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ABSTRACT

Increasing rates of out-marriages among the Asian communities indicate the Asian-American's acceptance by the dominant American culture while posing a potential social problem for their children. Given two divergent cultures the children face conflicts over cultural values accepted and cultural communities embraced. Some of these possible conflicts are examined. Twenty-nine college age males and females of Eurasian extraction were interviewed and given Gough's (1952) Adjective Check List. They were found to identify more often as Caucasians than Asians. This identification, however, was influenced by the ethnicity of the neighborhood in which they were raised. A large proportion of Eurasians did not see themselves as a part of the neighborhood's majority culture. This feeling of minority status may partly explain the Eurasian's description of themselves as being sensitive, cautious, dependable, and honest. Also of interest were attitudes towards interracial marriages. While Asian-Caucasian marriages were approved of in general, the Asian female-Caucasian male pairing was more desirable than was the Asian male-Caucasian female pairing. These findings reflect some of the Eurasian's internal conflicts. Areas of concern include identity, self concept, sense of belonging, and social attitudes. (Author)

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Eurasians: A Pilot Study

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Examining the assimilation and acculturation trends of Japanese Americans, Kitano (1973) found a tradition of in-marriage for the first two generations. However, more recent marriage trends for Japanese Americans show greater percentages of out-marriages. (Tinker, 1973; Kikumura and Kitano, 1973). By the early 1970's nearly fifty percent of all Japanese-American marriages were to spouses of non-Japanese ancestry. In a similar vein, the 1970 Census (Urban Associates, 1974) reported low rates of out-marriage in most older Asian groups (exclusive of Filipino American males) but growing percentages of out-marriages among the younger Asian Americans.

As the social distance between Asian Americans and other cultural groups decrease, the rate of intermarriage should increase (Sue, Sue, and Sue, 1975). Gordon (1961) saw intermarriage as an indication of structural assimilation. Groups interacting at both a formal and informal level may solidify this contact through marriage. So it is not surprising that each successive generation of Asian Americans would tend to marry more into the mainstream Caucasian groups.

Another social phenomenon contributing to the number of Asian-Caucasian marriages has been the Asian "war bride", where Caucasian service personnel marry Asian nationals and return with their spouses. According to military statistics, these "war brides" numbered around 147,000 between 1945 and 1970.

Tinker (1973) believed these "war brides" may have helped acceptance of interethnic marriages for Caucasian males to Asian females.

Both the "war brides" and the social assimilation phenomena contributed to the slowly rising numbers of Eurasian (or Aspeans) i.e., the children of

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Asian-Caucasian marriages. These Eurasians are just now coming of college age. They are not a temporary group and their numbers should drop if out-marriage rates increase.

These interethnic marriages demand two cultures adapting to each other. Such marriages presuppose the establishment of personal relationships between the spouses of two cultures or subcultures. The offspring of these Asian-Caucasian marriages are the living results of the structural assimilation of two groups.



The social contact implicit in interethnic marriages, however, is not universally accepted. Polls on interracial socializing suggested a majority of Americans disapproved of "personal intimacy" between whites and non-whites (Erskine, 1973). While these opinions are changing, they are slow.

Given this negative climate the problems of acculturation and assimilation may be aggravated for the Eurasians. In the community, the Eurasians may be perceived as alien and threatening by both Asian and Caucasian cultural groups. As a result they may grow up without clearly defined support systems. Sarason (1974) argues that a basic psychological need is a "sense of community". Without this "mutually supportive network of relationships", the individual finds it difficult to achieve feelings of well being. Such networks may not be readily available for the Eurasian given the national attitude toward interethnic marriages. The disapproval of such marriages may be transferred to their offspring. The Eurasian also has a bicultural heritage on which to draw but has no single well-defined ethnic group with which to identify. Mother and father may try to inculcate competing value systems from their respective cultures. This struggle between cultures may produce greater defensiveness and sensitivity to social expectations.

The Eurasians unique position in the acculturation and assimilation processes make them especially interesting. They may face the culture

conflict at home as well as in the larger society, and in response to this must-adapt behaviors that will help them resolve their personal conflicts and survive in their community.

In our study, we interviewed seventeen Eurasian females and twelve Eurasian males between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one. The subjects were enlisted by phoning persons suggested by Seattle-Tacoma area contacts at private and public schools and an Asian American social service agency. Each subject was given an honorarium for participating in the study. Subjects were first asked to mark those adjectives from Gough's Adjective Check Lists that they felt to be self-descriptive. Following this, they were asked about the ethnicity of their neighborhood, their five best friends, their dates, their own ethnic identification and their attitudes toward interracial marriage.

It was found that of the 29 subjects, five grew up in Asian American communities, 20 in Caucasian communities. However, they did not necessarily identify with the ethnicity of their neighborhood. Only one of the five from an Asian community identified as Asian, and ten of the twenty raised in Caucasian neighborhoods saw themselves as Caucasian. This means fourteen of the twenty-five, or fifty-six percent of the Eurasians did not see themselves as a part of their neighborhood's majority culture. For these people, there appeared to be a conflict between the predominant cultural identification and the individual's identity. This finding lends support to our initial concern as to the possibilities of alienation for the Eurasians. In fact, any decision to identify with one parent group may cause personal and familial conflict. The decision  be difficult, but  half of the Eurasians would choose to associate with the minority culture for the area. Perhaps by acknowledging their difference, they acquiesce to other's perceptions of them as being a minority.

There were no significant sex differences in ethnic identification. Six of the sixteen females and five of twelve males identified as Asians. One female identified as a Eurasian.

Ten of the twenty-nine Eurasians reported Asians among their five best friends, while 27 out of the 29 had Caucasian best friends. The ten with Asian friends were not necessarily the Eurasians identifying as Asian (4 Asian ID, 6 Caucasian ID). In a similar vein nine of the subjects had dated Asians and 27 had dated Caucasians. It was interesting to note that of the 9 dating Asians, only 2 were male, and of the 10 reporting Asian best friends the number of males was again 2. Given the social geography of the Seattle-Tacoma area, with its pockets of Asian residents, the sparsity of Asian social contacts cannot be explained by physical isolation. They do not appear to make any special efforts to socialize with Asian groups. The Eurasian may identify as Asian American in deference to real and/or imagined peer pressure, but seek Caucasian companionship as is becoming increasingly the trend among younger Asian Americans. The male's fewer numbers of Asian friends and dates in comparison to the female's is puzzling at first. Despite reported ethnic identity, the males appeared to have a Caucasian social network. The male, in fact, may be more susceptible to acculturation and assimilation pressures as the increase of out-marriages among male Asian Americans indicates. The Eurasian male may also be seen as a threat and therefore be rejected by Asian American groups. A third explanation may be that the Eurasian has adequate opportunities to befriend Caucasians and therefore feels no need to seek out Asians. The female on the other hand, identifying with her Asian mother, may search out more Asian contacts.

Given these thoughts, it is interesting to note the Eurasians most often described themselves as sensitive and curious (N=25), cautious,

dependable and honest (N=23).

Some of the more interesting adjectives checked by at least 66% of the subjects included: anxious (21), appreciative (21), considerate (21), friendly (22) and healthy (22). See Table 1.

While there are many positive adjectives used, we wonder as to the sensitivity, caution and anxiety expressed by the Eurasian. This self-evaluation may be a normal reaction to the pressures of the young adult years or could be the result of a demanding environment and a sense of alienation which dictates caution. Such findings hint of the possible problems and strengths within this population. The curiosity, dependability and honesty are certainly very desirable characteristics in any populations. We acknowledge this. Our admitted concern is for the negative aspects which may interfere with these strengths. The differences between male and female responses are negligible. Of the adjectives, active, anxious, cooperative and honest, which were checked most often by males, only "active" does not appear to be popular with the females.

Dien and Vinacke (1964) reported on the discrepancies between real and ideal self-descriptions among Eurasians, Japanese Americans and Caucasians. They found significantly less real-ideal differences in comparison to the two other groups for Eurasian males but not for females. Three possible explanations for this finding were presented. The Eurasian may have a better self-concept, they may have lower aspirations, or they may be especially guarded in their self-reporting.

Our finding would support the first or last possibilities. Certainly more sophisticated psychological assessment seems indicated for this population. While the reported self-image in our study was very positive, the caution and anxiety expressed serve as caveats for underlying problems.

Going beyond their thoughts of themselves to their opinions of social integration, we asked their opinions on interracial marriages. Fifteen

these marriages to be desirable; eight felt them undesirable; and six were neutral. See Table 2. If specifying Asian-Caucasian marriages, the number feeling them to be desirable increased to eighteen, with four believing them undesirable and seven remaining neutral.

Being even more specific, when the Asian-Caucasian pair was an Asian American male and a Caucasian female, fifteen felt it desirable, ten undesirable and four neutral. The Asian female-Caucasian male pairing received nineteen desirable, three undesirable and seven neutral ratings.

The Eurasians did not hold the strong reservations about interracial socializing, common to the nation as reported by Erskine (1973). Most accept interracial marriages and Asian-Caucasian matches in particular. However, their desirability tended to vary based on the sex of the Asian American partner. ($\chi^2 - 3.63, p .10$). The strongest acceptance for Asian American wife, Caucasian husband pairings and weaker acceptance for Asian husband, Caucasian wife pairings corresponds to the older patterns for Asian out-marriage, i.e., Asian American females out-married more. This may result from the subjects' observations of their parents marriages. Only two of the 29 sets of parents had Asian fathers. The Asian mother - Caucasian father configuration is more familiar to the Eurasian and thus may be more acceptable.

In summary, the Eurasian subjects were liberal in their attitudes to interracial marriages, they reported a pleasing self-concept with some concerns over evaluation (reservations) and at least half of them did not identify with their neighborhood culture. These descriptions are of interest as they point out areas for further research with the population directly involved in the acculturation and assimilation processes faced by all minorities.

Table 1

Adjectives Checked By Over 66% of the Subjects.

<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Number of Checks</u>
Curious	25
Sensitive	28
Cautious	23
Dependable	23
Honest	23
Fairminded	22
Friendly	22
Healthy	22
Sincere	22
Anxious	21
Appreciative	21
Considerate	21
Humorous	21
Interests Wide	21

Table 2

Ratings of Interracial Marriage Desirability

<u>Types of Marriage</u>	<u>Desirable</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Undesirable</u>
Interracial	15	6	8
Asian-Caucasian	18	7	4
Asian male-Caucasian female	15	4	10
Asian female-Caucasian male	19	7	3