainstream
 - Access to two sets of norms

(Berry, 1997; LaFromboise et al., 1993)

The importance and prevalence of the bicultural experience



A Brimful of Asha



Juggling Between Autonomy & Embeddedness Norms

- Western cultures promote independence
- Eastern cultures promote interdependence

Examples where norms can conflict:

- Intimate relationships (Dion & Dion, 1996; Inman, 2006)
 - » Interracial dating
- Moving out of the family home (Fuligni et al., 1999; Lou, Lalonde, & Giguère, in press; Mitchell, 2004)
- Academic pursuits

Assessing bi-cultural influences

- ***Heritage influences***

- Collectivism (too broad)
- Holistic thinking (too narrow)
- **Family allocentrism/connectedness (just right)**
 - Lay et al. (1998) (Phinney & Vedder, '06)
- Heritage/ethnic identity
 - Traditional mate attributes: Lalonde et al. (2004)

- ***Mainstream influence***

- **Canadian identity (Cameron, 2004)**



The meaning of Canadian identity



- more than hockey, ice & beer.
- more than not being American (Lalonde, 2002)
- **Autonomy, Equality, & Diversity**
 - Cameron & Berry (2008) – Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Multiculturalism

Study of bicultural identities

- ***Problem – how to delineate groups for study***
- Pragmatic approach of demography
 - *East Asian Canadians* (primarily Chinese)
 - *South Asian Canadians* (primarily Indian & Pakistani)
- Playing by the normative psychological rule of ***looking for differences***
 - majority *Western European Canadians* as a comparison group
 - ***but who are they?***

Historical cultural slices of Canadians

- First Nations followed by colonization & immigration
 - 1st wave: French then English
 - 2nd wave: British & Irish
 - 3rd wave: Continental Europe
 - 4th wave: (post WWII) Europe
 - 5th wave: South Asia & China

Contemporary cultural norms in Canada

- Canadians from 1st, 2nd, & 3rd waves most influential in shaping the **mainstream norms** of English Canada

Contemporary cultural norms in Canada

- Canadians from 3rd, 4th, & 5th waves with stronger *ethnolinguistic vitality* (status, demographics, & institutional support) likely have strong **heritage norms** (Bourhis et al., 1981)
 - Italian Canadians (40% of Vaughan), Chinese (24% Markham), & South Asian (34% Brampton)



The norm of endogamy

- cultural (evolutionary) norm of *pairing within* one's social groups
- applies to ethnicity, “race”, class, religion,...
- intimately tied to social identities
- norm that is changing with history, immigration & globalization

Lee & Boyd (2008) –study of endogamy/exogamy

2000 US census & 2001 Canadian census

Endogamy for Asians

- 80% US & 92 % Canada

Exogamy for Asians

- Japanese are highest (US: 41% & Can: 49%)
- Chinese (US: 14% & Can: 6%)
- South Asian (US: 9% & Can: 5%)

- Endogamy drops from 1st to 2nd generation

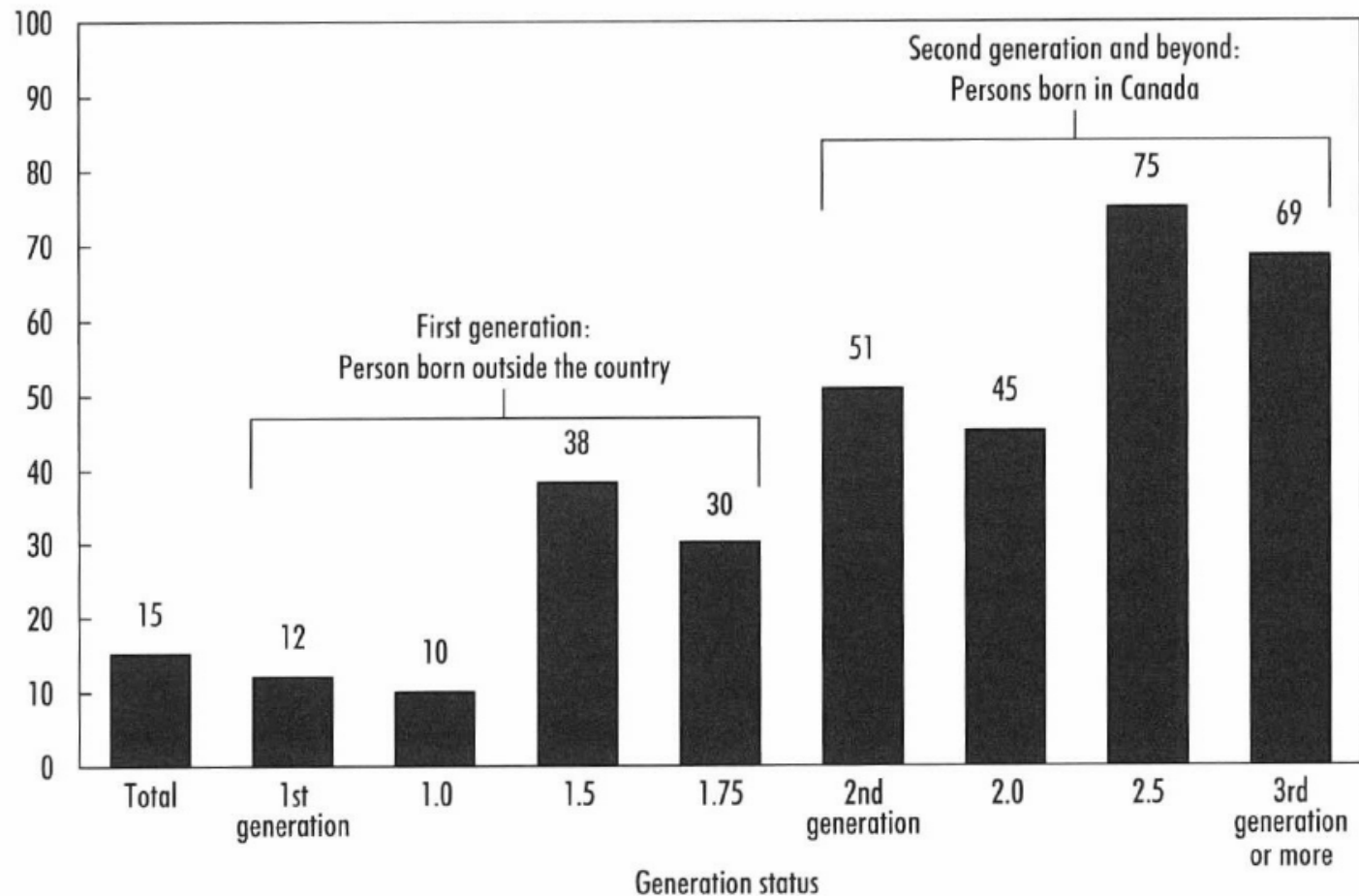
Exogamy among visible minorities in Canada

Milan et al. (2010)

- Mixed unions in Canadian census
 - 2.6% in 1991; 3.1% in 2001; 3.9% in 2006
 - ***Chinese & South Asian*** least likely to be exogamous
- Who is more exogamous?
 - young, educated, & from large metropolitan areas

Chart 2 Longer history in Canada was associated with higher proportion of persons in mixed unions

percentage of visible minority group members in a mixed union



Note: 1.0 = more than 12 years of age at immigration; 1.5 = between 6 and 12 years of age at immigration; 1.75 = less than 6 years of age at immigration; 2.0 = no parents were born in Canada; 2.5 = only one parent was born in Canada.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006.

Exogamy (1994-2006) of Second gen. in USA

Kalmijin & Tubergen, 2010

Origin	Endogamy	Mixing	Exogamy
China	44.2	23.8	32.0
Hong Kong	29.2	48.7	22.0
Taiwan	35.2	24.6	40.2
Japan	39.8	9.1	51.1
India	61.0	14.3	24.6
Pakistan	65.3	23.5	11.2
Canada	9.9	12.8	77.2
Overall	32.9	16.3	50.7

The norm of endogamy

- endogamy is weakening in the North American Western (autonomous) context
- It is also shifting for 2nd generation Canadians & Americans
- *What aspects of identity relate to endogamy for 2nd generation Canadians?*

Study 1. Preferred mate attributes (endogamy) Lalonde, Lou, Cila, & Giguère (in prep)

- *How similar and/or different are young Canadians from different ethnic backgrounds in their preferred mate attributes?*
- *If they are different, do heritage culture influences (family allocentrism) and mainstream influences (Canadian identity) help describe cultural differences?*

Preferred mate attributes

- **Likeability**
 - *kind/understanding, dependable, attraction, ...*
- **Status**
 - *social class, favourable social status, family reputation, good financial prospect, ...*
- **Tradition (endogamy)**
 - *similar religious background, strong cultural ties, similar cultural background, parents' approval*

Young Canadians from the GTA

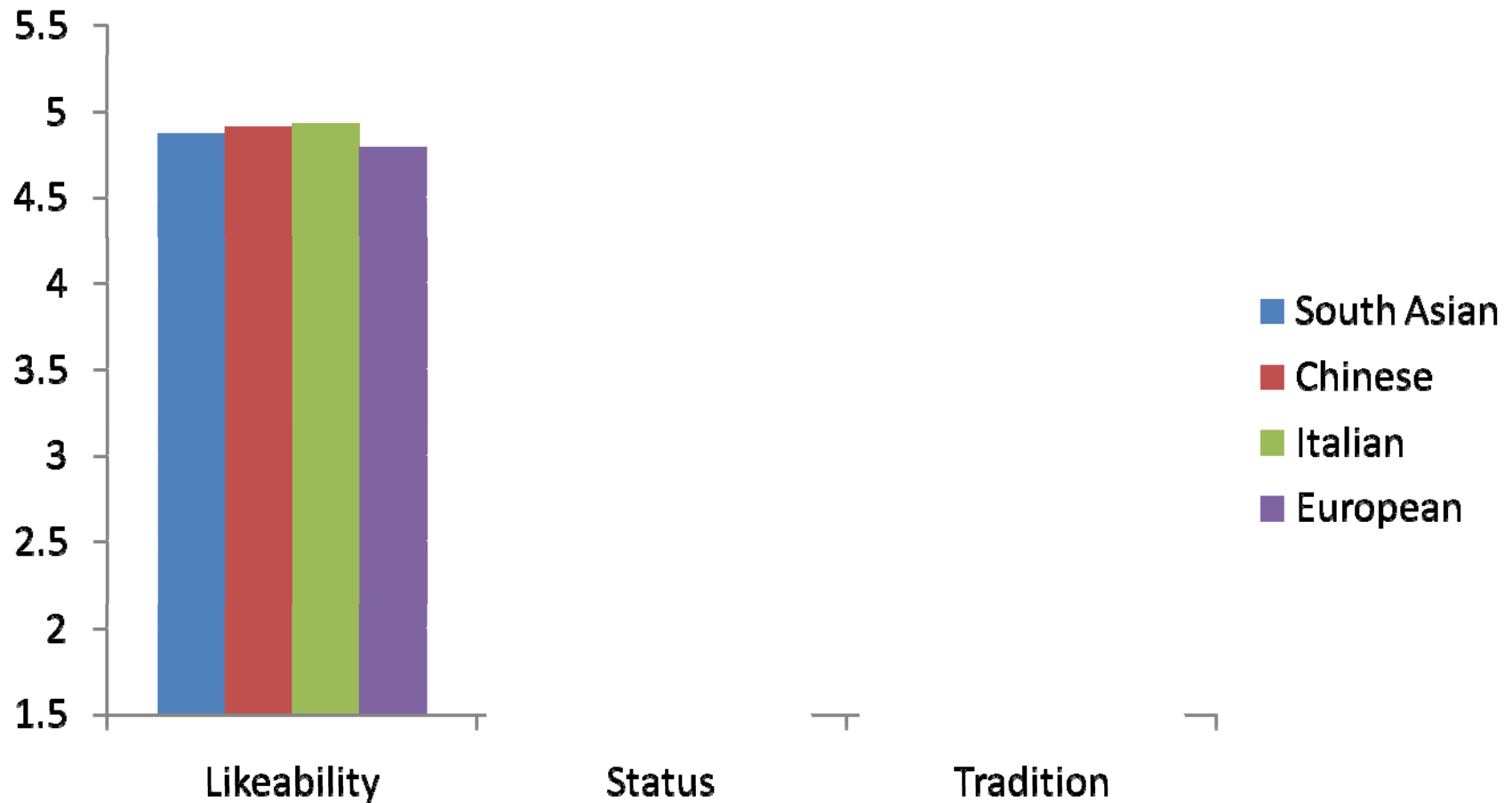
Heritage	Women	Men	Born Canada
South Asian	83	38	71%
Chinese	64	33	64%
Italian	69	25	97%
European	66	35	100%

Participants who identified with an ethnic group from Southern Europe (e.g., Spain, Portugal) were excluded.

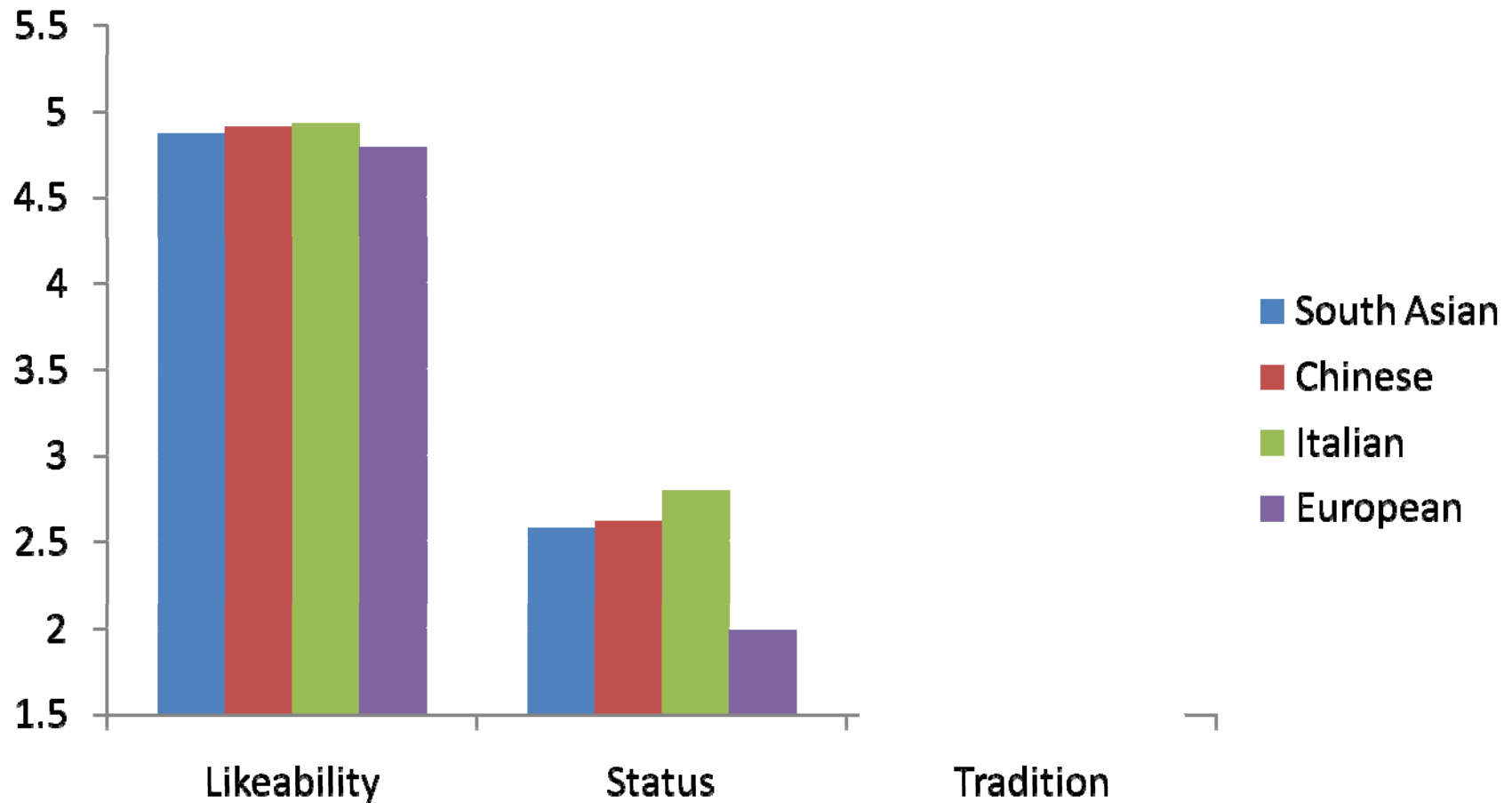
Cultural influences: Family Allocentrism & Canadian Identity

	South Asian	Chinese	Italian	European
Family allocentrism	4.43 _a	4.48 _a	4.57 _a	4.15 _b
Canadian identity	5.25 _a	5.23 _a	5.34 _a	5.68 _b

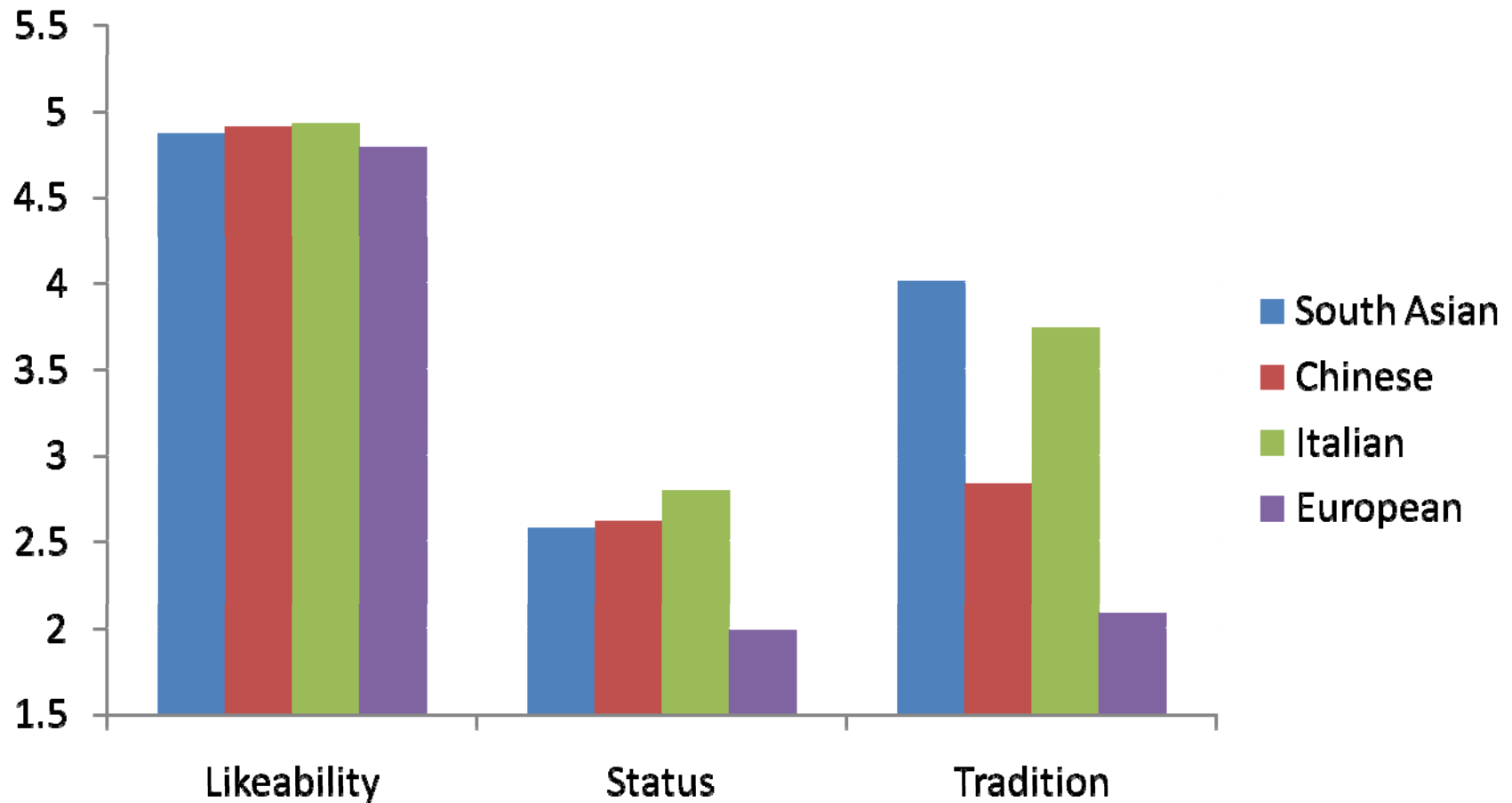
Preferred mate attributes



Preferred mate attributes



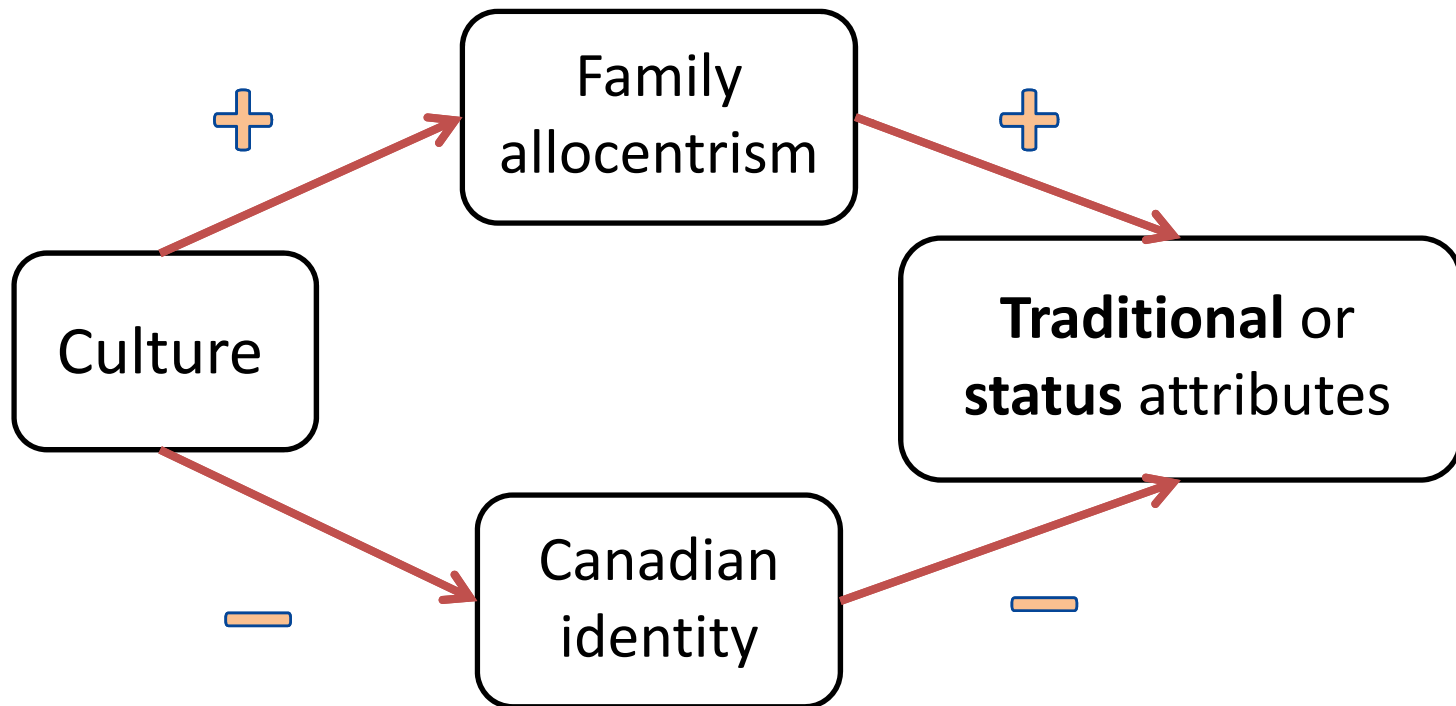
Preferred mate attributes



Cultural influences within cultural differences

Same pattern for all comparisons:

SA vs. Euro / Chin vs. Euro / Ital vs. Euro



Multiple mediation (Preacher & Hayes, 2008)

Summary of mate attributes study

- Similarity rather than difference for **most** important attributes (*likeability*)
- Differences **found for less valued attributes**
 - South Asian & Chinese Canadians value ***Tradition*** and Status more than Western Europeans
- Italians should not be grouped with Europeans
 - Italians quite similar to South Asians!
- Cultural influences from both heritage & mainstream identities in explaining cultural differences

Exogamy: Interracial/interethnic relationships

- Early research: Black-White coupling in US
- Theoretical perspectives
 - **social norms**
 - Social-psychology of relationship formation
 - symbolic racism & social dominance theory
- changing immigration patterns are bringing a new focus to this area of research

Research on Asian interracial dating

- Mok (1999)
 - dating Whites related to *American acculturation*, perceived attractiveness of Whites, & fewer Asian friends
- Levin, Taylor & Caudle (2007)
 - Asian Americans (compared to African Americans, Latinos, & Whites) most likely to **intra**-date
 - Intra-dating related to *having more ingroup friends* in high school

Our research question

- Will identities (heritage & Canadian) be related to interracial/interethnic dating (exogamy) attitudes for 2nd generation Chinese and South Asian Canadians?
 - strength of Canadian national identity related to support for equality & cultural diversity

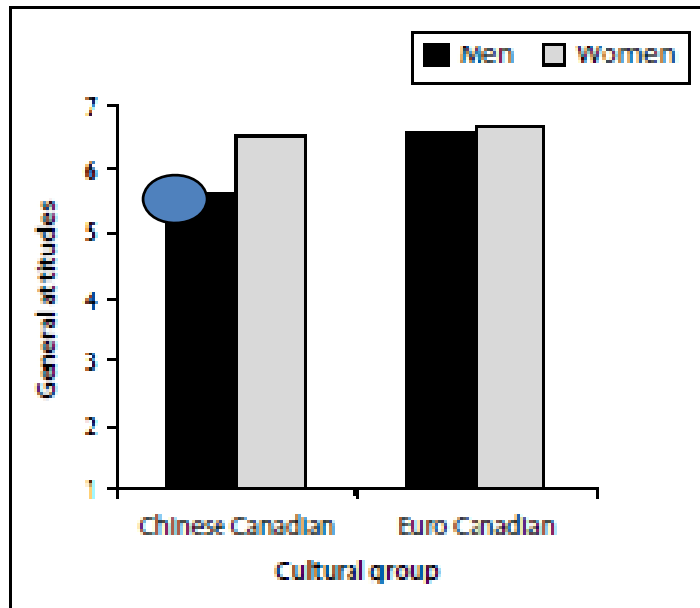
Study 2 – Predicting the push to exogamy for Chinese Canadians Uskul, Lalonde, & Cheng (2007)

- 61 Chinese Canadian & 59 Euro Canadian
- Attitude interracial dating
 - *It does not bother me if Chinese (White) people date White (Chinese) people*
- Personal openness
 - *I would date a Chinese (White) person*
- Heritage & Canadian identities (Cameron, 2004)

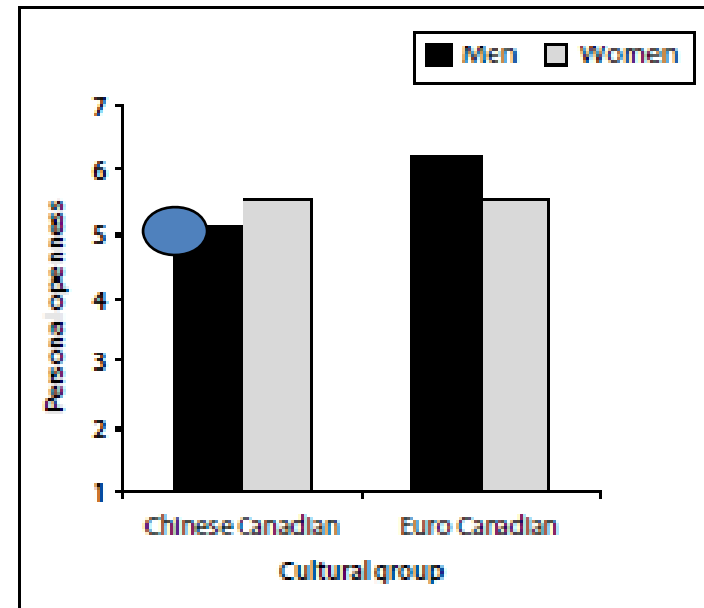
Culture * Gender interactions

FIGURE 2
Gender and culture differences in general attitudes towards and personal openness to interracial dating

(2a) General attitudes towards interracial dating



(2b) Personal openness to interracial dating



Correlations: Identities & attitudes

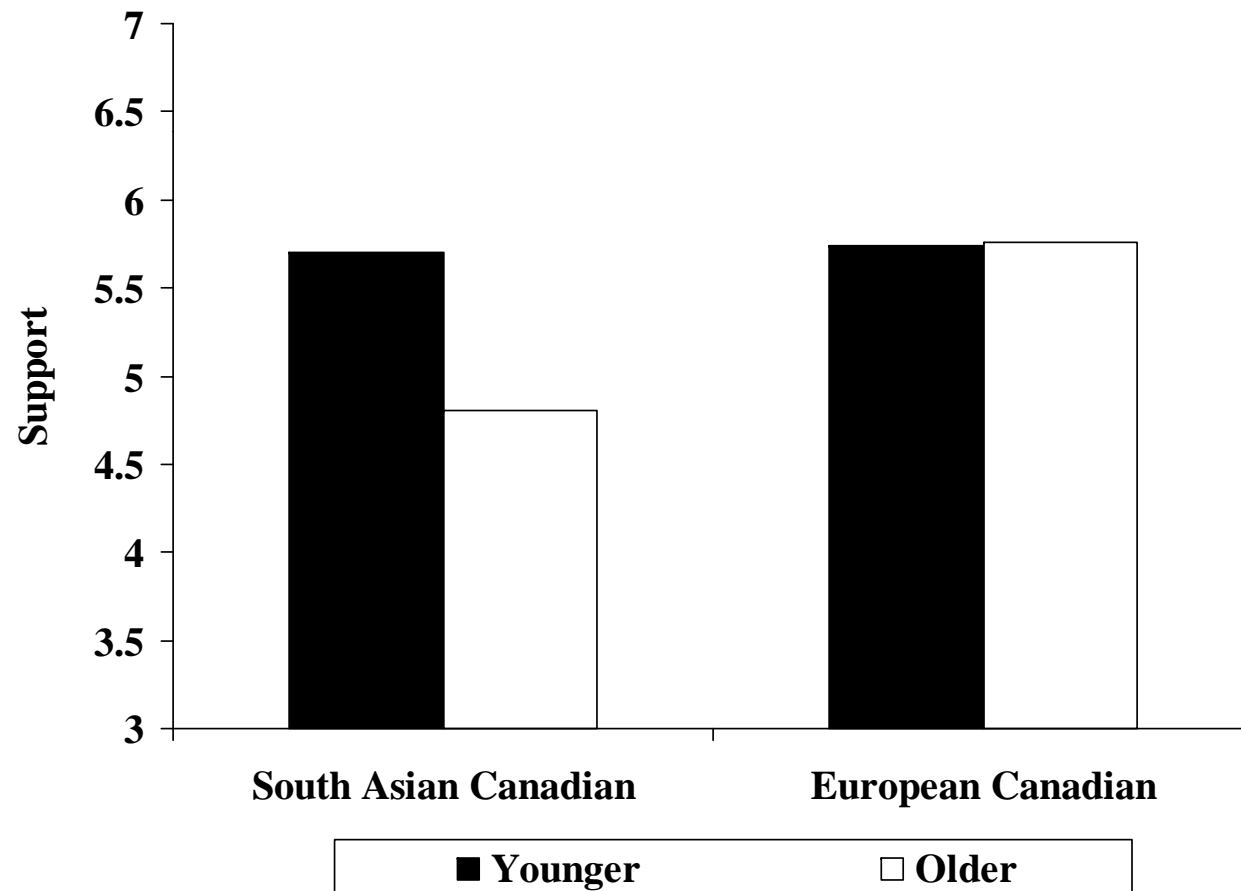
Attitude	Sample
Dating	Chinese
	Euro
Openness	Chinese
	Euro

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Study 2 – Predicting the push to exogamy for South Asian Canadians Uskul, Lalonde, & Konanur (2011)

- 118 South Asian Canadian (Older & younger)
- 120 Euro Canadian (Older & younger)
- Attitude interracial dating
 - *Persons of different races should not become seriously involved (-)*
- Personal openness
 - *I am open to my child's involvement in an relationship with a South Asian person*
- Heritage & Canadian identities

Attitude Interracial Dating Culture * Generation Interaction



	Sample	Cohort
Dating	South Asian	Old
		Young
	Euro	Old
		Young
Openness	South Asian	Old
		Young
	Euro	Old
		Young

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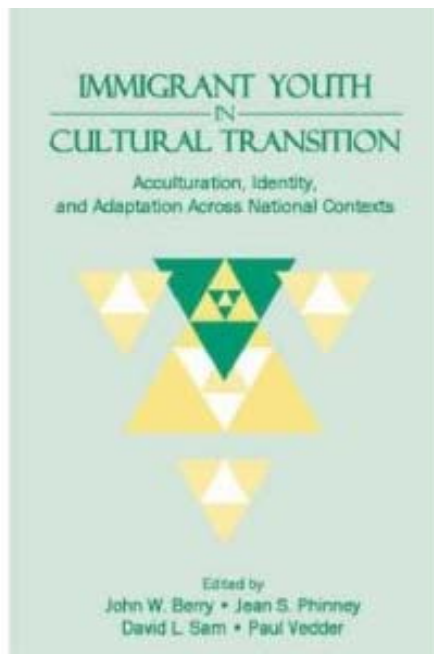
Summary of Interracial Dating Studies

- Canadian (mainstream) identity
 - associated with pos attitude and openness to interethnic intimate relationships, for South Asian Canadians, but not for Euro-Canadians
- Interracial dating can be a source of intergenerational and internal conflict for 2nd generation Canadians from Asian cultural backgrounds
 - Older South Asians have less favourable views

Asian/South Asian Family Conflict

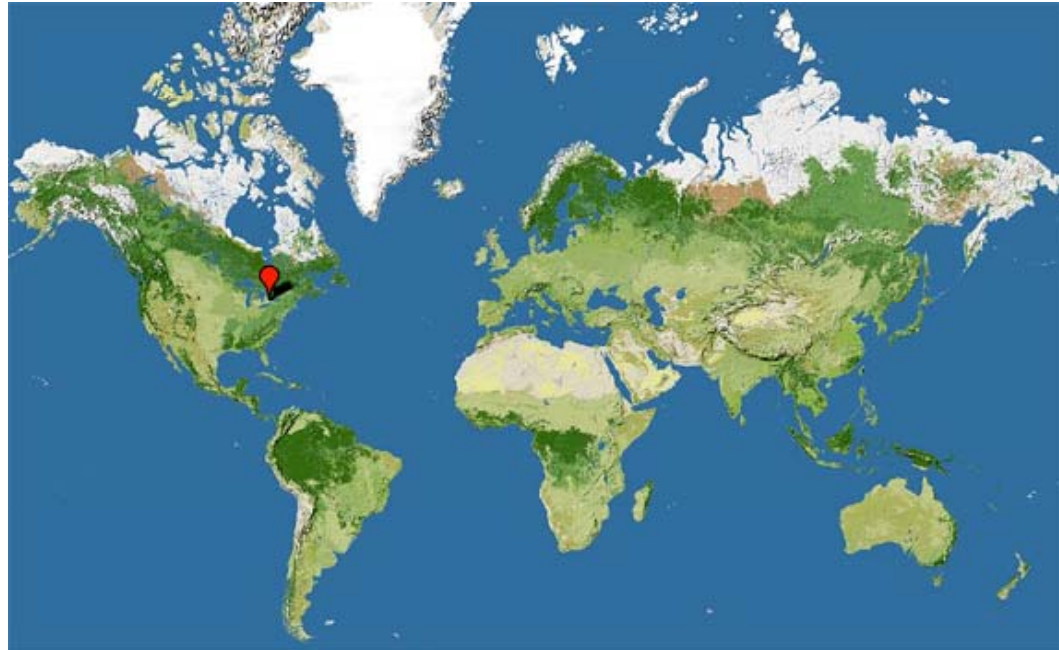
- Parent-child gap in acculturation (Chung, 2006)
- Generational gap more problematic for immigrant families (Kwak, 2003)
- Disagreements often reflect issues of autonomy (Lee et al., 2000; Lee & Liu, 2001)
 - Personal versus family interests
 - Rights vs. family obligations (Phinney & Vedder, '06)

Are bicultural experiences pan-cultural?



- r between ethnic & national IDs pos. for settler countries, but neg. for other western nations
- integration acculturation profile most prevalent in settler countries

The big picture – biculturalism as a micro-cultural historical experience?



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