

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION



Purpose of the Study

The present study is designed to compare values held by the second-generation Chinese in Thailand with those by the Thai. From an identificational point of view, the second-generation Chinese in Thailand constitute a heterogeneous group. As one research revealed, these people may be classified into three large groupings: those who identify themselves with Thais, those who identify themselves with the Chinese, and those who are uncertain about their identity i.e., Thai or Chinese¹. If this classification is valid, then the question of how the values of these three groupings of the second-generation Chinese differ from one another, and especially, from the Thai is challenging.

The purpose of this study is to attempt to give an answer to this question.

Conceptual Definitions

Value. The term value, as it is used in anthropology, sociology, and social psychology, has been conceptualized in

¹Tiparat Schumrum, "The Psychological Assimilation of the Second-Generation Chinese in Thailand," Master's Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 1966.

many ways. Nevertheless, despite the variety of its conceptualizations, there is a consistency among them².

Spranger³ postulated that men are guided by one or the other of six pervasive evaluative attitudes, namely, theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. According to him, the dominant interest of the theoretical man is the discovery of truth, the economic man practicality or usefulness, the aesthetic man form and harmony, the social man the love of people, the political man power, and the religious man unity.

Spranger's postulation of the six evaluative attitudes was further empirically verified by Allport and Vernon⁴ in their development of a value inventory, the Study of Values. This inventory was revised in 1951 by Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey⁵, and has been used to assess value preferences of the individual. For Allport et al., what Spranger called evaluative attitudes are values.

²Yehudi A. Cohen, Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1964, p. 390.

³Edouard Spranger, Types of Men, Stechert, New York, 1928.

⁴Gordon W. Allport and P.E. Vernon, A Study of Values, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1931, in L.W. Ferguson, Personality Measurement, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1952, pp. 212 - 226.

⁵Gordon W. Allport, P.E. Vernon, and Gardner Lindzey, Study of Values, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1951.

An attitude, as defined by Ferguson⁶, is an expression of belief in what is right or wrong, favorable or unfavorable, and accepted or rejected. These expressions involve three components: cognition, affection, and action tendency. As for the cognitive component, attitudes are conceptions of what is right or wrong, good or bad; for the affective component, they are the conceptions of what is favored or unfavored; and for the action tendency component, they are the conceptions of what is accepted or rejected⁷.

According to Kluckhohn⁸, a value is "a conception...of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of actions." In this sense, it is a standard by which things are judged as being better or worse than one another.

A value, then, is an inferential construct. It involves the cognitive component of an attitude and serves as a person's inner criterion that determines his decision of what to desire, to choose, and to do, etc.

The Second-Generation Chinese. Terminologies used to

⁶L.W. Ferguson, Personality Measurement, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1952, p. 81.

⁷David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield, and Egerton L. Ballachy, Individual in Society, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1962, pp. 137-141.

⁸Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, (Eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1952, p. 395.

refer to children of the immigrant Chinese in Thailand seem confusing. Such terms as second-generation Chinese, local born Chinese, Sino-Thai, Chinese Thai, and Lukjin are used inter-changably by some writers. Nevertheless, review of current literature of the Chinese problem in Southeast Asia revealed that each of these terms has a specific meaning. The second-generation Chinese are those who were born in Thailand, and of Chinese parents. They are the immediate descendants of the immigrant Chinese in Thailand. But when the term local born Chinese is used, it includes also the children of the second and the successive generations. The Sino-Thai are those who are the products of the intermarriage between Thais and the Chinese. As for the Chinese Thai is concerned, all Chinese who hold Thai citizenship, either by birth or by naturalization, are included. And finally, the term Lukjin refers to the second-generation Chinese, the local born Chinese, and the Sino-Thai pervasively.

In this study, the term second-generation Chinese is used in the sense described above.

Delimitation

The values to be investigated are those concerned with wealth, prestige, education, and benevolence. Wealth is highly valued in the Chinese society but its acquisition, according to several¹ western writers, is discouraged by the Thai. Instead, the latter emphasizes devotion of material wealth in

order to attain merit⁹. Prestige is another key value of the Chinese while education is not¹⁰.

Detailed discussion of these values will be dealt with later on.

In this study, the adolescent period is chosen as the focal point. This is because, firstly, most of the second-generation Chinese are now adolescents, and secondly, a person's value systems tend to become stabilized in this period¹¹.

Significance of the Study

The roles of values in perception have been investigated by many researchers. Postman, Bruner, and McGinnies¹² in their experiment in tachistoscopic exposure time required for the

⁹G. William Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History, Cornell University Press, New York, 1957, pp. 91-93;

Wendell Blanchard et al., Thailand, HRAF Press, New Haven, 1957, pp. 479-481; and

Richard J. Coughlin, Double Identity: The Chinese in Modern Thailand, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 1960, p. 197.

¹⁰G. William Skinner, Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand, Cornell University Press, New York, 1958, pp. 80-83.

¹¹Robert J. Havighurst, Human Development and Education, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1961, pp. 120-141.

¹²Leo Postman, Jerome S. Bruner, and Elliot McGinnies, "Personal Values as Selective Factors in Perception," in Guy E. Swanson and others, (Eds.), Readings in Social Psychology, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1952, pp. 375-383.

correct recognition of value-related words, found that one's perceptual thresholds for acceptable stimulus objects----those that are in harmony with his value orientation----are lower than for unacceptable stimulus objects. Furthermore, one tends to perceive more stimulus objects which lie within his value area than within other value areas.

Recently, Park and Smith¹³ found an analogous effect. In their experiment, value-related words were presented tachistoscopically to inner- and other-directed subjects. The results were that among inner-directed subjects there was a significant inverse relationship between the strength of preference for a given Spranger's value category and the time required to recognize words related to that category, and that the degree of association between those two variables was significantly greater for inner- than for other-directed subjects.

It should be noted that the inner-directed person, as described by David Riesman¹⁴, is guided from within by his internalized goals and values which were implanted in childhood and which keep him on course in spite of environmental pressures to deviate. On the contrary, the other-directed person is guided by his sensitivity to the expectations of others; his value of what ought to be depends on his contemporaries. From

¹³John N. Park and Anthony J. Smith, "Recognition Thresholds for Value-Related Words: Differences Between Inner-Directed and Other-Directed Subjects," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 3, 248-252.

¹⁴David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1952.

the findings in the study just mentioned, it can be concluded that the differences in recognition thresholds between inner- and other-directed subjects are due to value discrepancies between the two groups.

The experiment in size estimation carried out by Bruner and Goodman¹⁵ gave another demonstration of the influence of values. They found that children from poorer homes tend to overestimate the sizes of coins more than do children from well-to-do homes. This is because the formers have more need of money and hence put more value on it.

As far as person perception is concerned, Bruner and Tagiuri¹⁶ have cited several studies relevant to values. One of these was carried out by Stagner¹⁷ in 1948. Stagner divided his student subjects into a pro-labor and an anti-labor group. Then he had them check, in a list of traits, those characterizing factory workers and those characterizing executives. The subjects were finally to indicate the pleasantness or unpleasantness of each trait in the list. Stagner found that pro-labor students ascribed to themselves more of the same traits

¹⁵Jerome S. Bruner and C.C. Goodman, "Value and Need as Organizing Factors in Perception," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1947, 42, 33-44.

¹⁶Jerome S. Bruner and Renato Tagiuri, "The Perception of People" in Gardner Lindzey, (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Cambridge, 1956, pp. 634-654.

¹⁷Ross Stagner, "Psychological Aspects of Industrial Conflict I. Perception", Personnel Psychology, 1948, 1. 131-144, as cited in Bruner and Tagiuri, loc. cit.

that they ascribed to workers and saw these traits as pleasant.

Another research cited by Bruner and Tagiuri is that of Fensterheim and Tresselt¹⁸. These two researchers had their subjects attribute traits reflecting Spranger's six value areas to a series of photographs and rate the photographs in terms of preference. They found that the closer the value system the subject projected into the photograph resembled that of himself, the greater was his preference for the photograph.

Rokeach, Smith, and Evans¹⁹, in The Open and Closed Mind, hold that prejudice is in large part determined by perceived dissimilarity of belief systems. A prejudiced person does not reject a person because of race but because of differences in beliefs and values.

Rokeach's theory of prejudice has been supported by findings of many other researchers. For instance, Stein, Hardyck, and Smith²⁰ asked their white ninth-graders to complete a teenage social distance scale in which the subjects indicated how friendly they felt toward white and Negro teenage stimulus

¹⁸H. Fensterheim and Margaret E. Tresselt, "The Influence of Value Systems on the Perception of People," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1953, 48, 93-98.

¹⁹M. Rokeach, Practicia W. Smith, and P.I. Evans, "Two Kinds of Prejudice or One?" In M. Rokeach, (Ed.), The Open and Closed Mind, Basic Books, New York, 1960, pp 132-168.

²⁰D.D. Stein, J.A. Hardyck, and M.B. Smith, "Race and Belief: An Open and Shut Case," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 1, 281-289.

persons who were like or unlike them in values. They found that value congruence has a stronger effect on social distance than race.

Rokeach's theory will be one of several theories constituting the theoretical framework of the present study. Detailed discussion of this theory will be put off until chapter II.

It seems evident that, if the second-generation Chinese, considered as a group, were found to be substantially different from the Thai in values, psychological integration between them would be hindered. Differences in values cause differences in perception, judgement, and most of all, goals in which people choose to pursue. The more that people are different in values, the greater will be the social distance; the greater the social distance, the more increased is the prejudice and discrimination between them.

It has been said that the second-generation Chinese constitute a heterogeneous grouping, i.e., they are different in regard to their ethnic identification ranging from completely Chinese to completely Thai²¹. Whether and how they are different in values as a result of their different identification and whether there is any value conflict within those whose identification falls halfway between Thai and Chinese are questions worth being studied.

The Chinese minority problem in Thailand and many other

²¹Schumrum, loc. cit.

countries in Southeast Asia has three aspects: economic, political, and social²². Our concern is with the social aspect. Now that the second-generation are the only successors of the immigrant Chinese in Thailand, because large scale immigration has been impossible since 1949²³, the outlook of the Chinese community in Thailand depends primarily upon the decisions of these second-generations. Therefore, a better understanding of the psychological make-up of these people will be of vital importance.

Background of the Study

The study of value differences between Thais and the Chinese in Thailand is not mere comparison of Thai values to Chinese. For one thing, the overseas Chinese can hardly be considered the bearers of Chinese civilization. According to Coughlin, the typical immigrant Chinese is more likely than not to be illiterate, uncouth in his manners even by traditional Chinese standards, ignorant about Chinese history, geography, literature, philosophy and arts. He is a simple spirit worshipper, unappreciative of scholarship, and interested chiefly in getting rich²⁴.

²²Coughlin, op. cit., pp. 1-12.

²³Ibid., pp. 24-29.

²⁴Ibid., p. 10.

The majority of the overseas Chinese are formerly South China peasants. Poverty forced them to emigrate to countries in Southeast Asia, or what they call Nan-Yang, to seek fortune. Their intention was not to settle abroad, but rather, to acquire money with which they could return and raise the status of their families²⁵.

Once they settled down in Thailand, they have formed a closed self-contained community. They have established their own societal structure and cultivated a typical culture of their own: a culture that has its roots in South China but is viable in Thailand.

To many Western scholars, value differences between Thais and the Chinese in Thailand are not only a matter of degree but of direction. Values emphasized by the Chinese in Thailand are in many instances the direct opposites of those stressed by the Thai people²⁶. Skinner wrote:

The Chinese were characterized as displaying extreme industriousness, willingness to labor long and hard, steadiness of purpose, ambition, desire for wealth and economic advancement, innovativeness and independence. The Thai, by comparison, were generally said to be indolent, unwilling to labor for more than immediate needs, contented with their lot, uninterested in money or economic advancement, conservative, and satisfied with a dependent status²⁷.

²⁵Skinner (1957), op. cit., p. 95.

²⁶Coughlin, op. cit., p. 197.

²⁷Skinner (1957), op. cit., p. 91.

Blanchard et al.²⁸ and Coughlin²⁹ reported the same observations. The Chinese in Thailand were perceived to be materialistic. They concern themselves principally with the acquisition of wealth as an end in itself or as a means to social position. Chinese social status is defined largely in terms of wealth and business leadership. But on the contrary, the Thai people put more emphasis on spiritual development of the individual. The primary goal of the Thai is the attainment and accumulation of merit----achieved by serving as a monk for some period of time, by conforming to the Buddhist moral code, and by performing other meritorious acts.

Nevertheless, the Thai people, as perceived by a Western-trained Thai sociologist, Paithoon Khrukaew³⁰, have a different appearance. They value wealth more than other things. For them, money is god; it can do everything, it can buy even honesty of a man and love of a woman.

The Thai people, according to Hanks and Phillips³¹, concern themselves with practical matters rather than spiritual. This is indicated in the results of the Sentence

²⁸Blanchard et. al., loc. cit.

²⁹Coughlin, loc. cit.

³⁰Paithoon Khrukaew, Thai Societal Characteristics and Principles of Community Development, Kuakool Press, Bangkok, 1963, pp. 2/10-2/11.

³¹Lucien M. Hanks, Jr., and Herbert Phillips, "A Young Thai from the Countryside," in Bert Kaptan, (Ed.), Studying Personality Cross-Culturally, Harper and Row, New York, 1961, pp. 637-656.

Completion Test (SCT). To the item "He (she) wants to get a wife (husband) who..." one half of their peasant informants responded in terms of good workers and wealth.

To the SCT items "He wishes he were...", "Most of all, he wants to...", "The most important thing in life is...", and "His greatest ambition is..." the majority of the responses again, fall into the category of wealth. Examples of their responses are

"The thing which raw wants the most is (namely)...have money and gold, because money can help us all the time. Whatever one wishes to have, one can use money to buy it all. Even when one wants a wife, if one has a lot of money one can have anyone's daughter"; "...have money. Money is better than anything else. It is only the moon and stars that money cannot buy"; "...to have money. She wants money very much because when she lacks other things she can find something to take their place, but when she lacks money she is most unhappy"; "...have wealth because everything else comes after that"³².

Unexpected by Phillips, there are only a few references to religious considerations, even on the part of older people. Reference to accumulating Buddhist merit is almost absent.

Regarding the importance of education, it is observed that the Chinese in Thailand have not recognized it. For them, education has insignificant role in determining social position; it is not a path to upward mobility³³. This is just opposite to the Thai. Many of the latter find themselves struggling

³²Herbert Phillips, Thai Peasant Personality, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965, p. 196.

³³Skinner (1957), op. cit., p. 135; and Skinner (1958), op. cit., pp. 80-83.

to have higher education in order to guarantee their future.

Respect or prestige is another key value found in the Chinese society. Concern for face is still prevalent³⁴. As for the Thai, prestige is also their major concern³⁵. But how differently prestige is valued by the two groups is not known.

So far, values of the second-generation Chinese have not been mentioned. Whether they take after their parents in values will be examined.

Theorists have various views about the process by which a child acquires the values of his culture and his various overlapping subcultures. However, it is agreed that the child at birth has no conscience and values. According to Havighurst³⁶, the only principal values for him are food and warmth.

One school of psychologists, the psychoanalysts, emphasize the role of "identification" in value formation. Here, identification refers to "the unconscious molding of a person's own ego...on...a model³⁷". The process of identification begins at the very beginning of life. It is the child's parents who are his first identifying figures. And the elements of

³⁴Skinner (1958), op. cit., p. 83.

³⁵Khrukaew, op. cit., pp. 2/21-2/23.

³⁶Havighurst, loc. cit. pp. 149-150.

³⁷W. Healy, A.F. Bronner, and A.M. Bowers, The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis, Knopf, New York, 1930, as quoted in John P. Seward, "Learning Theory and Identification: II. The Role of Punishment," The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1954, 84, 201-210.

identification are values and other qualities that constitute his ego and super-ego³⁸.

Another school of psychologists, the behavior theorists, hold that values are inferences from overt behavior. Overt behavior is in large part modified by the child's parents to meet the standards of his society³⁹. The parents' influence is exerted through the exercise of rewards and punishments. According to Hill⁴⁰, these reinforcements may be classified into three kinds: primary, secondary, and vicarious. Primary reinforcement includes praise, blame, approval, rejection, criticism, and ridicule, etc. One particular kind of learning by primary reinforcement is the acquisition of a generalized tendency to imitate others in the society. The secondary reinforcers are those stimuli which are connected with care of the child by adults, i.e., the nonessential aspects of nurturance. These include patterns of speech, facial expressions, gestures and the like. Finally, vicarious reinforcement involves the generalization of reinforcing effects from others to oneself.

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Although the two schools of psychologists differ in the

³⁸William E. Martin, "Learning Theory and Identification: III. The Development of Values in Children," The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1954, 84, 211-217.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Winfred F. Hill, "Learning Theory and the Acquisition of Values," Psychological Review, 1960, 67, 317-331.

way they view how values are formed, both stress the importance of the roles parents have in transmitting values to their children. It is expected that children born of Chinese parents would naturally adopt Chinese values.

However, the roles of peer groups in value formation and change should not be overlooked. Values learned at home often change when children discover that their concepts are not shared by other persons outside⁴¹,

The majority of the second-generation Chinese are exposed to Thai educational and military systems. Once they have joined any of these institutions, they are among Thai peers and consequently their values may be modified.

From a sociological standpoint, the entrance of the second-generation Chinese into Thai institutions and, essentially, peer groups is "the key stone of the arch of assimilation⁴²". According to Gordon, there are seven assimilation subprocesses, namely, cultural, structural, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioral receptional, and civic assimilation which means complete assimilation with the absence of value and power conflicts. When a minority group comes on the scene, cultural assimilation or acculturation, characterized by the adoption of cultural patterns such as language, dress,

⁴¹Martin, loc. cit., and Havighurst, op. cit., pp. 42-54.

⁴²Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964, p. 73.

food habits, etc., of the host society, is the first of the types of assimilation to occur, either alone or simultaneously with others. But structural assimilation, characterized by the entrance of the minority group into the societal structures of the host society, is the most influential variable; "once it has occurred...all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow⁴³."

Now that the second-generation find themselves in Thai society, they have to become Thai oriented and to identify themselves as Thais, at least in overt behavior. This seems to be the only requirement demanded by the Thai since there is no strict social regulation in Thai society⁴⁴. If the overt behavior of the second-generation Chinese were inconsistent with their cognitions or values, they would be likely to experience a psychologically unpleasant state of cognitive dissonance⁴⁵. Existence of cognitive dissonance forces the individual to reduce it, by changing either his cognitions or overt behavior, in order to achieve consonance. But since withdrawal from Thai institutions would mean loss of upward mobility,

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Johan F. Embree, "Thailand: A loosely Structured Social System," American Anthropologist, 1952, 181-193.

⁴⁵Leon Festinger and Jonathan L. Freedman, "Dissonance Reduction and Moral Values," in Philip Worchel and Donn Byrne, (Eds.), Personality Change, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1964, pp. 220-244.

it is likely that they change their value systems, either consciously or unconsciously. Presence of value incongruence not only causes cognitive dissonance within the individual, but also is it a determinant of prejudice which will result in discrimination between the two ethnic groups.

Hypothesis

Along with the foregoing considerations, the following hypothesis was set up:

The second-generation Chinese who identify themselves with the Chinese rather than with the Thai will be more different from the Thai in values than those who identify themselves with the Thai rather than with the Chinese.

To test this hypothesis, two scales that could measure the variables involved, i.e., values and identification, were needed. Development of these two scales, with their underlying rationale, will be discussed in the following chapter.