

A REVIEW AND COMPARISON OF UNITED STATES YOUTH
WITH CHINESE YOUTH IN THREE ASPECTS
OF FAMILY RELATIONS

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PREFACE

This study is concerned with the courtship and mate selection patterns of modern China and of the United States.

The patterns of China, as revealed in the literature and the responses of five Chinese students, were compared with the American patterns which in addition to the literature had been identified by a professional person trained in the area of family relationships. In order to make the comparison, certain attitudes toward obligations due the respective families had to be taken into account.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This study was to find and compare the characteristic patterns of family life for the youth in China with those of the youth of the middle class in the United States in three aspects of family relations. These aspects are: in responsibility to family, in courtship patterns and in obtaining a marriage partner.

Purposes

The purpose of the study was twofold: First, it was to determine the characteristic patterns of interaction currently existing for youth in China and for youth in the middle class in the United States in three areas of family relationships. These areas are in the responsibility to family, in the courtship patterns and in the selecting of a marriage partner.

The second purpose was to compare the characteristic patterns of interaction currently existing for youth in China with the patterns existing for the youth in the middle class in the United States in three areas of family relationships, namely, the responsibility to family, the courtship patterns and the selecting of a marriage partner.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE SUBJECTS

The subjects for this study were five Chinese students on the Oklahoma State University campus. Three were women and two were men.

These students were selected from the list of Chinese students on campus and were contacted through a mutual acquaintance so that the interviewer did not meet them until the time of the interview.

Goode and Hatt (15) discuss sampling:

Sampling is an essential part of all scientific procedure. The number of such observations required as the basis for generalization depends on the number of experimental controls possible and thus may be fewer in physical than in the social sciences, but all experiments are nevertheless samples from a larger universe of possible experimental situations. (209ff).

The interviewer recognized the few subjects as a weakness but the five students represented approximately one-seventh of the total Chinese population at that time on the Oklahoma State University campus. No attempt was made to select a representative sample for this pilot study.

Ages and education of the subjects were similar but family background, environment and residence varied. In the case of "C" the father was educated in the United States and the grandmother was a school principal; her family's religion was Christian. The parents of "B" were farmers and Buddhistic believers. Because of "B's" high marks in school, his own desire and the encouragement and the influence of his brother over his parents, he was allowed to leave the farm to be educated. Because of his education the father often looked to him for advice, in contrast to the customary belief that children should listen to their elders who were

wiser because of their experience. He repudiated the family religion for the Christian, another result of his education.

A personal data sheet which was completed by each interviewee was the source of information for describing the sample in Table I. (A copy of the personal data sheet may be found in Appendix A.)

TABLE I
DESCRIPTION OF THE FIVE CHINESE SUBJECTS

N = 5	MALES			FEMALES	
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)
Age	24	33	23	23	25
Race	Mongolian	Mongolian	Mongolian	Mongolian	Mongolian
Place of Birth	China	China	China	China	China
Marital Status					
Single	X	X	X	X	X
Residence in Childhood	Foochow Urban	Hopei Prov Rural	Cheiking Urban	Formosa Urban	Shanlung Urban
Enter U. S.	1955	1958 2nd Time	1957	1957	1956
Education	Graduate Student	College Teaching Graduate	College Teaching Graduate	Graduate Student	Graduate Student
Social Class	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle
No. Siblings	6	2	6	3	5

For the American values, a professional person in the area of family relationships was chosen to act as judge in defining, as generally found among American youth, the courtship and mate selection practices as well as the responsibilities to the family.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE AND METHOD

Procedure

The first step in the procedure was to study the literature to identify the characteristic patterns of family interaction of the youth of China and of the youth of the middle class in the United States. Specifically, the purpose of this exploration into the literature was to determine the expected function of youth in each culture in regard to the responsibility to the family, the courtship patterns and obtaining the marriage partner.

The investigator organized the findings from the literature under the three aspects of family relations. The results of the summarization for the Chinese culture as revealed in the literature was compared with similar norms for youth in the middle class culture of the United States for the purpose of finding likenesses and differences in the two cultures.

The Design of the Interview Schedule.

An interview schedule for the collection of pertinent data was developed. The criteria used by the investigator for the development of the interview schedule are supported by Goode and Hatt, Shaw, and Young.

Of the interview Goode and Hatt (15:184) wrote:

Interviewing has become of greater importance in contemporary research because of the reassessment of the qualitative interview . . . which allows the interviewer to rephrase the question in keeping with his understanding of the situation. This permits the interviewer to express the question in such a fashion that the respondent can understand it most easily. Further, the interviewer may probe more deeply

when the occasion demands. This permits a more adequate interpretation of the answers to each question.

Goode and Hatt (15:132 ff.) further comment:

Schedule is the name applied to a set of questions which are asked and filled in by an interviewer in a face-to-face situation with another person.

Good and Scates (14:604 ff.) stated:

The use of a schedule or questionnaire is descriptive--survey studies extend the investigator's powers of observation by serving to remind the respondent of each item, to help insure responses to the same item from all cases, and to keep the investigator from collecting only the unique, exceptional or unusual facts particularly interesting to him. The questionnaire or schedule tends to standardize and objectify the observations of different enumerators, by singling out particular aspects of the situation (regarded as significant to the purpose of the study) and by specifying in advance the units and terminology for describing the observations. The survey blank is a device for isolating one element at a time and thus intensifying the observation of it. . . .

A questionnaire is a form prepared . . . to secure responses to certain questions; as a general rule, these questions are factual, intended to obtain information about conditions or practices of which the respondent is presumed to have knowledge.

Young (35:139) wrote:

Since the student of social life is generally interested in social processes and social relationships he can rarely fit his data into or reduce them to a formal list. The schedule thus becomes only a guide, a memory tickler, a recording device, and a means for limiting the scope of (one's) inquiry as well as a means of securing uniformity and objectivity in data studied.

Further, Young (35:201) stated:

In general it may be said that there can be no definite order or organization of data relating to a vast variety of human experiences. Each worker must organize the material to suit the particular need of the case and the particular demands of his study.¹

From The Jack Roler, Pauline Young (35) quotes concerning the interview:

Clifford Shaw suggests that the main object is to secure "the own story," and its aim is threefold: (1) the person's own point of view; (2) a picture of the social and cultural world to which he is responsible,

¹Quoted from Pauline V. Young, Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency, pp. 106-110.

(3) a sequence of past events and situations which determined the present ones.

Pre-coding of the Interview Schedule.

To classify or group the data under the three aspects mentioned above the writer had structured the schedule in such a way as to make the data easy to code in the categories for which she was seeking. For authority to do this coding, the investigator turned to Goode and Hatt (15:314).

The increasing use of statistics is not the distinguishing feature of modern social research. Rather, it is the increasing precision and reliability of research techniques. . . . Since most of these procedures are really ways of classifying data which were not originally created for research purposes, the term qualitative coding is usually applied to them. . . . Not only all social research but also all social interaction requires this kind of classification. (15:320).

Coding can be carried out at any phase in the study from the interview itself to the period just prior to the tabulations. (15:316).

It is possible also to formulate the questionnaire and schedule of "precoded questions." Thus, checking the answer on the schedule automatically codes the data. Goode and Hatt (15) write of this: "When data have already been classified with respect to our theoretical needs . . . our problems are mainly mechanical." (15:320).

The authors (15) mentioned above go on to say:

The use of qualitative coding permits the use of personal documents in a systematic way. The interview guide is one form of the questionnaire which allows flexible and alternative wordings of the questions when that is needed. Case study is not a specific technique. It is a way of organizing social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied--or an approach which views any social unit as a whole. (15:320).

No matter how precise measurement may be, that which is measured remains a quality. Qualification simply achieves greater precision and reliability in measuring the qualities which are considered important. (15:313).

The writer used the suggestions of the quoted authorities for criteria to develop the schedule and to conduct the interviews for this study.

The interview schedule was to aim at singling out particular aspects of family relations in both the American and the Chinese culture relative to youth's responsibility to family, the courtship pattern and the obtaining of a marriage partner.

Keeping these factors in mind, the investigator formulated a multiple choice and completion sentence schedule by arranging certain planned questions and statements for each of the three aspects, namely, the responsibility to family, the courtship patterns and the obtaining of a marriage partner. This schedule was used for guiding and recording the personal interview of each of the Chinese subjects as well as for the professional person who acted as judge in defining the American values. This interview schedule may be found in Appendix A.

The Interview.

To initiate the interview, each subject was given a copy of the schedule to follow. Verbal instructions and explanations of dates and purposes of the interview were also given. The investigator read aloud each statement and recorded the interviewee's response. The flexibility of this technique was an important factor in preventing misinterpretations due to possible language difficulties of the Chinese.

The subject's answers as well as additional comments were recorded verbatim. Following each recording of an answer or comment, the investigator verified the response with the interviewee. Each interview ranged from one and one-half hours to more than two hours, the difference being in speed of talking and answering and of adding personal comments and conversation.

Replies of the five Chinese subjects seemed to be given in honesty

and sincerity although they may have been restricted by memory or colored by some variation in personal experiences.

The professional person who acted as judge responded to the same interview schedule as was used with the Chinese students. This person gave the characteristic practices in the culture of the United States as a confirmation of the generalizations on the American practices cited in the literature.

The professional person was given the verbal instructions and explanations of dates and purposes of the interview in a manner corresponding to those given the Chinese students.

In summary it may be noted that a structured interview schedule was used to collect the data for this part of the study. The subjects elicited responses specifically related to the three aspects of family relations under consideration, namely, (1) in responsibility to family, (2) in courtship patterns and (3) in obtaining a marriage partner.

The findings from the interviews of the Chinese, having been "pre-coded," were assembled, compared and summarized. These summarized findings were then compared with the judgment findings of a scholar of family life in the United States to determine the likenesses and/or differences in the expectations of the youth of China and the middle class youth of the United States in regard to responsibility to the family, to the courtship pattern and to the obtaining of a marriage partner.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE RELATED TO THE CULTURAL PATTERNS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA

Background for Present Cultures

A review of the literature revealed a historical background for the customs associated with courtship and marriage. Many of the customs developed in Greece, Rome and Egypt but are easily recognized as being part of the common practices of today. However, with regard to obtaining a mate, Leggett (26:257) wrote that "Uncivilized man originated no courtship or wedding customs that have survived." The world of the uncivilized man was relatively unorganized. The discussion in the following section summarizes the major stages of mate selection.

Stages of Mate Selection.

In prehistoric times, the "selection of a mate did not involve courtship, for allelements of affection were missing from this almost savage affair." (26:257). And it must have been savage when primitive man, almost with animal ferocity, "competed with fellow tribesmen for such essentials as food, shelter and a mate." (26:257). Here capture is seen as a means of obtaining a mate and she was more valuable if stolen from a hostile tribe because she was a trophy for his courage and ability. It was a far greater honor to be joined to such a woman than to one of his own friendly tribe.

Leggett further suggested, "By having very little to say about the proceedings, the prospective wife may have unconsciously established

the modern standard which frowns upon a lady taking the initial step in courtship." (26:257).

Later in the history of mankind the wife was obtained by purchase and at one time or another this practice was common with almost every race. Prices and bids varied in proportion to youth, charm, health and social rank of the family. Experienced widows commanded but a fraction of the bride price demanded for single maidens. The word "wedding" has its origin in marriage by purchase.

Marriage by mutual consent gradually replaced earlier customs but it was not until the eighth century that women gained the right to accept or reject a life partner. This new procedure introduced courtship approximately as it is practiced today. . . . The rare early instances of marriage for love occurred mainly in Greece and Rome, where it was generally believed that because their position in the social structure was less secure, women required more affection than men. (26:315).

By way of summary one might say as Leggett said:

From early historic times to Medieval Era in Western Europe man successively stole, purchased or courted his future mate and unconsciously introduced customs which are still retained in modern courtship technique. (26:315).

The most ancient practices for men to attract favorable feminine attention included tatoos, magic, and impromptu exhibitions of fighting, wrestling, running and hunting. Hunting was the skill most emphasized because it meant the male showed good signs of being a family provider, this being a desired characteristic of a husband.

Origin of Some Present Customs.

Some of the traditional customs developed in the history of the Western world that are associated with the present courtship and marriage customs include the giving of the engagement ring which was developed first in Rome and was

to typify a marriage that later would unite two persons. . . . Even today when such a gift as an engagement ring is accepted by a woman an impression abides in the subconscious minds of both parties to the agreement and of their friends that as long as she wears his ring "she belongs to him." . . . To the Egyptians, the circle represented eternity. (26:316).

Rings were used at weddings as early as the ninth century among Christian nations of Western Europe. It was

. . . during the reign of Queen Mary in England that many couples settled upon a plain band of gold. . . . With few exceptions this type of wedding ring has been used in Western Europe and America for gold symbolizes noble and durable affection. (26:316).

As a gift the modern diamond engagement ring "promised happiness and love during life together" but it also was a pledge and originated in Greece.

The Hebrews were the first to dress brides in white which was emblematic of purity but it was the Roman brides that believed "that orange blossoms symbolized lasting marital happiness." (26:336).

"The throwing of rice on the bridal pair by people of the Near East was to symbolize a fruitful union." (26:336).

The custom of kissing the bride was symbolic of loyalty. . . . An early instance of the kiss as evidence of love is recorded in the seventh century by Leybard of Tours when he advised betrothed men to "give a ring, a kiss and a pair of shoes to your lady, the ring to forever bind you together, the kiss to show your enduring loyalty and the shoes to show subjection to her wishes." (26:336).

With regard to the marriage ceremony, Leggett (26) continues:

Throughout successive centuries the marriage ceremony has seldom lost its religious character. At first it took the form of a simple blessing by a local priest at the doors of a parish church, but in 1563, by order of the Council of Trent, the celebration of marriage at the altar of a church became binding upon all, whether royalty or serf. Any marriage without the blessings of the Church, while legally valid because, as today, it was also a civil contract, was looked upon as somewhat irregular. Thus did Christianity deal a mortal blow to marriage by capture and by purchase. Yet many shreds of those ancient customs still persist, for instinctive traits are largely primitive and have become a heritage from ancient days which were both romantic and colorful. (26:336).

Thus, one can observe how in the historical past many customs of early origin have contributed to the mate selection, courtship and marriage

customs of the present day.

Custom, Culture and Society Defined.

What are customs? Dollard (10) refers to Sumner in indicating "that custom can be viewed from a societal standpoint, quite different from the passive perception of the culturalist." He divides custom into folkways and mores; the first referring to "a habitual way of group action" while mores are ". . . highly sanctioned customs of the group--those customs which are viewed as essential to group survival and which individuals have no option of accepting or rejecting."

Tylor (34) stated:

Culture, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society.

Dollard (10:50 ff.) writes: "Culture is the name given to these abstracted (from men) intercorrelated customs of a social group."

Ellwood (12) described culture as consisting of "behavior patterns socially acquired and socially transmitted," or "acquired activity complexes handed down by tradition from generation to generation in human groups."

Alpert (2:64 ff.) stated that man acquired or "inherits" his biological self from his parents but from society

. . . he [man] acquires through the social process of education and habitation, his social nature: his culture, his values--in short his civilization. Culture, however, is not a biological part of man. It is a post-natal imposition upon his biological organism--that is the real meaning of its being socially inherited.

One may say society refers to "people" and "pattern" is descriptive of culture.

Dollard (10:50 ff.) reported that:

. . . studies of different societies show that each mode of life is

adequate in its way, is fondly viewed and firmly held by its participants, and that cultural chauvinism is the rule among societies.

In Ellwood's (12) words:

Culture determines the form of human relations and human group behavior. For example, family life may be found among the brutes far below man; but family life in all human groups of which we have knowledge has not only been modified by culture but dominated by culture. . . . Courtship in all human groups is controlled by the culture of the group . . . the peculiar direction and characteristics of human mobs are the result of the culture of human groups.

Culture may be diffused (Blackmar, 4:503 ff.).

. . . by borrowing of the pattern followed by imitation and changed to suit new conditions, by borrowing the idea or mental suggestion to be worked out in a new plan or program to meet the demands of the culture state of the borrowing tribe or group.

Thus it would seem that the term custom refers to the traditional pattern or habitual way of doing a certain thing while culture refers to all those certain customs held to by a certain group of people and within that group the people are expected to function accordingly.

The Chinese Culture

Pre-History.

Before the dawn of Chinese history, the mode of making the living changed from food gathering to hunting and fishing which had been prevalent during the Old Stone Age to agriculture and cattle breeding in the New Stone Age. During this age, the people improved their methods in agriculture and pottery-making when they changed from the hoe to the primitive plow and the potters wheel. Socially, the position of women was relatively higher in the food gathering period than it was during the hunting and fishing era. It was again higher in the early agricultural and pottery making period when these pursuits were in the hands of women than after men took the plough and the potters wheel. Lang(24:328) reported

that "The basic social unit at the end of the New Stone Age was evidently the matrilineal [mother dominated] clan; the clans were united into tribes."

Beginning of Chinese History.

Town life with feudal lords or chieftains and peasants and a small group of artisans and merchants making up the population began to develop early in the second millennium B. C. in China.

Lang (24) continues:

The country was unified under the rule of kings . . . (and in the upper class at least) the basic social unit was the patrilineal clan with fraternal succession. Clan endogamy was common although not obligatory. Polygyny was an accepted form of marriage . . . ancestor worship assumed an important part in the religious and cultural life.

Women's position was still relatively high.

Late Feudal Period.

During the next thousand years irrigation helped to develop agriculture; the feudal form of social organization became more elaborate with the rise of nobility; Chinese peasants were bound to the soil and certain rules prescribing patterns of dress, modes of life and behavior were developed for each class.

"The family organization at this time was patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal," wrote Lang (24) especially among the nobles. The basic social unit moved from the patrilineal clan to the joint family; however, the first lingered longer in the peasant class. Family position in the feudal hierarchy designated the number of ancestors to be worshiped but the peasants were not allowed the privilege of having such temples or of worshipping. "Paternal authority stood high in all classes of population." (24:330).

Father-son relations were strained in the upper class while children were endowed with love among the peasants. A form¹ of polygyny was common in the upper class and the sexual mores were more formalized than among the peasants. Women's position was still relatively high.

Imperial China.

Geographically, China expanded. Centered on cultivation and irrigation of the rice crop, her agriculture production improved.

Socially and politically, Lang (24) said, "After many fights and relapses into feudal chaos, the feudal organization was superseded by a centralized bureaucratic monarchy," but the learned civil official, instead of the feudal knight was the ruler of the country and the peasant remained the producers. However, some social mobility between classes existed--more peasants became merchants, it was possible to move from one occupation or social class to another and the lower classes could copy the mannerisms (dress, customs, behavior, attitudes) of the upper class.

As a whole, the pattern of family organization followed that of the upper class in the feudal period but the patriarchal family was the emerging pattern of this period. It still persists especially among tradition-bound people.

The family was the basic social unit. Family ties were powerful; "The relationship of the family to its extended kin and clan were very close." (24:331).

The term "family"

. . . refers to the economic family--a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget

¹"When marrying, the man took his wife's sisters and sometimes nieces as secondary wives." (24:330).

and common property. Both the persons staying together and those temporarily with the family are members of the household but not of the family. After family divisions, parents and children, brothers and other relatives cease to be members of the same family. (24:13).

Joint families were more prevalent among the upper classes, with more conjugal and stem families in the lower classes. The conjugal family is the biological, natural nuclear or small family and consists of man, wife or wives and children, but it also includes childless couples, families consisting of uncles or aunts with nephews or nieces, of unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons and even married brothers and sisters, single persons and even married brothers or sisters of the father.

Parents, their unmarried children and one married son with wife and children make up the "stem" family while the joint family includes parents, their unmarried children, their married sons and sons' wives and children and sometimes a fourth or fifth generation.

The father, staying with his married sons, is the head in one form of the joint family, while in the other form, it is usually the eldest brother who presides over his married and unmarried brothers with their wives and children and sometimes other relatives. This is the composition of the "large family" or the "greater family."

It is not uncommon for the married sons to break away from the joint family; however, one of the sons, with his wife and children, was required to remain with his parents until they died; thus, the members of the Chinese family were insured against many misfortunes of life because they were given assistance and care. According to Cheng(7:57) "A man should serve his father as he would expect his own son to serve him."

Lang (24) refers to the joint family as the possible normal unit in China but adds: "The end of feudalism was accompanied by the disintegration of the joint family." Yet new families continued to observe the old

forms (not abolished by the first imperial governments) because it seemed unthinkable to leave parents alone. Later, however, (from the T'ang to the Ch'eng--Manchu--dynasty) joint families were encouraged, family divisions were opposed but allowable during the father's lifetime if he agreed to it.

Were these large families of the Chinese predominate or were they only a myth?

It was pointed out that

. . . the Chinese large family is not a myth, but its tendency is inherent in the social organization which expresses itself as soon as the economic foundation of the family makes such an expression practical. . . . The predominate picture which this "land of the large families" presents to investigators is a small joint family of about five. (18:55 ff.).

The family may grow large or small depending upon how well the family adjusts, and the degree of the never-ending potential of disharmony, between in-laws, which may cause family disorganization. (18).

On the other hand Cheng (7) pointed out that familism in agricultural China meant economic power and "it was on this basis that they considered it the acme of good fortune to have five generations under one roof."

H. T. Fei is quoted by Hsu (18) as saying:

Group work yields no more than the sum total of individual effort. It also does not increase the efficiency very much. Present technology has fixed the amount of labour required by the size of the land. Thus we have approximately identical figures for the amount of land which can be cultivated by each worker. This fact has far-reaching influence on land tenure, on the scattered system of farms, on the frequency of family division and on the small size of the household.

Quoting J. L. Buck, Hsu (18) says:

Each succeeding generation of sons, upon inheriting land from their fathers, can testify to a size of holding diminishing with each redivision. The result is a farm smaller than the best economic unit for profits.

Lang (24) upholds the typical family size and adds:

There are convincing indications, however, that in imperial China the type and size of the family differed widely according to economic

position. (24:16).

Bearing this out Fei in Peasant Life in China (p. 34) is quoted by Hsu (18) as saying:

Since population control is considered as a precaution against poverty, families with comparatively large estates are free to have more children. They are proud of their numerous children and these are taken as a sign of their wealth in the eyes of the people.

But then Hsu (18:561) says

. . . in a poor family the husband-wife relationship has a greater chance over the father-son relationship, so that the struggle is made harder and the family breaks up sooner. Under such conditions the difficulty of living together is easily aggravated by poverty and often over-shadows the wisdom making for closer economic co-operation, so that the more a family needs to keep the land intact the more it tends to divide.

Parents do not like to give their daughters to a poor family and it is hard for a poor family to secure a wife for their son. In a poor family, if the daughter-in-law chose to run away or to kill herself, the loss to the family and especially to the husband was great. He may have to go for the rest of his life a widower and without a natural heir. It was therefore in the interest of the husband that he should side with his wife. When he would do so, the larger family would break up, reducing the land owned to an amount below the best economic unit for profits.

The fact is that if the same situation happened in a rich family "there will be others to take her place" so at any cost the wife would conform to the rules of the family in order not to impair its prestige and must be content with the patriarchal organization, submitting to her husband and parents-in-law. Even in her struggle and unhappiness, she stood no chance for attention because in a rich family concubinage was permissible. Thus, a husband was more likely to side with his mother than with his wife for he had nothing to gain or lose from his formal wife who could not leave him nor say anything.

In this land of familism, the "Wu Tien" or "the five canons" was the regulating factor "between sovereign and subject, father and son, elder and younger brothers, husband and wife and between friends." (7). One, of the three canons dealing with the family, emphasized filial piety or devotion to and respect for one's parents, and after ten centuries of application, it became deeply rooted in the Chinese social order. So deeply rooted, in fact, that reference (7) is made to Book II of the epoch-making document, THE CONSTITUTION OF CHOW, written around the eleventh century, B. C., wherein "it is stipulated that filial piety is the first of the six proper modes of conduct to be taught to the people and that the punishment of the unfilial is the first of the eight laws of punishment."

Filial obedience, while recognized universally, was most rigid in China where it was applied and maintained by evaluations of Confucius. "Talking back" or arguing with parents or criticizing them was not allowable for children, neither did children oppose when parents refused to accept the younger's view points.

Obedience was not the only characteristic of filial piety. The Chinese people were also to serve, honor and respect their parents even before themselves or their wife or children. While parents were alive a good son stayed close by; he strictly followed in the footsteps of his parents and offered revenge to anyone who harmed them. (18). In short, the rule was "When the parents are alive, serve them with propriety; and sacrifice to them according to propriety." (7:51).

Perhaps the following was descriptive of the social education which was taught people from early childhood to give "a proper understanding of their respective social positions together with their various relationships and duties."

Propriety was a process of social education by which the people were taught to know that to be righteous and benevolent, "the father should be affectionate, the son should be filial, the elder brother should be kindly, the younger brother should be devoted, the husband should be loving, the wife should be submissive, the aged should be gracious, the young should be reverent, the friend should be sincere." (7).

Parental authority, of course, had to be exercised in the interest of the family but their love was also important. Parents regarded children as somewhat of an insurance in their old age.

For the Chinese, three things, at least, deserve mention as being unfilial: "to be without posterity, to encourage parents in unrighteousness, and to desist from giving them succour in their poverty and old age." (7:51). The greatest offense was the first.

Devotedness of a younger brother to his elder brother was the second principle of familism.

The third principle was the one under which it was the rule that when a woman was married, she went to live with her husband in the family of his parents. The proper attitude for the bride was as follows: "She was expected to serve him, obey his orders, and not to thwart his wishes." (7:52).

Chinese women were to be "virtuous, gentle, submissive, chaste, quiet, peace-loving and without tears of rage or hatred." (7:52). But her healthiest and most important reverence was to be toward the parents-in-law whom she must constantly serve with "all human care, courtesy, and respect."

It was not uncommon for a woman to be given instruction in the duties and expectations of a wife before she might enter the house as a daughter-in-law. The training period might be for as long as three months.

Concubinage in China, however evil, was traditionally indispensable because nothing could be more disastrous than to have no male offspring

to carry on the family name. The number of concubines a man could have depended on his financial and class status, his position in the family, his age and the circumstances. For example:

Therefore, a man was justified to take a concubine or concubines if his wife failed to give birth to a son . . . the eldest son of the family is entitled to a maximum quota of three concubines. But he shall not have his first concubine until he is without a male heir at the age of thirty. If upon reaching the age of thirty-five, he still has no male heir, he can, then have the rest of his quota of concubines. Other sons of the family shall wait until they are without a male heir at the age of forty before they can take their allotted number of one concubine. (7).

In regard to the family,

. . . all its members were assigned to their proper positions for the purpose of facilitating the maintenance of domestic harmony. . . . Attached to their respective positions were their respective rights and duties. (7).

These rights and duties, however, may change as the status of the individual changed by age, ability, marriage and/or social practices.

Theoretically, the family was controlled as one functioning unit with father vested with all power. It is interesting to note that while father was expected to earn a living for the family and to hold its honor, that the mother was the center of Chinese domestic life. It was she who decided when and where children should begin their education and she managed the household and directed the social relations and ceremonies with regard to births, marriage and death.

This quotation bears out the above fact:

For generations our family have been tea merchants. Officially my grandfather is head of the house but actually grandma's ways are much more effective. Grandma is a capable, healthy woman of seventy. Her slogan for running the household is "no scandal" which means that everything must go smoothly and everybody must fit in with her scheme. She cannot read or write, but with a sharp insight she does not miss anything going on in the house. (8:600).

The relationship of the father and son was considered the most important; however, conflicts occurred and usually had a sexual basis,

especially in the class of the nobility.

The system of concubinage prevailing among the nobles tended to create the father-son rivalry . . . as feudal lords often took their wives' sisters and nieces as concubines, thus including women belonging to the generation of their sons among their sexual objects.

Wrote Lang (24:27) "Sons, too, often approached their father's concubines."

According to the customs and laws, which were dampened with Confucianism, the head of the family was the eldest male and he being father, husband and head of the family, was "all authority." He officiated in worship, marriage and the funeral ceremonies; held the title to all property, earnings and savings; settled the marriages of his children and signed the marriage contracts. But he could not sell the land, disinherit his sons (property had to be divided equally among the sons) or exercise absolute power over the life and death of his children though it should be noted that the life of a newborn baby was in the hands of the father. It is also noted that a son's attitude toward his father was one of fear yet paternal authority was too strong for him to resist especially if he were filial.

On the other hand it was said that mothers expressed the greater love for the children in a patriarchal family. The mother symbolized kindness; the father, dignity and sternness and through these feelings the father loved the worthy among them and dealt with all in honor rather than affection while the mother pitied the unworthy and loved them all. The mother occupied the first place in the son's heart; their relationship was of warmth and understanding and mutual love. "Laws, customs and morals encouraged him not to hide his feelings as unworthy of a man but to display them," wrote Lang (24:29).

The mother's position after her husband's death was relatively strong;

however, she rarely achieved a place of real dominance in the family because a son, or an appointed person, would carry on. The devotion of her children offered her the greatest reward.

Not much is said regarding the father-daughter relationship except that it portrayed the ideal of respect and tender love.

Like in other parts of the world, Chinese women of this period in history were excluded from the professions. Socially, women were dominated by men. The occupations open to them were concerned with procreation and sexual life: women were prostitutes, matchmakers, procuresses, midwives or nuns and, in few cases, artists, writers or scholars. Pay for the latter three professions was very small, however. At home women in the peasant class spent a busy day because the main tasks of making silk and caring for the small domestic animals were theirs.

"The woman's world is her home," "women should not sit together with men, or peep outside the walls, or go to outer apartments" and "when going out they should cover their faces and look around with circumspection" were factors which regulated their actions. (24).

Legally, a woman had no rights, even when the family estate was divided; she did not inherit her husband's property; her own earnings were put in the family account for the husband to dispose of (this bound the children more closely to the father) and, actually, she was, in the poorer classes, the property of her husband. Though forbidden by law, fathers could sell the young girls to become slaves, concubines or prostitutes; husbands could sell their concubines or pawn or sell their wives for temporary or permanent marriages to other men. (24).

Foot binding was to keep the feet small for esthetic purposes but for social purposes it "kept women at home, made them safer, less movable

property" (24:46); moreover "A pair of big unbound feet would have completely ruined this perfect harmony of line" was the reference made to this practice as a characteristic of sex appeal. It was also supposed to help characterize virtue because with bound feet, a girl did not leave her apartment and when she did, she would be carried in a curtained chair. It would also "restrain the women when they go out doors."

To be born a girl was no asset to the individual nor to the family. She was a bad economic and emotional investment and, especially in the poorer classes, was often a victim of infanticide. In the rich classes, however, girls were reared with care but not in equality with boys.

A girl was taught to help the mother in the household and she was prepared to be an obedient wife and submissive daughter-in-law. Social education defined the status of the female. Cheng (7) wrote:

. . . her status was determined not only by age, but also by her ability to help increase the male population of the family. In her relationship with men, a woman's status changed in the following order: Before marriage, she followed and obeyed her father and older brothers; when married, she followed and obeyed her husband, and after her husband's death, she followed her sons.

Formal education for a girl was deemed unnecessary and often was regarded as harmful as was pointed out in "A woman too well educated is apt to create trouble" and "A woman without talents is virtuous." This attitude was quite common even in the upper classes.

The rule that boys and girls were not to meet and fall in love was much more strictly enforced for girls than for boys who could satisfy their desire for love and companionship with prostitutes and concubines.

How, then, did a man obtain a wife in China? Lang (24) described the customary procedure as it was evolved and set up by old men who were influenced by Confucianism. It was set up by old men because the oldest and most prominent men, functioning as a council, were the law makers and

law enforcers when it came to solving and interpreting outside problems. Under this procedure, Confucius paid little attention to love; he stamped out previous signs of it and with it went the beautiful love songs celebrating courtship, love and love matches of the feudal times.

Marriage, minus romance, was for such family interests as gaining prestige or money or for maintaining the family name. "Personal affection of the bride and groom for each other was considered not only unnecessary but harmful." "Decent young people did not meet each other until after their marriage." (24:32). For, according to Mencius, quoted by Lang (p.24)

If the young people, without waiting for the orders of their parents and the arrangements of the go-between, shall bore holes (in the fence) to steal a sight of each other, or get over the wall to be with each other, then their parents and other people will despise them.

Yet, people did fall in love or were attracted to each other. Sages or rules cannot manage feelings or emotions and Old Chinese fiction portrays this: "Love . . . is sexual love." (24:34). The fact that boys and girls go to bed as soon as they meet is reflected in stories.

Lang wrote:

The parents evidently knew that such consequences were inevitable and tried to forestall them by forbidding their girls to meet boys.

Marriage, nevertheless, was arranged for by the conspicuous authority of the parents whose family performed the act. "According to law, marriage was a legal contract conducted by the heads of the bride's and groom's families." (24:35). Only the heads signed the contracts and, significantly enough, if the marriage was contracted contrary to law the contract signers were held responsible.

Law enters again when the government required that parents provide their sons and daughters with mates as soon as they reached marriagable age which was 16 for men and 14 for women. Betrothals of children, however,

though unlawful, and of unborn infants were not uncommon.

Rules of clan exogamy were to be exercised in selecting a mate--but a cousin could be picked so long as the surnames were not alike. Of course, marriage to a person of equal or higher social status was preferred and in many cases the procedure was comparable to the purchase plan.

Since marriage was a matter of business, matchmakers, the middleman in bureaucratic China, were a necessity. (Incidentally, his participation relieved the parties concerned of some responsibilities.)

The procedure followed this pattern. The matchmaker, taking gifts, would go to the girl's house. If her parents agree, they kept the gift and sent back a card of eight characters giving personal data about her such as the day, month, and year of birth. These data were compared, by a specialist, with the boy's. For example: "A fire symbol in the girl's name would burn the wood symbol in the boy's name; but earth or water [symbol] would be favorable to wood." (24:38). Later, studies would be conducted regarding appearance and disposition and the combined information was to have influence on the possible harmony of the match. The resulting factors, however, were often waived to suit the parents.

The next step was the sending of a wild goose and a roll of silk (a symbol of engagement similar to the giving of the ring) and, often, definite sums of money to be used in clothing the bride but more often accepted for the family to use as "payment for the purchase."

The binding betrothal contract was signed and the date set for the "Red Affair." Red signified joy and happiness and so the bride, clad in a red dress and headgear, was taken by a red sedan chair, which was sent to her home, to her husband's house. Thus, after the prescribed ritual had been observed, the marriage was legal. (24).

Her role now was that of a wife and daughter-in-law and the latter is the most important functioning area, for, if she cannot bear a son or husband-wife relations are formalized, a concubine will solve the problem.

China is Changing.

China, however, is changing slowly. "It is no longer the country where the old man reigns supreme.(24:337). The education of upper class youth has endowed them with modern ideas that portray the desire for freedom in choice of friends, a profession and a mate but above all "to participate in decisions concerning the fate of their country." (24:339).

The conflict in ideas usually closes with a compromise and as a result modern women have attained a far higher position in the family than ever before. Likewise, the family ideas are altering, as Lang (24:224) wrote:

A concubine in modern families causes more discord than in old-fashioned families . . . resented by old fashioned wives--how much more so with modern education. This is especially true when a wife selected by the husband himself, a wife expecting love, companionship and happiness, is confronted with a concubine.

Of the later years, Lang (24:343) offered this:

Through the difficulties of the period of maladjustment and crises (war, etc.) a new pattern of family life has begun to emerge, which is certainly brighter than the old pattern.

Then in a footnote:

As far as we can learn, family life in the Soviet districts seems to present the new feature . . . more prominently than the rest of China. The women have achieved greater equality than elsewhere in China. Modern marriage has become a rule among the leading strata of Soviet society and is spreading rapidly, and monogamy has made great progress. The stress put by Soviet laws on the rights of the children, and the numerous children's and youth organizations participating in the life of the community, have improved the status of youth and children in the family.²

²Footnote referred to bibliography: Gunther Stein, The Challenge of Red China (New York, 1945, pp. 248-250.)

Contact with China has been limited by political forces in recent years so that the extent of such changes are unknown. A limited number of students, perhaps selected for their loyalty to the present political regime have been allowed to study in the United States. It is from these students that the investigator obtained documentation for the generalizations made in the literature.

The American Culture

The United States has democracy as its form of government. Democracy endows people with certain freedoms. Included in these freedoms is the freedom to express feelings without fear of punishment for having differed in opinion. Since this is the basic principle behind government, it follows naturally that a belief in individual freedom in marriage and choice of a mate would constitute a high value.

To support this belief, Opler (31:28ff.) cited the following:

. . . in our heterogenous modern society, choices . . . of religion or doubt, of kind of work of type of love . . . face the girl from the moment she reaches a thinking age. She can choose not only whom she will love, but whether she will love in or out of wedlock, one or many. She can choose love without marriage, marriage without children; she may be tempted occasionally to choose children without marriage.³

Divorce, too, is available for choice.

The Marriage System.

The basic characteristic of the American marriage system is that it is monogamous. Monogamy is the goal for the majority of the adults; however, the legal codes permit a termination of the marriage if certain legal specifications are met.

³From Margaret Mead: "Adolescence in Primitive and Modern Society." The New Generation. 169-188.

Within this system the American family is semi-patriarchal since it is the contention "that we are still in transition from a patriarchal pattern to an equalitarian relationship between husbands and wives." (27:30). However, the transition to the equalitarian system is rapidly progressing, especially through the middle class families from which many of the college students come.

Some of the male-centered survivals include:

- a. The woman's marriage vow may include "love, honor and obey."
- b. The family residence is where husband's work is.
- c. The married couple takes the surname of the man.
- d. The man initiates courtship.
- e. The woman gives up her job to bear children.
- f. The "double standard" sexual code. A man may enjoy greater sexual freedom than a woman without society frowning.

The American marriage system is a very romantic type. "In a sense, love is the dominant theme of our culture" and because "it is the core of the Christian system of values," it appears that "America seems to be in love with love." (27:33).

The American courtship system puts young people on their own. The unusual freedom of the system lies in the fact that parents have so much faith in young people and that the system demands

. . . at a relatively early age a degree of self control which many societies . . . would consider impossible or dangerous. . . . This freedom from immediate supervision in dating is in line with another basic feature of our marriage system: the final responsibility for choice of marital partner rests upon the slender shoulders of the young persons themselves. (27:370).

After marriage, the new couple is expected to live by themselves, whether their first home be mansion, apartment, dwelling, trailer or tent.

Parents play their expected roles best when ". . . they stand by, prepared to help if the youngster gets into a 'jam' but it is taboo to force help on the young person, or couple; they must request the aid." (27:38).

The American courtship system does not permit concubinage nor does it consent to a man's having a "mistress" as was the custom in earlier days, however rich a man might be.

"In the United States, we expect husbands and wives to be sexually faithful." (27:38). Some studies show that sexual disloyalty exists; nevertheless, it is against designated expectations.

A woman's failure to bear a son or children is not grounds for concubinage or a divorce, moreover it is realized the failure to conceive a male embryo is known to be dependent upon the absence of the "Y" chromosome in the sperm cell of the husband. Sterility, on the other hand, may be the result of several factors either in the male or female or in both partners. Such scientific information, regarding the dual nature of parenting has contributed to equalitarian marriages. Too, as women have gained privileges in the economic system, they have worked outside the home.

Courtship and Youth.

Though Americans deny class distinction, Hollingshead (17) found it evident. This "social standing" is not especially an inherited prestige but is based on both "old family tradition" and on wealth. Thus,

. . . the family sets the stage upon which the adolescent is expected, if not compelled by subtle processes and techniques, to play out his role in the developmental tasks he faces in the transition from child to adult. As he moves into the community, he carries his family's station in prestige structure with him. (17:159)

This structure also regulates the duties expected of the young person. His life may be one of leisure if his family is wealthy. He may have a

paper route or some other small job to earn his spending money or help with necessities if his family earns a wage living. The lower the family income, the more work the youth may have to do; the more he works the less he is in school; and consequently, the earlier he becomes recognized as an adult in society. (17).

"Another notable feature of the American family," reports Anshen(3:165) "is its peculiarly non-authoritarian character." This leaves little room for the "spare the rod and spoil the child" and "a child should be seen and not heard" adages, for even in immigrant groups whose tradition is father rule, such ideas have been dispensed with. In the United States, the mother is the chief agent in

. . . bringing up her children; here the father's opinions are something the children are likely to play off against the mother's, to their own advantage, rather than a court of lasting authority from which there is no appeal . . . they take the noisy center of the stage. (3:165).

Yet in all this "laxity" of discipline, a child is expected early to "know right from wrong," to "act upon his own" and to "be a responsible moral agent." These are factors in which he is given "great latitude in which to prove that he can manage his little affairs by himself." Gradually, "participation in the culture brings the maturing person into contact sooner or later with almost every aspect of social life in a community." (17:148).

The American culture has few definitions or borderlines dividing adolescence from adulthood but in this period of belonging to neither, the maturing person works out the extremely important developmental tasks of freeing himself from his family, making heterosexual adjustments, selecting a vocation, gaining an education, and establishing a home of his own. (17)

According to Anshen (3:165-168);

All this lack of authoritarianism in American families goes well with the values that are chiefly sought after in this country. No strong father image is compatible with our politics or our economics. We seek the opportunity to prove that we are as good as the next person, and we do not find comfort in following an authoritarian voice--in the state or in the home, from the land owner or the priest--which will issue a command from on high.

The American child learns to measure himself against Johnny next door, or against Mildred whose mother our mother knows in church, and this prepares equalitarian ideals. Again, the American child does not learn the necessity of submitting to unquestioned commands as the children of many countries do. The family in the United States has become democratic.

The harnessing of physical energy and the development of mechanical techniques, along with the increased life expectancy, have lessened man's work, causing society to turn from the direct dependence on the adolescent in the process of production. Corresponding with this is the loss of the attitude that a family rear children to till the soil to enhance the financial standing of the family or to perpetuate the family line.

In the United States, children are wanted and planned for, "whether as company in the home or to show our friends we can have them. It is a privileged phase of parenthood . . . but with us it is based on choice."(3:168). Parents take the responsibility of children providing adequate means for their physical and mental growth and emotional stability with basic roots in the home and family environment.

Girls are treated equal to boys so far as rights and privileges go. It is expected that parents will provide food, clothing, shelter, education, medical attention and any other need as well as an opportunity for cultural advantages. A girl is restricted in few professions. With education and a job, she is independent from parental support. She is free to choose her future and may look forward to marriage or a career or

both instead of looking forward only to marriage for survival and support.

"Courtship may be defined as the process by which the individual moves from the single status of the adolescent to the married status of the adult." (27:70). This term includes all dating and refers to "patterns of behavior," normative (group enforced), permissive or optional. "We take the position that ALL dating experience is essentially preparation for marriage." (27:70). However, we must realize that as our other basic social cultures change, courtship will be influenced.

Growth is measured in stages or periods and with it are behavior patterns:

The period from adolescence to marriage and the assumption of full adult responsibilities is featured by a distinctive set of behavior patterns which have attracted a great deal of public attention under the heading of "teen-agers," "bobby-soxers" and the like. (3:193ff.).

It is not entirely a stage of approximation to adult behavior; it is characterized primarily by irresponsibility and a compulsive conformity with an attitudinal bend toward the goal of having a good time.

All this, however, relates to the social structure of the family.

Our family system places the child in a position where his security depends on an intense emotional relationship to a few people, notably the mother; but at the same time it requires him to break these ties to a large extent in setting up his own independent family and to do so on the basis of emotional attraction to a marriage partner. (3:193ff.).

This element of revolt from family dependence to an assertion of independence may be interpreted as a means of achieving necessary emotional independence or a "trial and error" method of trying one's own wings. Yet, . . . the need for dependence is very great and cannot be satisfied within the family circle so it tends to be transferred to group of their age peers. To "belong," to be identified with a group is one of the most basic needs at this stage. (3:197).

So, young people are a partner of a "clique." Hollingshead (17:204) said:

The persistent relationship between a few boys or a few girls which

carries over from one activity to another throughout the day, and day after day, is the most obvious thing about the behavior pattern. . . . These small, informal groups, which we shall call "cliques" consume most of the interest, time and activities of the adolescent. . . . The clique relationship exists only through the social relations the members of a clique maintain with each other. . . .

A clique comes into existence when two or more persons are related one to another in an intimate fellowship that involves "going places and doing things" together, a mutual exchange of ideas, and the acceptance of each personality by the others. . . .

Relations with the opposite sex, with adults, and with young people outside the clique are discussed and decisions reached on the action to be taken by the clique. . . .

The impact of clique controls on the adolescent produces a sense of his personal importance in his relations with other members, as well as with persons outside the clique, for the clique has a powerful emotional influence on him which he tends to carry over into outside social relations, using it to bolster his own conception of himself. . . . It is a powerful influence in the life of the person from its formation in the pre-adolescent years until it is dissolved by the development of the dating pattern.

But it is during these "growing up" stages and changes that boys begin to notice girls; hence a boy tries improving himself and a girl (and her parents) works on her physical attractiveness, manners and grooming. Why? Because the American system is competitive, just as is the American economic system. "In a very real sense, Americans prepare their sons and daughters for the courtship market." (27:75). Clothes, a car, money, manners, invitations, physical aspects and the family social standing all count a great deal in the lives of young people. However, most of the choice in dating and in marriage is the young man's. Perhaps it is in the upper class (where financial status is inherited) that the family influences the choice of company or mate for its children.(17:14).

In such a system there are no "cut and dried" rules; society presses the moral issue, but "all is fair in love and war" so one may date whom he chooses, for as long as he chooses or he may date at random. We may expect some confusion, some "hurts," physically, emotionally or both but

that may be the price one pays for freedom.

In the American romantic courtship system, the basic features of the "romantic complex" are these:

- A. Love precedes marriage rather than develops after marriage (as the early American colonists believed it would).
- B. Love (personal compatibility) is the only justification for getting married. This rules out money, convenience, or parental wishes as justification. (27:82).

Based on these features, the importance of a "graduated or progressive series of stages--group dating, random dating, going steady, pinned, engagement and marriage"(27:82) in the pattern can be seen. It is in the associations, the experiences, the attitudes, as well as in the growing and maturing from one stage to another that culminates in the choice of a mate.

Summary of the Literature

China has a relatively low economic status affected, no doubt, by wars and her constant cleavage to tradition which gave no outlet for initiative. Individuals did not dare to oppose or suggest a change.

China's people live by Confucian-inflicted rules set up by old men (older men who were heads of households were "law" council members) and enforced by law or tradition. The "five canons" were influential in these rules. Therefore, to show opposition to them was to be unfilial, a characteristic carrying the greatest punishment.

In China the patriarchal family, portraying familism, was headed by the eldest man or an appointed talented son to conduct the business, contract for marriages and perform ceremonies of marriages and burials. The man's wife, likewise, ruled and ran the household and the daughters-in-law whose first duty was to her husband's mother rather than to her

own husband. The wife's important family expectation was to produce a son but, if she did not, the husband was entitled to take a concubine.

There was no romance in marriage except by chance; marriage was a business deal contracted for by parents of the two through a matchmaker. Thus, betrothals and marriages were cited for enhancing a family's social status if possible.

On the other hand, the United States is characterized by a democratic government in which people live and interact with a great deal of freedom. Freedom is precious and it is by this factor that people in the United States can express their viewpoints and choose their friends, their profession or their marriage mate.

The American courtship system gives one the opportunity to date at random, go steady, become engaged and, on mutual consent, marry the person one chooses because "they are in love," whether either may have two cents or a dime with which to enhance the prestige of the other's parents.

In short, the United States exemplifies a romantic system within which youth are, more or less, on their own to handle privileges and take responsibilities. Society enforces the boundary lines.

Findings of the Summary of the Literature

Under a dictatorial government, the chance is great that the same type of government will be found in family life. The family is usually a patriarchal unit. In contrast, in a democratic form of government, the family functions more democratically, with both parents sharing authority. Generally speaking China is an example of the first; the United States of the second.

Youth of China function according to tradition or as parents or laws

tell them, while certain aspects such as filial piety regulate their thinking, thus making them dependent on society's expectations.

The United States youth are not hindered in being able to think, act and express themselves whether in line with or opposed to family tradition. One must learn to take responsibility or accept the consequences for his acts; is independent from family ties.

Marriage in China is a business deal without the love clause. Any love aspect beforehand is purely accidental on the part of the parents who arrange the deal when and as they see fit. Youth marries a picked partner.

Youth in the United States shop, meet and associate with many people and decide when and if to go steady, become engaged or marry the one preferred.

People function differently in different cultures. As a culture changes so will the people (society) react.

There is mention of a "changing China" in some areas showing a move to alter their customs.

Limitations and Suggestions Related to the Literature

Though the writer reviewed no older reference, regarding China, than 1943, it was felt the findings may conflict with what China is now.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Responsibility of Youth to Family

Introduction.

When one attempts to study the responsibility young people feel toward their families, he finds he is dealing with a complex variable. Such responsibility may vary with the culture, the individual family, the country and its government or also the century.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to investigate each culture and to limit the findings to that particular one for a designated period of time because what may be true findings of one period may not be true during another.

China at the present time has a changing culture. For purposes of demarcation the writer has designated the years before World War II (the early 1940's) as the "earlier" period and the years since World War II as "now."

Is it true that the Chinese culture demands certain responsibilities of youth toward their families? If so, what certain responsibilities? Toward whom are they directed? What outside forces may be contingent on these responsibilities? What are the responsibilities of the bride or wife, the duties of each person to the other, the responsibility of parents to married children? And, what influence does education have?

Some of the answers may vary in different geographical areas of China but interviewees were agreed on the answers that follow in the next section.

In China.

The Chinese culture does expect youth to have certain responsibilities to their families, however the responsibility and the extent of the expectation may vary in the family of today. Influencing factors would include social and economic status of a family and the family make-up. If the family is poor, the youth may have to work at home, or, if youth works for others, the money, because of need, may be given to the family. Otherwise, a youth, boy or girl, is expected to "be a good person," go to school, study hard and "make something" of oneself,¹ thus, relying on parental support. To be "good" means to have respect, loyalty and concern for one's character and for the family name. The never-forgotten responsibilities are respect for all members of the family and care of each other.

Older children are to teach younger children the codes of ethics, the duties and, in general, to "help them stand on their own feet." Younger children must respect older children.

Especially is it understood that parents and old people be cared for either by children or younger relatives. Perhaps, it was suggested, this is in payment for having been entirely supported and educated by the efforts of the parents since youth are not expected to work outside the home.

At any rate, children earlier were taught to show respect and obedience and to be faithful at home and loyal to the country. Of these three, being loyal to the country, even to death, was the most important.

Confucius' teachings included the showing of "obedience and

¹The quotations are excerpts copied directly from the schedules.

faithfulness to the king, loyalty to parents, truthfulness to friends and the having of honor in words." Characteristics of Confucian teachings exist now but his sayings are not law.

In educated families (parents), the standard of living is more modern. Education has changed ideas and methods and the environment is more comfortable so far as material things and the having of servants to help with the work are concerned. This educational factor also influences the management of the home and the position of the women. Contrary to earlier times when women were to stay at home where she learned domestic qualities and "obeyed and served" women now serve, more or less equally, with their husbands. They may also seek education and a profession, the same as men can.

Under the influence of education, children, too, have more freedom in talking with their parents, in introducing new or better methods and ideas and of exercising individuality without being disrespectful. In the older tradition the prevailing attitude was that older people were wiser and knew best because of their age and experience; therefore, young people needed to listen and obey without the slightest question.

In rural China still, and in the early days of urban China, this attitude prevailed with regard to the new wife, especially when she lived with the in-laws. She must serve that household and, in the event of a disagreement, she must withhold her feelings and suffer alone because the husband must agree with his parents or show disrespect. Again, she must suffer shame and competition of another wife if she could not bear children. The main reason that a husband could have additional wives was to have an heir. (Especially was it important to have a male heir.) The number of wives a man might have was based on his money and prestige.

In the event there were several wives, the first, or in some cases, the husband's choice, exercised some authority over the others.

In short, reported one of the subjects, a "new bride has a tough job, especially in country because she must labor for mother-in-law." A saying in China, "How many years a bride?" refers to the years she is expected to serve under her mother-in-law or, they say, "Until her son marries and she has authority over her own daughter-in-law." Thus, if she has served under a hard mother-in-law, she may even be a harder one.

There are, no doubt, exceptions especially in rural areas but now the family is basically democratic with the woman's position, because of her education, becoming quite equal to that of the man of the house. Discipline, however, may range from strict in North China to more lax in the South.

An interesting note is that now in some families, the "wife has the most power." Likewise, their activities and manner of dress have become "Americanized." This was noted to result from copying the American pattern from other people, from "Hollywood" ideals and from American films.

Again, this is quite a contrast to the earlier custom regarding the wife who, considered of lower position than man, had to walk several steps behind the husband and had all things controlled by him, or by the head of the house. It was only at night, in their room, that the wife could talk to her husband because during the day they were not to speak with each other or to show that they knew each other in the presence of parents.

The head of the house was considered to be the eldest and wisest male of the family unit living together. Usually this was the patriarchal head of the family but it could also be the eldest son, who with his family, was expected to live with and be responsible for the family duties and care of the parents. He sometimes had authority over younger brothers,

their families and other relatives. In case of death of the father, the eldest son rather than his mother inherited his duties. The lack of a woman's authority is shown in this example. If a person on business comes to a house and knocks, women do not answer, or they may answer "No one home" referring to the absence of husband or head of house who conducts the business. Not even the eldest son can function unless he has been assigned these duties. In rural areas and among less educated families, this practice of deference to the male head still exists.

In America.

In the American culture, the family is considered to be democratic, monogamous and conjugal with parents sharing in authority and position from the moment of marriage. However, again, the individual family may be patriarchal or matriarchal with discipline ranging between the strict and lax. Democratic families represent the "ideal typical"² norm, however. In some cases discipline is lax to the extent of being laissez faire and this is quite a change compared to earlier times when father had the say and "children were to be seen rather than heard."

Although youth may have had certain responsibilities in the form of work, respect and care in pioneer times expectations of them are not so great now. If work is done for pay, the money may be used for individual needs or pleasure, unless the family needs it. In earlier days, however, the earnings were expected to be given to the family. Probably the main responsibility toward the family is maintaining the respectability of the family name. Loyalty and privacy regarding family matters, in addition, were characteristic of former days. Older people were cared for by

²Ideal typical is a sociological term referring to the norm to which most middle class families aspire.

younger families or relatives much more than now when independence is emphasized. Therefore, it is not uncommon for older people to live alone.

Education is for both sexes and may be pursued as far as one wishes to go. This is different from the past in that formal education was considered more important for the male while knowledge of the domestic duties was a female's greatest requirement where preparation for life was concerned.

With education has come the possibility for a woman to choose a career from many professions open to her. Thus, education and the professions have been factors in women's emancipation from the single role of homemaker to a choice of roles inside and outside the home. Bit by bit women are achieving independence and equality with men and this factor tends to give individuality and independence to all members of the family.

Comparison.

To summarize, the family in the United States is considered to be democratic, monogamous and conjugal. Its discipline, ranging from strict to lax may be patriarchal or matriarchal in form but in either case, degrees of individuality, equality and independence are stressed for its members. Education has done much to bring this about. The responsibilities of youth are mainly to show respect for and to maintain the family name.

While the Chinese youth have these same responsibilities, they are emphasized with greater stress. Being obedient and taking care of parents in old age are the two responsibilities most expected of the children of Chinese parents. In many ways, however, the functions of

youth are becoming quite similar to those of the youth in the United States, since the family is now becoming more democratic with women's position, based on her education, achieving greater equality with men. This is quite a contrast to earlier days when only the men were educated and expected to be head of the family while women stayed at home and "served" in accordance with the family rule.

The Courtship Pattern

In China.

The courtship pattern is another aspect which must be considered relative to each culture for specific findings.

In studying China, one would find the courtship pattern of today much different than earlier. In fact, there was no such thing until more recently, because girls stayed home and were expected to be shy and obedient. Outside of family associations, they did not meet other people. Marriages and betrothals were arranged by parents. The marriage date may have been the first sight the couple had of each other. In some cases, she was apprenticed in the domestic duties in the home of her future in-laws for several months prior to marriage.

One must remember, as mentioned in the preceding section, that few girls were educated and the professions they might enter were limited almost entirely to teaching. Limited activities outside the family, likewise, limited their association with others.

With the change toward education for women and more freedom from family expectations, came the move toward individual freedom and for the position of women to be more equal with men.

The fact that boys and girls go to school together makes for group

association and choice of friends through school activities and parties. It is permissible for them to date and even to "serial date"³ but the latter is not considered in good taste if it persists. If it does, the boy is considered to be a "playboy" and a girl is considered "no good."

Perhaps the following description taken directly from the notes tells the whole story.

"Now, usual get acquainted place at school. Boy ask girl for date. But custom says she must refuse first date--must be shy. If boy is interested, he keeps asking. If she continues to go, three or four or more times, means she must like him and she probably won't go out with any other boys--kinda' understood--boy doesn't have to ask her not to go with others. Now the other girls won't go with boy, unless after couple has broken up. Girls who will go with boys already going with girl are thought no good by both boys and girls.

"Boy now take girl home to introduce and if girl goes, means good chance of engagement. Then girl takes boy home to meet her parents.

"If couple doesn't go to school and meet there, then parents have usually introduced couple."

The interviewee went on to say:

"Basic difference is that we don't go with a girl if there is no chance of marriage and if we go just for fun, considered ve-ry bad, even by parents.

"Boy and girl will talk about marriage; then go to parents--boy to his, girl to hers--and tell of desire. Then if consent is given on both sides, boy's parents go to girl's parents and propose marriage.

³Serial dating refers to a series of "going steady" dating.

"Difference [from traditional practice of parental selection of mate] is that boy and girl have made their mind first, then convince parents that they love.

"If parents are against, there's only two ways: one, couple leaves. Ve-ry bad in ancient time. Still is bad but parents usually accept couple after several years; or couple breaks up.

"Choice of these two" the interviewee explained, "depends, on whether couple has to depend on parents for a livelihood.

"A date [for wedding] is set by parents and couple, especially couple's wish is more important.

"Engagement is not considered necessary step in China. Engagement must be announced if engaged, usually in newspaper, and gifts exchanged. May or may not be ring. If ring, usually gold--diamonds not usually. Have wedding ring too, usually gold also. May have names engraved, his on her ring; hers on his ring."

In another instance, when asked whether it was expected for men to marry the first one dated, this answer was given: "No, for the men; but if he dates many, he is considered no good."

Is a woman expected to marry the first person she dates?

"We hope!" was the quick reply. "Always a good girl if she does. First love is always best and girl will always remember the first date. First date is always more important than second, third or fourth. Love dwindles with each."

Under this plan of more individuality, youth are expected to set the standards for pre-marital sex conduct and to take the resulting responsibilities for their freedoms. Perhaps the whole foundation for these standards is respect. "We think that way" said one.

Incidentally, the binding of women's feet is no longer an asset either for beauty or for bettering one's chances for marriage. The reason for binding them was "for beauty, like high heels to Americans." However, a woman with big feet by nature "cannot get husband" very easily. Others say "it help to keep women home--could not walk--had to be carried so, of course, this was only for rich people who had servants to wait on them."

In America.

Though attraction for date-choice may weigh heavily on physical aspects in America, not much depends on length of foot. In fact, in a joking way, "the bigger the foot, the better foundation for what sits on top." But this remark may be merely a way to ease the self-conscious.

Based on the democracy of the family and the independence of its members, American boys and girls exercise much free choice in the friends they have, where they go, and what they will do on dates. This process of group association, group dating, dating "steady," "serial" dating and finally becoming engaged seems to be the pattern by which youth are expected to find mates. It is through this pattern that youth are to develop individuality, experience, decision making, maturity and behavior and to learn from their peers the societal expectations of the moral code. It is noted here that respect is also a plank in the moral platform; that both men and women are expected to set the standards for pre-marital sex conduct, and to take the responsibilities resulting from exercising their freedoms. In actual practice, however, more responsibility for maintaining virginity before marriage rests more with the girls than with the boys in the United States. Studies show that "courting"⁴ is a

⁴Includes necking, kissing, petting.

part of the romantic love pattern and that the greater aggressiveness of the boys is found to have certain limits, fixed by the boys' respect for the girl and her expressed wishes.

American middle class youth date often and are expected to be popular with their peers. It would seem that parents actively promote popularity of their children. Society expects a boy to ask for a date. He may ask whomever he wishes to date but it is a girl's privilege to accept or to refuse. Thus, she may choose from among the males who seek her and this seeking sometimes is limited by the amount of money he can spend on her, the places he can take her and whether he has an automobile. Proximity is a factor in mate selection as well, in that young people can choose for dates only those with whom they come in contact.

In the American courtship system it is quite unusual for one to marry the first person dated; yet, "random dating"⁵ is discouraged by the folkways. Marriages are sometimes made across class lines, in violation of religious demands and against financial odds, if the young people consider themselves romantically "in love."

Random and serial dating were not so true of earlier days when transportation was slower and not so comfortable or accessible and entertainment was limited almost entirely to the home. A girl entertained her company in the parlour, usually in the presence of her family or a chaperone and it was the girl (or her parents) who provided the refreshments and entertainment, thus incurring the expenses of the evening. It was more true then that a person married the first person dated. He or she may have been chosen because of personal desire, or for his abilities in earning a living and making a home. Perhaps love was not the basic

⁵Random dating: a series of dates but seldom with the same person.

ingredient but choice of a partner was based primarily on the decision of the individual even though the choice was sometimes contrary to parental wishes. Parents did not choose the mate, they only approved or disapproved. Some children observed their wishes, others did not.

Comparison.

In short, although in earlier times of China there was no such thing as a courtship pattern because parents arranged for a marriage, the custom has now changed somewhat. Boys and girls, perhaps not so freely as the North American youth, do to some extent exercise their freedom of choice in selecting a marriage mate. This choice, however, is limited to the extent that the male is expected to make a choice but the female exercises the right to accept or to refuse the proposal. The American courtship pattern includes group association, dating, going steady, engagement and marriage. It is through these stages that youth are expected to function thereby developing in individuality, in competence, in decision making, in maturity and in conforming behavior as well as in learning the expectations of the moral code.

Selecting a Mate

The third aspect concerns the obtaining of a marriage mate in the United States and in China.

In China.

In China, it was the parents' responsibility and ambition to see that their children were married before their (parents) death. An interviewee said, "They cannot close their eye if they cannot see this happen."

Maybe this is the basis for the reasoning and arrangement of the earlier marriages either by parents directly or through a matchmaker. Of the latter way of obtaining a mate the following excerpt is descriptive:

"When boy's parents think it time for him to marry, they find matchmaker, give her conditions and expectations of girl wanted. She find girl to conform.

"First consideration is not girl's beauty but status of her family; second, is ability of girl in home duties. Matchmaker look around; gets picture and data of two or three girls. Data is more important, includes such items as age, where and when born. This is match with boy's. Is no good for boy to be six years older than girl⁶ but is all right to be any other number up to and including seven years older. Always best boy is older than girl.

"Parents decide which girl. After decide, matchmaker goes to girl's parents and make final the selection. Now girl's parents are to consent or not. If they consent, then girl's parents tell her; matchmaker returns and tells boy's parents who tell boy. They may show him her picture but not always.

"Now date is set by parents. Except for servant, girl is taken by chair car, without family or relatives going, to home of boy's parents where all boy's relatives and friends are, for the night wedding."

The ceremony includes: "Girl and boy kneel and bow three times to each other. Means I take you to be mine; then bow three times to his parents. Means I take you to be my in-laws. Bride now usually gets ring--gold.

"Guests give gifts to boy's parents because parents stand expense of

⁶Reason for the six years was not known by interviewee.

wedding and dinner celebration and the couple will live with them.

"After ceremony, have wine and big dinner. If very large dinner and ve-ry good food, shows prestige of his parents. If dinner is not good and guest list is small, then his parents lose face.

"After wine, couple do not attend dinner. Groom takes bride to his room where he lifts her face cloth."

This is probably their first sight of each other; however another said the groom lifted the face cloth or veil at the start of the wedding. In either case, the reason was that "love starts now, from the beginning.

"Next morning is part of ceremony for bride to get up early and serve in-laws. This is now her duty.

"After about one week, all this time her parents, relatives or friends have not seen her, they go to her home to meet her parents, relatives and friends.

"After wedding, wife is expected to stay with husband if husband considers [her to be] good; if not, he sends her home. No good first, if cannot have child, or, second, in-laws don't like her.

"If in poor family and he sends wife home, it is hard to get another wife, so couple try to get along. If girl is sent home, her parents lose face and girl cannot remarry. Boy may have several wives, however. This causes jealousy but they do not say anything because authority is in husband. Sometimes he is forced to take another wife by his parents, especially when first wife does not have child."

When the parents arrange marriage directly, it may be when the boy and girl are marriageable age or an agreement between parents may betroth the young children. This is more true among rich families. In such a case, it is not uncommon for the girl to be older than the boy. If she

is older, she goes to live in boy's home to help care for him. This is more prevalent in Northern China.

In some arrangements and agreements, "parents, usually boy's, send gifts to other parents. It usually is money or gift--always is very high in value." This is not considered actual purchase and sale of bride, but purchase and sale does exist in poor families. The wedding proceeds as described earlier.

Notes from others include these remarks of the marriage of earlier times:

"Bride wears red to symbolize joy, but if royalty or high class, or of government rank or position, wear different colors and symbols to represent rank."

"After ceremony, big feast and entertainment may last several days. Boy's parents pay--depends on how rich."

"To be girl is too much waste because family must try to give much [dowry]. Boy's parents gain." This refers to idea that with the bride, the parents must give and send "everything for bride, like furniture, dresses, treasures, linens. Value and amount depends on financial status of her family." The more she takes the better, in the eyes of the groom's parents.

Another interesting factor was "If boy marry girl with brothers, she goes to her in-laws to live; if boy married girl who has no brothers, they go to girl's family and he must change his surname to hers and thus become one of her family. But if he can stand on his own feet, he will not marry girl without brothers."

The persons interviewed said that the Chinese family is still concerned with the marriage of their children but not in such an anxious

way. In fact, in China today, at least in the urban areas, the customs are very much like in America.⁷

Referring to the courtship pattern up to the engagement, the steps now continue through a modernized ceremony which may be performed by the pastor in the church, if people are Christian, or otherwise, in the city hall, hotel ballroom, or at home and a person of high esteem, like one's boss or school principal, who has a happy, complete family⁸ may be invited to perform it. It is necessary to have parents' permission for marriage but "this is easy to get."

The farm boy will marry young, usually under age twenty; but he sometimes will marry an older girl, if farm laborers are needed. If educated, however, he seldom marries until about age twenty-five.

At engagement, the girl's parents may give her things for memory, usually something old or precious. The expense and planning of the wedding is the responsibility of the bride and her parents; however, if the couple works, they may take care of their own wedding expenses as well as the selecting and the buying of their furniture and home.

It is good to have everything new to start this new life.

The bride will wear white, to symbolize purity, though light pink or light beige are also acceptable colors. After the ceremony, she will change clothes for the wine and the formal dinner at which both parents are hosts and which will last only about five hours.

Guests will visit the new home and "sometimes play tricks." Those bringing gifts must be thanked before the couple may leave, amid showers

⁷See Appendix B for other comments by interviewees.

⁸A man who has a complete family has a wife, and children and parents, all living.

of rice, on the honeymoon.

Degrees and variations of this procedure will prevail according to rural or urban area and the financial and educational status of the family, as well as the personal desire.

In America.

Degrees and variations of the wedding ceremony are also found in America where the plan of the wedding is the choice and expense of the girl with her parents. But the license, the bride's bouquet and the honeymoon are the obligations of the groom.

The man is usually not too particular about the kind of wedding but to the bride and her parents, this is "her day," so, weeks and months of preparation may have preceded the ceremony.

The bride clad in the traditional white dress, whether street length or full formal, with attendants, ranging from one to six or eight or more, and the groom with his "best man" and the ushers, along with the flowers, candle light and music, make up the typical wedding party and wedding scene, at the church. The ceremony can also be much more simple than this.

After the wedding, which may be held in the church, home, parsonage or court and performed either by clergy, justice-of-the-peace or chief magistrate, a reception is held. It is during this time that guests give "best wishes" to the new couple and are served wedding cake and punch.

Picture taking is a custom before the couple changes to clothes more suitable for traveling on their honeymoon.

The couple, if very young and still in school, may live with one parent or the other until they finish but living by themselves, whether

it be in "tent or a mansion," is the usual desire and expectation. However, parents stand by ready to aid in case of need. Most of this need is in a financial or domestic way, especially for young couples. Older couples may not have to depend so much on parental help but this may vary according to independence and education of the couple.

Americans have free choice of a mate, even if they must elope to escape parental opposition. This is lawful, too, if the persons are of legal age. Marriage age varies according to state laws but in most cases it is according to the legal age at which women and men are considered adult.⁹ Parental permission must be given in order for a minor to obtain a license.

Comparison.

Thus, it is seen that obtaining a marriage mate earlier in China was rather simple and also lacking of individual responsibility. Marriages were arranged either directly between parents or indirectly through a matchmaker. These persons also signed the marriage contract (thus assuming the responsibility) and arranged the wedding for the couple who were, in most cases, to see each other for the first time at the wedding ceremony and then were expected to live with his parents.

Now the custom, especially in the urban areas of China, is much like that of the United States where youth, through his own social associations, will marry, with mutual consent, the one he chooses. In most cases the couple will live independently but parents and relatives stand by to give them aid when needed.

⁹A girl at age eighteen is considered adult but a boy must be twenty-one.

Summary of the Interview Schedule Findings

The purpose of this study was to determine, and then to compare for likenesses or differences, the basic cultural customs by which the youth of China and the youth of the middle class of the United States are to function particularly in three aspects of family relations. These aspects are: in responsibility to family, in courtship patterns and in obtaining a marriage partner.

The American family is considered to be democratic, monogamous and conjugal with a semi-patriarchal form of discipline which allows for varying degrees of individuality, equality and independence for all members. The main responsibilities of youth to the family are showing respect and maintaining the family name. Earlier, however, discipline was of a strict patriarchal form; education and the professions were limited primarily to boys; and responsibilities also included loyalty and privacy about family matters. Any job earnings were expected to be contributed to the family account.

To a large extent, social education still teaches Chinese youth that the expected responsibilities to his family include being respectful and obedient, taking care of parents in their old age and maintaining (and enhancing) the family name. Formal education for both sexes has been an influencing factor in the present gaining of individuality, equality and independence under a now "democratic" government,¹⁰ as well as in bringing about "democratic" family ideals which may have been copied from the American culture more specifically since World War II.

¹⁰The interviewees designated their government as "democratic." The writer takes no responsibility for this statement.

China's government earlier was dictatorial and her family discipline and management was definitely patriarchal. Lack of education for the women lowered her position to that of servant while the men were the privileged.

During the earlier times, there was no courtship pattern in China. Marriages were arranged for either directly by the parents or indirectly through a matchmaker and the couple was expected to live with the husband's parents. Thus, money, prestige or enhancement of the family name was the basis of the contract rather than mutual agreement and love which is now the basic factor in obtaining a mate in China, however, exceptions may occur in individual families and in rural areas.

The youth of the United States function in a courtship pattern including group association, dating, going steady, engagement and finally, marriage, based on romantic love and mutual agreement. The American couple is expected to live independently.

Findings of the Interview Summary

China under a "democratic" government is changing fast, at least it would seem so among the educated people. Perhaps World War II, the presence of American people in China, education for both sexes to the extent of studying in the United States for some students, and the American films have been influencing factors in "Americanizing" China. At any rate, the youth of China are gaining opportunities in mate selection similar to the opportunities of the youth of the United States.

CHAPTER VI

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This study is limited in its scope and in its applications. The limitations are, first, that the sample was small and not representative of Chinese students as a whole. Moreover, these students came from a select group of families in that they believed in higher education and all but one were from the urban population. However, the findings did correspond to social anthropological studies, especially in regard to the Chinese family of earlier days.

With regard to the interview technique, it is recognized by researchers that certain limitations prevail. The interviewee responds in accordance with his selective perception of the situation as his memory dictates. Therefore, both errors in perception and lapses in memory tend to invalidate the responses. Not only this but personal biases may color the data and "halo" effects may influence the results.

The writer feels, however, that some small contribution has been made to the present day information regarding the responsibility to the family, the courtship pattern and the selection of a marriage partner of the Chinese youth. She feels this study is justified because of the limited possibilities for obtaining information from China in the present day.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

PERSONAL DATA

FULL NAME _____

AGE _____ RACE _____ SEX _____

PLACE OF BIRTH _____

MARITAL STATUS: Single _____ Married _____ Other _____

Children _____ Number _____

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Rural _____ Urban _____ (youth)

Rural _____ Urban _____ (now)

NATIVE OF U. S. _____ DATE OF ENTRY TO U. S. _____

EDUCATION: Classification _____ Major _____ Minor _____

APPROXIMATE SOCIAL CLASS OF PARENTAGE:

Middle _____ Upper _____ Lower _____ Other _____

COMMENTS:

Youth-Parent Interaction in Responsibility to Parents,
Courtship Patterns and Obtaining a Marriage Partner

Schedule prepared by Oleta Manske

	<u>Now</u>	<u>Ear- lier</u>
1. It is true that each child has a responsibility to the family. _____	_____	_____
2. The responsibility of youth to the family is primarily _____	_____	_____
3. This responsibility is expected to be given to		
1. entire family _____	_____	_____
2. parents only _____	_____	_____
3. mother only _____	_____	_____
4. father only _____	_____	_____
5. others (name) _____	_____	_____
4. This responsibility is in the form of		
1. work _____	_____	_____
2. money _____	_____	_____
3. respect _____	_____	_____
4. care _____	_____	_____
5. other _____	_____	_____
5. Authority of the family is primarily based in		
1. father _____	_____	_____
2. mother _____	_____	_____
3. both parents _____	_____	_____
4. other members _____	_____	_____
6. Your sub-culture demands that you pay your family these respects: _____	_____	_____
7. The family discipline is (strict) _____	_____	_____
(lax) _____	_____	_____
(other) _____	_____	_____
It conforms to:		
1. cultural laws and regulations _____	_____	_____
2. state and national regulations _____	_____	_____
3. individual family authority pattern _____	_____	_____
8. Your sub-culture considers a family to be		
1. conjugal _____	_____	_____
2. stem _____	_____	_____
3. joint _____	_____	_____
4. other _____	_____	_____
9. In your sub-culture, older people and parents are cared for through		
1. respect _____	_____	_____
2. desire _____	_____	_____
3. obedience _____	_____	_____
4. law _____	_____	_____
5. combination of, or range of these _____	_____	_____

- | | | <u>Now</u> | <u>Ear-
lier</u> |
|-----|--|------------|----------------------|
| 10. | Your sub-culture provides that | | |
| | 1. a man may have only one wife at a time _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 2. a man may have more than one wife depending on _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 3. a man, besides a wife, may have a mistress or one or more concubines _____ depending on _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 11. | It is permissible for you to have a job outside the home | | |
| | girls (yes) _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | (no) _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | boys (yes) _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | (no) _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 12. | The earnings of a job are contributed to the family by | | |
| | 1. cultural expectations _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 2. family need _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 3. other _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 13. | Your sub-culture provides or permits education for | | |
| | 1. all boys _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 2. select group of boys _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 3. all girls _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 4. select group of girls _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | on | | |
| | 1. equal basis _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 2. boy emphasis basis _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 3. girl emphasis basis _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 14. | Your sub-culture allows choice of a mate by | | |
| | 1. desire of man only _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 2. mutual consent of both parents _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 3. mutual consent of both individuals _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 4. a range from parental arrangement to personal selection _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 15. | Your sub-culture bases marriage and mate selection upon | | |
| | 1. love _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 2. prestige _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 3. purchase or sale _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 4. agreement of parents _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 5. matchmaker's skill _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | 6. other _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 16. | Steps in the process of mate selection are: _____ | | |

- | | <u>Now</u> | <u>Ear-
lier</u> |
|--|------------|----------------------|
| 17. In your sub-culture, the bride has a sense of responsibility to | | |
| 1. husband_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. parents_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. in-laws_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. other_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 18. In your sub-culture the marriage ceremony may be performed by_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 19. In your sub-culture the new family is expected to live | | |
| 1. as a pair alone_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. with his parents_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. with her parents_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. with a variety of relatives_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 20. The responsibility of this mate selection or match-making is taken by | | |
| 1. the individual himself_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. his parents_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. her parents_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. a matchmaker_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. others_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 21. In your sub-culture, the responsibility of parents to married children is to | | |
| 1. stand by to aid young family_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. allow self-determination_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. supervise the young
family_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. arrange from one extreme to
other_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 22. Young people in your sub-culture get involved in the process of mate selection through | | |
| 1. group association_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. group dating_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. couple dating_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. going steady_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. courtship_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 6. engagement_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 7. marriage_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 8. apprenticeship in home duties_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 9. parental arrangement plus
introduction_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 10. parental arrangement only_____ | _____ | _____ |
| 23. As young men in your culture, the masculine role has these limitations:_____ | _____ | _____ |

24. As young women in your culture, the feminine role has these limitations: _____

25. Masculine-feminine expectations in your sub-culture are

	<u>MEN</u>		<u>WOMEN</u>	
	<u>Now</u>	<u>Ear-lier</u>	<u>Now</u>	<u>Ear-lier</u>
1. to have like-sex friends _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. to have opposite sex friends _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. to bind feet _____ (Why?) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. to be in the social lime light _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. to ask the opposite sex for a date _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. to date _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. to date steady (if desired) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. to marry the first one dated _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. to serial date _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. to set the standards for premarital sex conduct _____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. to have freedoms but take the resulting responsibility _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

26. Your sub-culture lives under a government termed

1. democratic _____
2. dictatorial _____
3. other _____

COMMENTS

Oklahoma State University
 Division of Home Economics
 Department of Family Relations
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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWEE'S FREE COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

"D" commented:

"The most different thing I find after I came here: I think Americans are more independent and individual. I mean like in a family, the children grow up, leave family and do what they want. I think Americans more anxious to get money and enjoy life. I think Chinese do not enjoy money; they enjoy happiness of family, and, even now, young couples don't live with parents but still respect and take care of parents,--- Live with them or do anything you can for them."

Question: Do you feel Americans do not do this?

"Not as much. I think American children are more free. At home, children may do anything---not anything they like, but more. Chinese may have to do things they don't like, according to parents."

Question: Could you explain?

"Oh, everything. In old days parents may choose profession for boys--- girls weren't allowed professions, and now we have to obey parents more than American children do."

"B" commented:

"Young do not argue; are to listen to old because they are wise. This is a part of respect but too much respect to old people is bad. We have juvenile delinquency too. Chinese modern family copying American pattern. . . . Chinese women have higher position---especially if educated---wife has more power/[than husband] in lots of families, or on

equal basis."

"A" commented:

"American family is good for young family, for more freedom in dating, selecting mate; don't have to live with parents, wife don't have to please in-laws; relation is simple. Chinese family is good for aged because of respect and care and company.

"Modern Chinese family is not much different than American family because Chinese family in urban area is becoming more Americanized in idea.

"Chinese parents have more authority toward children than American; Chinese youth are more obedient to parents because they depend on parents for education and everything and then are taught to be obedient."

"E" commented:

"Seems to me that American youth has more freedom, every kind, than Chinese youth; Chinese youth have more responsibilities to parents. American youth grow up, leave parents--no relation with them; while Chinese still take responsibility for caring for parents. Courtship here seems to be a social problem but not in China."

Question: What do you mean?

"I mean the marriages seem not so--well, they have more divorce but not in China. Very few--not such kind of trouble."

Question: What is the cause?

"Courtship is too--seems, well, we think it more serious."

Question: Is divorce easy to get?

"No. Say if one got married, if he goes with someone else, society is 'impleased' with him."

Question: Are there certain grounds?

"If both agree, they go to court."

Question: What happens if there are children?

"Wife usually always get children, husband should give money to support. But is very, very few divorces--hard for man to remarry; harder for woman to remarry."

Question: Why?

"We have this kind of thinking from old years!"

"C" Commented:

"I felt American girls lonesome unless they date. Girls often visit together in China--also group (boys and girls) associate but not necessarily date.

"I think boys and girls, as teenagers work in America. I think very good. In China, few cases of teenagers work, except for family need, not even through school--except since war more may be working through college. Children repay by understood taking care of old parents--even in educated families. In America, let old people care for self."

An unusual background aspect of this person was that the grandmother studied in private school and was a school principal; her father was educated in the United States. In this educated environment, she observes "Family not so restricted--don't know about so many of the restrictions. If income is good enough woman stays home, has servant--pretty comfortable life--also depends on individual. My mother translates books and especially church pamphlets from English to Chinese; is leader in women's groups like church and professions; also in women's groups that prepared boxes of needs--clothes, bandages etc., for the needy and the hospitals during the war."

VITA

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