The Nature of Father-Daughter Relationships in Taiwanese Immigrant Families Living in Britain

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the perceptions, expectations and experiences of father-daughter relations in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. Using social constructionist approaches this research explored how first-generation, male Taiwanese immigrants 'fathered' their daughters who were growing up in Britain and, the ways in which fathering concepts and practices were constantly being shaped and reshaped. It also explored how such performances of *Taiwanese* fatherhood were received by their *British-Taiwanese* daughters, and further, affected the formation of the daughters' constructions of daughterhood. It sought to study too the commonalities and differences between the perceptions of fathers and daughters on 'fatherhood' and 'daughterhood'.

A qualitative approach was taken to the research design. Six Taiwanese father-daughter pairs who settled in Britain over 20 years ago formed the sample. Semi-structured interviews were the main method used to collect information about the perceptions, understandings and experiences of the participant Taiwanese fathers and their daughters. The data was subject to qualitative content analysis which revealed three key findings. These were:

1. Taiwanese immigrant fathers experienced tensions in the process of fathering their daughters: on the one hand, they recognised changing positions of women in society and attempted to encourage their daughters to be independent and pursue success in their careers. At the same time, deeply held traditional views on how a father should monitor and protect their daughters frequently led them to display views and behaviours that suggested a desire to control them. These 'mixed messages' created tensions in father-daughter relationships.
2. British-Taiwanese daughters' constructions of daughterhood produced tensions too: on the one hand, the daughters' expectations and experiences were akin to those of the majority of young women living in western societies who often delay motherhood and pursue success at work. At the same time, traditional expectations of daughters to prioritise family responsibilities, family bonds and to show obedience to, and repay, their parents sets up conflicts both in terms of father-daughter relations and their own personal choices.
3. Father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain is one where the expectation and practices of conventional fathers (responsible/guide/ breadwinners) and daughters (compliant/grateful/dependent) marks relationships daughters' life stages; at the same time, the patterns of father-daughter interactions transform as daughters get older.

This thesis concludes with a consideration of the implications of these findings for future research into British-Taiwanese family relationships and individuals within families.

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1

INTRODUCTION

This research is about father-daughter relationships within Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. Given the distinct socio-cultural context, it is chiefly concerned with the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours in which first-generation, male Taiwanese immigrants 'fathered' their daughters who were growing up in Britain, and, the ways in which fathering concepts and practices were constantly being shaped and reshaped. Also, it wishes to uncover how such performances of *Taiwanese* fatherhood were received by their *British-Taiwanese* daughters, and further, influenced the formation of the daughters' constructions of 'daughterhood'.

A key concern in discussing the nature of father-daughter relationships in this study is the impact of distinct socio-cultural contexts. From social constructionist approaches, reality is not an objective truth but varies across social contexts and historical epochs (Foucault, 1978). Such approaches allow me to assume that the meaning of fatherhood/ being a father was (re)constructed when the fathers in this study immigrated to Britain, a totally different socio-cultural context from that of traditional Taiwan (see detailed discussion in section 1.1). Detraditionalisation occurs when there is an apparent shift away from the constraints of traditional social norms and role expectations (e.g. as an exhausted breadwinner and remote father; Wang, 1997) and, at the same time, are engaging with diverse constructions of fatherhood in multi-cultural Britain (e.g. the notion of paternal involvement in child-rearing which has flourished in the West since the 1970s; Lamb, 1997), the way in which the authority apparently shifts from the social

order to personal choice (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1996; Heelas, 1996). In this study, I am interested in the way fatherhood is subjectively reconstructed and performed through reflexivity and practices in British society.

Girlhood, like fatherhood, is socially constructed and its meaning is constantly changing (Aapola, Gonick & Harris, 2005). Whereas dominant conceptions of girlhood in traditional Taiwan are submissive and care-oriented, the meaning and performance of young femininities in Britain have rapidly shifted and become diversified since the 1970s second-wave feminist movement. The notion of *Girl Power*, in particular, was flourishing just as the Taiwanese families in this study became part of British society. It is worth exploring how such British milieu affects fathers' reconstructions of girlhood and the practices of fathering a daughter. At the same time, daughters were not just passive receivers but their performance of femininities was subjectively constructed through practices in mainstream British society. This research project also addresses what kinds of femininities are socially constructed and performed by the daughters and how varied meanings and experiences of girlhood/being a daughter are negotiated between fathers and daughters.

Negotiation between father and daughter involves the issue of power relations (how power is understood will be particularly discussed in Chapter 3). There are two aspects of power relations between fathers and daughters which I focus on in this study that of: men over women; and parents over children. The shifts in the position of women in both public and private spheres has enabled daughters to challenge their fathers' male hegemony (McRobbie, 2009; Giddens, 2002/1999), for instance, the notions of domestic democracy allowed children to argue with their parents. In this study, I want to further look at the (re)constructions of 'fatherhood' and 'daughterhood' drawn on by fathers and daughters themselves and to ascertain the extent to which there are commonalities.

The complexity of power is also demonstrated between the location of individuals as agentic beings and the constraints of wider social structure. Social constructionists assume that individuals are creators of social reality but are inevitably constrained by power and inequality within wider social structure (see Archer & Francis, 2007). When the fathers in this study left patriarchal Taiwan (where they dominated in both private and public spheres) and became part of an ethnic minority in Britain, power and inequality within the mainstream society more or less constrained their thinking and behaviour. Thus the focus of this study is also to explore how they negotiated their location between the host British society and their individual choices.

In short, this study of the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain generates two interrelated themes: (i) how gendered identities are subjectively (re)constructed via practice in British socio-cultural contexts; (ii) how fathers and daughters' (re)conceptualisations on fatherhood and daughterhood are influenced by the host society/agentic self. The rationale behind this research is introduced in the following sections: first, a review of the historical backgrounds of Taiwan and Britain in the 1980s when emigration provided the backdrop for the Taiwanese immigrant families in this study. The trajectory for forming my research position and theoretical perspectives is then presented through the description of my research motivation and examination of existing studies.

1.1 Research Background

This section starts with an introduction to Taiwan's historical, political, economic and socio-cultural background in order to provide readers with a preliminary knowledge of the subjects in this study. The circumstances of Taiwanese immigration in Britain are then explained.

1.1.1 The Profile of Taiwan

Taiwan, known as Formosa, is a small island nation (the total area as 13,900 square miles), located in the Asia-Pacific region, between Japan and the Philippines, off the south-eastern coast of China. Politically, Taiwan has been under the government of the Republic of China since the end of World War II in 1945. The Kuomintang (KMT) government which established the Republic of China in 1912 lost the Chinese Civil War (to what is now China) and retreated to Taiwan in 1949. From that moment, Taiwan was ruled in ways that rigorously controlled and standardised citizens' behaviours and thoughts, imposing severe constraints on their freedom of speech and the wholesale slaughter of real or perceived insurgent thinking – known as the notorious reign of White Terror. The KMT government maintained a de facto, one-party status until declaring the end of martial law in 1987. Taiwan has become democratised since the 1990s, partly as a result of a series of democratic movements, civil rights protests, the first Presidential election, feminist campaigns, lesbian/gay movements, and so forth.

With respect to its economic development, Taiwan's industrialisation and rapid economic growth has been well reputed to be the *Taiwan Economic Miracle*. In the 1950s and early 1960s, post-war Taiwan was an impoverished, agricultural, traditional society and relied greatly upon U.S. aid. Later, Taiwan moved gradually towards cheap, labour-intensive manufacturing. In the 1970s, Taiwan developed its heavy industrial and infrastructure in order to deal with the 1973 oil crisis and domestic unemployment, subsequently redirecting its focus to small-/medium-sized enterprises and advanced electronics during the following decade. Taiwan, since then, has leaped forward to be an important presence in the manufacturing and electronics industry, and has been classified as a newly industrialised country, known as one of the *Four Asian Tigers*, alongside Singapore, South Korea and Hong Kong. Furthermore, in 1990, with the relaxing of

political control, McDonald's was successful in establishing its first branch heralding Taiwan's acceptance of globalisation, since which time lifestyles and values in Taiwan have changed significantly.

Taiwan's multicultural society is attributed to its historical background. In ancient times, it was a haven for pirates as well as for Chinese refugees who chose to migrate to this island in order to avoid the turmoil of civil wars, or merely to search for a better livelihood. Those Chinese immigrants, via invasion and intermarriage, enabled their own hegemonic Confucianism[1] to predominate over, even to replace, Taiwanese aboriginal culture. Besides, Confucianism was reinforced and purposefully supported by successive rulers due to the fact that some of its beliefs favoured leadership (e.g. respect for monarchy and emphasis upon loyalty). For instance, in the early years of the KMT government, local convention and Japanese culture[2] were destroyed intentionally in order to establish Confucianism-based social and political order as mainstream. Taiwan's localisation movements flourished until the 1990s, when authoritarian rule ended. Moreover, influenced by the West, the culture of Taiwan is now in transition from unitary to plurality and this shift is impacting on the transformation of social structures.

Familism[3] (familistic orientation) is the central value of Confucianism-dominated Taiwan. The social structure is the extension of the family, e.g. the emperor as the

[1] Confucianism, rather than the religion, is an ethical and philosophical system, including a way of life, a set of moral principles and behavioural prescriptions, a political ideology and a worldview. Its initially expressed intention was to refashion an ideal world in opposition to the chaotic lifestyles people had at that time. Confucianism insists that human beings are teachable, improvable and perfectible and should, through self-cultivation and self-denial, address themselves to moral perfection: humanity, righteousness, filial piety, honesty, integrity, kindness, loyalty, self-effacement, continence and so forth.

[2] Taiwan was colonized by Japan from 1895 to 1945; therefore Japanese cultures have great influence upon language, food and lifestyle of Taiwan. Until now, some of the older generation remember with gratitude the era of Japanese rule.

[3] The term of familism is derived from *familistic*, defined by the Oxford dictionary (2005) as "advocating a social framework centred on family relationships." Yang, Kuo-Shu, a famous social-psychologist in Taiwan who, since 1977, has been devoted to a theoretical construct for describing Chinese personality and social behaviour, reconceptualised *familism/familistic-orientation* as the primary characteristic of all Chinese societies, representing a form of social structure in which the needs of the family as a group are more important than the needs of any individual family member.

king-father (jun-fu 君父) and local magistrates as the *father-mother officials* (fu-mu-guan 父母官), in which social practice follows the rules of the authority over the subordinate, the senior over the junior and the male over the female – that is, defined by Yang (2005) as *pan-familism*. Public (outer) arenas, in principle, were mainly occupied by men whereas women inhabited domestic (inner) spheres. Unlike Britain, there was no social class distinction, as such, in Taiwan; it may, therefore, be appropriate to apply to Taiwan the term of "socially and economically advantaged group" (Chen, 2010:18). Under the occupation, the population in former Taiwan was divided briefly into four statuses (ranked by reputation): scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants. Being a scholar was regarded as the key way to obtain authority and prestige (i.e. to be a professional or a ruler) and to accumulate wealth/social capitals; accordingly, scholars could be classified into the socially and economically advantaged group. Conversely, merchants held an economic advantage but less social prestige because they did not actually produce anything. Education was the primary strategy for social mobilisation, so Taiwanese parents tended to invest greatly in their children's education (see the detailed discussion about traditional values of Taiwan in Chapter 2).

Social inequality inevitably existed in Taiwan and resulted mostly from political influences. The KMT-led government favoured the intentional minority Mainlanders who emigrated from China with the KMT in 1949 had social and economic capital, which in effect deprived local Taiwanese[4] of the opportunity to take up positions of authority or to become leading figures. For this reason, most local Taiwanese pursued business opportunities giving substance to the growing notion that pursuing business was the best choice (Murray & Hong, 1994). Industrial capitalism not only strengthened this

[4] Taiwan's population was around 23 million, including 70% Holo people, 15% Hakka, 12% Mainlanders, 2% Taiwanese aborigines (divided into 13 major groups) and around 1% recent foreign immigrants. Here local Taiwanese are Holo people, Hakka and Taiwanese aborigines.

notion but also transformed the social structure of Taiwan: familism clashed with individualism; Mainlanders and their descendants could no longer hold the exclusive advantage but had to compete fairly with their counterparts; the middles class came into existence; the majority of women had access to a relatively high education and entered the paid labour market. Yang (2005) assumes that Taiwan, since the 1980s, has become a hybrid society in which everyone is now struggling for equilibrium between modernity and traditionality, ego and social norms/expectations and, most specifically, hoping to find his/her own place in society.

1.1.2 Taiwanese Population in Britain

According to the sources of the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, R.O.C. (Taiwan), Taiwanese immigrants[5] first arrived in Britain, in large numbers, during the early 1980s, due to gradual political democratisation and rapid economic development in Taiwan. Numerous professional and well-educated Taiwanese (and their families) came here, with their employers' companies, to set up branches or factories in England. There were two principal types of business: import-export businesses or those involving transportation, gathered in London; the other involving electronics or the computing industry located in the West Midlands. The investment environment in Britain was an important lure for Taiwanese immigrants. Britain in the 1980s was ruled by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government. In order to tackle long-term depression, a series of economic interventions, e.g. deregulation, flexible labour markets, promotion of international investments and privatisation of state-owned enterprises, which had been nationalised since the 1940s, were introduced. In addition, the British economy was transformed, replacing manufacturing industries with technological industries. Under these push-pull economic situations in the 1980s, numerous Taiwanese (and their families)

[5] Before the 1980s, only a handful of Taiwanese came to Britain to study higher education.

came and began their new lives in Britain – these are the subjects on whom I focus in this study.

Empirical research on the Taiwanese community in Britain is limited. This is not only because the Taiwanese population in this country is relatively sparse but, most significantly, because most British scholars are inclined to focus on the pan-Chinese community rather than recognising sub-ethnic uniqueness.

The Chinese community in Britain consists of several sub-ethnic groups of different geographic origins. The majority of Chinese immigrants in Britain came from the (former) Commonwealth of the British Empire and their British-born offspring. According to the 2001 Census data, the Chinese population in Britain was estimated to be around 243,000. Of these, there were 29% British-born Chinese, 29% Hong Kong Chinese, 19% came from China, 17% were from Southeast Asia (chiefly Malaysia and Singapore) and 2% were Taiwanese (Office for National Statistics 2006). Each sub-ethnic Chinese group is culturally unique. However, the stereotype of Chinese migration within British society, to date, appears rather homogeneous mainly due to its family-based catering trade and these groups tendency to look towards other members of their ethnic group for support and socialising (also see Song, 1999; Parker, 1995). Such a stereotype is closely related to the history of Chinese migration and British Government's attitudes toward immigration and its specific social context.

Chinese immigration to Britain dates back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first official report of Chinese settlers, whatever their origin, dates back to 1814: a handful of Chinese, seafarers who were mainly employed by the East India Company, settled in port cities, such as Bristol, Cardiff, Liverpool and London (Ng, 1968). Throughout the following century, the Chinese population in Britain was relatively

small. The first influx of Chinese immigrants occurred in the 1950s. At that time, the decline in traditional agriculture and the rise in unemployment had caused a vast number of Chinese refugees, mainly males, to flee the New Territories of Hong Kong and come to this country in search of a livelihood. Due to the urgent post-war demand for cheap labour and the new interest in ethnic cuisine and take-away food, these unskilled Chinese immigrants chose to invest in catering businesses (also see Parker, 1998; Li Wei, 1994). Accordingly, the Home Affairs Committee 1985 estimated that 90 per cent of Chinese workers were engaged in the catering industries in the early 1980s. Between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s, a marked increase in the number of Hong Kong Chinese who were the dependants of earlier immigrants came to reunite and support the growing catering businesses. The nature of Chinese immigration then shifted significantly from individual sojourners to permanent family-based settlers (Song, 1999). A further large-wave of Hong Kong Chinese came to Britain under the British Nationality Act (Hong Kong) 1990. In order to manage the handover of Hong Kong to China in 1997, the British government made provision to grant citizenship to 50,000 families whose presence was important to the future of Hong Kong. In this light, it is hardly surprising that the majority of British-born Chinese are the offspring of such Hong Kong migrants. Other sub-ethnic Chinese have come to this country since the late 1970s. Increasing numbers of Chinese people, born in Malaysia and Singapore, came to Britain for higher education or professional training, such as for nursing (Parker, 1995). Simultaneously, Vietnamese Chinese arrived in Britain as refugees under an international resettlement scheme from 1978 to the following decade (Benton & Gomez, 2008). In terms of Taiwanese immigration, as I mentioned previously, they arrived in this country, mainly to start businesses in the early 1980s. Besides, the Chinese population from mainland China started to arrive in Britain relatively late, from the late 1980s and, according to the 2001 Census, has proliferated in the last two decades (Office for National Statistics 2006).

Generally speaking, British society is not welcoming of Chinese immigration and racial discrimination is often seen in schools and/or labour markets. In addition to this, a series of Immigration Acts in the early years have made the majority of Chinese immigrants withdraw from mainstream British society, focusing on self-employment in the catering trade (Benton & Gomez, 2008). Lack of proficiency in the English language and the distinction of Confucian values are also regarded as noticeable factors in the social isolation of the Chinese community (see Song, 1999; Parker, 1995). The Chinese community in Britain is not only excluded from the wider host society but its intra-ethnic relations are incompatible and hostile, involving distinct places of origin, diverse dialects (such as Cantonese, Hakka, Mandarin and Vietnamese) and different class backgrounds. Competition between self-employed catering businesses is intense (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Chau & Yu, 2001). In addition, varied lifestyles and conflicting values between professional and commercial sub-ethnicities (e.g. Taiwanese or Singapore-born Chinese) and Hong Kong immigrants in labour-intensive catering businesses or relatively low-class Vietnamese Chinese create distinctions that raise barriers between them, keeping them apart from (Benton & Gomez, 2008). To sum up, the Chinese community in Britain is heterogeneous and its sub-ethnic uniqueness makes it worthy of exploration.

The existing literature on the British Chinese community focuses mainly on specific generations (e.g. first-generation elders, young Chinese people or British-born pupils), or occupational backgrounds (e.g. catering families); rather than on sub-ethnic groups. Perhaps as Hong Kong immigrants and their descendants make up the majority of the Chinese population, their lived experiences, especially those relating to family-based catering trades in Britain, have been considered representative of all ethnic Chinese communities. Accordingly, research themes have revolved around catering families, such as female labour, children's productivity, ethnic identity, educational (under)achievement

and so forth (see Section 2.2 for detailed discussion on the Chinese in Britain). However, such lived experiences and ethnic images do not conform to Taiwanese immigrant backgrounds in this study. As I mentioned previously, the British Taiwanese community, with a distinct politico-economic background from their other Chinese counterparts, came to this country for commercial reasons in the early 1980s. Although, later, a shift in British investment circumstances made most branches and factories of the Taiwanese enterprises and their employees withdraw gradually, present Taiwanese immigrants (mainly constituted by who then chose to settle in this country and piecemeal latecomers) are still actively participating in Britain's mainstream paid market and most are following professional or commercial (especially computing) pursuits. For this reason, the lifestyles of these well-educated Taiwanese immigrants are likely to incline more towards their white, middle-class counterparts than is shown in the existing literature concerning the Chinese community in Britain. On the other hand, the lived experiences of Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain are undeniably distinct from their British counterparts due to the influence of familist values. In this research project, my focus is on exploring the uniqueness of Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain.

The Taiwanese fathers in this study were born in a closed, impoverished society in the 1950s, grew up under totalitarian governance and were contributing largely to Taiwan's economic miracle in the 1980s. In contrast, Britain, at the same time, was a highly democratised country moving rapidly towards becoming a postindustrialist, postmodernist, globalised society (Beck, 1992). In moving to Britain, these Taiwanese fathers inevitably experienced a sharp transformation, coming from a totalitarian to a democratic state, from recent industrialisation to overall modernisation, and from the traditional culture of Taiwan to a distinctly British lifestyle. Not only were they obliged to adjust to English life, but they were struggling to parent their daughters between the

acculturation of mainstream society and the allegiance of their own cultures. The daughters who took part in this study moved to Britain with their parents when they were very young children (two were born here) and so their education, lifestyles and values are very similar to their British counterparts – the key variables derive from parenting or embedded family cultures. This study focuses on not only the fathering experiences but also the interactive patterns and the nature of the relationship between Taiwanese fathers and their British-Taiwanese daughters in the process of disembedding and reembedding family values, alongside the influence of gender inequality and power relations.

1.2 Motivation for the Research and Research Questions

Why do I focus on fathers and daughter? It is because I am so-and-so's daughter, transformed from a sweet daddy's girl to an *unfilial* daughter struggling for autonomy. More significantly, it is because the nature of father-daughter relationships is concerned with contradictory psycho-sociological complexes: on one hand they are kin (family) so they are expected to be intimate; on the other hand they (fathers and daughters) are divided by gender so they have to keep a little distance because of incest taboos. In addition, it involves the direct performance and transmission of patriarchy (see detailed discussion in section 2.3). However, only a handful of scholars have paid attention to 'normal' (sic) father-daughter interactions whereas most have focused on those within dysfunctional families. In this section, I want to review the trajectory of this research, especially my motivation, changing research positions and research aims.

Two reasons excited my interest in exploring father-daughter relationships. Various aspects of father-daughter relationships, like closeness, distance, harmony, dysfunctional interactions and so forth, are often described in autobiographies, novels, or Hollywood

films (e.g. Marvin's Room, 1996 or Somewhere, 2010). Moreover, the lived experiences of both my own and my friends' father-daughter interactions are interesting. For this reason, my Master's thesis, entitled *When Iron John is sentimental: the process of becoming a father-in-law* (Liao, 2003), explores the psychological adjustment of midlife fathers who faced the prospect of their daughters' marriage – the way in which they experienced a series of complicated feelings from shock, reluctant acceptance, a sense of loss, to blessings and unconditional support when preparing their daughters' weddings; and the subsequent relationships between these fathers and their newly-married daughters and sons-in-law. At the same time, the research findings shed light on the variety of father-daughter relationships occurring in daughters' different developmental stages. Accordingly, I decided to extend the research topic to investigate the nature of the father-daughter relationship in those different stages.

When I came to the UK, I was surprised to learn that the lived experiences of many Chinese immigrant families influenced by their intergenerational distinct backgrounds differed from those of the so-called *Western family*. Some extreme instances included the breakdown of parent-child relationships or children's psychological disorders resulting from familial pressures and expectations. However few studies have investigated the parent-child relationships within cross-cultural immigrant families and/or the gap in our knowledge of the father-daughter relationship during the phase beginning with children's early adulthood but before parents become elderly and dependent, particularly issues relating to the way in which fathers and their young-adult daughters mend their relationships and rebuild new boundaries and also the way fathers manage the inevitable separation (daughters' independence). As a result, I narrowed my interest to probe the interactions between father and adult daughter in Chinese immigrant families and examined relevant lived experiences in order to explore the nature of these relationships

at different stages of daughters' lives.

Initially, I had focused on psychological perspectives when exploring interpersonal interactions even though I was aware of the influence of social contexts. It was from this (psychological) theoretical position that I carried out my pilot study of Chinese immigrants, no matter where they came from, and their adult daughters who had moved to Britain at school age, interviewing them and trying to identify interactive patterns between fathers and daughters at various developmental stages, considering ambivalent intergenerational experiences and paternal influences on daughters' lives. However, my disregard of the influence of socio-cultural contexts hindered me from making sense of the nature of the father-daughter relationships in immigrant families. As a result, I reconsidered my research and then amended my research position for the main study using sociological frameworks (see detailed discussion in Chapter 3). I focused on Taiwanese immigrants because, having come from a similar cultural background, I was therefore able to understand participants' lived experiences more easily. On the other hand, I turned to explore these issues from sociological perspectives and changed my research aims as follows:

1. To demonstrate how different socio-cultural contexts influence the concepts and practices of fathering a daughter.
2. To show how father-daughter interactions reflect gender identities and the flow of gendered power relations

In light of the research aims, two research questions addressed by this study are presented below:

1. How does a male Taiwanese immigrant father his daughter in a different social context from the one he was familiar with?

This question aims to find how the conception and performance of fatherhood are reconstructed when Taiwanese immigrants engage in the British social context. For instance, in contrast to fathers in the West who are encouraged to participate in child-rearing, the primary paternal responsibility in Taiwan was to be a successful breadwinner, so being an absent father was accepted. Moreover, Taiwanese fathers were used to maintaining some distance from their daughters due to gender differences and gendered division of labour. The answer to this question also requires an understanding of the meaning ascribed by Taiwanese immigrants to being a girl living in Britain and how such (re)conceptualisations of girlhood influenced their attitudes and ways of fathering their daughters. For example, the tradition of 'training' a daughter to be a wife/mother was challenged by the notion of *Girl Power* in Britain and, thereby, encouraged consideration of the meaning of femininity and how daughters should be brought up to assimilate into the British culture. In short, I wished to see how Taiwanese immigrants fathered their daughters and the way in which they maintained and/or changed the values they had embedded.

2. How do fathers' attitudes/practices of *fathering* relate to daughters' understandings of their *daughterhood*?

This question is inclined to understand how daughters subjectively constructed their feminine identity and the 'role' as a daughter, in which they are likely to constantly negotiate between the mainstream notions of girlhood in western societies and the traditional ideas of being a girl that were upheld in their families. Furthermore, this question wants to see how participants' (re)constructions of fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood related to the specific patterns of father-daughter interactions within the Taiwanese immigrant families.

1.3 Research Gaps in Existing Literature and My Theoretical Position

Existing empirical research on Taiwanese family relationships and gender issues (e.g. masculinity/femininity or fatherhood/motherhood) demonstrated gaps in knowledge and understanding of father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese families. In this section, I shall point out such research gaps, and further clarify my theoretical position in this research project.

Taiwanese research on family relationships and gender issues has flourished in the last two decades[6], but the majority are based on psychologised sex-role theories. In this literature the Taiwanese, patriarchal, family structure is inscribed by notions of traditional 'gender roles' (see detailed discussion in Chapter 2). Recently, more and more researchers have argued that rapidly changing social context is a key attribution in an individual's inner struggle and adaptation, but they have not paid enough attention to its impact on the social reconstruction of gender identities. Although such psychologically informed, individual-centred, decontextualised perspectives are not useful in effectively explaining Taiwanese fatherhood and father-daughter interactions in British society, the ideology of familist values, domestic gendered division of labour and sex/gender-roles addressed in existing Taiwanese studies and the empirical findings relating to individuals' psychological adaptation and intergenerational ambivalent experiences are considered as background information in my own study and enable me to have an empathic understanding of my participants' feelings and lived experiences.

[6] Due to political factors, former research on domestic/gender issues aimed to reinforce traditional virtues, such as filial piety and gender division of labour. The history of feminist movements in Taiwan dated in the 1970s but when only a handful of scholars who returned from abroad paid attention to gender inequality. Until Taiwanese government declared martial law ended in 1987, numerous feminist pioneers devoted themselves to women's law/civil rights. Academic discussions on women and femininities have been flourishing since the 1990s and could be divided roughly into two themes: one was on sexual liberation; the other was on gender roles. In contrast, research on men and masculinities mainly started in the middle 1990s and came into mainstream until 2000.

Moreover it may be argued that recognising the detraditionalisation of Taiwanese culture is needed. Late modernity theories, particularly in terms of the concepts of reflexive modernisation (Beck, 1994; Giddens, 1994; Lash, 1994) and individualisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001), provide me with a critical framework within which to rethink my research (see further discussion in Chapter 2). In practice, the shift from (traditional) Taiwan to (post-industrial) British culture is likely to views on fathering and the family. In addition, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2001:55) notion that women in the individualisation process are moving away from *living for others* toward *a life of their own*, alongside the notion of *Girl Power* (see Aapola et al, 2005), is useful for shedding light on the British-Taiwanese daughters' choice and performance of femininities (see detailed analysis in the findings chapters).

At the same time, the mainstream values inevitably influence the perceptions and understandings of ethnic minorities. Existing studies on Chinese immigrants' negotiation and struggles for locating themselves in British society (e.g. Archer & Francis, 2007; Song, 1999; Parker, 1995) enable me to perceive how complex power relations operate between ethnic minority identities and wider social structures. Thus, in this study I also pay attention to the influence of such complex power relations on individuals' choices and subjectively constructed identities.

So far, I have discussed my research trajectory, the gaps in existing literature, the changed research aims and questions and my theoretical position. As I have pointed out, a sociological (as opposed to psychological) position is more helpful for interpreting the impact of changed socio-cultural contexts on father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese families that have relocated to Britain. Adopting a social constructionist approach I sought to understand how the conceptions of fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood had changed.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This research endeavours to provide a socio-cultural understanding of the nature of the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. This thesis is divided into eight chapters. The present chapter has introduced the research motives and aims and given a brief review of the rationale of this study, including the background context, and relevant knowledge gaps that I hope to fill in this study. My research position and theoretical perspectives have also been identified.

Chapter 2 includes a detailed discussion of the key literature and theories related to this study. There are four sections: (i) traditional family ideologies of Taiwan; (ii) existing research on the Chinese in Britain; (iii) rethinking the construction of fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood; and (iv) detraditionalisation.

Following the review of key literature, the methodological framework and research design are illustrated in Chapter 3. Adopting a social constructionist approach, qualitative interviews are the main method used to collect 12 narratives, which include six Taiwanese father-daughter pairs sharing their lived experiences. Additionally, a qualitative content analysis is employed to interpret the (re)construction of fathering a daughter and of the father-daughter interactions. Chapter 4 provides profiles of the six Taiwanese immigrant families who took part in this study.

The data analysis is presented in three chapters. Chapter 5, *New Fatherhood: Changing Concepts of Fathering,* discusses Taiwanese fathers' perceptions of the performance of fatherhood and of the changing concepts and practices of fathering a daughter. Chapter 6, *New Daughterhood,* analyses British-Taiwanese daughters' viewpoints on the hybrid construction of gendered (feminine) identities and conceptualisation of daughterhood. Chapter 7, *Father-Daughter Relationships and Understandings*, concentrates upon how fathers

'read' their daughters and how daughters 'read' their fathers, the way in which I want to reconstruct the nature of father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain.

Chapter 8 presents the conclusion of this study, including a summary of the findings which answer the research questions. It also considers the implications for ethnic minority education. This chapter finally offers some suggestions for future research.

2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the key literature which provides a framework for this study. It is divided into two parts and each part consists of two sections. Part I examines existing empirical research on the traditional familial values of Taiwan and the lived experiences of Chinese (young) people in Britain in order to provide a picture of life for Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain. In Section 2.1, the traditional family ideology of Taiwan is described. As is shown in this section, the notion of *tradition* is central to realising the family structure, the nature of family relationships and the beliefs about parenting in Taiwan. I then review the existing research on the Chinese community in Britain in 2.2. Even though the samples for these studies are pan-Chinese groups, the empirical findings are still useful resources for shedding light on the lived experiences of Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain. In Part II, attention is turned to theoretical assumptions on the concepts and practices of fathering a daughter and the nature of the father-daughter relationships, outlining the key thinking on these issues. In 2.3, the conceptualisation of fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood is addressed along with the specific gendered power relations within the domestic sphere. The final section provides an account of a variety of late modernity positions relating to the assumptions of detraditionalisation and individualisation; that is the way that changed social contexts affect the process of disembedding and reembedding *tradition*.

Part I – Existing Empirical Research

Due to a lack of direct resources available to clarify the position of the Taiwanese

community in Britain, in this part, two broad areas of literature are drawn on to provide some indication of the experiences of Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain. In 2.1 a review of literature on familist ideologies in Taiwan is helpful to make sense of the traditional values which Taiwanese (first-generation) immigrants, in this case the fathers in this study, were brought up with. In 2.2, the existing empirical research on the Chinese community in Britain is useful in illustrating the lived experiences of Taiwanese (second-generation) immigrants in this country.

2.1 Traditional Family Ideologies in Taiwan

The culture of Taiwan is based on familism. The family in the Taiwanese agrarian-based society was the core of the economic unit and of social life in which individuals need its protection and support. The concept of the family forms the basis socially, culturally and economically of Taiwanese society. Yang and Yeh (2005) integrated relevant literature and personal experiences and then concluded that familism is classified to "in-group collectivism" (Yang, 2005:179) and emphasises domestic harmony and solidarity, prolonging and expanding the family line, augmenting family property and glorifying the family name. The values of familism dominate over individuals' lives and are practised within the patterns of family interactions (Yeh, Huang & Chiu, 2006). Unconditional interdependence within family members is reinforced and encouraged (Lin & Liu, 1993); in other respects, the pecking order in Taiwan accords with the "hierarchical arrangement" (i.e. the elder generation over the younger one) and the "power distance" between male and female (Yang & Yeh, 2005:275). As such, a person is a member of the family first, not just an individual self. Whatever an individual learned, said, did and thought not only had to contribute towards family solidarity and harmony but, most importantly, had to glorify the family name (Wei, 2003).

Fathers and daughters stand at the two extremes of both hierarchical arrangement and power distance (i.e. significant males vs. marginal females) among family members. The nature of the father-daughter relationship and the principles of fathering a daughter are deeply embedded within the traditional family structure and its morality. Thus this section will be divided into three parts to comprehensively review the basic family structure, the patterns of family interactions and the practices of parenting in order to understand conceptualisations of fatherhood and daughterhood in Taiwan.

2.1.1 Basic Family Structure

The family structure rooted in Confucianism operates with the principle of the *Three Bonds* (san-kang 三綱). The *Three Bonds* is the inner logic of the family structure – "namely the authority of the ruler over the minister, the father over the son, and the husband over the wife" (Tu, 1998:122). In other words, hierarchy, age and gender, which are inherent in the *Three Bonds*, is emphasised for maintaining family order and stability. Moreover, the ethics of the *Three Bonds* have implications for appropriate behavioural prescriptions and social positions (Tu, 1998) – that is, the superiors, as the executers and arbitrators of moral code, are responsible for the family; conversely, absolute obedience is required of the inferiors.

The 'typical', traditional family structure of Taiwan is patriarchal and the father-son relationship is the dominant dyad in which the central values are blood, hierarchy and interdependence (Liao, 2000; Hsu, 1971). The father who holds the dominant position in terms of hierarchy, age and gender is regarded as possessing absolute authority to determine the thoughts of family members, manage the family economy, set out the domestic order and to define and enforce family rules (Yang, 2005). The absolute authority can only pass from the father to the eldest son (Yang & Yeh, 2005). Household

assets are another significant family resource held by the father but can be divided equally among the sons (huen-ge-hue 分家產; Yang, 2005; Chen, 1987). These sons are expected to succeed the father and maintain the family line; they are also expected to take the main responsibility for the care and support of their elderly, dependent parents (Yang & Yeh, 2005; Wei, 2003).

In Taiwan, the terms of *family* (jia 家) and *house* (fang 房) imply patrilineal continuity from one generation to another. The *family* headed by the father is composed of *houses* in which the sons are the master. When a son is born a *house* forms in which the son has rightful succession to the family property and can be worshiped by clan members and offspring (Chen, 1987). Each *house* has two obligations: to obey the *family* and to continue the *house* line (Liao, 2007). The former includes absolute obedience when the son is a child and wholehearted nurturance when the son is an adult with the parents aging and increasingly dependent – that is to practise filial piety. Conversely, the daughter is never positioned as a *house* in her family of origin but as a dependent in her husband's *house* (Liao, 2007). For this reason, the desire of Taiwanese parents who retain traditional values is to have sons. A male who has no son must find a substitute for continuing his clan: on the one hand, he may accept or rather adopt a son-in-law and they would live together (zhau-zhui 招贅; Chen, 1987) and designate the grandsons to succeed his family name (chou-zhu-mu-shiu 抽豬母稅; Li, 2005); on the other hand, he may adopt a son of his brothers to succeed to his *house* (guo-fang 過房; Chen, 1987) – the proviso being that his brother has more than one son.

The worst fear in traditional families is where parents do not have any sons to carry on ancestor worship (e.g. specific rituals of funeral and burial and rites of burning incense in memorial ceremonies; Wong, 1988); and, crucially, to assure that the clan can achieve some sense of immortality (Wei, 2003). As a result, the key purpose of marriage

in traditional society is to bear sons and continue the family line (Yang & Yeh, 2005). Polygamous marriage or concubinage in ancient times was allowed in order to secure as many sons as possible (Wei, 2003; Chen, 1987; Hsu, 1981). Arrangements are made for a female to marry into and live with her husband's family. In addition to continuing his clan, the bride takes on responsibility for the care of her husband's parents (Kao & Lu, 2006; Hsu, 1981). The pattern of patrilocal residence infers that a female is compelled to cut off the link with her family of origin and devote herself to benefiting another family (Li, 2005). Patrilocal residence emerged from the needs of an agriculturally based economy where an extended family comprising of the parents, their unmarried children, their married sons, together with their wives and children, all live under one roof in order to create maximum benefit for the family and practise the ideals of familism (Wong, 1988).

As has been shown from the above discussion, the features of the traditional Taiwanese family are patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal. The male-centred family structure creates a situation whereby sons are valued above daughters and which subjugates the female's position. A female in the traditional family is subordinate and powerless; she is even essentially nonexistent in the genealogy of her family of origin (Slote, 1998). Obedience is a prerequisite throughout a female's life: an unmarried daughter owes submission to her father; her husband is the only support in the marriage; her son becomes the anchor when her husband is dead (san-cong 三從). Furthermore, a daughter, under Taiwanese adage, is fated to belong to someone (yang-nju-er-bie-ren-de 養女兒別人的). That is, a daughter is regarded as a temporary sojourner in her family of origin; ultimately, she has to seek legitimation and go back *home*, her husband's house (yu-gui 于歸). For this reason, a daughter is considered as a money-losing proposition because her family of origin will lose a source of labour when she marries out (Slote, 1998). Traditionally, a married daughter is a guest and an outsider for her family of origin.

Many rites of wedding, such as to splash in a tub of water after the bride rides away in the limousine (meant *not accepting her return*), are symbolised to cut off the connection between the bride and her family of origin.

Marriage is virtually universal for women and the transition from daughter to daughter-in-law has always been complex and difficult (Tsai, 2000). Cut off from her family of origin, the young wife prepares herself for the pains and duties of her married life, struggles to position herself in her husband's family and begins the process by which she will be incorporated there (Liao, 2007; Tsai, 2000; Chen, 1999). In her husband's family, the young wife should be under the strict supervision of her mother-in-law and is expected to shoulder the whole of the household duties, such as domestic labour, childbearing, childrearing and caring for her elders. Even though she shoulders great burdens in the marriage, a female in traditional Taiwan must marry (Wang, 1999). To marry, in a way, represents her achievement and manifests that she is of worth (Wu, 2004). In contrast, a mature but unmarried daughter is regarded as a dishonour to her family (Shi, 2006) and places great pressure on her parents and herself (Wu, 2002). With this expectation, coupled with the belief that a daughter is incapable of being worshiped by clan members, a female who died before marriage will have a ghost marriage arranged (ming-hun 冥婚; Li, 2005); otherwise her coffin will be put into a specific temple (nu-er-miao 女兒廟; Chen, 1987), rather than in the family graveyard. In other words, a female's life in traditional Taiwan starts within marriage (Wu, 2004).

The patrilineal familism and its hierarchical differences between male and female are practised in the relationships between family members which will now be discussed.

2.1.2 Family Relations

There are two features of interpersonal interactions which have been identified in

the familistic society. One is "relationship-mutuality" (Yang, 2005:187). The traditional society is a symbiotic system in which an individual is well-known for his strong reliance on interpersonal relationships as bases for defining his social status (Yang, 2005) and thereby his behaviour has to conform to his 'role' and relevant social expectations (Yang, 2001a). In other words, a Taiwanese man is used to identifying himself as so-and-so's son, husband, friend or whoever, rather than simply stating his name. Accordingly, he is under obligation to act in ways that conform to his various positions; for example, as a son obedience is expected but authority is stressed when he is so-and-so's husband. Moreover, the prescriptions of interpersonal interactions in traditional society are reciprocal, complementary but also asymmetrical. Each dyadic relationship includes two opposing 'roles' in which the pattern of interaction is based upon the principles of mutuality in order for reciprocal benefit and social harmony (Yang, 2005; Tu, 1998). With regard to family relations, in order to contribute toward family harmony and solidarity, natural love is reciprocated between parents and children; the couple have to work together but shoulder different responsibilities, i.e. the husband as a breadwinner and his wife as a housekeeper; and the relationships among siblings are expected to be mutually fraternal and respectful.

The other feature is "relationship-determinism" (Yang, 2005:187). Varied social relationships determine distinct modes of 'role' interactions and response: unconditional interdependence between family members (duty-oriented); reciprocal benefits in familiar friendships (exchange-centred); and interested contest between strangers. Fei defines this principle of hierarchal interactions as "chaxugeju" (差序格局; 1948:21) in which the social network can be likened to concentric circles, the centre as self and the circles as various relationships, and the hierarchal difference from insider to outsider, from intimacy to distance (Yang, 2001a). Family members as intimate insiders take precedence over others

(Yang, 2005). Whatever individuals do for their family is taken for granted. Everyone is under an obligation to protect, even shelter, his family.

Family relations are further distinguished in terms of kinship gradation in which biological connection and marriage bond are the key variables (Yang, 2001a). Under the "chaxugeju", *vertical arrangement* must take precedence over *horizontal interaction* (Liao, 2007; Yang & Yeh, 2005) – that is, Taiwanese value blood relationships more than other family relations tied by marriage. Parent-child relationships, particularly the parent-son dyads, are more important than matrimony and siblings. A married son who sides with his wife rather than his parents is criticized as unfilial. In contrast, a daughter/daughter-in-law suffers from 'role conflicts' between insider and outsider. In the traditional family, the daughter is considered as a cultural outsider but a psychological insider; conversely, the daughter-in-law is a psychological outsider but a cultural insider (Yang, 2001b). With regard to the son-in-law, he is the most distant both psychologically and culturally (Cheng, 2005). Four primary family relations, characterised by hierarchy and relationality, will be illustrated below.

2.1.2.1 Husband-Wife

In patrilineal society, the notion that the main function of marriage, as previously mentioned, is to produce children. This has two implications. First, heterosexuality is required and expected. Selecting an opposite-sex partner, getting married and then bearing children is regarded as a series of unshirkable duties and also as simply nature taking its course (Li, 2005). Moreover, the conjugal relationship is replaceable. A woman who does not produce a son gives her husband a reason to divorce her. Polygamy and concubinage were recognised not only to continue the family line but also to take care of elder, dependent parents (Wei, 2003; Hsu, 1981). As a result, rather than being a wife, a

woman in her marriage plays the predominant 'roles' of daughter-in-law and mother. Marriage also implies a social and economic exchange between two families, especially among upper-class families. In Taiwan, marriage links two families together and thereby develops a wider social network (Kao & Lu, 2006; Wu, 2002). In a well-matched marriage, two families with equal standing, was valued; and parents were actively taking control over their children's marriages in order to seek the utmost benefit for the family (Kao & Lu, 2006; Li, 2005; Wei, 2003).

Commitment was the cornerstone of traditional matrimony. Under familism, the conjugal relationship was determined by social expectations and morals, rather than by romantic love (Li, 2005). If both parties conformed to proper 'roles' the individual was regarded as being in a relatively stable marriage; this is in contrast to western marriage where there is a worry that romantic love might disappear one day (Kao & Lu, 2006; Wei, 2003; Hsu, 1981). Due to the lack of a romantic basis, most marriages in traditional Taiwanese society are distant, formal and frequently hostile (Slote, 1998). The emotional expression and communication between husband and wife is obscure, elusive, and even nonexistent (Yeh et al. 2006). As far as a couple is concerned, quarrels may be regarded as a direct way to communicate or deal with friction in that traditional society emphasises the absolute division of labour between husband and wife (Wang, 1999). At the same time, a Taiwanese female tends to repress her views or feelings in order to maintain family harmony (yi-he-wei-gui 以和為貴; Li, 2005). Buddhist fatalism further dominates traditional marital values: being a couple is destined to pay each other back for pre-existent kindness (fu-chi-shiang-chian-chai 夫妻相欠債). The frequent way to *stoop to compromise* or to *grin and bear it* is chosen, in particular for powerless married females, in order to fulfil the tasks of this present life and then have a pure beginning in the next life (Yang, 2005; Yu, 1990).

The concept of matrimony values the significance of the taking on of distinctive responsibilities. The traditional family in Taiwan stresses the notion that men are breadwinners whilst women are housekeepers (Li, 2005). The male realm should be located far away from home. For a man, to stay too often at home is not looked upon as desirable (Yeh et al. 2006). Although the husband has absolute authority and is regarded as the ultimate disciplinarian in the household, the wife is the organiser of the domestic routine, looks after and gives filial obedience to her husband's parents and takes the day to day responsibility for disciplining her children. A man presides over or participates in domestic duties only when crucial decisions need making, such as arranging parents' funeral ceremonies, advising on children's career/marital arrangements and so forth. With regard to parenting, the authoritative father complements the solicitous mother in disciplining and modifying children's misdeeds (Lee, 1998), whilst the mother plays a critical position as a go-between for father and children (Lee, 2005; Chen, 2004; Mo, 1997). Accordingly, studies have found that children usually feel more gratitude towards their mother than their father (Chuang & Yang, 1991).

2.1.2.2 Father-Child

The image of a traditional father is one of being awesome, stern, distant and untouchable. The ancient Chinese character, 爻 (父, father), pictures a man who holds a stick in his hand, its meaning has been extended so that the father is regarded as shouldering the main responsibility for teaching and disciplining his children (Huang, 2007). However, the father, as primary breadwinner, cannot stay home for long; so fathering is indirect and infrequent, such as a dragonfly skimming across the surface of the water (Chen, 2004; Wu, 2002). The traditional father is a household manager, final judge and ultimate disciplinarian, whereas the mother provides daily nurturance and discipline (Huang, 2007; Slote, 1998). In addition, 'manhood' in Taiwan is proved by

hiding emotions. Fathers are expected to be emotionally cold and controlling – the only time they can show warmth and love towards their children, especially their daughters, is when they are young (until they enter puberty) or at times such as their parents' funerals (Cheng, 2005; Slote, 1998). As a result, traditional father-child relationships are remote both physically and mentally; moreover, due to distinct gender divisions, there are fewer opportunities for father-daughter interactions (Huang, 2007; Cheng, 2005; Lee, 2005; Yang, 2005; Lee, 1998; Chen, 1986).

Although the father-son dyad is the core of family relations in Taiwan, traditional father-son interactions present an approach-avoidance conflict in which the nature of the relationship carries tensions, contradictions, even a certain amount of anger and hostility (Lee, 1998; Hu, 1995). The purpose of fathering a son in Taiwan is to rigorously train him to be an aggressive, responsible patriarch. Contradictorily, the father simultaneously expects obedience and respect from his son. As far as the son is concerned, he realises his father's love in theory; yet fathering is also manifested as a one-way, authoritative admonition or control, particularly when the son enters adolescence (Chen, 2004; Wu, 2002).

The father-daughter relationship appears simple, mild and ceremonious compared with the contradictory father-son relationship (Lee, 1998). Fathers criticise daughters less and are also more likely to excuse their mistakes (Wu, 2002). The main duty of fathering a daughter is to protect and ensure her happiness (Liao, 2003). Therefore, it is likely that the greatest conflict between father and daughter would happen during the daughter's 'mating' (Cheng, 2005; Liao, 2003; Wu, 2002).

The father does his best to protect his daughter from the cradle to the grave. Traditionally, a female's marriage is arranged by her father (Lin, 1994). While it is seen as

inevitable that a daughter will marry, the paternal responsibility is to make sure that his daughter's marriage will be supportive. On the one hand, he carefully selects a reliable son-in-law and his well-matched family, even choosing one where the potential husband's family background has less social/material capitals (Goodman, 1993), so that the father can obtain respect from the son-in-law's relations and can offer strong assistance if his daughter needs (Liao, 2003). On the other hand, he does his best to provide the dowry and thereby endow his daughter with a private fund and economic independence and, in a way, please his in-laws – because, for the groom's family, the new bride brings treasure (Liao, 2003).

2.1.2.3 Mother-Child

Motherhood is regarded as the core of a female's life in traditional society. Su, a feminist scholar in Taiwan, points out that "mothering is the longest training, not only has its relevant knowledge and techniques been transferred from one generation to another but it has been internalised into women's values and behavioural prescriptions" (Su, 1996:8). The mother is crucial for instructing and socialising her daughter as a competent mother (Wu, 2002; Chen, 1999; Li, 1999; Chen, 1986). Before getting married, the daughter is her mother's efficient assistant in carrying out domestic chores and looking after her younger siblings; here she is ostensibly learning and practising how to be a mother. The mother-daughter relationship becomes more intense when the daughter becomes a mother (Wu, 2002; Chen, 1999; Li, 1999): the mother acts as an adviser and provides psychological support in helping the married daughter adjust to her new role. Furthermore, the relationship between the mother and the married daughter appears to be a two-way process offering emotional support and mutual mothering (Wu, 2002; Chen, 1999) – that is, the daughter wants to repay and take care of her aged mother more; in contrast, the mother relies on her daughter's support. In Taiwan, there is

a very intimate tie between mother and daughter in which mutual psychological support is based on sincerity and warmth, rather than cultural commitment, such as the tie between mother and her married son (Hu, 1995). The more intense the bond between mother and daughter, the more difficult it is for the married daughter to leave her family of origin (Tsai, 2000; Chen, 1999). But, traditional values and cultural constraints actually cut off the mother-daughter tie. As far as the mother is concerned, the married daughter has to devote herself to the care of her husband's parents so that their interactions and contacts must set within boundaries (Wu, 2002).

According to the literature on traditional Taiwanese family relations, the primary emotional tie is between mother and son: intimate but complicated (Slote, 1998; Hu, 1995). A newlywed female is recognised in her husband's family only when she has a son (mu-ping-tzu-gui 母憑子貴). Besides, having a son means that the woman has a perpetual anchor to ensure her financial and emotional security and support in later life. In Taiwan, the tie between mother and son is supported and strengthened culturally. For the son, the mother is the only one to whom he is allowed to express his affection. Psychologically a son is expected to be tied closely to his mother's apron strings from the cradle to the grave (Li, 1998; Yu, 1990). However, this close tie undergoes a threat when the son gets married.

The intra-psychic conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law has been discussed as an unresolved dilemma in Taiwan. Their relationship lacks emotional ties, but between these two women appear superior-inferior interactions instead (Li, 1999; Lee, 1998; Hu, 1995) – that is, the mother-in-law is extremely punitive towards the young daughter-in-law who is regarded as a rival for the same 'patron'. The son is the pivot of the rivalry. He is struggling between *vertical loyalty* and *horizontal loyalty* (Tsai, 2002; Tsai, 2002; Wu, 2002): If the man prefers the former, it is likely to cause his wife resentment;

in contrast, when the man favours the latter, he results in his mother's sorrow and resentment; he is even criticised as an unfilial son. Traditionally, it is acceptable for the son to side with his mother, although this causes his wife's resentment. As a result, the oppressed daughter-in-law can only hope to exert her own authority by becoming a mother-in-law herself someday (chi-fu-ao-cheng-po 媳婦熬成婆). Yu (1990) found that resentment is a very common emotion in Taiwan and usually exists among the closest relations, particularly the mother-son dyad. It implies the desire of invisible loyalty in which, for instance, the mother who devotes herself selflessly to her son has a hidden expectation of his obedience and repayment (Wu, 2002; Yu, 1990). When the son does not satisfy this, the mother often adopts behaviours that will uses makes her son feel guilty in order to reign him in (Slote, 1998).

2.1.2.4 Siblings

Age is a crucial factor in how sibling relationships are played out in the traditional family. The interactions among siblings have to adhere to order and sequence (hsu 序), i.e. precedence of the old over the young, in order for family harmony (Tu, 1998). The older siblings are responsible for love and care for the younger; whereas the younger children are expected to be respectful and courteous to their elders. The older children are also disciplined severely in order to serve as a model in socialising the younger siblings (Lui, 2001; Wong, 1988). Taiwanese families tend to expect the firstborn to act as a "parental child" (Kao & Tsai, 2006:8) – that is, to substitute busy parents for the care of the younger. Even the oldest daughter, under patriarchal traditions, sometimes has to sacrifice herself to honour other male siblings. In contrast, young siblings shall respect and obey their older brothers and sisters in order to repay beneficiaries as much as possible (Tu, 1998).

Inevitably, absolute fraternal love is a myth. In order to secure more resources (such as authority or household assets) and their parents' attention, sibling rivalry and envy is often seen (Slote, 1998). Extreme cases of sibling rivalry have been evidenced in the royal family where fratricide has been exercised in order to gain imperial authority. However, sibling rivalry is seldom made public until the parents die (Slote, 1998) – that is one of the ways to implement filial piety. If the first son succeeds his father as a householder but cannot get his siblings' obedience, the family will be likely to disunite, while maintaining a distant contact. These separated siblings reunite only on ceremonial occasions, such as the anniversaries of the parents' deaths. Generally speaking, sibling rivalry tends to exist among brothers. It is perhaps because the daughter is destined to marry off or because the daughter is brought up to practice self-denial.

The principle of age as order and sequence has been extended to all social relationships. To respect elders is a distinctive feature of Taiwanese families (Archer & Francis, 2007; Tu, 1998). The *Three Bonds* regard seniority as one of the main cultural values in organising social hierarchy (Tu, 1998). Moreover the elders are regarded as having embodied wisdom and experience and thereby command respect. Undoubtedly, age is not the only reason to earn respect especially when elders are among friends or strangers. Virtue takes precedence over age and rank (Tu, 1998). However, Taiwanese people, from the time they are young, have become familiar with the expectation that they are to respect elders whether through kinship, friendship or with strangers. Even for a virtueless, useless elder, outward submission is regarded as necessity (Huang & Chiu, 1991).

In conclusion, family relations in Taiwan are under great strain even if it tends to present harmony and solidarity on the surface: distant husbands and wives, conflicting father-son relationships, competitive mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and rivalrous

siblings. Rigid morals and prescriptions suppress individuals' desire effectively in which family education and parenting play a crucial role. At the same time, it is important to note that understandings of, and research into, Taiwanese familism has been located within psychological 'role' concepts. This will be taken up and discussed later.

2.1.3 Parenting

Taiwanese parents advocate authoritarian approach (Yeh et al. 2006). They discipline the children with strictly moral 'norms' and attempt to control their children's behaviour. Maturity is emphasised at a very young age, in which the child is expected to behave like an adult (Wong, 1988). Taiwanese parents are argued to prefer to severely punish their children for negative behaviour (Yeh et al, 2006; Ou & McAdoo, 1993). In an era when human rights were not valued, corporal punishment prevailed and most Taiwanese parents believed the notion of 'spare the rod and spoil the child' (yu-bu-chuo-bu-cheng-chi 玉不琢不成器).

Furthermore, as Hus (1981) has noted, parents have absolute authority to dispose of their children's lives. Traditionally the child was considered as an estate of his (sic) parents or the family (Chen, 1999). Lee (1998) also has found, in Taiwan, parents devote themselves to paving the way for their children's lives: some parents who possess more social and/or economic resources tend to use these to enhance the best opportunities for their children's future, such as career and marriage; whereas others save as much as possible in order to support their children. In contrast, the greatest virtue for children is to be obedient.

In this part, how Taiwanese parents nurture their children in order to contribute towards family harmony and solidarity and to glorify the family name – that is the main purposes of parenting under familism – will be explored.

2.1.3.1 Contributing towards Family Harmony and Solidarity

Family harmony and solidarity is treasured highly. Taiwanese people grow up knowing that harmony in the family is the basis for success in any undertaking (jia-he-wan-shi-ching 家和萬事興; Yang & Yeh, 2005; Yang, 2005). Practically, they are educated to be deferential and submissive, to suppress emotions, control their impulses and aggressive behaviours and obey, and even to depend on authority unconditionally from their very young childhood (Yeh et al, 2006; Li, 1999; Slote, 1998; Hsu, 1981).

Filial piety (hsiao 孝) is the foundation stone for family harmony. Filial piety is a complex system in which children have a series of duties and obligations to repay parental debts and subordinate their desires to satisfy the will and welfare of their parents (Chen, 1986; Hsu, 1981). Yang (1988) indicates that filial piety involves four correlative elements: filial cognition (I recognise that I must care for my parents), filial affection (I love my parents because they are my parents), filial intention and filial behaviour. There are several gradations with reference to filial behaviour. When the child is indeed a child, to show obedience is the primary duty. When older, filial maturity requires that an adult child nurtures his (sic) parents (Chuo, 2006); that is, in addition to filial obedience, the adult child devotes himself to provide his parents economic and emotional support (Chuo, 2006; Jordan, 1998; Lin & Liu, 1993). Another dimension of filial behaviour explicitly includes that the child should bring glory to the parents, whether they are living or dead, throughout his life (Lin & Liu, 1993; Chuang & Yang, 1991).

By and large, filial piety is the guiding value permeating all aspects of Taiwanese life. As a proverb says, of the hundred excellent things, filial piety is first, whatever individual words and deeds, educational and occupational achievement, succession of family line,

harmony of family interactions, ancestor worship and so on can be attributed to the performance of filial piety (Yeh, 2005; Huang, 1988; Yang, 1988; Chen, 1986). An adult will be filled with guilt when he (sic) cannot fulfil filial piety. Furthermore, he will be criticized, even be sentenced, when he does not obey or nurture his aging parents. Even in ancient times the unreasonable notion that parents are always right (tain-shia-wu-bu-shi-de-fu-mu 天下無不是的父母) was enforced on children to obey their parents blindly (Yeh, 2005; Lee, 1989). Filial piety, through socialisation and observational learning, has been transmitted from one generation to another (Chuang & Yang, 1991; Yang, 1988). Parents or significant others act as an example as well as the mass media, popular books (e.g. the 24 Filial Stories), schools and strong government reinforcement (public award or penalty) encourage and establish the notion of the value of filial piety.

Filial piety not only contributes to family harmony but also makes family feel a strong sense of belonging. Taiwanese culture stresses the importance of family solidarity – family members have to share honour and face disgrace together (Yang & Yeh, 2005). Therefore, Taiwanese people are instilled with the notion that we are family and get used to classifying social contacts as an insider or an outsider (Yang, 2005). For the insider/ family, they regard each other as a unity and must be interdependent (Chuo, 2006). The emphasis of child rearing on family harmony and solidarity aims to bring as many benefits as possible – that is, in conformity with the values of familism.

However, a married daughter as a cultural outsider, struggles with whom she is expected to provide filial piety (Wu, 2002; Yang, 2001b; Tsai, 2000). Psychologically she desires to repay her own parents and feels debt of gratitude to them but she is obliged to care for her parents-in-law who, in a way, are parallel strangers. Moreover, it terms of family solidarity, a married daughter, especially a newlywed, usually feels sorrow because she seems a marginal member both to her family of origin and her new husband's family

(Yang, 2001a; Tsai, 2000).

2.1.3.2 Glorifying the Family Name

Jin (1995) has pointed out East Asian cultures encourage a sensitivity amongst people to the views and opinions of others, whether these be real opinions or imagined ones. Yang (2005) further conceptualises this as *other orientation* and its primary features include misgivings about others' opinions and feelings, strong conformity with others, deep concern about social norms and high regard for reputation. In addition, individual reputation connects closely with family name (Slote, 1998). Individuals whose behaviour transgresses social norms affect not only themselves but, most importantly, their parents and family. Therefore, the passive way to maintaining a good family name is to avoid dishonouring the family, not to make the family suffer loss of *face* (Yang, 2005). One has to watch one's behaviour and conform to social norms or expectations. It also impels one to do his/her best to maintain what the family possesses, such as household property and existing reputation. The positive methods to bring honour to the family involve expanding family assets and achieving success (Yeh et al, 2006). The former implies that one should work hard and earn as much as money for one's family. Taiwanese parents set high educational and occupational expectations in order to fulfil the latter.

Education is the best channel for social mobility in Taiwan. Parents enable their children's success by encouraging/placing pressure on them from very early childhood (Smith, 1991). Taiwanese children, to a certain extent, do not have a childhood in the way that Western children do, especially those in upper, richer families where they are given basic courses at home as soon as they learn to speak and then go on to formal education from aged four. Also, Taiwanese parents have high educational expectations of academic achievements, and pay great attention to the marks their children achieve in schools in

order to push their children to the top. In former Taiwan, the intelligentsia was regarded as the highest achievement, and thereby, to pursue (academic) professional careers was the intention of education; yet, due to political constraints, local Taiwanese people turned to the pursuit of commerce (Murray & Hong, 1994).

Having said this, it remains the case that the notion of pursuit of high (educational) achievement usually does not matter as much for a female. Even certain conservative parents feel disappointed when their daughter achieves more highly than their son does. The daughter's achievements are expected to be nurturance-orientated, the way she brings honour and reputation to her family of origin via obedience to her parents, care for her siblings, being a good daughter-in-law and wife, bearing a son for her husband and so on (Chen, 1999).

2.1.4 Summary

The nature of the father-daughter relationship in traditionally Taiwan society was hierarchical and non-intimate. Under the patriarchal familist values, the main paternal responsibility was to protect his daughter and arrange a reliable marriage for her; at the same time, a daughter was required to obey. Furthermore, due to its specific gendered division, paternal involvement in daughters' lives, especially after their adolescence, was indirect. Thus, as far as daughters in the traditional family of Taiwan, the images of their fathers appeared partial. Cheng (2005) has found that for a daughter, observing the interactions between her father and other family members, in particular her mother, was one of the significant ways to understand her father. The mother played a crucial role in bridging the father-daughter relationship. For this reason, the daughter who sides with her oppressed mother might murmur against her father, and thereby, aggravate the distance from him. According to the patrilineal and patrilocal tradition, a daughter was

destined to marry off, continuing someone's family line, profiting someone's family economy and taking care of someone's parents as well as family. She was regarded as a temporary sojourner of her family of origin; even her position at home was powerless and nonexistent. The purpose of training a daughter was to prepare her for marriage and motherhood, the way she was not expected to have higher achievement, but she glorified herself and her family of origin through obedience and sacrifice.

In this section, the traditional values which are closely related to patriarchal family structure, distinct interactive patterns among family members and the conceptions of parenting in Taiwan have been described. Under the familistic norms, individual words and deeds were required to conform to his/her gender and roles, and more specifically, individual needs were expected to be sacrificed in order to benefit his/her family. As a result, what it means to be a father, how to father a daughter, what the nature of the father-daughter relationship is and what a daughter should be(come) were constrained under the monopolistic social norms of Taiwan. Based on these embedded traditions, a focus of this research is on recognising how Taiwanese immigrants disembedded and reembedded what they had enculturated through their own upbringing in Taiwan, mainly relating to fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood, in order to accommodate, negotiate and/or participate in a modern British society, where the 'familistic norms' were quite different.

Due to the lack of direct accounts of the lived experiences of Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain, the next section will review existing studies with reference to the pan-Chinese communities in Britain. These are useful in that they shed light on the east-west cultural clashes and interplays, and, in a way, reconstruct a sketchy picture of Taiwanese immigrant family lives in Britain.

2.2 The Chinese in Britain

It is crucial to set out how ethnicity is understood in terms of social constructionist approaches and for the purposes of analysis in this study. The chosen terminology is 'ethnicity' as opposed to 'race'. The notion of 'race' as something which identifiable, fixed, biological and immutable has been widely challenged and, particularly since the 1960s, is recognised more appropriately as a social construct (see Miles, 1984). Where 'race' has, traditionally, categorised people on the basis of physical skin colour and characteristics, cultural history, social/economic/political position of a society at any fixed time, 'ethnicity' has similarly been used to define and fix smaller social groups with a shared social/cultural interests, values, religion, etc (Zagefa, 2009). Researchers on 'race' and 'ethnicity' have cautioned against such conceptualisations on the basis that they reify and fix apparently 'inherent qualities of ethnic minority groups' (Mirza, 2009:91). Even though there is discussion here of 'Chinese' ethnic groups, Taiwanese family groups and so forth it is recognised that, whilst it is important to acknowledge 'racialised difference' this does not assume homogeneity. Archer and Francis (2007) suggest that the concept of 'hybridity' can be useful and this is especially so here in the later discussions of Taiwanese daughters. As these authors say "Hybrid identities combine elements of other cultures … that blend, synthesis and fuse together different cultural elements … Hybrid identities can be transgressive and/or liberatory because they challenge and transcend "old" boundaries' (Archer & Francis, 2007:29).

Compared with the Black and Asian populations, the Chinese in Britain have been paid rather less attention to by social-science researchers than other minority ethnic groups (for exceptions see Archer & Francis, 2007). This may partly be attributed to their dispersed pattern of settlement, but, most significantly, it may also be because of the emergence of stereotypes in which Chinese communities have been regarded as model,

non-troublesome groups enjoying both academic and economic success; for example, it is not unusual to find essentialist perceptions of the Chinese in Britain as a self-sufficient, quiescent group, seldom participating in political activities and/or turning their private complaints into public issues (Parker & Song, 2007; Song, 2003; Chau & Yu, 2001; Parker, 1998). It is fair to say that there has been something of a silence around the experiences, perceptions and 'voices' of Chinese communities in Britain. The development of existing relevant research can be roughly divided into three stages.

Between the 1960s-1980s some studies were undertaken that looked at various settlements of Chinese communities such as Ng's (1968) book on the Chinese in London, Chen's (1979) master's thesis on the Chinese community in Birmingham and its pattern of life, and Watson's (1977, 1975) research in clan-chain immigration from rural Hong Kong. In contrast to the view today of Chinese children as high achievers at school, in the 1960s there was a concern with the underachievement of these pupils. Garvey and Jackson's (1975) study and two British Parliamentary reports (1985a, 1985b) reported that Chinese children's underachievement was related largely to English language difficulties (particularly for those who were brought up by grandparents in Hong Kong) but also because many of these children spent considerable time working in their family catering businesses.

The educational, economic and professional achievements of the Chinese began to attract more academic research attention in the 1990s. For example, Wong's (1992) study focussed on mother tongue learning of Chinese pupils who attended English-medium schools. Cheng (1994) investigated the effect of Chinese people's pursuance of higher education in determining occupational achievement and upward mobility, and then compared the relative chances of occupational success of the Chinese in Britain with those of the Chinese in America. Issues around ethnic identity and young Chinese

people in Britain began to emerge in the 1990s. Li Wei's (1994) linguistic research paid attention to language choice patterns between the generations in Chinese immigrant families and how such patterns were associated with the formation of ethnic identity. Parker (1995) explored how long-standing cultural stereotypes entered into the everyday lives of young Chinese people in Britain and how various cultural resources and orientations to Hong Kong were articulated to develop ethnic identity. Song (1999) studied Chinese children's labour and how ethnic identities were influenced by such factors as their helping out in their family businesses. Furthermore, there were some research projects in the field of social work, such as Lu's (1996) interest in the cultural clashes of Chinese families' provision of care for their elders in multi-cultural Britain. The majority of research in the 1990s revolved around the lived experiences of Chinese catering families; moreover, it is interesting to note that all of these tended to highlight the significance of traditional family-centred values in the Chinese community in Britain.

Since the year 2000, research on Chinese people in Britain has been extended to include pan-Chinese groups (not simply Hong-Kong migrants with catering backgrounds and their descendants). Archer and Francis' (2007) research project focussed on gender, schooling, educational achievement and the perceptions of British Chinese pupils has offered nuanced understandings of children's engagement with education that challenges essentialist assumptions of all Chinese children as passive/engaged/hardworking/high achieving. Yu (2010a/2010b/2008/2007) thinks the ways in which 'traditional' Chinese values contribute towards British-Chinese teenagers' sexual attitudes and behaviour. Some researchers (e.g. Laidlaw, Wang, Coelho & Power, 2010; Yu, 2009; Chiu & Yu, 2001) have paid attention to ways in which second/third-generation Chinese immigrants have struggled with and negotiated the cultural expectations of filial piety (i.e. family care for elderly, infirm parents) and the notion of living for themselves. Recent research on the

internet has investigated how this medium has influenced the construction of 'new' ethnicity among second-generation Chinese young people in Britain (Parker & Song, 2009/2007/2006a/2006b). Although there are still numerous gaps in our knowledge it is possible to gain several insights into the experiences and perceptions of Chinese communities in Britain. In the following discussion, three main themes are addressed which emerge from this research and which are relevant to this study.

2.2.1 Family-centred Values and Filial Piety

One approach to studying Chinese tradition and Chinese family life has focused on the importance of the family unit over the individual and the socialisation of the morality of filial piety. It has been implied that the family-centred values of Chinese communities sacrifice individual needs in favour of the welfare of the family unit. Research has shown the significance of each member of the family in settling into a different culture. Both Song (1995) and Parker (1998) have found that female labour is the foundation stone of the Chinese family catering business in Britain. Whereas Chinese husbands take charge of controlling family businesses, managing finances and making crucial decisions, their wives carry a double burden, not only taking care of the children and domestic chores, but also contributing unpaid labour to support their husbands in running the family businesses (Chau & Yu, 2001).

Children's labour has also been found to be a key resource in the Chinese family economy. In some immigrant families, Chinese children have been found to assist not only in running the catering business, but also in most facets of their parents' lives (Song, 1997). Three variables have been shown to influence the extent to which they engage in the family economy and domestic affairs. First, as their parents may know little or no English, Chinese children, from a young age, have been found to undertake such duties

as serving customers at the counter of the family business and/or acting as mediators between their immigrant parents and the outside society. Here the children may carry out such tasks as translating business contracts/documents as well as banking (Song, 1999; Parker, 1995; Li Wei, 1994). The second issue is in relation to age. Some Chinese children's labour in the family economy has been found to increases as they get older; therefore, older children engage more than their younger siblings (Song, 1999/1997). Third, gender is also a key factor. Compared with sons, some daughters (especially the oldest), similar to their mothers, assist more in the family business and with housework, as well as caring work for their young siblings (Parker, 1995; Song, 1995). The kinds of tasks some research studies have found girls engaged in are: accompanying their parents to medical appointments and to parents' evenings at the schools of their young siblings; also, helping with the daily shopping (Song, 1997). This, it could be argued is sustaining traditional family values, as Chinese children here are contributing to the economic and social wellbeing of their family (Song, 1999; Lu, 1996; Parker, 1995). Other factors that have emerged in studies suggest that the awareness of Chinese children of problems confronted by their parents such as difficulties of using social services, occasional racism, and limited support available from relatively small Chinese communities further highlight the importance of family interdependence (Chau & Yu, 2001; Song, 1995). At the same time, studies such as Parker's (1998) have indicated that demanding work and language barriers inhibit opportunities for Chinese parents and their children to spend time on meaningful communication or to have extensive conversations.

The Chinese family in Britain continues to emerge as generally patriarchal with the father having authority and wielding control while his family is expected to be supportive and submissive (Cooke, 2007). It is also the case that each family member continues to occupy positions within the family based on traditional 'gender roles'. Chinese husbands,

for instance, are seen to fill the role of breadwinner and deal with financial matters; wives' main occupation is regarded as the home and to take the main responsibility for childcare and domestic matters. At the same time, it is often the case that for those families in the catering business, boundaries between work and gender positions in traditional family life are somewhat blurred. Song (1999) has demonstrated that Chinese couples in Britain work together, but their interactions still appear hierarchical and where there is a gendered division of labour with the husband at the counter but the wife in the kitchen; husbands as chefs but wives as assistant cooks, or husbands for skilled work but wives for labour-intensive work.

With regard to Chinese children in immigrant families the studies imply that overall, children are expected to be obedient and comply with their parents' wishes. Similarly, generally Chinese parents have distinct expectations of their children according to their sex/gender. Parker (1998) indicates that daughters are more often required to sacrifice their education than sons in order to keep the family business going. Moreover, some Chinese parents suppose that it is the 'norm' for sons, rather than daughters, to take over the family business (though numerous second-generation sons do not want to succeed; Song, 1999). For this reason, daughters who have not had to take over a family business seem to have different lived experiences and relatively colourful futures compared with the experiences of their mothers when they were young (Parker, 1995).

In contrast to first generation Chinese immigrants, their offspring, growing up in multicultural, relatively liberal British society, are more likely to opt for a more diverse choice of occupations (Clark & Drinkwater, 2010; Benton & Gomez, 2008). This applies particularly to young British-born Chinese females who, having seen their mothers' lived experiences in demanding catering work, devote themselves to the pursuit of higher education and professional careers (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Song, 1999). Such different

'choices' might well witness intergenerational tensions, such as issues of family care (the practice of filial piety) versus personal desires. At the same time, the situations whereby young Chinese females in newly immigrant families, have been compelled to sacrifice their own interests in order to satisfy the conflicting demands of family care duties (i.e. placing their husbands' career and children's welfare first) and the need to supplement household income (e.g. accept a lower employment status), has alerted the attention of social work practitioners to the shortage or insufficiency of social support systems and social care services for Chinese immigrant families (Cooke, 2007).

As has been said earlier, filial piety is one of the core values of Chinese families, and takes a major lead in the determining of the provision of informal family care for elderly, infirm parents (Laidlaw, et al., 2010; Chiu, & Yu, 2001; Lu, 1996). However, for East Asian families living in Britain the physical structure of a majority of family houses makes an impact on opportunities to demonstrate such filial behaviour. The small size of British houses and the tendency towards small, nuclear families makes it difficult to maintain extended Chinese family structures, as adult children may make regular visits but no longer live with their parents (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Chiu & Yu, 2001; Lu, 1996). Because of the demanding work of family catering businesses and/or the labour market, Chinese young people in Britain cannot always guarantee sufficient care for their elderly (grand)parents (Chiu & Yu, 2001; Parker, 1998). Some studies have indicated that British Chinese people, especially young daughters-in-law, who were raised in the more individualist-oriented societies in the west, might refuse to observe traditional roles involving the care of elderly people in the family (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Lu, 1996). This appears to create intergenerational ambivalence in Chinese immigrant families. On the one hand, first-generation Chinese immigrants who still hold strong beliefs that older people should live with their sons and expect filial piety from their children have

experienced the shortfall between personal desires and actual received assistance (Laidlaw, et al., 2010; Chiu & Yu, 2001). In reality, daughters shoulder more responsibility for the care of their elderly parents compared with their brothers (Lu, 1996). On the other hand, second-generation British-Chinese who partly maintain the morality of filial piety may feel guilty that they cannot afford one hundred per cent personal care for their parents; and even routine interactions in the Chinese immigrant families have been argued to sometimes lack quality and intimacy (Chiu & Yu, 2001; Lu, 1996).

2.2.2 Education and Achievement

It was said earlier that, at different historical points, Chinese children have been seen as underachieving and, most recently, high achieving. British-Chinese pupils are as excellent – if not better - at school than their white, middle-class counterparts. Chinese young people in Britain have relatively high rates of university entrance as well as in the professional fields compared to other ethnic minority groups, irrespective of their class background (Clark & Drinkwater, 2010; Benton & Gomez, 2008; Archer & Francis, 2007; Chau & Yu, 2001; Cheng, 1994; Wong, 1992). The literature frequently infers that the high achievement of the British-Chinese is, at least partly, attributable to the cultural valuing of education in Chinese families. More specifically, it is related to family-centred values, in which British-Chinese pupils are expected, via educational/social competition among Chinese families/communities or other ethnic groups, to bring honour to their own family (socially upward) and/or saving existing family prestige (Archer & Francis, 2005; Cheng, 1994; Wong, 1992). In addition, these empirical studies (e.g. Archer & Francis, 2007; Wong, 1992) demonstrate that the involvements of parents contribute significantly to Chinese pupils' performance in English-medium education and Chinese supplementary schools.

2.2.2.1 Achievement in English-medium Education

British-Chinese pupils' achievement has been demonstrated to correlate closely with English language competence. Benton and Gomez (2008) indicated that earlier studies (i.e.1960s-1970s) of Chinese pupils' underachievement in schools were attributed to their socialisation in Hong Kong. They state that in the 1970s, numerous Chinese immigrants sent their children back to Hong Kong and asked grandparents or other relatives to care for them, not simply so that their parents could concentrate upon the family catering businesses, but also to protect their children from over-westernisation, whereby they may lose touch with their Chinese heritage. However, when these children returned to the UK in their early teenage years they were disadvantaged by their limited knowledge of the English language and, as a consequence, struggled in the education system.

Since the end of "granny socialisation in Hong Kong" (Benton & Gomez, 2008:332) in the 1980s, Chinese children growing up in British society have more actively engaged in the English school systems (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Archer & Francis, 2007). As Cheng's (1994) study showed, Chinese parents recognised early on that by participating in English medium schools would facilitate their children's social mobility. Furthermore, many Chinese parents assumed that securing a higher education for their children and equipping them to participate in a middle class lifestyle would be the way to defeat racial discrimination (Benton & Gomez, 2008).

Archer and Francis' (2007) research project provides a nuanced analysis of the experiences and perceptions of British-Chinese pupils' success at school. As far as teachers are concerned, British-Chinese pupils' high achievement is attributable largely to the familial/cultural valuing of education where parents keep an eye to ensure children complete schoolwork, etc. Moreover, teachers tend to view the specific moral order of

Chinese culture, such as an emphasis on discipline and work ethic, is helpful for promoting pupils' willingness to work/study hard, and therefore contributes to their success at school. From Chinese parents' point of view, education is important for their children because it can bring them more privileges and a better life in Britain. However, due to the lack of sociocultural capital, many Chinese parents invest economically in their children's education by providing them with private schooling and/or tutorial support at home, irrespective of family economic circumstances. At the same time, the British-Chinese pupils themselves in this study recognised the importance of education is and believed that with hard work they would be able to pursue higher education (e.g. postgraduate studies) and aspire to professional careers (particularly in medical, science/ engineering, or financial fields).

Studies have also shown how some Chinese parents protect their children from potential risks or distractions which would interfere with their ability to concentrate on education. Yu (2007/2004) found that, in order to ensure their children did well at school, Chinese parents closely monitored their outings, as well as their friendships (focusing on their friends' behaviour rather than ethnic backgrounds). More specifically, dating and/or having a steady relationship in their adolescence were not approved of. Chinese parents preferred their children to remain abstinent altogether rather than practice safe sex (Yu, 2010a). At the same time, Yu (2010b) argues that many female British-Chinese teenagers with educational aspirations were aware of some of the difficulties of starting sexual relationships at an early age (e.g. sexual diseases or pregnancy), and therefore, choose to pursue sexual relationships when they were more physically and psychologically ready.

Whilst parents were keen to ensure their children were highly successful at school, empirical findings have shown that Chinese parents are willing to respect their children's occupational choices (Archer & Francis, 2007). Nevertheless, there seems to be certain

differences in parents' aspirations regarding occupational choices for sons compared with those for daughters. Archer and Francis (2006) indicate that girls are expected to choose *safer* professional careers, such as becoming physicians. Indeed, the occupational achievement of young British-Chinese people does show a degree of gender and social class polarisation. The majority have been upwardly socially mobile, having educational qualifications and pursuing middle-class, white-collar, professional careers (Clark & Drinkwater, 2010; Benton & Gomez, 2008); whereas some young British-Chinese with relatively poor English language competence and/or underachievement have taken over family-owned (catering) businesses as a safety net for survival in this country (Song, 1997). Moreover, increasing British-born Chinese young people with bilingual advantages prefer to work in the homelands in order to avoid unemployment or racial discrimination in Britain (Song, 1999; Parker, 1995).

In common with all minority ethnic groups in the UK, racial discrimination has been identified as something encountered by East Asian people in Britain. British-Chinese pupils recall name calling (e.g. chink or banana) at school, in which their appearance, their ability to speak Chinese and/or speaking English with a nonstandard accent are common targets of abuse (Archer & Francis, 2007; Parker, 1997). Similarly, young British-Chinese people who help out at their family takeaway businesses have recounted incidents of various forms of sexism or sexual harassment as well as racial abuse (see Song, 1999 for more discussion). Parker (1997) found that British-Chinese are inclined to normalise the daily racist experiences. On the one hand, they accepted racism as 'normal', attempting to ignore/downplay it, or chose to leave the racist environment (e.g. work in Hong Kong); on the other hand, they make efforts to win acceptance, making friends with abusers, fitting in with mainstream society, working extra hard in order to overcome social inequality (Archer & Francis, 2007; Parker, 1997).

Outside school, job inequality is experienced by British-Chinese people who work in professional fields, such as finding it more difficult to take up positions in high-earning occupations or find themselves remaining at the lower end of the hierarchy particularly in comparison with their white counterparts (Archer & Francis, 2006; Chau & Yu, 2001).

2.2.2.2 Engagement in Chinese Supplementary Schools

Chinese-language education for the Chinese people in Britain is long-established, and experienced a period of dramatic growth in the 1980s, when increasing numbers of Chinese parents were anxious that their children, who were active in English-medium schooling, should be taught Chinese languages in order to sustain Chinese values and ethnic identity (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Wong, 1992). Since the end of the twentieth century, the presence of Chinese schools in Chinese communities in Britain has been noted (Benton & Gomez, 2008). Chinese schooling aims to perpetuate the Chinese language amongst the younger generation and then help bridge the communication gap between Chinese (grand)parents and their children with the provision of lessons in the mother tongue for British-Chinese children (Francis, Archer & Mau, 2010; Wong, 1992). Some Chinese parents also believe that Chinese proficiency benefits their children's competition in the globalised labour market (Francis et al, 2010). There are some implicit purposes for Chinese schooling. Learning the mother tongue implies a transmission of Chinese cultural values and practices, such as Chinese customs, virtues, manners, and discipline (Francis et al, 2010; Benton & Gomez, 2008; Wong, 1992). Chinese schooling also facilitates the formation of ethnic identity and of a sense of belonging, where British-Chinese people can meet other Chinese who have similar backgrounds and family experiences (Francis et al, 2010). At the same time, Chinese schools generate social and educational capitals, and thereby enable Chinese immigrant families to promote their children's achievements and competition in the host society (Benton & Gomez, 2008;

Archer & Francis, 2007).

Nevertheless, it is recognised that whereas English schools provide a regular, 5 day a week education, British-Chinese children go to Chinese classes only in the evenings or at weekends (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Wong, 1992). It is also the case that the mother tongue is mainly used at home but, at the same time, British-Chinese children tend to speak English with their siblings, alongside relatively insufficient occasions for communicating with their busy parents in the mother tongue (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Yu, 2007; Parker, 1998; Li Wei, 1994). In other words, Chinese language proficiency is likely to depend on the children's own interests and opportunities to use this with their parents. Given these limitations then it is not surprising that Chinese parents wish only for their British-born children to have only a basic proficiency in the Chinese language (Francis et al, 2010). The identification of British-Chinese children to Chinese culture of also relates to language competence and choice – this issue will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.3 Ethnic Identity

It was said earlier how ethnicity is understood throughout this thesis as a social construct. At the same time, it is clear from the literature that there has been a tendency to discuss 'ethnic identity' as fixed, immutable categories. For example, ethnic identity has been considered as a product of the interplay of social context and ethnic interaction, presenting a sense of personal belonging, recognising what individuals have in common with other people as well as what differentiates them (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Song, 2003). Some studies have argued that as far as Chinese people in Britain are concerned, their ethnic identification seems to depend on the extent of their engagement in British society. In some older studies, for instance, many first-generation Chinese immigrants

were described as being in favour of staying in Britain but not in favour of becoming British. Also, some young British-Chinese people who were brought up in Hong Kong regarded themselves more as Chinese than their counterparts who were raised in Britain (Parker, 1995). For other researchers, ethnic identification has been discussed as involving subjective construction and choice (Song, 2003). Here there is research that young argues that British-born Chinese people with similar experiences, socialisation and background portray different degrees of westernisation (Benton & Gomez, 2008; Song, 1999; Parker, 1995; Li Wei, 1994): some identify themselves as British and wish to be accepted in mainstream society; some prioritise their attachment to their Chinese family identity; the majority think of themselves as British-Chinese. A number of tensions in constructing British-Chinese identities have been recognised (Song, 1999; Parker, 1995; Li Wei, 1994): On the one hand, British identity in public enables British-Chinese people to fit in with or assimilate to the host society, and in a way which they partly protect them from racial discrimination. On the other hand, the formation of so-called Chinese identity is likely to be influenced by the family's cultural values. However, such 'polarisation' is an inadequate and unhelpful means of understanding identity construction. As Archer and Francis (2007:91) note: 'Black and Minority Ethnic pupils construct their identities linguistically, in complex hybridised fashions'. What these authors point to is that whilst it is important to acknowledge the significance of ethnicity for ethnic groups care should be taken to avoid 'the reification of such expressions of difference as essential to (fixed) "cultures"' (Archer & Francis, 2007:113). Parker and Song's studies (2009/2007/2006) further show that recently the internet has provided geographically dispersed British-born Chinese young people with an online platform to connect with each other and share experiences of being British Chinese. And more specifically, it may be contributing towards the development of a 'new ethnicity' as British-Chinese. Personal and collective identities of sub-ethnic Chinese groups (i.e. China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, etc.) are also emerging.

2.2.4 Summary

The Chinese in Britain have been stereotypically characterised as a 'culture-rich' community. Similarly, there exists stereotypes of Chinese immigrants as independent 'self-help groups', whose labour market endeavours are predominantly family catering businesses, and whose (British-)Chinese children are regarded as good pupils – quiet, disciplined, unproblematic as well as hardworking. These images are changing with the emergence of a new generation of British-born Chinese. It is fair to say that a majority of young British Chinese do succeed well at school and enter the same professional fields as their white, middle-class counterparts. There is also diversity and difference amongst British-Chinese pupils as is evident in the accounts of schooling (see Archer and Francis, 2007 for discussion).

This section has briefly reviewed lived experiences, difficulties and intergenerational tensions within Chinese families in Britain. Given family-centred Chinese traditions and the individualist-oriented British values, it is possible to recognise why and how Chinese immigrants struggle between personal desires and ethnic cultural loyalties. Distinct levels of expectations on practising filial piety between generations, for example, generate both personal and family conflicts. While some young British-Chinese females are expected to contribute towards their family duties they also feel obliged to apply themselves to higher education and professional careers if they want to secure a life of their own. Insufficient evidence is available to demonstrate the nature of the relationships between Westernised British-Chinese daughters and their Chinese fathers with traditional paternal authority. Generally speaking, it would seem from the studies cited earlier that many Chinese immigrant families in Britain remain strongly patriarchal. Existing accounts relating to the pan-Chinese community in Britain can, to a certain extent, be used to offer a picture of Taiwanese immigrant family lives. This then provides a background through which to

understand the father-daughter relationships discussed in this study.

In order to make sense of fathering experiences and the nature of the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain, I shall turn my discussion to theoretical approaches in the following sections.

Part II – Theoretical Assumptions

The sociological approach used here to investigate the concepts and practices of fathering a daughter and the nature of the father-daughter relationship within Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain focuses on two key areas. What it means to be a father and what a daughter should be like affect how fathers and daughters relate to one another. What has been taken for granted in traditional Taiwan – and among traditional Taiwanese families concerning fatherhood and girlhood, is highly likely to be challenged when living in different social contexts. This is of even greater significance when the traditional expectations of daughters to be caring, compliant and subservient to their fathers and families are challenged by experiences of those daughters in a more liberal society. In this part, two sections are addressed: how fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood are socially constructed and how individualisation/detraditionalisation is conceptualised in the late modernity framework.

2.3 Fatherhood vs. Daughterhood: Gender Issues in Family Contexts

Existing theories on the conceptualisation of the father-daughter relationship can be categorised roughly into two interrelated perspectives: psychology and psycho-social/ sociological approaches. While the former stresses the paternal 'roles' and psychological constructs on a daughter's development, the latter can be seen as the extension, reaction and critiques of the former. That is, where sociologists focus on how the social structure

of patriarchy impacts on fatherhood and the parenting of girls. In this section I will introduce briefly the significance attributed to 'the father' in the psychological field and then turn my attention to fatherhood, daughterhood and the power relations between fathers and daughters under current gendered regimes.

It is hard to overlook Freud's Oedipus complex when discussing the father-daughter relationship in relation to the psychological literature. The idea of the Oedipus complex, sometimes referred to as the Electra complex in the case of girls, is that at the phallic stage of around 3 to 6 years, both boys and girls shift their desired love-object towards their opposite-sex parent (Beckett, 2002; Papalia, Olds & Feldman, 2001; Willbern, 1989). At the same time, they hate and compete with their same-sex parent but, most contradictorily, they then turn to identify with this parent in order to avoid fear of castration (Beckett, 2002; Connell, 2005). Classic Freudians also considered that the nature of the father-daughter relationship implicates the erotogenic/incestuous taboo (Flaake, 2005). Accordingly, earlier research on the father-daughter relationship focused mainly on incest issues (e.g. Fong & Walsh-Bowers, 1998; Dwyer & Miller, 1996; Phelan, 1995; Greenspun, 1994; Cole, 1992). Fathers are likely to exploit many negative strategies, for instance, abandonment, avoidance, or neglect of responsibility to avert the desire for incest and conflict (Boose, 1989). Several empirical studies found that the father-daughter relationship tended to be more distant than father-son, mother-son and mother-daughter dyads; and that fathers were less involved with their daughters and tended to have more problematic interactions with them (Shearen, Crouter & McHale, 2005; Scabini, 2000; Russell & Saebel, 1997; Starrels, 1994; Steinberg, 1987).

Even though the Oedipus complex is now a very controversial concept, a great deal of research, influenced by Freudian assumptions, highlights the paternal impact on the daughter's psychosexual development. It is generally assumed that a present and involved

father helps his daughter to learn more feminine, loving and sexual conceptions through direct/indirect interactions (Williamson, 2004). Even though fathers may not be primary caretakers, they are still important attachment figures (Punyanunt-Carter, 2006; Collins & Read, 1990). According to Bandura's social-learning theory, children are sensitive to the role models of both genders (Beckett, 2002). Therefore, fathering figures offer both boys and girls the chance to understand and feel comfortable with both masculinity and femininity (Family Policy Studies Centre, 1997). Girls, through everyday father-daughter interactions, learn relevant male expectations (Williamson, 2004) and determine the choice of a lover (Owen, 1983) – this has been seen to be crucial for her later psycho-sexual happiness and well-being. Fathers are the first and most important male images in their daughters' lives. Whether resident or not, the figure of the father is regarded as a crucial influence in a daughter's personal, psychological and social development and establishes her perspectives on marriage, family and everything in life. According to the parent image theory derived from Freudianism, selection of a partner is determined by psychological facets, as portrayed by the Oedipus complex, within consciousness and unconsciousness (Liao, 2003). For a woman, the characteristics of her (future) partner are either similar or opposed to the images of her father (Cheng, 2005). Additionally, a harmonious father-daughter relationship is supposed to develop a daughter's femininity and sexuality, but cause fewer romantic partners and a lower likelihood of experiencing her first sexual encounter in early adolescence (Regnerus & Luchies, 2006; Williamson, 2004). Several studies document that girls who have experienced an absent father had the highest rates of early sexual activity and teenage pregnancy (Regnerus & Luchies, 2006; Ellis, Bates, Dodge, Fergusson, Hoewood & Pottit, 2003; McLean, 2001; Nydegger & Mitteness, 1991); but Hardesty, Wenk and Morgan (1995) demonstrated that fathering characteristics indeed affected gender role attitudes in daughters; and further, paternal involvement with the traditional domestic division of labour could form sex-stereotypical

beliefs, but only when higher levels of education intervened.

Psychological conceptualisation of the father-daughter relationship concentrates on interpersonal interactions and *individual personalities*. However, the perspective adopted in this research is that the nature of the father-daughter relationship is influenced greatly by socially constructed meanings of *fatherhood* and *girlhood/daughterhood*. Early sociological and feminist explanations of gender relations adopted more stereotypical and 'embodied' positions. For instance, take the notion that the primary paternal responsibility as a breadwinner deprived fathers of involvement in their children's lives and, thus, an absent father was likely to disadvantage his daughter's development. Sociologists supposed that understanding the gender regime of society was more significant rather than blaming fathers' absence. Owen (1983) indicated that there were two idioms in which the father-daughter bond had been expressed: the first was to do with the Oedipus complex; the second was to do with patriarchy, "the power of the father, a familial, social and political system in which men … determine what part women shall or shall not play and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male" (Owen, 1983:10). These two idioms were interrelated and seen to complement each other. In the following, I shall focus on how the gender regime of the society has been seen to influence the conceptualisation of fatherhood/daughterhood and the gendered power relations that operate within daily father-daughter interactions.

2.3.1 Fatherhood

Fatherhood is socially constructed and its definition varies across historical epochs, cultural contexts, economic structures, social class and ethnic differences. In Western history, the image of *God the Father* prevailed in the Christian-based pre-modern society, in which the father as an all-powerful patriarch dominated his family (Abramovitch, 1997;

Lamb, 1997). After the industrial revolution, fathers became an economic breadwinner, particularly in vogue within the bourgeoisie (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Jamieson, 1998; Connell, 1987). Second-wave feminism and women's movements in the 1970s stimulated the appearance of *paternal involvement* and *shared parenting* in which a *good* father had to not only support his family, but also spend quality time with his children or engage in activities typically viewed as components of mothering (Pleck, 2005; Lamb, 1997/1981/1976). Relevant literature concerning fatherhood began to flourish from this time: while psychologists focused on the importance of the father for child development, sociologists paid specific attention to understanding paternal roles and fathering practices (Boyd, Ashcraff, & Belqrave, 2006; Jones, Leung, & Harris, 2006; Regnerus & Luchies, 2006; Adams & Coltrane, 2005; Nielsen, 2005; Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005; Radina, 2003; Botta & Dumlao, 2002; Coltrane & Collins, 2001; Flanagan & Furman, 2000; Dienhart, 1998; Family Policy Studies Centre, 1997; Lamb, 1997; Moss, 1995). Both perspectives were interrelated, however, the majority of earlier studies on paternal involvement gave rise to a great many critiques, such as the focus on white, middle-class bourgeoisie families (see Marsiglio & Pleck, 2005; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Lupton & Barclay, 1997). In addition, these studies on fatherhood seemed to correlate strongly with its contribution towards others (to support mothering or benefit child development) rather than studying men as fathers. Recently, increasing studies across various fields (e.g. non-industrialised/industrialised societies, homosexual/heterosexual fathers, step-/single families, teenage fathers, the middle/working-class families, Black/Chinese fathers and so forth; see Marsiglio and Pleck's summary, 2005) have contributed to the enrichment of our knowledge of fatherhood itself and have demonstrated the plurality and complexity of *fatherhood* and ways in which this conceptualisation is likely to shift in different times, generations and social-cultural contexts.

Fatherhood is a performance of masculinity (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). Becoming a father, to a certain extent, is one manifestation of masculinity (Adams & Coltrane, 2005; Halldén, 1998; Lupton & Barclay, 1997). Masculinity does not exist exclusively but contrasts with femininity (Connell, 2005) in which gender differences and gendered power relations operate constantly. To understand fathering in the domestic sphere it is necessary to address the gender regime of a family and the gender order of the whole society. The gender regime represents "a pattern in gender arrangements" (Connell, 2002:23), such as the sexual division of labour in the nuclear family. The work of childcare accentuated the gendered dualism of male breadwinner versus female homemaker, or passive fathering versus active mothering (Marsiglio & Plerk, 2005; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Connell, 1987) – that is, a hard-working father is obliged to be secondary to, or absent from, childcare. The dualistic gender arrangements were seen to be reinforced and maintained by patriarchy in which men are dominant in private and public spheres: men over women, husbands over wives (Connell, 2002, 1987). However, the transition of a large number of women entering the paid labour market before/after having a child, rising divorce rates and diverse households (e.g. gay family, single-parent family and stepfamily) has gradually reduced gendered dualism (Marsiglio & Plerk, 2005; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Jamieson, 1998) and changed family arrangements. Movements towards greater equality and *individualisation* have also changed gendered power relations and the gender order of the society and contributed toward the reconceptualisation of fatherhood (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Jamieson, 1998; Lupton & Barclay, 1997).

As mentioned in section 2.1, Taiwan is a patriarchal society, in which gender hierarchy and gender relations are clearly defined in terms of *men's roles* and *women's roles*. Reproduction is not only a male's primary responsibility but also one manifestation of

his manhood (Huang, 2007). A man without issue was blamed as unfilial (a Taiwanese saying: the chief unfilial behaviour is without issue; bu-chiao-jo-san-wu-hou-wei-da 不孝有三無後為大); furthermore, he would be belittled and usually sneered at as a *seedless watermelon* (wu-tzu-chi-gua 無籽西瓜). The main fathering responsibility was not only to economically support his children, but most significantly, to rigidly discipline his children (Tsai, 2007), even as a traditional Taiwanese father who was seldom involved directly with his children's lives. So any man who behaves in an anti-social way would be regarded as having been failed by his father (yang-zi-bu-jiao-fu-zhi-guo 養子不教父之過). Although there is not enough evidence to show whether contemporary fathers still think that they have to be responsible for their son's anti-social behaviour, numerous and recent empirical findings in Taiwan have demonstrated that the younger generations are more willing to be responsible, sensitive fathers, taking more active participation in their children's lives and experiencing more emotional interactions, than the older generations. (What deserves to be mentioned is that all of these studies show that the notion of a father as a *breadwinner* remains prevalent; Chen, 2010; Chung, 2010; Yang, 2009; Wan, 2009; Chen, 2007; Huang, 2007; Lin, 2007; Tsai, 2007; Jiang, 2006; Lee, 2005; Wang, 2005; Wei, 2005; Chen, 2004; Wu, 2002; Mo, 1997). Chen (2010) further indicates that contemporary Taiwanese young men want to become a father for its own sake rather than just feeling obligated to continue the family line. In sum, recent studies in Taiwan have demonstrated a changing social context in which traditional paternal authority is diminishing and, hence, giving way to the appearance of new fathering practices. My interest in this study focuses on the way Taiwanese immigrants, who moved to live in an unfamiliar society in which the gendered order and configuration were different from the context they were used to, reconceptualised fatherhood, and therefore, changed their perceptions of what a father should be like.

2.3.2 Daughterhood

Research into young women, their experiences, behaviour and so forth, is markedly different in Western and Taiwanese cultures. The individualist-oriented Western literature, for example, addresses the issue of women's position in society; in contrast, the majority of Taiwanese research, influenced by patriarchal familist values, pays specific attention to women's positions in (domestic) relationships. The role as a daughter/daughter-in-law plays throughout a Taiwanese woman's life, as the discussion in Section 2.1 shows. Hence, rather than usage of the term *Girlhood* or *Womanhood*, I prefer the term *Daughterhood* to highlight Taiwanese women's positions and obligations in both private and public spheres. Here, a review of the conceptualisation of girlhood/daughterhood is useful to make sense of how Taiwanese immigrants in this study (re)construct socially what it means to be a daughter.

From second-wave feminist perspectives, gender roles are socially constructed, rather than biologically determined (see Skelton & Francis, 2009). The meanings of femininity and girlhood/womanhood vary across different cultures and historical epochs. Since the early 1990s, young women within Western societies have become *luminous* in an era of dramatic social, cultural, economic and political change (McRobbie, 2009; see also Harris, 2004). The expansion of education and the transition of the economic structure (from manufacturing to financial and service sectors) provide more opportunities for young women. At the same time, second-wave feminist achievement and the ideological trend of individualisation in late modernity is advantageous for them, in that there are greater opportunities for competing with their male counterparts in the labour market and, most significantly, it enables them to (re)construct/be (re)constructed by the notion that girls are enabled to do whatever they choose if they follow their dreams and work hard. The term *Girl Power* is conceptualised as young women's success, with images of

independence, ambition, self-inventing, self-governance and self-actualisation (Gonick, 2006; Harris, 2004). Harris (2004), further, names *Can-Do Girls* as those who embody *Girl Power* with which they succeed at work (i.e. having a fascinating career and financial independence), have glamorous consumer lifestyles, high standards of physical beauty and grooming and delay motherhood. However, the image of the *Can-Do Girls* has several implications. For instance, whilst *Can-Do Girls* have *choices*, these *choices* are circumscribed; that is, the choices can only be made in conventional concepts of femininity. First, heterosexuality is still viewed as 'normal' and high standards of physical beauty and grooming, to a certain extent, are the tactics with which to improve sexual attraction and to gain heterosexuality-oriented pleasure and enjoyment (McRobbie, 2009; Harris, Aapola & Gonick, 2000). McRobbie (2009) assumes that patriarchal authority never fades away but discharges or franchises its duties to the commercial domain (e.g. beauty, fashion or body culture) which, instead, becomes the source of judgement for young women. A successful young woman is expected to strike a balance between competing with her male counterparts in the world of work, and retaining her sexual desirability (McRobbie, 2009; Harris, et al, 2000). Second, becoming a mother is still the ultimate desire of a majority of contemporary young women. Harris (2004) indicates that *Can-Do Girls*, unlike their mothers' generation in which women had children at the prescribed time (i.e. in their twenties), are expected to postpone becoming a mother until their careers are established; and furthermore, they must balance work and family successfully. Not all young women conform to the ideal of the *Can-Do Girls*. This construction will vary across social class and ethnicity. In contrast to middle-class white girls who possess many social resources, their working class and/or ethnic minority counterparts experience more pain, anxiety and social compromise in the process of becoming a *Can-Do Girl* (McRobbie, 2009; 2000/1991; Gonick, 2006; Harris, 2004; Walkerdine, Lucey & Melody, 2001). McRobbie (2009) also found that Black and Asian

women in the UK devote themselves to catching up with their British counterparts in order to satisfy the desire to assimilate and succeed.

Compared with Western societies, literature on the subjective voice of young females in Taiwan is relatively absent. Generally speaking, girlhood in Taiwan is – or is expected to be – pretty, innocent, kindly, highly deferential and feminine (Shih, 2003), and a girl's fate is directed towards marriage. For this reason, most empirical research concerning young womanhood concentrates on unmarried females' partner-selection, and married females' role-playing: the former includes the investigations on marital attitudes (e.g. Tseng, 2009; Lai, 2008; Yang, 2008; Hu, 2007; Lin, 2002), lived experiences of intimate relationships (e.g. Hsu, 2009; Chang, 2008; Tsai, 2008; Chen, 2004; Wu, 2004) and struggles for delayed marriage (e.g. Lan, 2009; Su, 2008; Hou, 2007; Wu, 2004). The latter is mainly related to issues on marital stress/satisfaction (e.g. Lin, 2009; Hsu, 2008; Yu, 2006), females' positions in marriage (e.g. Chang, 2009; Chen, 2006; Liao, 2007; Chuang, 2004) and role transformation (e.g. Wu, 2004; Yang, 2004; Tsai, 2000; Chen, 1999). Only a handful of research (Chen, 2009; Wu, 2009; Guo, 2008; Cheng, 2007; Kao & Lu, 2006; Hsieh, 2005; Pan, 2002; Liu, 2001) sheds light on young, unmarried women's autonomy and sexuality, such as investigations of struggles between being a virtuous female and satisfying self-desire. In sum, marriage continues to be regarded as crucial and compulsory for young women in Taiwan. The issues concerning young women's marital values and the transition of their positions and lived experiences from daughters to daughters-in-law receive more attention than the investigations of their choices for their own lives. At the same time, these empirical findings also demonstrate that Taiwan is now being influenced by 'individualisation', in which young women are becoming more aware of self-identity, but inevitably, they are experiencing more internal conflicts and external challenges.

These conceptions of girlhood/womanhood within two distinct social contexts are likely to affect Taiwanese immigrants in this study on their subjective (re)constructions of femininity and daughterhood. For Taiwanese fathers in immigrant families, the popular notions of *Girl Power* and female autonomy in the host society challenge their taken-for-granted ideas about what a 'normal' female should be, and therefore, change, more or less, their ways of and ideas about fathering a daughter. At the same time, even if British-Taiwanese daughters in this study grow up in this country and have similar social practices to their British counterparts, the traditional conception of daughterhood instilled by their parents may generate conflicts or tensions in the process of becoming *Can-Do Girls*.

2.3.3 Power Relations between Fathers and Daughters

An individual's subjective (re)construction of fatherhood/daughterhood involves complexities of power. With regard to the nature of the father-daughter relationships, paternal authority is a twofold control of a daughter: men's power over women and parents' power over children. One understanding of this can be found in the work of Connell (2005, 1987). Connell, in his early work, stated that *hegemonic masculinity* is "the configuration of gender practice" (Connell, 2005:77), in which the legitimacy of patriarchy guarantees men's domination of women; conversely women are marginalised and have to be compliant, accommodating themselves to the interest and desire of men, irrespective of race and class, defined as *emphasised femininity* (Connell, 1987). Feminists have strongly criticised such gendered inequalities and polarised, asymmetric gendered configurations in the social structure of patriarchy (Skelton & Francis, 2009), which has contributed to the emergence of the conceptualisation of *Girl Power* (McRobbie, 2009). Today, women's positions in both private and public spheres have improved remarkably, and their voices are being heard. However, a female's position in the domestic field,

especially as a daughter in opposition to her father, is still inferior, due to the parent-child hierarchy.

Paternal authority in the father-daughter relationship involves parental control over children, in which parents undoubtedly possess more physical strength, economic and sociocultural resources as well as knowledge than their children (Jamieson, 1998). In general, parent-child relationships inevitably change when children get older, often as a result of tensions between adolescent children's struggle for autonomy and privacy; and relationships tend to become more equal as children grow up or leave home (Jamieson, 1998). However, contemporary tendencies towards democracy and individualism have more or less weakened parents' arbitrary authority. In a democratic state, children are no longer regarded as the property of their parents, and more specifically, ideal parent-child relationships are a relationship of intimacy, based on mutual respect and trust as well as open communication and disclosure. Parents are less prescriptive and children can put forward their own arguments although parent-child relationships are not materially equal (Giddens, 2002/1999; Jamieson, 1998). It is more likely in Western than East Asian societies for children to be encouraged to make their own decisions at an earlier age; at the same time, where individuals prioritise their own desires and needs in ways that destroy the family coherence then this can hurt the children and weaken parental authority (Jamieson, 1998). In other words, children's age and the perceptions and practices of individualism and democratisation in the private sphere are significant variables for change and complicate the power relations between contemporary parents and children.

In Taiwan today, westernisation and the trend of feminist/equalitarian beliefs have had implications for the power dynamics between men and women. Young females not simply occupy important positions in society, but their situation as daughters also have

improved. The 2009 educational census data indicates that more young females than males possess higher educational qualifications and they, like their male counterparts, contribute significantly to the mainstream labour market. Within the private spheres, the traditional notion that having a son is insurance against a helpless and wretched life in old age (yang-r-fang-lao 養兒防老) has declined (Chen, 2010). Moreover, adult daughters, compared with sons, are willing to have more intimate ties with parents, providing routine assistance and taking care of them (Wu, 2002; Tsai, 2000; Lee, 1998). However, under the patriarchal familism, there are still hierarchical arrangements within parent-child relationships. Taiwanese fathers consider their main paternal responsibility to be the protection and guidance of their children, irrespective of their age (Lee, 1998). At the same time, filial piety still ensures the subordination of children to their parents. Unmarried daughters of this generation who, for instance, have been influenced by Westernisation and prefer to make their own decisions, are still under pressure from their parents to marry at a certain age, and daughters may give in to their parents' wishes rather than resist the pressure and quarrel with them (Shi, 2006; Wu, 2004). Some old-fashioned fathers lament their loss of authority in no longer being able to choose their daughters' partners (now chosen by their daughters on the basis of romantic love; Lan, 2002; Wu, 2002). In this study, I want to further understand whether this individualism-oriented social context accelerates a breakdown in traditional paternal authority between Taiwanese fathers and their British-Taiwanese daughters.

The above discussion calls for the need to think of *individualisation/detraditionalisation* as a focal element in the investigation of the subjective (re)construction of fatherhood and daughterhood. This involves taking into account the impact of the hose social structures on ethnic minorities' choices in order to more accurately make sense of ways of fathering a daughter in Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain.

2.4 Tradition vs. Detraditionalisation: Reflexivity in Late Modernity

This section will further conceptualise how different social contexts influence an individual's subjective construction of realities and identities, particularly for Taiwanese families who move from a 'traditional' society to a multi-cultural, modernised society. Contemporary sociologists, such as Beck and Giddens, propose that diverse knowledge, via globalisation and rapid communicative technologies, has generated Beck's so-called *risk society* (1992), in which expert explanations may no longer be viewed as 'the authority'. Such late modernity perspectives are useful for investigating the conceptualisation of detraditionalisation and of reembedding traditions of ethnic minorities within a host society.

Tradition comes before detraditionalisation. What does tradition mean? Giddens (2002/1999) points out that the term *tradition,* as used today, occurred two hundred years ago in Europe and the conception itself is considered a creation of modernity. Shils further comments that:

> Tradition is thus far more than the statistically frequent recurrence over a succession of generations of similar beliefs, practices, institutions, and works. The recurrence is a consequence of the normative consequences – sometimes the normative intention – of presentation and of the acceptance of the tradition as normative. It is this normative transmission which links the generations of the dead with the generations of the living in the constitution of a society. The cohesion of a society is ordinarily conceived of as a feature of a particular movement in time; it is the cohesion of its living members with each other. The older living members help to induct the younger living members into the beliefs and patterns which they have inherited from those who went before them … The dead … are objects of attachment, but what is more significant is that their works and the norms contained in their practices influence the actions of subsequent generations to whom they are unknown. The normativeness of tradition is the inertial force which holds society in a

given form over time (Shils, 1981:24-25).

By and large, tradition has several related implications. Tradition is ideology, a set of assumptions for understanding the world and beliefs, normative guides and patterns of action for day-to-day life (Thompson, 1996; Giddens, 1994). Tradition tells us what we have to believe, what is to be done and how we should be doing it. Patriarchal familism in traditional Taiwan society, for instance, is the hegemonic doctrine over individuals' thinking and routine practices. From this point of view, tradition is closely bound up with power, and authority serves as the guardian and expert for judgement and instruction (Giddens, 1994); correspondingly, individuals are expected to comply with this (Thompson, 1996).

Tradition is ritualised and habitualised (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Giddens, 1994). Rituals and customs not only discourage individuals from being reflective, but also contribute to the preservation of tradition. Ceremonies of worship in Taiwan practise the perpetuation of the patrilineal traditions and cultural valuing of filial piety. The wedding rites, as previously mentioned, convey the notion of it being a daughter's fate to be married in the patrilocal tradition. Giddens (1994) further indicates that the existence and maintenance of the tradition, via rituals and customs, is unconscious, and bound up with emotional memories. Without self-reflection, individuals in a traditional society live with habits and taken-for-granted rules. In addition, (emotional) memories in the active, social process enable individuals to reproduce and continue past experiences (Giddens, 1994).

Traditions are transmitted and handed down from one generation to another, preserving beliefs over time, from the past to the present and to the future (Heelas, 1996). Older living members are responsible for transmitting ancestral beliefs and customs to

the younger living members. At the same time, tradition is "in some sense rooted in contexts of origin or central places" (Giddens, 1994:80). It then raises debates about insider/outsider and continuity of identity with respect to the special aspect (Thompson, 1996; Giddens, 1994). The insider, who is familiar with tradition, has a sense of belonging to a social group; conversely, the other is placed outside the social group. Families are the primary agents for parents' socialisation of children, the transmission of traditional values and customs and the formation of cultural identity and belonging (Allan & Crow, 2001; Heath, 1995). For instance, Chinese parents in Britain, as discussed in 2.2, hand down traditional Confucian values and customs to their British-Chinese children through the mother tongue, using specific patterns of family interactions, to demonstrate the way Chinese people distinguish themselves from others.

However, the authority of tradition is (being) destroyed by modernity (Giddens, 1994). Industrialisation and urbanisation broke up the Scripture-based traditional society and tended toward the *first/simple* modern society that emphasised collective structures and normalisation (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Giddens, 1994; Lash, 1994). The process of globalisation, of great progress in terms of communicative technologies, and of customer-centred consumption, has further contributed to the *second/reflexive* modern society (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Heelas, 1996). The term *reflexivity* in second modernity, rather than *reflection* in first modernity in response to objective knowledge and scientisation, stresses "self-confrontation" (Beck, 1994:6) and "the process of becoming individual" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001:vii). Lash (1994) assumes that there are two forms of reflexivity:

> First, there is structural reflexivity in which agency, set free from the constraints of social structure, then reflects on the rules and resources of such structure; reflects on agency's social conditions of existence. Second there is *self*-reflexivity in which agency reflects on itself (Lash, 1994:115).

Beck's work on *risk society* (1992) mainly addresses *structural reflexivity*, in which crises and threats occur when individuals are freed from routinised structures, such as social class, marriage, family and so on. Giddens' argument (1991:75) that "we are, not what we are, but what we make of ourselves" represents the *self* as a reflexive project.

Reflexivity produces individualisation and detraditionalisation. *Individualisation*, from Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's perspectives, represents "the disintegration of previously existing social forms and the collapse of state-sanctioned normal biographies, frames of reference, role models," (ibid, 1996:24). Thus, individuals can/have to be autonomic and active to make choices from possibilities, self-decision and then, if necessary, shoulder any failure by themselves, i.e. from the normal biography to the do-it-yourself biography and/or the risk biography (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001). *Detraditionalisation*, similar to individualisation, implies "a shift of authority from *without* to *within*" (Heelas, 1996:2), where tradition no longer plays a crucial role in determining or controlling one's thinking and behaviour, and therefore, individuals get back autonomy and think for themselves (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Heelas, 1996). However, tradition does not disappear; instead it becomes one of the choices (Giddens, 2002/1999) – that is, a continuum of options between tradition and detraditionalisation.

Such individualised options usually accompany internal conflicts and tensions. As previously mentioned, young females in contemporary Taiwanese society struggle between sexual autonomy (individualisation) and being considered virtuous (traditional notions of womanhood) before marriage. Taiwanese men of this generation, who are inclined to be involved fathers, also experience concern in response to modern fatherhood expectations, because they were born and bred in traditional patriarchal families and modelled themselves on their authoritative fathers, but now seek a new identity (also see discussion in Lu, 2009; Huang, 2007; Cheng, 2005; Hsu, 2005; Lee,

2005; Chen, 2004). At the same time, cultural hybridisation, which combines Pieterse's (1995) work with Bhabha's (1994) conception of the location of culture, can be viewed as a product of individualised options between tradition and detraditionalisation, which involves the interplay of endogenous traditions and allochthonous ideas, particularly in the negotiation of cultural identity and gender. For example, even though familist values are still predominant over contemporary Taiwan, married women of the younger generation, with high educational qualifications and economic independence, possess status and authority equal to their husbands, and they work together for marital/familial management, childrearing and crucial decision-making, rather than acknowledging a gendered division of labour as breadwinning husband and housekeeping wife (Kao & Lu, 2006; Yang, 2005).

In contrast to their counterparts in contemporary Taiwan, which is being gradually influenced by Westernisation and globalisation, Taiwanese immigrants in this study are highly likely to experience more cultural clashes and tensions in the interplay of endogenous Taiwanese traditions and British values within the host society. As far as ethnic minorities are concerned, the process of hybridisation implicates the flow of power relations between individuals as agentic beings and the wider social structure, ethnic cultural allegiances and acculturation into the host society (Elliot, 1996; McAdoo, 1993). For instance, in order to achieve a place and have a degree of comfort within this country, Chinese people choose to compromise their traditions, and incline towards assimilation into English-medium schools as well as into the mainstream labour market; but, at the same time, certain traditional Chinese values, particularly concerning the issues relating to gendered division of domestic labour and parent-child hierarchy, were maintained (see detailed discussion in Section 2.2). Individuals engaged in mainstream society and thereby socially constructed meanings of social reality, further complicated

the power relations between wider social structure and agency.

In sum, the usefulness of late modernity assumptions is in identifying the process of detraditionalisation in relation to women's biographies from *normal* to *do-it-yourself*. This particular stance is useful for understanding how Taiwanese immigrants subjectively (re)construct fatherhood and daughterhood when they are freed from the constraints of traditional social norms. It is also helpful for considering the way in which patriarchal, familist values have lost their hegemonic position; and more specifically, the way new lifestyles for women within the British social context are challenging Taiwanese fathers' taken-for-granted conceptions and practices of fathering a daughter, and diversifying their British-Taiwanese daughters' performances of femininity. At the same time, because the subjects in this study were located from a highly traditional to a more liberal, western society, the process of detraditionalisation may be more uneven and contradictory. As far as Taiwanese immigrant fathers are concerned, detraditionalisation is not simply a displacement of tradition, but is a continuing process of negotiation and selection, involving individual tensions (e.g. the doubts about how to be a new father or whether new ways to father a daughter benefit her participation in the host society) and asymmetric power relations. For the British-Taiwanese daughters in this study, the construction of daughterhood and the performance of femininities are a kind of gendered reflexivity; however, they are not completely free agents, and the process of individualisation interplays with gendered domestic configurations and complex power relations between father and daughter (see discussion in Section 2.3).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a literature review which provides a background to this study. The study reported will investigate the nature of the father-daughter relationships

in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. As such, the first part of this literature review has provided a description of traditional familist ideologies of Taiwan in 2.1 and the review of the pan-Chinese communities in Britain in 2.2. Specific attention in the second part of this chapter is paid to the theoretical framework of this study. In 2.3, the conceptualisation of fatherhood and daughterhood is presented, showing how distinct social contexts influenced the (re)constructions of what it means to be a father/girl (daughter) and what a father/daughter should be(come). It is also concerned with the complexity of power relations between fathers and daughters. In 2.4, late modernity perspectives further around traditionalisation/detraditionalisation, stresses how tradition, as 'normal' and 'legitimate', is challenged and disembedded within a highly modernised society. It considers how individuals, as reflexive beings, can make choices for/by themselves, and most specifically, discusses how the processes involve individual tensions, continuing negotiation and the flow of power relations between social structure and agency. In so doing, I hope to have provided a theoretical framework with which to investigate how Taiwanese immigrants, who relocated to a context where patterns of familial relationships were more 'relaxed' than those in Taiwan, subjectively reconstructed the meaning of fatherhood and daughterhood via gendered reflexivity and influence the conceptions and practices of fathering daughters; and how highly socialised daughters within this multicultural social context chose a life of their own, complicating the power relations between father and daughter.

By and large, an investigation of the nature of the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain is undertaken with consideration of relevant issues in the constantly (re)constructed social meanings and the fluidity of power in relationships. Such philosophical assumptions (i.e. social constructionist approaches) and the methodological framework of this study will be presented in the next chapter.

3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology of the study. First the methodological assumptions are introduced followed by consideration of the research design. The research design is formulated in three sections: the design framework, the trajectory of this study, the process of sampling and relevant ethical issues are described in 3.2; the method and procedure of data collection are depicted in 3.3; qualitative content analysis applied to reveal the empirical findings is addressed in 3.4. Research rigour (i.e. validity, reliability and generalisability) and some limitations encountered during this study are discussed in 3.5 and 3.6 (in order). Finally the focal points made in this chapter are summarised.

3.1 Methodological Assumptions

This study aims to: investigate the fathering experience of Taiwanese immigrants; and how Taiwanese fathers and British-Taiwanese daughters understand the relationship between them. It intends to explore how different social contexts (traditional Taiwan vs. modern Britain) shape perceptions of fathering experiences and further influence father-daughter relationships. Closely related to the main purpose of this study, the sub-research questions are as follows:

- How does a male Taiwanese immigrant father his daughter in a different social context from the one he was familiar with?
- How do fathers' attitudes/practices of *fathering* relate to daughters' understandings

of their *daughterhood*?

In seeking the answers to these questions, fathers' and daughters' lived experiences, together with their perspectives of these lived experiences, are of key importance. The investigations based on qualitative data provide in-depth insights into the meanings of the fathering experiences and the nature of father-daughter relationships. The insights gained from participants' narratives can also provide further understanding of how the geographic/cultural context (re)shapes the meanings of individuals' lived experiences. For this reason, a qualitative paradigm is chosen which is a mode that offers a more personal, interactive and descriptive approach to data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Bogdam & Biklen, 1998; Mertens, 1998).

3.1.1 Qualitative Paradigm

The employment of a qualitative paradigm for this research is based on some distinctive philosophical stances. With regard to the ontological assumption (i.e. what is reality), unlike quantitative paradigm which "embodies a view of social reality as an external, objective one" (Bryman, 2004:20), qualitative researchers believe that realities vary from situation to situation, culture to culture (Denscombe, 2007); additionally, human beings hold various perspectives and explanations for the same things, for similar actions, even for the parallel settings they live in. Social reality is, to an extent, subjective and individuals are not passive beings but may be regarded as the creator of their environment (Bryman, 2004; Robson, 2002; Mertens, 1998). Thus, the epistemological orientation of a qualitative paradigm is contrasted with that of a quantitative paradigm which generates findings deductively through large surveys or scientific experiments. As a result of the ability of human beings to create or shift their environments, qualitative researchers emphasise the significance of first-hand experience and/or insights offered

by participants in order to make sense of the data (Bryman, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

However, we inevitably explain and reconstruct someone's world through our own original assumptions of what is common-sense (Coffey, 1999). In order to accurately understand others, researchers not only endeavour to gain access into participants subjective world and see things from their point of view, but also must "put their own world in brackets" (Husserl, 1913:76; translated by Boyce Gibson, 1931:212) and suspend their biases, preconceptions and hypotheses (Denscombe, 2007; Bryman, 2004; Maso, 2001; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Bogdam & Bilken, 1998; Mentens, 1998). According to the hermeneutic philosophical standpoint, to suspend all one's own preconceptions is impossible; instead, realising human behaviour involves a kind of empathic understanding and is considered as a process of shared meaning (Bryman, 2004; Bogdan & Bilken, 1998). Through repeating the tactic of the "part-whole-part hermeneutical circle" (Schwandt, 2000:193), we should endeavour to achieve a merging of horizons with subjects in order to make sense of their conceptual world (O'Reilly, 2005; Liao, 2003; Bogdam & Bilken, 1998).

Applying the philosophical stances of qualitative paradigm, this research framework (Figure 3.1) is to gain access into Taiwanese immigrants' subjective worlds and listen to their constructions of the fathering experience and father-daughter interactions. It was also to listen and understand the fathering experiences according to the perspectives of the daughters of Taiwanese male immigrants. Before entering the field, I tried to bracket my preconceptions, including not simply the previous mentioned literature on the traditional family ideologies of Taiwan but also my own lived experience of the father-daughter relationships by adopting a reflexive position.

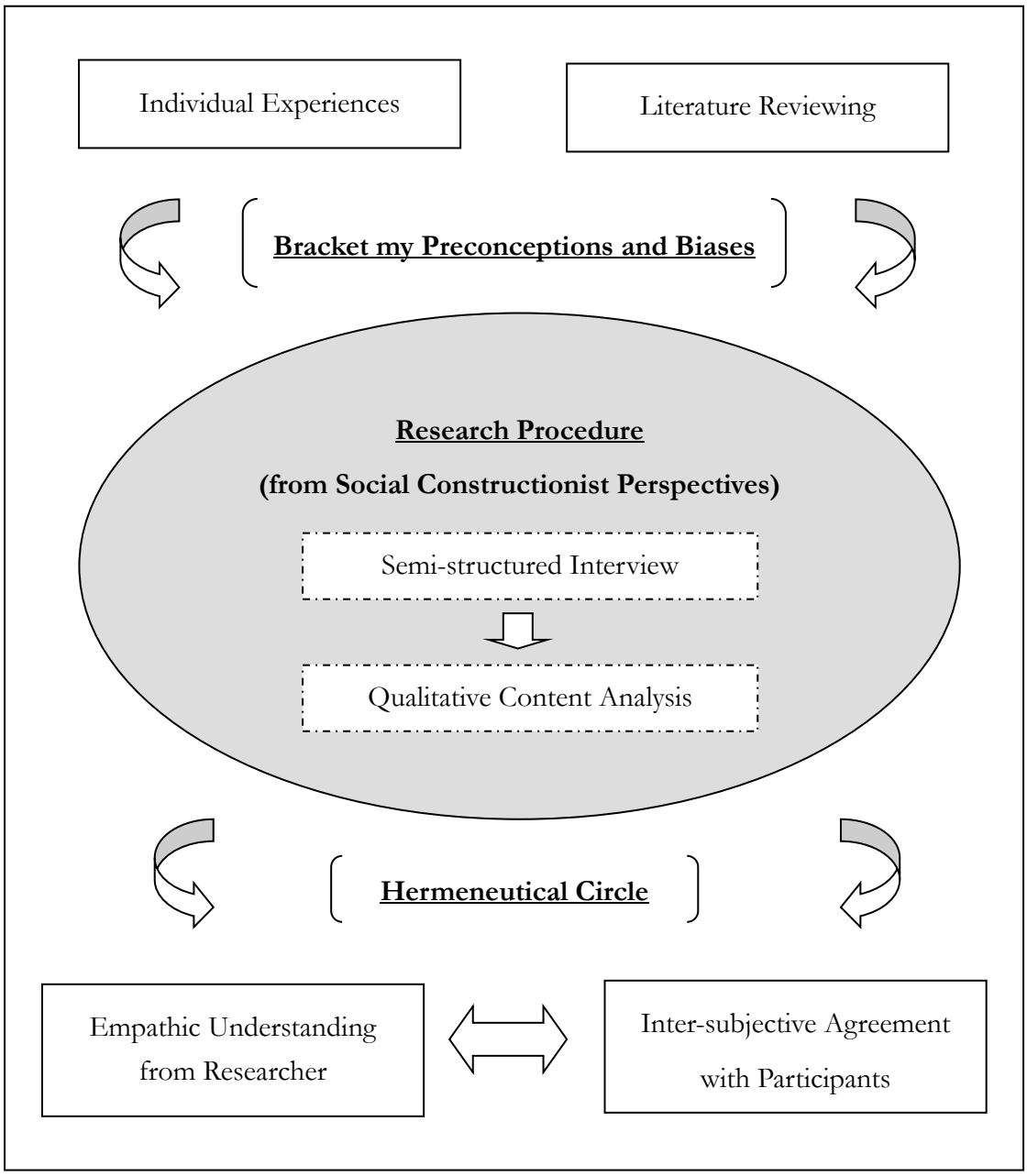


Figure 3.1 Research Framework based on Qualitative Paradigm

For a qualitative paradigm, the researcher is the essential instrument in the whole research process from defining the topic to presenting the findings (Denscombe, 2007). Personal characteristics (such as gender, age, social status and so forth), lived experiences, cultural backgrounds as well as the subjectivities of researchers may help them easily enter and realise a participant's subjective world; but, contradictorily, it is also likely to create preconceptions or biases and therefore misunderstandings can emerge. In addition

to keeping reflexive in the research process, it is crucial for researchers to clarify their own subjectivities and then try to *bracket* them – if impossible to bracket completely, researchers have to locate themselves first – before entering the field of study. As far as I am concerned, my lens is from a Taiwanese, young-adult woman's, mixed Confucian cultures with Western liberalism. I was born and bred in a transitive society while Taiwan began to openly accept the ideas of Western liberalism but at the same time maintained traditional values. My father spoils me yet still remains traditional in his patriarchal beliefs. For instance, even though he does his best to satisfy what I request, my father also bears in mind the conventional notion that daughters should be obedient, as well as the idea that marriage is a female's predestined destination and is more important than success at work. Under these kinds of traditional fathering, I struggled to negotiate a balance between independence and filial obedience. While carrying out my Master's thesis, I was profoundly affected by traditional late-midlife Taiwanese fathers' invisible emotions about becoming a father-in-law and, as such, I seemed to empathise more with fathers' struggles between tradition and modernity, protection and letting-go. Combining my research lens with a review of relevant literature, the conceptual assumptions which formed the basis of this study included:

- A father plays a crucial role throughout his daughter's life.
- The fathering concepts/practices impact on/are impacted by the father-daughter relationship.
- The transition of social structure from tradition to modernity influences the concepts of and practices of fathering a daughter and further contributes towards (re)construction of the father-daughter relationship.
- The nature of the father-daughter relationship shifts across different developmental stages.

- The nature of the father-daughter relationship has implications for gendered power relations and traditional stereotypical expectations in the family.

After bracketing my preconceptions and locating my research position, I gained access to the field in order to understand participants' subjective worlds. Qualitative semi-structured interviews is the primary method of collection information about their lived experiences of immigrant Taiwanese fathers and their daughters, and qualitative content analysis was then applied to identify key areas emerging around *fatherhood* and *daughterhood* and provided a systematic strategy to reconstruct the meanings of these experiences (see the following sections for detailed discussion).

3.1.2 Social Constructionist Approach

Whilst the adoption of a qualitative paradigm offered a broad framework, social constructionism was used to underpin this study, particularly in making sense of my data and formulating answers to my research questions. The fundamental assumption of social constructionism, as implied by the name, is that "reality is socially constructed" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966:1), in which the advocates take a relativist and sceptical position to reject any notion of a singular, absolute 'truth' and argue the existence of multiple realities (Archer & Francis, 2007; Denscombe, 2007; White, 2004; Potter, 2003). From the perspective of social constructionism, individuals do not simply passively obey existing social rules that act on and constrain them, but they are seen as creative interpreters of experiences who, through their social practices and dialogic interactions, literally make sense of their worlds (Denscombe, 2007; Bryman, 2004; Freedman & Combs, 1996). The construction of reality is considered as an on-going and dynamic process, where people constantly negotiate with each other and their environment (social structure); moreover, language provides the basis of people's social interaction and

interpreting experience (White, 2004; Burr, 2003/1995; Potter, 2003; DeLamater & Hyde, 1998).

Drawing on Burr (2003/1995) there are several key points with reference to social constructionism. First, the world we experience and construct is a social product and reflects historical and cultural specificity. Thus our understandings of the world change across time and space (Young & Collin, 2004). This also encourages researchers to take a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge. Second, meanings are constructed in and through interaction. The ways of our understanding the world are through the social practices and daily interactions in which people are constantly engaged with each other, where our versions of knowledge are shared, intersubjective and fabricated (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Gergen, 1985; Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Third, the construction of knowledge is regarded as a constantly negotiated process, in which we continue dialogues and interactions with other people and social environment/structure in order to achieve intersubjective understandings. Fourth, language, which has existed in our culture and been used by people for conceptual frameworks before we are born, provides the precondition on which we make sense of the world. Moreover, it enables us to share experience and to make our understandings of the world available to others (Shotter, 2002; Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Fifth, our constructions of the world go together with specific patterns of social action. If we were unable to attach meaning to an experience, we would have directionless or meaningless action (White, 2004). At the same time, we continuously construct the social world through our actions, which then becomes the reality to which we must respond (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Fatherhood and *girlhood/daughterhood* from the social constructionist point of view can be defined as constructed by the actor in interaction with others as s/he moves through time and space. Here the constructions of fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood are

contextualized by recognizing how in which individuals and their societies are deeply influenced by one another and continuously and iteratively interact. Therefore, it is recognized that the different social context (of the UK) may well have influenced Taiwanese immigrants' notions of what it means to be a father/daughter. Moreover, it is understood that individuals contribute toward (re)constructing fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood and/or (re)defining the context within which they operate through their actions and social practices.

Although individuals are creative interpreters of their worlds, it does not mean that their interpretations are not influenced by existing social identities and social structures, in which certain constructions are privileged, whilst others are eclipsed (Burr, 2003/1995; Sayer, 1997). Some social constructionists who have drawn on Foucault's conception of power pay attention to how subjective constructions of the worlds are bound up with power relations (Burr, 2003/1995). Power can be understood as "a complex strategical situation [and] a multiplicity of force relations" (Smart, 1985:77). The notion of power relations in Foucauldian understandings goes further than assuming the difference between two or more groups in which one possesses authority or control over the other(s) (Weedon, 1997). Instead, power is fluid (Smart, 1985); the way no one position has absolute, fixed authority. Different circumstances and time periods stimulates a complex flow of power (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000).

In this study, one aspect to be considered was traditional power dynamics: men and women; and parents and children. In terms of the former, feminist have paid specific attention to ideas about the patriarchal structure and gendered power relations between men and women; however, Foucault's understandings of power have superseded this notion (also see Weedon, 1997). Power relations between men and women (and men and men, and women and women) are fluid and may change within different historical

epochs and/or social contexts. Similarly, power relations between parents and child are not fixed.

In sum, this research takes a social constructionist approach to investigating how Taiwanese immigrants in Britain subjectively (re)interpret their fathering experiences and (re)conceptualise fatherhood and daughterhood. In the following sections, research design based on these methodological assumptions and the execution of this study will be described in detail.

3.2 Research Design

This research envisages that the investigation of the nature of the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families could contribute to the knowledge of minority ethnic fatherhood and family patterns in Britain. As discussed in the previous section, the qualitative research paradigm is chosen for this study in the light of the research goals and questions. However conventional research designs such as case studies or ethnography or action research are not used for this study. It tends more toward a life history or narrative design but again does not fit neatly into these categories. An integrated qualitative approach is adopted in this study.

The sections to come will present the research design of this research. Bryman (2004:27) defines *research design* as "a structure that guides the execution of collecting data and the analysis of the subsequent data". In line with his view, the research design of this study is discussed in three sections. This section begins by outlining the whole research procedure in which I summarise the pilot study and then indicate how its results prompted the modifications made to the main study. Also, the tactics of sampling and relevant ethical issues are discussed in this section. The execution of data collection and of data analysis will be illustrated in the following sections.

3.2.1 Research Procedure

Glesne and Peshkin (1992:30) have advised that "the researcher should pilot the observations and interviews in situations and with people as close to the realities of the actual study as possible". My pilot study was undertaken from March 2007 to September 2007. All the steps taken in the pilot study were recorded in which several thoughts and issues were reflected on for future reference. In addition to identifying the problems thrown up by the pilot study, actually conducting the pilot study enabled me to familiarise myself with the fieldwork. In what follows, I summarise the pilot study and indicate how its procedure and results provided modifications for the main research design.

An ethnographic approach was chosen for the pilot study. This allowed me to trial my skills as a researcher and to identify the research approaches needed to answer the research question. My key job was to build close relationships with possible informants/ interviewees and enable them to become comfortable with me. And, more significantly, through observing as much as I could and recording field-notes I could develop some insights into ways of investigating father-daughter interactions in Chinese immigrant families. At the same time, through adopting such a position, I also found it provided me with access to finding key informants for in-depth interviewing.

The second task of the pilot study was to familiarise myself with the execution of the in-depth interview. I interviewed fathers and daughters in the same family separately in order to capture different perspectives concerning father-daughter interactions. In interviewing, I believe that the more rigid control the interviewer has over the interviewing, the fewer free and personal stories the interviewees tell (Bogdan & Bilken, 1998). In order to encourage interviewees to talk about themselves in detail, for me, the most important element was to be a careful listener. Through open-ended questions and

semi-structured interview guidelines, I kept the research topics in mind but also sought to be flexible at all times so as to provide interviewees with a wide canvas on which to present their views.

The primary challenge to sampling was encountered while I carried out the pilot study. Gaining access into the Chinese community in Britain in order to probe into family stories was too difficult for a newly arrived student who was also a stranger (especially coupled with the reason that Chinese culture stresses that domestic shame should not be made public). Moreover, it should be noted that the ethical issues of undertaking this ethnographic pilot study were recognised from the outset and were central to the execution of the study. The ethical dimensions will be discussed later and in detail.

A Chinese church, a common and formal organisation and gathering, provided me the occasion to meet and contact most Chinese immigrants in the UK. Also, a pastor became a gatekeeper who guided me into this familiar but distant field and helped me build rapport with Chinese immigrants. During the piloting phase, I gained access into a Chinese church in the Midlands area of the UK and spent four months participating in as many gatherings (e.g. fellowships and services) as possible. The way I observed various families together, listened to what they said and asked questions where necessary. In addition, with purposive sampling approach, I selected two Chinese immigrant families as my key interviewees on the pastor's recommendation. Following the data collection, a narrative analysis was applied in the pilot study to systematise daily events which father and daughter in the same family focused on and formed these into a coherent story.

Several issues which prompted me to modify my research design occurred during the piloting phase. Because it was impossible for me to live with each immigrant family who took part in the main study and also to carry out participant observation I decided

to focus data collection on the in-depth qualitative interview, drawing on insights from a life story approach in which 'deep listening' and having a dialogue with participants would enable data that would facilitate an interpretation of fathers' perceptions of fathering experiences and father-daughter perceptions of father-daughter relationships. Furthermore, I turned my attention to qualitative content analysis in the main research design in order to identify patterns and themes emerging regarding father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families.

With regard to the sample for the pilot study, because I selected my participants from Chinese churches, I had to recognise that the father-daughter relationships in this case were shaped by different religious positions. Therefore, for my main study, I decided to ensure the sample would include participants from whatever religion. Moreover, in order to ensure some commonality of experiences I placed a limit on the age of the daughters taking part selecting only those families where the daughter either a baby or very young when they arrived in Britain.

Another issue related to sampling which I encountered in the pilot study concerned the participants' background. Originally, I did not confine the participants to Taiwanese people, but sampled all Chinese immigrants whether they had come from Taiwan, China, Hong Kong or another predominantly Chinese society. Yet when interviewing and analysing the subsequent data, I found that there were slight variations in cultural identity between mainland Chinese and those from Hong Kong. These distinct backgrounds of Chinese societies more or less hindered me from understanding respondents' storytelling; otherwise the familiar mother language and social context enabled participants and myself to express our thoughts easily and share wider and deeper experiences. Therefore I decided to focus on Taiwanese immigrant families as my main participants.

3.2.2 Sampling

The focus of this study is on fathers' perceptions of fathering and the perceptions of fathers and daughters on father-daughter relationships within Taiwanese immigrant families. As the priori assumptions, I select homogeneous, purposive participants with three specific criteria as follows:

- The Taiwanese family arrived in the UK while the daughter was in early childhood.
- The father in the above Taiwanese immigrant family with a daughter now aged between 20-30 years.
- Both father and daughter can speak Chinese, Taiwanese or English fluently.

The aim was to provide insights into the perceptions of fathers who grew up in traditional Taiwan and their daughters who were raised and educated in Britain and became familiar with western values. The sampling process I encountered in the main study was far more challenging than I had anticipated. The UK was not the preferred choice of migration for most Taiwanese. Most Chinese immigrants in the UK were from Hong Kong because of the historical/colonial links (Li Wei, 1994); therefore, language was a serious limitation in this research because I could not speak Cantonese at all. Even though some Hong Kong immigrants could speak Chinese, an unfamiliar language more or less hindered them from expressing their thoughts and sharing their stories especially in the case of late-midlife fathers whose English was not fluent. Despite my preference for Taiwanese immigrant families it was, at first, difficult to find them; therefore, I reluctantly extended my range of sampling to all Chinese immigrants who could speak Chinese, Taiwanese or English fluently. After interviewing two Chinese immigrant families (one was from China and the other from Hong Kong) I again recognised the tensions within the different cultures between the three societies and these differences

inevitably affected my research. Hence I reconfirmed my previous decision to focus on my home country, Taiwan. I was determined once again to focus my study on Taiwanese immigrant families or the immigrant families who once stayed in Taiwan for a long time and were familiar with Taiwanese culture even though I had to spend more energy and time on sampling.

I adopted two channels to ensure sufficient and appropriate participants. First was contact with Chinese churches. Although I did not want to select merely Christians as my key informants, the Chinese church, which I had built a rapport with in the piloting phase, was essential for meeting appropriate participants. Two Taiwanese immigrant families were identified through church members' social network – that is via snowball sampling approach. Both of them are religious Christians and willing to join in my study. The other means of sampling was through official organizations. I made active contact with the *Taipei Representative Office in the UK (London)*, the *Taiwanese Association in the UK* and the *Taiwanese Women's Association in the UK* to ask if they could help in locating suitable Taiwanese immigrant families. I was invited to attend relevant Taiwanese immigrant activities and gatherings (e.g. attend the 12th Taiwanese immigrant games held on 12 July 2008), and in that way I was introduced to ten more Taiwanese immigrant families in London. This enabled me to explain the study face to face and I was also able to invite them there and then to participate in the study. However some fathers declined because they stated their father-daughter relationships were too unpleasant to share their stories whilst some fathers who expressed a willingness to join originally withdrew because their daughters were too busy at work to be interviewed. At last four more Taiwanese families were identified with this research project.

In sum, six Taiwanese father-daughter pairs (see Table 3.1) took part in this study and all were willing to share their perceptions and experiences. All of them came from

Taiwan and have resided in the UK for over twenty years except Father B who was born in Singapore but studied and worked in Taiwan for ten years before migrating to the UK. All of the daughters were raised and educated in Britain from primary school onwards and who now face decisions about whether/how to pursue marriage and careers (except Daughter A). Furthermore, all of the families are middle class and most of the fathers are engaged in business or professional occupations – the exception is Father B who retired because of illness.

Concerning living arrangements: Daughter A and her own family live very close to her aging parents in order to care for them and also to ensure her son has a good environment for his own education; otherwise, Daughter C, D and E live away from their parents because of their jobs or studying, whilst Daughter B and F still live with their parents. More details of the individual families will be described in Chapter four.

Table 3.1 Participants' Profiles

Code/ Family		Nationality	Length of Emigrating	Age while Emigrating	Occupation	Marital status	Live with
A	F	Taiwan	24	--	businessman	married	Separate (neighbour)
	D			6	businessman	married	
B	SF	Singapore	19	--	retirement	married	Together
	D	Taiwan		9	teacher	single	
C	F	Taiwan	32	26	businessman	married	Separate
	D			Not Born	teacher	single	
D	F	Taiwan	25	31	businessman	married	Separate
	D			2	lawyer	boyfriend	
E	F	Taiwan	30	25	physician	married	Separate
	D			Not Born	undergraduate	boyfriend	
F	F	Taiwan	24	31	businessman	married	Together
	D			1	student	single	

Note: F as father; SF as step-father; D as daughter

3.2.3 Ethical Considerations

Before discussing the process of data collection, I would like to consider some ethical issues encountered in this study. The purpose of addressing ethical considerations is to protect both participants and the researcher from potential harm. Ethical dilemmas pervade the whole of the research process (Cohen et al, 2000). Conventional codes of ethics include avoiding physical harm and/or psychological trauma, giving informed consent and the issues on the rights to privacy, confidentiality, disclosure, deception, etc. (O'Reilly, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Cohen et al, 2000; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). In order to acquire rich and detailed information, qualitative researchers have to intimately engage with the private lives of subjects. Also due to the changeable character in the of qualitative research processes often new or unexpected ethical dilemmas arise (Silverman, 2001). Some strategies are exploited to guard against ethical problems in my study.

The principle of informed consent stresses individual autonomy and respects human freedom and self-determination (Christians, 2000; Cohen et al, 2000). In this study I actively sought to ensure informed consent. While I knew appropriate informants, I contacted them in person or by telephone and described briefly who I am and what I wanted to do in order to ask for their agreement to join in my research. At the beginning of interviewing, I carefully explained the research goals, the interviewing process, my obligations regarding confidentiality and security of data, and their rights to withdraw; and then both of us signed the consent form. In addition, I specifically mentioned that potential risks concerning sharing family secrets or of harming current father-daughter relationships could arise in the course of research; and so I respected that they may wish to withdraw from my study at any point. Even after the ending of all data collection, I maintained a rapport with all participants; and, if necessary, offered counselling and assistance in rebuilding their father-daughter relationships because of some disclosure of

personal/family secrets which they felt might affect, even harm, their mental well-being or family relationships.

It is not only the process of data collection which has ethical consideration but also features largely in the dissemination of research findings. In order to safeguard subjects' right to privacy, I transcribed all collected data by myself and deleted all the records whom completing my research. In addition, in reporting research results to the public, the principle of anonymity in order to blank out any personal information which could identify a participant was treated seriously. In this study each family was named randomly as Family A to F, and all information which might identify families or individuals were covered or substituted by pseudonyms. The participants' pseudonyms are as tabled below.

Table 3.2 Participants' Pseudonyms

	Family A	Family B	Family C	Family D	Family E	Family F
(S)F	Alfred	Bennett	Conrad	Dick	Emil	Frank
D	Alberta	Bonnie	Clara	Dara	Eudora	Fiona

Note: (S)F as (step-)father's name; D as daughter's name

However, due to the nature of this study, it was inevitable that certain comments were made that would be regarded as secret in the family and thereby ethical dilemmas arose regarding the extent to which such individual family secrets could be revealed.. Confidentiality is the relevant, significant issue here. The guarantee of confidentiality means not only to ensure "what you hear goes no further" (O'Reilly, 2005:65), but also to ensure that "the boundaries surrounding the shared secret will be protected" (Cohen et al, 2000:62). My study was full of struggles to avoid breaking promises of confidentiality, especially when I interviewed a Taiwanese father and his daughter separately and gained insights into some secrets. For this reason I bore in mind secrets which fathers/daughters

shared and kept the promise so as to strengthen rapport during the process of the data collection.

I uphold the principle that subjects' rights and happiness have high priority over knowledge seeking. On the presentation of the research results, I asked all participants for agreement on the degree of disclosure. While I completed the verbatim transcription and preliminary analysis, I returned them to each participant and asked for feedback. The most important aspect in participants' feedback is in agreement on which content of their family stories/secrets to disclose whether to their family members or to the public. Because I have to make allowances for the integrity of participants' familial relationships, the principle of confidentiality was the most important ethical consideration in my study and thereby I paid particular attention to it.

The modification of the pilot study contributed towards an adjustment in the direction of this main research design. I first described in detail the process of sampling in the main study. Relevant ethical considerations were then reflected upon prior to the detailed discussions of data collection and analysis in the following sections.

3.3 Data Collection

An in-depth interview drawing on insights from a life story approach was the main research method employed to explore fathers' and daughters' life stories, focusing on fathering experiences and father-daughter relationships. Life consists of various stories. In the past storytelling has been the main way to transmit knowledge and morals. Today people want tell of their lived experiences with their own words in order to identify themselves and pass on knowledge and understanding about themselves to others. Seeing, listening and touching are primary methods to understand others' subjective worlds (Miller & Crabtree, 1999; Stauss & Corbin, 1990). An in-depth interview can be regarded

as an insightful method (or a shortcut) to listen to someone's self-constructed story (Atkinson, 1998; Chase, 1995).

An interview is defined as a purposeful conversation in that usually two persons (sometimes more) take part (Czarniawska, 2004; Bogdan & Bilker, 1998). An in-depth interview is viewed as an opportunity to ask for lived experiences where meanings are transmitted and reconstructed in the listening-storytelling process (Atkinson, 1998; Chase, 1995). The relationship between interviewer and storyteller is active; moreover, they are collaborators in meaning-making operations (Atkinson, 1998; Rosenthal, 1993): The interviewee plays a protagonist to tell of his/her life stories whereas the interviewer is a guide to encourage, support and, if necessarily, clarify what s/he shares.

Atkinson (1998:41) stressed that "the less structure an interview has; the more effective it will be in achieving the goal of getting the person's own story". However, because my objective was to explore father-daughter relationships in the family, a semi-structured in-depth interview was chosen, not only with a clear list of the interview guidelines to concentrate on the issues of the fathering experiences and father-daughter interactions but also with flexible, open-ended questions to develop relevant ideas (Denscombe, 2007). Furthermore, I interviewed fathers and daughters in the same family separately in order to capture their different perspectives about similar lived experiences and explore further their subjective opinions, feelings, emotions and so on. The process of data collection is illustrated in three steps as is outlined below.

3.3.1 Pre-interview

There were several essential preparations for interviewing. Combining relevant theories and empirical findings of the literature review with several insights in my pilot study, first, the interview guidelines were amended and supplemented, more concretely

and comprehensibly. Both brief lists of interview guidelines for fathers and daughters were divided into two parts: one was about the daily father-daughter interactions; the other one involved questions about how the British social context influenced their interactions and fathering experiences. The features of these questions are from superficial to deep, from personal information to probing for deeper insights into feelings; finally the questions about visions of the future or retrospectives of their whole life summarized the whole interview. Undoubtedly, using the interview guidelines was flexible and the aim was not only for memory prompts but to confirm some questions which subjects lost during storytelling.

In order to ask potential participants to share their lived experiences, the research invitation was devised to introduce who I am, what I aimed to do in the research, and an invitation issued to join in my study when I attended relevant Taiwanese gatherings. When participants confirmed their willingness to be interviewed, I made an appointment immediately with each of them, not only explaining again what I would like to do and what rights they had but also asking them to choose the appropriate venue and time. In order to make interviewees feel comfortable and to learn more about the setting in which the interviewee works or lives, I suggested to each of them that they might want to be interviewed in a location where they were able to organise the physical setting as they please (O'Reilly, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Atkinson, 1998; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). I also checked that the location would be private and quiet and we would not be disturbed. This was particularly important for female interviewees who were more sensitive to the fact their fathers might overhear what they were saying. Consequently, three families and Dara were interviewed at their home whereas the interviews with Family A, Family C and Dick were at their places of work (see Table 3.3).

The length of an in-depth interview is quite varied; but we have to anticipate at least

several hours for interviewing (Miller, 2000; Atkinson, 1998). In order to have enough time to discuss and allows interviewees to arrange their schedule conveniently, each interview was allocated at least two hours where possible. On average, the fathers' interviews lasted around 155 minutes and the daughters' 112 minutes (also see Table 3.3). However, there was a problem in Dara's interview with the recorder which failed to record parts of the interview. Actually I spent almost four hours with Dara sharing her stories.

Table 3.3 Venue and Length of Interviewing

Family/Subject		Venue	Length (min.)	Family/Subject		Venue	Length (min.)
A	Alfred	Alberta's office	171	D	Dick	Dick's office	191
	Alberta	Alberta's office	108		Dara	Dara's house	82
B	Bennett	Home	107	E	Emil	Home	172
	Bonnie	Home	153		Eudora	Home	93
C	Conrad	Conrad's office	148	F	Frank	Home	138
	Clara	Conrad's office	104		Fiona	Home	131

Both interviewee and interviewer must prepare adequately. Each participant was contacted on the eve of the interview not merely to remind him/her of the appointment but as a way of preparing him/her for our meeting. As an interviewer I not only made sure that I had two digital recorders working and had enough space to record the whole interview but also checked that all the documents I needed were ready. Also, it is most important to rest fully and prepare myself well both physically and mentally because interviewing was indeed exhausting.

3.3.2 Doing the Interview

When I arrived at the appointed sites, but before interviewing, I chatted with my participants about myself, the location (e.g. photos on the walls of the interview room) in order to develop further rapport and to reduce any tension; and then we worked together to create a comfortable setting and settle down for the interview.

It is most important prior to embarking on an in-depth interview to consider the interviewee first (Atkinson, 1998); and so securing informed consent should be done absolutely and be complied with throughout the research. In the opening minutes of each interview, through negotiating the statement of informed consent with interviewees, I tried to clarify such things as my role, my aims and my intentions for how the data would be used. I also reminded them of their rights and my obligation to protect their anonymity and keep data confidential. I also asked for permission to record the whole interview and vouched again for deleting all records after the research had been completed and written up. This process of negotiating should reduce any tensions or doubts the interviewee might have and also confirm what the interview would entail and their right to select what they wanted to tell, turn off recorders or withdraw from the research.

In order to avoid asking probing questions at the beginning and thereby potentially causing participants to feel uncomfortable, I started with ice-breaking questions, such as *when and why did your family emigrate to the UK?* And then I gradually entered "generative narrative questions" (Riemann & Schütze, 1987:353) which focused on the research topic and aimed to stimulate interviewees' narrated life stories (Flick, 2002), such *which lived experience was the most memorable in your father/daughter interactions?* Atkinson (1998) indicates that specific questions should be asked at the later stage of interviewing. When interviewees seemed to end their storytelling, I tried to briefly summarize and asked some questions which they had not covered but which were listed on the interview

guidelines, and, in so doing, usually generated more discussion. Moreover, the concluding question I asked was *please can you say something about the quality of your father-daughter relationships across daughters' different ages/developmental stages* in order to help us reflect over the whole interview and consider his/her vision of the future.

The interview is not only to create a space where interviewees can construct their lived experiences and reflect on these but also involves an awareness of the interplay between interviewer and interviewee in questioning (Silverman, 2001; Miller & Crabtree, 1999). Therefore, interviewers have to be sensitive to the expressions in participants' eyes and their body language or nonverbal messages. Some counselling skills were also needed. Active listening involved me being a witness to what my participants said and not to interrupt them; I ensured I properly empathised with their feelings and thoughts. Furthermore approaches to clarification and summarising what was said were used at the later stage of interviewing in order to confirm and reconstruct what had been said. After interviewing, if necessary, I also helped my participants to deal with their intensely negative emotions which were recalled during interviewing, such as Dara's scared experience about her parents being robbed.

Some issues emerged from the interviewing process. Chase (1995) stresses asking questions with everyday language. Using different language and its phrases can influence the storytelling. Due to most interviews being carried out in Chinese, some specific phrases (whether English or Chinese) had the potential to be easily misunderstood, particularly during the daughters' interviews when they conversed using two languages (Chinese and English). Thus, confirming with each other and summarising clearly were necessary especially because I could not indeed grasp specific conversational English. This situation rarely happened in fathers' interviews because both of us spoke our mother language (Chinese mixed with Taiwanese) fluently. The other issue is about

insights. It was important to ensure that the researcher did not make assumptions about the interviewees experiences (Czarniawska, 2004), particularly for some interviewees who rarely reflected upon themselves or their experiences. Hence I tried to integrate and empathise with interviewees' narrated stories and feelings and thereby asked for their confirmation and feedback.

3.3.3 Post-interview

Everything is changed between interviewer and interviewee after interviewing (Atkinson, 1998). Keeping rapport was necessary because I, as a researcher, had the responsibility of protecting and caring for all my participants. Hence one or two days after interviewing, I rang or sent an email to them confirming they were happy with how their interview had gone and showing my appreciation again. In addition, I sent cards to each family on special festivals and contacted them regularly by email. Now I have made very good friends with each family and they often invite me to their parties.

I checked the recording on the spot immediately after interviewing, and then double saved each recording into each identified file in my laptop and the hard drive. Before transcribing the interview, I listened to the recording again and wrote the research diary which is a researcher's reflection on the interview (Czarniawska, 2004). The content of this research diary included the whole procedure of interviewing from invitation to gaining feedback, noting interviewees' nonverbal signals as well as my insights about the participant him/herself and the process of data collection and analysis.

After the interviews I proceeded to transcribe these. The process of transcription not only provides valuable information but also brings the researcher close to the data (Denscombe, 2007; O'Reilly, 2005). After identifying the person I was interviewing and specifying the date and place of the interview, I fully transcribed all the interviews

verbatim. In addition, combining the research diary with transcripts, I tried to draw initial pictures about the informants' narratives.

3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis means a search for patterns that lie behind the surface content of the collected data. The job of the researcher is to work with the data, organise them, deconstruct them and then reconstruct them (Denscombe, 2007; Hartley, 2004; Bogdan & Bilker, 1998; Neuman, 1997). A qualitative content analysis was employed in this study to analyse systematically Taiwanese fathers' and daughters' narratives. Bryman (2004:542) defines qualitative content analysis as "an approach (-) that emphasises the role of the investigator in the construction of the meaning of and in texts"; also it involves "an emphasis on allowing categories to emerge out of data and on recognising the significance for understanding the meaning of the context in which an item being analysed (and the categories derived from it) appeared". This definition has two implications. First, researchers conducting qualitative content analysis take a subjective but scientific way to interpret subject's constructions of social reality which are obtained from data (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Moreover, qualitative content analysis aims to build arguments in connection with text (narratives) and then make specific inferences from text (narrative) to wider contexts (Elo & Kyngas, 2008; Mayring, 2000). Second, researchers conducting qualitative content analysis not only pay attention to the manifest content of the narrative but takes latent information, including the context within which the narrative is generated into consideration (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009; Kohlbacher, 2005; Bryman, 2004; Mayring, 2000; Morgan, 1993).

In this research, I utilised a qualitative content analysis to construct Taiwanese immigrant fathers' understandings of their experience of fathering a daughter and both

father and daughters perceptions of their father-daughter interactions. In so doing account was taken of the social and cultural contexts of the participants; that is, the fact that Taiwanese fathers had grown up in traditional Taiwanese families in Taiwan itself whilst the daughters had grown up in a very different social-cultural context.

Generally speaking, qualitative content analysis includes two approaches: inductive category development and deductive category application (Mayring, 2000). With regard to this research project, an inductive content analysis approach was adopted. The procedures of carrying out inductive content analysis are for searching out underlying themes in the text data being analysed step by step and can be roughly divided into three stages (Elo & Kyngas, 2008; Kohlbacher, 2005; Bryman, 2004). At the preparation phase, my job was to transcribe accurately the collected narratives. The organising phase involved explaining, clarifying and annotating the interviews and in this way I immersed myself in the narratives to openly code and create categories. At the final structuring phase, I identified specific themes and attempted to reconstruct the meaning of fathering a daughter and the nature of father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families.

This process is outlined in Figure 3.2 which illustrates these three analysis phases. Each narrative was categorised on the first round; and then specific themes were formulated and to reconstruct the 'stories' about the meanings of fathering a daughter and the nature of father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families. After the first phase, preliminary construction of the narrative was returned by email to each participant for consideration and thereby sought his/her amendments and feedback. This was a means of achieving inter-subjective agreement. The procedures for conducting the data analysis were as follows:

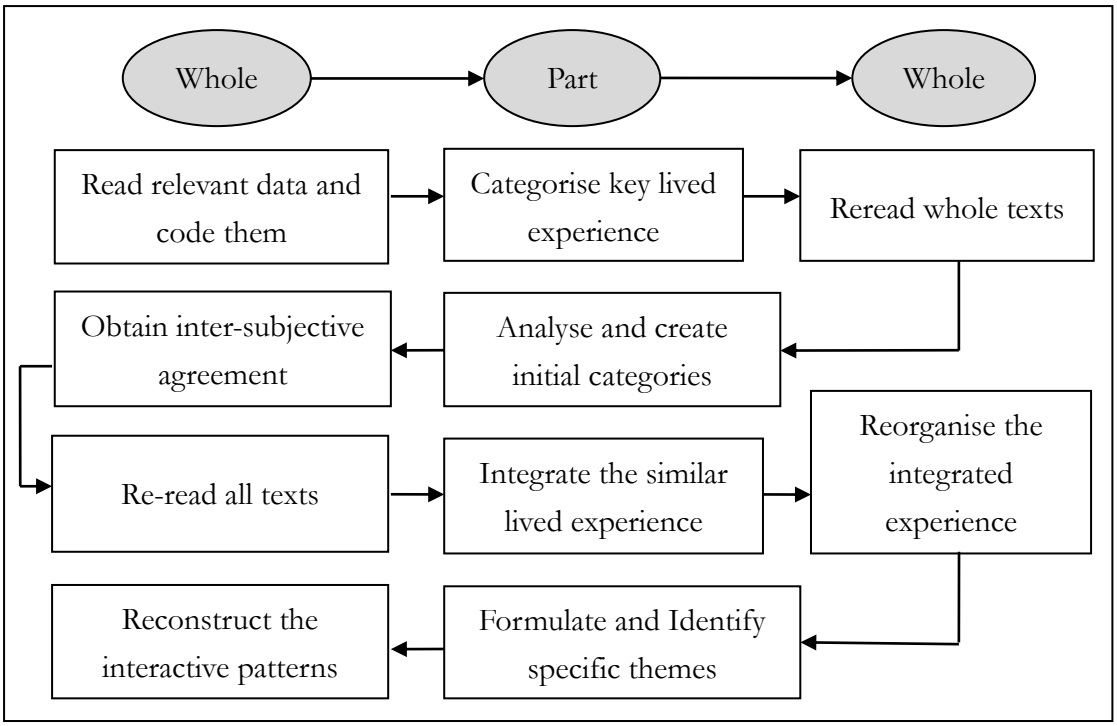


Figure 3.2 Procedure for Data Analysis (adapted from Kao's Hermeneutic Circle, 2001)

3.4.1 Transcribing and Editing

Since human memory is unreliable, after interviewing I immediately listened to the whole recording and wrote down the research diary, including interviewee's body language, nonverbal messages and dress; the seats of interviewee and researcher; external surroundings; and my insights. This research diary provides supplementary information to enrich the content of the transcript.

Verbatim transcribing of the collected data is the most time-consuming aspect of the qualitative paradigm (Denscombe, 2007). In particular I transcribed everything that was recorded, including tone-changing, the length of silence, the length of pause and so on. Before doing the transcribing I identified the person whom I interviewed and specified the date and place of the interview. Then, in transcribing, I had to concentrate my attention on the shifts in intonations and languages. Here I faced the first translation difficulty. Although Chinese is the official language in Taiwan, most people speak

Taiwanese which has no written words. In the process of interviewing the fathers, we mixed Chinese, Taiwanese and English. Thus, I tried to translate Taiwanese to written Chinese characters.

After finishing the first draft of a transcript, I listened to the recording again and confirmed that everything transcribed was correct. Afterwards I edited incomplete or incorrect sentences or added some phrases in order to make the transcripts readable. Furthermore, the nonverbal messages and anything of note that happened during the interview were added into the edited transcript in brackets.

3.4.2 Coding and Naming

In order to eliminate any possible bias from the interviewing process I read the text around one week after I transcribed it. With an open mind I entered the text again to discover and code key information into the edited transcript, and then I tried to define or name each coded meaningful sentence or paragraph (see Table 3.4).

Openly coding is part of the first *whole* of the data analysis process noted in Figure 3.2 above. In reviewing the transcript, the sentences or paragraphs were coded by the way in which these described an event, an experience, an idea, or an emotion/feeling. In order to recognise later, each code consists of three parts: the first letter is *family code name*, from A to F; the second one is *Father (F)* or *Daughter (D)*; and the after ciphers mean the number of the coded sentence or paragraph. *DF337*, for instance, symbols that the 337th specific paragraph in Father D's text.

I named and defined each coded sentence or paragraph while I did coding. As the example *DF337*, the content is that Father D described the time when he intervened in his daughter's relationship with her first boyfriend and thereby caused their disagreement.

I named this paragraph as *an experience of father-daughter conflict – cause*. In the process of naming I sometimes found the coded paragraphs had more than one meaning. Then I had to sub-divide, code and name them again. After naming all the coded sentences or paragraphs, I read the edited transcript again in order to check if I omitted any important information. Then I prepare to enter the next step of the data analysis schedule (Figure 3.2): sorting.

Table 3.4 Example of Open Coding and Naming

Name	Code	Transcript
父女衝突緣起 cause of conflict	DF337	她曾經有交過一個男朋友，那個人那時候在美國，因為他們是在台灣認識的，那時候她想說男朋友對她很好，就是說那時候他就想說要不要到美國去唸書，那時我就是直接不准他去！
父女衝突過程 process of conflict	DF338	我們當時是有比較 heated 的 discussion。
父女衝突感受 feeling of conflict	DF339	對我來說，這是一個很不可思議的事情！我很 shock，怎麼可能會有這種事情發生？！

3.4.3 Sorting and Translating

Sorting is grouped under the *part* of Figure 3.2. After coding and naming key sentences or paragraphs I sorted them by similar names or relative events and created categories as well as translating from Chinese to English (see Table 3.5).

Respondents' narrated texts were constructed and then I grouped similar concepts and relative issues which appeared across these individual analyses. For instance, the code 337-351 described DF's views of what happened when he rejected his daughter's plans to study in America which triggered a chain of difficult interactions. I integrated those relative codes into a category and defined it as *the experience of father-daughter conflict*. I sorted the complete text into several categories in the same way.

Table 3.5 Example of Sorting I

Name	Code	Translated Transcript
The experience of father-daughter conflict		
origin	DF337	She once had a boyfriend who settled in America when she was 19 years old. At that time the guy treated her very well so she planned to study in the United States and kept company with him. I said NO! Resolutely!
way to handle	DF338	We had quite heated discussion at that time.
DF's feeling	DF339	Unimaginable! I was so shocked. I had no idea why this kind of things happened?!
reason to say no	DF340	It was a thoughtless and immature decision! She was just eighteen years old and she could not ensure their future. So she must not do like that!
reason to say no	DF341	It was full of risks because she went there alone.
way to handle	DF342	We had discussed about her plan for the America.
outcome	DF346	She knew the gravity of her decision, so she gave up.
DD's reaction	DF347	I did not feel she had any keen or negative emotional response to our rejection.
DD's reaction	DF350	She did not have an intense reaction to our rejection; she did not say she must do it. No!
DF's feeling	DF351	I felt very shocked: how this kind of things happened!

Respondents often repeated similar experiences. In order to organise those similar codes within a category I sub-divided them and sorted again. Using the same example *the experience of father-daughter conflict*, I grouped into six parts: the origin, the reason to say no, the way to handle, DD's reaction, DF's feelings and the outcome (see Table 3.6 in detail).

Table 3.6 Example of Sorting II

Name	Code	Transcript
The experience of father-daughter conflict		
cause	DF337	She once had a boyfriend who settled in America when she was 19 years old. At that time the guy treated her very well so she planned to study in the USA and kept company with him. I said NO! Resolutely!
reason to say no	DF340	It was a thoughtless and immature decision! She was just

		eighteen years old and she could not ensure their future. So she must not do like that!
	DF341	It was full of risks because she went there alone.
way to handle	DF338	We had quite heated discussion at that time.
	DF342	We had discussed about her plan for the America.
DD's reaction	DF347	I did not feel she had any keen or negative emotional response to our rejection.
	DF350	She did not have an intense reaction to our rejection; she did not say she must do it. No!
DF's feeling	DF339	Unimaginable! I was so shocked. I had no idea why this kind of things happened?!
	DF351	I felt very shocked: how this kind of things happened!
outcome	DF346	She knew the gravity of her decision, so she gave up.

After sorting I reviewed the text again and tried to connect each category and then reconstruct the preliminary interpretation of the narrative. In order to confirm what I found, I emailed the preliminary interpretation of the narrative back to the interviewee for their view. The prologue to the preliminary interpretation of the narrative recalls the interview and offers my appreciation again and my request for his/her amendments and feedback. The interviewee's narrated life story is the principal part to reconstruct what s/he has shared and what I have acquired. Three follow-on questions are, first, to ask the interviewee to look at the preliminary interpretation of the narrative over and then amend or add, when necessarily. The second question is to ask whether there was any part of the narrative the interviewee would not like to have disclosed – because it may have been related to someone's individual secret even though I made efforts to blank out all personal information. The last question was to invite the interviewee's feedback and reflection upon the preliminary interpretation.

I was grateful that each interviewee replied to my email as soon as s/he could. All of them approved my constructions and some of them volunteered further information and reflection about father-daughter relationships or fathering experiences at this point.

This feedback reinforced my confidence in proceeding with the consequent analysis.

3.4.4 Identifying Themes and Reconstructing

Data analysis entered the second round (Figure 3.2) after acquiring the agreement of the interviewees and having incorporated their putting their amendments into the texts. At first I divided twelve organised texts into two groups: Group Fathers and Group Daughters. I then reviewed all the organised texts and coding categories of Group Father. Responding to the research questions, all of these coding categories were grouped into four themes, identifying as *Fatherhood, Fathering a daughter, Father-daughter interactions* and *Daughter's images*. Each theme comprises several sub-themes. A sub-theme was formulated when a similar coding category was found in at least two texts of Group Father. For instance, in Table 3.7, the theme *Fatherhood* emerging out of the content of Group Father consisted of seven subthemes which were identified by incorporating the respondents' similar fathering experiences. These seven subthemes were further grouped into two sub-subthemes – one was on how the respondents conceptualised their own fatherhood; the other was on their practices of fathering – in which I tried to find the gaps between what they thought and what they acted; at the same time, the gaps between fathering concepts and practices enabled me to perceive the impact of distinct social contexts.

Table 3.7 Example of Identifying Theme on Fatherhood

	Traditional fatherhood	
Concepts	BF	Under Bible the father is always the head of a family. He will never become his children's friend. If not, it means that the father neglects his position and responsibility.
	CF	Influenced by my traditional father, I am somewhat remote from my children.
	EF	I think, for my children, I am a severe father and they are somewhat awed to me.
	FF	I still bear the traditional view in mind: whatever happens, I am your

		father; even I am wrong, you have to excuse me. In addition, I reflect on my mistakes but I will never apologize to my daughter.
	Changed fatherhood	
	AF	I'm not a father who is in a prominent position, such as my father.
	BF	If I did wrong, I would recognise, apologize and modify. I believe that the only way to have harmonious parent-child relationships is to spend as much time as possible on keeping company with each other.
	CF	Compared with my father, I involved in my children's life more and our relationships were more intimate.
	Compensative fatherhood	
	DF	In order to support the large family, my parents were too busy to manage us. Moreover they were incompetent to teach us. So I nurture them as much as I can.
	EF	In the past the relationships between my parents and I were very distant. We seldom had a chat with each other
	FF	When I was young, my parents worked very hard in order to support the large family. The children were cared by their older siblings.
Practices	A busy breadwinner	
	AF	I was very busy at work. Even I seldom saw my children in the weekdays when they were young.
	EF	Before her teenage, I was transferred to different hospitals in England so that I saw my daughter once two week or one month.
	FF	When my daughter was young, I often worked overtime or engaged in social activities.
	An indirect participant	
	AF	I was too busy at work to accompany my children. So my wife passed me the daily happenings about them.
	BF	According to the premarital permission, I could not discipline my step-daughter. However, if she needed I would help her.
	CF	I seldom had an individual talk only with my daughter: either my wife passed my opinion to her or my family chatted together.
	EF	I got used to stand by and wait for their appeal.
	FF	I seldom had an individual talk with my daughter. My wife was always with us.
	An ultimate disciplinarian	
	AF	My wife seldom punished them directly, but she asked me to do it instead.

	BF	I disciplined my own children with rigid morals. I beat then if they did something wrong.
	EF	When they were young, especially in the adolescence, I controlled and disciplined my children rigidly – Because I am your father, I did not permit you went out with such kind teenagers.
	An assistant to the mother	
	AF	I changed the babies first; moreover, I looked after the infants when my wife was busy. When they were growing up, I enjoyed playing or travelling with them in the holidays.
	BF	When my wife was pregnant, I was bound to talk to the baby.
	CF	I helped my wife look after my children when she was busy at cooking. Usually, I played with and tutored them in homework.
	DF	I liked to chat with my children about whatever topics.
	EF	I liked to tell my children about my past experience and discuss each other's opinions.
	FF	No matter how busy I was, I had to set aside a little time out of a tight schedule to drop off and pick up my daughter to school or extra-curricular activities because my wife was very poor in drive.

In the same way, three themes were formulated from the coding categories of Group Daughter responding to the research topics, named as *Father's images, Womanhood* and *Father-daughter interactions*. And each theme contained several subthemes which were identified via incorporating participant daughters' similar narratives. After identifying all the specific themes emerging out of the content of Group Father and Group Daughter, I examined both perspectives on the same theme *Father-daughter interactions*, and therefore tried to construct the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families.

In 3.3 and 3.4 I had a detailed discussion of the execution of data collection and analysis in this study. What comes next is the issue of research rigour which has been given serious consideration throughout the research design and the whole research process in order to ensure this research is trusted.

3.5 Research Rigour

High standards of research rigour aim to ensure that the research can be trusted, particularly for qualitative researchers who are characterised as exercising "intensive personal involvement" (Silverman, 2001:220). In research, rigorously monitoring the research procedure and analysis is the aim in order to avoid any potential qualitative researchers' biases. Validity, reliability and generalisability/transferability are the primary criteria for demonstrating research rigour: the former two centre on the accuracy of the research; the latter stresses the application of the research. The practices to satisfy these three criteria are detailed below.

3.5.1 Validity

Validity means the accuracy of the research findings (Denscombe, 2007; Bryman, 2004), including the accuracy of participants' narratives and the appropriateness of researchers' analysis. There are problems in establishing validity in a study such as this. This is because it relies on one source of data collection – interviews. However, in order to obtain validity as far as possible, fathers and daughters were interviewed separately. Their two perspectives on the same areas of their relationships allowed the drawing out of patterns, differences and commonalities. Additionally, my double role as a Taiwanese daughter and a researcher may easily have resulted in me relating too closely, making assumptions, or even misunderstanding these narratives. Therefore, I addressed myself in the process of data collection and analysis to ensuring that each step was carefully reflected on by, not only myself, but by the participants.

3.5.2 Reliability

Reliability aims to ensure the plausibility of the research process (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003; Bogdam & Biklen, 1998). A problem with reliability – and indeed generalisability – was the small sample size. As I have indicated earlier there were difficulties in securing a

larger sample. There were several reasons. First, the number of Taiwanese in Britain is relatively small, and they are widely dispersed across the UK. Second, daily life precluded participation, for example, some I approached said that they were busy at work and did not have time. Third, the traditional notion that domestic shame should be hidden was another significant reason. Some fathers would not be interviewed because they thought their relationships with daughters were inharmonious and it made them feel ashamed to share this information. Fourth, the topic of this research involved the disclosure of family secrets, also a factor in preventing some Taiwanese immigrants from joining in my research. Two daughters rejected me after asking their mothers, for the same reason, which was that their mothers disliked the idea of them sharing family stories with a stranger. Fifth, the dispositions of some of the midlife Taiwanese fathers I approached, such as distance, silence and little emotional expression, also made inhibited possible participation. For example, the most common responses given by fathers choosing not to join in my research was that *I do not know how to say*, or *I have no idea about these things (i.e. being a father or family relationships)*, or *everything about my daughter is my wife's duty*.

The claim that can be made of this study is that it raises, on a small scale, a number of issues that are worthy of further investigation. For example, what are the gendered subjectivities of *British-Taiwanese* young women; how are these produced and negotiated in the workplace, family and peer group?

3.5.3 Generalisability/Transferability

Generalisability is, to a certain extent, incompatible within qualitative paradigms. Whilst quantitative researchers are concerned with selecting a representative, large sample to enable the results to be generalised to other individuals or contexts, a qualitative research project tends to be based on the intensive study of a relatively small number of

cases (i.e. focusing on the depth of investigation; Bryman, 2004; Denscombe, 2007). As suggested earlier, this raises a doubt about how the findings can be generalised on the basis of such a small scale study. Hence, Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue the criterion of transferability in qualitative paradigm instead of generalisability to discuss how the research results can be applied to other contexts. Moreover, rather than to anticipate which context the transferability would be sought, the responsibility of qualitative researchers is to product thick description which can provide others to judge the similarity between sending and receiving contexts as possible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, I focused on providing sufficient information about the research background and fieldwork, to help other researchers judge the similarity between this researched context and possibly applied contexts.

3.6 Research Limitations

This study was motivated by a desire to understand Taiwanese immigrant family stories in relation to the father-daughter relationships. This required investigation of the family background, family secrets, and participants' thoughts, feelings and insights. While rich data were obtained and in-depth data analysis was conducted, two limitations of this study need to be addressed in order to provide preconceptions for audience as well as opportunities for future research. These limitations are: (1) the sample; (2) the time available in order to do a more detailed study ideally.

3.6.1 The Sample

The sample has been discussed earlier but it is also worth noting here the apparent lack of regard for issues of social class. My research participants have a highly similar socio-economic background. It is suggested that the majority of Taiwanese people in Britain are well-educated and engaged in commercial and professional pursuits (see

discussion about the history of Taiwanese immigration in Chapter 1). In addition, in Taiwan there was no social class distinction as in Britain, and individuals were classified by occupation. For example, Conrad, who has lived in the UK for over thirty years, still describes Taiwanese immigrants in Britain, including himself, as the economically advantaged group, sharing similar lifestyles to white-collar whites, but very different from Chinese employed in the catering business. Having a similar socio-cultural background, I recognise that class consciousness did not enter my mind in the process of carrying out this research, classifying my research participants as an economically advantaged group. However, Archer and Francis's study (2007) on British-Chinese pupils' educational achievement provides an insight into social class within the context of Chinese culture and tradition, and I suggest that future researchers could pay more attention to the difference and similarity of parenting experiences in diverse social-class groups, and the correlation between different social capitals and patterns of father-daughter interactions.

3.6.2 The Available Time

Another constraint of this study is the limited time for data collection. Ideally, I needed a longer time to undertake ethnographic case studies of each of the participant Taiwanese families. This way I would have participated in their daily lives, directly observing father-daughter interactions, listening to what was said, asking questions and providing a richly written account that respects their lived experience and their understandings of fatherhood and daughterhood. However, there are some difficulties in operating such an approach. As I mentioned above Taiwanese families are concerned about the disclosure of their family secrets. I might have had to devote much time and effort to first build rapport with the participant families and then get a chance to gain access to carrying out participant observation. At the same time, the majority of the research participants were very busy at their work or study and some daughters have

lived apart from their parents so I could not have as many chances as I expected to see their daily father-daughter interactions. It meant that I might have to extend my research time in order to obtain enough observations. Eventually I chose to amend my research design and to adopt an in-depth semi-structured interview as a means of gaining access participants' understandings of father-daughter relations but undeniably, this way I could not have direct, practical evidence which would confirm their narratives.

By and large, this study has presented a particular group's fathering experiences and father-daughter relationships. For future research, I am confident that having a long time for investigation of diverse socio-economic backgrounds and various patterns of family relationships (e.g. remote, indifferent, inharmonious or conflictive) could provide more profound understanding of fathering experiences and the nature of the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed the methodological framework of the research. The research purposes and questions do not simply determine the research paradigm and methodology but also predominate over the research design (Cohen, et al, 2000). This research aimed to explore fathering experiences and the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. A qualitative paradigm oriented toward analysing perceptions of their experiences and understandings of the participants' daily lives (Flick, 2002) is most appropriate for these research aims and questions. At the same time, a social constructionist approach enabled me to make sense of participants' subjective constructions of minority ethnic fatherhood/daughterhood relationships.

The modification of the pilot study was made to the main research design. Six Taiwanese father-daughter pairs were selected with purposive and snowball sampling

approaches. I concentrated on Taiwanese immigrant families who emigrated to the UK while the daughters were in their early childhood and are now aged around 20-30 years. A semi-structured in-depth interview drawing on insights from a life story approach was the main method of data collection in this study in which fathers and daughters were asked individually to talk about their fathering experiences and father-daughter interactions. These fathers' and daughters' discursive perspectives were then analysed using qualitative content analysis. Data analysis involved search out underlying themes in the collected narratives and which then allowed insights into fathers' understandings of fathering a daughter and the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families.

Relevant ethical considerations and research rigour have also been discussed. In order to protect participants' autonomy and anonymity, an informed-consent form and pseudonyms are features of this study. Moreover, the degree of disclosure/publishing of the research results particularly relating to family secrets is based on participants' agreement. Research rigour, validity and reliability have been considered. At the same time, the criterion of generalisability stresses the application of the research results to other contexts by providing sufficient information about fieldwork. Finally two research limitations are also addressed. The data analysis will be presented in the following chapters.

4

PARTICIPANTS' PROFILES

This short chapter profiles the six participant families in this study. Each family story comprises background information (e.g. migratory history and family structure), family relationships and interactive patterns, parenting experiences and parenthood, daughter's achievements and status quo, as well as the maintenance and transmission of Taiwanese heritage, in order to provide a framework for the data analysis in the following three chapters.

4.1 Family A: Alfred and Alberta

In 1981, when his eldest daughter, Alberta, was in the first grade, Alfred came to Britain to help set up a branch of the Taiwanese corporation he worked for. One year later, his wife and children came to join him. Alfred and his wife decided to settle in the UK in order to provide their children with a relatively liberal educational environment. He resigned from his post around 1988 and immediately set up his own computing firm. Alfred's wife had been a part-time teacher in Taiwan. After arriving in the UK, she was reluctant to give up work to become a full-time housewife. She had once worked, briefly, in a part-time capacity in Alfred's company during a temporary staff shortage when Alberta had been in her late adolescence. Now, Alfred is still busy at his job, whereas his wife looks after Alberta's son at home. There are three children in Family A. Alberta is the firstborn and she has a brother (one year younger) and a sister (four years younger). Although three of them were born in Taiwan, only Alberta attended school there. Alfred and his wife are pleased with the success of their three children – Alberta and her

husband co-manage a computing firm; her brother works in a technical company; and her young sister is a pharmacist in a hospital. In addition, their three children are married but, more specifically, they still live close to each other (nearly thirty minutes by car).

Family A employed a traditionally gendered division of labour. Alfred was a very busy breadwinner, whereas his wife shouldered the main responsibilities for childcare and domestic chores. Alfred's demanding work took up most of his time and energy, preventing him from participating in family life and contributing towards his children's development. Alberta regretted her father's absence during her childhood. Alfred recalled that his boss was a rather aggressive person who demanded that all staff should arrive at the office by 7:30 am and leave around 9:00 pm on weekdays and should also work on Saturday and Sunday morning. Alfred had more time to spend with his family when his own firm was established, but by then three of his children were launching out on their own lives. Whilst Alfred was the head of his family, his wife managed the daily responsibilities. Alberta mentioned that her father actually managed everything, in both public and private spheres. However, due to his absence from the home, Alfred's wife had to bridge the gap between him and their children by relaying to him concerns about household and children's routines and then telling the three children what their father had said. In addition to this, she obtained his agreement and approval before responding to the children's requests or making decisions.

Alfred's wife shouldered the main responsibilities for everyday care and discipline, whereas his paternal involvement was that of an occasional disciplinarian and playmate. For example, when his son was disobedient, it was Alfred who disciplined him. Alfred's paternal participation was also demonstrated when he drove the family on trips or played piggyback with his children in his leisure time. Accordingly, Alberta indicated that three of them felt more in awe of their mother than of their father; but interestingly, they were

also more intimate with their mother because they spent more time with her. Alfred mentioned that he and his son had nothing to chat about other than when his son wanted to borrow money; in contrast, his son had more interactions and discussions with his mother. Alberta described family relationships as intimate and interdependent; but, at the present time, described having a closer relationship and more daily interactions with her father than her siblings did because she worked with him.

Alfred and his wife considered that they inclined toward western parenting practices, in that they were willing to respect their children in order to help them assimilate successfully into British society, and not place too much pressure on them to reach the top. Placing great emphasis on the children's manners and morality, Alfred's wife paid specific attention to their friendships and social life: she double checked their friends' conduct and family backgrounds in order to ensure her children were not led astray; and she ensured that her children did not experience bullying, segregation or racial discrimination. Alberta was aware that her parents endeavoured to make her feel no different to her British counterparts. But at the same time, she found that her father maintained certain traditional notions, such as higher expectations of son's academic and professional achievement than of daughters'. Accordingly, whilst Alberta and her sister went to local schools, her brother studied in private schools from the age of 7. In addition, Alfred interfered more in his daughters' choices than in those of his son in order to ensure that they would be able to balance employment and family life when they were married. For instance, Alfred persuaded his young daughter to study pharmacy (her original choice was medicine) because he considered that being a doctor would leave her with little time to take care of her family. Alfred also made extra demands of his firstborn daughter, Alberta, who was expected to play a quasi-parental role, managing her siblings when her parents were busy as well as being a model of good manners to them.

With regard to the Taiwanese heritage, Alfred thought that he and his family had made efforts to integrate into the British lifestyle, except for their preference for Chinese food and for continuing to speak Chinese. Alfred did not send their three children to Chinese complementary schools but his wife taught them at home because there were no proper Chinese schools around the small town where they lived. Perhaps, due to a lack of systematic education and learning pressure, Alberta and her siblings speak and understand Chinese but cannot read or write it. Alberta is more *Chinese* than her siblings – having attended school in Taiwan briefly when she was young and eventually marrying an Indonesian-Chinese, who was born and raised in an extremely traditional family. For this reason, she believes that it is her responsibility to look after her aging parents (i.e. the practices of filial piety). At the same time, she is now teaching her son to speak Chinese. Alfred jokes that, in contrast to his *Chinese* firstborn daughter, his son is a banana – that is, he has the yellow skin of the Chinese but the mind of a white person. Thus, Alfred has to make an appointment to visit his son, but he has the key of Alberta's house and can come and go freely.

4.2 Family B: Bennett and Bonnie

In 1989, 9-year-old Bonnie migrated to Germany with her mother and *new* father, Bennett, who had been transferred to a German branch of his company, as a general manager. However, around two years later, he lost his job, and therefore he and his family faced serious financial difficulties. At the end of 1993, they came to the UK to seek a better livelihood. He opened a small shop selling computers and relevant equipment and endeavoured to help his family settle in this country. Bonnie's mother was a successful career woman in Taiwan; but after migration she became a full-time housewife, perhaps as a result of her English language difficulties. Bonnie is Bennett's stepdaughter. Bonnie's parents divorced when she was 5. Although Bonnie was initially made a ward of her

father under Taiwan's law, difficulties between her and her stepmother resulted in her father's reluctant decision to let her go to live with her mother. There are three children in Family B. In addition to Bonnie, Bennett's own daughter was born in 1992 and his youngest son was born soon after they moved to the UK. Both of Bennett's own children now study in local grammar schools, whereas Bonnie has been employed as a Chinese teacher in a secondary school since university graduation.

Generally speaking, the interactions and communications in Family B are open and they speak about their emotions and thoughts. Nevertheless, the nature of family relationships is diverse. Bonnie and her mother are intimate with each other even interdependent. In contrast, the relationship between Bennett and Bonnie is rather distant. Bonnie recalled that initially she was very hostile to Bennett because she thought that he had taken her mother away from her and would be an abusive step-parent, just like Snow White's or Cinderella's stepmother – it was for this same reason that Bonnie could not get along well with her stepmother. Bonnie tried to mend her attitude to her stepfather when her sister was born, because she assumed that she should set an example to her siblings by showing respect for the father. For this reason, she started to call Bennett *Daddy* instead of *Uncle*. However, this demonstration was superficial as, to date, Bonnie does not sincerely respect Bennett. Moreover, as Bennett was her mathematics tutor, the relationship between adolescent Bonnie and Bennett appeared similar to that of teacher and student. In Bennett's view, it is natural that there is difference between the biological and adoptive father-daughter relationship. Bennett indicated that he had more intimate interactions with his own children than with his stepdaughter. Bonnie, similarly, mentioned that she felt free to embrace her own father and regarded him as her most important mental support. And she never called Bennett as *Father/Papa* (in Chinese, *Daddy*, unlike *Father/Papa*, is regarded as an informal, foreign term) because she insisted

that the term *Father/Papa* should only belong to her own father. The sibling relationships in Family B are distinct. Bonnie played a co-parental role to help her mother look after and discipline her sister and brother because of her mother's poor health after delivering her second daughter. Because of this, Bonnie had no personal time for making friends or enjoying a social life. Thus, Bonnie often joked that her sister and brother, because of a slip of the tongue, called her *Mum*.

Bennett is a practicing Christian, and considers that his fathering beliefs and practices are in accordance with the Bible. However, they may also be attributable to traditional values of familism. Bennett insists that the husband, as the head of the family, has a responsibility and obligation to manage and protect the family, whereas the wife should support her husband. Moreover, there is a specific gendered division of labour in Family B – that is, Bennett is the main breadwinner, and his wife is the domestic caretaker. It has been instilled into Bonnie and her siblings that a woman should take care of her own child. At the same time, Bennett believes that a woman is destined to marry and have her own child. Now he wants Bonnie to get married as soon as possible, and has tried to find eligible suitors, (i.e. religious Christian Chinese with a stable job). Bennett's paternal authority has been demonstrated by his involvement in his children's academic performances and their choice of subjects/occupations. Bennett said that he set relatively high academic expectations for his children, especially for his son. He beat his son seriously if he could not get A or A^+ for some subjects. Bonnie recalled that her stepfather spent three hours persuading her to choose IT options when she was at secondary school. In terms of the Chinese heritage, Bennett insisted that his children should be proficient at Chinese. Due to financial constraints, Bennett and his wife taught their children Chinese and put pressure on them to use only Chinese at home. Bennett is proud that his children got the top score in Chinese in their GCSEs; moreover, he claims

his stepdaughter is an excellent Chinese teacher.

The primary difference in paternal involvement between his own children and his stepdaughter was that Bennett was not allowed to discipline Bonnie directly under his premarital promise to his wife. Thus, Bonnie was affected by Bennett's paternal authority, either via his wife or through use of passive strategies, such as constant persuasion. For this reason, unlike her siblings, Bonnie was relatively autonomous. She was proud that she had chosen to major in fashion design rather than following her stepfather's expectations that she should choose business studies or her own father's suggestion that she should study linguistics. As far as Bennett was concerned, Bonnie, just like most of her generation, was too egocentric to heed her seniors' suggestions. For example, he observed that Bonnie signed with the school where she serves now, but had not asked his advice in advance. However, Bonnie felt that her mother had brought her up to have good manners and had disciplined her relatively strictly, not just to help her hold a place in this *rebuilt* family, but also to be an example to her siblings.

The fact that Bennett suffered from cerebral apoplexy a couple of years ago has caused a partial shift in the structure of Family B. Bonnie now supports her large family and shoulders the burden of taking care of her stepfather, dependant mother and two young siblings but Bennett still insists that he should have the authority to manage his family.

4.3 Family C: Conrad and Clara

Conrad is one of a minority of Taiwanese immigrants who came to Britain in the early 1970s for his PhD study. Although he initially planned to return to his homeland as a lecturer, after he completed his study the witch-hunt by the Taiwanese government

compelled him to struggle hard for survival in this country[7]. Later, Conrad met his future wife, who had arrived in London with her British supervisor and worked as a physiotherapist in a hospital; and they got married at the end of the 1970s. In order to survive and support his family, Conrad turned his attention to business. In the early years, he not only invested in fish-and-chip takeaways, but also formed an import and export firm. However, he closed that firm due to GBP depreciation. He then adapted his house to provide boarding for teenage Taiwanese students studying in Britain, and tutored them in English schoolwork, while his wife, who had resigned from her employment when their daughter, Clara, was born, assisted him in taking care of these students. As a result of this, Clara remembered that both her parents kept company with her all day long during her childhood. Since the late 1990s, when his children were adolescents, Conrad has been running his own travel agency. Conrad and his wife have two children. Their firstborn daughter, Clara, was born in 1982, when they decided to settle down and their business was doing well. Around five years later, their son was born, and their circumstances were still relatively prosperous. Clara is now a teacher in a secondary school, whereas her brother is working in a bank. Both live away from home but keep very close ties with their parents, phoning them frequently, visiting them once every two weeks and going on family trips once a year.

Conrad and his wife do almost everything together, both in public and private spheres, but seem to have a specific division of labour. Generally speaking, Conrad takes charge of financial management and decision making, whereas his wife not only helps in his business, but also shoulders the main responsibility for childcare and domestic chores. Conrad stated that he is always ready to give assistance in looking after or keeping company with his children when his wife is busy with domestic chores. Conrad's paternal

[7] Conrad was accused of perceived insurgent thinking by then Taiwanese (KMT-led) government.

roles include playing with his children, giving them lifts, and mainly, tutoring them in schoolwork. He also mentioned that he seldom talks spontaneously with his daughter or chats individually with her. Accordingly, he feels that Clara is more intimate with his wife. As far as Clara is concerned, her relationship with her father is as intimate as her relationship with her mother, but the nature of these two relationships is different. Even though Clara was willing to share everything with her two parents, her mother was interested in her daily life, and therefore, spent much time chatting with her. In addition, Clara's mother paid much attention to her manners and reproached or disciplined her frequently. In contrast, Clara felt that her father spoilt her more. For example, he would coax her into correcting her behaviour, rather than directly reproaching her. Moreover, Clara found that when she wanted something, (e.g. an expensive dress) she was more likely to be successful if she appealed to her father.

As a result of his experiences of suffering a witch-hunt, Conrad inclines towards democratic, liberal standpoints to raise his children, listening to their thoughts and respecting their choices. At the same time, there are two key parenting beliefs influenced by his family background: first is the notion of valuing education. On the one hand, three-quarters of the living costs in Family C was educational investment. Clara and her brother studied in a Montessori nursery from the age of 2, and then went to private schools until they took their A-Levels. At home, Conrad also provided them with useful references, learning materials or puzzles (toys). Additionally, Conrad chose to live in a neighbourhood of *good* schools, even if the price of the houses was relatively high. He spent much time on the selection of appropriate environments and schools for his children paying attention to their academic achievements. Conrad recalled that he initially had quite high academic expectations of his children, but was constantly challenged during their schooling. He tried to adjust his notions, and reasoned that British society is

not as competitive as Taiwanese, and getting the top marks does not guarantee success. Nevertheless, Clara still felt her father set a much higher standard on her academic achievements than her British friends' parents. The second parenting belief is that it is necessary to protect daughters more than sons. Clara said that when she was an adolescent, she had to inform her parents, in detail, regarding her activities; and when she went out with her friends, for birthday parties or whatever, she was not allowed to come home late; in contrast, her brother was relatively free at the same age. To Conrad, the external surroundings were so insecure that his daughter was kept under very close watch. Before the age of 16, Clare was not allowed to go out alone; instead, her father would take her and pick her up later to come back home. Another key reason for private schooling was that the students in private schools were select and, therefore, Conrad could protect his daughter from peers he might have disapproved of.

In terms of maintaining Taiwanese heritage, Conrad experienced more challenges because his children were born and bred in Britain. His way of forming their ethnic identity was to develop their interests in, and familiarisation with, Taiwan's customs and language. Conrad first took Clara to Taiwan at the age of 3, when he was allowed to re-enter. After that, Family C visited their relatives in Taiwan once a year. In that way, Conrad expected that his children would be familiar with their homeland and keep close ties with Taiwan. The main aspects of Taiwanese culture that Conrad wanted to transmit relate to close ties and interdependence among family members. He and his wife strived to create a warm family environment and harmonious family interactions in order to enable their children to experience its benefits and voluntarily maintain such family values. With regard to learning Chinese, Conrad created a friendly environment and encouraged them to learn, rather than imposing his expectations on them. Clara thought that her Chinese (reading) ability was better than her brother's because she had more interest. As

far as Conrad was concerned, it was natural that some aspects of traditional Taiwanese culture would fade from one generation to the next, especially as some of these were not relevant to life in Britain. Conrad thought that the most important part of parenting was to help his children assimilate into mainstream society, but not to persist with out-of-date ways of living.

4.4 Family D: Dick and Dara

In the autumn of 1982, 2 year-old Dara, accompanied by her mother, came to join her father, who had been transferred to Britain for one year. Around 5 years later, Dick was dispatched, temporarily, to Germany, whilst his wife returned to Taiwan with Dara and, subsequently, gave birth to their son. Family D was eventually reunited and, in 1988, decided to settle in the UK. In preparation for Dick's resignation, his wife rented a small office and started their present computing firm. One year later, Dick resigned and joined her. Although they co-managed their firm, Dick's wife worked flexitime in order to accept the main responsibility for childcare and domestic chores. At the same time, regular office hours (i.e. 9 am - 6 pm, Mon. – Fri.) enabled Dick to have sufficient free time to spend with his family. He mentioned that they usually spent several hours dining and chatting with each other. Dara recalled that her mother took charge of looking after and disciplining her; in contrast, her father played with her when she was little and she liked to chat with him since late adolescence. There are two children (7 years apart) in Family D. Dara is now a successful lawyer, and her brother is a postgraduate student but has signed with a well-known engineering corporation. Dick considers his children to be focussed and know what they are doing; therefore, he and his wife can lay aside their parenting responsibilities and re-launch their own lives. Dara and her brother live away from home, but Family D still keep in contact with each other by phone every day and dine out twice a week.

Family D has very intimate family relationships, but the natures of these vary. Dara likes to talk with her father, who she sees as intelligent and good at analysis, about social problems or other issues, and asks for his advice when she experiences difficulties. In contrast, she shares emotions of anger or sorrow with her mother because her mother, unlike her father, understands her feelings more easily. Dara also mentioned that she and her father are cool-headed, but her brother's personality, similar to her mother's, is relatively impetuous and sensitive. For this reason, there were more quarrels between her mother and her brother, especially in his adolescence. Dick recalled that he had to pacify his wife when she had a quarrel with their teenage son. At the same time, Dara had to be the go-between between her parents and her brother as a result of their similar language and lived experiences. As an adult, Dara sometimes had to mediate her parents' quarrels. Conversely, there were few quarrels between Dick and Dara, perhaps because of their similar personalities. In Dara's memory, there were two unforgettable quarrels between her and her father. The first happened when Dara wanted to take a Gap Year. She remembered that her father had been angry and took her to ask the advice of his friends because he worried that having a year-long break might delay her success. Finally, her teacher's encouragement and confirmation that the working experience in the Gap Year would be beneficial resulted in Dick agreeing to it and even encouraging his son to do the same. The second unforgettable quarrel was because Dara planned to go to an American university with her, then, boyfriend. Dick's flat refusal resulted in several loud disagreements, injuring the father-daughter relationship (their relationship was well repaired when Dara graduated). Dick felt shocked, not only angry, because Dara's decision partly hurt his pride in parenting.

Dick's parenting practice was focussed on training his children to be independent. (i). Financial independence: Dick urged his children to pay tuition and living costs

themselves when they went to university, and he only sponsored them with what they could not afford. (ii). Thinking independence. Dick wanted his children to decide for themselves, only offering timely, emotional support and suggestions or advice. At the same time, he taught his children the concept of risk assessment, in which they had to assess their own capabilities/resources and analyse the potential risks/damage in decision making – that is the reason why Dick felt shocked that Dara actually made the decision to study in America, which he thought would endanger her prospects. As far as Dick was concerned, respecting his children's own choices did not represent indulgence; instead, he and his wife kept a close watch in order to ensure they were progressing in the right way. Furthermore, Dick insisted that his children should hold, at least, a Bachelor's degree, considering it a fundamental basic for succeeding in British society. Accordingly, both Dara and her brother were privately schooled throughout their childhood and adolescence because the majority of private schools stressed the importance of higher education.

Perhaps because Dara was reared by her grandmother before she left Taiwan, or because she was educated in Taiwan for several months, she identifies herself more as Taiwanese than her very *British* brother does. In addition to maintaining family interdependence and close ties, Dara considers that she is bound to retain her family name, even if, some day, she may marry a British man. With regard to Chinese learning, Dara and her brother attend a weekend Chinese complementary school for their school age. Their mother also teaches them at home. Dara and her brother usually speak Chinese with their parents, but mix English and Chinese when speaking with each other. As far as Dick is concerned, the extent of the maintenance of the Taiwanese heritage depends on his children's own choices. All he can do is to set them an example of the advantages of knowing Chinese and practising familist values.

4.5 Family E: Emil and Eudora

In the spring of 1978, Emil and his newly-wedded wife came to this country for a better livelihood. Until he became a physician and worked in London, Emil had worked as a resident, regularly travelling to local hospitals across England for seventeen years. During that period, Emil came home only once every week, sometimes once every two weeks, whereas his wife and children settled in London because the children needed a stable environment – for that reason Eudora felt relatively distant from her father when she was little. In the early years of immigration, Emil's wife not only shouldered all responsibilities for parenting, childcare and domestic chores, but also worked as a part-time physiotherapist in a hospital in order to supplement the family income. She has become a full-time physiotherapist since her youngest son reached adolescence, but she still works with flexitime in order to pick up her children after school and take care of her family. In Eudora's eyes, compared with Emil who was the main breadwinner, her mother was exhausted until all of them grew up. There are three children in Family E. Emil's elder son was born in 1980. Perhaps because Emil and his wife had to spend much time and attention in looking after their firstborn, who was in poor health, their daughter, Eudora, was not born until her brother was 8 years old. Eudora's younger brother was born two years later. The three children in Family E were born and bred in Britain. Today, Emil's unmarried firstborn son works in London and still lives with his parents, whereas Eudora and her younger brother are undergraduates at the College of Medicine and both stay in university accommodation, coming home once each term. Emil and his wife have been able to reduce most of their parenting responsibilities, except financial support, because three of their children are on the road their parents paved for them.

Emil is considered to be an authoritarian father by his daughter. He believes that life

cannot be reset, and immature decisions or experiments in early life are likely to result in irreparable harm. For this reason, he and his wife have closely supervised their children since they were little, and intervened, if necessary. In other words, Eudora's autonomy to make decisions was conditional. For example, she chose to study medicine; however, under pressure from her father, she was strongly encouraged to separate from her associates and go to Cambridge University alone because he assumed that she would benefit greatly from that university. In order to ensure his children's success, Emil also believed that he had to protect them from potential harm. He pushed Eudora to separate from her first boyfriend at the age of 13, and also interfered frequently in her friendships when he found that her friends did not behave in ways he found acceptable or came from a conventional non-nuclear family (e.g. single-parent family). Emil and his wife kept their daughter under very close watch in her adolescence. Eudora was not allowed to have a boyfriend before university; her parents would even check to see if her male friends phoned her. When she wanted to go out, she had to inform her parents of every detail, and come home early, as her father was likely to take her and pick her up later to bring her home. At the same time, Emil had quite high academic expectations for his children, particularly Eudora, who possessed academic skills. Eudora recalled that her parents started to teach her at the age of 5, when her father made her do homework for an hour each day. Because Emil was unfamiliar with British education systems all he could do was to invest in the preparation of a learning environment, such as living in the neighbourhood of good schools, and buying helpful books and the latest computers for the home.

Such paternal authoritative interventions in Eudora's adolescence inevitably affected their father-daughter relationship. Eudora mentioned that she had many quarrels with her father between the ages of 14 to 16, because she wanted freedom but her father still

controlled her. In contrast, the father-daughter relationship had been quite intimate in Eudora's childhood (when Emil had worked in London and lived with his family) and was reconciled when she started her A-Levels. Emil was the head of his family, managing everything, both in public and private spheres, whereas his wife was an executor. Emil's paternal roles were to play games (e.g. biking or tennis) with his children when they were young and to provide advice or chat with them since they entered late adolescence. Generally speaking, Family E has close family relationships. The communication and interaction between Emil and his wife, parents and children, as well as Eudora and her brothers, are regarded as open and mutually supportive. However, Eudora feels that she is more intimate with her parents than her brothers are, because she is at liberty to share with them her routines, feelings and thoughts. At the same time, she has more interactions with her younger brother than her older brother as a result of the age difference.

Family E mainly speaks English at home. Because his wife was born and raised in Hong Kong, Emil could not offer a Chinese-learning environment or teach his children Chinese at home. Eudora can understand a little but lacks confidence to speak and use Chinese. Moreover, Eudora and her brothers are relatively remote from Taiwan because their grandparents died before they were born and most close relatives have immigrated to Indonesia. Eudora first visited Taiwan at the age of 16. In terms of the maintenance of the Taiwanese heritage, Emil simply expects his children to follow certain oriental practices, such as family interdependence and respect for others, especially elders.

4.6 Family F: Frank and Fiona

In 1982, Frank was transferred to the British branch of the Taiwanese enterprise he worked for. Eight months later, when he had settled, his wife and 18-month-old daughter,

Fiona, came to join him. In order to secure a liberal educational environment, Frank and his wife chose to settle in Britain. Frank is now employed as a financial manager in a transnational enterprise. Whilst Frank is always very busy at work, his wife keeps flexible working hours in order to undertake childcare and domestic chores. She was a full-time mother before her daughter entered nursery school, and then did a part-time job until she was involved fully in the labour market (a full-time job with flexitime) when her daughter was 15 years old. Fiona is the only child in Family F. She is now a PhD student and still lives with her parents. She has a part-time job in order to strive for financial independence. Although Frank hopes that Fiona can concentrate her attention on study and graduate as early as possible, he tries to respect her self-arrangement.

By and large, family relationships are felt to be harmonious and interdependent in Family F. Fiona has relatively intimate interactions with her mother doing almost everything together, except for their individual social lives. For this reason, she has witnessed how her mother has worked hard for the family and strived alone to adjust to British life and, therefore, Fiona shows much favour to her mother. In contrast, Fiona considered that her father did not pay enough attention to the family. According to Fiona, Frank was not interested in participating in family activities. Fiona complained that he preferred to play golf rather than to keep company with her and her mother on weekends; and when he came off duty, he usually sat aside and just listened without joining them for a chat. Moreover, there were seldom individual interactions between Frank and his daughter, but his wife was always with them. Compared to today, Fiona felt that she had more intimate interactions with her father when she was young and he played or kept company with her while her mother was busy with domestic chores. When Fiona grew up, Frank sometimes watched TV with her, and they had chats or discussions about headline news. Frank's paternal roles mainly involved keeping company with his

daughter when his wife was busy, and being a driver on family trips or when picking up his daughter to bring her home (because his wife was a poor driver). As far as Fiona is concerned, Frank continues to demonstrate some traditional aspects of masculinity such as male chauvinism. For example, he rarely helped with domestic chores in his leisure time. He would raise his voice if his daughter did not obey at once and wanted to argue with him. Also, he lost his temper easily at home because he assumed that his family should tolerate him. Nevertheless, Frank was willing to reflect and tried to reform when his wife pointed out his errors after he had calmed down. Frank mentioned that after some introspection, he would send an apology to his daughter in a message (note, not in person).

Frank's parenting approach was to encourage his daughter to be independent. Fiona recalled that her parents were willing to regard her as an individual, not a child, and encouraged her to make decisions by herself. In addition, because he was not familiar with the British context, Frank worried that his interference might hinder Fiona from assimilating into Britain. He chose to trust her teachers' guidance and respect her choices. For this reason, he and his wife seldom intervened in her learning or pushed her to achieve high scores, even though they usually felt her life was idle. Frank's main anxiety was for his daughter's safety. Fiona was not allowed to go out alone until the age of 16 years. Frank and his wife would take her out and pick her up to come home when she went to school or attended after-school activities. In addition, private schooling was a way to protect her from what Frank might consider to be 'unacceptable' peers. Accordingly, Frank only interfered when he considered that Fiona's plans would involve potential risks. He restrained Fiona from travelling to Africa alone at the age of 26 years.

With regard to the Taiwanese heritage, Frank and his wife did their best to provide what they could for their daughter, who was raised entirely in Britain, but at the same

time, they respected her decisions. First, Frank insisted that learning the mother tongue, Chinese, was necessary. He and his wife not simply taught Fiona Chinese at home, but sent her to a Chinese complementary school as soon as she reached school age. Besides, they persisted in speaking Chinese with her at home. Fiona feels proud that her Chinese ability is relatively good. Second, Frank and his wife believed that keeping close ties with the family and relatives would be beneficial to her. For this reason, they took Fiona to Taiwan every year from a very young age so that she could be familiar with the Taiwanese culture and lifestyle and build close relationships with her cousins and relatives in Taiwan.

4.7 Concluding Comments

So far, I have briefly described six Taiwanese immigrant families who took part in this study, including the history of immigration, family structure, family relationships, parenting experiences and the Taiwanese heritage. Each family story implicates several common issues experienced by the participants in this study within different social contexts; such as the shift of family structure, fathers' struggles as to the best ways of parenting a daughter, the tension between fathers and daughters, and so on. These issues will be discussed in the following three chapters. Chapter 5, *New Fatherhood*, will highlight the changed concepts and practices of fathering a daughter, especially regarding the way in which the wider British social structure influenced detraditionalisation and individual choices. From the daughters' standpoints, Chapter 6, *New Daughterhood*, will pay specific attention to the daughters' performance of femininities which hybridise Taiwanese and British cultures. I then will look at the patterns of the father-daughter interactions in the Taiwanese immigrant families and also how fathers and daughters *read* each other In Chapter 7.

5

NEW FATHERHOOD

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF FATHERING

The focus in this chapter is on Taiwanese fathers' perceptions of new fatherhood, particularly in relation to changing concepts and practices of fathering a daughter. According to late modernity perspectives, detraditionalisation occurs when individuals are ostensibly freed from the constraints of traditional 'social norms'. At the same time, multicultural social contexts stimulate self-reflexivity, and individuals, hence, 'choose' their own lifestyles (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1996; Heelas, 1996). In accordance with these perspectives, and whilst recognising that 'choice' occurs within constraints, transplantation to Britain enabled the Taiwanese fathers in this study to rethink the dominant conceptions of fatherhood evident in traditional Taiwanese familial 'roles' and what a daughter should be(come). The intention to help their daughters successfully engage in mainstream British society is likely to have complicated the process of disembedding/reembedding tradition and helped to change the way in which they perceive the ways to father their daughters.

This chapter starts with the fathers reflecting on the traditional notions of fatherhood, obtained from their own fathers, and reconstructing the meanings of fatherhood when they themselves became a father. The chapter then explores how the fathers negotiated the maintenance of tradition alongside the disembedding of tradition. Five aspects are discussed in turn: First, 'training' a daughter to be independent becomes the primary intention. Second, high educational achievement is expected in order to

contribute toward the daughter's independence. Attention then turns to the third aspect, the tensions between daughters' independence and the primary paternal responsibility for protecting daughters from harm. Fourth, marriage becomes a 'normal' path rather than an ultimate destination. The final aspect under discussion focuses on the degree of maintenance of Taiwanese heritage that is encouraged, even though the fathers are inclined to their daughters' assimilation into mainstream British society.

5.1 Changing Fatherhood

For a man, his own father's image is crucial to the conceptualisation of fatherhood. To begin with, it is useful to illustrate what it means to be a father, based on the early lived experiences of the fathers in this study.

> Alfred: What my father said was law; my mother rarely objected. We, as children, didn't dare to say no.

> Conrad: The relationship between my father and I appeared rather remote; even our occasional interactions were very uneasy … What my father wanted to tell us was usually passed on by my mother.

> Dick: My parents (who grew up in wartime), particularly my mother, were not well educated so did not have sufficient abilities and knowledge to teach us … Moreover, they did not have time to teach us. My father was very busy at work trying to support our large family in those post-war, strained circumstances, whereas my mother, just as the majority of traditional females in that generation, was exhausted, not only assisting her husband but also taking care of the whole family.

> Emil: My father was quite authoritative and aloof, and our father-son relationships were remote … He was always busy at work. Even in his leisure time, he preferred to go out with his friends rather than keep company with us.

> Frank: My father ran a small business when we were young. He was terribly busy at his work and paid us little attention. In contrast, my

> mother was a typical housewife of that generation, not only shouldering all the responsibilities for childcare and domestic chores, but also working part-time in order to supplement the family income.

The fathers in this study were born and raised in the 1950s and early 1960s post-war, impoverished Taiwan. The dominant conceptions of fatherhood at that time were such that the implication was a man had arbitrary paternal authority over wife and children. His main role, as a father, was that of breadwinner, and the paternal stereotypical images were aloofness, indifference, and even absence. In accordance with this conception of traditional masculinity, a man achieved some sense of masculine validation via his ability to support his family – in other words, work was regarded as the basis of male identity and of what being a father implied (Morgan, 1992; Seidler, 1989). Alongside the dominant expectation of separate roles for husband and wife, a man was not expected to share in female domestic life and cater to his children (for fear of being regarded as weak or womanish; Whitehead, 2002; Segal, 1990). In the West, such taken-for-granted sexual division of labour and traditional fatherhood was challenged during the 1970s second-wave feminist movements, and a new sense of masculinity in relation to childcare and family life was redefined (Whitehead, 2002). The tendency towards paternal involvement in child rearing has gradually resulted in the relaxing of traditional parental stereotypes in Taiwan, stimulating the fathers in this study to rethink traditional ideologies of fatherhood. More significantly, migration to Britain has further complicated conventional domestic and fathering experiences within the Taiwanese families in this study.

Migration to Britain enabled Taiwanese families to cut traditional kinship networks and to adjust to smaller nuclear family structures which, in turn, gave mothers and fathers relatively equal authority and positions. As Dick explains:

> Dick: Because we came here, we could be freed from the interplay, even constraints, of the kinship family, whether our parents, other elders, or close relatives … At the same time, because we lived here alone, we had to be self-supporting. My wife and I discussed everything and then made all crucial family decisions together … In reality, I think I quite rely on my wife in many ways.

To a certain extent, moving away from the extended family also signified loss of mutual assistance amongst kin relatives. A consequence of this was that Taiwanese migrant families could only function effectively if the traditional sexual division of labour, in which the fathers were the chief breadwinners and the mothers shouldered the main responsibilities for childcare and domesticity were upheld. Alfred gave the following account:

> Alfred: My wife was a teacher when we lived in Taiwan … At that time my parents who lived the next door from us, and my mother-in-law who lived with us helped to look after our three children. However, when we moved here, my wife was compelled to quit and stay home to take charge of childcare and domestic chores; otherwise who would take care of our family?! … We lived in this country without any support. In addition, I was always very busy at work, so I did not have time to pay a lot of attention to them.

Accordingly, the mothers played a crucial role in bridging the father-child relationships, as Alfred added:

> Alfred: When my children were of school age, I was dreadfully busy at work. For a long while, I had been unable to see or talk to them on weekdays, because I went to work before they got up and came home when they were sleeping … My wife always passed on the news about them and told me of significant happenings.

The main shift in fatherhood from the earlier generation is that the fathers were willing to participate in their children's lives. Alfred and Emil make similar comments:

> Alfred: I don't want to keep arbitrary paternal authority; I am not a father who insists that my children should absolutely follow what I say … I like to have fun, playing with them.

> Emil: Although I was very busy at work, I loved to keep company with my kids in my leisure time … Moreover, I am unlike my own father who was authoritative and aloof, and the interactions between my kids and I are free and easy.

At the same time, a smaller nuclear family structure partly encourages the fathers to provide more assistance in childcare than their own fathers had done. As Frank recalls:

> Frank: I remembered my wife deciding to take a part-time master program when our daughter was 3 years old. In those days, I finished work a little earlier and stayed home to look after our daughter while my wife attended evening classes … My wife was very bad at driving; moreover, she often lost her way. She only knew the routes from our home to our daughter's school and to supermarkets, ha-ha. For this reason, when my daughter planned to attend her friends' birthday parties during her childhood and adolescence, I had to temporarily put down my work and take my daughter to her friends' homes, picking her up later to come back home … Because we lived here without any support, we had to be interdependent.

Other fathers, such as Conrad, shared similar experiences with their wives: *I helped my wife to look after our children when she was busy with cooking or domestic chores*. In other words, smaller nuclear family structures and the retention of separate roles for husband and wife had a significant influence upon paternal involvement and fathering experiences within the participant families.

Generally speaking, there appeared to be three main forms of paternal involvement in this study. Fathers were playmates, especially when their children were young, and not only played with their children in their leisure time, but also drove their family on trips for long holidays. According to Alfred:

> Alfred: Three of my kids liked to play piggyback with me when they were young; even now my grandson does as well … In the early years when we moved here, I drove my family on trips almost each long holiday. We travelled to Warwick Castle, Wales, London, even Scotland.

Alfred's account is not an isolated one. Emil recounted: *I played with my kids in the backyard and went biking in the neighbouring parks when they were young; even now we sometimes play tennis together.* Conrad, who valued education, stated: *I often played puzzles with both of my school-aged kids.*

The second main fathering role is that of mentor. Bennett and Conrad, for example, mentioned that when their children were in secondary schools they tutored them in Mathematics and English. In addition, the fathers in this study became advisers when their children grew up, as Emil confirmed:

> Emil: Now I like to chat with my kids, sharing each other's experiences and thoughts, discussing headlines or current social problems, and so on. Accordingly, I can point out their errors or immature ideas and then make them rethink in many ways … My daughter usually asks my advice when she experiences difficulties.

To a certain extent, fathers continue to adopt a 'main' disciplinary role, in particular with their sons. This is illustrated in Alfred's experiences:

> Alfred: I think our children are more in awe of me than of my wife. Even if my wife disciplined them for their misbehaviour, when she could not manage them I sometimes had to condemn or punish them; not by giving them the cane, but by making them stand, facing the wall, as a punishment. In particular, my son, who was quite stubborn and a little bit of a male chauvinist, used to shut his ears and not listen to my wife; instead he would listen to me if I bellowed at him.

Bennett and Dick's experiences of disciplining their sons are similar. Furthermore, Emil mentioned that he had used his paternal authority and rejected his adolescent daughter's

demands to go out with her friend because, at that time, his wife had been unable to manage her. In a way, Emil's account reflected the tensions relating to paternal authority over daughters as well as the concepts and practices of fathering daughters in Taiwanese immigrant families – these will be discussed in later sections.

So far, I have briefly illustrated that the practices associated with fatherhood in this study have changed, particularly in the way paternal participation in childcare has increased, and also introduced a more intimate and communicative notion of fathering. In the following, I shall turn my specific attention to how such 'changing fatherhood' affects the concepts and practices of nurturing of daughters by the fathers in this study.

5.2 Mixed Concepts of Fathering a Daughter: Paving a Successful Future for Her

Taiwanese parents devote themselves to paving a successful future for their children (Lee, 1998). In traditional Taiwanese culture, a female's success is recognised within marriage, and she is expected to excel in housekeeping and motherhood rather than pursuing high achievement in public spheres (Shi, 2006; Wu, 2002; Chen, 1999; Slote, 1998). A daughter's autonomy and personal needs are sacrificed and, to a certain extent, her life is an object to be handed over from one man (father) to another (husband). A father with sufficient social and economic resources is likely to provide his married daughter with relatively strong backing, and support her position in marriage (Liao, 2003; Wu, 2002; Chen, 1999; Lee, 1998). In contrast with to the expectations of a female in traditional versions of Taiwanese culture, the second wave feminist movement in Britain has facilitated marked shifts in the expectations and positions of women in British society (McRobbie, 2009; Aapola et al, 2005). The difference between these East-West expectations of girlhood and womanhood is highly likely to have been apparent to the fathers in this study. This section will be divided into five themes to discuss the

negotiations in fathering a British-Taiwanese daughter within Taiwanese immigrant families.

5.2.1 Approaches to Independence

In traditional Taiwanese culture, children were expected to contribute toward their family, including providing labour and maintaining a strong family reputation, as reported in the literature. There were different expectations of the children in the family according to gender. Sons were expected to expand family assets and succeed in public spheres, whereas daughters' contributions were located in domestic spheres, i.e. being a dutiful daughter(-in-law) and looking after parents(-in-law) as well as her own family (Yeh et al, 2006; Chen, 1999; Lee, 1998). These distinct traditional and gendered expectations for sons and daughters, to some extent, remain in the Chinese community in Britain. For instance, Song (1999) and Parker (1997) found that, in relation to (British-)Chinese families, children were expected to help out in the family-centred catering businesses and Chinese parents' expected their sons' to take over running the family shop at an appropriate point in their futures.

However, when the fathers in this study were asked about their hopes for and expectations of their daughters' futures, there was a general consensus that their daughters would become independent. Furthermore, there appeared to be no gender difference (between daughters and sons) in the fathers' answers. Dick's account is a good example:

> Dick: I want my daughter and son to be happy; and genuine happiness chiefly derives from self-support and complete independence. I believe it is important to be completely independent; in finance, spirits, health and whatever. I suppose there are mainly four aspects of independence. Economically, you have to fend for yourself – that is, you are not really

> independent if you survive on unemployment benefits. Ideologically, you have to think, to reflect, to judge right and wrong; anyway, you cannot ask someone to warn or tell you what you should do on the go. You also have to behave properly, not break the law or commit crimes, no drug misuse or alcohol abuse; otherwise you would become a social burden, a financial drain on society. Spiritually, you should be mentally self-supporting, rather than snivelling, compliant or cynical. And, most significantly, you have to be in good health … The notion of self-support looks like a basic, simple standard, but it can be applied unlimitedly to all aspects of life.

In practice, fathers not only encouraged their children to have part-time jobs when they came of age. But, most significantly, fathers also gave their children power to decide for themselves and accept responsibility for the consequences of the decision. Dick gives the following example:

> Dick: I make it clear that I will not support them unconditionally; I never say no directly, but my attitude shows I would not like them to rely on me. I encouraged them to pay tuition fees themselves, earning money via part-time jobs, student loans and/or scholarships; I only sponsored them when they could not afford to do it. The term *sponsor* means they are subjects and I assist them occasionally … Rather than training, I consider it is important to instil the concept of ideological independence into my children, and, most specifically, provide them with opportunities to make decisions by themselves and organise their own business. In the process of their decision making, they can learn risk analysis (i.e. making decision after thoroughly assessing their own abilities and all potential risks). At the same time, they also learn to be responsible for the consequences of their own decisions. I believe they can acquire a lot, even from failure or mistakes. Now their ability to organise and cope with things are, indeed, better than mine.

With the exception of Bennett, the fathers offered similar accounts. Frank mentioned: *We had discussions when my daughter applied for the university, but my wife and I tried not to interfere in our daughter's choice of optional courses and field of study as far as possible*. Moreover, Emil recounted how he taught his children planning and self-support, using his personal

experiences as examples:

> Emil: I usually set a good example with my own experiences. When they were young, I showed them how to plan a journey, read maps, and deal with accidents or whatever throughout our family traveling – that is, I took the opportunity to teach them planning and self-support. I also told them to have more than one plan; if plan A was not feasible, there should be a plan B or C. For example, my daughter, at the age of 11, planned to go to the movies in the city centre with our neighbours (the senior was aged 17). I taught her to read the map and showed her several routes between the station and the cinema beforehand. On that day, she became a leader, because the station suddenly closed, but her companions did not know any other routes. Thus, she knew what I said was right and has also acquired good experience.

There appeared to be some differences between fathers and mothers in relation to 'training' their children to be independent. By and large, the fathers in this study and their wives had the same expectation of their children's independence, but their practices were not always parallel. As Emil recalled, his wife did not agree with him about when their daughter should be allowed to go out without her parents. *My wife, just like the majority of mothers in the world, was always too worried about children's safety,* Emil commented. Dick made a similar comment saying that his wife usually complained that he gave their adolescent son too much autonomy and she felt worried that external attractions would lead their son astray. However, fathers were felt to dominate the decision making when it came to parenting. For example, Emil's approval meant that Eudora would have the chance to learn being a leader. Similarly, Dick persuaded his wife to have confidence in their son's judgement and let him go.

As far as fathers are concerned, the key to providing their children with chances to be independent was to let them go and to respect their decisions, but, at the same time, the biggest challenge was maintaining self-control. According to Dick:

Dick: In Taiwan, parenting tends to be protective, especially for parents in my generation who were raised in poor circumstances and became relatively rich in adulthood. Over-protecting children and wanting to provide them with the best food, clothing, or whatever their parents could not afford in their childhood, are universal phenomena. Such notions of protective parenting have been uppermost in my mind. For this reason, the biggest challenge for me in letting my kids decide for themselves is self-control … Self-control is my own matter; I have to reflect and self-adjust constantly … I restrain myself to avoid interfering with them, even though I may have foreseen that they would fail in what they were trying to do. I also avoided questioning or criticising them, um, such as, *why did you do this but ignore that?* Or, *you should do something!* Such interrogations may hinder their ability to learn to be independent and, in a way, also implies that they are not completely empowered. I am inclined to restrain myself, and thereby, provide both of my kids with chances to self-correct and learn from their mistakes.

Dick's account reflects the cultural clashes and negotiation between traditional Taiwanese and current British cultures, which the fathers in this study encountered in letting their children go. In Taiwan, especially during the period in which the participant fathers grew up, the dominant conceptions of parenthood tended towards the authority of the father; stressing absolute paternal authority to control children's behaviour and to determine the direction of children's lives; in return, children, both sons and daughters, were expected to obey (Yeh et al. 2006; Lee, 1998; Hus, 1981). In migrating to Britain, the distinctly different social context is regarded as justification by the fathers in this study to relax such deep seated expectations of the 'authoritative father'. Alfred explains:

Alfred: This social context is indeed different from where I grew up. Here, the emphasis is on democracy and individualism; even children are allowed to have their own ideas, and adults - whether parents, teacher or whoever - are inclined to respect them. For this reason, our traditional Taiwanese notion of parental authority over children is no longer feasible. Moreover, parental over-interference with children's lives partly hinders their participation in mainstream society. For instance, some of my

> friends from mainland China not only controlled their children's study, social life and whatever, but also imposed their will and thoughts on their children, and thereby caused their children great suffering and caused great difficulties in the areas of their friendship, marriage, workplaces and social engagement … After all, three of them will live here, and they did not grow up in such an authoritarian society as I was used to; therefore it is better for us, as parents, to adjust ourselves, rather than trying to dominate them, in order to help them successfully assimilate.

Similarly, Conrad has learnt from his friends' cases:

> Conrad: Arbitrary parental control over children may easily result in parent-child conflicts and distanced parent-child relationships, especially with the children who were greatly influenced by individualist-oriented British values; in contrast, letting children go and respecting their choices made them willing to share their thoughts or social lives with us, and benefited our understanding of them, as well as our relationships.

In addition, migrating to Britain, as an ethnic minority and lacking familiarity with the different sociocultural context further influenced their confidence in the appropriateness of 'paternal authority' – see Frank's account for example

> Frank: My wife and I are not familiar with the educational system, lifestyle or whatever of British culture; at the same time, our past experiences were not in accord with our daughter's life in Britain. Our advice is not really as useful to her as that of her teachers. Even our interference is likely to hinder her from successful assimilation into this mainstream society. Thus, my wife and I chose to adjust ourselves and let her decide by herself. I think it is better for us to adjust ourselves to British values rather than to confuse her with incompatible East-West cultures, because, after all, she will live in the UK throughout her life. Thus, our parenting responsibility is to help her engage in British society.

As such, the questioning of traditional parenting processes and in particular that of the 'authoritative father' appears to have been a conscious choice in order to sustain close parent-child relationships, and, most significantly, to help children successfully engage

with British society. At the same time, Dick's reflection has partly illustrated that the inclination to individualism in Britain has greatly affected his disembedding of the traditional notion that, throughout their lives, parents are responsible for their children. He recounts:

> Dick: Originally, training them to be independent was a very selfish idea, as my wife and I did not have to shoulder the weighty parental responsibilities throughout our lives … Letting children go is helpful to avoid intergenerational double binds, which is still often seen in Taiwan: on the one hand, parents do not have to worry and protect their children from the cradle to the grave; on the other, children do not have to feel resentment at parents' over-interference or feel guilty that they cannot repay their parents' sacrifice … Up to now, I think I have made the right choice and achieved a win-win situation: my children are independent, and hence, I feel confident of their future success. My wife and I have almost put down our parental burdens and re-launched our own lives.

Letting children go does not mean disregarding them. The majority of fathers in this study mentioned that they spent time communicating and chatting with their children, and concentrated on building intimate, harmonious, quasi-equal father-child relationships. As a result, their children were confident that their fathers would stand by them and they were, therefore, willing to share their lived experiences with their fathers. Moreover, respecting children's choices does not imply unconditional indulgence or agreement. All the fathers in this study indicated that before their children reached maturity, their own lives as parents had revolved mainly around their children, not only keeping them under close observation but also giving them timely guidance and advice, if necessary. As Dick recounted:

> Dick: When they were young, my wife and I paid attention to both of our children and knew everything about them, even though we also had to be busy at work. We trained them to be independent and allowed them to make their own decisions, but it did not mean that my wife and I

> indulged them. We were concerned about and constantly observed their behaviour, friendships, outings, schooling, etc. We would directly restrain them when we found their behaviour was obviously wrong … We would actively interfere if we found that their choices were likely to hurt their future as well as personal safety. Our interference was seldom to strictly say: *no, I disallow it;* instead, I had discussions with them, reasoned them into rethinking and changing their mind, gave them guidance and advice, etc. When they were teenagers, in particular, we paid specific attention to them and had numerous discussions (compared with their childhood).

As shown so far, the approach to fathering their children in Taiwanese immigrant families has shifted away from that associated in traditional Taiwanese family culture with the distant, authoritative father. The fathers, like their counterparts in Taiwan, endeavour to pave a successful future for their children. Influenced by the British social context, children have been no longer expected to absolutely obey and follow the path which their fathers paved for them to success. Instead, the fathers turned their attention to strengthening their children's capacities to be independent and to create their own success. In order to enable their children to be independent, the fathers empowered their children to make decisions by themselves, and hence, their paternal positions appear to have shifted from an 'authority figure' to a monitor, an adviser and a supporter. Accordingly, it is important for the fathers to foster abilities in their children which will allow them to take responsibility for decision-making and independence.

Even though the fathers in this study had the same expectations of independence in their sons and daughters, there appeared to be some gendered differences in practices. In the following, I shall focus on two prerequisites that the fathers assumed would intensify their daughters' capabilities to be independent, alongside the discussion of the gendered differences in fathering sons and daughters. The first prerequisite is that continuation of the cultural/familial valuing of education is considered as crucial in order to benefit daughters' financial and ideological independence. Second, defending daughters from

potential risks, such as peers who might lead them astray, and early dating/sex, is essential in order to encourage them to concentrate on the pursuit of success.

5.2.2 Continuation: High Educational Expectations

Existing empirical studies have demonstrated that home culture and parents' strong investments are important contributions to the educational and professional success of British-Chinese people, as Chinese parents, regardless of their social class, believe education to be important and, most specifically, of benefit to upward social mobility. In return, their children are expected to repay their parents' sacrifice by aspiring to, and obtaining, high educational achievements and professional careers (Archer & Francis, 2007; Cheng, 1994; Wong, 1992). In line with this, the fathers in this study stressed the importance of education. As Conrad explains:

> Conrad: My grandfather was a relatively educated person compared with the majority in the small village in the Japanese ruled period. He stressed the importance of education. Unfortunately, my father could not obtain a good education in the state of chaos caused by war … My brothers and I were expected to reach a high educational achievement. My parents did their best to provide what we needed for studying, even if my family lived in bad circumstances. Moreover, my brothers and I all studied in schools with a good reputation but which were far away from our home. Due to the influence of my grandfather and my father, I also greatly value my kids' education.

The other participant fathers, whose families were of a peasant background, also mentioned that their parents, with meagre scholarships, managed to satisfy their needs for study and pushed them to study hard. Similarly, the fathers in this study, as an ethnic minority with lack of familiarity with the British sociocultural context, have made large economic investments in their children's education in an effort to provide them with material benefits.

> Conrad: When they were young, most of the living costs in my family were for their education … We prepared a copy of teaching aids or puzzle toys, which they used at school, and also bought a lot of books that were useful for their study in our home.

> Emil: Money does not matter! Spending on their education is necessary. I knew that my language and background were likely to hinder me from tutoring my kids. Therefore, I bought them useful books, as many as possible, and made sure they had learning essentials (e.g. computer and internet) well prepared.

A great deal of preparation went into education, with children not simply being surrounded by educational toys and books in the home, but also being sent at an early age to pre-school education provision. For instance, Clara, Eudora and Fiona started schooling at a very young age because their fathers worried that they may suffer at school because of perceived 'deficits' in knowledge and understanding of British cultural resources and language ability (N.B. Clara and Eudora were born here and Fiona came here at the age of 18 months). According to Conrad:

> Conrad: We sent her to Montessori Nursery at the age of 2 … I think this decision was correct because we were not really familiar with this society, such as language, culture, educational systems or whatever; we could only help her assimilate as early as possible.

Emil not only sent his children to a Montessori nursery at the age of 3, but also provided them with home tutoring (e.g. teaching them basic maths and then pushing them to do the exercise) at home before they went to the primary school. In addition to these preparations, some fathers paid for their children to go to private schools, which they believed would provide a better standard of education and enable their children to progress to higher education. This is illustrated in Dick's account:

> Dick: Both of my children studied in private schools from preschool to A-level … Generally speaking, the quality of private schooling is better

> than comprehensive schools. Moreover, 90% of private schools expect students to go on to higher education. My wife and I hoped they would have at least a BA degree, so both of them studied in private schools from the age of 6.

Accordingly, fathers set relatively high expectations for their children's educational performance. They expected their children, who were being given every opportunity and every support to do well in education, to take this up and highly achieve – as in Emil's account, for example:

> Emil: I expect my kids will be better than me! When I was their age, I had to worry about a lot of things and the circumstances of my family were not as good as those I could afford for them … Compared with me, they are growing up in an excellent environment. They can get what they want easily. So I set very high standards for their achievement. I hope they can achieve more than me. Especially my daughter has excellent endowment – she is bright, capable and very healthy, so I have quite high expectation for her performance and hope her future will be better than mine.

Emil's account reveals the demise of the traditional notion that sons were valued above daughters. Taiwanese daughters in earlier generations have been described as a money-losing proposition: They were fated to marry off and contribute towards another family, no matter how their parents had devoted to nurturing them (Chen, 1999; Li, 1998). For this reason, daughters' education in earlier generations was not valued, and could be sacrificed altogether if it meant facilitating their brothers' achievement. In this study, the daughters' positions appear to have improved. The fathers in this study have recognised that *contemporary females are as capable and powerful as their male counterparts to pursue their own success in public spheres* (Emil), and *this society has been quite tolerant to allow a female to choose a life for her own, not the only destination to marriage* (Conrad). They set equally high expectations for their daughters and sons' achievement and invested in their daughters' education as much as, even more than, their sons' in order to intensify their capability to

create their own futures.

Definitions of educational achievement involve cultural differences between Taiwan and Britain. In Taiwan, individual competitiveness is highlighted, and a slight failure is emphasised in order to push a child/pupil to do better and reach the top; in contrast, British society advocates tolerance and tends to respect individual creativeness and autonomy. The fathers in this study, who, in a way, had succeeded in the competitive and selective educational system in Taiwan, tended to have rather high expectations of their children's educational performance, in line with Archer and Francis's (2007) description of Chinese parents' general pushing of children to achieve their maximum potential. However, such high expectations became relaxed when fathers suffered conflicts and challenges when their children studied in British schooling. This challenge is illustrated in Conrad's case:

> Conrad: She once got a good mark - 96. She told us happily and hoped we would praise her, as her teacher had done. But, you know, we Taiwanese found it easier to wonder why she could not get 100, why she had errors in the exam … Woo, she started screaming out: why can't you just say *you did well*? Why must you only heckle about the 4 points? … Her emotional reaction indeed gave me a great scare. It also made me rethink and I tried to amend my expectations of her education.

In addition to challenges regarding daughters' practice in British schooling, the distinct educational philosophy and mainstream tolerance in Britain seemed to make fathers rethink and persuaded themselves to amend their high expectations of their daughters' educational performances. As Alfred explained:

> Alfred: The importance of academic certificates in Britain is not as extreme as in Taiwan. Generally speaking, a person who completes a course at high school can obtain work, just like most of the employees in my firm. Having a BA degree is seen as well-educated … Success does

> not only belong to someone who graduates from the top university or who has a postgraduate degree … My wife and I did not push our children to the top. We merely insisted that they should have a graduate degree.

Conrad's account was in agreement:

> Conrad: Instead of the spoon-fed education in Taiwan, education in Britain stresses logical thinking and creativity. Pupils are not pushed to do homework as much, and schoolwork is used to judge how much they have learned … British teachers do not differentiate between pupils according to their scores. My daughter's teachers were all satisfied with her performance and, compared with her counterparts, she was normal; sometimes doing well, but not excellent. For this reason, I tried to lower my expectations of her academic performance: as long as she could keep up and her teachers did not complain, I just set her free.

In Frank's opinion:

> Frank: British society is not as competitive as Taiwan … Here a person is encouraged to study in what s/he wants or has an interest. In Taiwan, we are usually pushed to study what is popular or likely to lead to a job with a high salary, such as accounting or finance. However, in Britain, accounting or finance is a kind of skill, not academic knowledge, and you can learn such skills via training courses. This society also appears quite tolerant if you want to change. For example, my daughter majored in psychology in the university, but she found her interest was in Internet marketing during her part-time job in Year 3. She took a training course after graduation … Because this society is liberal and flexible, my wife and I did not push her the way as we would have done in Taiwan; instead, we respected her decisions.

Dick pointed to a recurring theme amongst all fathers in this study, recalling: *I expected my children to go to university because having a graduate degree with 2-1 marks is the most basic educational requirement for a person's success in the UK.*

It could be argued that, based on these comments, it was freedom from competitive

Taiwanese society that was crucial to fathers' relaxing of traditional educational expectations of the performance of their children. From late modernity perspectives, detraditionalisation occurs when traditional social forms and expectations are no longer monopolistic and predominant, and simultaneously, multicultural contexts and current knowledge stimulate individuals into self-reflexivity, thereby, 'choosing' their own lifestyles (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Heelas, 1996; Thompson, 1996), in which tradition is just one of the choices. As far as fathers were concerned, with the intention of paving a successful future for their children in accord with mainstream social expectations in Britain, traditional educational values seemed to be reembedded, rather than completely disembedded, in an attempt to reset the basic educational requirements for their children, and encourage their successful participation in the host society. As Archer and Francis' findings (2007) demonstrate, such amended expectations for children's educational achievement is in accord with the middle-class mode of engagement with the educational system, following the route of A levels to university to professional jobs.

In practice, fathers think that they have partly compromised by simply setting a target, but in the process, they hoped that their children would organise and complete their duties by themselves, without them having to push them to study hard and to gain top marks in exams or schoolwork. As Conrad and Dick explained respectively:

> Conrad: Because of my daughter's keenly emotional reaction to my attitude on her result of 96%, I relaxed my attitude to both of my children's study and tried to trust they could organise themselves, and just let them enjoy their school lives … Private schooling pushed them into higher education and I thought their teachers would provide them with more helpful guidance than I did. Therefore, I tried to relax and let them simply follow their teachers' guidance.
>
> Dick: When they were young, both of my children knew our basic

> requirement for their education was to gain a graduate degree … I seldom interfered with their study or pushed them to study when I saw them do nothing all day. You know, compared with our past experience, schooling in Britain is really an easy job. I usually felt they did not study but only played. However, I hoped that they would manage their time and then complete their schoolwork, study for exams or whatever and also trusted that they were oriented to the goal I set for them … Studying in private schools also pushed them to study. In short, I just let them go.

In contrast to their fathers, who considered that they had revised their traditional expectations and demands on their children, some daughters in this study felt that their fathers continued to set quite strict standards for their schoolwork or educational performance compared with their British counterparts – see further discussion in Chapter 7.

Even though the fathers considered that they had identical expectations and attitudes towards their sons and daughters' education, there seemed to be variations in the extent to which they were able to intervene in their sons' and daughters' educational choices. Alfred, Conrad and Dick offered similar accounts, confirming that they did not have the chance to shape their sons' decisions regarding the subject they would major in at university – Dick's account for example.

> Dick: One day, I asked my son about his UCAS form because I had not seen him filling in it. He responded that he had submitted it. I, indeed, had no idea what he had chosen, but he had done it! … My son made 99% of his decisions by himself; about his major, his university, or whatever. My wife and I were always notified afterward, ha-ha!

In contrast, all of the fathers in this study mentioned that their daughters had discussed with them before choosing which subjects to study or which university to attend. Like most traditional Taiwanese parents, they were felt to have imposed their expectations on their daughters, convinced that their interference benefited them. Bennett, for instance,

pushed Bonnie to take optional courses in ICT/computer in her tenth grade because he thought it would benefit her future job opportunities. Similarly, Emil pushed Eudora to attend Cambridge University. Emil explained:

> Emil: I insisted that she should go to Cambridge! In my early years I worked in many hospitals across England, so I believed Cambridge was better than Oxford and other universities, both the educational views and tutoring system. When she had the chance to go to this top university, where many people in the world desire to go but cannot, I insisted she should go. I believed she could do excellently if she enrolled … I told her: *If you can buy various brands of clothes for the same price, why not choose the best one?* She hesitated to choose Cambridge just because she wanted to stay in London with her best friends … Before her enrolment I really worried that she would change her mind and not devote herself to preparing for her application. So I kept a watchful eye on her; taking exams, filling forms, interviews and so on … Now I feel relieved because Cambridge life has broadened her vision and now she has an exceptional future.

Traditional expectations of the lives girls could and should lead also resulted in some fathers intentionally guiding their daughters' choices. For instance, Frank opposed his daughter's plan to attend Durham University saying, *my wife and I felt worried that she, a mere 18-year-old girl, would be far away from us and live alone there*. Alfred did not think it necessary for his daughters to engage in highly demanding occupations and would be better advised to choose those in which they could look after both work and family after marriage. He explained:

> Alfred: Originally my first daughter planned to major in design. I told her that that field is too narrow – not all can become famous – and too competitive. I persuaded her to enter marketing … My youngest daughter wanted to go to medical school with her best friends. I thought becoming a doctor was too toilsome – not only having to study hard but also spending a long time in training. I suggested that studying pharmacy was much more suitable for her; moreover, if she were a pharmacist, she could return easily to the workplace or transfer to part-time when she got

married and had her babies.

In addition to intervening in their daughters' educational choices, some fathers encouraged their daughters to make *better* occupational choices, especially when they were not satisfied with their daughters' existing employment. The fathers in this study, who grew up under a politically highhanded rule, alongside specific economic circumstances, had proven that engaging in commerce was the most effective way to accumulate assets and secure upward social mobility (also see Murray & Hong, 1994). Moreover, as an ethnic minority, they had found a niche in the British host society by doing business. As a result, the majority of the fathers in this study (except Emil) hoped that their daughters would choose business studies. Dick felt surprised that his daughter decided to study law, saying, *we Taiwanese assumed business was the best choice*. Even though Conrad and Frank respected their daughters' choices, they still expected their daughters to have a better understanding of business. Conrad encouraged his daughter to serve as a short-term administrative assistant in a company. Frank suggested that Fiona should find a new interest in business. Conrad explained:

> Conrad: My daughter is a teacher in a secondary school … As far as I was concerned, the salary of a secondary teacher in Britain is not good; and the pupils in her school came from a relatively low social class and their abilities or quality were not good either; even some of their parents could not speak English. I hope she would find other jobs with high salaries … I once encouraged my daughter to work in an airline company, just during the summer. I hoped that she would develop an interest in business. She did well in that Airline Company but she told me that she still preferred to be a teacher. It's all right. It's her life, I respect her decision.

Frank added:

> Frank: My wife and I still have the Taiwanese traditional idea that such careers as banking or finance are more stable and suitable for females; especially as we both engage in finance … We encouraged her to try. I

> said: *You may be also interested in business, but you don't know, why not try?* She attended a summer course in finance and management. She did very well but she told us that she had no interest after the course finished. I said, *Fine; anyhow, you have tried and now you know you are not interested!* I felt OK. I just wanted her to have an understanding of what she originally thought she was not interested in, to give her more options.

As far as fathers are concerned, it is a paternal obligation to provide useful resources, options or advice in order to promote their daughters' achievement. However, perhaps because their daughters have reached maturity, and perhaps because of their increased familiarity with sociocultural expectations of young British women, fathers were willing to respect their daughters' occupational choices, rather than imposing their own expectations on them as they had done when their daughters were young.

To sum up, in line with Archer and Francis's findings (2007), the traditional parenting approaches which stress the importance of children's education remained evident in Taiwanese immigrant families. The fathers regarded a graduate degree to be a basic requirement and continued to invest heavily in their children's education. In terms of their daughters' education, the fathers negotiated the tensions which emerged between British and Taiwanese expectations of young women. The fathers have recognised that women's contributions were constrained by their domestic roles in previous generations (Wu, 2004; Chen, 1999; Li, 1998). The fathers set equally high expectations for their sons and daughters' achievement, the way they want their daughters as their sons to succeed in public spheres.

On the other hand, paternal authority over daughters, rather than sons, still pervaded their comments. The fathers felt obligated to offer advice and, if necessary, intervene in their daughters' crucial decision-making, particularly relating to choice of field of study or university. The expectations for daughters were also felt to reflect

traditional conceptualisations of femininity. The fathers demanded their daughters study at a university close to home, as that way they could provide their daughters with timely support or protection when necessary. At the same time, the fathers, as in Archer and Francis's findings (2006), channelled their daughters into a relatively stable, *safe* occupation, in particular which allowed them to look after both work and family after marriage. In addition to paternal intervention in daughters' educational and occupational choices, the fathers' tensions between traditional and late modernity notions of fathering a daughter were especially evident when it came to providing paternal protection to ensure their daughters' safety.

5.2.3 Tensions: Autonomy and Protection

As far as fathers were concerned, the way to pave a successful future for their daughters was not only to facilitate a good education, thus intensifying their capacity for securing independence and success in public spheres, but more significantly, to protect their daughters from harm in order to allow them to concentrate on the pursuit of success. Existing research, both in the West (e.g. Aapola, et al, 2005 and Nydegger & Mitteness, 1991) and Taiwan (e.g. Cheng, 2005, Liao, 2003 and Wu, 2002), shows a consensus that the primary duty of a father to his daughter is to protect her. From a similar standpoint, all fathers in this study talked about defending their daughters from external risks and enticements particularly because they felt insecure about this unfamiliar, *over-open* British society.

> Frank: In the UK, the social environment is not as simple as the one in which I lived in my childhood in Taiwan. So safety was a priority, in particular as she is our only daughter … From a young age, she was not allowed to go out alone. That may have interfered with her independence; but, for me as a father, it was necessary to guarantee her safety.

> Emil: Children must be kept under very close watch by parents because they are relatively innocent and can be easily deceived and damaged by someone crafty; I know the current young think they can start again from scratch whenever they want because they are still young, but they do not really realise how difficult it is!

Choosing a *safe* living environment was believed to be the primary consideration. There appeared to a common characteristic amongst all the families in this study who chose to locate in middle-class, white community neighbourhoods with 'good' schools. Alfred and Bennett, who worked in the Midlands, settled their family in a predominantly ethnically white town, while other participant families resided in the suburbs of London, regarded as relatively low crime areas and economically affluent. The following accounts were provided by Alfred and Frank respectively:

> Alfred: When they were young, we lived in a small town where the majority were white, middle-class families, only a few Asian and Chinese families, and no Black families. Most people living there knew each other, and the neighbourhood was quite good … There were also some quite good schools in that town … For these reasons, my wife and I felt that our children, especially our daughters, were secure.

> Frank: When we came to London, my wife and I chose to buy a house in this area, even though the house price was relatively expensive and it was far from my office, because we had heard that it was renowned for its friendly environment, minimal racial discrimination and its good local schools. The majority of our neighbours were whites and middle class.

Furthermore, keeping children, especially daughters, under close watch was believed as essential to ensure their safety. Existing findings, such as Yu (2008/2007), have found that Chinese parents monitored their children's outings and friendships, and restrained them from embarking on teenage relationships in order to encourage them to concentrate on higher education. At the same time, Aapola et al (2005) point out that girls, in spite of their ethnic backgrounds and social class, have more restrictions

imposed upon them by their parents than boys. In line with this, the fathers in this study appeared to worry more about their daughters, and therefore, sought to control them more in order to protect them; even though they said they were willing to respect their daughters' autonomy. This is illustrated in Emil's account:

> Emil: I agree my wife and I were more strict with her (his daughter) than with our sons because she is female! My wife was very worried that our daughter might be damaged when she was out. But, it was impossible for us, as parents, to lock her at home. All we could do was to keep her under very close watch. She had to inform my wife and me of her whereabouts (i.e. where she wanted to go, with whom, for what and when she would come home). In addition, I always took her to wherever she went and then picked her up at the agreed hour … My wife was very concerned about our daughter's friendships and if necessary, she tried to separate her from bad friends. I paid more attention to her relationships. I did not allow her to have a boyfriend before university, so I was certain to interfere if I thought she was developing a relationship. In contrast, I did not control my sons as tightly. They just had to inform us of their whereabouts and went by themselves.

The daughters in this study recognised this differential treatment which they regarded as unfair and they were discontented – see further discussion in Chapter 7. This section mainly focuses on how the fathers in this study paid especial attention to their daughters' social lives, friendships and early relationships in order to protect them and encourage them to pursue success.

5.2.3.1 Social Life

Parents tightly control their daughters' movements as well as timetables, and closely monitored their outings in order to protect them (Yu, 2007/2004; Aapola, et al, 2005). The fathers in this study spoke of maintaining a tight control over their daughters' social lives before they came of age. All daughters in this study were prohibited from going out

alone (i.e. not with parents) in their childhood. Their main spheres of activity were home and school (except family trips), and their parents took them to school and picked them up after school. During their teenage years they were allowed to go out alone but were still constrained by curfews determining what time they should be at home in the evening. Furthermore, when they went out with friends they were required to inform their parents in detail about where they were going, and had to come home at the promised time; and even then, their fathers insisted on taking them to wherever they wanted to go and picking them up to return home. This is illustrated in Conrad's account:

> Conrad: I agree! My wife and I kept our daughter under very close watch. Undoubtedly, she was always with us and was not allowed to go out alone in her childhood. In her school age, my wife and I were certain to take her to school and picked her up after school. Afterwards, she just stay home and either my wife or I, or sometimes both of us, would keep company with her … When she was 15 we began to allow her to go out with her friends; however we only allowed her to go out at the weekend and she must return home before 10 pm. Of course, she must tell us in detailed where she wanted to go, what time, how long, with whom and for what. My wife or I was also bound to take her to where she engaged and then brought her home at the promised time … In fact, we would not make her go to school or take public transportation to somewhere by herself before the A level.

In addition, the daughters in this study were not allowed to stay overnight in their friends' houses when they were young. As Conrad mentioned, *when my daughter was teenager, it was popular for her and her friends to have pyjama parties and sleep together; I never allowed her to do so.* Emil gave a similar account: *when my daughter was 13 or 14, she liked to go to one of her friends' home for all-night chats. I then could not give her a flat refusal so that I only insisted that she should not sleep over there and I was bound to pick her up whenever she was ready to come home*.

The tensions between fathers' protection and their teenage daughters' desire for

autonomy inevitably occurred. In particular, daughters found that paternal control made them different from their friends, and, to a certain extent, affected the development or maintenance of their friendships – the daughters' struggles and the conflicts between fathers and daughters will be further discussed in Chapter 7. As far as fathers were concerned, it was necessary to insist on protecting daughters from harm, even though such insistence was highly likely to cause conflicts between father and daughter, as Emil's account demonstrates:

> Emil: Of course, she felt an antipathy toward our strict management! In the early days she sometimes complained that we controlled too much, unlike her friends' parents who never told them that they were not allowed to go out. But I said *I CANNOT! Because I am your father, I have a duty to manage you!* … Of course we then had many arguments and the quality of our relationship was not very good. Even so, I thought I had to stand my ground and she was used to this strict management. Moreover, I believed that she would understand our intention and realise that it was precious to have such exceptional parents.

Safety was regarded as the chief consideration for paternal control over daughters' social lives. Paternal authority was exerted to guarantee daughters were protected from external risks. Such paternal protection continued, in spite of the daughters' age, as Frank's case showed:

> Frank: Because she, at the age of 28, cannot drive, my wife and I want her to phone us when she wants to come home late and then we are certain to pick her up from the station closest to our home, because the road from the bus stop to our home is too dark … I remember that she wanted to have a solo trip, after she got her MA degree, around the age of 26. Originally I did not have any idea about it, but just asked: where do you want to go? I said NO, when I found she wanted to go to Africa! I think such undeveloped countries are too dangerous, especially for a single girl! Her safety is of paramount importance. I would agree if she wanted to go with several friends or to developed countries, like Europe or America.

The daughters in this study were clearly allowed to have some freedom from parental jurisdiction when they came of age, but their fathers still dictated the limits of this freedom. For example, Frank is prepared to allow his daughter some freedom, but only within what he regards as safe areas.

In practice, it is impossible for fathers to keep their daughters under close watch all the time, such as when they were in schools or went out with friends. As a result, two preventive measures are adopted in order to help daughters avoid potential risks, in particular when they were out. One measure was to ensure daughters policed their own behaviours. As Emil stated, *many unfortunate experiences resulted from individual self-inattention; for instance, blind adventure, flippant manners and improper dressing are viewed as minor events, but can easily lead to big trouble*. All daughters in this study, especially when they were young, had had significant attention paid to their words and deeds and were disciplined severely whenever they acted improperly. Additionally, the fathers in this study held relatively conservative attitudes which forbade their daughter from dressing too fashionably and 'sexily', such as wearing low-cut or backless dresses and short skirts. The other preventative measure was relating to the establishment of *correct* ideas. All fathers in this study agreed that British society is full of enticements, particularly for teenagers, who might easily stray under peer pressure. Frank pointed out that his way of preventing his daughter's curiosity was to teach her: *the negative consequence of smoking, drug taking and so on, and influenced her judgement of right and wrong in various ways, such as TV programmes, news or the movies from her childhood*.

In addition to attempting to control their daughters' movements, behaviours, and ways of dressing, the fathers in this study were particularly concerned about whom their daughters were with when they were out.

5.2.3.2 Friendships

Daughters' friendships are another focus of parents' monitoring. Researchers, such as Yu (2008), He et al (2004) and Whitbeck et al (1999), have demonstrated that parental influence generally decreases as children get older, whereas the impact of peers increases, making it important to guide their behaviour with regard to drinking, smoking and sex, especially in children's adolescence. In line with this, Emil said with a sigh: *today, friends exert a greater influence on her thoughts, behaviour and choices than parents do, so my wife and I paid very much attention to her friendships*. In order to protect their daughters from peers who might lead them astray, fathers strove to increase the opportunities for their daughters to keep company with those who could exert a good influence over them. In practice, there were two strategies: one was to passively prevent, the other was to positively interfere. The former involved positioning daughters in a *safe* environment. First of all, fathers chose to live in white communities which had low crime rates and were economically relatively affluent. Moreover, the reason for some fathers sending their daughters to private schools was because, compared with state schools, private schools were select, and therefore, made these fathers feel secure that their daughters would make friends with others intending to pursue higher education. This was illustrated by Conrad's account:

> Conrad: My wife and I trusted her schools: On the one hand, the school was very select and all of the students' backgrounds were similar and relatively good. On the other hand, the school had very close contact with students' parents … Because we took her to school and picked her up her every day, we had many chances to meet and talk with her classmates' parents. We felt secure.

Dick confirmed this:

> Dick: This was one of advantages of studying in private schools. The

> students had similar backgrounds and their parents had similar educational goals and expectations … She did not have many social activities because most of her friends were required to stay home to study after school.

Although Alberta and Bonnie studied in a state school, their school was located in a very small town and, as such, the students' parents mostly knew each other. Alfred explained:

> Alfred: In the early years when we first moved to the UK, we lived in a dormitory town where all the Taiwanese who had come with our factory lived together. Of course, we and our neighbour knew each other. Then we moved to a very small, white town, in which we knew nearly everyone and all of my daughters' friends lived close to us. We felt secure, even if she studied in public schools or went to her friends' home at night.

With regard to the strategy of positive interference, making a point of knowing daughters' friends was considered as necessary. On the one hand, daughters were encouraged to share their experiences of interactions with their friends in school. As Frank recalled, *when my wife picked her up from school, my daughter told her (sometimes my wife would ask) what she had done with her friends at school.* Dick also mentioned: *before both of my children moved away from home to study at university, we were used to spending quite a long time over dinner, when they would share with my wife and me their school life and interactions with their friends.* For these reasons, the fathers in this study and their wives had a sketchy knowledge of their daughters' friendships. On the other hand, daughters were also encouraged to invite their friends, particularly those they met before university, home so that their parents, mostly their mothers, could directly observe and talk with them. As Alfred recounted:

> Alfred: When they were young, my wife and I paid specific attention to our daughters' friendships, especially to make sure that they did not be led astray and/or did not suffer such difficulties as segregation or bullying. We encouraged our daughters to invite all their friends home, the way my wife (because I was too busy at work to stay home and meet their friends), could closely observe their friends, directly talk with them and also had

> more understanding of their interactions and our daughters' schooling lives. My wife had a very good memory for people. She remembered all of our daughters' friends, including their names and family backgrounds, and also knew most of their friends' parents. Therefore, we were very familiar with our daughters' friends, especially in their school ages and adolescence and we could feel quite secure about their friendships.

Emil further added: *I took her to her friends' homes and later picked her up; that way I had many chances to meet her friends' parents, and sometimes had chats with them; therefore, I not only knew her friends but also their parents.*

There appeared to be set expectations about what constituted suitable friends for their daughters, especially regarding proper manners and acceptable family backgrounds. In principle, the fathers in this study and their wives were willing to respect their adolescent daughters' autonomy in choosing friendships, and encouraged their daughters to make friends, in spite of their gender, social class and ethnicity. However, they opposed their daughters making friends with those whose words and deeds were regarded by the fathers as impolite or improper. In particular, as noted above with regard to their daughters' dress, the participant fathers and their wives disapproved of their daughters' making friends with those who wore make-up or what the parents perceived to be age-inappropriate clothing. Furthermore, the fathers in this study were not happy if their daughter's friends were from a different family background. Emil explained, *I agreed I discriminated against single-parent families, but numerous past experiences had showed that kind of family background was unstable and the girls growing up in such a family might have some problems, even aberrant behaviour/thoughts*.

The main consideration in setting limitations on daughters' friendships was because fathers were worried that their daughters might be led astray. As a result, when they found their daughters' friends behaved improperly and might, therefore, exert a bad

influence over their daughters, they would forcefully intervene in their daughters' friendships and require their daughters to distance themselves from those friends. Emil's case might well illustrate such anxiety for daughters' friendships and illustrate the attitudes which brought about parental intervention:

> Emil: In contemporary society, a lot of girls are really bad, not as innocent as we took for granted in the past, especially in British public schools where students' backgrounds are diverse and complicated … My daughter then studied in a grammar school; however, you know, students in grammar schools were not as formally selected as those in private schools. So my wife and I indeed felt worried about her friendships, especially in her teenage years. We disapproved her to befriend someone with flippant manners, improper dressing and/or single-parent family backgrounds and commanded her to distance herself from those. Of course, she felt discontented and disagreed with us. She thought that was an out-fashioned, Taiwanese perspective. Furthermore, she thought we should not criticise her friends because we did not indeed understand them. So then we argued a lot about that … I knew it was impossible for me to completely cut off the contact between her and her friends. But I was obligated to warn her and teach her how to observe and judge someone, and also did my best to interfere. I believe she is intelligent enough to understand someday.

Daughters' reactions to their fathers' interference in their friendships and consequent father-daughter conflicts will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

Tight paternal control over daughters' friendships has been gradually relaxed since daughters left home for the university. One of the main reasons was because, as Alfred said, *I no longer had as many chances to meet and know my daughters' university classmates or colleagues as when they were young*. Dick also mentioned: *entering the university, in a way, implied that she began to walk on her path toward success, and the friends whom she made of at this stage had similar destinations and would work in the same professional field; therefore, I needed not worry she might be led astray*. Emil further added: *I believed that she has been mature enough to judge who is*

proper to befriend. Nevertheless, it does not mean that fathers simply accept their grown-up daughters' friendships. Instead, they are still concerned and keep a close watch on these. All the fathers in this study indicate that they are not totally unfamiliar with their mature daughters' friends. On the one hand, their daughters are encouraged to share with them information about their friendships. On the other, as Dick mentioned, *reading my daughter's face-book or blogs is helpful to understand her social life and friendships*, and in this way fathers could monitor and protect their daughters as before. As far as fathers are concerned, to keep monitoring their grown-up daughters' friendships is about concern not about interference as they did when their daughters were young. Even so, they still think it is their duty to give advice or suggestions when they are not satisfied with whom their daughters keep company.

5.2.3.3 Relationships

Adolescent sexual behaviour tends to be negotiated in social and cultural contexts (Wellings, et al, 1994). The dramatic shifts of attitudes relating to young people's sexuality since the 1950s, together with earlier physical maturity of young people, have made active sex-lives from a relatively early age acceptable for some (Aapola, et al, 2005). However, it remains the case that, irrespective of culture, parents want to prevent their children from engaging in sexual experiences at an early age. Parents from distinct cultural backgrounds have different strategies for exerting control (Schalett, 2000). In Yu's study (2004), which explored social and cultural influences on attitudes toward sexual behaviour held by British-born Chinese teenagers, the participants reported that in order to maintain educational aspirations, their parents were inclined to adopt the stance that there should be total sexual abstinence, disapproving even of dating or having a steady relationship during teenage years.

Such disapproval of daughters' early dating is also found in this study. Conrad, Dick and Frank made their daughters study in strict, private, girls' schools, from the ages of 7 to 17, in order to reduce the possibility of early relationships. Emil forbade his daughter to have boyfriends before going to university, and further, closely monitored her calls from her male friends during her teenage years. Bennett asked his daughters not to have boyfriends until they reached their mid-twenties and secured financial independence. He also 'instructed' them to remain celibate until after marriage. According to Bennett:

> Bennett: I requested my two daughters to avoid having boyfriends until they were 25 years old. It was too dangerous for them to have a relationship before they reached maturity. At the age of 25, they would have completed a graduate degree, got a stable job and had the ability to think and judge what lifestyle they would like as well as to shoulder the responsibility as a wife/mother … I also required that my daughters should be virgin till they get married. It is necessary for a woman to hold virgin body and soul to her husband.

However, it was impossible to guarantee that the daughters did not have boyfriends in their teenage years. When they did, pressure might be brought to bear as recounted by Dick and Emil who both chose to force their daughters to break up with their then boyfriends, regardless of the impact on their father-daughter relationships:

> Dick: Our relationship was once influenced seriously by her first affair. At the age of 18, she fell in love with a guy and planned to go to an American university with him. I was so shocked. Unbelievable, how dare she make such an immature decision? That decision was full of risks and would impact on her future. Of course, I refused … We had a lot of heated discussions and arguments during those days. I thought she was rational enough to realise why I opposed her plan. She ultimately chose to stay and separated from that guy.

> Emil: Although we did not allow her to have a boyfriend, I knew it was difficult for her to reject someone's attention at such a young age. I once found she had become embroiled with a fellow when she was 13. That

> fellow even bought a ring for her. I felt so shocked! *How dare you do such a thing? You are only 13!* I questioned her. At the beginning, she denied it, but admitted it after I caught them. So we watched her much closer during that time and I had a hand in returning the ring and completely cut off their contact. Of course, she felt displeased and unwilling … I reasoned with her: *you are still very young. It is unnecessary to be bound in such an immature relationship.*

As far as fathers were concerned, having early relationships was a disadvantage for daughters pursuing success. Rather than negotiating with daughters, they chose to directly preclude the possibility of early relationships.

Paternal interference in daughters' relationships no longer occurred when daughters went to university. Instead, many fathers were felt to have gradually turned their attitudes to encourage their grown-up daughters to know various male friends, even begin relationships, in order to prepare for marriage. Emil was typical in his response, saying:

> Emil: The majority of boys that my daughter would meet in the university, especially Cambridge, were select and could be seen as elites. Therefore I needed not worry she might meet bad boys and thereby ruin her prospect as I did when she was young … I encouraged my daughter to know a variety of *good* boys, making friends with them. If there was a chance, she could find a boyfriend, learning mutual support and sharing in the relationship as my wife and I had experienced.

At the same time, fathers still paid particular attention to the development of their mature daughters' love affairs and wanted to protect their daughters from injury in relationships. Most interestingly, there appeared to be separate roles between fathers and mothers to *participate* in daughters' relationships, in which the fathers acted as mentors to *objectively*, *rationally* discuss specific issues on general love affairs whereas the mothers were emotional supporters concerning daughters' subjective feelings and experiences in their own relationships. Emil provided the following example:

> Emil: I sometimes discussed what characteristics are proper to be a friend, boyfriend or husband with my daughter and told her how to observe men's words and deeds … My daughter now has a boyfriend but I seldom actively ask her about her relationship with that boy; instead, my wife is very concerned about her, and hence, often inquires (and then reports to me). Our daughter also gets used to sharing with my wife in all the details and her feelings on the interactions between her and her boyfriend and asks my wife's advices when she encounters difficulties in the relationship.

Dick also mentioned:

> Dick: I usually chatted with my children about marriage, relationships, what a good (wo)man means or something like that … My daughter now has a boyfriend but I seldom actively inquire her about her relationship. My wife is always eager to ask her so I know most of her relationship via my wife. Furthermore, my daughter would not actively share with me in the interactions between her and her boyfriend, perhaps because my reactions would not satisfy her expectation. I like to discuss with her about specific issues, not just gossip. Therefore, my daughter sometimes asks me and discusses with me about *male perspectives* on some issues in relationships. Instead, she gets used to sharing with my wife in every feeling, thoughts or difficulties about her own relationships, and my wife has patience to listen, empathise and also give her advices.

Such separate roles between fathers and mothers appear in accordance with traditional sexual division of labour, in which paternal involvement revolves around instrumental roles, such as teaching and guidance, whilst mothers centred upon expressive roles for emotional support and caring work. Furthermore, fathers' positions of standing by their grown-up daughters but no longer forcefully interfering, to a certain extent, represented specific interactive patterns between fathers and mature daughters within the participant families, which I will further discuss in Chapter 7.

To sum up this section, traditional notions of paternal protection over daughters still predominated in this study. Girls were considered as vulnerable and sensitive, and

hence, paternal authority was exerted to guarantee their safety. Nevertheless, there appeared to be distinct considerations. Under traditional conceptualisations of the Taiwanese family a female was regarded as powerless and reliant upon men, and in this way a father had to take responsibility for protecting his daughter before handing her over to another man (husband; see detailed discussion in Section 2.1). In contemporary society, women's positions have improved remarkably, a fact recognised by the fathers in this study. Whilst recognising that women have the abilities and opportunities to succeed in public spheres and choose their own lifestyles, there continues to be a concern for their safety. In line with existing empirical research (also see Aapola, 2005; Yu, 2004), the fathers in this study kept their daughters' movements, friendships and early dating under very close watch, and when necessary, they felt inclined to intervene.

Even though the modern notions of youth, stressing autonomy and self-choice in many areas of life, have pervaded mainstream British society, the traditional patriarchal ideologies continued to dominate fathering experiences, especially in relation to 'guarding' daughters; and had affected the father-daughter interactions in this study. Conventional assumptions around masculine authority are a matter of male control over youth and women, in both public and private spheres (Connell, 2002/1987). Because of this, a daughter's position in the domestic field is subordinated to the father in terms of both age and gender. More specifically, traditional notions with regard to fathering a daughter mainly revolve around safeguarding, in which the man, as a father, partly achieved some sense of masculine validation through his ability to protect his daughter from potential harm.

The construction of fatherhood emerging in relation to paternal protection in this study is one where there are clear tensions – on the one hand to uphold traditional mechanisms of control over daughters and, on the other, to recognise the changing

position of women and the need to provide daughters with opportunities for autonomy. The fathers themselves negotiated these tensions in fatherhood and recognised a part of paternal control and protection is a way of ensuring their daughters' success. However, these tensions in fatherhood are reflected in the practices with their daughters so giving mixed messages to the girls, and further generating conflicts and tensions between fathers and daughters.

So far, I have explored how the fathers in this study maintained certain traditional concepts and wielded paternal authority over their daughters' education and personal safety in order to ensure that they would have successful futures. Based on these two prerequisites, they avowed that they were willing to give their daughters the power to make decisions by themselves. In the following, I shall discuss whether the fathers in this study did, indeed appear to respect their grown-up daughters' choices.

5.2.4 Marriage as Alternative

Traditionally, a woman was destined to marry and leave her family of origin, as reported in the literature, and the main paternal responsibility was fulfilled when a father arranged a reliable man and handed over his daughter to him (Liao, 2003). However, such traditional means of marriage have gradually declined. The late modern mainstream stress on individualisation, coupled with shifts in the position of women has redefined women's opportunities for independence and self-actualisation (Aapola, et al, 2005; Harris, 2004). As discussed above, fathers concerned themselves with not simply encouraging their daughters to participate in securing a good education and then taking up a professional career, but also in protecting them from potential risks in order to ensure their independence. Marriage, hence, is no longer regarded as the only destination ascribed to grown-up daughters; instead, daughters are regarded as able to choose their

own lifestyles. All the participant fathers claim that they are willing to respect their daughters if they choose not to marry, because their daughters have attained *success* and independence. As Frank says:

> Frank: I will accept it if she chooses not to marry one day. My wife and I do not doubt that she can support herself and that she is mature enough to deal with all challenges in her life without a partner.

As women's position in society has improved, family structures are also significantly changing (Aapola et al, 2005). The other crucial reason that fathers came to accept their daughters' choice of singlehood is that the *ideal* marriage with specific gendered division of labour is rather difficult to practise in the present society. Conrad and Emil both recognise these changes:

> Conrad: She has told me that she does not want to get married … I think now it is feasible for women to choose not to marry. Marriage indeed needs a couple to spend a lot of time and energy on management and sharing all responsibilities. However, today both men and women have to concentrate on their demanding work and, therefore, they hardly have enough time to manage their family … It is okay for me if she decides not to marry.

> Emil: It does not matter if my daughter chooses not to marry; as long as she can accept the consequences of her choice … She is unlikely to have such a partner as my wife who supported me unconditionally so that I could concentrate on my work and pay little attention to the family … The traditional family structure, as distinct from gendered division of labour between husband and wife in my generation, are no longer suitable for her. I believe that she will suffer more challenges (than me) if she chooses to marry.

Nevertheless, the expectation that a grown-up daughter would marry have not been totally discarded. This is illustrated in Frank's account:

> Frank: I will feel disappointed if she really chooses not to marry, even

> though I am inclined to respect her decision. I still believe that, for a female, marrying someone she loves and then having her own child is a relatively normal life path from which I have experienced and benefited, so I hope my daughter will marry.

Dick further mentioned that he and his wife tried to show their daughter the advantages of marriage in order to encourage her into it.

> Dick: I do not demand that my daughter must get married. I am willing to respect her choice if my daughter decides not to marry. It is her life after all, so my wife and I cannot and shall not force her … However, I believe that my daughter will get married because my wife and I did our best to set a good example with our marriage and share with her the advantages of marriage as she was young; moreover, I chatted with my daughter on what characters or personalities of men are suitable for her … Our daughter often tells us the interactions between her and her boyfriend and discusses the merits and defects of her boyfriend. So I think that she desires to marry.

Bennett sometimes reminds (rather than compels) his stepdaughter, Bonnie, who is now twenty-eight years old and has a stable job, that *it is time to marry, otherwise she will be too old to bear a baby*. Furthermore, Alfred happily announces: *my duty has been done because all my children are married.*

The main shift in fathers' expectations of their daughters was to delay marriage. Compared with women in earlier generations who were expected to get married in their twenties, as Archer and Francis (2007) have noted, the fathers in this study assumed that their daughters should have stable careers and have accumulated sufficient resources prior to marriage. Emil believes that his daughter *should first complete all medical training and acquire a professional license, and then think over her marriage, and the way in which she will be able to return to the labour market no matter how long she leaves for childcare or whatever.* Similarly, Frank expects that Fiona, who is studying for a PhD, will graduate as soon as possible and then

settle down to her occupational direction before she ponders her marriage. Even though Dara has become a successful lawyer, Dick still states:

> Dick: She has to first make herself well-prepared, especially reaching mental maturity and having her own house, and then considers her marriage … I think she will reach such goals around 3 or 4 years later; when the time comes, she may transfer to another department that is not so demanding as the present one in order to pay more attention to the management of her marriage.

With regard to the ideal of the son-in-law, traditional expectations, to a certain extent, remained in this study. Traditionally, marriage not only linked a man and a woman together, but, most significantly, implied the interest exchange between two families, in which well-matched marriage was valued (Kao & Lu, 2006; Li, 2005; Wu, 2002). In light of this, fathers not only stressed the personality of their daughter's partner, but also expected that they had similar family backgrounds. The fathers in this study pointed out that they originally held a private, common expectation that their daughters would marry into families of Taiwanese immigrants with equal social class. The reason was that they assumed that to marry a man who used *the same languages* (e.g. Dick) and had *similar socioeconomic/cultural background* (e.g. Bennett) and *parallel experience of living in Britain* (e.g. Emil) was likely to bring mutual understanding and communication, regarded as the foundation of marriage. However, that was not the case. Alfred and Dick had similar experiences. Dick states: *my daughter once had a boyfriend who was a Taiwanese immigrant, but they separated soon because she said she could not get along well with him.* In addition, living in Britain, where Taiwanese immigrants were a relatively small group, it was difficult to find a man who met the expectations of these participant fathers, as demonstrated in Conrad's account:

> Conrad: Originally I hoped that my daughter would marry a Taiwanese. However, it was too difficult to find an appropriate man because of living

> in this social environment. In Britain, the majority of the Chinese population came from Hong Kong. The cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds of these Hong Kong immigrants are quite different: on the one hand, we speak Mandarin or Taiwanese, but they speak Cantonese; on the other hand, most of them are engaged in takeaways or restaurants and positioned in the working class, but we Taiwanese in Britain are universally located in the upper/middle-class … You might ask how about Taiwanese students studying here. Some of them are too young or old; some have had girlfriends or wives; some seem quite suitable, but different backgrounds make them difficult to understand or get along with. Anyway, it is really difficult to find someone in line with my expectations.

As a result, fathers were felt to be obliged to compromise because, as Dick's account, *it is her own marriage and the most importance is that she and her partner can get along well*; and then they chose to amend their expectations, only focusing on personal characteristics. The consensus for the fathers in this study is that man will be reliable; employed in a stable and professional career, free of any criminal background, and, most significantly, in love with their daughters.

Lan (2002) has found that Chinese immigrants in America have little authority over their children's marriage; the younger generation choose their partners on the basis of romantic love rather than compatibility of family needs or parents' expectations, as before. Such a demise of paternal authority is also found in this study. The fathers in this study have realised that they cannot afford to appoint husbands for their daughters if they are trying to change their roles to become advisers and monitors. As Conrad mentions, *it is impossible for me to introduce someone to her as it depends on her choice; all I can do is to remind or warn her when I find her choice is not suitable*. Dick adds: *I believe that my daughter has completely reached maturity and is able to choose a proper partner*.

In conclusion, fathers are felt to maintain some traditional expectations in that they

hope for their daughters to get married. However, there is evidence of two shifts. One is that they, echoed Archer and Francis's (2007) research on Chinese immigrant parents' views, expecting their daughters to delay marriage until they have reached physical/ mental maturity, succeeded in work and accumulated sufficient resources. The other shift is that paternal authority over a daughter's marriage has relaxed, meaning that the fathers recognise they are not in a position or a social context in which they can arrange for and choose husbands/partners for their daughters and, therefore, their paternal role has become one of passive involvement. Moreover, they come to regard marriage as part of a path, not a compulsory, exclusive destination ascribed to a grown-up daughter, and this way they are inclined to respect their daughters' wishes if they decide not to marry.

5.2.5 Negotiation: Anglicism and Taiwanese Heritage

Elliot (1996) pointed out that ethnic minorities tend to strive for a balance between preservation of cultural uniqueness and assimilation of host values. Although the fathers in this study made adjustments and encouraged their children, both sons and daughters, to engage in mainstream British society, they still supposed that certain aspects of Taiwanese culture would be preserved. In the following, I shall look at fathers' expectations of the transmission of family responsibilities, the mother language, ethnic identity and the traditional lifestyle of consumption, and their negotiation between assimilating into English life and preserving Taiwanese heritage.

5.2.5.1 Family Responsibilities

The moral order of familism, in particular in relation to family closeness/solidarity and respect for elders/others, is regarded as the primary heritage, which fathers wanted to see continued from one generation to another. *I wanted my children to realise the importance of family closeness and harmony, and hence, they would like to preserve and transmit it* – Dick

expressed briefly, the aspiration evident in the comments of all fathers in this study. Conrad further explained:

> Conrad: In Britain, the majority of young people leave home early and their family relationships are usually distant, causing this society to be quite unstable and unorganised … My wife and I don't want our children to have such an experience, so we do our best to create a harmonious home environment and keep our family close and interdependent.

Parents play a crucial role in socialising their children into social contexts, and thus, channelling distinct family lifestyles and behaviour (Heath, 1995; McAdoo, 1993; Mindel, Habenstein & Wright, 1988). Bennett believed that *parents have to devote time and genuineness to create an intimate family environment, and thereby make their children like to stay home, even desire to go home after they move out.* In practice, Conrad, Dick and Emil gave similar accounts, such as Dick's account: *my wife and I did our best to make our family life normal and harmonious, to get along well with each other and not to quarrel frequently.* Frank added: *We (Frank, his wife and daughter) did almost everything together, that way it was instilled into my daughter the idea that we are a unit and we have to be close and interdependent.*

Now fathers are felt to have satisfied their expectations, in which their grown-up British-Taiwanese children keep very close contact with them. Whereas Fiona still lives at home, Conrad and Dick mention that their children, who have left home for work, come home once a week and/or dine out with them once every two weeks. Bennett is gratified that his stepdaughter likes to come home:

> Bennett: During academic terms she has no choice but to live in her own house, which is located close to her school, but she keeps in contact with us almost every day; at the same time she prefers to come back home in her winter and summer vacations.

Even though three of his children are married, Alfred feels pleased, explaining: *they all live*

near to us (Alfred and his wife) – no more than 30 minutes by car to my son and younger daughter's house, and only 10 minutes' walk to my eldest daughter's house. Three of them also usually bring their family back home.

In addition to the emphasis on family closeness, fathers expected their children to keep in close contact with relatives in Taiwan. Two ways worked in practice. In order to avoid interrupting his work and his children's schooling, Alfred invited his parents(-in-law) to come to live with his family, and thereby sustained close grandparent-grandchild relationships. Conrad, Dick and Frank had chosen to go back to Taiwan regularly with their family since their children were very young – according to Frank:

> Frank: Since she was very little, my wife and I usually brought her back to Taiwan. She even went back alone at the age of 9. In those days she lived with my parents and my wife's relatives. You might think we as parents were heartless to make her live with those so-called relatives who were actually strangers to her. We hoped she would have more opportunities to build and maintain some connection with our relatives in Taiwan. Because she is an only child, we hoped she'd realise she is not alone and has support and relatives in Taiwan … Now she has good relationships with her cousins in Taiwan – I think our decision was right!

Bonnie also indicated that her mother took her back to Taiwan regularly and that she visited her father and other relatives even though her parents did not have a good relationship after they were divorced. Today, fathers are felt to have achieved because their children have built good relationships with their relatives in Taiwan and keep in frequent contact with them, even though they no longer go back to Taiwan regularly for holidays as they did when they were young.

The other moral order of familism that fathers emphasised is respect for elders and others, as illustrated in Emil's account.

> Emil: My wife and I always emphasised that our kids had to maintain the moral of respect for elders and others – whatever their backgrounds are, you have to respect them … The British are used to grouping people by social class, but I think that such a notion is, indeed, terrible. I told my children: *you should treat everyone equally and sympathise or empathise with those who are different from us*. These are the advantages we Taiwanese have. Therefore, I hope they will maintain and transmit them!

Fathers conveyed the traditional notion of respect for elders and others to their children from an early age, although they never discussed it directly. As Conrad said, *explaining them (why have to respect elders/others) is something when they grow up; my wife and I would directly disciplined our children if they behaved impolitely when they were little, the way we want them to become accustomed, even spontaneous, to showing respect for elders and others*.

In short, fathers had instilled traditional Taiwanese family responsibilities, such as family closeness/solidarity and respect for elders/others, into their children since they were very little, and so their children observed, learnt and practised these on a daily basis.

5.2.5.2 Learning the Mother Language

Fathers also wanted their children to learn Chinese and to preserve it. There were several reasons for this. First, as confirmed by Bennett, Conrad, Dick and Frank, Chinese is their mother tongue. This was a dilemma that fathers faced as well as Chinese parents in America (Ou & McAdoo, 1993), as they had to decide how many languages their children should learn. In Taiwan, Mandarin is the official language, but over eighty per cent of people speak Taiwanese. As Frank recalled, *at the initial stage, my wife and I were struggling to decide whether to teach our daughter Mandarin or Taiwanese. We later chose Mandarin because most people in the world use it*. The other participant fathers made the same choice because of the economic benefits of knowing Mandarin. Alfred pointed out that *learning Mandarin has become a new trend in the world; especially now China is becoming a global economic force;*

and therefore, knowing both English and Mandarin can be beneficial for their prospects. Alfred, Conrad and Dick agreed that another reason for children to learn Chinese was so that they could communicate with their grandparents and other relatives. Dick added: *when they were young, I usually told them that growing up in a Taiwanese immigrant family provided the opportunity to learn Chinese; and it would be a great pity if they missed that opportunity*.

For these reasons, fathers concerned themselves with providing their children with the opportunities to learn Chinese. On the one hand, children were encouraged to take attend Chinese complementary schools. In practice, all the fathers in this study (except for Alfred) sent their children to Chinese school every weekend until they passed in Chinese language exam (GCSE) at the age of 15. Because the majority of Chinese complementary schools in Britain were Cantonese-speaking, fathers were careful to choose an appropriate school. As Frank explained, *after a long search, my daughter went to a Chinese school with Taiwanese-style pedagogy*[8]. Furthermore, Conrad and Dick recalled that their children went back to Taiwan for relatively formal Chinese courses in the summer vacations. On the other hand, fathers attempted to create a good learning environment at home. As Conrad recalled, *I insisted that my family should use Chinese at home … I also bought numerous useful textbooks and subscribed to Chinese learning magazines (from Taiwan)*. Moreover, except Emil, all the fathers in this study had similar lived experience, such as Alfred's account, *when they were young my wife taught them Chinese with Taiwanese textbooks/teaching materials at home and also required them to do Chinese vocabulary exercises*.

Perhaps because they concentrated on preparing well, fathers originally had high expectations of their children's proficiency in Chinese, whether reading, writing, speaking

[8] The Taiwanese style pedagogy here included (i) adopting Bopomofo (Mandarin Phonetic Symbols) which is the first official phonetic system introduced in the 1910s for transcribing Chinese (especially Mandarin) and is still widely used as an educational tool and the Chinese computer input method in Taiwan and (ii) teaching traditional Chinese characters.

or listening. Nevertheless, their expectations were challenged when their children studied in mainstream schooling, and therefore, they were obliged to amend their expectations of their children's learning the mother tongue. For instance, Bonnie's teacher found Bonnie was overloaded with learning two languages and then suggested to Bennett and his wife that her Chinese homework was reduced. Alfred and his wife also chose to compromise with their children on learning Chinese because, as Alfred recalled, *we were fed up with repeated arguments with our children when we pushed them to do Chinese vocabulary exercises and then merely required that they should speak and listen Chinese.* Furthermore, fathers realised that it would be better for their children to develop an interest in learning and preserving the mother tongue, rather than attempting to coerce them into learning. Frank explained:

> Frank: For those born and bred in Britain, learning Chinese is relatively difficult compared with learning English, and thus, they easily lose interest … In contrast with my daughter's British friends, learning Chinese takes much of her time and energy … It is more important for her to have an interest in learning Chinese. What we, as parents, can do is to help her develop such interest and then support her. Conversely, we can only respect her views if she really has no interest. After all, many cases have taught us coercion only results in rebellion or flat refusal.

With the late modern perspectives, preserving the mother tongue has come to be regarded as an individual's choice. Researchers, such as Parker (1995) and Song (1999), have demonstrated diversity in usage and preservation of the mother tongue among siblings in Chinese immigrant families. There appears to be similar findings in this study. More interestingly, all the fathers in this study, except Frank who has only a daughter, had a similar experience, in that their daughters were more interested than their sons in learning Chinese and preferred to speak Mandarin (sometimes mixed Mandarin and English) with them.

5.2.5.3 Ethnic Identity

Fathers were concerned with preserving their children's Taiwanese ethnic identity. Parents' socialising of children into ethnic cultures and using the mother tongue are regarded as significant attributions to the formation of ethnic identity (Francis, et al, 2010; McAdoo, 1993; Mindel, et al, 1988). As a result, in addition to instilling family responsibilities into their children, fathers believed that using Chinese at home, and maintaining aspects of Taiwanese culture such as eating Chinese food, were helpful in sustaining that aspect of their children's ethnic identity. Visiting the homeland regularly also partly enabled British-Taiwanese children to familiarise themselves with Taiwanese lifestyles.

At the same time, fathers were aware that the Taiwanese identity inevitably diminishes. All they could do was to make their children familiar with their origin and Taiwanese heritage. In line with attitudes to preservation of the mother tongue, fathers were obliged to respect their children's construction of their ethnic identity. Alfred and Dick 'teased' their sons about being bananas – look yellow but totally white inside. According to Alfred, *if you never see him or just talk with him by phone or email, you would think he is British – his behaviour, attitude, thinking and lifestyle are all the same as his British counterparts.* The racism implied in these comments was not followed up in the interviews and, a future study would pursue such observations. Daughters were more likely to have a greater sense of identity with their Taiwanese heritage, as Dick indicates: *compared with my son, my daughter identifies herself as Taiwanese; she quite understands Taiwan and also pays specific attention when TV programmes and/or newspapers discuss Taiwan*. Even so, comparing their daughters with their counterparts in Taiwan, fathers still feel that their daughters have been affected significantly by their British heritage (see more discussion in the following chapters).

5.2.5.4 Saving vs. Consumption

There seems to be a common, intergenerational cultural clash among Taiwanese immigrant families. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's notion of the shift in late modernity from *a life for others* to *a life of one's own* is likely to explain this intergenerational cultural clash – production (saving) vs. consumption. Taiwanese fathers believe it is necessary to save as much money as possible for production (e.g. Dick's account that *we Taiwanese believe that we have to save 40% of what we earn for the future needs of our offspring).* As a result, they are apt to complain about their British-Taiwanese children's consumption. For example, Emil usually warns his children not to spend too much money to follow the fashions. Conrad and Dick also mention that they once had several arguments with their daughters because they felt they were too wasteful with money. Dick commented:

> Dick: My daughter and I have quite different views on consumption. You know, they young people, especially those born and brought up in the UK, do not have ideas about saving money … My wife and I usually feel that she is too wasteful … We had a lot of arguments when she was in the university because she spent more than I anticipated. Today, we don't have as many arguments as in the early days, but sometimes my wife and I still question or ridicule her because she earns more than us, but saves much less!

However, fathers chose to respect their daughters' lifestyles. Alfred explained: *this social context is very different from where we grew up; the notion of saving money never seems to enter their minds.* Emil persuaded himself that *she knew the judgement for propriety,* and Dick commented that *it did not matter if she could maintain a stable income.* At the same time, fathers appear to keep relatively traditional notions, as Alfred indicates: *in any case, I will sponsor them if they are starved of money one day.*

To sum up this section, fathers do their best to help their children retain traditional

Taiwanese family responsibilities, the mother tongue and Taiwanese heritage; but they also accept the inevitability of the assimilation of the different cultures. All they could do was to emphasise the importance of traditional family responsibilities to their children and make them familiar with their mother tongue and their Taiwanese heritage. At the same time, they were inclined to compromise and respect their children's choices when they experienced intergenerational cultural clashes.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have endeavoured to provide insights into the shifting concepts of fathering a daughter in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. I started with the notion of changing fatherhood, demonstrating that fathers have not only increased their involvement in the upbringing of their children, but have also become more willing to respect their children's autonomy and more intimate with their children compared with their own fathers. Even so, the reconstruction of fatherhood remains, to some extent, traditional. In particular, the main paternal responsibility of being a breadwinner made paternal involvement secondary and occasional. Furthermore, paternal authority still predominates, in relation to discipline over and protection of daughters.

I then paid specific attention to the changing concepts and practices of fathering a daughter. Instead of simply preparing their daughters for marriage and motherhood, in accordance with the practices of earlier generations, fathers brought up their daughters to be independent. In order to strengthen their daughters' abilities to be self-supporting, fathers continued to value their daughters' education and protected them from harm. The former related to the expectation that their daughters would achieve a graduate degree and work in a professional capacity in order to become financially independent; the latter aimed to push their daughters to concentrate on educational and occupational

success. In terms of marriage and Taiwanese traditional expectations of women, even though the fathers in this study were inclined to respect their grown-up daughters' autonomy, their daughters were, nevertheless, expected to recognise and be influenced and guided by their fathers.

In the next chapter, I shall turn to look at daughters' views on the constructions of the femininity and conceptualisations of daughterhood.

6

NEW DAUGHTERHOOD

In the previous chapter, I have analysed how the changed social context enabled fathers to reconstruct fatherhood and to rethink what a girl can be(come). The fathers were willing to relax their paternal authority, and thereby provide their daughters with opportunities for independence and encourage them to succeed in their chosen professional fields. However, there appeared to be certain tensions in such changed practices of fathering a daughter. On the one hand, fathers continued to want to control and protect their daughters in the traditional sense; on the other hand, they recognised the changing position of women and wanted to respect their daughters' autonomy. Attention is turned in this chapter to daughters' viewpoints of how they conceptualise daughterhood.

6.1 Gender 'characteristics' and Daughterhood

The conceptions of femininity in contemporary society have markedly changed. Historically, femininity has been defined in the domestic sphere (i.e. taking on 'caring' responsibilities for the family) and in women's subordinate and marginal position in relation to men (i.e. 'obedience' to men and accommodating themselves to the interests and desires of men; see detailed discussion in the literature). However, the achievement of second-wave feminist movements, together with the late modernity notions of youth emphasising individualisation, has improved women's social positions and, to an extent, releasing them from a life devoted to others (McRobbie, 2009; Aapola et al, 2005; Harris, 2004; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001). Social constructionist approaches has further

drawn attention to understandings of gender whereby young women's 'identities' are constantly constructed drawing on their gendered subjectivities. As a result, notions of contemporary young womanhood are recognised as varied and also characterisations of them as family-orientated, dependent and submissive have been critiqued (see literature review).

The daughters' constructions of their individual 'identities' clearly indicate how they draw on what may be seen as stereotypically 'masculine' characteristics (of their fathers) and stereotypically 'feminine' characteristics (of their mothers). Alberta, Clara and Dara's accounts are illustrated respectively:

> Alberta: To a certain extent, I resemble my father very much, particularly in professional capabilities, such as business, creativity, organisation (e.g. time management), and so on. In addition, we have similar personalities: we both are independent, stubborn (though I am more willing to accept someone's advice than he) and ambitious. Neither of us are socially-dispositioned, incapable of rapidly building rapport with strangers … I resemble my mom in family cares. Influenced by her, I am a little mysophobic, cannot endure dirty surroundings. I am also inclined to put my family first when my work and family are incompatible.

> Clara: My personality is similar to my father's. We are direct, determined and stubborn. We stand up for what we believe and will not compromise our opinions easily; I think this is why we sometimes have a slight quarrel. Influenced by him, I believe that only if I do my best, will I achieve, no matter how difficult it is … I learnt from my mom about the ways to do domestic chores and the insistence to keep my places neat and tidy.

> Dara: I quite resemble my father in having a steady personality, a mild temper and in my approach to thinking and attending to matters. Unlike my mom and my brother who are sensitive and impetuous, my father and I are rational and we will first think and analyse, and then react. However, compared with my dad, I am inclined to put my family and my parents first when I decide something … Regarding the practices in daily routines, domestic chores or something day in day out, and my favourite things,

such as food and interests, I am very similar to my mom.

In other words, daughters, to a certain extent, define themselves in a *masculine* way, but at the same time, draw on traditional Taiwanese womanhood, particularly in relation to family orientation, demonstrating how 'gender characteristics' are not restricted to male or female bodies. Rather, such hybrid femininities are able to reflect British-Taiwanese daughters' negotiations between what is shared by the mainstream constructions of young women living in western societies and what is culturally located and particular to ethnic differences. In this section, three issues are addressed to understand daughters' tensions between Taiwanese and British heritage in terms of constructing their 'identities' as young women and daughters.

6.1.1 Reconfiguration of Work and Family

British-Taiwanese daughters have high ambitions and also exert much effort in establishing how they might be successful in their careers. The position of contemporary young women, especially throughout the Western world, has dramatically changed from earlier generations of women who were had far fewer opportunities for entering the labour market and were thrown on to the marriage market to secure their economic status and/or social standing. The success of second-wave feminist movements, the expansion of education, the feminisation of the labour market, and more significantly, the late modern notions of individualisation have empowered contemporary young women and changes in equity legislation have provided opportunities for them to maximize their future chances in labour market (McRobbie, 2009; Aapola et al, 2005; Harris, 2004). The profiles of all daughters in this study appear to be in line with such contemporary young womanhood. Alberta is a busy business woman, running a computer accessories company. Bonnie and Clara are secondary school teachers and

enjoy their work. Dara's account reflects her devotion to the pursuit of success at work.

> Dara: When I was young, my father told me: you should be independent; you should be ambitious; you should have a distant view of prospects, setting short-term, mid-term as well as long-term goals, and address yourself to making them come true … I choose to enter law, not only because I have an interest, but also because it is very exciting. I never feel bored with my job, even though it is very demanding, very physically demanding. I sometimes work overtime till 2 or 3 am and have to go to the office at weekends.

Although Eudora and Fiona are still students at university, Eudora's account describes her desire to participate in the workplace.

> Eudora: My father's non-traditional belief is in what he believes I can do. He always let me know that I am very intelligent, I am very smart and I can do whatever I want to do … This is my third year (in Medical School) and I know I may need at least 6 years to become a physician. But I want to graduate as soon as possible and have a job … I enjoy success and happiness, and want to have a lot of money.

It can be assumed from these comments that the daughters' interests in securing full-time paid work that motherhood or marriage is not first on their list of desires. Motherhood in contemporary society is still recognised as part of a wider regulation of feminine identity, but has been repackaged in a way that young women have children at the *appropriate* stage (Aapola et al, 2005; Harris, 2004). Young women have a number of challenges or expectations including having an education, establishing their careers and enjoying their youth before starting a family and becoming a mother; conversely, early motherhood is frequently portrayed as the ultimate failure. Some daughters in this study indicated that motherhood would follow other aspirations, as illustrated in Eudora's account.

> Eudora: I want my own children, but I am certain to wait to have

> children until I have a stable job … I believe that you ought to have enough money, be in a good job and be stable before you have children … I hope I can get married at the age of 25. However, I will have children after I have acquired a medical license, become a specialist and have a stable job in a hospital. When the time comes, I think I will accumulate some money or resources, and also acquire competitiveness, which empowers me to return to the workplace whenever I want.

As Aapola, et al. (2005) noted, the family nowadays is still not a gender-equal arena, in which women continue to shoulder more responsibility for childrearing and housework. In addition, managing a 'good marriage' was seen by some as needing an investment of time and energy, and thereby inevitably influenced the fulfilment of their aspirations. According to Dara:

> Dara: I believe it is indeed necessary to spend a lot of time and energy on managing a marriage. If I continue my overtime till 2 am every day, I won't have time and energy to interact with my husband and take care of my family … I enjoy my present lifestyle, having an exciting job and a good salary, going to the pub with my friends and colleagues or dating whenever I want; at the same time, I do not need to worry about someone I should be paying attention to … I may no longer have enough vigour for such demanding work in my thirties, or I may feel tired and want regular office hours one day, or I may suddenly want to marry. When the time comes, I will apply to transfer to another department that is not so demanding in order to have more time to manage my marriage and take care of my family.

In short, British-Taiwanese daughters' constructions of young femininity are radically different from the traditional notions of the *subservient feminine daughter* in the existing psychological literature. The term *Can-do Girls* is used here to indicate one group of contemporary young women who put off having children and address themselves to success at work (i.e. enjoying glamorous careers, luxurious consumer lifestyles, financial independence and high standards of physical beauty and grooming; Harris, 2004). The

participant daughters' professional aspirations and their choice to postpone starting their own families are consistent with the intrinsic elements of such can-do experience. Accordingly, British-Taiwanese daughters, similar to a majority of can-do girls living in western societies, face the tension with regard to the *appropriate* moment to start a family and have children (Aapola et al, 2005). In so doing they may run the risk of being seen in some quarters as selfish or a glutton for work, placing their own needs as well as their enjoyment first and wanting to shirk their maternal responsibilities (daughters' attitudes to marriage will be further discussed later).

At the same time, the centrality of the family appeared to take precedence over work. As Eudora points out, *family is the most important for a woman … it is necessary for a mother to be the one to look after her children*. As such, daughters are inclined to give their families and motherhood priority when they get married and have children. For instance, the majority of daughters in this study indicate that they will temporarily leave work, and become a full-time mother in particular when their children are little – Bonnie, Dara and Eudora give similar accounts, as follows:

> Bonnie: When I have children, I am certain to leave my job and take care of my children till they enter the primary school. However, if I cannot take care of both my family and work when I return to the workplace, I will put my family and children first anytime.
>
> Dara: When I have my own baby, I will resign temporarily, and then I can take care of him/her by myself until s/he goes to school.
>
> Eudora: It is very significant for me that my mom is always with me, even if she has returned the workplace from my school age. Influenced by this, when I have children I will resign temporarily and concentrate on looking after them. I then plan to return to the workplace when my children enter the school, but I will put my family prior to work, as my mom did.

Alberta's experiences of motherhood indicate the challenges and tensions faced by

contemporary young career women as a result of managing the dual roles of home and work, and continuously striving for a home/work balance (Luk-Fong, 2010; Aapola et al, 2005). With her father's approval, Alberta left work with a high salary and got married in her middle twenties. She continued to be a career woman, helping her husband manage his small firm, until her son was born. She served as a full-time mother for five years and then returned to the workplace when her son entered the preschool. Even though both Alberta and her husband are now very busy with their business, she still shoulders more responsibilities than her husband as she looks after their son and does most of the domestic chores. Furthermore, Alberta is inclined to put her family prior to work when the responsibilities of work and home become incompatible. She gives an account, as follows:

> Alberta: In Indonesia, each family has many servants, and there would be an exclusive babysitter when a baby was born. So my husband did not do any domestic work and did not know how to do it. He only knew how to make the house dirty. Now we live in Britain, and there is no servant to help. He always tried to ignore the mess he had made and I did a lot of cleaning because I cannot stand dirt. In addition, I had to cook and look after our son because my husband didn't think these were his duties, and, of course, he did not know how to do these things. But now he has started to learn, and is willing to help and to amend his habits … My husband is a very easy-going person, so our son is never in awe of his father. The parental responsibilities between my husband and me are different: he takes charge of playing with and spoiling our son, whereas I take care of him and discipline him … My husband and I co-manage a firm, so, in the daytime, my mother helps me by picking up my son after school and looking after him. My husband and I go to my parents' house to have dinner, and then bring our son home every day. If we cannot finish our job, I will finish work as usual; in contrast, my husband will work overtime. You know, my curfew now is 7 pm at the latest, because my son has to go to bed before 8.

In common with studies of British professional working wives and mothers Alberta's

case shows how responsibility for family care falls to the woman. When returning to the workplace, British-Taiwanese daughters strive to balance family and work, as a majority of career women with children are experiencing. But intergenerational interdependence seems to enable daughters to take care of both relatively well.

In conclusion, the young womanhood emerging from this study shows that constructions of identities of British-Taiwanese daughters involve pursuing success at work and enjoying life prior to starting a family. At the same time, becoming a mother can be regarded as the watershed to the reconfiguration of work and family. Although professional ambitions remain when they are establishing their own families, British-Taiwanese daughters are inclined to put their families prior to work when the duties of work and family are incompatible.

6.1.2 Marriage as 'Pure Relationship'

British-Taiwanese daughters in this study were in a situation where access to social and economic benefits allowed them to choose a life of their own. In both the traditional western world and Taiwan, marriage was understood as a direct component of social order. For women, living in patriarchal social structures, marriage was regarded as their ultimate destination and essential for their economic status and social standing. Marriage today, however, is based on a different set of dynamics for these young women. With success at work and financial independence, coupled with the late modern notion of individualisation, they are released from the tradition of finding a *long-term rice-ticker* (長期飯票, the equivalent of breadwinner), and consider marriage as one of personal choice. By and large, British-Taiwanese daughters are inclined towards marriage. The reason for marrying is based on a desire for *intimacy* (Jamieson, 1998), including promises, romantic love, commitments, and mutual understanding. This is illustrated in Bonnie, Clara, Dara,

Eudora and Fiona's accounts, as follows:

> Bonnie: I know my daddy thinks it is time for me to marry, but I never think age is the reason to marry … If I decide to marry one day, it will be only because I have found someone I love, someone who can understand me completely. His values, lifestyles, thoughts or whatever must be in harmony with mine.
>
> Clara: When I was very young, I never dreamed of having a beautiful wedding and wedding gown as most girls did … I want to marry when I meet someone who can understand me; and we can enjoy the company of each other. It will be even better if we can do everything together.
>
> Dara: For me, a wedding itself is not an important reason to marry. Marriage is not something I must have, but just something I want … I especially value a man who is willing to give a woman his promise that he wants to love and be with her forever. It would be very lovely if I could indeed see a man's heart; he would give me a strong sense of security and I would sincerely trust him. I will marry when I find such a man.
>
> Eudora: In addition to romantic love, I think that it is very important that a couple can mutually understand and trust each other, can be free and open to communicate, and can be comfortable with each other.
>
> Fiona: For me, romantic love is not the most important reason to marry. I sometimes think I will marry one of my friends, because of the way we have been able to understand and get along well with each other.

The state of the parents' marriage was felt to be a key influence in the daughters' attitudes towards marriage. For instance, faith is the most important thing that Alberta sees in her parents' matrimony, and it is also the crucial reason for her marrying in her twenties.

> Alberta: My parents' matrimony sets a good example of trust in marriage – I think this is one of the main reasons that I chose to get married in my twenties. My dad went on many business trips, but my mom never felt worried or distrusted him. In the early years of my marriage, my husband

> and I also had several separations, but I did not have any doubts about him … When we decided to marry, we made a vow before God, and we also made the promise to each other that we were certain to face all difficulties together and share in joy and distress with each other. So I never distrust my husband, and vice versa.

Dara envies the commitment and romance within her parents' matrimony and desires a similar marital relationship for herself.

> Dara: The main reason that I want to get married is that a man would be willing to give me his promise and make me feel secure, just as my daddy gives my mom. My parents are complementary in their marriage. My dad is a man of stable personality, so he can provide my mom with strong mental support and a sense of security … Their interactions are very romantic. My mom once told me she loves my daddy more and more and tomorrow will be more than today … I sometimes called my mom on the phone and heard someone singing. I asked my mom on the phone: *who is singing?* My mom replied: *your daddy is singing songs to me, ha-ha!* … For me, they are a unit. I hope I will have such a marital relationship! When I was young, I only wanted a man who was smart and good-looking, loved me and could be comfortable with me. But now I really realise security and faith are more important. My present boyfriend gives me security and faith similar to what my daddy does … From my parents' interactions, I also learn how to use wisdom to manage a marriage. My mom is quite smart in managing her marriage well. For example, she actively learnt to play golf because she wanted to go out with my dad and have more common topics to discuss with him. My mom works with my dad, but she still addresses herself to participate in his leisure time activities. I think I will not work with my husband, so I will have to invest more in managing my marriage.

Parents' matrimony does not always incline their daughters toward marriage. For example, the main reason that Clara does not want to marry is that she thinks that such an ideal marriage as her parents' is difficult to achieve in the contemporary social context.

> Clara: I DO NOT want to marry does not mean I WILL NOT get married … I suppose that a couple should do everything together (i.e. to

> work as partners and to share household duties) as my parents do. But it is impossible to make a marriage work like this today. If I get married, I won't stay home as a housewife. Instead I want to continue teaching in school – that is, both my husband and I may work outside, and, therefore, it will be impossible for us to do everything together … I don't care whether I get married or not. For me, it is impossible to plan or anticipate who I will meet or what will happen. It is unpredictable! If I meet someone and I believe we can build such a marriage as my parents', I may marry!

Bonnie's dream of marriage was almost destroyed by her own parents' divorce, but her religion has rebuilt her expectations of marriage.

> Bonnie: The occurrence of my own parents divorcing and respectively remarrying in my childhood almost destroyed my faith in marriage. I once desired to wear a beautiful bridal dress and have a romantic wedding, but I considered it was highly likely to end in divorce one day, even if a happy marriage had previously existed. Therefore, in my teenage years, I decided never to marry! … Until I became a Christian, and at the same time, I met my former boyfriend who really touched my heart, I restarted to believe that a happy marriage could come true! I, you know, have regained hope even though in the end my former boyfriend and I have separated because his parents disliked my imperfect family background, alas! … Now I would like to get married if I find my Mr Right!

Daughters' views of marriage emerging from this study appears to resonate with Giddens's idea of the *pure relationship*, where a personal relationship can be sustained by mutually satisfying each individual's psychological and emotional needs, rather than external commitment or social bonds, such as reproduction, economic status, religion or morals (ibid, 2002/1999). Such a 'pure relationship' is characterised as *disclosing intimacy*, stressing real understanding (i.e. cognitive knowledge and empathy), trust/faith, as well as attachment/fondness, in which active disclosure of inner thoughts and feelings and emotional communication are crucial (Jamieson, 1998; Giddens, 1992).

The daughters in this study agree that open communication is the key to a good relationship, particularly for a couple who come from different family backgrounds. Without it then maintaining intimacy and achieving a mutual understanding would be problematic, as illustrated in Bonnie and Dara's accounts respectively:

> Bonnie: In addition to discordant personalities, another reason for my own parents' divorce was because both of them then were too busy at work to have effective communication … All my family like to openly express our thoughts and feelings and communicate with each other even though it may cause heated discussion, disagreement or unpleasantness. We believe that hiding is likely to reflect misunderstanding, suspicion and distrust. Hence, I will continue to have open communication in my own marriage.

> Dara: I believe that open communication and negotiation between husband and wife is very important for building a happy marriage, as my parents' is a good example. The quality of the interactions between my husband and me has to be valued more than the quantity, especially as we both may be still busy at our work. I suppose that open communication is the most useful for the quality of matrimony.

Shared intimacy and mutuality in a pure (marital) relationship involves equality between men and women (Jamieson, 1998; Giddens, 1992). However, more typically, is an inequality in marriage. Alberta mentions that she, unlike her mother who was subordinate to her father, had an equal position to her husband in both domestic and public spheres, but their power relations now appear rather complicated after moving back to Britain.

> Alberta: My husband and I have equal positions, both at home and in the firm. But in practice, the situations are very complicated, especially since we moved back to the UK. Under the patriarchal social context in Indonesia, my husband was a seeming head of the household, but in fact, we discussed and made decisions together. When we moved back to the UK, he became an ethnic minority; in contrast, I grew up here and feel,

> of course, familiar with this environment, so sometimes I deal directly with matters, rather than discussing them with him in advance. My father usually admonishes me for not respecting my husband and not consulting with him more. You know, my husband grew up in a patriarchal society, so he more or less has a fear that he might be regarded as a fancy man. Now I am trying to adjust.

While the majority of daughters in the study plan to marry at some point, it could be said that in an era of rising divorce statistics today's marriages built on the desire for a pure relationship and shared intimacy appear relatively fragile and uncertain; a (marital) relationship may easily cease when personal needs are no longer satisfied (Jamieson, 1998; Giddens, 1992). Thus, the increase in cohabitation today might be regarded as a 'practice' for marriage (also see Jamieson, 1998). Nevertheless, the British-Taiwanese daughters in this study prefer singlehood rather than cohabitation if they have not prepared themselves for marriage or not found *appropriate* partners, as Bonnie and Fiona recount respectively:

> Bonnie: I want to get married because I do not like to live alone throughout my life. I want someone to share with me in distress and joy. However, I will choose singlehood if I cannot find my Mr Right … I cannot accept cohabitation not only because of my religion but also because I feel a woman who lives with a man but does not get married is, um, cheap! Anyway, I believe that marriage is the most apt mode for the coupling of a man and a woman.

> Fiona: We Taiwanese believe that it is very significant for parents with a daughter to share her bride cake to all relatives and friends. For this reason, I will not cohabit with a man … I think I will marry. However, if I am not sure I really want to marry to a man, I will remain single.

In order to ensure a life-long marriage, British-Taiwanese daughters are cautious about choosing a partner. For example, Eudora recalled that her father gave her advice relating to dating when she was enrolled in the university:

> Eudora: My daddy usually tells me that I am an important person … He always lets me know that I do not need to sell myself off, and I am worthy of being treated well; therefore I do not need to act rashly or worry about finding a boyfriend. He tells me: *you should be, um, not your boyfriend chooses you but you choose your boyfriend.*

The daughters had similar views about dating. They start a relationship only when they have spent time getting to know the other person. According to Dara's account,

> Dara: I am not a girl who dates a guy I meet in a pub. I am certain to begin a relationship with someone after I have observed for a while and understand him to some extent … My previous boyfriends were once either my classmates or my colleagues … My present boyfriend was my classmate in the university, but we started our relationship after we met at a college reunion, around one year ago. Now our relationship is quite stable, yet I have not decided to marry him. I am still observing!

Eudora gives a similar account:

> Eudora: My boyfriend is my classmate. Before dating, we were very good friends; we talked a lot and we had some understanding of each other … I think it is important to be friends with someone and then know the personality before getting involved, because they might not always be good.

At the same time, as Jamieson (1998) noted, women sue for divorce or separation more often than men because they seek intimacy to a greater extent than men. Similarly, daughters chose to actively break up with their boyfriends rather than stay in unhappy relationships, as Bonnie stated:

> Bonnie: My second boyfriend was Taiwanese. He is my father's friend's son. We knew each other from childhood, but started our relationship at my Y2 while I went back to Taiwan for summer vacations … On the honeymoon we treasured our time together because we would separate soon. You know, I then had to come back to the UK for my study. However I gradually found our personalities and thoughts were not in

> harmony. The social contexts in which we grew up were very different, so sometimes I felt he had some male chauvinistic thoughts, not really respecting women. Afterward, I actively proposed breaking up. He originally said no, he was willing to amend. But I considered both of us needed to avoid nursing a grievance. We could each choose someone more appropriate.

Generally speaking, Taiwanese fathers' expectations for their daughters' marriage (see detailed discussion in Section 5.2.4) were matched by the fact that their British-Taiwanese daughters had a desire to marry. The basis for marriage emerging from this study is radically different to the one in earlier generations but consistent with that in contemporary western society. Rather than based on economic or status reasons, today's marriage has become to satisfy personal needs and desire for intimacy. Accordingly, the daughters in this study have the autonomy to choose *appropriate* partners and expect to have an equal position to their partners in the (marital) relationship. At the same time, today's marriage appears rather fragile, and therefore, the investment in management and open communication are regarded as necessary for a life-long marriage.

So far, the constructions of young womanhood emerging from this study closely resemble those recognised in contemporary western society. On the one hand, social and legislative changes have provided young women with greater opportunities to succeed in public spheres and to have relatively equal positions (to men) in (marital) relationships. On the other, they can foresee tensions between family responsibilities and professional work and also a struggle for a life-long marriage. For British-Taiwanese daughters, the struggle is between finding ways of simultaneously engaging in the *outside* world, whilst also playing another key role as a daughter at *home*. In the following, I shall discuss the conceptualisations of daughterhood emerging in this study and the tensions between daughterhood and young womanhood.

6.1.3 Tensions between Dutiful Daughters and Autonomous Women

Parker (1995) indicated that some British-Chinese young people experienced their lives and identities in their homes as predominantly Chinese, whilst they felt or behaved primarily British in the public spheres. This is also found in this study. The importance of the family and the responsibilities to the family still dominates the perceived role as a daughter in the Taiwanese immigrant family, particularly in relation to filial piety.

British-Taiwanese daughters have been instilled with the notion of unconditional interdependence amongst family members. As Alberta recalled, *my mom always told us that we lived in Britain by ourselves so that we had had to be united and interdependent since we were very young*. Accordingly, these daughters recognise that they place themselves as a member of their families above that of being an individual self and have responsibilities for their contribution towards family solidarity. In practice, British-Taiwanese daughters thought that they were obligated to act as a *parental child* to socialise their younger siblings, not only assisting in looking after and managing them, but serving as an example in guiding them, as evident in the literature. This is illustrated in Alberta and Bonnie's accounts respectively:

> Alberta: Because I am the first child, whatever happened to me was all a first for my parents. They felt very novel about whatever I experienced and always paid a lot of attention. For example, my graduation was more significant than my younger siblings' … My parents disciplined me more severely and expected me to do more. I was also punished when my younger brother and sister did something wrong because my parents thought I had not taught them well or managed them, and thereby caused their wrongs. I, of course, felt unfairly treated at that moment I was punished. But only at that moment! Basically, I think it is natural that I should have had to do more, because I was paid more attention and was taken more care of, and also because I am the first child.

> Bonnie: I called my stepfather *uncle* before my sister was born. However, I felt worried that my sister would imitate me and also call him uncle, so I thought I had to set an example to her and so I began to call him *daddy* … My mom always disciplined me more severely than my younger brother and sister, because she thought I had to behave as an example to them … My mom's condition became worse after my sister was born. She easily felt tired, so I had almost no personal time to go out with my friends, but had to go home immediately after school and stay home at weekends in order to help my mom look after my sister and brother.

Dara offers an example of her experiences in not simply influencing her parents' views in raising her brother, but also her place in shaping her brother's attitudes towards managing his needs within the family.

> Dara: My brother almost follows my path. He was naturally allowed to do most of what I had to fight for when I was at the same stage, such as the case of having a gap year. When I said I wanted a gap year, my dad was very angry and questioned me why I wanted to waste a year. We then had several heated discussions. However, because I got many good working experiences in that year, my dad amended his attitude and encouraged actively my brother to do so … My brother also learned a lot from my experiences; for example, he set his goal to study engineering quite early. In addition, he does not now introduce his girlfriend to my parents till their relationship has been very stable, because in former days he saw several disagreements between my father and me regarding my first boyfriend.

British-Taiwanese daughters also seem to play crucial roles in bridging the relationships between their parents and other siblings. Dara indicates that the differences in age, where they grew up and first language means her parents and brother easily misunderstand each other, so that she usually has to serve as a go-between.

> Dara: Because of the language problem and generational cultural gaps, I usually help my parents and my brother to communicate with each other. My parents sometimes ask me to pass their suggestions to my brother. I also usually explain my parents' thoughts to my brother, not only because

> of the language problem, but also because my brother is too young to realise what a high expectation my parents have of him … I have a very good relationship with my brother. We speak to each other by phone almost every day. If he has any difficulties, he usually first discusses them with me and asks for my advice. If necessary, I will warn my parents – just warn, not disclose his secret.

Eudora gave a similar account:

> Eudora: My brother and I always share our lived experience with each other. He told me a lot. But he told our parents a little bit … If I found something wrong about him, I would warn my parents to be concerned. I think it was important for me to do it – otherwise my parents might miss the chance to help him. However, I would not pass all his secrets to my parents, but just give a warning.

Grown-up British-Taiwanese daughters seem to be expected to play the role of mediator in their parents' quarrels. Alberta and Dara gave the following accounts, respectively.

> Alberta: My mom sometimes complained to me about my dad. Thus, I would pass my mom's anger and thoughts to my dad and try to reason with him to amend. Because I worked with my dad, I was able to explain his behaviour to my mom and try to calm her down and make her reflect.

> Dara: In recent years, my mom has sometimes asked my advice when she has had quarrels with my father. Thus, I have had to play go-between to probe my father's attitudes and pass my mom's thoughts to him. If my father stood his ground, then I would return to reason with my mom.

However, there appears to be a tension in taking on this responsibility: on the one hand, daughters thought it inappropriate to cross the parent-child boundary; on the other, they feel guilty if they did not.

> Alberta: My mom complained about my dad only to me and my younger sister, but my sister usually found excuses to evade, just leaving the scene.

> I did not like either, especially my mom was always warmed-over, oh, my God! However, I thought I should not refuse because my mom just wanted someone to listen and help … Sometimes I doubt whether I over intervened in their marriage, not only because of my role as a daughter, but most significantly, because that is something she has to deal with by herself, you know, that is her marriage … Recently I try to ask my sister to share this job, listening to our mom's complaint, chatting with her and trying to comfort her or turn her attention to other things.

Dara mentioned similar tensions, in which she tries to be a listener and only intervenes when necessary.

In line with the existing empirical findings on British-Chinese families (e.g. Parker, 1998; Song, 1997) British-Taiwanese daughters, not only contributed towards family solidarity and harmony, but also assisted in sharing domestic duties and chores. Due to her language proficiency, Alberta took charge of dealing with external affairs for her family.

> Alberta: Because I am the firstborn, I had to share some domestic chores with my mom when I was young … Since I was a teenager I have been in charge of purchasing necessities and arranging things like family activities for my family. In addition, because my English language is better than my parents, it is my duty to deal with banking, bills or other paperwork … When we go out to eat or on family trips, I take charge of ordering dishes and complaining, if necessary.

Since her younger sister and brother were born, Bonnie has had to share some domestic chores in order to reduce her mother's burdens.

> Bonnie: Originally I was the only princess in my mom's mind, but suddenly became a maid when my sister was born. From the age of 12, cleaning the dining table and washing dishes after dinner became my duties, while my mom looked after two babies and my daddy was a couch potato. In those days, I always went to bed around 11 pm because I had time to do my homework only after I finished those cleaning chores.

> Even so, I had to help my mom because her condition was indeed not very good.

Even now, most of the daughters in this study who have left home spoke about returning home in their leisure time to help their mothers with cleaning their houses, and taking charge of cooking for their families in order to reduce their mothers' chores.

In addition to the responsibility for contributing towards family solidarity, the Taiwanese notion of filial piety appears to remain as could be found in some of the British-Taiwanese daughters' comments. Briefly, the morals of filial piety are practised in passively showing submission as well as actively repaying parental debts (see detailed discussion in Section 2.1). In terms of the former, daughters were keen to prevent their parents from worrying. They continued to tell their parents about their whereabouts and shared with them information about their friendships, relationships and daily experiences, as they did when they were young. As Eudora stated, *now, telling them is not asking for permission as before, but to let them know where I am and what I am doing, and then stop them worrying about me*. Dara further explained: *although I do not tell them everything, totally, about me – because everyone has his/her own secret, I actively tell my mom what I am doing, that way I make her believe I am fine and that she does not need to worry*. At the same time, daughters say they tend to ask for their parents' advice or suggestions, discuss things with them, and then reach a mutual agreement when making decisions, rather than deciding by themselves. For instance, as mentioned in the last chapter, all participant daughters chose their major and university after discussion with their parents. It does not mean that British-Taiwanese daughters do not have autonomy or the capacity for making decisions by themselves; instead, they believe that such consultation and discussion in order to reach a mutual agreement is helpful not only in reducing their parents' worry but also in obtaining mutual understanding and blessings, as illustrated in Alberta's account:

> Alberta: My parents knew each stage of my relationship with my then boyfriend (now husband), but they still felt very surprised when I told them I was considering his proposal. My mom, especially, felt quite worried that I would have a rough time with a guy she had not understood and living in such an undeveloped place. I then invited them to Indonesia to meet my boyfriend (because he could not easily enter the UK). We travelled in Indonesia around two weeks, so that my parents could observe and get to know him. After that, my parents and I had a long discussion on his proposal. With my dad's approval, we married around one year later when my parents went to Indonesia, where they, indeed, recognised my husband. I thought this process toward mutual acceptance was very important. Although it was unavoidable for my mom to feel worried when I lived in Indonesia, she visited me frequently. Afterwards, my dad suggested that we move back in order to provide my son with a better education … Now we live quite closely to each other and I think my parents can feel relieved about me.

In addition to the crucial decisions affecting their lives, British-Taiwanese daughters are accustomed to asking their parents' advice about ordinary matters. As Alberta said, *we (she and her husband) almost discuss everything with my parents, such as buying a new house, investing new business or, um, for example, we now are discussing whether to have another baby*. Even though Clara and Dara have achieved financial independence, their fathers continue to make observations about their patterns of consumption. Dara mentioned: *I have begun to save money in order to buy a house as my dad suggested.*

Filial piety implies not simply respect, even obedience, for parents' advice, but also material repayment. British-Taiwanese daughters commented on how they are obligated to take care of their parents when they grow old. The reasons that Alberta accepted her father's suggestion to move back to Britain were not only for her son's education, but more significantly, to look after her parents.

> Alberta: When my husband and I decided to move back to Britain, we chose to live close to my parents because they were growing old and their

> health became not good (both suffer from high blood pressure). Living closely to them enables me to provide timely assistance. Now we help each other. My mom helps me to look after my son in the daytime; in return, I help them shop, deal with banking, bills or things like that, and drive them to the hospital or wherever they want to go.

Bonnie shouldered all the responsibility for supporting the family and taking care of her sick stepfather, dependent mother and young siblings when her stepfather suffered from cerebral apoplexy.

> Bonnie: I became the chief support for my family after my daddy fell sick of a serious illness – otherwise who could do it? Because of the language problem, my mom never went out to work since we migrated, and both my brother and sister are merely secondary school students. I agree that for me, the burdens now are really heavy. In particular, I have not only to support my family, but I have to meet the debt my stepfather owes. We never knew how much he owed until he was taken down!

The other daughters in this study mention that even though they have not yet needed to worry about their parents health or helping out with something, they still concern themselves with repaying their parents, such as *providing them with new knowledge and more convenient ways to deal with routines* (Clara), *buying nutritious food to improve their health* (Dara) and *helping with shopping and domestic chores to reduce their burdens* (Fiona).

Existing research, both in the West (e.g. Coltrane & Collins, 2001; De Vaus, 1994; Nydegger & Mitteness, 1991) and Taiwan (e.g. Li, 2005, 1998), have argued that mature daughters, more than sons, are inclined to keep close ties with their family of origin. At the same time, research studies show that Taiwanese women, who are constrained by the tradition of daughters being temporary sojourners (unmarried) or cultural outsiders (married), are still striving for a balance between personal will and social norms (Wu, 2002; Tsai, 2000; Chen, 1999). The British-Taiwanese daughters, who grew up in the more individualist-orientated social context of Britain, are highly likely to both express a

desire to continue the Taiwanese tradition of showing filial obedience to parents, whilst also, having free choice to stay close to their family and repay their parents, as Alberta states:

> Alberta: My mom has the key of my house, and I do expect her to use it. My parents sometimes come to my home without notice, and vice versa. For most British people, this situation is very strange, especially now I am married. My sister sometimes queries whether I am too close to our parents. She thinks it is better for my husband and me to have our own family life. Basically I agree! But I think it is my obligation to stay close and repay my parents. At the same time, I do not think my sister keeps a distance from my parents. She has also given the key to her house to my mom. The difference is that she and her husband live a little bit far away, therefore, she cannot be as close to our parents as I am. The other difference from my situation to my sister's is that her husband is British whereas my husband is Indonesian-Chinese so we have similar attitudes to keep close ties with our parents.

Alberta's account reflects that British-Taiwanese daughters, to a certain extent, struggle for a balance between complete independence and the maintenance of filial piety, closely binding with their parents. Furthermore, there involves some variables, such as parents' illness or marrying a man with a distinctly different cultural background which also influence the degree of binding with the family of origin.

In conclusion, British-Taiwanese daughters' construction of daughterhood draws on the kind of expectations outlined in the literature which places young women in a subservient position in the family. The young British-Taiwanese women interviewed indicate that they feel they are obligated not only to contribute towards family solidarity and domestic chores, but also to show filial obedience and repayment to their parents. At the same time, there appears to be some tensions between a can-do girl seeking for autonomy and a dutiful daughter emphasising family ties.

6.2 Conclusion: Becoming a Can-Do Daughter

This chapter has focused on British-Taiwanese daughters' subjective constructions of daughterhood. The term *Can-Do Daughters*, is adapted from Harris's *Can-Do Girls*, is likely to denote a hybrid conception British-Taiwanese gendered (feminine) identities emerging from this study, in which the can-do experiences relate to the opportunities available to a majority of contemporary young women living in western societies.

British-Taiwanese daughters, with the late modern notion of female youth emphasising greater liberties and individualisation, are inclined to delay marriage and motherhood in order to concentrate upon the pursuit of success in their chosen professional fields. Moreover, they have the autonomy to seek out (marital) relationships which are built on their personal needs and desires for intimacy. However, they are also struggling with a home/work balance and face more challenges in securing a life-long marriage.

At the same time, the conceptualisations of daughterhood emerging in this study involve heritage differences. British-Taiwanese daughters appear to be family-oriented, valuing their family responsibilities and family bonds. Their comments indicate that they are obligated to contribute to their families and show filial obedience and repayment to their parents. They tend to discuss things with their parents, respect their advice, and acquire their approval when making decisions. Thus, strictly speaking, daughters' can-do experiences in public spheres can be regarded as satisfying their parents' expectations. In addition, British-Taiwanese daughters' centralising of family responsibilities is not only for their families of origin but on their own families. They tend to put their family and childcare prior to work when the responsibilities are incompatible. Such family orientation appears to be consistent with Woollett and Marshall's (1996) finding that girls

from Asian backgrounds took their families more into consideration when making decisions and did not prioritise their own individual goals.

7

FATHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIPS AND UNDERSTANDINGS

The previous two chapters have discussed the fathers' understandings and practices of fatherhood, and daughters' articulations of their relationships with their fathers. The aim of this chapter is to the key factors emerging from the discussions concerning father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. By focusing on four ages (life stages) of the daughters it is possible to draw out and compare the views of fathers and daughters of each other at various points and to reflect on the transformation of their father-daughter relationships.

7.1 Preschool Age: Daddy's Girls

Father-daughter relationships from birth to around five years of age, according to their recollections, were both close and warm. From fathers' perspectives, their daughters during this stage were innocent, adorable 'daddy's girls', in line with the kinds of images of middle-class little girls in popular cultures summarised by Valerie Walkerdine (1997). As discussed in Chapter 5, in migrating to the UK family structures were shrunk to small, nuclear family size and this, coupled with more contemporary expectations of paternal involvement, meant that fathers participated more in childcare. In particular for the majority of the fathers in this study (except Emil), their first experiences of fatherhood was when their daughters were born. As Conrad said, *before she was 7, my daughter was my only child so I often clasped her in my arms and brought her to parks for a walk or play*. At the same time, the main paternal responsibility was to earn a family income inevitably impacting

upon the amount of time the participant fathers could spend with their daughters. Frank recalled: *when my daughter was little I was very busy at work and usually came home while she went to bed, so we only had time with each other in my leisure time.*

As far as daughters could remember, their father-daughter interactions during this stage were caring and warm. As Bonnie mentioned, *the deepest memory with my own father was that I liked to set on his thighs and cling to him when he was home*. Fiona remembered that *my daddy dried my hair after shower and then I lay on his thighs and he scratched my ear with cotton buds*. Obviously at this early age, their memories were vague and, as Dara pointed out, based on impressions rather than a critical appraisal of their fathers as people/men. Dara recalls, *when I was little I thought I loved my daddy more than my mom because he always brought me out for play; but actually I then did not understand him at all.*

In sum, father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families at daughters' preschool age were relatively simple and straightforward and no demands or expectations were placed or experienced by either fathers or daughters.

7.2 School Age: Easy-going Fathers and Dutiful Girls

The father-daughter relationships at the daughters' school age were felt to continue to be experienced as relaxing and harmonious, but simultaneously to a few disagreements began to emerge. From the fathers' perspectives, interactions with their daughters at this stage were mainly related to playing with them, doing adventure games in the park/ backyard and being the car driver on family trips. These activities are of the kind identified by Coltrane and Collins (2001) as those undertaken particularly by middle-class fathers with their children in childhood. In the fathers' eyes, daughters at this stage were dutiful and considerate, especially compared with their other children, so they were not worried about their daughters. Alfred, Conrad and Dick had similar accounts:

> Alfred: Compared with my son, my elder daughter were docile … She would stay home to keep company with her young sister even though she wanted to play outside with her friends … She would accept punishment together with her brother and sister even though she did not really do something wrong.
>
> Conrad: My son suffered from harelip when he was born so my wife and I had to pay most attention to take care of him. At that time, our daughter was thoughtful. She did not complain but was dutiful to fulfil what she had to do.
>
> Dick: Compared with my son who was a hyperactive child, my daughter was docile and normal, so my wife and I need not worry about her.

At school age, daughters reported quite clear impressions as to what kinds of – distinctly different - relationships they had with their respective parents: *my mom took care of and disciplined me, whereas my daddy played with me* (Dara, for example). Accordingly, they felt that their fathers spoiled or cosseted them more than their mothers did. This is illustrated in Clara's account:

> Clara: Since I was young, I have known that my dad was easier to deal with than my mom. If I wanted to have a McDonald's or buy toys, I would ask my dad, but not my mom; because over 80% of the time my dad would approve, but my mom usually said no … If I did something wrong, my mom usually reproved me directly, but my dad tended toward coaxing. For example, if I did not tidy up toys after playing, my mom would order me to do so, and sometimes I would be punished later. In contrast, my dad would remind me to tidy quickly, otherwise I would be reproved; and sometimes he would do it with me.

At the same time, daughters were also aware of the 'paternal authority' exercised by their fathers thus indicating that these relationships were not solely based on their father's indulgences. They were aware of their fathers as 'head of the family' and acting as the ultimate disciplinarian. As Alberta recalled, *ordinarily my dad was very easy-going and seldom disciplined us (three siblings), but when he was po-faced, we knew we would get trouble – that is, he was*

indeed angry at our behaviour and would not accept anyone to intercede when punishing us. Nevertheless, most of the time they did not feel in awe of their fathers because they were sensitive to their fathers' moods and expression, and also knew what kind of deeds and words their fathers would be angry about. In short, from daughters' perspectives, their father-daughter interactions were based on a recognition that smooth relationships would exist provided one was well behaved.

The emergence of a few disagreements occurring between fathers and daughters at this stage could be seen to be related to educational expectations and attitudes to learning. As I have discussed in Chapter 5, Taiwanese fathers came from a culture that emphasises the importance of education and their children were expected to achieve well. These paternal expectations had undergone some modification through their experiences of the British schooling system. However, daughters still thought that their fathers had rather traditional notions about education and set quite strict standards for their schoolwork and educational performance compared with their British counterparts. As Clara says:

> Clara: My dad paid very specific attention to my studies. He strictly reproved me for not finishing schoolwork on time. He also expected me to gain better marks in exams and schoolwork, especially compared with my British classmates.

Fathers thought that they no longer pushed their children to get the top in exams and schoolwork but still expected them to apply themselves wholeheartedly to learning whilst daughters considered themselves to have done their best and did not have to spend all their time studying. As a result, disagreements between fathers and daughters occurred. According to Conrad,

> Conrad: When my daughter was young, I sometimes reproved her playing prior to studying or doing schoolwork. But she thought she could handle so she felt sullen and sometimes answered back when I told to her …

> Such quarrels then happened several times but at last she learnt, she knew what I required was helpful, so she tried to change.

Clara commented on this case: *I could not but obey my father and did what he required, pouting, even if I did not think my attitude or behaviour was wrong*. Generally speaking, father-daughter disagreements at this stage appeared slight and it seemed that harmonious father-daughter relationships were generally felt to exist by both.

To sum up, the nature of the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families at daughters' school age were those that might be expected with a clear recognition that paternal authority was paramount. However, as daughters got older, they were more likely to begin to challenge their fathers around certain issues e.g. application to schoolwork.

7.3 Adolescence: 'Authoritarian Fathers' and 'Immature Daughters'

It appeared that father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families deteriorated as a result of numerous disagreements during the period of the daughters' adolescence. Fathers simply attributed these disagreements to the impact of peer influences and their daughters' immaturity. As I discussed in Chapter 5, fathers assumed that girls were vulnerable and external world was full of risks and enticements, so they felt they had to wield their authority and to interfere in their daughters' social lives, friendships and early relationships in order to protect them.

However, for daughters, what was regarded as overly strict paternal control not only prevented them being independent but also involved being treated differently their siblings which they regarded as unfair – these findings are in accord with Jamieson's (1998) findings on contemporary teenagers' interactions with their parents. As Clara recalled: *at that time I usually felt my parents were so unfair, because my young brother was allowed to*

do more and come home later than when I was his age. Eudora spoke, in a similar tone, about the differences, not only between her and her brothers, but also from her friends:

> Eudora: Definitely! Definitely! Because I am girl, my parents treated me more strictly. My brothers had a lot of freedom and could do a lot more … Before I went to university, NO boyfriends! NO going out late! Anyway whatever my friends were allowed, I was not!

In order to establish their autonomy and to secure equal treatment, daughters *had to fight* (Dara's account for example). Eudora added, *when I was a teenager, I argued a lot with my daddy because I wanted autonomy*. However, such *fights* did not bring any change, and strict paternal control over adolescent daughters remained as before. Therefore, two coping strategies were usually adopted by adolescent daughters. One was to feign compliance, as illustrated in Eudora's account:

> Eudora: Even though my parents said that I could make friends with whoever I chose, I knew they did not like some of my friends, especially those acted improperly or impolitely, dressed inappropriately or too fashionably, wore make-up, and so forth … they usually expressed their disagreement and then we argued a lot about it … I was quite bad, because I did not follow my parents' advice to distance myself from them, but privately kept our friendships as usual. In those days, I usually deceived my parents and went out with them.

The other coping strategy was to obey but psychologically withdraw from a previously close father-daughter relationship. For instance, Dara was forced to break up with her first boyfriend, but at the same time, she no longer openly communicated or shared confidences with her father as before.

> Dara: My father did not accept and disliked my first boyfriend. My daddy and I then had several heated discussions, even quarrels because of him; at last I listened to my daddy, we separated. However, that affair indeed influenced me a lot. Our father-daughter relationship was damaged. Besides, I become withdrawn or silent to deal with my father's rejection,

> rather than open communication with him … That affair also changed my attitude to my relationships. Unless the relationship is very serious and stable, I would not introduce my boyfriend to my parents. I shared with my parents in my relationships and what personality my boyfriend has but I would divide my parents from my boyfriend as possible.

The ways in which these British-Taiwanese daughters' coped were similar to the most common way which Taiwanese children cope with parent-child conflicts by outwardly demonstrating filial piety (also see Yeh, et al, 2006; Yeh, 2005).

In addition to these conflicts, another reason for adolescent daughters' distancing from their father was their perceptions of the inequities in their mother and father's relationship. Perhaps, because they had spent a relatively long time with their mothers and witnessed their mothers' sacrifice for the family, the daughters tended to side with their mothers, and were somewhat negative about their fathers seeming lack of attention to the family. This is illustrated in Dara, Eudora and Fiona's accounts respectively:

> Dara: My mom certainly has a strong personality. She always confronted whatever difficulties she encountered in her life … Actually, my mom set up this firm in order to make preparation for my daddy's resignation … At the start, my mom, with my 2 year-old brother, and me at the age of 9, rented a small office and began with some business … Around one year later, my dad resigned and took over this firm, while my mom became his assistant … I felt my mom was really strong! She struggled to adjust to English life, took care of us, and also tried to develop a new business in order to enable my daddy to concentrate on his work. In contrast, my daddy just focused on his job.

> Eudora: Since I was young, my dad has been very busy at his work. Once he worked far away from home and only came home once a week, whereas my mom, with us three children, stayed in London. In those days, my mom not only shouldered all responsibilities in taking care of us, but also had to do a part-time job. I thought my mom must feel very tired sometimes, because when we were in school, when we were young, she got up very early, made school lunch, worked, and then picked us up.

She then made dinner and she cleaned the house. She had to do a lot.

> Fiona: My mom was indeed great and strong! She resigned from her job and came here with my daddy. She had to learn English and adjusted to English life by herself. She shouldered all duties to look after me and keep our family. At the same time, she learned to use the computer and got a part-time computing job (working at home). She did all things alone; whereas my daddy was very busy at his job … Sometimes I felt the duty for my daddy as a husband/father was very easy! My daddy was very busy at his work on weekdays. Our family day was on Saturday, the day he would drove us to go shopping or whatever, but Sunday was his personal time. He preferred to play golf on Sunday rather than stay home with us … I knew he was very tired so he did not like to talk or be involved chatting with my mom and me when he was home. Moreover, he thought he did not need to control his temper with us because we were family and thereby we had to endure it … I, indeed, wished my daddy would give us more time and treat us better!

At the same time, the patriarchal notion that fathers have to keep a distance from their daughters when they enter into puberty (nju-da-bi-fu 女大避父; Slot, 1998) was felt to influence paternal involvement in adolescent daughters' lives, as Conrad said.

> Conrad: I think I still maintain some traditional notion of keeping a little distance from my daughter. I seldom talked to or did something only with my daughter when she was teenage; instead, my wife was always with us … If I wanted to tell my daughter something, I would ask my wife to pass it on or I told her directly while my wife was with us … If my daughter wanted to tell me something, she would tell me directly. But, I felt a little bit uneasy to actively talk to or individually interact with my daughter.

In short, it can be seen that, in common with adolescents in many cultures, the daughters would often challenge their fathers' authority, which resulted in the father-daughter interactions at this stage being less harmonious. Furthermore, expectations of family relationships in traditional Taiwanese culture encouraged a further distancing of fathers and their adolescent daughters from each other.

7.4 Adulthood: Respectable Fathers and Thoughtful Daughters

Father-daughter relationships have recovered, even improved, when daughters reach maturity. From the daughters' perspectives, the relationships with their fathers now are better than before, not only because their fathers have become willing to listen to them and respect their choices, but more significantly, because they have real understandings of their fathers. On the one hand, entering into the workplace has enabled daughters to recognise their fathers as people, as Alberta explains:

> Alberta: I, indeed, know every aspect of my father when I work with him. When I was young, I only knew parts of him, in which he was easy-going and liked to play with me. At that time, I could not understand why his colleagues and subordinates were in awe of him. Now I work with him, I realise what great abilities he has and how hard he works.

On the other hand, daughters who have reached maturity are likely to have the ability and knowledge to enter into meaningful communication with their fathers and thereby have more understandings of their fathers' thoughts – that is likely to echo to Jamieson's (1998) emphasis on disclosing intimacy in personal relationships.

> Eudora: The relationship between my father and I has become better and better … Now I can talk a lot with my dad, not only because I have acquired some knowledge and we have many common topics to talk, but also because I know what topics interest him.

Accidents are also felt as the key to push daughters to see another aspect of their fathers, and further, made them rebuild their father-daughter relationships. As Dara recounted:

> Dara: My parents' firm was looted one year age – that was the first time I became conscious that they were not omnipotent but getting old. I perceived that I was responsible for their care and protection … Now, I phone them every day and we have dinner together once every two weeks. I also usually warn them to leave their office early … Originally, we were

> not the kind of family who got used to hug each other; but now I am bound to hug them each time we meet.

Bonnie's experience differed from Dara's, but seemed to have a similar consequence:

> Bonnie: Even though I called him *daddy*, I never sincerely respected my stepfather. Formerly, I disliked his male chauvinism, his selfishness and his bad habits. However, when he was taken down, I gradually perceived his advantages and his contribution to our family and me. I thought that he had done all he could to be a good father to me, merely a step-daughter. Now I have tried to get to know him with the new eyes, and have come to respect him … The case that my stepfather was taken down also made me pay more attention to my own father's health. I contact him more frequently, and treasure the time we have together.

Thus, daughters can recognise their fathers' contributions and re-identify their fathers as mortals, rather than all-powerful idols. Alberta and Eudora have witnessed their fathers' devotion to work, and therefore, made allowances for their fathers having been unable to focus wholeheartedly on the family – *because it is very difficult for an ordinary person to do both family and work well* (Alberta's account for example). When fathers' images are no longer regarded as infallible then daughters hold their fathers in high esteem for their role as fathers, and at the same time, they accept their fathers' imperfections, especially in their performance of masculinity. As Dara says:

> Dara: I mean everyone has his/her shortcomings. My daddy easily loses patience with my mom, or speaks in a tone of impatience, especially when he feels tired. I can make allowances for him, because he grew up in that social context of patriarchy and inevitably maintains a certain male chauvinism. But this does not change what he did for us. Now I respect my daddy, not only because he is my father, but most significantly, also because he is, indeed, great!

At this stage, the fathering image in daughters' eyes has become that of an important prop, someone who can support and encourage them to pursue success. As

Eudora says, *my daddy is very supportive of me! I know definitely he will do everything to help me if I have any problems or I am experiencing trouble*. The nature of the father-daughter relationships at this stage remains one that recognises paternal authority. Dara indicates, *even though our father-daughter interactions become equal and I can do everything with my daddy as I do with my friends, our father-daughter relationships are not likely to became equal … He is my father and I wholeheartedly respect him*.

In fathers' eyes, their grown-up daughters who have grown up negotiating both Taiwanese and British heritage are their pride: on the one hand, they characterise their daughters as independent, intelligent, having strong personalities, abilities and ambitions; on the other, they are praised for maintaining some traditional aspects of Taiwanese femininity, such as being clever, docile, mature, thoughtful (for others) and family-centred. This is illustrated in the participant fathers' descriptions concerning their daughters.

> Alfred: She is a veritable business woman, having a very good sense of business as well as leadership … She is also as aggressive as males but still a female with femininity … She is stubborn but willing to accept advice. She would listen if my wife and I told her something … Compared with my son, she is submissive. She would obey even if she is displeased … She is also better tempered (than her brother) … She, as the oldest sister, indeed did very well in taking care of her younger siblings.

> Bennett: She is our pride! She is clever and well-mannered … She has a talent for language learning and translation and now she does well in teaching a second language … She is independent and her personality is as strong as a male's … She is very mature and considerate. She also very takes care of family; for example, she determinedly shoulders the duty to support all family since I was taken down. She also actively makes her sister who suffers from infantile autism transfer to the school where she works in order to take care of her.

> Emil: She has a great talent: she is healthy, clever and has a good memory … She is aggressive, in that once she knows what she wants, she

> would then endeavour to make it come true. She is also self-confident and dares to argue against unreasonable treatment … She still has certain of the characteristics of a Taiwanese woman: she has the ability to be a leader but does not like to show off. She has a strong personality but is willing to comply with our advice. She is as adventurous as males but as careful and thoughtful as females. She is also mature and circumspect – she will consider carefully in every respect if she plans to do something.

> Frank: She is always our little girl, no matter how old she is: innocent, tender, clever and thoughtful. She would like to be adventurous or try something new but cannot be called bold … She has certain British characters: she is very reasonable but does not unconditionally listen to our advice; she is independent in that she has not accepted our financial support since she came of age. In addition, from her childhood she learned to be self-responsible and self-monitoring.

In particular, fathers are satisfied with their daughters' filial obedience. On the one hand, their daughters tend to adopt a strategy of avoidance rather than to directly disagree with them as their sons do. For example, when disagreements emerged, Bennett and Dick mentioned that their daughters usually kept silent, whereas Clara, Eudora and Fiona chose to leave the scene immediately after answering back in a word or two. As far as daughters are concerned, such a strategy of avoidance implied that they were not allowed or were unable to rebel against paternal authority. Even so, their attitudes more or less made their fathers reflect. Fathers further indicated that they would choose to compromise and respect their daughters if the disagreement only involved cultural clashes and their daughters' standpoints did not endanger their prospects and safety. More interestingly, father pride and authority meant they would not apologise directly to their daughters, even if they discovered they had been mistaken or had failed to reach a compromise with them; as Frank's account.

> Frank: I am short-tempered. I easily lost my temper and did not give my daughter a chance to express her thoughts. She usually chose to leave the scene until both of us calmed down … I would reflect, anyway. I found,

> in many cases, that it was my fault. However, I still maintained some patriarchal perspectives and paternal authority, and so I never expressed my direct apology to her; instead, I sent her messages.

On the other hand, they reported that their daughters practise filial piety more than their sons do. Married Alberta, for example, provided assistance in looking after her parents. Bonnie shouldered the burden of supporting the family when Bennett suffered from apoplexy.

> Alfred: My son has been MARRIED OFF, become his wife's son and only listens to her, ha-ha! In contrast, I acquired two sons when my daughters got married … We keep very close contact with my eldest daughter and her family … Even though she has built her own family, she still helps us to deal with our bills and banking. When my wife or I feel unwell or need to go to the supermarket, my eldest daughter usually drives us. Both my daughters help and take care of us more than my son does.

> Bennett: When I am sick with cerebral apoplexy, my eldest daughter shoulders a lot of the burdens to support our family, not only to economically support and meet my debt, but also to take care of me, her mother and brother and sister. I indeed feel grateful to her for our family.

Conrad and Dick said their daughters usually advised them to put on some warm clothes or to leave the office early when the weather became cold; and bought nutritious food for them to help improve their health. Frank added: *my wife usually complains that she is going to become unemployed because our daughter does the majority of the domestic chores*.

In conclusion, the nature of the father-daughter relationships at this stage remains one which continues to recognise the authority of the father. However, as daughters reach maturity, their father-daughter interactions become more equal; even where the positions of daughters have reversed so that they provide assistance in taking care of parents.

7.5 Summary

By and large, father-daughter relationships began to be transformed as daughters reached maturity. When daughters were innocent 'daddy's girls', the father-daughter interactions appeared relatively simple and harmonious. As daughters got older (the way they sought increasing independence and power) and socially engaged (ways in which were likely to raise intergenerational cultural clashes), paternal authority was challenged, and it brought the complex (re)negotiation between fathers and their daughters.

At the same time, the nature of the father-daughter relationships reflected paternal authority. In accord with Jamieson's (1998) finding, the tensions between daughter and father in daughters' adolescent stage also included their struggle for autonomy. In other words, British-Taiwanese daughters who negotiated with paternal authority and sought autonomy in the adolescent stage, changed their perceptions of their fathers, and more specifically, affected their father-daughter interactions. As I discussed previously, the Taiwanese traditional notion of filial piety still remained strong as could be seen in the comments of the participant daughters. In some ways similar to Jamieson's (1998) view that the parent-child relationship becomes equal as children grow up or leave home, there also appears to be a residue of acknowledgement of the paternal authority and dutiful daughter aspect of father-daughter relationships, regardless of the age.

8

CONCLUSION

This chapter consists of two sections. First is a summary of the thesis and answers to the research questions. I then discuss the ways in which the insights gained from this study contribute to knowledge and make suggestions for future studies of Taiwanese familial relationships.

8.1 Summary of the Thesis

The purpose of this research was to explore father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. As such, an aim was to recognise the social construction of *fatherhood* and *daughterhood* evident in these relationships. Two interrelated topics are considered: One is the understanding of ways in which distinct socio-cultural contexts appear to affect Taiwanese immigrants' concepts and practices of fathering their daughters. The other topic is the investigation of how such fathering experiences interplay with father-daughter interactions, and shape British-Taiwanese daughters' conceptualisations of daughterhood. A social constructionist approach was my conceptual starting point for approaching the subjective construction of fatherhood and daughterhood. This involved the consideration of complex power relations between fathers and daughters, and how cultural contexts might influence these.

In order to highlight the influence of distinct social contexts the focus was placed on Taiwanese immigrant families who migrated to Britain when their daughters were children or babies and whose daughters are now 20-30 years old. Six Taiwanese father-

daughter pairs were selected for. All had resided in Britain for at least twenty years. They were located in the middle class: for example, all of the fathers were engaged in business or professional occupations, except for one father who had retired. All the daughters who were raised and educated in Britain were employed in professional workplaces, except Eudora and Fiona who were both mature students. Only Alberta is married, and she has a son; Dara and Eudora had boyfriends, and Bonnie, Clara and Fiona were single; whereas all the fathers were married. Except for Bonnie and Fiona, who still lived with their parents, all the daughters had left their parents' home to work or study.

In terms of methodology, a qualitative approach was most appropriate for the research aims of exploring fathering experiences and father-daughter interactions. A semi-structured in-depth interview drew on insights from what might loosely be considered as a life story approach. Fathers and their daughters were interviewed individually in order to capture their different perspectives on similar lived experiences and to explore further their subjective thoughts, feelings and insights. Qualitative content analysis was applied to identify and search out themes and therefore reconstructing minority ethnic fatherhood and daughterhood as well as father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain.

Relevant empirical research and theoretical assumptions were also reviewed in order to provide an analytical framework for this study. Because existing empirical research on Taiwanese immigrant families in Britain is very limited, efforts were made to draw a somewhat sketchy picture of Taiwanese immigrant family life in Britain by examining Taiwan's literature on traditional familist values as well as British studies on pan-Chinese immigration. Social constructionist perspectives on the conceptualisation of fatherhood and girlhood/daughterhood and the late modernist notion of detraditionalisation and individualisation were addressed to provide theoretical assumptions of what it meant to

be a father/daughter, and how to identify the process of detraditionalisation in relation to the concepts of fathering a daughter.

The discussion in the introduction and literature review about the importance of the family structure in Taiwan – and the expectations of family members shows how deeply embedded familist values are and how important these are in Taiwanese society. A detailed understanding is provided about the expectations of fathers, mothers, daughters and sons and the nature of each dyad family relationship. An important aspect of the knowledge of familial roles and responsibilities is that these are traditionally gendered. One point to emerge from this which is clearly made in the literature review is that these traditional *roles* have been taken for granted in much of the literature. Related to this is the fact that the concept of *roles* is located in the discipline of *psychology* and, as such, brings with it the problems of psychological understandings i.e. a person is seen as *fixed* and *immutable*; someone who goes through *developmental stages*. This means that any problems in 'accepting' roles in the family are seen as being down to the individual rather than the context. Furthermore, it assumes that all fathers are the same, all daughters are the same, all mothers are the same and all sons are the same. It is evident in the literature review how deeply influential psychological thinking is and has been in analysing *the family* in East Asian literature. One of the important contributions of this thesis is that it takes a sociological approach to looking at Taiwanese families.

In taking a sociological approach to the study it, first of all, highlights the notions around fathers, daughters, mothers in the (psychologically informed) literature. It is clear from the interrogation of the existing literature that the notions are highly gendered and traditional understandings of the *masculine father* and *feminine daughter* abound. That is, the notion emerging from the existing literature of Taiwanese families on fathers is the *hyper-masculine father* and the notion emerging from the literature on daughters is the

subservient feminine daughter. Secondly, the interrogation of the literature from a sociological position brings into question the concept of *role* itself. The problem with the concept of *roles* is that it assumes there is only one way of being (one way of being a father, one way of being a mother). It does not allow for difference. Also, the nature of role theory, with its locus in the psyche, means that the focus is on the individual with no account taken of the broader social contexts in which people exist. From a sociological perspective, I am aware that whilst the literature presents a picture of Taiwanese families whereby each person has their own role, it is more likely that the members of Taiwanese families do NOT simply reflect this, but, in actuality, individuals will negotiate their positions within family structures. Therefore, whilst there are notions in the literature suggesting the *hyper masculine father* and the *subservient feminine daughter* individuals' real lives will be different to this. One important element of this study is that it reveals the constructions that exist about *fatherhood* and *daughterhood* using the actual words and experiences of the family members themselves.

The data in the findings chapters (5, 6 and 7) reveal what the constructions are around fatherhood and daughterhood and what commonalities there are in terms of father-daughter relationships. What is clear from the outset is that the traditional notions around fathers and daughters are deeply embedded and, therefore, the constructions identified here have emerged as a consequence of individuals (fathers and daughters) negotiating, challenging, producing and re-producing the traditional notions. Responding to the research questions, the research findings on the constructions of fatherhood and daughterhood are presented as follows:

1. How does a male Taiwanese immigrant father his daughter in a different social context from the one he was familiar with?

Chapter 5 illustrates that the construction of fatherhood evident in the immigrant Taiwanese families is one where there are tensions because of the expectations on fathers to be as their (traditional) fathers were with them but which reflects a more liberal acceptance and awareness of both men and women's positions in society in the present day. With regard to being a father, family nuclearisation, coupled with the modern notion of new fatherhood, enabled them to be more involved in childcare more than earlier generations and act as a more emotionally involved and intimate father. At the same time, the traditional notion of the main paternal responsibility for breadwinning still influences fathering experiences characterised as secondary and occasional. In terms of the concepts of fathering a daughter, there were also tensions: On the one hand they want to control their daughters in the traditional sense, and, in a similar way, support and protect them. On the other hand, they recognise that for them to succeed in the world they must be allowed greater independence and part of supporting and protecting them is to recognise this. In order to strengthen their daughters' abilities to be self-reliant and economically independent, fathers continued with the tradition of valuing their daughters' education and keeping them under a close watch in order to protect them from harm and then concentrate on the pursuit of success. As regards marriage and ethnic heritage, although the fathers in this study were inclined to respect their grown-up daughters' choices, their daughters had, nevertheless, been influenced and guided by their fathers since they were young.

2. How do fathers' attitudes/practices of *fathering* relate to daughters' understandings of their *daughterhood*?

Fathers' tensions – encouraging independence one moment and imposing control the next – are reflected in their practices with their daughters so giving mixed messages to the girls, and further influence the formation of daughters' constructions of

daughterhood. The notion of the *subservient feminine daughter* in the existing (psychologised) literature is very clearly challenged by the daughters in this study. Rather the construction of daughterhood emerging from this study is one of much more active, agentic young women. This construction is radically different to the one of daughters in the literature and more closely resembles that of a majority of young women living in western societies. They are inclined to delay marriage and motherhood in order to devote themselves to full-time paid work. In addition, they have autonomy to seek a (marital) relationship built on personal needs and desires for intimacy. Nevertheless, they are struggling for a balance between family and childcare responsibilities versus professional work and face more challenges in securing a life-long marriage. Here, the importance they give to family responsibilities and family bonds, in particular contributing towards their families of origin and showing filial obedience and repayment to their parents, leads British-Taiwanese daughters to experience tensions which are less familiar to other groups of young women in western societies.

This study set out to understand the father-daughter relationships in Taiwanese immigrant families living in Britain. The transformation of father-daughter relationships across daughters' life stages appears to interplay with the constructions of fatherhood and daughterhood. The father-daughter interactions in daughters' childhood appeared intimate and harmonious. As daughters got older and engaged more with their peers in the British social context, the harmonious father-daughter relationships were challenged by the tensions between fathers with paternal authority and their teenage daughters seeking for autonomy. The father-daughter relationships have been recovered when daughters are older through reaching a mutual understanding. As a result of notions of filial piety, father-daughter relationships remain hierarchal, regardless of daughters' age, even when their interactions become equal, even reversed.

8.2 Implications

As mentioned above, the primary important contribution of this research is that it takes a sociological approach to looking at the nature of Taiwanese father-daughter relationships. In addition, I hope to have provided implications for potential audiences, in particular Taiwanese who lives in a rapidly changing Taiwan society, as well as Taiwanese immigrants who strive to settle in this distinctly British context and are confronted by cultural clashes. The research participants' narratives, to some extent, provide examples of how to negotiate between endogenous traditions and Western ideas, thereby building satisfying father-daughter relationships.

At the same time, it is hoped that this research will suggest to teachers and relevant practitioners the need to pay specific attention to the struggles of British-Taiwanese pupils', caught between the British educational system and parents' expectations of high achievement, and the resultant overload of extra (language) learning. As the data shows, the participant fathers did not recognise their inappropriate expectations or educational ideas until they were challenged. Thus, it is suggested that relevant practitioners and teachers consider creating greater opportunities to liaise with Taiwanese parents not simply provide to Taiwanese parents with information about the British educational system but to jointly consider what is meant by, as well as supporting ways of, achievement and success.

I anticipate that this research contributes new insights to this under-researched minority group in Britain. This study is based on a relatively small number of cases. However, the qualitative approach used for the purposes of this study was helpful in providing insights into Taiwanese immigrants' family lives in the UK. Furthermore, the cases in this study selected from a relatively homogeneous group are representative of

the *successful* adaptation of Taiwanese immigrant families to this distinct British social context.

Finally, it is recommended that future research should understand Taiwanese (immigrant) mothers' perspectives on parenting a daughter. The mother is the main support for enabling 'fathering' according to the psychological literature on Taiwanese family 'roles' and it may be interesting, therefore, to patterns of relations between father, mother and daughter. Future research may also be undertaken to explore constructions of British-Taiwanese sons and father-son relationships drawing on contemporary gender theory around masculinities.

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